# V2 all the way down?

Germanic innovations in the embedded CP of German-Italian bilinguals

SyntaxLab, 25 February

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# 1. Introduction

#### Introduction

- This talk is about overgeneralisation of Embedded V2 (EV2) in German-Italian bilinguals, and its implications for the development of the CP more broadly.
- Overgeneralisation of EV2 reported in existing work (discussed later; Müller, 1994; Schönenberger, 2001; Julien, 2007; Westergaard & Bentzen, 2007).
- → The source, extent, and formal nature of this EV2 still contentious plus often language/child-specific.

## Introduction

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- Overgeneralisation of EV2 reported in existing work (discussed later; Müller, 1994; Schönenberger, 2001; Julien, 2007; Westergaard & Bentzen, 2007).
  - The source, extent, and formal nature of this EV2 still contentious plus often language/child-specific.
- Theoretical and empirical **potential** of these case-studies:
  - o Can EV2 shed light on typology of CP?
  - Range of work showing that the left periphery is more or less 'exploited' crosslinguistically 

     — crosslinguistically and developmentally variable degrees of elaboration of the CP? (cf. Rizzi, 1997).
  - o Can bilinguals inform cases of diachronic changes in EV2? (not main focus here).

#### Two broad aims:

- Understand overgeneralisation of EV2 from both a formal and developmental perspective.
  - o How can it be characterised 'synchronically'?
  - Which developmental processes lead to this overgeneralisation stage?
- Probe its potential implications for typology and variation of the left periphery.
  - How can the 'structure' of the (embedded) CP be formalised?
  - How does it compare to other (adult) systems?

# Roadmap

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Background
- 3. The data
- 4. Probing existing analyses
- 5. Proposal
- 6. Conclusion

# 2. Background

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- 2.1. Verb Second
- 2.2. Embedded clauses and V2
- 2.3. Acquisition of (embedded) V2

# Background

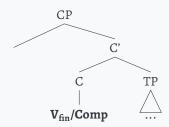
### Verb Second

**Verb Second** (V2) – prototypical Germanic property.

- The finite verb occupies the second (structural) position in **main clauses**, after an initial XP.
  - a. Ich habe heute drei Briefe geschrieben (1) (German) have.1sg today three letters written 'I have written three letters today.'
    - b. Diesen Mann kenne ich nicht this man know.1sg I not 'This man, I don't know him.'
    - c. Ich glaube dass er ein Nickerchen macht I think that he a nap make.3sg 'I think he's taking a nap.'

Contemporary analyses to V2 vary:

• Classic analysis of V2: V2 as V-to-C and XP-fronting to SpecCP (den Besten, 1983).

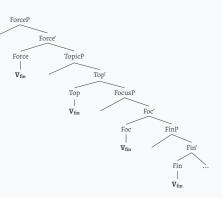


ullet Complementary distribution between finite verbs and complementisers oV-final embedded word-order.

### Verb Second

Contemporary analyses of V2 vary:

- Cartographic analyses of V2: variation arises as a function of height of movement in an enrinched left-periphery.
- → Allows for degrees of 'liberality' in linear orders observed in V2 systems.



From 'strict' to 'relaxed' V2 languages.

- Variation across V2 systems in the kinds of V3 (or V3+) structures allowed: e.g., Old Romance is more liberal than other languages (notably West Germanic) (Holmberg, 2015).
- → Cartographic typology (Poletto, 2002; Wolfe, 2015). Fin-V2 (low) vs Force-V2 (high) languages.
  - (2) $[ForceP (XP) Force [TopP (XP) Top [FocP (XP) Foc [FinP (XP) Fin-V_{fin} ...]]]]$
  - (3)  $[ForceP (XP) Force-V_{fin} [TopP (XP) Top [FocP (XP) Foc [FinP (XP) Fin ...]]]]$

# Background

### Verb Second

Contemporary analyses of V2 vary:

- More **emergent** views on the microvariation in V2 (more on some of them later), often drawing on Giorgi & Pianesi (1997):
  - Biberauer & Roberts (2015): left-peripheral positions are non-distinct in strict V2 systems; they reflect an acquisitionally 'earlier' stage (undifferentiated root C head).
  - Walkden (2017): Kiezdeustch systems with more V3 orders modelled as a 'split' (non-recursive) CP with CP<sub>1</sub> and CP<sub>2</sub> (see also Sluckin, 2025).
  - Cormany (2015), Hsu (2017): variation across types of V2 systems in terms of feature scattering/bundling.
  - Cournane & Klævik-Pettersen (2023): feature bundling; acquisition/diachronic bias towards more 'bundled' CPs.
  - o (See also, i.a., **Soares, 2006; Larson, 2021**, for non-V2-centred proposals).

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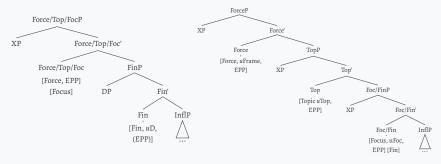
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  - $\circ \ \ (\text{See also, i.a., } \textbf{Soares, 2006; Larson, 2021}, for non-V2-centred proposals).$
- → **Key: the elaboration of the CP is crosslinguistically variable** which in turn helps shed light on variation in V2.

### (4) Old English V3

## (5) Old Sicilian, Old Italian V4



(Hsu, 2017: 18, 20)

#### Embedded clauses and V2

Variation also in the extent to which embedded clauses are V-final or in whether V2 is also allowed. Broad (simplistic) macro-division often in terms of **symmetrical** and **asymmetrical** V2<sup>1</sup>. More specifically (Gärtner, 2016):

- 'Well-behaved' V2: V2 is strictly asymmetric and occurs only in complementiser-less clauses.
  - o German, Dutch and Afrikaans.
- **Narrow embedded V2** (*nEV2*): V2 with complementisers, but in a constrained subset of contexts (e.g., linked to "assertion").
  - Frisian and Mainland Scandinavian.
- Broad embedded V2 (bEV2): V2 occurs more broadly in embedded contexts.
  - o Icelandic and Yiddish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Biberauer (2002), Wiklund et al. (2009), i.a., for discussion of the issues in this classification.

## Embedded clauses and V2

(6) a. Sigrid glaubt dass Waltraud das Buch gekauft hat Sigrid thinks that Waltraud the book brought has 'Sigrid thinks that Waltraud has bough the book'. (German)

Jeg oppdaget at jeg (hadde) ikke (hadde) lest den
 I discovered that I had not had read it
 (I discovered that I hadn't read it ')

(Norwegian)

- c. Han tvilte på at hun (\*hadde) ikke (hadde) møtt denne mannen (Norwegian) he doubted on that she had not had met this man 'She doubted that she hadn't met this man.'
- d. Avrom gloybt az Max shikt avek dos bukh Avrom believes that Max sends away the book 'Avrom believes that Max will send away the book'.

(Yiddish)

(Holmberg, 2015: 356, 358)

# Background

## Embedded clauses and V2

- Embedded V2 (EV2) in asymmetrical languages possible in complements of so-called **bridge verbs**, in some relative clauses, among others. 'Bridge verbs' generally assumed to align with verb class.
  - a. Maria glaubt Peter geht nach Hause (7)(German) Maria thinks Peter goes to home 'Maria thinks that Peter is going home.'
    - b. Jeg oppdaget at jeg (hadde) ikke (hadde) lest den (Norwegian) discovered that I had not had read it 'I discovered that I hadn't read it'

(Holmberg, 2015: 358)

- (8) Verb classes in Hooper & Thompson (1973: 473-74).
  - **Class A strongly assertive** (say, claim, report)
  - **Class B weakly assertive** (suppose, believe, think)
  - **Class C non-assertive** (doubt, deny, be (im)possible)
  - **Class D factive** (resent, regret, be surprised)
  - **Class E semi-factive** (know, realise, learn)

### Embedded clauses and V2

- In German (focus here), also found in adjunct clauses denoting cause (17), and, in some V2 languages, in 'extent clauses', often with semantico-pragmatic effects.
  - (9) a. **Propositional modification** (V-final or V2) Die Straße is weiß, weil es (hat) geschneit (hat).

c. **Speech act modification** (V2 only)

- the road is white because it has snowed has 'The road is white because it has snowed.'
- b. Epistemic modification (V2 only) Es hat einen Unfall gegeben, weil der Airbag ist aufgegangen. accident given because the airbag has deployed it has an 'An accident has happened because the airbag has deployed.'
- Paula hat den Job übrigens bekommen. Weil das wolltest du doch Paula has the job by-the-way got because that wanted you PART unbedingt wissen absolutely know
  - 'By the way, Paula got the job. Because you absolutely wanted to know it.'

# Acquisition of (embedded) V2

'Basic' V2, including topicalisation, reported to be early-acquired (i.a., Boser et al., 1992; Poeppel & Wexler, 1993; van Kampen, 2010; Santelmann, 1995; Westergaard, 2009) ightarrowplausibly some (maybe simple) representation of CP at early stages.

**Acquisition of embedded word-order** varies across languages and learners. Lots of work on monolinguals:

- Monolinguals
  - Generally V-final order across the board in West Germanic, although with some errors reported (see Fritzenschaft et al., 1990, on Benny).
  - More **overgeneralisation** of Embedded V2 in **Scandinavian** languages (Westergaard & Bentzen, 2007; Heycock et al., 2013; Westergaard et al., 2014; Waldmann, 2014; Ringstad & Kush, 2021; Jensberg et al., 2024)

# Acquisition of (embedded) V2

- Monolinguals
  - o Fine-grained Swiss German study by Schönenberger (2001) on Lucernese Swiss German:
    - · Until age 5, the two children produce EV2 in target-like contexts: complements of bridge verbs, wil-clauses.
    - · And non-target-like contexts: embedded wh-V2, and other complementiser structures (e.g., wenn 'if/when', öb 'whether').
    - · Two orders found: complementiser  $V_{fin}$ ... (**Linear V2**) and complementiser  $ZV_{fin}$ ... (Linear V3)
      - Constraint: Z = pronominal subject until age 5.
- → Broader or localised pattern? Not observed to the same extent in Bernese Swiss German (e.g., Penner, 1990; Penner & Bader, 1991) and Zurich German (Escudero, p.c., cited in Schönenberger, 2001).

# Background

# Acquisition of (embedded) V2

#### This talk

- Theoretical significance of EV2 and V-final orders in German-Italian bilinguals, who show overgeneralisation of EV2.
- Case-study highly comparable to Müller (1994, et seq.) and Schönenberger (2001), but with different theoretical results.
  - I argue not a case of Yiddish-type setting (pace Müller, 1996).
  - I argue not straightforwardly a case of transfer of Italian-like syntax (pace Müller, 2003).
  - $\rightarrow$  I argue a case of developmental complexification of the (embedded) CP.
- Supporting parallels in the diachrony and contact scenarios of V2.

# 3. The data

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- 3.1. A precedent
- 3.2. Corpus study: Broad results
- 3.3. Corpus study: Fine-grained results

Müller (1994, 1996, 2003) – case-study of German-French bilingual Ivar

- One of the three children studied (Ivar) often shows EV2 order, including topicalisation. Similar to German-Italian bilinguals Lisa and Giulia (Taeschner, 1983).
- Carolina and Pascar show required V-final order throughout.
  - (10) a. Erst wenn wir sind fertig mit das first when we are ready with it

    'Not until we have finished it.'
    - b. Guck mal **wie** des **is** groß (3;08.01; Ivar) look once how this is big 'look how big this is.'
    - c. Daß dann sagt er ... (3;05.07; Ivar) that then says he 'that he says then ...'

- **High proportion of EV2** reported: 7 V-final clauses out of 167 (4%).
- EV2 attested in all of *wenn*, *dass*, *wh*-complements; frequency of each unreported.
- **Topicalisation** compatible with all complementisers (though proportion unreported).
- Relatively little Linear V2: 'Does not use the order COMP-V<sub>fin</sub>-Subj-XP, except for those subordinate clauses where the element introducing it (a wh-word or a relative pronoun) functions as the subject of the clause.'
   (Müller, 1996: 1016).

**Müller (1994, 1996, 2003)** – case-study of German-French bilingual Ivar. Proposed explanations:

- 1994: missetting of the V2 parameter ([+FINITE] and [WH] incorrectly assigned to different heads). Yiddish-like grammar.
- 1996: abducing an 'incorrect', Yiddish-like grammar. *Not* a case of transfer.
- **2003**: *transfer* from French, as a 'relief' strategy in the face of ambiguous input.

#### Müller (1994, 1996, 2003) - case-study of German-French bilingual Ivar

- Outstanding questions
  - o How widespread a pattern is Ivar's system?
  - What is the proportion of EV2 observed in other children?
  - Subparameters without triggering data'?
  - Need for more in-depth data collection: are there differences in word-order patterns across embedding markers in other children? (Schönenberger, 2001).
  - o Current analyses contradictory: which one is empirically more successful?

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  - Current analyses contradictory: which one is empirically more successful?
- → I take Müller (1994, et seq.) and the finer-grained analysis in Schönenberger (2001) as points of departure, and expand on their work.

**Corpus study** on the development of CP in 5 German-Italian (simultaneous) bilinguals. All *strongly balanced*, bar AUR (per metric in Hager & Müller, 2015).

- Word-order in embedded clauses and types of embedding markers produced.
  - V-final order, linear V2, linear V3 order, (ambiguous/other)?
  - Do all embedding markers display the same surface word-order?
  - o If EV3, any restrictions on the type of subjects we observe? (Schönenberger, 2001).

	Files	Age	MLUw
AUR	42	1;09-4;00	1.03-4.47
CAR	70	1;08-5;07	1.0-5.20
LUC	52	1;06-4;00	1.0-4.30
LUK	63	1;07-5;00	1.0-4.70
MAR	68	1;06-5;00	1.03-4.57

Table 1: Children studied (Müller et al., 2006)

#### **Broad results**

- Overgeneralisation of embedded V2 across 4 of the 5 children<sup>2</sup>.
  - (11) a. Weil ich hab auch (recht)
    because I have too right
    'Because I'm also right.' (AUR, 3;09.01)
    - b. Weiss ich nicht was ist das know I now what is this 'I don't know what this is.' (CAR 2;09.25)
    - c. Ja ist weich-e, wenn wenn war ich umgefallen yes is soft-fem if if was I fallen 'Yes, it is soft when I fell.' (CAR 2:11.23)
    - d. Ich zeig dir wo der **fährt** mit 'm oller

      I show you where he drives with the scooter
      'I (will) show you where he is driving with the scooter.' (LUC, 3;03.04)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>I set AUR aside in the rest of the data presentation, but I will return to him later.

#### **Broad results**

- Overgeneralisation of embedded V2 across 4 of the 5 children<sup>3</sup>.
  - (12) a. Der muß runter gucken auf was ist passiert he must down look at what is happened 'He must look down to what happened.' (LUK 2;07.15)
    - b. Weil die hexe hat hier drin gesl- gemacht because the witch has here in gesl- made 'Because the witch has made it in here.' (MAR 3;01.27)
    - c. Ich zeig dir was **is** ein schwein

      I show you what is a pig
      'I (will) show you what is a pig.' (MAR 3;02.12)

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#### **Broad results**

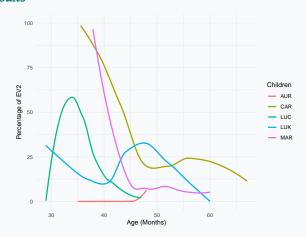


Figure 1: Proportion of EV2 by child and age

#### **Broad results**

 Two profiles: children with total or partial absence of embedded V-final order.

	EV2 start	V-final start	Proportion EV2
AUR	3;05.30	2;11.08	14.5%
CAR	2;08.21	3;04.08	54.5%
LUC	2;07.30	2;05.03	29.2%
LUK	2;07.29	2;07.15	16.5%
MAR	3;01.27	3;04.08	53.9%

Table 2: Proportion of EV2 across the four children until 4;00

#### **Broad results**

• Being more precise: Point of significant decrease in proportion of EV2 determined by **change-point analysis**, example below.

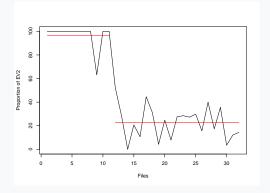


Figure 2: Change-point analysis on CAR's EV2 distribution

#### **Broad results**

! Point of inflection in EV2 proportion **coincides** with significant increase in production of V-final orders.

	EV2 start	EV2 decrease	V-final increase
CAR	2;08.21	3;04.08	3;07.07
LUC	2;07.30	3;01.02	3;01.02
LUK	2;07.29	2;09.18	2;10.01
MAR	3;01.27	3;06.09	3;07.12

Table 3: Rise and fall of EV2 vs V-final orders

→ **Inverse correlation** between EV2 frequency and V-final frequency → suggesting a stage of overgeneralised EV2 before it is abandoned, even if it co-exists with V-final.

	EV2 pre change-point
CAR	100%
LUC	39.59%
LUK	47.14%
MAR	96.7%

Table 4: Proportion of EV2 before change-point in all children

#### Finer-grained results

- By word order (V-final, linear V2, linear V3)
- By embedding marker
  - By presence/absence of (non-default) topicalisation.
  - o By type of (default) subject observed (pronominal vs phrasal).
- $\rightarrow$  Focus on EV2 stage (pre-change-point).

# Zooming in – word order

- Like Schönenberger, we observe two orders in their EV2:
- 1. complementiser  $V_{fin}$ ...

Linear V2

2. complementiser XP V<sub>fin</sub>...

Linear V3

- $\hookrightarrow$  Where XP generally = Subject, with exceptions to come later.
  - (13) a. Das sind für die bonbons, wenn **hab** *ich* geburstag this are for the chocolates if have I birthday "These/This are for the chocolates when I have my birthday' (CAR, 2;10.16)
    - Mama (hat) gesagt von (erster) nur nich wie soll man angucken mum has said of first only not how should one watch 'Mama said from – from (first) – just not how you should watch.' (LUC, 2;07.30)
    - c. Nein gle- gleich wenn das is fertig dann trinkt die no gle- even when this is done then drink it 'No, as soon as it is ready, drink it.' (MAR 3;05.11)

#### Zooming in - word order

• **Linear V2** often emerges before **Linear V3** in the four children, and these structures co-exist thereafter.

	Linear V2	N	Linear V3	N
CAR	2;08.21	16	2;11.13	19
LUC	2;07.30	2	2;10.24	3
LUK	2;07.15	1	2;08.12	3
MAR	3;02.12	18	3;01.27	13

Table 5: Emergence of Linear V2 and V3 orders and attestations during EV2 stage

Potentially suggestive of some stage-like development from Linear EV2 >
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Table 5: Emergence of Linear V2 and V3 orders and attestations during EV2 stage

- Potentially suggestive of some stage-like development from Linear EV2 > EV3 (also insinuated in Schönenberger, 2001), but too small a sample.
- Additionally, Linear EV2 most common with wh-V2, out of all embedding contexts. Weil presents EV3 only.

#### Zooming in - data by embedding marker

 (Non-target) EV2 with all of weil 'because', wenn 'if/when', wh-complements/relatives and (very rarely) dass 'that'<sup>4</sup>.

#### Children with total absence - before change-point

	wenn	%	wh	%	weil	%	dass	%	All	%
CAR	0-12	100%	0-12	100%	0-11	100%	_	_	0-35	100%
MAR	1-1	50%	0-17	100%	0-12	100%	_	-	1-30	96.7%
Total	1-13	7.1%	0-29	100%	0-22	100%	-	_	1-65	98.4%

**Table 6:** Proportion of EV2 by embedding marker before change-point (CAR and MAR)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Other complementisers like *ob* 'whether' or *als* 'as/when' are late-acquired, so not produced at the stage where EV2 is predominant.

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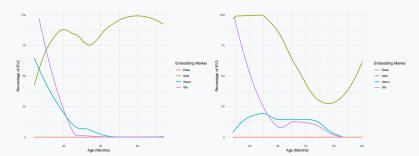
(Non-target) EV2 with all of weil 'because', wenn 'if',
 wh-complements/relatives and (very rarely) dass 'that'<sup>5</sup>.

#### Children with total absence - after change-point

	wenn	%	wh	%	weil	%	dass	%	All	%
CAR	86-7	7.5%	57-0	0%	13-195	93.8%	2-0	0%	158-202	56.1%
MAR	45-3	6.3%	57-4	6.6%	33-38	53.5%	7-0	0%	142-45	24.1%
Total	131-10	7.1%	114-4	3.4%	46-233	83.5%	9-0	0%	300-247	45.2%

**Table 7:** Proportion of EV2 by embedding marker after change-point (CAR and MAR)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Other complementisers like *ob* 'whether' or *als* 'as/when' are late-acquired, so not produced at the stage where EV2 is predominant.



**Figure 3:** CAR's proportion of EV2 by embedding marker (CAR and MAR)

**Figure 4:** MAR's proportion of EV2 by embedding marker

#### Zooming in – data by embedding marker

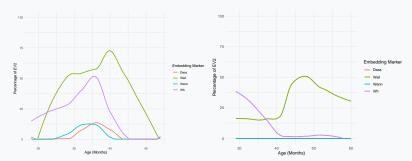
 (Non-target) EV2 with all of weil 'because', wenn 'if/when', wh-complements/relatives and (very rarely) dass 'that'<sup>6</sup>.

#### Children with partial absence – all files

			1						All	
LUC	19-1	5%	14-4	22.2%	26-24	48%	13-2	13.3%	72-31	30.1%
LUK	70-0	0%	52-5	8.8%	69-36	34.3%	16-0	0%	207-41	16.5%
Total	89-1	1.1%	66-9	12.3%	95-60	38.7%	19-2	14.3%	279-72	20.5%

Table 8: Proportion of EV2 by embedding marker (LUC and LUK)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Other complementisers like *ob* 'whether' or *als* 'as/when' are late-acquired, so not produced at the stage where EV2 is predominant.



**Figure 5:** LUC's proportion of EV2 by embedding marker

**Figure 6:** LUK's proportion of EV2 by embedding marker

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 BACKGROUND
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 PROBING EXISTING ANALYSES
 PROPOSAL

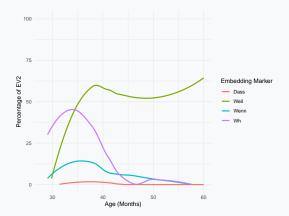


Figure 7: Proportion of EV2 by embedding marker, across all 4 children

Background The data Probing existing analyses Proposal

## The data

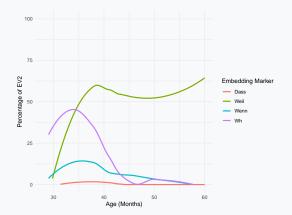


Figure 7: Proportion of EV2 by embedding marker, across all 4 children

Potential additional pattern? Wh-V2 appears more likely to be overgeneralised than wenn-V2<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Which I set aside here, due to the small sample.

! **EV2 with wh-complements** → ungrammatical in almost all Germanic languages, including the most permissive (Vikner, 1995). With the exception of Afrikaans.

- ! **EV2 with wh-complements** → ungrammatical in almost all Germanic languages, including the most permissive (Vikner, 1995). With the exception of Afrikaans.
- Not just frequent but seemingly **generalised to predicates that generally disallow embedded wh-V2**: *discover*-type or 'resolutive' predicates.
  - $\hookrightarrow$  gucken ('look'), wissen ('know'), hören ('hear'), sagen ('say'), erklären ('explain').
- Some fit the characterisation of Question Predicates (McCloskey, 2006), *but* often **without the illocutionary force of a true question**.
  - (15) a. Ich **erklär** wo is das wasser denn
    I explain where is the water then
    'I explain where the water is, then.' (MAR 3;05.11)
    - b. Der möchte nicht **hören** was machst du he want not hear what do you 'He doesn't want to hear what you're doing.' (CAR, 2;10.16)

# ! Abundance of **EV2 with weil**, even after overall decrease in EV2.

- Generally felicitously used, though several ungrammatical structures exist, like (16a. 16c)<sup>8</sup>.
  - (16) a. Kann keiner das kaputt machn **weil** da **is** klebe dran can no-one this broken make because there is glue on.it 'No-one can break this because there is glue on it.' (MAR, 3;05.11)
    - b. Das kann man aber nicht rausdrücken **weil** sonst **wär** das kaputt this can one but not push.out because otherwise would.be it broken. 'But you can't push it out because otherwise it would break.'(LUC 3;05.00)
    - c. Mother: Ja / aber guck ma das is der zweite ohne schuhe / diesn kung fu mann hier (den) (machen) wir (auch) (noch) (weg) / ja /

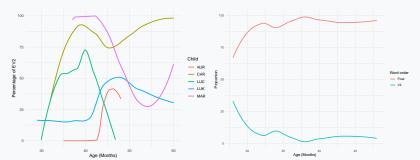
Child: Ja **weil** das **is** ein räubaaa yes because this is a robbery

'Yes because it's a robbery.' (consultant note: 'falscher Satzbau: "ist" muss am Ende stehen') (LUK, 4:02.28)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Based on native consultation with German native speakers.

- $\rightarrow$  This contrasts with *monolinguals*, e.g., Simone (Miller corpus), who appears to **default to V-final**.
  - In her production from 1;09 to 4;00, out of 284 weil-clauses, only 22 present EV2

     7.7%.



**Figure 8:** Proportion of EV2 with *weil* 

**Figure 9:** Proportion of EV2 with *weil* in a monolingual (Simone)

- $\rightarrow$  CAR and MAR, and to a lesser extent, LUC, **default instead to EV2**.
  - Adult-like distribution of weil achieved significantly later
    - → **50%** EV2 with *weil* in **adult corpora** (Kempen & Harbusch, 2016).

- $\rightarrow$  CAR and MAR, and to a lesser extent, LUC, **default instead to EV2**.
  - Adult-like distribution of weil achieved significantly later
    - $\hookrightarrow$  50% EV2 with weil in adult corpora (Kempen & Harbusch, 2016).
    - $\hookrightarrow$  Likely much *lower* in **child-directed speech**. MAR's adult input across all files (1;08-5;00) contains 62 *weil*-clauses, only 2 of which show V2 **3.2%**.
  - Semantico-pragmatic distribution of word order with weil plausibly not acquired yet (Antomo & Steinbach, 2010): possibly prioritising instead a structurally-based hypothesis (Gagliardi, 2012) and/or due to pragmatic difficulties (Lewis et al., 2017).

- Finally, other embedding markers found, but they are produced **late** and so with V-final order: *damit* 'so that', *ob* 'whether', *als* 'when', *obwohl* 'although'...
- Importantly, too, Dass-drop ('Ø' below) with bridge verbs (EV2) is also rare.

	d	damit		ob		als	Ø	
CAR	11-0	3;04.22	18-0	4;03.09	23-0	4;01.00	20	4;02.11
LUC	4-0	3;01.12	1-0	3;10.29	2 (0)	2;11.07	1	3;04.15
LUK	3-0	3;04.25	5-0	2;11.26	5-0	4;01.20	4	3;08.03
MAR	-	-	2-0	4;08.09	_	-	3	4;10.11

Table 9: Attestations and emergence of other embedding markers

#### Zooming in - embedding marker and topicalisation

- ! **Asymmetry** in which embedding markers present topicalisation with EV2.
- Weil-clauses with a (non-default) topic with EV2 are abundant. Very rarely, this is found with dass.
  - (17) a. Weil das könn wir auch ziehn und das könn wir nich so because this can we also pull and this can we not so schieben push

    'Because we can pull this and we can't push that.' (CAR, 3;05.06)
    - b. Weil **die** ham wir [s]on woanders geleg because it have we already elsewhere put 'Because we have already put this somewhere else.' (LUC, 2;11.07)

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  - a. Mama papa sagen dass da sind eier dinne / okay 1 (18)mum dad say that there are eggs in 'Mum (and) dad say that there are eggs in there.' (LUC, 3;02.06)
- → Embedded topicalisation with wenn and wh-complements is systematically *unattested* when these present EV2<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Plausibly, the latter could simply be due to *dass* being later-acquired.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>With one exception in LUK: *Ich gucke, was da ist ist passiert* 'I am looking at what happened there'

#### Zooming in - embedding marker and type of subject

- Further, most embedding markers display an *apparent* restriction on subject types, bar weil (as in Schönenberger, 2001).
- Particularly true of wenn 'if', plausibly also wh-complements.
- Almost always *pronominal* subjects follow  $Comp o Comp Subj_{pron} V_{fin}...$

	Subj <sub>pron</sub>	Subj <sub>DP</sub>	Topic
CAR	13 (wenn), 3 (wh), 84 (weil)	1 (wh), 26 (weil)	31 (weil)
LUC	1 (wenn), 1 (wh), 14 (weil)	3 (weil)	7 (weil), 2 (dass)
LUK	2 (wh), 10 (weil)	_	6 (weil)
MAR	1 (wenn), 1 (wh), 18 (weil)	5 (weil)	16 (weil)

Table 10: Type of subject by embedding marker during the EV2 stage

#### Zooming in - embedding marker and type of subject

- What causes this? Two options:
  - Syntactic cause Schönenberger (2001): grammatical constraint on subjects and embedding markers, which follows from their structural position and the nature of pronominal items at this developmental stage.
  - 2. **Extrasyntactic cause**: frequency? distribution of pronominal *vs* non-pronominal items in child speech?

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  - 2. **Extrasyntactic cause**: frequency? distribution of pronominal *vs* non-pronominal items in child speech?
- ☐ → I argue against (1) → V-final clauses show the same skew, especially at early stages, suggesting it cannot be (only) due to the syntactic derivation of EV2.

- Even V-final wenn clauses display very few cases of non-pronominal subjects.
- Non-pronominal subjects emerge late, often *after* EV2 has been retracted from, and holds for children who do *not* show an EV2 stage (AUR).

	V-final wenn	$Subj_{DP}$	Start	End of EV2 stage
AUR	35	1 (2.9%)	3;09.01	No EV2
CAR	86	10 (11.6%)	4;02.25	3;04.08
LUC	19	2 (10.5%)	3;01.02	3;01.02
LUK	70	6 (8.5%)	2;10.01	2;09.18
MAR	46	3 (6.5%)	4;00.13	3;06.09

Table 11: Non-pronominal subjects with V-final wenn

→ Suggests a **skewed distribution** in pronominal/non-pronominal subjects of **potentially wider scope**, independent of EV2.

#### Interim summary: explananda

- 1. Total or partial absence of V-final at early stages.
- 2. Inverse correlation between frequency of V-final and EV2.
- 3. Co-existence of EV2 and EV3.
- 4. EV2 observed with all of wenn, weil, wh-complements and (rarely) dass but with differential behaviour.
- 5. Weil (and possibly *dass*) allow topicalisation with EV2; wenn and wh-complements do not.

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- 4. EV2 observed with all of wenn, weil, wh-complements and (rarely) dass but with differential behaviour.
- 5. Weil (and possibly dass) allow topicalisation with EV2; wenn and wh-complements do not.
- → Highly parallel to the description in Schönenberger (2001), and, partly, to Müller (1994, et seg.).
  - However, apparent skew in subject types is a by-product of the distribution of (non-)pronominal subjects.

- ightarrow Neither transfer, nor missetting of parameter (Yiddish-like)
  - Not Yiddish setting: wh-V2 predicted to be ungrammatical; Yiddish allows embedded topicalisation. Instead, patterns attested are expansions of (some) featural possibilities in German's main clause.
  - Not transfer from Italian V-to-T: I argue the **verb** is moving to **C** in their EV2 (pace Müller, 2003), and unlike some proposals for EV2 in Scandinavian children.

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  - Not transfer from Italian V-to-T: I argue the verb is moving to C in their EV2 (pace Müller, 2003), and unlike some proposals for EV2 in Scandinavian children.
- $\hookrightarrow\, V_{fin}$  systematically moves above Neg and Adv.
  - (20) a. Weil sonst **sehn** wir es *nich*because otherwise see we it not
    'Because otherwise we don't see it.' (MAR 4;00.13)
    - b. Guck mal, was ich **konnte** *nicht*, was ich **konnte** *nich* laufen! see once what I could not what I could not walk 'Look what I could not what I could not walk.' (CAR 2;11.13)

- (21) a. Nein guck ma was **ich** hol *jetzt*no look once what I get now
  'No, luck what I am getting now.' (LUK 3;04.25)
  - b. Ahah dann wär ich aber böse wenn du warst gar nich auf INTJ then would.be I but angry if you were absolutely not on toilette toilet 'Haha, then I would be angry if you were not on the toilet.' (CAR, 3;04.22)

- Recall wh-V2 unexpected, given the typology in modern Germanic. Some evidence that it's genuine V2 (in at least some children) – movement above negation and adverbs, cf. Danish examples below.
  - Jeg ved ikke... (22)
    - I know now...
    - a. ... hvorfor koen altid **står** inde i huset
    - b. \*... hvorfor koen **står** altid inde i huset
    - c. ... why cow-the (stands) always (stands) inside in house-the

(Vikner, 1995: 73)

- $\rightarrow$  Neither transfer, nor missetting of parameter (Yiddish-like)
- $\hookrightarrow$  V<sub>fin</sub> directly follows topicalised constituents
  - a. Weil das hat mama gekauft in italien (23)because this has mum bought in Italy 'Because mum bought THIS in Italy.' (LUC 3;02.06)
    - b. Hm weil da is kein platz mehr hm because there is no place more 'Because there is no more space there.' (LUK 2;10.01)
    - c. In das auto habn wir ein bißchen geschlafn. Weil da war die nacht in the car have we a bit slept because there was the night In the car, we slept a bit. Because it was (the) night there. (MAR 3;08.27)

- → Neither transfer, nor missetting of parameter (Yiddish-like)
- $\rightarrow$  V<sub>non-fin</sub> always precedes the object (OV) in complex structures with modals and auxiliaries.
  - a. Ich bin da drauf, wenn war ich, war so krank, wenn **habe** ich (24)I am there on it if was I was so ill if have I so viel **gesehen** so much seen 'I'm on there, when I was ill or when I saw a lot.' (CAR, 2;11.13)
    - b. Weil er will auch ein' haben because he want too one have 'Because he also wants to have one.' (LUC 3:03.04)

- $\rightarrow$  Neither transfer, nor missetting of parameter (Yiddish-like)
- Linear EV2/EV3 orders are found, but V3+ orders are unattested.

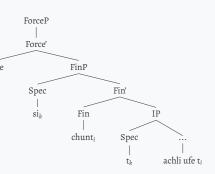
- → Neither transfer, nor missetting of parameter (Yiddish-like)
- Linear EV2/EV3 orders are found, but V3+ orders are unattested.
- $\hookrightarrow$  Any resemblance to V2 would be accidental.
  - ! AUR most clearly dominant in Italian, yet shows no EV2 stage ightarrowundermines transfer from Italian.
- → By implication, TP-based analysis of their V2 system also infeasible (see also Vikner, 1995, for other issues).

I interpret the data as an extension of a Germanic pattern (V- and XP-movement to CP)

öb

### The data vs existing analyses

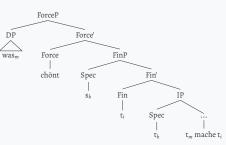
- This leaves us with one other extant acccount for overgeneralised Force V2: Schönenberger (2001).
- Key proposal: 'minimally split **CP**', into ForceP and FinP.



(Schönenberger, 2001: 295)

• Verb-movement targets different heads in the CP depending on complementiser.

- Comp blocks topic movement higher than SpecFinP.
- Atonic subject pronouns move to the Wackernagel position (SpecFinP) (Roberts, 1996). pronominal subjects must stay in IP.



(Schönenberger, 2001: 299)

- Schönenberger (2001) vs our data.
- ! **Ontological problem**: What's the status of her 'minimally split' CP, relative to, e.g., cartography?
- ! **Developmental problem(s)**: Where do ForceP and FinP come from? What do main-clauses look like? What does children's CP look like after retracting from EV2?
- → Needed: Developmental account motivating this 'minimally expanded' CP (insofar as these Swiss German monolinguals ≠ adult Swiss German).
- ! **Question (potential problem)**: What's the status of the Kayne-Rizzi-Roberts effect in acquisition?
  - **KRR effect**: V/T-to-C fronting is possible iff the target C-position is not lexically selected (McCloskey, 2006).
- ! Question: What's the treatment for weil?

#### Next:

- Adopt the intuition in Schönenberger's analysis, endorsing especially (some kind of) 'minimally split' CP.
- $\rightarrow$  Update its implementation and its motivation.

- Point of departure: extension of a Germanic pattern (V- and XP-movement to CP) that is subsequently formally integrated into the bilinguals'
   German.
- $\rightarrow$  Analysis in terms of elaboration or **complexification of the embedded CP**.

- Point of departure: extension of a Germanic pattern (V- and XP-movement to CP) that is subsequently formally integrated into the bilinguals'
   German.
- ightarrow Analysis in terms of elaboration or **complexification of the embedded CP**.
  - My initial assumptions/aims:
    - Minimal ontology/machinery. Maximal role of third factors and input (Chomsky, 2005).
    - Emergent syntactic categories → Emergent cartography (or comparable structure) (i.a., Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014; Scontras et al., 2017; Biberauer & Roberts, 2015; Leivada & Westergaard, 2019; Larson, 2021).
    - Supporting, to the extent possible, the representations assumed during development with empirical data.

#### Recall explananda at stake

- Total or partial absence of V-final at early stages.
- Inverse correlation between frequency of V-final and EV2.
- Co-existence of EV2 and EV3.
- EV2 observed with all of wenn, weil, wh-complements and (rarely) dass but with differential behaviour.
- Weil (and possibly dass) allow topicalisation with EV2; wenn and wh-complements do not.

Analysis is two-part: (i) a 'synchronic' syntactic analysis of the EV2 stage, before (ii) motivating its potential development

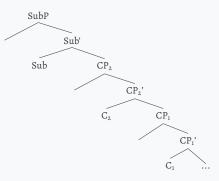
Syntactic account

#### My analysis

→ Embedded V-to-C and topic/subject movement evidence a more richly articulated CP in the bilinguals than

in monolingual adult German.

- I tentatively propose three leftperipheral projections for the EV2 stage:
  - SubP, from Bhatt & Yoon (1992), specific to embedded clauses.
  - (Non-recursive) CP<sub>1</sub> and CP<sub>2</sub>, from Walkden (2017)<sup>a</sup>.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>cf. Vikner (1995) on CP recursion.

#### Syntactic account

- Draw on Bhatt & Yoon's (1992) two-way distinction between 'pure' (structurally higher, SubP) and 'modal-flavoured' complementisers (lower).
  - This will generate differential behaviour among complementisers + address the KRR effect.
- And a minimally expanded CP, analogous to Walkden's (2017) (non-recursive) CP<sub>1</sub> and CP<sub>2</sub> for main-clauses in monolingual German.
  - $\circ$  **CP**<sub>1</sub> pprox FinP and FamP (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007).
  - $\mathbf{CP_2} \approx \mathbf{FocusP}$  until ForceP.

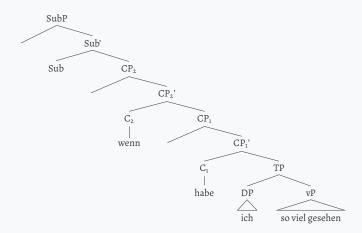
#### Syntactic account

#### • Deriving the patterns:

- o Topicalised constituents in CP<sub>2</sub>.
- Wh-complements/relatives and wenn 'if' in CP2, being modal-flavoured.
- Subjects following Comp in EV3 hosted in CP<sub>1</sub>
- In contrast, weil in SubP, thereby allowing topicalisation in CP<sub>2</sub> (see also Antomo & Steinbach, 2010).
- $\rightarrow$  Embedded topicalisation with *wh*-complements and *wenn* **ruled out**.
- ightarrow Existence of SubP avoids a violation of KRR, which would otherwise arise (McCloskey, 2006).

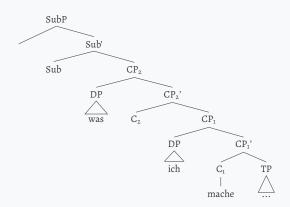
### Syntactic account

(25) Ich bin da drauf, wenn war ich, war so krank, **wenn habe** *ich* so viel **gesehen** 



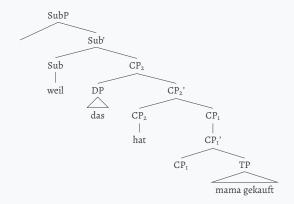
### Syntactic account

(26) Guck ma was ich mache jetz! look once what I make now



#### Syntactic account

#### (27) **Weil** das hat mama gekauft in italien



#### Syntactic account

#### • Deriving the patterns:

- Co-existing linear EV2/3 down to optionality in subject/topic raising → already independently obtains in adult German (Grewendorf, 1989; Diesing, 1992; Haider, 1993) and in acquisition (van Kampen, 2010, 2020).
- ? What's the status of *dass* in the bilinguals? 'Pure' subordinator?
  - Topicalisation allowed or not? 2 instances only in one child, but in practice dass emerges soon before or after retraction from EV2.
  - o Generating dass in Sub would incur KRR violation.

#### (Partial) developmental account

- First, the 'status' of the system, the CP and the knowledge in play before embedding is acquired.
- I assume early development of (some form of) the CP (like Continuity, inward maturation, i.a.) pace bottom-up maturation (cf. Radford, 1990, et seq.).
- All 5 children support this (Bosch & Biberauer, to appear).

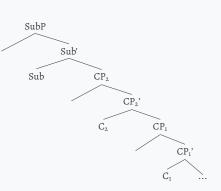
	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed
HEL	1;09.11	1;09.11	1;09.11	1;11.00	2;02.18
SIM	2;02.11	2;03.11	2;03.25	2;03.11	3;01.03
AUR	2;10.10	3;05.11	2;10.10	2;10.10	2;11.18
CAR	1;10.08	1;10.08	1;10.08	1;11.12	2;08.21
LUC	2;01.19	2;05.16	2;05.16	2;02.22	2;06.13
LUK	2;03.06	2;03.06	2;03.06	2;04.09	2;05.06
MAR	2;00.16	2;04.16	2;04.16	2;04.16	3;01.27

**Table 12:** Emergence timings of CP-structures in their Germanic languages.

#### Syntactic account

• Insofar as CP emergent, this **leaves room for subsequent** *refining* of the already-existing structure/features.





### My analysis

#### (Partial) developmental account

#### Main clauses

- CP is early acquired → following Biberauer & Roberts (2015) (among several others, Soares, 2006; Roeper & de Villiers, 2011; Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014), this is initially a basic CP.
- ullet Eventually **PLD 'forces' a more expanded (main-clause) CP** o to acquire main-clause phenomena that require more CP-structure.
  - Frame setters, Contrastive Left Dislocation, Hanging Topic Left Dislocation →
    Haegeman & Greco (2016), particularly exploited in urban vernaculars (Walkden,
    2017; Meelen et al., 2020; Sluckin, 2025).
- → That these more articulated CP-structures emerge late has independent support in Germanic but, particularly, in Romance (Soares, 2006; Bosch, 2023; Bosch & Biberauer, to appear).

THE DATA PROBING EXISTING A

### My analysis

#### (Partial) developmental account

#### Embedded clauses

- $\rightarrow$  **Maximise Minimal Means** (Biberauer, 2019; see also Roberts, 2007): prioritise generalising structures and [F]s already in the grammar.
  - Conceivably on the basis of ignorance of more complex distinctions: e.g., semantico-pragmatic restrictions on EV2 (Hooper & Thompson, 1973)
- $\rightarrow$  **Preliminary proposal**: acquirers amplify a regularity of a pattern in the input (V2/3 in main clauses), boosted by SVO in Italian, and extend it  $\rightarrow$  integrate main-clause structure (CP<sub>2</sub>>CP<sub>1</sub><sup>11</sup>) in newly-acquired embedded clauses.
- $\hookrightarrow$  Drives CP-internal complexification in ECs.

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$ Alternatively, main vs embedded clauses may be independent developments.  $CP_2 > CP_1$  would overgenerate for (adult) standard German main clauses (Walkden, 2017).

### My analysis

### (Partial) developmental account

#### Embedded clauses

- Source of SubP? → required to account for (some) complementisers and, plausibly, to structurally distinguish main vs embedded clauses.
- Highly speculative, but makes some useful predictions/observations.
  - ightarrow Link with dass-drop, which likewise permits embedded topicalisation.
    - Monolingual German/Germanic argued to have SubP (Julien, 2007; Antomo & Steinbach, 2010; Antomo, 2012), as well, and (a single) CP in ECs; each of which are more 'exploited' (exponed) in bilinguals.
    - Main ≠ Embedded Clauses structurally in both monolinguals and bilinguals (e.g., Julien, 2007; Heycock, 2017; see also Penthouse Principle).
- Eventual 'collapsing' of expanded CP<sub>2</sub>>CP<sub>1</sub> into (single) CP with retraction from EV2 stage, in line with Feature Economy.

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Question! How does Ivar's system (Müller, 1996) fit in this account?

### My analysis

#### Diachronic extensions

#### Predictions and extensions

- The 'change' aspect in their CP more readily amenable to neo-emergentist-type treatment, over (fully) cartographic alternatives.
- One case study in an (ongoing) broader research project → an apparently 'disparate' set of acquisitional and diachronic patterns, including EV2 overgeneralisation, may fall out from this 'categorial differentiation' logic.

#### Predictions and extensions

- Diachronic predictions: later-acquired properties, requiring more complex input, expected to be vulnerable.
- [F]-overgeneralisation may lead to change if acquirers do not retract.
- → Brief evidence from Germanic varieties influenced by Romance and/or VO languages: Afrikaans, Manenberg Kaaps and Cimbrian<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>EV2 overgeneralisation also found in the history of Yiddish, and other languages. I set this aside due to time considerations.

#### Diachronic extensions

#### Afrikaans (Biberauer, 2017, 2024)

- **Very contact-influenced**, predominantly by **VO languages** (Portuguese Creole, Malay, English, Bantu, etc.). No major contact language is V2.
- Strict V2/3 system, like standard German → resisted change in the outer periphery.
- No 'loss' or 'relaxation' of V2 observed, rather additional innovative V2 options → more change in embedded and other V2 options.
  - EV2 with dat-drop across all of Classes A-E (Hooper & Thompson, 1973).
  - Embedded wh-V2 (unique in Germanic).
  - EV2 with polar interrogatives.

#### Diachronic extensions

- (28) a. Ek wonder **wat eet** hulle saans (**eet**). (Afrikaans)

  I wonder what eat they evenings eat
  'I wonder what they eat in the evenings.'
  - b. Ek sal uitvind **hoe kom** ons by die gebou in (**kom**). I shall out find how come us by the building in come 'I will find out how we (can) get into the building.'
  - c. Ek weet nie<sub>1</sub> of sal daar werk vir my wees nie<sub>1</sub>.

    I know not if shall there work for me be POL 'I don't know if there will be work for me.'

(Biberauer, 2017: 80, 91)

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### My analysis

#### Diachronic extensions

#### Afrikaans (Biberauer, 2017, 2024)

- Manenberg Kaaps shows a similar distribution (Van Rooi, 2022) contact-influenced variety of Afrikaans spoken on the Cape Peninsula.
  - $\circ~$  Also strict V2/V3, Kiezdeustch-style non-canonical V3 is ungrammatical.
  - o Dat-drop across all verb classes, like Afrikaans.
  - o Wh-V2.
- → "Suggests a greater role for L1 speakers in shaping the grammar than sometimes acknowledged (e.g. the 'creole' hypothesis)" (from Biberauer, 2024).
- → "Early shift to Dutch among Khoi and (former) slave populations; L1 Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking communities more diverse than typically acknowledged" (from Biberauer, 2024).

#### Diachronic extensions

Cimbrian (i.a, Grewendorf & Poletto, 2011; Bidese et al., 2013, 2014)

- Upper German variety in north-eastern Italy, derived from Bavarian. Contact with (Standard) Italian, Venetian and other NIDs (e.g., Trentino).
- **Hybrid** system of complementation: declaratives with either (Germanic) *az/bo* and (borrowed) *ke*, triggering different word order.
- $\rightarrow$  V2 constraints apply on ke, not mere extension of Italian pattern.
  - Analysis in terms of Bhatt & Yoon's SubP:
    - (29) a.  $[_{SubordP}$  **ke**  $[_{ForceP}$  [...  $[_{FinP}$  **Vfin**-CL  $[_{TP}$   $[_{vP}$  **Vfin**]]]]]]]
      - b. [SubordP [ForceP [... [FinP az/bo-CL [TP [vP mood/Vfin]]]]]]]

#### Diachronic extensions

- (30)a. I bill **az**-to nèt **geast** ka Tria I want that-you.cl not go to Trento 'I do not want you to go to Trento'
  - b. I boaz ke du geast nèt ka Tria I know that you go not to Trento 'I know you do not go to Trento'

(*NEG* **V**; Cimbrian)

(V NEG)

(Bidese et al., 2014: 490)

### Outstanding questions

- Why do we not appear to see (as extensive) change in the main clause?
- Range of problems to sort out: how does SubP get integrated to the structure? Which elements are exponed by SubP in bilingual vs monolingual German?
- What's the status of the Kayne-Rizzi-Roberts effect during syntactic development?
- Which patterns are observed in Germanic-Germanic bilinguals?
- How do we understand partly divergent systems of EV2, e.g., Ivar?
- Bigger sample desirable.
- Why do these bilinguals overlap almost identically with Schönenberger (2001)?
- Why is overgeneralised EV2 also observed in monolinguals of some, but not all, Germanic languages (e.g., Swiss German)?

## 6. Conclusion

#### Conclusion

- Empirical contribution: New in-depth quantitative study on the overgeneralisation of EV2 in German-Italian bilinguals, supplementing existing work in (primarily) monolinguals, and bilinguals.
  - o Linear V2 and V3 observed.
  - Constraints on EV2 in these bilinguals: Germanic pattern, pre-verbal topicalisation.
  - These do not necessarily (fully) coincide with other reported data (e.g., Ivar), but often suggestively overlap (e.g., Swiss German monolinguals).
- Broad **theoretical question** at stake: how does the CP *change* throughout development?

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- Broad **theoretical question** at stake: how does the CP *change* throughout development?
- ightarrow Argued the EV2 data is one example of CP-complexification in development.

#### Conclusion

- Proposed a *two-fold* analysis of the EV2 stage: (i) a *static* characterisation of the EV2 stage (à la Schönenberger, 2001); (ii) a (partial) *developmental* motivation for (i) (less studied bit!).
- Broader **implications**: diachronic parallels, insights on the typology of (E)V2, role of 'economy' principles in acquisition and change.

#### • Remaining work:

- o Larger sample (ideally).
- o Exploring different language pairings (e.g., Germanic-Germanic bilinguals).
- o Several 'gaps' in the developmental account.
- Using this data to understand of contact-induced diachronic change in V2 systems.

# Thank you!

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