Variation, change, and the left periphery:

Dislocation phenomena in contemporary northern German varieties

By

Christine M. Evans

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(German)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON

2023

Date of final oral examination: 05/16/2023

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Mark L. Louden, Professor, German
Grant W. Armstrong, Associate Professor, Spanish
Monika Chavez, Professor, German
Katerina Somers, Assistant Professor, German
Anja Wanner, Professor, English

In memory of Professor Schwink

Acknowledgements

We should constantly remind ourselves that languages do not do things;
people do things, languages are abstractions from what people do.
—R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller[1]

This dissertation is all about language, and it is the product of countless concrete actions by people who have supported me in ways big and small along the path to its completion.

My first thank you goes to my doctoral advisor, Professor Mark Louden, who shepherded me from geeking out about German syntax to earning a doctoral degree. I am deeply grateful for your unwavering guidance, patience, trust, and care.

I also offer heartfelt gratitude to the women and men in northern Germany and across German-speaking Europe who shared their time, knowledge, and voices as consultants for the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN) project and the earlier Deutsche Mundarten (Zwirner) corpus. My access to the SiN data was kindly facilitated by Peter Rosenberg (Viadrina European University in Frankfurt/Oder) and Timm Lehmberg (Hamburg Center for Language Corpora; HZSK). I deeply appreciate the scholarly contributions of you and your SiN colleagues and thank you for supporting my project idea in its earliest stages. Vielen, vielen Dank!

On my path to graduate study, I was inspired and guided by many teachers and mentors. I especially wish to thank my high school German teacher, Andrew Ziarnik (Herr Z), and, from my time at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, Professors Rakesh Bhatt, Cori Crane, Bruce Murray, Stephanie Hilger, and the late Frederick Schwink as well as Campus Honors Program Associate Director Elizabeth Rockman. My interactions with each of you fueled and affirmed my academic inclinations and strengthened my preparation for a PhD.

[1] Le Page, R. B., and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University. 188.

In Madison, I found a scholarly home filled with generous faculty and abundant opportunity. Thank you to the members of my dissertation committee for your kind, thoughtful engagement with my project. Additional thanks to the many German faculty who have facilitated my professional development and life in the GNS+ Department. In particular, I cannot separate my training as a scholar from the commitments of Professor Emeritus Rob Howell and Professor Joe Salmons to work closely with and open doors for graduate students. Furthermore, my graduate experience and career trajectory was propelled by a love of teaching. Dr. Jeanne Schueller, I am grateful for the many ways you helped me grow as a language teacher and provided space for me to develop ideas and spread my instructional and mentoring wings. Since 2019, I have also enjoyed a professional home with the College of Letters & Science Honors Program. Thank you to my current and former colleagues there and to others in the UW advising community for your encouragement as I pursued an ambitious balancing act.

Thank you also to the two therapists I have worked with over the last few years. You enabled me to get the train moving again and reach the light at the end of this tunnel. I also want to thank Anto at the UW Writing Center for offering invaluable structure and feedback during the final sprint of my writing process. Shoutouts to the UW Employee Assistance Office and to the Writing Mentorship program!

Friendships have been crucial in keeping myself motivated, sane, and, occasionally, fed throughout graduate school. Thank you to my cohort pals, officemates in 850, sisters in 847, all the former “Wißconsinites,” kickball and volleyball teammates, my Doktorbruder, my Saturday writing buddy turned friend extraordinaire, and my neighbors on the isthmus and in Gwen. Additionally, thank you to the long-time friends with whom catch-up phone calls have always done me immense good.

To Renate, Torsten, and all my other friends in Germany, I express eternal gratitude for your warm hospitality and encouragement. Each conversation and visit has been a blessing and reinvigorated my relationship with the German language and German studies. Even with my dissertation complete, you can be sure I'll continue to come back.

In everything I do, I have the pleasure and privilege of support from my family. Mom, Dad, Chas, Colin, McKenzie, and Becca – I am grateful for each of you and proud to be part of a family of such smart, humorous, caring people. Mom and Dad, thank you for raising me to be a lifelong learner and for showing me love and trust at every stage of my journey, including by not always asking when I would finish my degree.

Finally, I want to thank Brian. The way you helped me work more consistently and productively on this project while also providing a deep sense of calm and unconditional support is truly magical. Thank you for every time you carried me to my computer and for every time you helped me feel better about not having worked on my dissertation that day. Most of all, thank you for being you and choosing to be there for me. I love you … like a lot.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Bringing together syntactic structure, regional variation, and diachronic change, this dissertation introduces a novel approach to understanding use of left dislocation in contemporary northern German varieties. Left dislocation is a cross-linguistic phenomenon that involves a constituent to the immediate left of the clause in which it could otherwise occur and, typically, an anaphoric element in the clause itself; an example of left dislocation is the title of the German folk song "Mein Hut, der hat drei Ecken," sung in English as "My hat, it has three corners." Researchers have described left dislocation as a feature of spoken language that serves topic-related discourse functions. In German, left dislocation constructions are considered nonstandard, and they have been identified as a characteristic of Low German (Grimme 1910; Mahnke 1931; Scheel 1939). The use of Low German has steeply declined, and in some areas disappeared, as innovative regiolects based on oralizations of standard German have supplanted local dialects (Schmidt 2005; Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015). Interest in regional variation and spoken German syntax has risen sharply over the last several decades, yet left dislocation and the syntax of northern German varieties remain understudied.

This project presents synchronic analyses of the left periphery in Low German and in regiolects across several dialect regions of northern Germany plus a diachronic comparison of contemporary Low German varieties. The data set includes 23 recorded narratives produced by adult women around the late 1950s and in 2008-2010. My approach differs from previous work by quantifying rates of left dislocation and examining when left dislocation would have been possible but did not occur. Results confirm higher rates of left dislocation in Low German compared to local regiolects and reveal decreasing use of left dislocation in Low German. Furthermore, I show statistically significant relationships involving left dislocation and

grammatical weight, and I demonstrate that frequency of left dislocation correlates with broader prefield-filling preferences of a particular variety. This study offers a methodological and empirical basis for future comparative work that can continue to shed light on the syntax-pragmatics interface and the bilateral relationship between German dialects and modern regiolects.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview and purpose

Over the course of my graduate studies, my initial fascination with German syntax developed into a keen desire to understand relationships between form and function and, often relatedly, factors that influence syntactic variation and change. These interests led me to the exploration of an understudied crosslinguistic phenomenon, left dislocation, which is the situation of an argument or adjunct to the immediate left of the clause in which it could otherwise occur. An example of left dislocation can be found in the title of the German folk song "Mein Hut, der hat drei Ecken," sung in English as "My hat, it has three corners."[1] Researchers have described left dislocation as a feature of spoken language that serves topic-related discourse functions. In German, left dislocation constructions are considered nonstandard but not heavily stigmatized. Left dislocation is occasionally identified in dialect grammars or descriptive studies as a characteristic of Low German, the group of German dialects historically spoken in northern Germany.

Limited scholarship on left dislocation leaves open a number of questions, including whether the use of left dislocation in Low German simply reflects properties of spoken German syntax, is a dialect feature, or is regional feature associated with both specific dialects and regiolects in a given area. Discussing the relative paucity of studies on left and right dislocation, Dewald (2012: 25) suggests that this is a result of scholars' general disinterest in nonstandard colloquial constructions

> Dieser Umstand lässt sich damit erklären, dass diese Formen der Herausstellung an den beiden Satzrändern bis auf wenige Ausnahmen lange als regelwidrig, von der

[1] Popular today across several European languages and countries as well as in the United States, the text of this folk song seems to have first appeared in print in Saarland, Germany, in 1886 (Köhler 1896). The song's existence in German-speaking Europe is documented at least as far back as the early nineteenth century. The lyrics may have originated from a children's song in Hebrew (*Volksliederarchiv*: np).

> standardsprachlichen Norm abweichend eingestuft wurden. Sie wurden als ein Produkt der ‚Umgangssprache' und damit nicht als ein näher zu betrachtender Bestandteil der Grammatik des Deutschen gesehen und fanden so kaum weitere Beachtung (cf. Altmann 1981: 33f.).
>
> *This situation can be explained by that fact that these forms of dislocation on both edges of the clause were long considered, with only few exceptions, irregular and departing from standard language norms. They were seen as a product of the colloquial language and therefore not a component of German grammar worthy of closer attention, and thus they received hardly any further notice (cf. Altmann 1981: 33f.).*[2]

German linguists long assumed that there were no clear geographic boundaries for syntactic phenomena, so questions of regional syntax were often not pursued (Fleischer 2010: 86). However, the rise in available spoken language data and accessible tools to support evaluation of that data has helped spur a reassessment; modern dialectological research recognizes dialecticity and orality as two fundamentally different dimensions (Fleischer 2010).[3] Additionally, the last three decades have seen increased calls for linguists to investigate non-dialectal regional variation in German (e.g., Götz 1995; Elspaß 2010). Research on spoken language and dialect syntax in German has often prioritized central and southern varieties over the varieties of northern Germany. This may be partially attributed to historical stigmatization of Low German and to the myth that contemporary northern Germans produce a "pure," and therefore syntactically uninteresting, spoken standard German.[4]

Bringing together questions about syntactic structure, regional variation, and diachronic change, this study introduces a quantitative approach to analyze and compare use of left

---

[2] Translations into English are my own unless otherwise noted.
[3] The reality of a "spoken language syntax" distinct from the syntax of written modalities of the same variety is disputed among some linguists. Schwitalla warns in his comprehensive volume on spoken German that the term *spoken language* refers to a type of language use rather than a language system (langue) distinct from written language (2012: 18). Langhanke, on the other hand, argues that regiolect syntax is spoken language syntax (2015).
[4] A widespread myth in Germany is that the "best" German is spoken in the northern city of Hannover. In a study published in 2021, over half of German survey respondents had heard this myth and 32% fully agreed with the statement that Hannover is the city where the "best" (most standard-like) German is spoken. When initially prompted with an open-ended question about where the best High German is spoken, the majority of respondents named a location or region in northern Germany or all of northern Germany (forsa 2021).

dislocation in contemporary spoken varieties from across northern Germany, including both Low German and High German-based varieties. Results have shown how multiple non-pragmatic variables correlate with rates of left dislocation and suggest a story of syntactic change in progress. Furthermore, this work establishes a methodological and empirical basis for future comparative studies.

The remainder of this chapter is organized around themes taken from the study's title: Variation, change, and the **left periphery** (section 1.5): Dislocation phenomena in **contemporary** (section 1.4) **northern German** (section 1.3) **varieties** (section 1.2). These themes will be addressed in reverse order of their first appearance in the title. Left dislocation receives thorough treatment in Chapter 2. Each section defines critical concepts and provides context to understand the layers of variation examined in subsequent chapters. The first section introduces how language forms vary in different communicative contexts, and this understanding informs the methodology of the study. The next two sections address the dynamic sociolinguistic landscape of Germany and northern Germany specifically, situating this work within the growing field of German regional language studies (e.g., Schmidt & Herrgen 2011; Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015). The fourth section, about the left periphery, outlines conceptual tools related to German clause structure and relevant syntactic phenomena. The chapter concludes with a summary of the goals of the study and an outline of the upcoming chapters.

1.2 Varieties

Inspired by Schmidt and Herrgen's (2011) definition of "variety" (*Varietät*) in the context of regional forms of language and linguistic change, I use the term "varieties" throughout this study to describe systems of linguistic knowledge that may be more specifically identified as dialects, regiolects, or languages. My intent is to acknowledge the value of all systems of linguistic

knowledge without implying a hierarchy. Moreover, the term "variety" captures how contemporary German speakers use language in ways that reflect multiple linguistic influences and often cannot be captured well by one label. Nevertheless, terms such as dialect and regiolect prove beneficial for defining and contextualizing forms of language within sociohistorical and linguistic developments and are used in the study when such distinctions are relevant.

The term "variety" also reflects the fact that variation is tied to how speakers navigate communicative settings. Although existing literature asserts that left dislocation appears more frequently in spoken language than in written language, medium alone does not define language patterns. Koch & Oesterreicher (1985) offer a foundational framework for considering the relationships between communicative context and linguistic output. They describe two conceptual poles: language (or speech) of proximity (*Sprache der Nähe*) and language (or speech) of distance (*Sprache der Distanz*).[5] Language of proximity, which tends to be associated with informal spoken language, often indexes non-linguistic features such as privacy, strong emotional involvement, communicative cooperation, and spontaneity. In contrast, language of distance occurs when communicative partners are unfamiliar to each other, when communication occurs at a spatial and/or temporal remove, or with a preestablished topic (e.g., academic lecture, legal code).

With reference to such features, communicative forms can be arranged along a continuum of language of proximity and the language of distance. The different points on the continuum are associated with different structural characteristics, such as greater or lesser compactness of expression and greater or lesser elaboration. Spontaneous spoken language shows a tendency for

[5] The word *Sprache* in Koch & Oesterreicher's (1985) terms is usually rendered as "language" in English, a practice that I follow here. However, a more accurate translation may be "speech," to underscore that what Koch & Oesterreicher and others describe with these terms is more about linguistic utterances than the systems of knowledge on which speakers draw to produce those utterances.

main clause word order in German (Sandig 1973: 44). Language of proximity is also associated with aggregative patterns, which generally means a preference for repetition of information, as is the case with left dislocation. In contrast, features of integration, such as nominalization, occur more often in contexts associated with language of distance, such as textbooks and prepared formal speeches (Ágel & Hennig 2006: 29). Understanding how language of proximity and language of distance are associated with different syntactic patterns informs a methodology for studying left dislocation that yields relevant utterances for analysis and minimizes unnecessary variables.

1.3 Northern Germany

Given the association of left dislocation with Low German, northern Germany is a natural locus for beginning left dislocation research. Following linguists such as those involved in the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN) project, I define northern Germany as the geographic area within the Federal Republic of Germany where Low German dialects have been spoken historically.[6] Figure 1.1 shows a high-level overview of the dialect regions in contemporary German-speaking Europe. Historically Low German areas fall north of the Benrather Line, an isogloss that runs mostly horizontally from Aachen in West Central Germany down through Benrath (in the southern part of Düsseldorf) and then to eastern Germany near Frankfurt an der Oder. This isogloss is shown as a thick red line in Figure 1.1 and described in the legend as the boundary between Low German and High German. By this definition, northern Germany includes the states of Bremen, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern as well as parts of Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Saxony-Anhalt, and Brandenburg.

[6] A definition based on historical use of Low German is necessary, as the presence of Low German in Europe has reduced dramatically over the last century. Low German varieties continue to be spoken and passed down in several religious communities in North America, notably Mennonite communities such as those in Manitoba, Canada, and Kansas, United States (Loewen 2006). In Europe, the Low German area extends also into the eastern Netherlands.

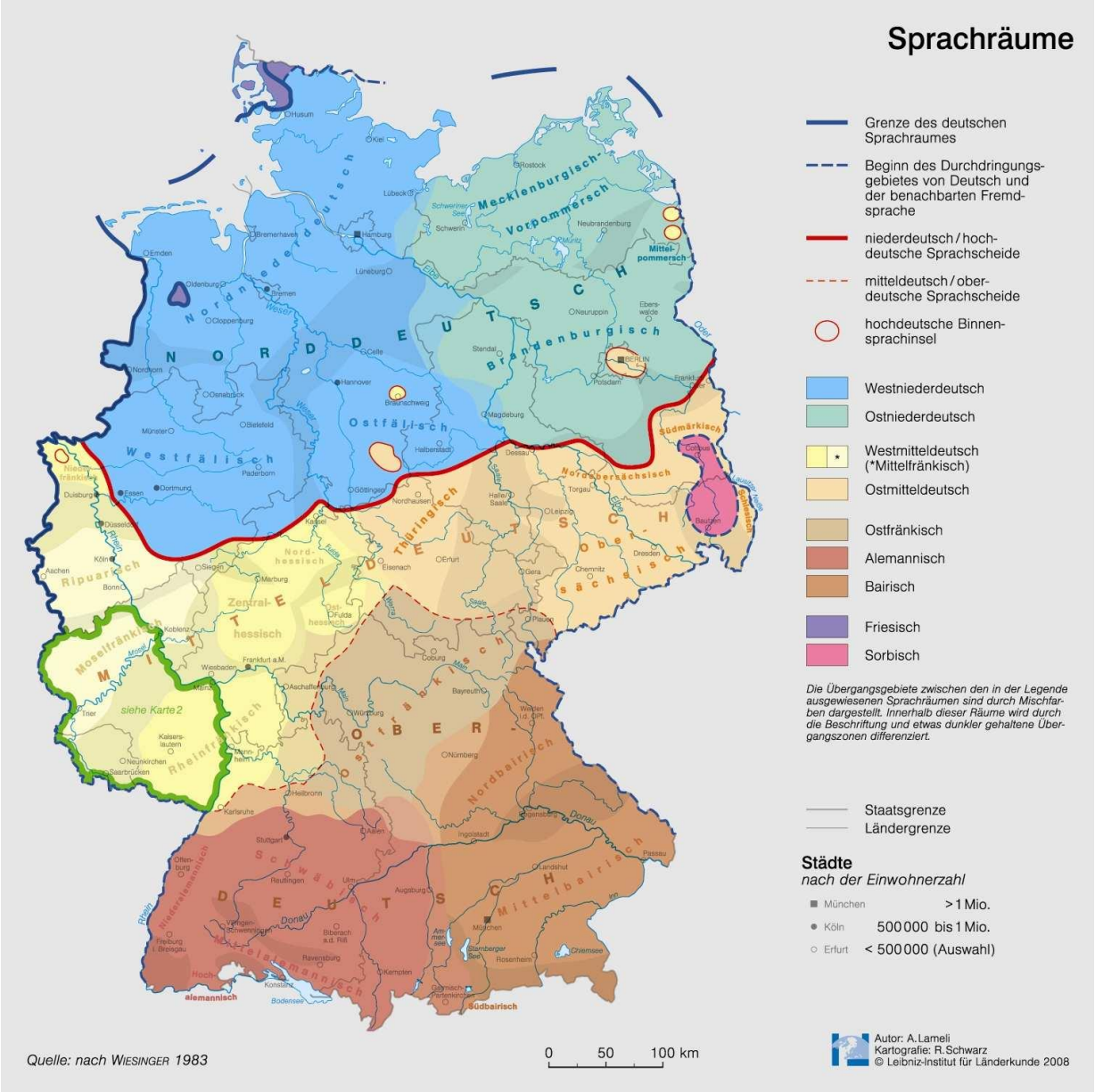


Figure 1.1 Map with dialect regions of Germany (Lameli 2008, after Wiesinger 1983 with cartography by R. Schwarz)

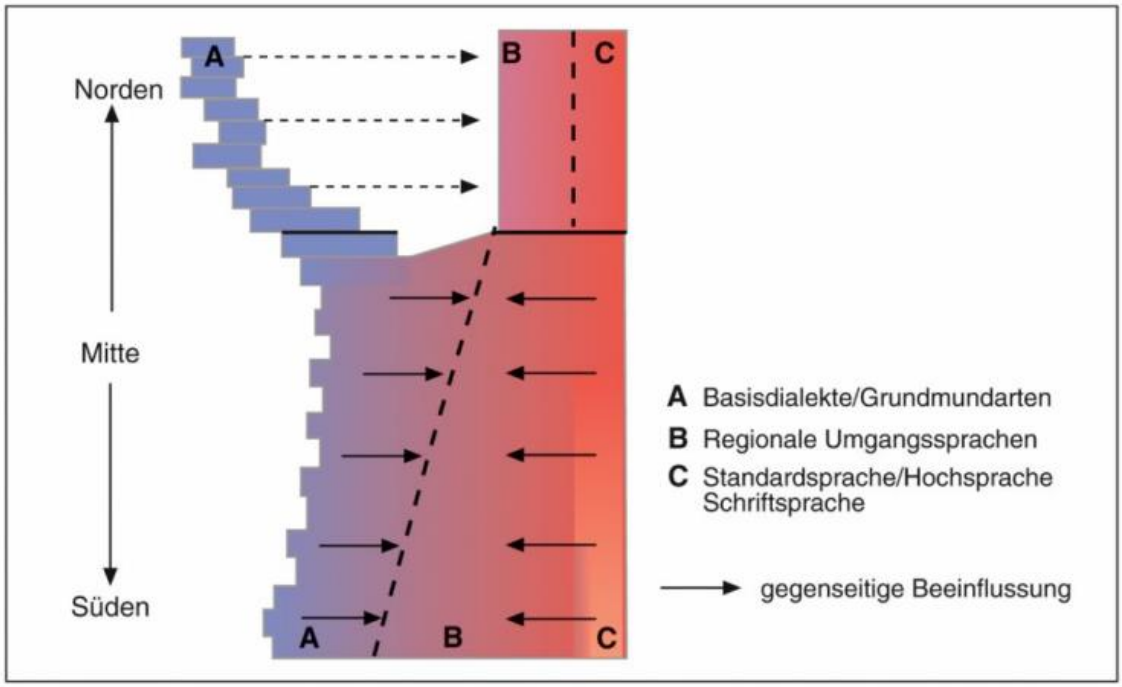
If we define northern Germany by Low German, what defines Low German?[7] Low German is a collective term that describes the set of German dialects, descendant from Old Saxon, that

[7] The German term for Low German, *Niederdeutsch*, is often used interchangeably with the more colloquial *Plattdeutsch*, with lay speakers typically referring to their local Low German variety as *Platt.* My analysis makes no distinction between these terms. Note that *Platt* is also used by speakers of some West Central German dialects to describe their native varieties.

did not undergo the Second German Consonant Shift, also known as the High German Consonant Shift. Key to this shift was that Germanic voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/) were affricated in central and southern dialects, which became known as High German dialects. As an example of the difference, Low German *Peper* (English: 'pepper') is cognate with High German *Pfeffer*. Low German *maken* ('to make') is pronounced with the non-affricated /k/ whereas dialects south of the Benrather Line pronounce *machen* with the shifted /x/ sound. The last decade has seen ongoing efforts to document and produce catalogues or atlases with features of Low German (Elmentaler 2012; Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2022). In these projects, like traditional dialect grammars, syntactic phenomena remain understudied.

Today, Low German has largely receded from active use, especially among younger speakers, who overwhelmingly speak standard German. Low German began to lose its cultural functions in the late seventeenth century (Kremer 1997: 5), and Low German dialects suffered low social acceptance. The following diagram from König (2004) illustrates the spectrum of linguistic varieties from south to north in German-speaking Europe. Northern Germany, where the fewest speakers report speaking dialect (Bausch 2002), is notable for the gap between the dialects and the regional colloquial varieties. Unlike the continuous band from dialect through regional speech to standard German in central and southern regions, northern German speakers are portrayed as having a clearer separation between Low German dialects, if used, and other varieties of everyday German. This underscores the official status of Low German as distinct language according to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Moreover, the diagram indicates only limited influence from Low German onto the regional variety, and no influence in the other direction. The regional varieties of the north are also the regional varieties

closest to the written standard. Does the relationship between varieties in northern Germany portrayed by König and Paul still hold almost twenty years later?



Das Verhältnis von Standardsprache, regionalen Umgangssprachen und Dialekten im Deutschen

Figure 1.4 The relationship between standard language, regional colloquial speech, and dialects in German (König & Paul 2004: 134)

1.4 Contemporary (varieties)

In this study, I use the term "contemporary" to describe data from the 1950s and 1960s through around 2010. This half-century period captures the latest stages of an ongoing linguistic transformation in Germany, including a rapid decline in the use of Low German in areas where it had enjoyed more regular use prior to the twentieth century. The transition away from isolated dialects and toward greater interaction between varieties across German-speaking Central Europe has been underway for several centuries. This long-term process has seen the emergence of modern regional varieties, or regiolects, which are oral varieties of the standard language with influences from historical dialects.

The diagram below from Schmidt & Herrgen (2011) illustrates the dynamic states of the German language forms at the start of the eighteenth century and then in the early twentieth century. Around the year 1700, there were no relatively uniform linguistic varieties used across broad geographic regions within German-speaking Europe. The so-called *landschaftliches Hochdeutsch* ('regional High German') of that period was the oralization of written High German *(hochdeutsche Schriftsprache)*. The dialects of speakers strongly influenced their oralized forms, especially at the level of pronunciation. In contrast to the explanation of developments in Middle High given by Lötscher, Schmidt & Herrgen's model does not involve influence from the written language on the spoken dialects of the eighteenth century. Instead, as economic and social norms changed and mobility grew, the adaptations of individual speakers in interaction and then adaptations at the group level eventually led to a new language spectrum.

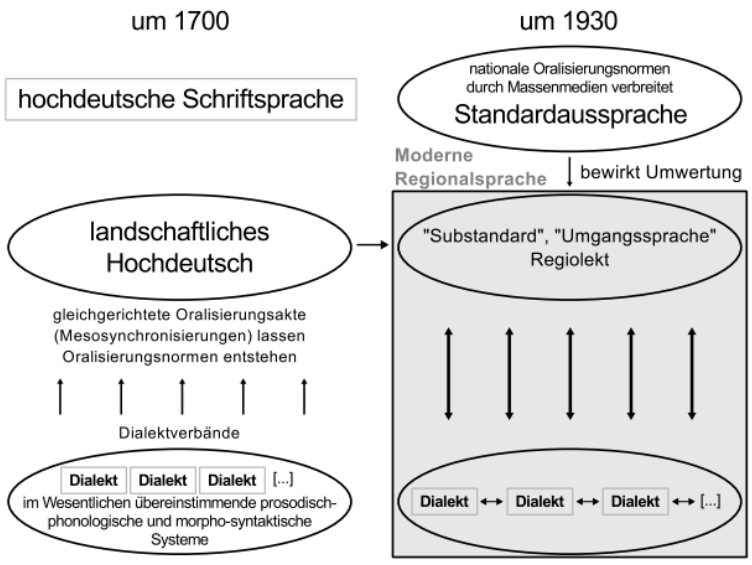


Figure 1.2 The formation of the modern regional varieties of German (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 67)

Since around 1930, German dialects no longer exist in isolation, but influence each other. Emergent regiolects form a middle sector between dialects and standard German; these regional varieties based on the spoken standard language include dialectal features as well as innovative features. The building and expansion of the "middle range" of spoken language involves bilateral influence between dialects and regional language. An early and influential quote on this development comes from Bellmann:

> Die praktische Kommunikation der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Individuen findet heute inventarmäßig in dem breiten Spektrum des mittleren Bereiches statt, meidet womöglich überhaupt den Dialekt und erreicht nicht völlig, intendiert oder nicht, die kodifizierte Norm der Standardsprechsprache. (1983: 117)
>
> *Regarding the inventory of language, practical communication for the overwhelming majority of individuals today falls within the wide spectrum of the middle domain, avoiding dialect whenever possible and not entirely reaching, whether intended or not, the codified norms of standard spoken German.*

Research into the contemporary language spectrum, especially with regard to regional varieties, is still in its infancy, but is being pursued by a number of ongoing research projects

such as regionalsprache.de (REDE) at the Research Center Deutscher Sprachatlas (German Language Atlas) at the Philipps University of Marburg and the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (Language Variation in Northern Germany) project. Continued use of descriptors such as “dialectal” and “colloquial” in reference works and articles without a strong empirical basis, however, shows that work to document and raise awareness of regional varieties and variation – and specifically the reality of regiolects – is needed. By studying left dislocation in northern Germany, we can help answer the call for more regional language studies and learn how use of a less salient syntactic feature reflects or does not reflect changes in the linguistic landscape.

1.5 Left periphery

As the shared term “left” indicates, left dislocation and the left periphery of a clause are related. The concept of “left” in German syntax relates to the surface structure of utterances and reflects how some elements precede, or are “to the left” of, others in either spoken or written language. To understand the left periphery of main clauses (henceforth “left periphery”), we will first describe the topological field model of Germanic syntax. We will then provide a definition of left periphery and briefly identify known syntactic and pragmatic features of the left periphery. Because left dislocation occurs with main clauses, our discussion will only involve main clauses unless otherwise noted.

1.5.1 Topological field model

A widespread framework for describing German clauses and word order is the so-called topological field model. The model stems from Drach (1937), who defines three fields in a German clause based on the fixed syntactic positions of verbal elements. In a German main clause, the finite verb is in the left bracket (*linke Klammer*). Any nonfinite verbal elements,

including infinitives and verbal particles, are found in the right bracket (*rechte Klammer*). These two positions form the verbal frame of the clause. The position immediately preceding the left bracket is called the prefield (*Vorfeld*). It is widely assumed that the prefield can contain exactly one constituent and that additional elements before the prefield element are in the pre-prefield (*Vorvorfeld*). Elements between the left and right verbal brackets are in the middle field (*Mittelfeld*), which is often thought of as the core of the clause. The syntactic field following the right bracket is the postfield (*Nachfeld*); elements in this position are considered dislocated to the right. To illustrate, Figure 1.1 assigns the elements of several main clauses in German to their respective representations in the topological field model.[8]

Pre-prefield	**Prefield**	**Left Bracket**	**Middle Field**	**Right Bracket**	**Post-field**
	wir	haben	so lange miteinander Hochdeutsch	gesprochen	
	we	*have*	*so long with each other High German*	*spoken*	
	‘we have spoken High German with each other for so long’				
und	mit unseren Kindern	haben	wir auch Hochdeutsch	gesprochen	
and	*with our children*	*have*	*we also High German*	*spoken*	
	‘and we have also spoken High German with our children’				
	wenn das jetzt offiziel ist	redet	man auch ihn in Hochdeutsch	an	
	whenever that now official is	*speaks*	*one also him in High German*	*at*	
	‘whenever it is official, you speak to him in High German, too’				

Figure 1.1 German main clauses in the topological field model

In this study, the left periphery is a syntactic concept that refers to the combination of the pre-prefield and prefield, which is where elements can occur before the conjugated verb in a

[8] Helpful presentations of the German topological field model can also be found in Fleischer & Schallert (2011) and Dürscheid (2012), among others.

main clause. The German prefield can be filled by almost any kind of constituent. In Figure 1.1, the elements filling the three prefields are a personal pronoun, a prepositional phrase, and an embedded subordinate clause. Moreover, German prefields can appear empty, which some scholars analyze as being filled with a "null element."[9] The concept of the pre-prefield is applied much less consistently in studies of German syntax. The inconsistency even appears specifically with regard to analyses of left dislocation; some scholars have concluded that initial dislocated constituent in German is actually part of the prefield, yielding a "doubly-filled prefield." Others reject that analysis and maintain that the dislocated element is extraclausal (Auer 1997). Regardless of how the structure is analyzed, this study's discussions of the left periphery include the dislocated elements of left dislocation structures.

1.5.2 Variation in the left periphery

With or without left dislocation, use of the left periphery can vary along many axes. This study concerns itself with the content and length of prefield-filling elements and compares those trends to assess cross-linguistic similarities or differences. Although practically every type of constituent may appear in the prefield of a German main clause, certain constituent types are found in prefields more often than other constituent types. When linguists analyze how German prefields are filled, this is usually done by referring to information structure or prosody rather than syntax.

Early and important observations about German word order phenomena and information structure are provided by Behaghel, who formulated the following general "laws" (1932: 4-9):

1. That which is intellectually closely related will be placed close together. (*Das oberste Gesetz*, 'The First Law')

[9] This study's findings are not dependent on a particular structural analysis of prefields or pre-prefields. I will discuss "empty prefields" and "prefields filled by a null element" interchangeably.

2. That which is already known or less important to the listener comes before that which is new or more important.
3. A differentiating or distinguishing element precedes one that is differentiated.
4. When possible, a shorter element precedes a longer one in the clause. (*Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder,* 'Law of growing constituents')

Connected to Behaghel's fourth law, known as the law of growing constituents, is the concept of grammatical weight. Grammatical weight and complexity have been defined in a variety of competing ways. After comparing several methods of measuring weight and how well they predicted constituent ordering, Wasow (1997) states that the approaches are "essentially indistinguishable" and that "weight effects are relative and graduated; grammatical weight can be measured quite well by counting words, nodes, or phrasal nodes" (1997: 93). Since sentence elements containing a single word, like pro-forms, are syntactically quite "light," it is unsurprising that they are favored in the prefield position.

Behaghel's second law (Behaghel 1932: 4) offers another critical insight for the left periphery: That which is less important (or already known to the listener) comes before that which is important. It follows that prefields are often filled with pronouns, whose referents are already familiar in discourse. Subjects, which typically constitute the topic in a topic-comment construction, also appear in the prefield more commonly than direct or indirect objects, as shown by Engel (1974). Engel analyzed two corpora and found nominative elements in over 50% of the prefields for German main clauses. That result held for both written and spoken language, with a higher percentage of non-nominative constituents occurring in the prefields of written data.[10]

[10] It is worth noting that Engel (1974) included elided elements in calculations. Thus, he counted the expression "hab es gewusst" ('[I] knew it') as an instance of a nominative element (the elided "ich" ['I']) in the prefield.

Behaghel's laws, despite their name, do not imply that patterns of the prefield or left periphery are universal or invariable. Even speakers of typologically similar languages can have different preferences for filling the prefield. Bohnacker & Rosén (2008) analyzed informal letters in German written by L2 German L1 Swedish speakers and rewritten by L1 German speakers. Subjects occurred in nearly 70% of the prefields for the L2 German writers. The Swedish authors quite consistently maintained topic-comment order in the clause, and they were more likely to fill the prefield with a pronominal subject like *es* ('it') or *man* ('one'). In the L1 German rewrites, fewer prefields were filled with a clause subject. L1 German authors included adverbial constituents in prefields more frequently, with the difference mostly due to a higher percentage of adverbials that were not specifically temporal or locational. Differences in prefield patterns were salient to L1 German speakers; study participants commented that the beginnings of clauses by the L2 authors had "too many" subjects and were "missing" adverbials.

The results from Bohnacker & Rosén (2008) point to different underlying patterns for the left periphery across two Germanic V2 languages. Though it has not yet been studied, one can reasonably hypothesize variation in how speakers fill prefields across regional varieties of German, as well. If northern Germans show different prefield patterns from those in other German-speaking regions, will the northern prefield patterns be closer to those of their Scandinavian (specifically, Swedish) neighbors, including increased use of semantically and prosodically light pronouns like one would commonly find with left dislocation?

1.6 Goals and chapter outline

This study moves forward with several key questions. In what patterned ways do speakers of contemporary varieties in northern Germany use left dislocation? What factors influence the use of left dislocation in spoken varieties of contemporary northern Germany? How has the use of

left dislocation shifted in northern Germany as High German-based regiolects have emerged and become dominant? What do developments with prefields and left dislocation in contemporary northern Germany suggest about syntactic change and the syntax-pragmatics interface? Natural language data from contemporary northern Germany will show that left dislocation is more frequent in Low German varieties than High German varieties, quantitatively confirming earlier scholars' observations. I also demonstrate that use of left dislocation correlates with patterns of how speakers fill prefields more generally.

The rest of this dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 offers a literature review of left dislocation, focusing primarily on left dislocation in German and reviewing Altmann's (1981) influential work on dislocation as well as more recent scholarship. Chapter 3 presents and explains the methodology for the study. That chapter is followed by three data-oriented chapters that explore the left periphery, including analyses of the form and frequency of left dislocation as well as assessment of prefield patterns overall. The first data chapter, Chapter 4, examines mid-twentieth-century data from the Zwirner corpus, focusing on northern Germany but also offering a brief comparison with contemporaries outside of the north. Chapter 5 mirrors the structure of the previous chapter and introduces twenty-first-century data from the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN) corpus. Results from the two synchronic chapters are brought together and analyzed diachronically in Chapter 6. Chapter 7, the final chapter, outlines main takeaways from the study, suggests pedagogical implications, and points to directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature on left dislocation

2.1 Overview of literature on left dislocation

What exactly is left dislocation, and what does existing scholarship tell us about its use in German? The term 'dislocation' has its roots in the generative framework (e.g., Ross 1967),[1] describing apparent movement of a constituent out of an original, clause-internal position to a derived, clause-peripheral one. I follow scholars such as Lambrecht (2001) and Altmann (1981) in using the term "dislocation" for convenience without implying that a specific process (such as movement) yields these structures. With this chapter, I outline definitions foundational to work on left dislocation, foregrounding the work of Hans Altmann that describes types of left dislocation in German. I incorporate relevant connections with and between syntactic form and pragmatic function, summarizing what is already established about left dislocation's use. Finally, I review literature that offer initial insights into the spread of left dislocation along historical and geographic lines. This overview leads to working definitions for the present study and highlights the need for quantitative research to establish the frequency of left dislocation and to understand non-pragmatic factors that influence the use of left dislocation phenomena in modern spoken varieties of German.

2.2 Defining left dislocation

2.2.1 Lambrecht

Under the umbrella of dislocation fall a range of constructions that involve the appearance of two coreferential elements: a constituent in the left or right periphery of a clause and an element, typically pronominal, within the clause proper (prefield or middle field). In a volume on

[1] Ross credits the name of the construction to Maurice Gross.

language typology and universals, Lambrecht provides the following unifying definition for the distinct forms of dislocation found across languages:

> A **dislocation** construction (also called **detachment** construction) is a sentence structure in which a referential constituent which could function as an argument or adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs instead outside the boundaries of the clause containing the predicate, either to its left … or to its right … The role of the denotatum of the dislocated constituent as an argument or adjunct of the predicate is represented within the clause by a pronominal element which is construed as coreferential with the dislocated phrase. Typically, the dislocated phrase is marked with special prosodic features. (Lambrecht 2001: 1050)

Lambrecht thus outlines four criteria for prototypical cases of dislocation: 1) extra-clausal position of a constituent; 2) possible alternative intra-clausal position of that constituent; 3) coindexation with a clause-internal pro-element or similar form; and, when spoken, 4) "special prosody." The first three criteria align with the definitions of dislocation found in standard descriptive grammars including The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language[2] and are captured in the following templates (e.g., Lambrecht 2001; Dewald 2012):

Ex. 2.1	a. No dislocation	[$_S$ (. . .) XP . . .]	e.g., *My hat has three corners.*
	b. Left dislocation	XP$_i$ [$_S$ (. . .) Pro$_i$ . . .]	e.g., *<u>My hat</u>, <u>it</u> has three corners.*
	c. Right dislocation	[$_S$ (. . .) Pro$_i$ . . .] XP$_i$	e.g., *<u>It</u> has three corners, <u>my hat</u>.*

Lambrecht's fourth criterion expands upon the structural characteristics above and serves as an important connection to the reality that dislocation is a primarily spoken phenomenon. Left dislocation is the subset of dislocation constructions in which the extra-clausal element appears before the linked clause.

How does each point of Lambrecht's definition contribute to an understanding of left dislocation? Left dislocation first hinges on the presence of an extra-clausal constituent. An extra-clausal element can be described as living in the periphery of a clause or to the left or right

[2] The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language states that "[a] dislocated clause has a constituent, usually an NP, located to the left or right of the nucleus of the clause, with an anaphorically linked pronoun or comparable form within the nucleus itself" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1408).

of the nucleus of the clause. The presence or absence of that extra-clausal element does not impact the syntactic well-formedness of the adjacent clause. In topological field model terms, the extra-clausal element of right dislocation appears in the postfield and the extra-clausal element of left dislocation is analyzed as appearing in either the pre-prefield or first in a multiply-filled prefield. I address this situation more in section 2.5.1.

Importantly, left dislocation requires a constituent, not simply any linguistic element, be extra-clausal. The concept of constituent requires that a smaller unit, namely the constituent, be a component of the larger unit (Matthews 2014). A wide variety of constituent types are possible; nominal, prepositional, adverbial, adjectival, and even verb-headed phrases can be extra-clausal in dislocation constructions. There is no clear minimum or maximum length of the constituents involved in dislocation, and some languages, such as French and Italian, have dislocation constructions involving clitics (Cinque 1997). Interjections and conjunctions that could not appear within the boundaries of the clause, however, cannot serve as the extra-clausal constituent in left dislocation constructions.

The well-formedness of the clause following the extra-clausal constituent is one sign that left dislocation constructions are never structurally obligatory. For example, the dislocated element from (2a) can disappear, and the remaining clause (2b) is still a grammatically complete main clause. The referent of the demonstrative pronoun *der* in (2b), however, would be unclear if there were insufficient information from prior discourse or situational context, like the speaker pointing to the hat in question. (2c) shows one way in which the semantic content from (2a) could be expressed over two main clauses.

Ex. 2.2	a.	[mein Hut]$_i$	der$_i$	hat	drei Ecken
		[*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *hat*]$_i$	[*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$	*has*	*three corners*
		‘the hat, it has three corners’			

b. der hat drei Ecken
*the*MASC-NOM *has three corners*
'it has three corners'

c. ich habe [einen Hut]$_i$ der$_i$ hat drei Ecken
I have [*a*MASC-ACC *hat*]$_i$ [*the*MASC-NOM]$_i$ *has three corners*
'I have a hat it has three corners'

Whenever left dislocation appears, a semantically equivalent clause exists with the extra-clausal constituent instead appearing inside the clausal boundary. In such variants, the coreferential pro-form could be replaced by the full form of the constituent. Compare the following pairs of allosentences[3], one with left dislocation (a) and one without (b). In addition to German examples, I include 2.6-2.7 as English examples.

Ex. 2.3 a. [mein Hut]$_i$ der$_i$ hat drei Ecken
[*the*$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$ *hat*]$_i$ [*the*$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ *has three corners*
'the hat, it has three corners'

b. mein Hut hat drei Ecken
my$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$ *hat has three corners*
'my hat has three corners'

Ex. 2.4 a. [Leute die man nicht kennt]$_i$ mit denen$_i$ spricht
[*people the*PL-ACC *one not knows*]$_i$ *with* [*them*PL-DAT]$_i$ *speaks*
man meistens Hochdeutsch
one mostly standard German
'people who you don't know, with them you usually speak standard German'

b. mit Leuten die man nicht kennt spricht man meistens Hochdeutsch
*with people the*PL-ACC *one not knows speaks one mostly standard German*
'with people you don't know you usually speak standard German'

[3] Allosentence is a term introduced by Czech linguist František Daneš in the 1960s and used extensively in Lambrecht's work on information structure. Allosentences refer to sets of sentences (or, as in my case, main clauses) that use different structures but express the same proposition (Lambrecht 1994).

Ex. 2.5 a. [am Wochenende]$_i$ da$_i$ kommen dann richtige Sturmtiefs
[*on the weekend*]$_i$ *there*$_i$ *come* *then true storm fronts*
'this weekend, then intense storm fronts are coming'

b. am Wochenende kommen dann richtige Sturmtiefs
on the weekend *come* *then true storm fronts*
'intense storm fronts are coming this weekend'

Ex. 2.6 a. [students]$_i$ I love listening to their$_i$ ideas

b. I love listening to students' ideas

Ex. 2.7 a. [that new rom-com]$_i$ my friend said she really enjoyed it$_i$

b. my friend said she really enjoyed that new rom-com

The presence of a pro-form or similar element to perform the role of the extra-clausal element within the clause distinguishes left dislocation structures from phenomena like complement preposing in English. Preposing leaves a gap in the middle field where the relevant constituent would canonically appear, whereas this gap is filled in dislocation constructions. Table 2.1 presents a clause in canonical word order and then the same proposition with left dislocation and with complement preposition.

Canonical order	*my hat has three corners*
Left dislocation	[*three corners*]$_i$ *my hat has them*$_i$
Complement preposition	*three corners my hat has* __

Table 2.1 Presentation of left dislocation and complement preposition compared to canonical order

In addition to the difference of not having a "gap" in the clause, left dislocation is relatively unconstrained when it comes to the function and type of constituent that can appear in extra-clausal positions. For example, the English language's complement preposing cannot involve subjects, because subjects cannot be preposed before themselves (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1409).

The final factor in Lambrecht's definition is a reference to "special prosodic features" commonly associated with dislocation. The primary prosodic question in definitions of left dislocation is how closely linked the extra-clausal element is to the subsequent clause, and different prosodic patterns are associated with distinct subcategories of left dislocation. The inclusion of a prosodic component to the definition of left dislocation highlights that left dislocation constructions are most often considered in the context of spoken, not written, language. Indeed, literature on left dislocation categorizes it among other "topic constructions" that are characteristic of spoken language (e.g., Cinque 1997; Lötscher 1995). However, the definition of left dislocation does not exclude written language.

This overview of Lambrecht's definition elicits questions about syntactic analysis, prosody, and pragmatic function. These factors are considered further with particular attention to definitions for and appearances of left dislocation in German.

2.2.2. Duden

Using the term "reference-statement-structures" (*Referenz-Aussage-Strukturen*, hereafter RFS)[4], the main reference for descriptive grammar of German, Duden: Die Grammatik (2009), treats left dislocation as a "special syntactic construction" (*besondere syntaktische Konstruktion*). Duden asserts that the initial reference expressions in RFS are overwhelmingly nominal phrases, but that prepositional phrases, clausal infinitive phrases, and independent verb-final clauses are possible reference expression types, as well. Duden also allows for the "statement" following the

[4] Duden: Die Grammatik provides the following definition (2009: §2015):

> Referenz-Aussage-Strukturen bestehen aus einem referierenden Element und einer Einheit, mit der dann eine Aussage über das Referenzobject gemacht wird. Der Aussageteil enthält dabei in vielen Fällen ein Element, mit dem auf den Referenzausdruck zurückverwiesen wird (Scheutz 1997, Selting 1993, Duden §1384).
>
> *Reference-statement-structures comprise a referencing element and a unit, with which a statement about the reference object is then made. In many cases, the statement includes an element which points back to the reference expression (Scheutz 1997, Selting 1993, Duden §1384).*

reference expression to be a question, or interrogative, though such a construction is much rarer. The prototypical elements for "referring back" are demonstrative pro-forms that agree with the reference expression in grammatical gender, number, and possibly case, with the generic adverbial pro-form *da* ('there') used to refer to adverbs and prepositional phrases (Duden 2009: §2015). Such pro-forms were evidenced in examples (3a)-(5a) above.

In considering the form and function of left dislocation, Duden categorizes RFS as a feature of spoken language and states that the reference expression and the following statement are more strongly separated from each other with RFS than in a prototypical written sentence. The presence of a resumptive pro-form in the statement is considered formal evidence of that separation. The level of prosodic integration between initial reference element and subsequent statement falls on a continuum, with clear separation indicating that the reference expression has greater communicative significance (*einen höheren kommunikativen Stellenwert*), often entering the conversation as a new topic.

As with previous definitions of left dislocation we have encountered, Duden's description of the nature and presence of a resumptive element indicates variability in the forms left dislocation can take. A major feature of RFS is that a pro-form in the statement refers back to the reference expression, but this is only described as a general rule (2009: §2015). The tension between the anaphoric pro-forms being a key part of left dislocation yet not present in all cases reflects the challenge of capturing an umbrella of structures with one definition.

Duden's RFS entry is meant to cover what other sources on German refer to, at a minimum, as *Linksversetzungen*, *Linksherausstellungen*, *Voranstellungen vor den Satz* and *Freies Thema*. These terms all represent left dislocation constructions that share important structural and functional similarities, and the variety of terms represents separate attempts at categorization in

the literature and often conflicting distinctions. Separate types of left dislocation are recognized across languages and within German based on features such as morphological agreement between the coindexed elements, placement of a resumptive element, prosodic integration, and function(s) in discourse management.

2.3 Forms of left dislocation

2.3.1. Altmann and types of left dislocation in German

The foundation of scholarly work on dislocation in German can be credited to Altmann (1981), who uses the German term *Herausstellung* as a theory-neutral, inclusive term for dislocation constructions. Examples of left dislocation in German had been previously remarked upon by scholars, but Altmann offers the first comprehensive overview of types of left and right dislocation in standard German. Altmann's data include spoken and written standard German with no strict limitation to a particular register, though the speech of highly educated speakers in a professional, legalistic environment are heavily represented.[5] In establishing a typology and analytical framework for German dislocation constructions, Altmann adopts Cinque's (1977) differentiation between Contrastive Left Dislocation and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation, introducing for German data the terms *Linksversetzung* (left dislocation, LV) and *Freies Thema* ('free topic,' FT).[6] To reduce confusion between English and German forms of left dislocation, I follow Altmann's use of the abbreviations LV and FT.

[5] Altmann's source data includes recorded debates from German federal and state legislative assemblies (Bundestag and Landtag). Additionally, Altmann analyzes transcriptions of interviews with workers from the Bottroper Protocols and both public and non-public discourse situations from the Freiburger Veröffentlichungen zum gesprochenen Deutsch corpus.

[6] Altmann's terms roughly correspond to Cinque's Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD) and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), respectively. In scholarship subsequently published English, the terms Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD) and Hanging Topic (HT) are still widely used.

As an initial illustration to differentiate LV from FT, Altmann provides variations on an imagined dialogue between two speakers. The dialogue centers around a woman named Brigitte, a referent that is not first introduced through a LV or FT construction, but rather is made a topic of conversation before Speaker B's turn. The placement of examples in dialogue is a conscious choice by Altmann to reflect the typically spoken nature of dislocation structures and the importance of discourse context for the appearance of left dislocation. Altmann uses arrows to indicate the prosodic information, namely the integration (→) of the initial element in the following clause or a rise (↑) or fall of pitch (↓) ending an intonation phrase. In Example 2.8, response a is an example of LV, whereas b an example of FT.

Ex. 2.8
Speaker A:
die Brigitte ist eine ehrenwerte Frau↓ ich mag sie↓
'Brigitte is an honorable woman. I like her.'

Speaker B:

a.	[die Brigitte]$_i$→	die$_i$	kann	ich	schon gar nicht	leiden↓
	[*the*$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$ *Brigitte*]$_i$	[*the*$_{\text{FEM-ACC}}$]$_i$	*can*	*I*	*already not at all*	*suffer*
	'Brigitte, I really cannot stand her at all.'					

b.	[die Brigitte]$_i$↑	also	ich	kann	sie$_i$	schon gar nicht
	[*the*$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$ *Brigitte*]$_i$	*so*	*I*	*can*	[*her*$_{ACC}$]$_i$	*already not at all*
	leiden↓					
	suffer					
	'Brigitte? I really cannot stand her at all.'					

(Adapted from Altmann 1981: 16)

Responses a and b have much in common, indeed it is difficult to discern any difference in semantic meaning. Despite their similar contexts and meanings, a and b show syntactic, morphological, and prosodic differences that are key to understanding Altmann's LV and FT.

2.3.1.1 Linksversetzung

Prototypical examples of left dislocation in German are cases of LV. Key characteristics of LV center around the definite nature of the dislocated constituent and the integration of a

dislocated constituent into the following clause. The dislocated element of LV is followed by a verb-second (V2) clause that begins with a resumptive demonstrative pronoun or other unmarked demonstrative. In the case of nominal referents, there is case agreement between agreement between the dislocated constituent and the coreferential demonstrative. Furthermore, if a preposition is required for the constituent in the main clause, that preposition will also appear initially. Below are examples of LV from the SiN and Zwirner data that show oblique case agreement (2.9a) as well as complex nominal and adverbial referents (2.9b and c, respectively).

Ex. 2.9 a.
[den Unterschied]$_i$→ den$_i$ höre ich auch↓
[*the*$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$ *difference*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$]$_i$ *hear* *I also*
'The difference, I hear it, too.'

b.
un [well dann de meesten Pumpen heeft]$_i$ → die$_i$ kriegt
and [*who then the most points has*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$]$_i$ *receives*
dann as Belohnung …
then as reward …
'And then whoever has the most points, they get as a reward …'

c.
ja [wenn wir da sind]$_i$ → dann$_i$ hört man eigentlich fast nur Platt↓
yes [*when we there are*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *hears* *one actually almost only Platt*
'Yeah, when we are there, then you almost only hear Low German.'

Critically, the dislocated element must have a specific referent, meaning that indefinite quantifiers such as *viele* (*many*) and *irgendeine* (*any*) do not appear in the left dislocated elements of LV constructions. Exceptions are possible in examples such as 2.10b, if the context allows for the constituent to refer to a known entity or set. A reading of the referent as indefinite, as in c and d, is not compatible with left dislocation.

Ex. 2.10 a.
[meine Großeltern]$_i$→ die$_i$ haben immer Platt
[*my*$_{\text{PL-NOM}}$ *grandparents*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{PL-NOM}}$]$_i$ *have* *always Platt*
gesprochen↓
spoke
'My grandparents, they always spoke Low German.'

b.
[einige Großeltern]$_i$→ die$_i$ haben immer Platt
[*some*$_{\text{PL-NOM}}$ *grandparents*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{PL-NOM}}$]$_i$ *have* *always Platt*

gesprochen↓
spoke
'Certain grandparents, they always spoke Low German.'

c. *[einige Großeltern]$_i$→ die$_i$ haben immer Platt gesprochen↓
'A few (unspecified) grandparents, they always spoke Low German.'

d. *[viele Großeltern]$_i$→ die$_i$ haben immer Platt gesprochen↓
[*many grandparents*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{PL-NOM}}$]$_i$ *have* *always Platt* *spoken*
'Many grandparents, they always spoke Low German.'

As depicted through Altmann's use of arrows, when LV constructions are spoken, the dislocated element is prosodically integrated into the main clause. Prosodic integration here means there is either no pause or only a slight, non-sentential pause after the dislocated element. The LV expression may receive a relatively strong thematic accent while the coreferential demonstrative is unstressed, or both may have a contrastive accent. Altmann does explain, however, that parenthetical additions may appear between the dislocated constituent and the pro-form. On the other hand, coordinating conjuctions (e.g., *und, oder, aber*), which would interrupt the clause, may not appear between the dislocated constituent and the clause in cases of LV.

2.3.1.2 Freies Thema

Compared with LV, the structural parameters of FT are less clearly defined. Whereas the dislocated constituents in LV are syntactic phrases, typically nominal or prepositional phrases, whose referents must serve as arguments or adjuncts in the subsequent clause, a wide variety of elements can appear as the initial element in an FT construction. Moreover, the initial "left dislocated" element need only be thematically connected to the subsequent clause. This yields greater variety in the form of initial elements and in the form and placement of resumptive elements.

Often the initial element in an FT construction is a determiner phrase and may look very similar to that of an LV construction, several distinctions reflect the relative independence between the FT element and subsequent clause. As has been noted, the initial element of FT constructions is not prosodically integrated into the subsequent clause, and resumptive pro-forms may need not be d-pronouns. Furthermore, case agreement between the dislocated constituent and the resumptive pro-form is not a requirement of FT. In fact, dislocated nominal elements will typically occur in the nominative case, which is the default case in German, regardless of the referent's role and case in the subsequent clause, as in #:

Ex. 2.11	[wir Norddeutschen]$_i$↑	uns$_i$	wird	nachgesagt …
	[*we-northern-Germans*$_{NOM}$]$_i$	[*us*$_{DAT}$]$_i$	*is*	*said …*
	'us northern Germans, it's said about us ...'			

FT elements can also occur in an oblique case. For the example below, Altmann explains that the accusative case for *dich armes geplates Wesen* is determined by the accusative in the preceding utterance rather than the referent's role in the subsequent clause (1981: 112):

Ex. 2.12	Speaker A:	Und dann hat er [mich]$_i$ auch noch am Weitergehen gehindert. 'And then he also prevented me from continuing'
	Speaker B:	[Dich armes geplagtes Wesen]$_i$↓! Er hat [dich]$_i$ belästigt↓. 'You poor, bothered thing! He harassed you.'

Other syntactic parallels regarding what does or does not accompany the dislocated constituent in LV do not apply to FT. For instance, when the resumptive pro-form is part of a prepositional phrase, the FT element will generally not include the preposition:

Ex. 2.13	[Leute die man nicht kennt]$_i$↑	mit denen$_i$	spricht	man
	[*people the*$_{PL\text{-}ACC}$ *one not knows*]$_i$	*with* [*them*$_{PL\text{-}DAT}$]$_i$	*speaks*	*one*
	meistens Hochdeutsch			
	mostly standard German			
	'People who you don't know, with them you usually speak standard German'			

Conversely, the dislocated FT element may include introductory verbiage, such as "speaking of XP" or "as for XP," which does not appear in the subsequent clause.[7] Introductory verbiage does not add criterial comment or other discourse content into the conversation. Indeed, sentence-level modifiers like isolated focusing modifiers (*Gradpartikeln*), sentential adverbs, and limiting adverbials do not appear as or with the initial FT element.

As for the type of coreferential element appearing in the subsequent clause, limitations are pragmatic rather than syntactic. In discussing the coreferential requirement of FT constructions, Altmann (1981: 49) states:

> Diese Wiederaufnahme kann formal nicht bestimmt werden, sondern unterliegt allein der pragmatischen Maxime der Relevanz, die sichert, daß zwei aufeinanderfolgende Ausdrücke dieser Art thematisch in irgendeiner Weise miteinander verbunden sind.
>
> *This resumption cannot be formally determined, but rather is governed by the pragmatic maxim of relevancy, which ensures that two consecutive expressions of this type are thematically connected in some way.*

This means that not only personal and demonstrative pronouns, but hyponyms and other phrases identifying the referent can serve as the coreferential element in FT constructions. Moreover, some FT constructions do not involve a surface-level coreferential element at all, but have a clause understood to be about the topic named by the initial FT element. Null elements and generic uses of *das* can thus be interpreted as fulfilling the resumptive element requirement for FT, but not LV, constructions. Altmann provides the examples presented in Ex. 2.14 as illustrations of FT, noting that the *das* in Example 2.14b refers to the idea of "being a spy" rather than to the referent of "a spy" (1981: 108).

---

[7] Lambrecht's (2001) discussion of unlinked-TOP constructions notes that "markers like 'as for' … are appropriate only in a subset of the discourse environments which call for the use of an unlinked-topic construction" (1058).

Ex. 2.14 a. Ein Spion$_i$↑?. Du erkennst [ihn]$_i$ an seinem Hut↓.
'A spy? You recognize him by his hat.'

b. Ein Spion↓. Du erkennst das an seinem Hut↓.
'A spy. You recognize that by his hat.'

This set of examples also highlight that, unlike with LV, the topic named by the initial FT element is not limited to definite referents.

Accompanying the freedom of form is a freedom of placement for resumptive pro-forms. # shows the coreferential personal pronoun *ihn* in the middle field, not the prefield required by LV. That resumptive elements are not limited to prefield position also means that FT constructions can involve subordinate clauses, as in 2.15:

Ex. 2.15 Friedjof$_i$↑ wenn der$_i$ morgens reinkommt …
Friedjof$_i$ *when* [*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ *in the morning* *comes in*
'Friedjof, when he comes in in the morning …'

So far, this chapter has defined left dislocation generally and introduced Altmann's distinction between LV and FT as the two subtypes found in German. In addition to identifying and categorizing forms of LV and FT, Altmann dedicates substantial attention to underlying syntax considerations and pragmatic uses of left dislocation. Briefly stated, Altmann analyzes the initial referent in LV structures as part of the subsequent clause, while the initial element in FT is a syntactically independent, sentence-level phrase, and both LV and FT have discourse functions related to thematization (*Thematisierung*). This chapter will further pursue the functions of left dislocation and questions of underlying structure after reviewing other scholars' approaches to a typology of left dislocation for German.

2.3.2 Beyond Altmann

Scholarship on left dislocation in German builds upon the framework described by Cinque and then Altmann, but the framework of dividing left dislocation into the two categories of LV

and FT is by no means universal. In the same year that Altmann published his *Formen der "Herausstellung" im Deutschen*, Vat[8] published a paper that, like Altmann's, draws heavily on the distinction between Contrastive Left Dislocation and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation described by Ross (1967). In addition to CLD (cf. Altmann's LV) and HTLD (cf. Altmann's FT), Vat proposes a third type of left dislocation called Mixed Left Dislocation (MLD). MLD captures cases with no syntactic or prosodic link between the coreferential elements and is most clearly at play when case agreement between a NP/DP in the dislocated position and a coreferential pro-form within a prepositional phrase would be ungrammatical, as in 2.16 (Vat 1997: 89):

Ex. 2.16	a.	[Der Hans]$_i$,	mit dem$_i$	spreche	ich nicht mehr
		[*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *Hans*]$_i$	*with* [*him*$_{\text{MASC-DAT}}$]$_i$	*speak*	*I not more*
		'Hans, I do not talk to him any more.'			
	b.	*[Dem Hans]$_i$,	mit dem$_i$	spreche	ich nicht mehr
		[*the*$_{\text{MASC-DAT}}$ *Hans*]$_i$	*with* [*him*$_{\text{MASC-DAT}}$]$_i$	*speak*	*I not more*
		'Hans, I do not talk to him any more.'			

2.16a falls under FT in Altmann's framework, but Vat concludes that the underlying structures of HTLD and MLD differ and justify distinct subtypes.[9]

Though the subtype MLD has not taken hold in subsequent literature on left dislocation in German, others have likewise argued for further subdivisions of Altmann's FT category. Dewald (2012) distinguishes Hanging Topic (*Hängendes Topik*, HT), which requires an explicit coreferential pro-form, from true FT, which includes the instances of Altmann's FT that use introductory verbiage (*Einleitungsfloskeln*) and show a thematic link between an initial element

[8] Jan Vat is a collective name for Mariette van Geijn-Brouwers, Ton van Haaften, Jos ten Hacken, Fred Landman, Ieke Moerdijk, Henk van Riemsdijk, and Rik Smits. Their collective paper was the result of a seminar in the University of Amsterdam Linguistics Department in the fall of 1980 (Vat 1997: 91).

[9] With regard to underlying structure, Vat analysis concludes that the dislocated elements of HTLD and MLD are base-generated, but that HTLD coreferential pronouns rise into the complementizer position through Vergnaud-Raising whereas MLD cases involve WH-movement. For CLD, Vat concludes that "the dislocated constituent is moved into its derived position by means of Vergnaud-Raising (1997: 89).

and the following clause without an explicit coreferential pro-form. Structural similarities and differences between LV, HT, and FT are helpfully captured in chart form by Dewald:

		LV	**HT/FT**
a.	Common referent for the left dislocated constituent (XP) and a pro-form in the following clause	yes	yes
b.	Limitations on the type of XP that can be dislocated	no	no
c.	Ability of the entire structure to be embedded	no	no/yes
d.	Agreement of case and gender between left dislocated noun phrase and coreferential pro-form	yes	no
e.	Obligatory adjacency between the left dislocated XP and coreferential pro-form	yes	no
	e^1. Position of the coreferential pro-form	prefield	prefield or middle field
	e^2. Possibility of distance between left dislocated XP and the clause with the coreferential pro-form, e.g., through embedding of the clause	no	yes
f.	Type of coreferential pronouns for dislocated noun or determiner phrases	d-pronouns	personal pronouns or d-pronouns
g.	Requirement that if the coreferential pro-form must appear in a prepositional phrase, the left dislocated XP must also include the preposition	yes	no
h.	Type of prosodic embeddedness of the left dislocated XP	no IP boundary after XP; XP carries pitch accent	IP boundary after XP (or possible introductory verbiage for FT); XP carries pitch accent

Table 2.2 Comparison of features of types of left dislocation in German (adapted and translated from Dewald 2012: 128)

Though Table 2.2 relegates prosodic factors to one row at the end, focus on auditory features as critical to the definitions of and research on left dislocation has only increased over the past several decades as the tools necessary to record and analyze audio files have become more accessible. Selting (1993) asserts that left dislocation constructions cannot be differentiated

without taking prosody into account and, in her definitions, emphasizes the role of prosodic characteristics as well as the differing functions of left dislocation constructions in authentic conversations. More recently, free speech analysis software such as Praat has allowed scholars, including Dewald, to measure and share visual representations of spoken dislocation constructions.

Maintaining clear boundaries between types of left dislocation, however, proves challenging. Working primarily with historical written data, Lötscher (1995) rejects that a definitive split can be made between LV and FT. Lötscher points out, for example, the impossibility of consistently identifying cases of LD versus FT when the both the extra-clausal referent and anaphoric pro-form are in the nominative case, which is a common occurrence. Altmann himself noted the presence of "irregular forms that suggest an undissolved domain between FT and LV" (1981: 114). Instead of well-defined subtypes, Lötscher describes a scale representing the relative connectivity or distance between the extra-clausal referent and the anaphor-containing clause. Factors including pause, type of resumptive pro-form, and linear distance between referent and anaphor impact the connectivity and thematic functions of the constituents.

Thus, despite the breadth of work on distinguishing types of left dislocation, scholars do not always rely on these distinctions. Unsurprisingly, attention to subtypes of left dislocation most commonly appear alongside analyses of the underlying syntax of these constructions in targeted studies by syntacticians. More comprehensive overviews of German grammar, including Duden and Erben's *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax* (1998), deal with left dislocation constructions as a phenomenon of spontaneous speech without committing to finer distinctions. I similarly adopt an all-inclusive, theory-neutral approach for this study.

2.3.3. Cross-linguistic forms of left dislocation

Does left dislocation ever occur in subordinate clauses? Can the resumptive element be a clitic? This chapter has already identified distinct subtypes of left dislocation in German, and briefly looking at additional languages contextualizes these differences and sharpens our understanding of left dislocation. For example, a commonly noted property of left dislocation is that it only occurs in main clauses, but Italian offers instances of left dislocation that occur in an embedded clause (Cinque 1990: 62). The presence of the theme-signaling particle *wa* in Japanese LV-like expressions supports the claim that LV primarily serves a thematizing role (Altmann 1981: 23).

For European languages, among the most comprehensive cross-linguistic taxonomies comes from van Riemsdijk (1997)[10], who identifies four subtypes of left dislocation based largely on properties of the resumptive element. Differentiating factors include whether the presence of a resumptive element is obligatory, the form it takes (a regular pronoun, a special pronoun like a demonstrative, or a clitic), whether it moves, whether there can be multiple resumptive elements in a clause, and whether there is case agreement with the dislocated element. Table 2.3 shows features for these four distinct subtypes, which van Riemsdijk terms Loose Aboutness Left Dislocation (LALD), Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD), and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD).

[10] Van Riemsdijk (1997) is the introductory paper in the volume *Materials on Left Dislocation*, which includes previously unpublished contributions from the 1970s as well as papers from a workshop in Tilburg, Netherlands, in 1994. Among the other papers are analyses of left dislocation data from Brabant Dutch (van Hoof), French (Hirschbühler), German (Wiltschko), Dutch and Icelandic (Zaenen).

	LALD	**HTLD**	**CLD**	**CLLD**
root clauses only	no	yes	yes	yes
resumptive element (RE)	no	yes	yes	yes
type	n/a	(a) regular pronoun (b) *d*-pronoun	*d*-pronoun	clitic
RE moves	n/a	no	yes	yes
movement to	n/a	n/a	Spec, CP	adjunction to V
multiple movement	n/a	n/a	no	yes
island sensitive	n/a	n/a	yes	yes
case agreement	n/a	< 50%	> 50%	(+)
reconstruction	n/a	< 50%	> 50%	yes
exemplified by	French	Dutch/German/English	Dutch/German	Italian

Table 2.3 Van Riemsdijk's properties for a typology of left dislocation[11] *(Adapted from (van Riemsdijk 1997: 7)*

The CLD and HTLD categories should look familiar; van Riemsdijk's CLD and HTLD mirror Cinque's, and these two subtypes of left dislocation are found in Dutch as well as German. English has HTLD, but not CLD constructions. The various types of left dislocation overlap pragmatically, but the LALD and CLLD constructions found in French and Italian are structurally impossible or ungrammatical in German.

Similarity between left dislocation in Dutch and German is widely acknowledged, including by Altmann. For instance, Altmann builds on observations by Paardekooper (1977) and Verhagen (1979) to discuss how LV constructions are built with unmarked demonstrative pronouns and that marked demonstrative pronouns are ungrammatical as the resumptive element in both languages (Altmann 1981: 108):

Ex. 2.17 a. [dit huis]$_i$ dat$_i$ bevalt me wel
[*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$ *house*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$]$_i$ *pleases me well*
'this house, I like it a lot'

[11] Van Riemsdijk notes that clitic doubling also plays an important role in left dislocation variation. It was left out of his table because only limited empirical research had been done at the time. I do not pursue this further, because it is not a type exemplified by German.

b. *[dit huis]$_i$ dit$_i$ bevalt me wel
[*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$ *house*]$_i$ [*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$]$_i$ *pleases me well*
'this house, I like this a lot'

c. [dieses Haus]$_i$ das$_i$ gefällt mir gut
[*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$ *house*]$_i$ [*it*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$]$_i$ *pleases me well*
'this house, I like it a lot'

d. *[dieses Haus]$_i$ dieses$_i$ gefällt mir gut
[*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$ *house*]$_i$ [*this*$_{\text{NEUT-NOM}}$]$_i$ *pleases me well*
'this house, I like this a lot'

Such parallels do not imply a complete lack of crosslinguistic variation within the subtypes, however. Altmann cautions that the groupings of which pronouns are grammatical versus ungrammatical for Dutch left dislocation would not necessarily map identically to German data. Further investigation of how left dislocation occurs outside of German is beyond the scope of the present study.

2.4 Function of left dislocation

Armed with a better understanding of what left dislocation is, we can ask when and why it occurs. This section introduces syntactic factors that promote left dislocation before reviewing literature on discourse functions of left dislocation.

2.4.1 Syntactic conditions

Under what structural conditions is left dislocation most likely to appear? We have already seen that prototypical examples of left dislocation involve nominal referents. More specifically, dislocated elements are "primarily subjects or objects of the subsequent clause" (Selting 1993: 304). Beyond assertions that left dislocation is a feature of spoken language, specific treatment of frequency or non-pragmatic conditions favoring left dislocation is uncommon in the literature. Explanatory power can instead be found by applying Behaghel's Laws and Hawkins's theory of performance grammar (e.g., Hawkins 1994; 2004; 2014). Left dislocation, most certainly with

instances of LV, places a pro-form, which by definition refers to an already-known element, in the prefield. The longer the constituent in question, the greater contrast between the weight of that element and the weight of the resumptive pro-form.

Without using the term left dislocation, Behaghel describes the availability of resumptive pronouns (or nouns) after a relative clause, offering the following examples from Old High German (a-b) and Early New High German (c) (Behaghel 1928: 754–755):

Ex. 2.18 a. [that sad, that ik iu sagda]$_i$, that$_i$ is selbes word (Hel. 2442)

b. [ther thie ni giloubit]$_i$, ther$_i$ ist giu furtuomit (T. 119, 11)

c. wisset jr nicht, das [alle, die wir in Jhesum Christ getaufft sind]$_i$, die$_i$ sind in seinen Tod getaufft (Luth. Röm. 6,3)

Behaghel states that a resumptive element is more likely to appear after a longer "parenthesis" (*Zwischensatz*). Resumptive elements are especially common when the initially given case is not the case required to continue the sentence; the resulting left dislocation construction would be FT. Finally, Behaghel does note that the "second stilt" (*zweite Stütze*), meaning the coreferential pro-form, is more likely to appear the more closely the situation approximates natural spoken language.

The preference for pro-forms and other "light" elements at the beginning of a German clause has often been attributed to ease of psycholinguistic processing, which could apply to both the speaker and listener. This observation is in line with the groundbreaking work of Hawkins, who empirically connects performance, including processing data, with grammars of the world's languages. Of particular relevance is Hawkins' principle of Early Immediate Constituents, which depends on his definition of Constituent Recognition Domains:

> **Constituent Recognition Domain (CRC):** The CRD for a phrasal mother node M consists of the set of terminal and non-terminal nodes that must be parsed in order to recognize M and all [immediate constituents (ICs)] of M, proceeding from the terminal

> node in the parse string that constructs the first IC on the left, to the terminal node that constructs the last IC on the right, and including all intervening terminal nodes and the non-terminal nodes that they construct. (1994: 58-59)
>
> **Early Immediate Constituents (EIC):** The human parser prefers linear orders that maximize the IC-to-non-IC ratios of constituent recognition domains. Orders with the most optimal ratios will be preferred over their non-optimal counterparts in the unmarked case; orders with non-optimal ratios will be more or equally preferred in direct proportion to the magnitude of their ratios. For finer discriminations, IC-to-non-IC ratios can be measured left-to-right. (1994: 78-79)

EIC is a syntactic processing theory and argues that the primary driver for how linguistic elements are ordered is the need for humans to quickly and efficiently recognize abstract syntactic structures during live interactions. The power of EIC is that it can account for the phenomena captured by Behaghel's fourth law, law of growing members, and, less directly, the principle of "old before new." Left dislocation constructions in German can ease clause parsing by replacing a constituent with a short, often single-syllable node in the form of a pro-form.

I have discussed that left dislocation is never obligatory, yet Altmann does name a situation in which the resumptive element is supposedly required: when clauses have a prepositional object that is not extraposed. Altmann notes that examples such as those in Examples 2.19 prove that left dislocation is not limited to spoken German (1981: 123).

Ex. 2.19 a. <u>Daß er ein Röckchen trug</u>, <u>dessen</u> kann ich mich nicht entsinnen.
'That he wore a little skirt, I cannot remember that.'

b. <u>Daß er nicht angerufen hat</u>, <u>darüber</u> habe ich mich schrecklich aufgeregt.
'That er did not call, I got terribly upset about that.'

c. <u>Wie man beim Bremsen stottert</u>, <u>das</u> wissen inzwischen ziemlich viele Menschen.
'How you stutter during breaking, a lot of people seem to know that nowadays.'

Instances of required or expected left dislocation are the exception rather than the rule for standard German. The factors outlined in this section, however, provide insight into the structural conditions favorable to left dislocation.

2.4.2. Discourse functions

How does left dislocation function in context? Left dislocation constructions are universally recognized as dealing with topics, whether topic is considered at the sentence or discourse level. Left dislocation is commonly associated with transitions or abrupt shifts in discourse topic and can serve as a means to lend emphasis to the theme identified by the dislocated element (e.g., Erben 1998). "Redundant" elements, a category that could include the resumptive elements of left dislocation constructions, have been shown to produce modal meanings that emphasize emotional aspects of a statement (e.g., Weinert 2007). Notably, scholars who specifically study left dislocation find that these constructions maintain or direct the transition to a conversational topic that was already made relevant, thus supporting coherent discourse rather than introducing an entirely new conversation topic. Lötscher's (2004) corpus has no examples in which the topic of conversation completely changes through a LV or HT structure, and Selting found exception only in the presence of explicit lexical or non-verbal signaling of the change in topic (1993: 304, c.f. Altmann 1981: 79ff.).

How do LV and FT differ? They certainly have overlapping functions in discourse, and thus are not interchangeable in all circumstances. LV always results in the topic of the clause appearing in the prefield position, whereas the pro-form in FT constructions is not necessarily the clause topic (Frey 2005). According to Altmann, one discourse function common with LV that is not possible with FT is the contrasting of topics (*Themenkonstrastierung*) (1981: 91). Selting finds that LV constructions can serve to continue a topic or add an example or aspect of

the established conversational theme, creating a tie to the local conversational context (1993: 304).

Regarding FT, Altmann outlines the following theme-related functions: topic shift, revival of an earlier topic, topic continuation, topic verification, topic sequencing, beginning a related digression, and exemplification (1981: 92). These functions are often made explicit through introductory verbiage such as those provided with Example 2.20.

Ex. 2.20

a.	Topic shift	
	i. um von X zu sprechen/reden	‘to talk about X‘
	ii. übrigens X …	‘by the way X …’
b.	Revival of an earlier topic	
	i. um noch einmal von X zu reden	‘to talk about X again’
	ii. um zu/auf X zurückzukommen	‘to come back to X’
c.	Topic continuation	
	i. komisch/seltsam … diese X	‘strange … this X’
	ii. ah ja, der X …	‘ah yes, X …’
d.	Topic verification	
	i. ah ja, der X …	‘ah yes, X …’
e.	Topic sequencing	
	i. was X betrifft …	‘with regard to X …‘
	ii. zum Thema X …	‘on the topic of X’
f.	Related digression	
	i. da wir gerade von X reden	‘since we are talking about X’
	ii. apropos X …	‘apropos X …’
g.	Exemplification	
	i. zum Beispiel der X …	‘for example the X …’

To contrast possible FT verbiage with an *um…zu* (‘in order to’) construction against *um…zu* clauses that identify the purpose of the subsequent clause (*Finalsatz),* Altmann provides the following example of the latter (1981: 84):

Ex. 2.21

Finalsatz:	
um (ungestört) von seinen Schlafschwierigkeiten zu reden,	‘to talk about his sleeping problems (undisturbed),
begaben wir uns ins Nebenzimmer	we took ourselves to the next room’

Like Altmann, Selting sees topic shift and revival of an earlier topic as common functions of FT. More specifically, FT examples in her data provide a "restart" after a lull or disruption. Two-thirds of FT constructions in her data appear after the conversation about a particular topic was concluded through topic-concluding general remarks, long pauses, or after a previous discussion was disrupted for other reasons (1993).

A less common way of framing a function of left dislocation can be found in Lambrecht's work on information structure. His work describes the scene setting[12] achieved through left dislocation, and this is particularly applicable when adverbials are the dislocated element. Scene setting is directly connected with sentence-level topic. For example, the resumptive pro-form for dislocated adverbials is often *da*, and Salfner & Salfner (Salfner & Salfner 2011) discuss examples showing how *da* references the topic time (*Topikzeit*) rather that an event time (*Ereigniszeit*).

Worth noting is that scholars' pragmatic findings are dependent on their initial research questions, understanding of the different forms of left dislocation, and data set. Duranti & Ochs (1979) analyzed Italian data with an eye toward conversation management and turn-taking, and they found that left dislocation appears at the beginning of a turn and functions as a "competitive move" to secure the right to speak. Selting (1993) does not replicate this finding for German; she notes that data include many examples of left dislocation occurring after an initial lexical transition. This may reflect a true linguistic or cultural difference in the use of left dislocation, though I suspect that inconsistent findings reflect different frameworks for identifying relevant instances of left dislocation and different types or amounts of source data.

[12] Scene setting can also be related to Fauconnier's (1985) influential work in cognitive linguistics about building "mental spaces."

2.5 Underlying structure

Though the aims of the current study do not rely on definitive claims about the underlying structure of left dislocation, a brief consideration of underlying syntax for left dislocation helps contextualize the forms found within German and highlight the relationship between form and function. Altmann, like Lambrecht, does not assume that the dislocated element is the result of a transformation. That said, the structural features of LV, such as case agreement and physical proximity, point to a close morphosyntactic relationship between the dislocated referent and resumptive demonstrative. Due to the strength of syntactic integration of the dislocated element into the main clause for left dislocation structures, Altmann concludes that the left dislocated element is in the prefield along with the following demonstrative, yielding a doubly-filled prefield. Figure 2.1 shows this analysis of LV with the topological field model as well as a possible underlying structure.

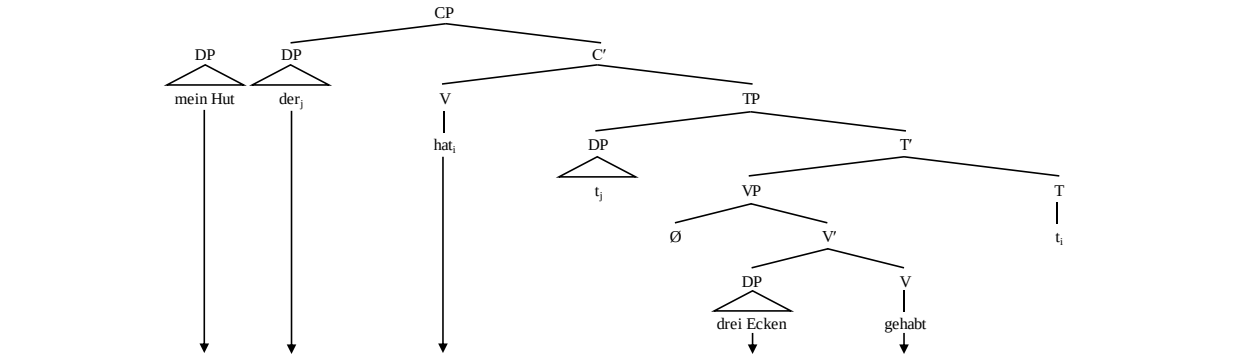


Figure 2.1. Surface and underlying structure of LV, showing extra-clausal element in the prefield

On the other hand, Altmann concludes that the initial elements of FT constructions are independent sentences. In FT, there is a sentential pause between the initial element of an FT

construction and the following clause. The initial element has a sentential accent, though the sentential accent at the beginning of an FT construction is generally weaker than other sentential accents, and that FT element can follow a rising or falling intonation contour independent from the shape of the following clause. The prosodic diversity of FT constructions reflects Altmann's early assertion that syntax alone does not determine intonation level, but it does constrain the options (1981: 11-12). Another sign of the initial element's sentence-level status is that parentheticals, which only appear mid-sentence, do not appear between the initial element and following clause of an FT construction.

Just as Altmann's syntactic analysis of LV follows from syntactic, morphological, and prosodic signs of integration, his understanding of FT structures reflects the apparent syntactic, morphological, and prosodic independence of the initial structures. He asserts that the initial element in an FT construction is an independent and sentence-worthy structure. In other words, the initial element exists outside of the boundary of the subsequent clause. Due to the strong pragmatic relationship and strongly ellipsized nature of the initial element, I find it useful to consider that element as belonging to the left periphery of the subsequent clause. Figure 2.2 demonstrates this understanding, again using the topological field model and a possible underlying structure analysis.

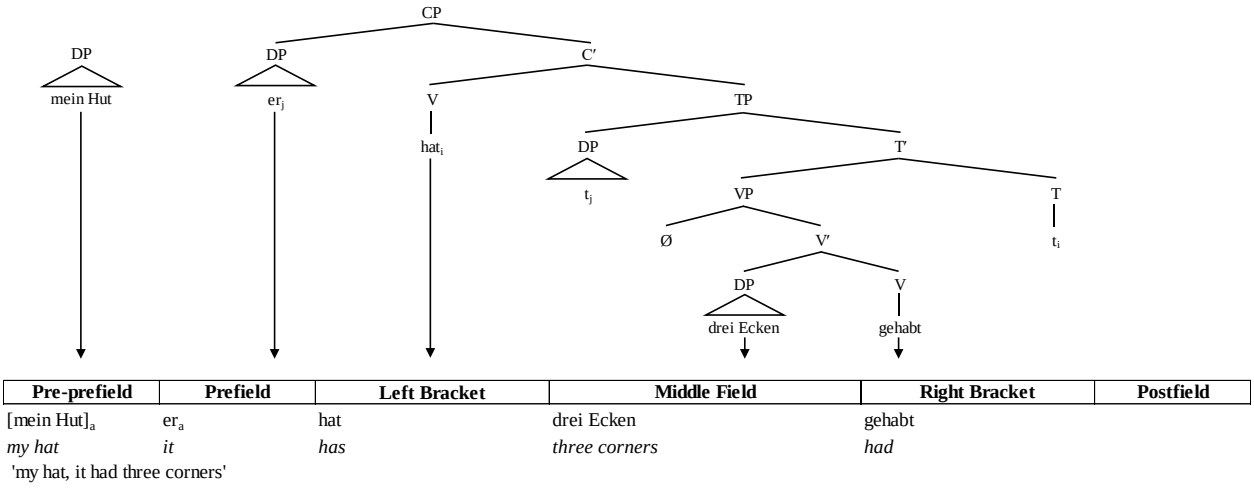


Figure 2.2. Surface and underlying structure of FT, showing extra-clausal element in the pre-prefield

There is no consensus among syntacticians regarding the generation of left dislocation. The original generative description by Ross (1967/1986) presents left dislocation as an example of a copying rule and contrasts it with topicalization, which he describes as a chopping rule. Subsequent research has undermined the explanatory power of such copying rules, especially for FT, for example by noting cases where the resumptive element is not a pro-form, but an epithet. Boeckx & Grohmann (2005) argue that CLD and HTLD both result from movement of the dislocated XP, whereas Ott (2014) offers an analysis relying on ellipsis. Pursuing these arguments further is beyond the scope of this project.

2.6 Related constructions

As has been noted, left dislocation is never syntactically obligatory in German. Moreover, there is no one-to-one relationship between syntactic form and pragmatic function. In other words, a pragmatic task can be achieved by different syntactic means and, alternatively, a single linguistic structure can serve various pragmatic meanings (e.g., Cinque 1983: 93). In this section, I provide examples of linguistic phenomena that are similar to, but distinct from, left dislocation

in function or form. Identifying related phenomena helps clarify the object of this study and its place in a speaker's linguistic inventory.

Often left dislocation is discussed in conjunction with right dislocation, examples of which were provided earlier in this chapter. When considering the right periphery, the phenomenon of right dislocation contrasts with extraposition (*Ausklammerung*). Extraposition which involves the movement of an eligible constituent from the middle field to the post-field. Examples below present the canonical order of an independent clause and then show variations with right dislocation and extraposition. The direct object, *den Hut*, may appear in the post-field as part of a right dislocation construction, but extraposition of *den Hut* is ungrammatical.

Ex. 2.22	a. Canonical order	ich habe den Hut in der Stadt gekauft 'I bought the hat in the city.'
	b. Right dislocation of adverbial phrase	ich habe da den Hut gekauft in der Stadt 'I bought the hat there, in the city.'
	c. Extraposition of adverbial phrase	ich habe __ den Hut gekauft in der Stadt 'I bought the hat in the city.'
	d. Right dislocation of direct object	ich habe ihn in der Stadt gekauft den Hut 'I bought it in the city, the hat.'
	e. Extraposition of direct object	*ich habe in der Stadt __ gekauft den Hut 'I bought in the city the hat.'

Turning to other so-called topic constructions, left dislocation shares this space with topicalization, passive constructions, and *wh*-questions (*W-Fragen*). Generative linguists have remarked that these constructions are structurally similar; one common feature is marked use of the prefield. Topicalization specifically involves the appearance of a constituent in non-canonical prefield position. Some constituent types which cannot be the dislocated referent in LV or FT can appear clause-initially though topicalization. Examples 2.23a and 2.23d show examples of topicalization with prefields filled by a reflexive pronoun and an indefinite pronoun,

respectively. Attempts at parallel LV (b, e) and FT (c, f) constructions yield ungrammatical results. In these cases, the initial element does not offer a definite referent that will function as the topic for the subsequent clause.

Ex. 2.23
a. Sich hat er gewaschen.
*self*3.SG-ACC *has* *he* *washed*
b. *Sich, den hat er gewaschen.
3.Sg-Rel.ProACC *the*MASC-ACC *has* *he* *washed*
c. *Sich, er hat ihn gewaschen.
*self*3.SG-ACC *he* *has* *him*ACC *washed*
'He washed himself.'
d. Niemanden hat er getroffen.
*No one*ACC *has* *he* *met*
e. *Niemanden, den hat er getroffen.
*No-one*ACC *the*MASC-ACC *has* *he* *met*
f. *Niemand, den hat er getroffen.
*No-one*ACC *the*MASC-ACC *has* *he* *met*
'He met no one.'

(Adapted from Grewendorf 2009: 52)

Vocative expressions directly address or invoke a person or entity and can appear similar to FT constructions, but vocatives generally appear with first- or second-person personal pronouns and show even less integration with the associated clause. Vocatives appear in the nominative case[13] and receive a primary accent with emphatic articulation and terminal intonation, meaning that the expression is not prosodically integrated into a subsequent clause. Altmann (1981: 52) provides examples contrasting a "true vocative," provided here as Examples 2.24a, and vocative-like NPs, shown with 2.24b).

Ex. 2.24
a. Lieber Hans! Du solltest…
'Dear Hans! You should …'
b. Du lieber Hans du! Hast du…
'You dear Hans you! Have you …'

[13] The historic Indo-European case system includes a vocative case, which has been lost in the Germanic languages. A vocative case still exists among some of the modern Indo-European languages, including Baltic, Slavic, and some Celtic languages.

Another phenomenon that looks similar to left dislocation occurs when a speaker repeats not only a referent, but the actual word or phrase used to identify that referent (Altmann 1981: 52):

Ex. 2.25 a. ich, ich lase mir das nich gefalt
b. das, das mach der nich, ir lauserädche

These cases of repetition can follow an intonation pattern like LV or FT, but do not serve the function of structurally "thematizing" the referent. Strict repetitions can instead work as an attention marker, initiating contact or increasing intensity of an utterance.

Finally, I wish to mention correction phenomena. Altmann argues that dislocation constructions cannot be disregarded as repair structures or correction phenomena, because the syntactic features or rules of left dislocation constructions can be described and examples receive full acceptability. Left dislocation therefore stands in contrast to what might be considered "planning failures," in which there is no clear connection between the first utterance and what follows or when a speaker attempts to change the utterance after it is first produced (Altmann 1981: 124). Correction strategies are deployed to repair communication rather than to serve topic-related pragmatic functions or improve initial processing of an utterance.

Left dislocation constructions are part of a repertoire of constructions that speakers subconsciously use with each other in spoken and written communication. We have seen the forms of left dislocation and considered structural and pragmatic factors influencing their use in standard German. The next section looks at what we know about left dislocation's historical and geographic distribution.

2.7 Historical and geographic use of left dislocation in German

Examples from Old High German and Middle High German confirm that left dislocation is not a new phenomenon in the history of the German language. In the third volume of his historic *Deutsche Syntax*, Behaghel provides examples of what he terms *Herausstellung* and *Nominativus*

pendens[14] from various stages of the German language (1928: 452, my emphases). Selected examples from Behaghel are listed in Example 2.26.

Ex. 2.26

Old High German

a. Adam$_i$ **er**$_i$ firkos mih
Adam$_i$ *he*$_i$ *betrayed* *me*

(Otfrid. I, 25, 19)

Middle High German

b. [beide zobel unde kelen]$_i$ [ein grave]$_j$ **der**$_j$ hiez
[*both sable and red fur*]$_i$ [*a*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *count*]$_j$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_j$ *was-called*
Erewin **dar**$_i$ mite zireter …
Erewin *there*$_i$*-with* *adorned-he ...*

(Roth. 153)

c. [sin sarc]$_i$ **der**$_i$ was bereitet
[*his*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *casket*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ *was* *prepared*

(Nibelungenlied 1050)

New High German

d. [ihr Herz]$_i$ **den**$_i$[15] kriegt ja kein Mensch
[*her*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *heart*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$]$_i$ *gets* *yes* [*no*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *human*]
zu sehen
to see

(Lenz, Waldbruder 66)

e. [der Kondukteur]$_i$ als **er**$_i$ seinen Mann erkannte
[*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *conductor*]$_i$ *when* *he*$_i$ *his*$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$ *man* *recognized*
ging **er**$_i$ mit geballter Faust ...
went *he*$_i$ *with clenched fist …*

(Hebel II, 160)

[14] Behaghel introduces his examples in following way: "Bloß begonnene, nach der Hemmung weitergeführte Sätze sind auch die Nominative, an die sich ein Vollsatz mit einem Pronomen anschließt, das den Nominativ aufnimmt (Herausstellung, Nominativus pendens)" (1928: 452). This description refers to an initial, independent element in the nominative case and a subsequent sentence that, after a delay, attaches itself to the initial nominative element and has a pronoun that incorporates that element. Behaghel's examples themselves are not limited to dislocated subjects.

[15] Although the grammatical gender of *Herz* is neuter in contemporary standard German, the author of this 1776 text, Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, used a masculine form for the coindexed definite pronoun. It is not unprecedented for n-stem nouns to show gender variability throughout the history of German.

The resumptive elements in the above set include both personal and demonstrative pronouns and examples of pro-elements in the nominative and accusative case. Examples 2.26b and 2.26e show a resumptive element in the middle field as opposed to the prefield. The use of left dislocation has thus not historically been limited to prototypical forms of LV, in which a resumptive demonstrative pronoun appears in the prefield as a subject.

The chronological development of left dislocation is examined by Lötscher (1995), who laments that claims about the relative frequency of left dislocation in older varieties of German had been based on intuition and unstructured observation by previous scholars.[16] His quantitative analysis suggests that the dislocation of "complex" nominal structures and expressions is nearly obligatory in Middle High German. Lötscher's examples with complex referents include those in Example 2.28; the dislocated referent in 2.28a is a DP with an embedded restrictive relative clause and an extraposed adjunct, and the dislocated referent in (b) consists of a temporal PP with a DP modified by a second PP.

Ex. 2.28

a. [alle die geporn werden von Adam und Even]$_i$, die$_i$ sint gepunden ze sprechen: vergib uns unser schuld.
'All who are born from Adam and Eve, they are required to say: forgive us our debts.'
(Konrad von Megenberg, Nr. 22, S. 61)

b. [An demme neheste sunnentage vor sante Margareten mes]$_i$ do$_i$ kom der herre von Gerolzsecke zu sante Arbogaste.
'On the Sunday before St. Margaret's mass, then came the lord from Gerolzsecke to Saint Arbogaste.'
(Corpus V, Nr. 25, S. 12)

Meanwhile, Lötscher states that the dislocation of the dislocation of "simple" forms, such as two- or three-word DPs with no adjuncts, is stylistically marked in Middle High German. Moreover,

[16] Lötscher (1995) points to Zäch's counts of nominativus pendens in Middle High German poetry as an exception to this dearth of relevant quantitative data.

the dislocation of non-complex referents is associated with texts that were listener-oriented and folksy (*volkstümlich*) or potentially archaic, including ritualized verses.

The apparent grammatical rule or preference for dislocating complex referents is no longer in effect in the 17th century legal documents (*Urkunden*), novels, and sermons examined by Lötscher, indicating an increased tolerance for syntactically dense prefields in writing. This apparent shift is likely related what Behaghel's observes about the loss of rhythm between MHG and NHG, though his data are limited to formal, writing-based forms of language (*Hoch-* and *Schriftsprache*). Style grammars, which prioritize professional and written communication, have been generally critical of dislocation and would have only contributed to further loss. Meanwhile, variable and multiple stress patterns, which occur with spoken left dislocation constructions, are maintained in spontaneous, spoken New High German (cf. Sandig 1973: 60).

Little has been said about a regional distribution of left dislocation within German-speaking Europe, but we do have clues to suggest that left dislocation was a feature of Low German varieties in the first half of the twentieth century. Scheel's analysis of Low German prose and poetry from the 19th and early 20th centuries notes the presence of resumptive pronouns and adverbs after the start of a sentence (*Satzanfang*) (1939: 44). While describing "pleonasm" as a feature of Low German, Grimme's study identifies several examples of left dislocation, including an example with a dislocated adverbial phrase (Grimme 1910: 142). The fact that Grimme highlights these "unnecessary repetitions" as characteristic of Low German suggests that the frequency of left dislocation, among other forms of repetition, was notable to a standard German speaker and, indeed, potentially grammaticalized in Low German. The notable use of left dislocation in a northern German dialect is also included in Mahnke's assessment of the Sławno dialect (1931: 66, my emphasis):

> Bezeichnend für die S[chlawer] M[undart] ist die Wiederholung eines Substantivs durch ein Pron. dem. in Fällen, wo das hd. Sprachgefühl es als überflüssig oder gar störend empfindet…**Diese Erscheinung ist wohl für das ganze nd. Sprachgebiet charakteristisch.** Fast alle plattdeutschen Dichter haben sie gekannt und in ihren Gedichten angewandt.
>
> *Characteristic for the Sławno dialect is the repetition of a noun through a demonstrative pronoun in cases where it would feel superfluous or even bothersome for standard German speakers…**This phenomenon is certainly characteristic for the entire Low German-speaking region.** Nearly all Low German writers (poets) knew it and used it in their works (poetry).*

Such evidence is valuable, though it may not mean that left dislocation is a specifically northern feature. Altmann notes how linguists and other "competent speakers" suggest that forms of dislocation are affiliated with southern German or specifically Bavarian varieties, and Altmann opines that they are making that judgement based on a strong awareness of standard German norms rather than direct observation that dislocation trends are specific to southern varieties (1981: 73).[17] Quantifying the frequency of left dislocation in Low German is a necessary first step toward meaningful comparisons of left dislocation's use and determining whether left dislocation is characteristic of a particular variety.

2.8 Summary

This chapter introduced definitions of left dislocation and provided an overview of how scholars have distinguished between at least two subtypes of left dislocation in German data, most notably Altmann's (1981) *Linksversetzung* (LV) and *Freies Thema* (FT). While scholars have continued to address information and discourse structure as well as the underlying syntactic structure of dislocation constructions, the role of situation and register as well as sociolinguistic factors influencing appearances of left dislocation have thus far received minimal empirical

[17] Altmann was Bavarian and there have historically been more linguistics from southern German than from northern Germany, so it is unsurprising that people in Altmann's network are more likely to make connections to southern varieties of German when expressing unstudied impressions about a particular linguistic phenomenon.

attention. Evidence from early Low German grammars and dialect studies suggest that northern Germany is a region where one could expect to find enough examples of left dislocation to generate quantitative data regarding left dislocation patterns. Armed with the knowledge of the first two chapters, the next chapter presents the methodology used in this study to address questions such as “With what frequency are different types of constituents involved in left dislocation?” and “How does the use of left dislocation vary across time and language variety?”

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Overview of methodology

This study uses quantitative methods to address questions about the use of left dislocation both synchronically and diachronically in northern Germany's recent history. Through the previous chapters, we have learned that left dislocation is a structure that appears primarily in spoken German and may be particularly associated with Low German varieties. We have also reviewed how the language landscape in Germany has dramatically shifted over the previous several centuries. Regiolects, regional varieties that developed from oralizations of a High German standard, have largely supplanted local dialects, particularly in the north. For this study, I defined a corpus of spoken language data from Low German varieties and northern German regiolects; the data set for this study includes nearly three hours of recorded narratives produced by a total of 23 consultants in northern Germany either around the late 1950s or between 2008-2010, plus four additional narratives produced in dialects from the earlier time period from outside northern Germany. In addition to describing left dislocation that occurs, I establish a method of analysis that considers how often left dislocation would have been possible, but did not occur, and compares utterances with left dislocation against a version of the same proposition stated without left dislocation. This is the first attempt to quantify variation in the use of left dislocation and represents a novel approach to understanding how the structural features of a potential referent may promote use of left dislocation for different varieties of German.

The remainder of this chapter presents the methodological approach and process of this study. First, I discuss the selection of data sources, describing the factors that motivated use of narrative data and specific recordings from the Zwirner corpus and from the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland project. I then outline how spoken language data were converted into objects of

analysis, which involved identifying main clauses, prefields, and pre-prefields and introducing the concept of a "would-be prefield." Finally, I present the categories of metadata that were used to enable the quantitative analyses of the next three chapters.

3.2 Data sources

The current research leverages recordings and transcriptions made as part of the influential Deutsche Mundarten ('German Dialects') Corpus and the more recent project Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland ('Language variation in Northern Germany'). With the goal of finding instances of left dislocation, I sought sources of natural speech in northern Germany. Fortunately for myself and other linguists, corpora of spoken German have proliferated and become more accessible over the past several decades. Focusing on corpora that included recordings of spontaneous speech from northern Germany, however, quickly narrowed the options. Moreover, this study's interest in diachrony demanded comparable sources from different time periods. I required language data produced with similar communicative conditions and communicative goals to ensure that observed differences were not due to a text's relative position on the language of proximity vs. language of distance spectrum. The remainder of this section will provide information about each source corpus, discuss the choice to use data from a narrative task, and describe how specific locations and speakers were selected for inclusion in the study.

3.2.1 Zwirner Corpus

Among the earliest and certainly most comprehensive data sets of oral German recordings is the Deutsche Mundarten corpus, more commonly referred to as the Zwirner corpus. Beginning in the 1950s, neurologist and phonetician Eberhard Zwirner led a project for the Zwirner-founded Deutsche Spracharchiv (DSAv, 'German Language Archive') that aimed to document German dialects as completely as possible (Stift & Schmidt 2014). This project was undertaken in the

wake of World War II and serves as an early application of voice recording technology for linguistic study.[1] The majority of the Zwirner recordings, including all those used in the current study, were completed between 1955 and 1961. The resulting Zwirner corpus comprises spoken language from mostly rural villages throughout the former West German states as well as neighboring German-speaking areas in Vorarlberg, Liechtenstein, the Alsace region, and the Netherlands. Recordings were also made with German-speaking refugees and resettlers who moved (back) west from the Soviet-occupied zone that had become the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) or from former German settlements elsewhere across eastern and southeastern Europe (Leibniz-Institute für Deutsche Sprache 2023).

The Zwirner project design is notable in geographic and sociolinguistic scope. Researchers mapped a grid of sixteen-by-sixteen kilometer squares onto the area of investigation, and at least one location was chosen within each square. For each location, Zwirner attempted include recordings from three autochthonous people, one aged around 20, 40, and over 60 years, respectively. This method had the purpose of capturing the local language varieties from different generations of speakers.

The primary aim was to document German dialects, though additional tasks elicited colloquial and Standard German forms. Consultants recorded individual narratives (*Erzählungen*) in their local dialect that focused on the histories and traditions of their villages and family life. The consultants in the Zwirner corpus were initially prompted to talk about

[1] Zwirner first took advantage of technological advancements that allowed voice recordings to be saved in the early 1930s. Recordings were made with villagers in Brandenburg und Silesia and with miners near Halle (Saale). Unfortunately, the majority of these early recordings as well as the accompanying transcriptions and analyzed metrics were lost as a result of a 1944 bombing in Braunschweig, where they had been moved for storage and further study (Stift & Schmidt 2014: 361). Scholars interested in the German diaspora will also note the early contributions of Lester W.J. "Smoky" Seifert, who recorded interviews with speakers of German in Wisconsin, including Wisconsin-born German speakers, beginning in 1946 with a machine called a SoundScriber (Seifert 1951).

where they were born and who their parents are, so the narrations typically begin with biographical information. Each consultant also produced translations of standard vocabulary (days of the week, numbers) and sentences intended to elicit regional or dialect-specific forms, namely Wenker sentences,[2] sentences from the Pfälzisches Wörterbuch ('Palatinate Dictionary'), and dialect-geographical test sentences by Theodor Baader. Incredibly, the Zwirner corpus comprises 1077 hours and 15 minutes of recorded material from a total of 5887 documented male and female speakers.

The Zwirner corpus offers many advantages that support the current project. Even without representation from former East Germany, this corpus is unique in its combination of geographic breadth and spontaneous spoken language data from a point in the mid-twentieth century when Low German dialects were still regularly spoken, especially among older adults in rural communities. Moreover, the Zwirner recordings and, in many cases, transcripts are freely available through the Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch ('Data base for Spoken German'), managed by the Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache's Archiv für Gesprochenes Deutsch ('Archive for Spoken German').[3] As confirmation that this corpus would serve the study well, my initial exploration of Low German recordings from the Zwirner corpus revealed examples of left dislocation such as those in Examples 3.1 and 3.2. Following the transcription norms of the Zwirner corpus, the examples are presented in standard German. I use brackets and subscripts to indicate the dislocated referent and the resumptive element of left dislocation structures.

[2] Between 1876 and 1887, Georg Wenker surveyed German dialects by sending written questionnaires to schoolteachers across German-speaking Europe. Various forms of the questionnaires included around 40 sentences, and the respondents were tasked with transcribing these standard-language sentences into the dialect of their respective area. The sentences were conceived such that typical phonetic and grammatical features of the dialects would be apparent in the written transcriptions. A detailed overview of Georg Wenker's surveys, which formed the basis of his language atlases, is provided by Fleischer (2017).

[3] The homepage of the Archiv für Gesprochenes Deutsch (AGD) is https://agd.ids-mannheim.de/index.shtml. The homepage for the DGD data base is https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome.

Ex. 3.1[4]	a)	[im Jahre 1966]$_i$	da$_i$	stand hier schon eine Kirche
	b)	[*in the year 1966*]$_i$	*there*$_i$	*stood here already a church*
	c)	'in 1966 there was already a church here'		

Ex. 3.2[5]	a)	[Suppe]$_i$	die$_i$	mag ich nicht
	b)	[*soup*]$_i$	*that*$_i$	*I do not like*
	c)	'soup, I don't like it'		

This study uses recordings from the Zwirner corpus to represent Low German dialects from various locations in northern Germany in the mid-twentieth century.

3.2.2 Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland

To complement the data from the Zwirner corpus with recordings from the twenty-first century, this study leverages the work of the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN) project. The SiN project, as its name suggests, focuses specifically on language in northern Germany. The project was established with the goal of collecting and analyzing colloquial modes of speech that exist between standard (High) German and Low German dialects in daily use by speakers across the region (Wirrer). The project is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, 'German Research Foundation') and represents an award-winning collaboration between researchers at six universities: Europa-Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder), Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Universität Hamburg, Westfälische-Wilhelms Universität Münster, Universität Bielefeld, and Universität Potsdam. The leaders of the project are Michael Elmentaler (Kiel), Joachim Gessinger (Potsdam), Jürgen Macha† (Münster), Jens Lanwer (Duisburg-Essen), Peter Rosenberg (Frankfurt/Oder), Ingrid Schröder (Hamburg), and Jan Wirrer (Bielefeld).

[4] Recording ID ZW_E_02180, Krummhörn, 1956.
[5] Recording ID ZW_E_02847, Raesfeld, 1957.

The SiN project is compelling as a model of scholarly collaboration and as a body of language data with depth and breadth of scope. Data collection for SiN occurred between 2008 and 2010 and involved 144 female consultants aged approximately 40 to 45 representing 72 locations. Parallel to the Zwirner corpus, locations were intentionally chosen to offer comprehensive coverage of dialect regions. The SiN researchers identified 18 dialect regions across northern Germany and selected two locations per dialect region. The selected towns or villages had approximately 2,000-8,000 residents. The project avoided tourist centers, commuter-heavy communities, and suburban towns in order to maximize speech data that represented autochthonous varieties. Researchers recruited four consultants per location. When possible, each location was represented by two consultants with knowledge of Low German and two consultants without such knowledge. Recruiting consultants competence in Low German was generally more successful in the areas farther north and east in the northern German region, specifically in Schleswig Holstein and northern Low Saxony (Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015: 93–94). Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of Low German dialect competence across the four consultants in each location of the SiN study; each consultant's Low German competence is indicated as high (green), medium (yellow), or low (red).

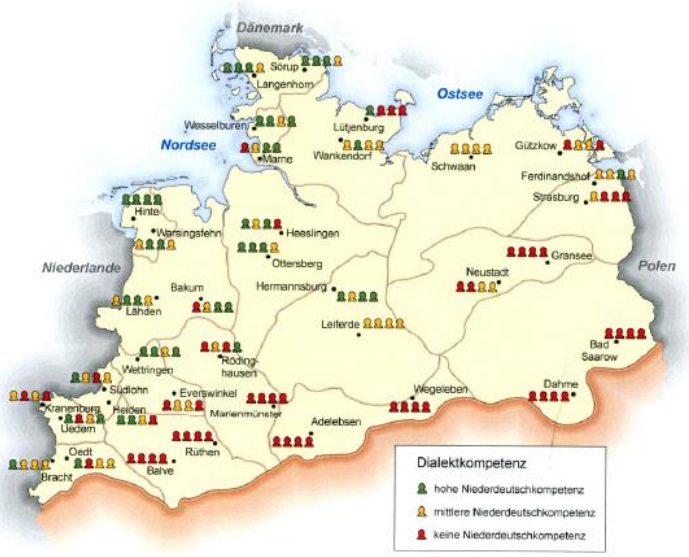


Figure 3.1 Dialect competence of the 144 subjects [in the SiN project]
(reproduction of Map 4 in Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015: 94)

The SiN project's goal of plotting the contemporary linguistic reality of northern Germany, specifically with regard to the spectrum of everyday speech, is achieved through a multifaceted research protocol with each consultant. All consultants were recorded during three tasks designed to elicit different modes of natural, unscripted speech: a sociolinguistic interview with a project researcher, informal table talk with local friends or family without the researcher present, and a brief free narration task. The interview and table talk were typically completed in a speaker's everyday regiolectal variety. A minority of consultants participated in Low German table talk, and this occurred in communities that have maintained a strong dialect presence (Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015: 93).

For the narration task, consultants were prompted to use Low German if they had speaking competence in a Low German variety. Consultants generally spoke about a combination of local traditions, personal involvement in organizations, and events in their life. As additional tasks, consultants read aloud two standard German texts, translated the classic Wenker sentences into

Low German, if possible, and completed a battery of tests that assess the salience, normativity, situativity, and areality of specific linguistic features. Initial descriptive results about regiolects were published in 2015 as the first volume of *Norddeutscher Sprachatlas* (Elmentaler & Rosenberg 2015), and second volume focused on dialect registers appeared in 2022. Four additional volumes are planned to address additional aspects of linguistic variation and speakers' metalinguistic perceptions (Wirrer).

Use of the SiN project data worked well for the current study for several reasons. The SiN project offers the most comprehensive set of everyday spoken language data available for northern Germany in the twenty-first century, certainly more than would have been feasible for me to collect on my own. I share the SiN project's interest in variation unrelated to sociolinguistic variables such as age and gender, and thus SiN's approach to consultant selection aligns well with my own research goals. As a practical matter, the SiN project's recordings were made available to me, and much of the data had undergone initial transcription by project members.[6] The dedication and generosity of the SiN team has enabled me to pursue questions of left dislocation and variation in unscripted German with a substantial and methodologically consistent set of twenty-first century speech data.

3.2.3 Spoken narratives

To pursue questions of diachronic and potential regional variation, personal narratives prove a judicious choice for both practical and analytical reasons. Spoken narratives are the only overlapping genre in the Zwirner and SiN recordings besides translations. Additionally, speakers for the SiN corpus were instructed to complete the narrative task in dialect, if possible, which led

[6] Dr. Peter Rosenberg (Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder)) and Timm Lehmberg (Universität Hamburg) provided invaluable early support of this project and facilitated my access to the SiN corpus. Fortunately, my interest in left dislocation complemented, and did not interfere, with SiN members' existing research agendas.

to more Low German data than in the other tasks captured regiolectal speech. Thus, using a data set based on the narrative tasks enables a real-time comparison of Low German dialect varieties. The fact that not all SiN consultants speak Low German means that this task can also be used for a synchronic comparison of contemporary spoken varieties. By choosing to focus just on speech produced during the narrative tasks, I limit the amount of variation that could be ascribed to differing modes of language use.

Compared to other possible examples of spoken language, the narrative task is an ideal genre in which to seek examples of left dislocation. Importantly, speech during the narrative task falls closer to the "spoken" end of the conceptual continuum of "spoken vs. written" presented by Koch & Oesterreicher (2007); the continuum shows how examples of both print (graphic) and oral (phonic) forms of communication compare with respect to communicative proximity or distance. The narratives from both the Zwirner and SiN corpora are examples of unrehearsed spoken language. Relative to the examples in Figure 3.2, I suggest that the narratives fall between (b) an informal, spontaneous phone conversation and (d) a job interview. In this type of speech, one can assume that nonstandard features, including left dislocation, are less likely to be self-censored by the speaker than in speech closer to the 'written' end of the spectrum.

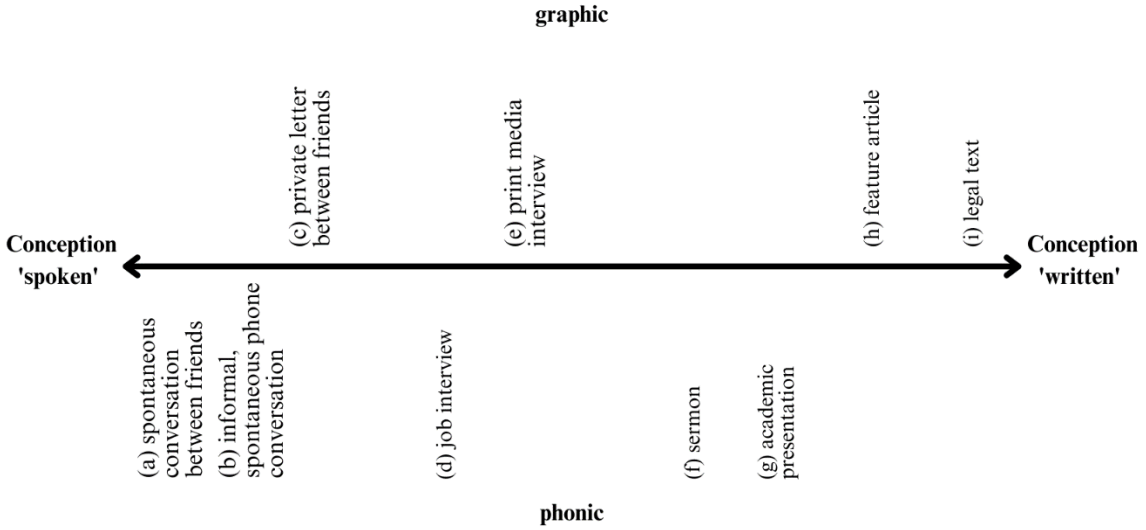


Figure 3.2. Communication forms on the conceptual continuum (reproduced in English based on Koch & Oesterreicher 2007: 349)

Although the term "narrative," translated from German *Erzählung* or *freies Erzählen* implies uninterrupted storytelling, the narratives in the Zwirner and SiN corpora sometimes present more like informal interviews. The researchers involved in the Zwirner and the SiN narratives would prompt consultants to clarify a point or otherwise say more. Some consultants spoke uninterrupted for multiple minutes before additional questions or prompts from the researcher. For consultants whose narrative stretches were briefer, the researcher would ask more frequent questions.

Several additional characteristics of narratives make them an appealing data source for this study. The primarily single-speaker nature of the narrative task yields more speech from an individual in much less time than multi-speaker contexts, such as table talk with multiple friends or family members. Moreover, narratives can also be expected to have a relatively high density of complete clauses, since utterances are not regularly interrupted or partially completed by a conversation partner. That independent management of an ongoing narrative also creates

opportunities for left dislocation that might not arise as often in other communicative settings. Even allowing for some prompting from a researcher, all consultants to independently introduce and manage scene-setting information and referents while narrating. These factors all ease the search for left dislocation produced by a specific individual.

3.2.4 Selected locations and speakers

Having determined the two sources of data and the communicative task that will be analyzed, I proceeded to select a subset of recordings that would serve as the corpus for this study. The goal was to identify sets of counterparts between the Zwirner and SiN data sets that together represented a range of dialect regions in northern Germany. Three main priorities were considered when looking for pairings: matching consultant age and gender, matching locations, and availability of transcripts. I used an iterative process of narrowing down locations and individual speakers to determine the final set of pairings.

To reduce the number of possible locations, I first identified the Zwirner recordings that involved women consultants. The majority of the Zwirner consultants were men, so restricting the data set to women dramatically reduced the list of recordings under consideration. I did not include refugees or immigrants from the Zwirner corpus, since their language variety would not have a direct counterpart in the SiN corpus. Next, I identified towns that represented an overlap between the SiN and Zwirner corpus, looking for pairs of towns between the two corpora that were identical or reasonably close to each other and would represent the same dialect region. I used Google Maps to estimate distances between locations and eliminated locations that did not have a nearby counterpart. Having identified possible location pairs, I checked whether transcripts were available for speakers for that location in the SiN corpus and eliminated

locations without transcripts available. Upholding a requirement that transcripts be available enabled me to more quickly and consistently conduct the work of parsing spoken language data.

From this list of possibilities, I reviewed possible pairings and sought to balance the competing desires to have consultants as close in age as possible, locations as close to each other as possible, and SiN locations with speakers both with and without competence in Low German. I prioritized recordings in the Zwirner corpus from women who were closest to 40-50 years old at the time of recording, the approximate ages of the consultants in the SiN project and the middle generation in the Zwirner study. In the end, women outside the 40–50-year age range were included in the study, but the age factor did help with prioritizing some consultants over others. As for location pairings, I only considered Zwirner locations that were approximately ten kilometers or less (as the crow flies) from a SiN location, such that both locations would have very likely been in the same quadrant from the original Zwirner map. The final pairings are all less than ten kilometers away from each other. According to Google Maps, the driving distances between the paired municipalities or villages range from zero kilometers (Balve to Balve) to 18.2 kilometers, or approximately 17 minutes (Filsum to Warsingsfehn).

The described process led to the selection of eight northern German location pairs and 23 speakers that represent six of the SiN project's dialect regions and over two and a half hours of recorded narratives. For each pairing, the study includes one speaker from the Zwirner location and two speakers from the corresponding SiN locality. There is one exception: a transcript was only available for one SiN consultant from either location in Holstein, so only that one consultant is included as a representative of twenty-first century Holstein.

Having multiple speakers per location from the SiN data was motivated by the desire to include comparable narratives in both Low German and regiolect. This choice was also

motivated by the fact that the SiN narratives were, on average, less than half the length of the Zwirner narratives. The narratives in the Zwirner corpus are often around ten minutes long, and the SiN narratives are more typically around five minutes long. Including about twice as many SiN narratives created a more equal balance of speech data from each time period in the study. In total, the study includes approximately 88 minutes of Zwirner narratives and approximately 77 minutes from the SiN narratives, for a total of about 2 hours 45 minutes analyzed for the study.

The inclusion of narratives completed in Low German and in northern German regiolect enable synchronic comparisons based on region and variety. For three SiN locations, the study includes one Low German speaker and one non-Low German speaker. For another three SiN locations, both speakers completed the narrative task in Low German. For the final two SiN locations, neither speaker had speaking competence in Low German, so both narratives were completed in a regiolectal variety. In addition to the northern German consultants, four additional Zwirner narratives from outside northern Germany were selected to permit a brief synchronic comparison between Low German and High German dialects in the mid-twentieth century.

Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1 introduce the consultants full list of consultants whose narratives are used in this study. Figure 3.3 is a map generated with Google Maps that shows the locations of the consultants. For the SiN speakers, the colors indicate whether the speakers in that location all produced Low German narratives (indicated by blue), were split between one Low German narrative and one High German (regiolect) narrative (indicated by purple), or produced only High German narratives (indicated by red). You will note the trend that, in the twenty-first century, the locations further north have a high concentration of Low German competence than the more central and southern locations within northern Germany. As part of representing the

non-northern Zwirner locations, the map also indicates the town of Oschatz. Oschatz is where one consultant, Ilse, grew up before moving west to Isenburg as an adult.

In Table 3.1, consultants are grouped by dialect region and arranged roughly from north to south. The rows with consultants from the Zwirner corpus are colored in light gray. For this study, all speakers have been assigned a pseudonym. The pseudonym choices were informed by lists of popular baby names in Germany for the decades in which these speakers were born. I also maintained a pattern of having the pseudonym begin with the same letter as the location of that speaker's recording. Information connecting each speaker to a consultant identifier and recording from their respective corpus is available in the appendices.

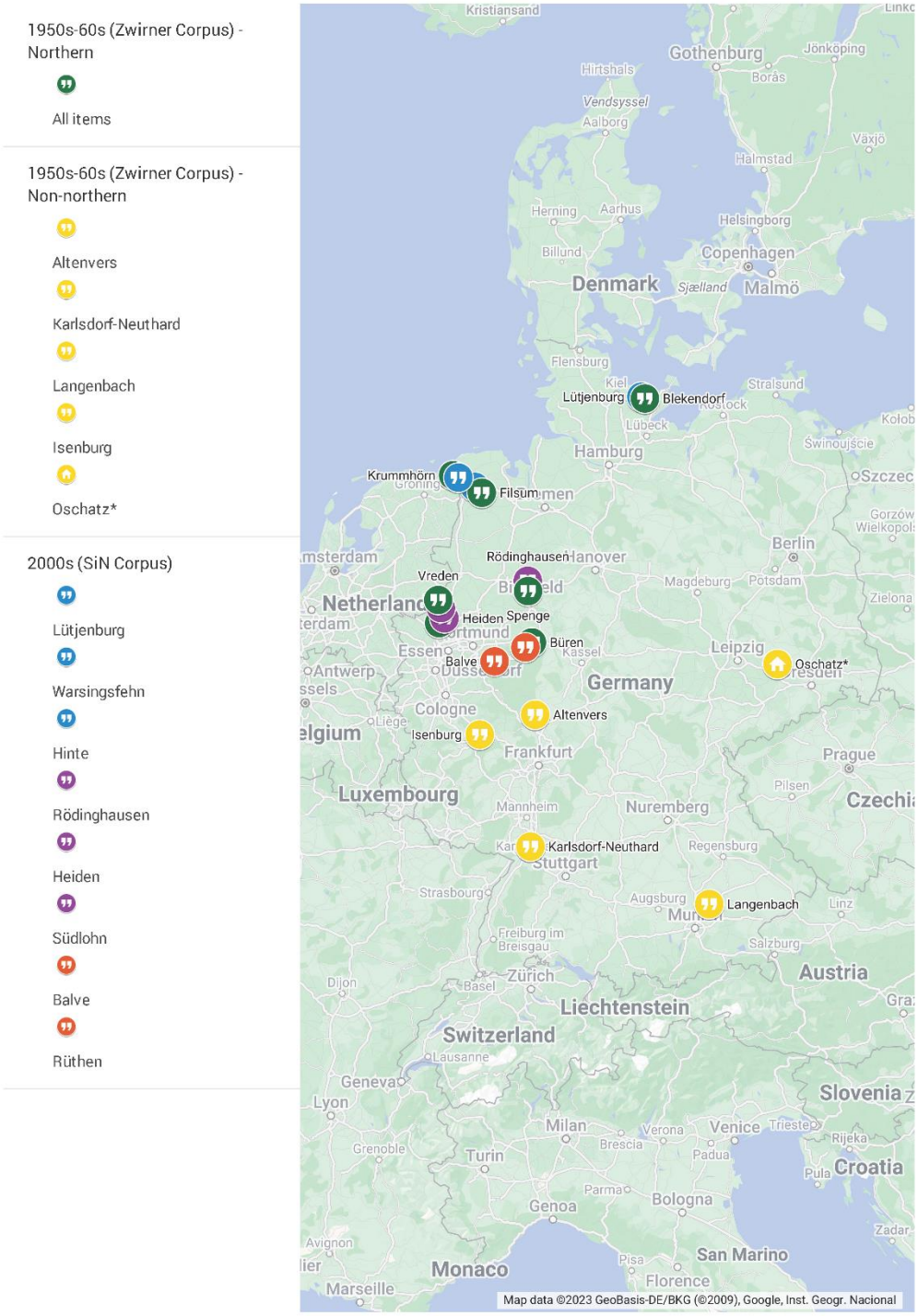


Figure 3.3 Map with all narrative consultants[7]

[7] An interaction version of this map is available at https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1AaWp9srXDT5-_e6EMxleeHgUVk4XgqEm&usp=sharing.

Location pair	SiN dialect region	Corpus	Location (town or municipality)	Consultant name	Language of narrative
		Northern Germany			
Blekendorf/Lütjenburg	Holstein	Zwirner	Blekendorf	Bertha	Low German
Blekendorf/Lütjenburg	Holstein	SiN	Lütjenburg	Larissa	Low German
Krummhörn/Hinte	East Frisia	Zwirner	Krummhörn	Käthe	Low German
Krummhörn/Hinte	East Frisia	SiN	Hinte	Hanna	Low German
Krummhörn/Hinte	East Frisia	SiN	Hinte	Helena	Low German
Filsum/Warsingsfehn	East Frisia	Zwirner	Filsum	Frieda	Low German
Filsum/Warsingsfehn	East Frisia	SiN	Warsingsfehn	Wilma	Low German
Filsum/Warsingsfehn	East Frisia	SiN	Warsingsfehn	Wiebke	Low German
Vreden/Südlohn	West Münsterland	Zwirner	Vreden	Verena	Low German
Vreden/Südlohn	West Münsterland	SiN	Südlohn	Stefanie	Low German
Vreden/Südlohn	West Münsterland	SiN	Südlohn	Susanne	High German
Raesfeld/Heiden	West Münsterland	Zwirner	Raesfeld	Renate	Low German
Raesfeld/Heiden	West Münsterland	SiN	Heiden	Heike	Low German
Raesfeld/Heiden	West Münsterland	SiN	Heiden	Heidi	High German
Spenge/Rödinghausen	East Westphalia	Zwirner	Spenge	Sofie	Low German
Spenge/Rödinghausen	East Westphalia	SiN	Rödinghausen	Rieke	Low German
Spenge/Rödinghausen	East Westphalia	SiN	Rödinghausen	Rita	High German
Büren/Rüthen	South Westphalia	Zwirner	Büren	Birgit	Low German
Büren/Rüthen	South Westphalia	SiN	Rüthen	Ramona	High German
Büren/Rüthen	South Westphalia	SiN	Rüthen	Regina	High German
Balve/Balve	South Westphalia	Zwirner	Balve	Bärbel	Low German
Balve/Balve	South Westphalia	SiN	Balve	Bettina	High German
Balve/Balve	South Westphalia	SiN	Balve	Britta	High German
		Outside northern Germany			
N/A	N/A (West Middle German: Rhenish Franconian)	Zwirner	Altenvers	Anna	High German
N/A	N/A (East Middle German: Upper Saxon; West Middle German: Middle Franconian)	Zwirner	Isenburg	Ilse	High German
N/A	N/A (High German: Southern Franconian)	Zwirner	Karlsdorf-Neuthard	Karla	High German
N/A	N/A (High German: Central Bavarian)	Zwirner	Langenbach	Luise	High German

Table 3.1 Overview of consultants in the study arranged by groups of represented locations

3.3 Segmenting spoken language data

With the recordings selected, it was time to turn spoken language and transcripts into units of data that could help assess the frequency and likelihood of left dislocation. Since left dislocation involves main clauses, the study looked only at main clauses; subordinate clauses and incomplete clauses were excluded from the analysis. In addition to identifying examples of left dislocation in the data, I asked whether left dislocation could have occurred in the main clauses where left dislocation was not already present. To answer that question, I focused on the prefield, which is where resumptive elements can be located in all forms of left dislocation in German and where they must occur in examples of *Linksversetzung*. I also introduce the concept of a "would-be prefield," which I use to compare allosentences with and without left dislocation.

An initial stage of preparing the data involved listening to each narrative to familiarize myself with the speakers and content and to check the accuracy of the available transcripts. When comparing transcripts against the recordings, I focused on identifying distinct clauses and making corrections to transcripts when the update impacted the left periphery of a given clause. Through the process of reviewing transcripts, I also noted time markers throughout each narrative, which made it easier to find and review specific utterances in the recordings as needed later on. Once the transcripts were reviewed, I divided the texts into the analytically relevant segments, namely main clauses, prefields, pre-prefields, and the "would-be prefield." This remainder of this section will discuss each of these segments. Main clauses serve as the main organizational unit for data in the study, and the segments related to identifying whether left dislocation had occurred or was hypothetically possible.

3.3.1 Main clauses and the left periphery

For each narrative, I identified declarative main clauses and identified which elements, if any, were in the prefield and pre-prefield of the clause. Main clauses were the primary object of study because left dislocation occurs in the context of a main clause, as opposed to a subordinate clause or other units of language. Although imperatives (commands) and interrogatives (questions) have main clause word order, left dislocation does not occur in these structures and so they were excluded from the study. Incomplete clauses were also excluded. When pivot constructions[8] were identified, they were recorded as two separate but overlapping clauses. In total, I identified and analyzed 2219 main clauses. Zwirner and SiN recordings contributed roughly evenly to the total number of main clauses in the study (1140 versus 1079).

Once the data was separated by main clauses, I identified the prefield of each clause. The prefield constituent could involve clausal embedding or otherwise syntactically layered constituents that formed a single referent. When multiple distinct elements appeared before the finite verb (left bracket) in what otherwise appeared to be a main clause, the initial element(s) were analyzed as the pre-prefield. Vocative elements, coordinating conjunctions, and certain sentence modifiers were always analyzed as part of the pre-prefield.[9] These decisions align with descriptions from Duden; coordinating conjuctions and particles that relate to the whole clause are not located in their own [topological] field, but attach to either side of the prefield or left bracket (Duden 2009: §1385).

[8] Pivot constructions, which can also be found in linguistics and rhetoric literature under the name apo koinou constructions or, in German, *Drehsätze*, are a blend of two clauses with a shared middle element that serves as a grammatical continuation of the first part and a beginning with the final part. Helpful discussions of pivot constructions in spoken German can be found in Scheutz (2005) and Duden (2009: §2016).

[9] Whether elements like interjections or vocatives are in pre-prefield or syntactically independent is not always clear. This distinction does not ultimately impact my analysis.

Naturally, looking at the left periphery of each main clause led to identifying when left dislocation was present. I analyze the dislocated referent of a left dislocation construction as part of the pre-prefield rather than as part of the prefield. This analysis is not driven by adherence to a particular syntactic theory. Instead, analyzing dislocated referents as part of the pre-prefield was preferrable because it is an available interpretation that can be applied consistently across all examples of left dislocation, including free topic constructions. This consistency is critical when I compare prefields from across the data set and seek to describe the impact of left dislocation on the prefield.

3.3.2 Introducing "would-be prefields"

In addition to separating the speech produced by consultants into clauses and distinguishing topological fields of the left periphery, I developed a category called the "would-be prefield." This category is inspired by the concept of allosentences, which can represent "available but unused grammatical alternatives for expressing a given proposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 6). The goal of the "would-be prefield" is to represent the prefield of a main clause as it would be if the clause had been produced without left dislocation. If a clause as originally uttered did not involve left dislocation, the would-be prefield and the original prefield are identical. If the original clause did involve left dislocation, the would-be prefield is the prefield of an imagined allosentence with the dislocated referent incorporated directly into the clause, replacing by the resumptive element. Since the resumptive element of left dislocation most often appears in the prefield, would-be prefields are typically filled by the originally dislocated referent when the original utterance involved left dislocation. If the resumptive element of a left dislocation construction was in the middle field, however, the would-be prefield and the actual prefield of that clause would be identical. The generation of would-be prefields based on imagined allosentences offers

a valuable tool for understanding how using left dislocation impacts the prefield of an utterance and how certain syntactic conditions may prompt left dislocation.

Examples 3.3-3.8 provide examples of main clauses from the data set along with their prefields and would-be prefields. Left dislocation is not present in Examples 3.3 and 3.6, so the prefields and would-be prefields in those examples are the same. In the other examples, the prefields and would-be prefields differ because the original clause involves left dislocation. Examples 3.8 shows how a would-be prefield may incorporate, but not be identical to, the originally dislocated referent.

Ex. 3.3	Main clause[10]:	wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist muss man doch mal vier Tage mit durchziehen
	Left dislocation:	No
	Prefield:	wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist 'when you are on Mallorca for four days just this once'
	Would-be prefield:	wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist 'when you are on Mallorca for four days just this once'
Ex. 3.4	Main clause[11]:	und wenn ich mir dann die Realität ansehe dann kann ich mich richtig aufregen
	Left dislocation:	Yes
	Prefield:	dann 'then'
	Would-be prefield:	wenn ich mir dann die Realität ansehe 'when I look at the reality'
Ex. 3.5	Main clause[12]:	und bis man sich dann so angenähert hatte da gab es dann das Mittagessen
	Left dislocation:	Yes
	Prefield:	da 'there'
	Would-be prefield:	bis man sich dann so angenähert hatte 'by the time people had approached each other'
Ex. 3.6	Main clause[13]:	also Vader un Moder hen goldene Hochtiet vör ene Weke
	Left dislocation:	No
	Prefield:	Vader un Moder 'father and mother'
	Would-be prefield:	Vader un Moder (High German: Vater und Mutter, 'father and mother') 'father and mother'
Ex. 3.7	Main clause[14]:	de Fotografin die was um half neggen dor
	Left dislocation:	Yes
	Prefield:	die 'she'
	Would-be prefield:	de Fotografin (High German: die Fotografin) 'the photographer'
Ex. 3.8	Main clause[15]:	mien Vader för den weer Wienachten dat wichtigste Fest in dat Johr
	Left dislocation:	Yes
	Prefield:	för den 'for him'
	Would-be prefield:	för mien Vader (High German: für meinen Vater) 'for my father'

[10] Ramona's narrative, 1:25
[11] Regina's narrative, 0:54
[12] Heidi's narrative, 1:54
[13] Stefanie's narrative, 0:01
[14] Stefanie's narrative, 0:22
[15] Larissa's narrative, 0:08

3.4 Categories of metadata

After identifying the relevant segments of language, the next step was to create metadata that would help describe instances of left dislocation and quantify its association with different language varieties and syntactic conditions. Data were organized in Excel with each row assigned to a main clause. Each row contained the consultant who produced the relevant narrative and information about the language of the recording. I also marked whether left dislocation would have been possible with that clause and whether left dislocation was present. Additional categories of metadata captured features of the prefield, resumptive element, and would-be prefield. The rest of this section will further explain each of these types of metadata.

3.4.1 Narrative-level metadata

Metadata about the narrative in which a particular clause was produced was critical to answering questions about several axes of variation. I tagged all main clauses with the pseudonym of the consultant who produced the narrative, the language of the narrative (Low German or High German), dialect region of the consultant, Low German competence of the consultant, and approximate time of the main clause with the relevant audio file. I followed the evaluations of the researchers from the Zwirner corpus and SiN to describe the language of the narrative and the Low German competence of the consultant. I kept the data from each time period in separate Excel spreadsheets; maintaining separate but parallel databases amounted to having an additional tag on each clause marking the original source corpus. By associating each clause with information about the overall narrative, I could analyze the data not only as a complete set, but with regard to idiolectal, dialectal, regional, and diachronic variation.

3.4.2 Possibility of left dislocation

To meaningfully quantify left dislocation, I was invested in measuring not only if left dislocation occurred, but when left dislocation would have been possible. If any kind of left dislocation had been produced, left dislocation was clearly possible with that clause. For cases when left dislocation was not present with the clause, I applied concepts from Lambrecht's work on information structure, more specifically (sentence) topic. Information structure links syntactic and pragmatic properties within the context of a clause, and this model is compelling because it explains differences between allosentences without relying on interpretations of discourse-level phenomena. According to Lambrecht, "[the] topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT" (1994: 118); a topic is necessarily a referent that has a relationship with the proposition. This definition of topic is inclusive of "scene-setting" referents that provide a spatial or temporal context for the proposition (118). Elements that are inherently topic constituents include pronouns, deictic expressions, and pronominal adverbs (*da*-compounds). Constituents that cannot be promoted to the topic of a clause or sentence include sentence adverbs. Left dislocation separates the tasks of identifying a referent that a proposition will be about and then introducing a proposition with reference to that referent (topic).

To operationalize the question of whether left dislocation was possible, I focus on the elements in prefields. This reflects the understanding in previous literature that left dislocation in German usually involves a resumptive element in the prefield, the natural place for an element that is an inherent topic constituent. If the prefield of a clause that doesn't already involve left dislocation is filled with a constituent that is inherently a topic constituent or that could not serve as a topic, then that prefield element cannot serve as the dislocated referent of a left dislocation

construction. If the prefield is filled with a constituent that could potentially be a topic, i.e. could be the referent of a left dislocation construction, left dislocation of that prefield element would be structurally possible. So, if left dislocation occurred or if the clause's prefield was filled with an element that was not inherently a topic constituent, but could serve as a sentence topic, I evaluated left dislocation as possible for that clause.

My aim with this approach was to identify a maximum set of clauses in which left dislocation would be possible based solely on information from within the clause. The described method of determining whether a prefield element is "eligible" for left dislocation does not consider discourse-level context that might restrict or otherwise influence use of left dislocation. Hypothetical allosentences with left dislocation may be very unlikely to occur, since they could require quite specific discourse contexts. By considering left dislocation possible in these cases, my analysis can evaluate the role of syntactic factors separately from previously noted discourse-pragmatic functions of left dislocation.

When left dislocation was present, I documented additional information. I identified the dislocated referent and any associated introductory verbiage and noted if the resumptive element happened to not occur in the prefield. When transcript text did not make clear whether left dislocation was produced, I re-reviewed audio recordings alongside transcripts and I considered impressionistic judgments about pauses and prosody to make those determinations. Since I was uninterested in making definitive judgements about different types of left dislocation, I did not pursue measurement of prosodic integration or other prosody features.

Examples 3.9-3.16 present excerpts from the data and shows the determination of whether left dislocation is possible and, if possible, is indeed present. Examples 3.9-3.14 repeat the excerpts from Examples 3.3-3.8.

Ex. 3.9	Main clause:	wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist muss man doch mal vier Tage mit durchziehen 'when you are on Mallorca for four days just this once you have to keep going along for four days'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	No
Ex. 3.10	Main clause:	und wenn ich mir dann die Realität ansehe dann kann ich mich richtig aufregen 'when I look at the reality, then I can get really worked up'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	Yes
Ex. 3.11	Main clause:	und bis man sich dann so angenähert hatte da gab es dann das Mittagessen 'by the time people had approached each other, then there was lunch'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	Yes
Ex. 3.12	Main clause[1]:	also Vader un Moder hen goldene Hochtiet vör ene Weke 'so father and mother had their golden anniversary a week ago'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	No
Ex. 3.13	Main clause:	de Fotografin die was um half neggen dor 'the photographer, she was there a 8:30'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	Yes
Ex. 3.14	Main clause:	mien Vader för den weer Wienachten dat wichtigste Fest in dat Johr 'my father, for him Christmas was the most important holiday of the year'
	Left dislocation possible:	Yes
	Left dislocation present:	Yes
Ex. 3.15	Main clause[16]:	sie spielt sowohl Geige wie auch Klavier 'she plays violin as well as piano'
	Left dislocation possible:	No
	Left dislocation present:	No
Ex. 3.16	Main clause[17]:	stattdessen werden mal irgendwo so ein paar Eliteunis ausgezeichnet 'instead, a pair of elite universities somewhere are honored'
	Left dislocation possible:	No
	Left dislocation present:	No

[16] Rita's narrative, 2:03
[17] Regina's narrative, 2:26

3.4.3 Describing prefields and referents

How does the grammatical weight, or heaviness, of a potentially dislocated referent impact the likelihood of left dislocation? I aimed to describe constituents in the left periphery with that question in mind. I use word count and presence or absence of a clause as proxies for the relative grammatical weight of a given constituent. In his research on grammatical weight, Wasow (1997) finds that a simple word count functions as well as other syntactic units as a measure of grammatical weight. In English, relative word length is related to extraposition phenomena ("Heavy-NP Shift"), while measures of word-internal length, such as the number of syllables, is not (Stallings & MacDonald 2011). Clausal embedding in the middle field has been associated with "complexity" and shown to be dispreferred by German speakers in non-public oral registers (Verhoeven & Lehmann 2018). In the development of my methodology, I hypothesized that these two measures of grammatical weight, given their proven relationships with extraposition and right dislocation phenomena, would also be associated with left dislocation.

In addition to capturing grammatical weight through word counts and clauses, I described the content of the left periphery in ways related to an element's form and function in the clause. For each prefield element, I kept track of the following: length as a number of words, general content function (e.g., adverbial, nominal, verbal), form (e.g., demonstrative pro-form,[18] personal pronoun, possessive phrase, prepositional phrase, subordinate clause), role in the clause (e.g., subject, direct object, adjunct), and case (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, or not applicable). When left dislocation was present, the same categories were used to describe the dislocated referent, with the addition of information to categorize any clausal referent (e.g.,

[18] Throughout the study, I use the phrase "demonstrative pro-form" as a category that captures both demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *der, die, das*) and demonstrative adverbs (e.g., *da, dann*). The first group is associated with a nominal function, and the second with an adverbial function. Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs share many prosodic and pragmatic features, and it proved helpful to have a category that grouped them together.

relative clause, *wenn*-clause). I also noted what resumptive element appeared, whether it differed from the element in the prefield, and if it was located in the middle field rather than the prefield. For would-be prefields, I documented the word length of the would-be prefield as well as its function and form in the hypothetical clause.

To illustrate how the metadata assignments worked in practice, I present below the metadata associated with two main clauses, one without left dislocation and one with left dislocation. The clauses are the same as used Examples 3.9 and 3.13, respectively.

Main clause: wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist muss man doch mal vier Tage mit durchziehen
'when you are on Mallorca for four days just this once you have to keep going along for four days'

Low German competence	unclear
Dialect region	South Westphalia (Westphalian)
Language of recording	High German
Would-be prefield form	CLAUSE
Would-be prefield function	adverbial
Would-be prefield length	8
Resumptive element in MF	N/A
LD case agreement	N/A
Prefield & resumptive element	N/A
LD resumptive element	N/A
LD referent clause type	N/A
LD referent case	N/A
LD referent form	N/A
LD referent function	N/A
LD referent clause?	N/A
LD referent length #	N/A
LD referent	N/A
Prefield case	N/A
Prefield role	adjunct
Prefield form	CLAUSE
Prefield function (nom/adv)	adverbial
Prefield length (# words)	8
Prefield element	wenn man mal vier Tage auf Mallorca ist
LD?	FALSE
LD Possible?	TRUE
Time	1:25
Pseudonym	Ramona

Table 3.2 Example of metadata for a clause without left dislocation

Main clause: de Fotografin die was um half neggen dor
'the photographer, she was there a 8:30'

Low German competence	L1/unclear
Dialect region	West Münsterland
Language of recording	Low German
Would-be prefield form	determiner phrase
Would-be prefield function	nominal
Would-be prefield length	2
Resumptive element in MF	FALSE
LD case agreement	TRUE
Prefield & resumptive element differ	FALSE
LD resumptive element	die
LD referent clause type	N/A
LD referent case	nominative
LD referent form	determiner phrase
LD referent function	nominal
LD referent clause?	TRUE
LD referent length #	2
LD referent	de Fotografin
Prefield case	nominative
Prefield role	subject
Prefield form	demonstrative pro-form
Prefield function (nom/adv)	nominal
Prefield length (# words)	1
Prefield element	die
LD?	TRUE
LD Possible?	TRUE
Time	0:22
Pseudonym	Stephanie

Table 3.3 Example of metadata for a clause with left dislocation

During the process of creating this metadata, I kept track of several additional categories that seemed potentially interesting to me, such as whether the prefield element was plural and what elements unrelated to left dislocation were in the pre-prefield. This allowed me to check, for example, whether left dislocation occurs more frequently after the conjunction *aber* ('but'), which signals a contrast, or after the neutral coordinating conjunction *und* ('and'). Ultimately, I did not notice emerging patterns related to any of those additional categories and they are not as clearly connected to my research questions as those in Tables 3.2-3.3. Those extra categories are not addressed further in this study.

3.5 Summary

This chapter described a methodology designed to produce results that can address questions about several axes of variation and structural factors influencing the use of left dislocation in northern varieties of contemporary German. I explained how I leveraged strengths of the existing Zwirner and SiN projects to create a corpus of narratives from two different generations of consultants across northern Germany. I then shared how spoken data was transformed into analyzable segments that relate to the presence or absence of left dislocation, which included a new conceptual segment that hypothesizes what the prefield of a main clause would be in the absence of left dislocation ("would-be prefield"). Finally, I identified categories of metadata that capture information about the narratives and the various language segments. The next three chapters will present the results of synchronic and diachronic analyses based on those metadata and reveal patterns of the prefield and rates of left dislocation.

Chapter 4: Synchronic analysis: Left periphery in the mid-twentieth century

4.1 Overview of mid-twentieth-century analysis

This chapter presents a synchronic analysis of the left periphery in narratives from the Zwirner Corpus, which represents German varieties as spoken around the late 1950s. To begin, we see how speakers in northern Germany at this time fill the prefields of main clauses while completing the task to produce a recorded narrative. These speakers' prefield patterns are kept in mind as we examine the rate of left dislocation and features of the constituents involved in left dislocation. Complementing the quantitative overview are three case studies, which offer a closer look at the use of left dislocation by individual speakers who use left dislocation with differing frequencies. Following the analysis of Low German narratives from northern Germany, I present prefield and left dislocation data from contemporaneous recordings representing other dialect regions of Germany. The non-northern data help contextualize what is and is not specific to left dislocation patterns in the northern German, specifically contemporary Low German context. Meaningfully, the results of this chapter identify syntactic factors that are significantly associated with the use of left dislocation in mid-century Low German. Moreover, this chapter establishes the foundation for diachronic comparison with twenty-first century northern German varieties, which will be the focus of chapter five.

4.2 Mid-twentieth-century data sources

The sources of spoken language data for this chapter are selected recordings and transcripts from the Zwirner Corpus. As introduced in the previous chapter, the recordings in the Zwirner Corpus provide a snapshot into local German varieties as spoken in the 1950s and early 1960s. The eight northern German speakers and four speakers from outside northern Germany whose data are used in this chapter are presented again in Table 4.1. The listed linguistic varieties

follow those assigned in the Zwirner Corpus, with the additional information of which major German dialect group each variety falls within.

The order of the speakers in Table 4.1 follows a rough geographic distribution from most northern to most southern, keeping speakers of the same dialect variety next to each other. The recording locations of the speakers can be seen in Map 4.1. On the map, the eight locations falling within northern German are indicated with light orange circles with a quotation mark symbol. The four recording locations outside northern Germany are indicated with red circles with a quotation mark symbol. The red circle with a house symbol identifies the town of Oschatz, where Ilse grew up before moving west to Isenburg as an adult.

.

Speaker	Location	Variety	Profession	Birth Year	Recording Year	Age[1]
		Northern Germany				
Bertha	Blekendorf	Low German: Northern Low Saxon (Holsteinish)	Homemaker	1914	1958	44
Käthe	Krummhörn	Low German: Northern Low Saxon (partial dialect)	Cashier	1920	1956	36
Frieda	Filsum	Low German: Northern Low Saxon	Homemaker	1932	1959	27
Verena	Vreden	Low German: Northern Low Saxon	Homemaker	1896	1957	61
Renate	Raesfeld	Low Franconian[2]	Accountant	1910	1957	47
Sofie	Spenge	Low German: Westphalian	Business woman, homemaker	1899	1966	67
Birgit	Büren	Low German: Westphalian	School teacher	1893	1958	65
Bärbel	Balve	Low German: Westphalian	Homemaker	1909	1957	48
		Outside northern Germany				
Anna	Altenvers	West Middle German: Rhenish Franconian	Homemaker	1906	1958	52
Ilse	Isenburg[3]	East Middle German: Upper Saxon; West Middle German: Middle Franconian (regionally marked vernacular)	Homemaker	1911	1957	46
Karla	Karlsdorf-Neuthard	High German: Southern Franconian	Cigar maker	1921	1955	34
Luise	Langenbach	High German: Central Bavarian (partial dialect)	Homemaker	1900	1956	56

Table 4.1 Overview of mid-twentieth century speakers

[1] The speakers' ages in this table are calculated based on year of birth and year of recording. If a speaker's birthday had not yet occurred in the year of the recording, her age would be one year less than what is listed.
[2] A discussion of categorizing Low Franconian can be found in chapter 3.
[3] The speaker Ilse was born and raised in Oschatz, Saxony, and moved to Rhineland-Palatine as an adult in 1949. Thus, though the recording took place in Isenburg, Rhineland-Palatine, the speaker's idiolect reflects multiple regional influences, including the Upper Saxon of Oschatz and the Middle Franconian of her more current home.

Map 4.1 Locations of mid-century German speakers in study[4]

To quantify how these twelve speakers represent data for the study individually and collectively, Table 4.2 shows the length of each of the recording and the number of analyzed prefields per speaker. Recording lengths include some speech by the researcher who facilitated the recording task and the moments at the end of the recording when each speaker counts to ten

[4] An interactive version of this map is available through Google Maps at https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1AaWp9srXDT5-_e6EMxleeHgUVk4XgqEm&usp=sharing.

and recites the days of the week. In total, over two hours of speech from mid-century German speakers are included in this study.

Speaker	Length of Recording	Prefield Count
	Northern Germany	
Bertha	6:50	71
Käthe	10:15	112
Frieda	9:35	104
Verena	10:10	72
Renate	9:35	185
Sofie	20:30	346
Birgit	10:45	130
Bärbel	10:20	120
Northern Germany Subtotal	1:28:00	1140
	Outside northern Germany	
Anna	8:40	157
Ilse	11:55	132
Karla	13:50	266
Luise	9:50	134
Non-northern Subtotal	44:15	689
Total	2:12:15	1829

Table 4.2 Mid-century German recording lengths and prefield counts

More critical than raw speaking time in this study is the production of main clauses and, with them, prefields. The prefield counts in Table 4.2 reflect the number of prefields analyzed for the study, which roughly equals to the number of declarative main clauses produced by the identified northern and non-northern speakers. Exceptions to the correspondence between prefields and declarative main clauses arise with pivot structures, for example, which yield two prefields for analysis. In total, the data set for mid-century speakers yields 1829 prefields. 1140 prefields are from the eight Low German speakers and 689 prefields are from speakers outside of northern Germany. The number of prefields from an individual speaker ranges from 71 to 346, and the average prefields per speaker is 152.4. From these data, we will identify patterns related to

prefields broadly before turning our attention to left dislocation constructions produced by mid-century German speakers.

4.3 Prefield patterns

Given that the use of left dislocation constructions can impact what type of element is found in the prefield, analyzing how prefields of main clauses are (not) filled by speakers allows us to see whether left dislocation structures support or deviate from broader syntactic tendencies. This section will describe the elements filling the prefields produced by mid-century speakers in northern Germany. We first consider the distinct elements found in prefields and then see their categorizations according to broad semantic content and length.

Speaker	***da* *'there'***	***dann* *'then'***	***das* *'the'***	***die* *'the'***	***der* *'the'***	***ich* *'I'***	***wir* *'we'***	**NULL**	***es* *'it'***	***nun* *'now'***	**Top 10**
Bertha	9.9%	9.9%	26.8%	4.2%	1.4%	4.2%	11.3%	4.2%	1.4%	1.4%	*74.6%*
Käthe	11.6%	15.2%	12.5%	9.8%	6.3%	0.0%	1.8%	6.3%	0.0%	0.9%	*64.3%*
Frieda	11.5%	2.9%	4.8%	1.0%	2.9%	7.7%	5.8%	2.9%	1.9%	3.8%	*45.2%*
Verena	1.4%	16.7%	0.0%	4.2%	1.4%	1.4%	5.6%	1.4%	1.4%	6.9%	*40.3%*
Renate	31.9%	5.9%	7.6%	7.0%	11.4%	1.6%	0.5%	1.6%	3.2%	2.7%	*73.5%*
Sofie	18.5%	15.0%	14.2%	7.8%	5.5%	8.1%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	1.4%	*77.5%*
Birgit	10.0%	26.9%	13.1%	4.6%	1.5%	3.1%	3.8%	3.1%	0.8%	0.0%	*66.9%*
Bärbel	9.2%	22.5%	19.2%	6.7%	2.5%	1.7%	3.3%	3.3%	1.7%	0.0%	*70.0%*
All^{O}	15.8%	14.4%	12.4%	6.3%	5.0%	4.3%	3.2%	1.9%	1.9%	1.8%	68.1%
All^{S}	13.0%	14.4%	12.3%	5.7%	4.1%	3.5%	4.3%	3.1%	1.6%	2.2%	64.0%

Table 4.3 Frequency of top ten prefield elements for mid-century Low German speakers[5]

Across the 1140 prefields from mid-century Low German narratives, there are 252 unique prefield elements. The ten most common elements across the eight speakers are shown in Table 4.3; these ten elements are also the elements that occur in at least twenty prefields. The top ten

[5] In Table 4.3 and subsequently, two "total" or "all" values may be present. Total^{O} or All^{O} combines all relevant instances (here: prefields) from the data set and weights each instance evenly. The superscript "O" can be thought of as "overall." Total^{S} or All^{S}, on the other hand, weights the calculated values for each speaker evenly, so that speakers, rather than instances, contribute equally to that row's values. The superscript "S" can be thought of as "speaker."

most common elements fill 776 prefields, or 68.1% of the analyzed prefields, whereas 204, 17.9%, are filled with elements that only appear once in a prefield. The demonstrative adverbs *da* ('there') and *dann* ('then') fill prefields 180 and 164 times, respectively, and together account for 30.2% of all main clause prefields. The demonstrative pronouns *der*, *die*, and *das* account for another 23.7% of prefields.[6] The top five prefield elements thus collectively account for over 50% of all prefields in main clauses. These most frequent elements are all single-syllable words and, more specifically, demonstrative pro-forms. With the exception of empty prefields (those with a prefield filled with a "null" element), the eighteen most frequent prefield elements are single-syllable words. Eleven of those eighteen are either pronouns or demonstrative adverbs.

Table 4.3 also offers perspective on how the averages across speakers relate to the production of any individual person's speech. The most frequent element for each speaker is highlighted in green. When a particular prefield element is not used even once by a speaker, the corresponding cell in Table 4.3 is highlighted in orange. The most common prefield element for speaker is one of *da*, *dann*, or *das*. *Da* is the most frequently occurring prefield element for four speakers: Käthe, Verena, Birgit, and Bärbel. *Dann* is the most frequently occurring prefield for another three: Frieda, Renate, and Sofie. Only for Bertha, the sole representative of a Holsteinish variety, is the nominal determiner *das*, rather than a pronominal adverb, the most frequently occurring prefield element. Taken together, the group's ten most common prefield elements account for at least 40% of prefields for each speaker. For half of the speakers, these ten elements account for at least 70% of prefields.

[6] 229 of 270 instances (84.8%) of *der*, *die*, or *das* as the prefield element are in the nominative case. The remaining 41 instances of *der*, *die*, or *das* in the prefield are accusative case examples. Note that this calculation strictly considers the forms *der*, *die*, and *das*, not other declensions of demonstrative pronouns. The nominative and accusative forms of feminine, neuter, and plural demonstrative pronouns are identical, so both cases are included in the full count, but only the nominative case of the masculine pronoun is included. The masculine *der* changes to *den* in the accusative. *Den* appears four times as a prefield element. There are no instances of the dative plural demonstrative *der* filling the prefield.

How do these popular prefield elements reflect the typical content in prefields produced by these speakers from northern Germany in the 1950s and 1960s? Table 4.4 shows the types of content found in prefields using the categories of adverbial, nominal, not applicable (N/A), and other. The content of prefields with null elements are coded as not applicable (N/A), as are instances of directly reported speech quotations in a prefield. "Other" prefield elements included adjectival (e.g., *am größten* ['biggest'], *recht schön* ['really beautiful']); numeral (e.g., *fünf* ['five']), *sieben Uhr* ['seven o'clock']); and verbal (e.g., *sitzenbleiben* ['to repeat a grade in school']). As with Table 4.3, the green shading in Table 4.4 represents the most common category for each individual and any orange shading represents a category that is not produced by that speaker.

Speaker	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**	**N/A**	**Other**
Bertha	26.8%	64.8%	4.2%	4.2%
Käthe	49.1%	42.0%	7.1%	1.8%
Frieda	35.6%	59.6%	2.9%	1.9%
Verena	56.9%	40.3%	1.4%	1.4%
Renate	47.0%	45.9%	7.0%	0.0%
Sofie	44.8%	52.0%	3.2%	0.0%
Birgit	46.9%	46.2%	6.2%	0.8%
Bärbel	50.0%	43.3%	4.2%	2.5%
All^{O}	45.2%	49.2%	4.6%	1.1%
All^{S}	44.6%	49.3%	4.5%	1.6%

Table 4.4 Prefield content types for mid-century Low German speakers

Nearly all prefields produced by mid-century northern German speakers, over 90%, can be categorized as either adverbial or nominal. Though more prefields have nominal content (49.2%) than adverbial (45.2%), a slight majority of individual speakers (5/8) fill a plurality of prefields with adverbial elements. The northern speakers with a higher percentage of adverbial prefields

are the four speakers whose most frequent prefield element is *dann* (Käthe, Verena, Birgit, and Bärbel) plus Renate, who fills over 30% of prefields with *da*. Bertha, who was the only speaker whose most frequent prefield element was nominal, is also the speaker with the greatest overall percentage of nominal prefields and the one with the widest margin between nominal and adverbial prefields. Even in Bertha's case, though, over a quarter of prefields are adverbial. These data confirm that both nominal and adverbial prefields are common in spoken varieties of northern Germany as well as in varieties outside of northern Germany.

Another lens for understanding prefield content is grammatical weight. Following the findings of Wasow (1997), word count serves as a proximate measure for grammatical weight. We already know that these speakers' prefields are quite often the one-word elements from Table 4.3. Table 4.5 presents the distribution of all analyzed prefields by length, as measured by syntactic word count. Unsurprisingly, the most common prefield length among all eight of the northern German speakers is one word; single-word prefields account for 81.4% of prefields in the data set. Six of the eight speakers fill over three-quarters of their prefields with a single word. The speakers for whom single-word prefields are least prevalent are two Northern Low Saxon speakers, Frieda and Verena, and they still have single-word prefields in 59.6% and 63.9% of cases, respectively.

If a prefield is not filled with a single word, it is very likely filled with a two- or three-word element or not at all (i.e., with a null element). Renate, the northern Low Franconian speaker, fills 93.5% of prefields with a single word. Of her remaining prefields, 1.6% are filled with a null element, 3.8% with two words, 1.1% with 3 words, and none with four words or more. For Bertha, a Holsteinish speaker, 88.7% of prefields have a single word, 4.2% are filled with a null element, 7.0% have two words, and no prefields have a length greater than two words. Käthe,

whose speech is identified as a partial dialect of Northern Low Saxon, 83.9% of prefields are filled with one-word elements and another 7.1% are empty; she has the highest rate of null elements in the prefield. For all but Frieda and Verena, over 90% of prefields are filled with elements of two or fewer words, and over 90% of Frieda and Verena's prefields are covered if you also include three-word prefields. No length of four or greater accounted for more than 5% of a particular speaker's prefields, and prefields with lengths of four or more words comprise only 3.2% of all analyzed prefields for these speakers. Moreover, none of the speakers produce a prefield filled with an element longer than nine words.

Speaker	**0 (NULL)**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5-9**	**10+**
Bertha	4.2%	88.7%	7.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Käthe	7.1%	83.9%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	0.9%	0.0%
Frieda	2.9%	59.6%	18.3%	10.6%	4.8%	3.8%	0.0%
Verena	1.4%	63.9%	13.9%	15.3%	2.8%	2.8%	0.0%
Renate	1.6%	93.5%	3.8%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Sofie	2.6%	84.1%	6.1%	4.6%	1.7%	0.9%	0.0%
Birgit	3.8%	78.5%	8.5%	5.4%	0.8%	3.1%	0.0%
Bärbel	4.2%	80.8%	7.5%	3.3%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%
All^{O}	3.2%	81.4%	7.5%	4.7%	1.5%	1.7%	0.0%
All^{S}	3.5%	79.1%	8.5%	5.4%	1.6%	2.0%	0.0%

Table 4.5 Distribution of prefield element lengths for mid-century Low German speakers

The data we have looked at thus far point to a strong tendency in the spoken varieties of northern Germany from the 1950s and 1960s to fill prefields with grammatically light elements. More specifically, prefields are predominantly filled with single words, particularly unstressed and semantically light single-syllable words. We have seen that the most common of these prefield elements are the demonstrative pro-forms *dann*, *da*, and *das*; other demonstrative and personal pronouns are also well represented as prefield elements. Instances of left dislocation very often involve a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield, a structure which aligns with this

syntactic preference. The next section will look at instances of left dislocation and consider factors that promote its use.

4.4 Presence of left dislocation

Our next goal is to describe occurrences of left dislocation and its rate of use by these same eight speakers across northern Germany. Based on previous scholarship, we expect left dislocation to be present in northern German dialects. This bears out in the recordings from our speakers. Left dislocation occurs in 166 of the 1140 analyzed main clauses across mid-century northern German narratives (14.6%), and speaker produces multiple left dislocation structures.

Speaker	**LD Occurrences**	**Resumptive Element in Prefield**	**Resumptive Element is Demonstrative Pronoun**
Bertha	3	3	3
Käthe	19	19	19
Frieda	7	7	7
Verena	9	9	7
Renate	34	32[7]	34
Sofie	46	46	46
Birgit	23	23	23
Bärbel	25	23	23
All	166	162	162

Table 4.6 Overview of instances of left dislocation by mid-century Low German speakers

To describe different forms of left dislocation, the location and form of the resumptive element plus case agreement for nominal elements arise as key structural features. In 162 of the 166 instances (97.6%), the resumptive element of the left dislocation structure is in the prefield. In three instances spread across two speakers (Renate and Bärbel), the resumptive element is in the middle field. There is also one ambiguous case produced by Renate with a *da* in the prefield

[7] This does not include one ambiguous case in which there are possible resumptive elements in both the prefield and middle field.

and a *dann* in the middle field, and either could be reasonably analyzed as a resumptive element for the dislocated adverbial phrase, *am anderen Tag* ('the next day'). The resumptive elements produced are demonstrative pro-forms in 162 of the 166 cases, as well (97.6%).[8] When case agreement between the left dislocated element and resumptive element would be possible, agreement occurs in 76 cases (87.4%), is ambiguous in another 7 (8.0%), and does not occur in only 4 cases (4.6%). Structurally, the vast majority of left dislocation structures produced in northern Germany align well with definitions of *Linksversetzung* (LV). Moreover, the instances justify continued focus on the prefield as the nexus of potential left dislocation.

Exactly how much left dislocation could be produced by these speakers, and how does that compare to the actual production of left dislocation? Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3, Figure 4.1 presents the distribution of each narrative's main clauses as either a clause in which left dislocation occurs (LD Present), left dislocation of the prefield element would be possible but does not occur (LD Not Present), or left dislocation of the prefield element is not possible (LD Not Possible). In total, left dislocation is possible in 371 of the identified main clauses (32.5%). For the individual speakers, the rate of left dislocation amongst total main clauses ranges from a low of 4.2% to a high of 20.8%. Bärbel (20.8%), Renate (18.4%), Birgit (17.8%), and Käthe (17.0%) have left dislocation rates above the average. The lowest rates of left dislocation are in the narratives from Frieda (6.7%) and Bertha (4.2%), who represent North Low Saxon and Holsteinian varieties of German, respectively.

[8] See Appendix B for the full distribution of resumptive elements across speakers.

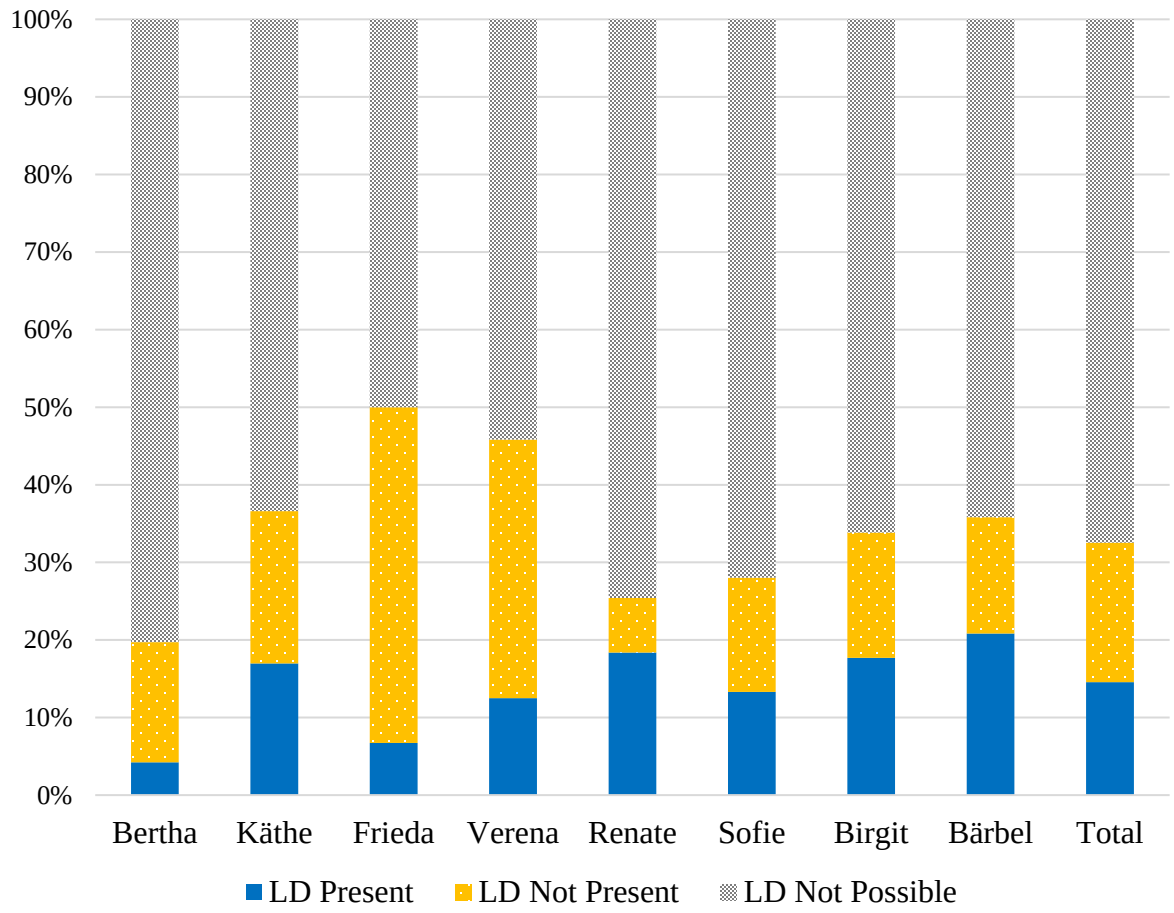


Figure 4.1 Presence and possibility of left dislocation in northern Germany

Figure 4.2 reframes the data of Figure 4.1 to show ratios related to the possible production of left dislocation. For each speaker, the column on the left shows the percentage of main clauses in which left dislocation would have been possible or did in fact occur. The column on the right for each speaker shows the percentage of clauses in which left dislocation occurs within the subset of clauses in which it would be possible. For each of the northern German speakers, left dislocation is possible in at least 19.7% of main clauses but no more than 50% of clauses. This means that the majority of prefields produced by these speakers do not structurally permit left dislocation. The rate of left dislocation when structurally available ranges from 13.5% to 72.3%, averaging 44.7% across the eight speakers. Speakers who use left dislocation in more than 45%

of possible cases are the three Westphalian speakers (Sofie, Birgit, and Bärbel), the Low Franconian speaker (Renate), and the Northern Low Saxon partial dialect speaker (Käthe). This distribution points to likely regional variation within northern Germany, with Low Franconian showing the greatest preference for left dislocation overall, followed by Westphalian. Two of the three Northern Low Saxon and Holsteinian speakers show the lowest rates of left dislocation, with the outlying Northern Low Saxon speaker being Käthe, who is noted as speaking partial dialect.

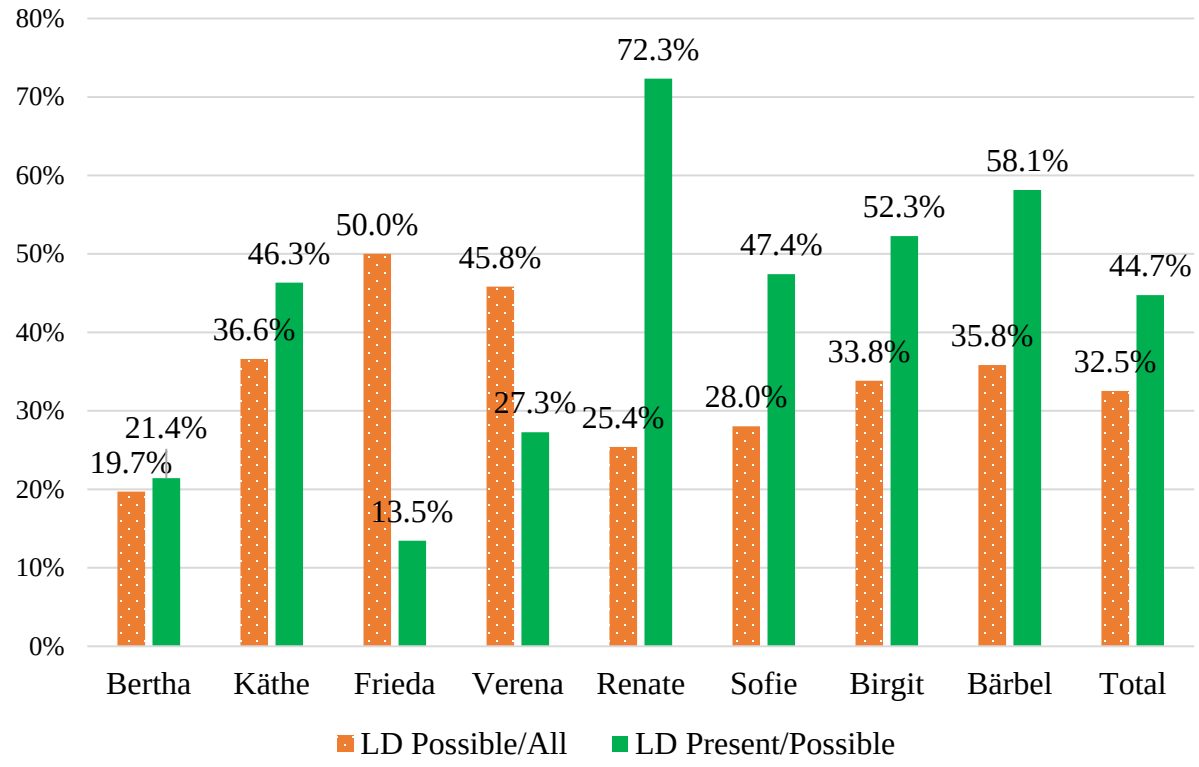


Figure 4.2 Rates of left dislocation possibility and presence in northern Germany

Having previously looked at all 1140 prefields, we know that a majority of prefields produced by these speakers are filled with demonstrative pro-forms, primarily the adverbial *da* and *dann* plus the nominal pronouns *der, die,* and *das.* Left dislocation only accounts for a minority of cases of these elements in the prefield. Instead of driving the pattern, left dislocation structures support an existing structural preference. Speakers take advantage of left dislocation as

a structural option in their spoken language, though the data suggest that the use of left dislocation in the mid-twentieth century shows dialectal variation within northern Germany.

4.5 Content of "would-be prefields"

Now that we have seen how frequently left dislocation occurs, we examine the referents involved in left dislocation for these speakers and what factors may systematically promote left dislocation. Across the 166 occurrences of left dislocation, the referents of the resumptive elements are divided roughly evenly between adverbial referents (50.6%, n=84) and nominal referents (49.4%, n=82). This suggests that both adverbial and nominal referents are involved in left dislocation in an unmarked way among the northern German varieties. Despite the focus in much left dislocation literature on nominal referents and differentiating types of left dislocation by the grammatical features of nominal referents and resumptive pronouns, adverbial referents are no less common, and in fact slightly more common, than nominal referents in the left dislocation produced across these speakers.

4.5.1 Would-be prefield content type

Does the rate of left dislocation diverge between adverbial referents and nominal referents? Table 4.7 presents the rate of left dislocation according to whether the would-be prefield includes adverbial, nominal, or another type of content. By definition, null elements cannot be a referent for left dislocation. The "other" category captures nine adjectival, numeral, and verbal prefield elements that could potentially serve as referents in a left dislocation structure, though left dislocation does not occur in any of these instances. In clauses when left dislocation is possible, left dislocation occurs in 50.0% of cases when the prefield would contain an adverbial referent. The 50:50 likelihood for adverbial prefields holds exactly for four individual speakers (Bertha, Käthe, Sofie, and Bärbel). For Frieda and Verena, the two speakers of Northern Low Saxon, left

dislocation occurs in only about 20% of adverbial cases. Renate and Birgit, on the other hand, produce left dislocation structures in 80.0% and 68.0% of adverbial cases, respectively. For all speakers except Verena and Bärbel, the rate of left dislocation of adverbials exceeds the speaker's overall rate of left dislocation when structurally possible. Left dislocation is thus a viable alternative, if not a preference, to a non-dislocated adverbial prefield in mid-twentieth century Low German varieties.

Turning our attention to nominal content, left dislocation occurs 42.3% of the time when the prefield contains an eligible nominal referent. The likelihood of left dislocation with a nominal referent has a lower ceiling and floor than with adverbial elements, but each speaker produces left dislocation with a nominal referent. Renate and Bärbel show the highest likelihood at 66.7%, and Frieda uses left dislocation with only 9.7% of eligible nominal prefields. Verena and Bärbel have a higher likelihood of left dislocation with nominal than adverbials, and the opposite is true for the six other speakers.

Speaker	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**	**Other**
Bertha	50.0%	22.2%	0.0%
Käthe	50.0%	47.1%	0.0%
Frieda	21.1%	9.7%	0.0%
Verena	18.8%	37.5%	0.0%
Renate	80.0%	66.7%	-
Sofie	50.0%	45.5%	-
Birgit	68.0%	33.3%	0.0%
Bärbel	50.0%	66.7%	-
All^{O}	50.0%	42.3%	0.0%
All^{S}	48.5%	41.1%	-

Table 4.7 Rate of left dislocation for northern Germany speakers by would-be prefield content type

4.5.2 Would-be prefield length

Given that content type (adverbial vs. nominal) alone does not appear to be a clear predictor of whether left dislocation will occur or not, what other factors influence the left dislocation use of these speakers? We previously saw these speakers' strong tendency for prefields filled with one-word elements, and a mere 1.7% of prefields had a length longer than four words. How does prefield length, one potential measure of grammatical weight, correlate with the likelihood of left dislocation?

Would-Be Prefield Length	**Left Dislocation Frequency**
0	N/A
1 (n=62)	29.0%
2 (n=128)	39.1%
3 (n=72)	30.6%
4 (n=31)	48.4%
5 (n=19)	68.4%
6 (n=21)	85.7%
7 (n=15)	73.3%
8 (n=11)	63.6%
9-18 (n=12)	100.0%
All (n=371)	44.7%

Table 4.8 Rate of left dislocation for mid-century northern Germany by would-be prefield length

Table 4.8 shows the rate of left dislocation when the would-be prefield is a certain syntactic word length and left dislocation of the prefield element is possible. The left dislocation frequency for would-be prefields of length 0 is not applicable, again because left dislocation could not occur with a null element as the referent. When the prefield would be filled with a one-word element, left dislocation occurs in 29.0% of cases. In these situations, left dislocation would not change the word count of the prefield, though the number of syllables or other measures of prosodic weight in the prefield may decrease if a pronominal element were in the

prefield instead of the original referent. Of the would-be prefield lengths in this data set, one-word prefields promote left dislocation least often. Would-be prefields two- to four-words in length have rates of left dislocation below 50%, but higher than for one-word prefields. When the would-be prefield element is two words, a set that includes many unmodified determiner phrases or possessive phrases like *die Lehrerin* (‘the teacher’) or *mein Vater* (‘my father’) as well as simple scene-setting prepositional phrases about time and location such as *am Montag* (‘on Monday’) or *in Winden* (‘in Winden’), left dislocation occurs 39.1% of the time. Left dislocation is more likely when the would-be prefield is two words than when the would-be prefield is three words. When the prefield element is four words, however, the likelihood of left dislocation nears 50%. When the would-be prefield element has a length of five words or more, left dislocation occurs a majority of the time. The rate of left dislocation is 100% in the twelve instances when the prefield would otherwise have been nine or more words. Nine words thus appears to be a potential tipping point that triggers left dislocation or another means of reducing the weight of the prefield for these speakers.

To assess the apparent role of grammatical weight, I used a two-tailed Fisher’s exact test. Fisher’s exact test is typically used with small sample sizes to determine whether there is a nonrandom association between two types of classification for a set of data. The classifications for these tests were ranges of would-be prefield lengths and whether left dislocation was present or not. For the eight mid-century northern German speakers collectively, the correlation between the left dislocation and would-be prefields at least three words long is statistically significant with a p value equal to .0054. The correlation is extremely significant ($p < .0001$) between left dislocation and would-be prefields four or more words long. At the individual speaker level, categorizing prefields as either 1-3 words or 4+ words yields statistical significance ($p<.05$) for

Renate, Birgit, and Sophie. Adjusting the length categories to either 1-4 words or 5+ words yields a statistically significant relationship with left dislocation for these speakers plus Frieda. No statistically significant associations with word length categorization could be found for Bertha, Verena, or Bärbel. It is worth noting that Bertha does not have any LD-eligible prefields with a length longer than two, and Verena and Bärbel produce left dislocation with their longest would-be prefields. Overall, these results suggest that grammatical weight, as measured by word length, has a nonrandom association with the presence of left dislocation. Left dislocation may be grammaticalized in spoken varieties of mid-century northern Germany as a means of avoiding grammatically heavy prefields and promoting the preferred one-word prefield structures.

4.5.3 Would-be prefield clausal elements

Another factor related to grammatical weight or broad notions of "complexity" is clausal embedding. Within a main clause, the prefield may be filled by a clause or an element that includes a clause. These clause-ful prefields will, by definition, be longer that one word and, in many cases, longer than five words. Types of potential clause-ful prefields include single clauses, multi-clause elements, and combinations of a clause with another non-clausal element. The last category would include, for example, a demonstrative phrase or possessive phrase followed by a relative clause or other modifying clause. Other examples could be any combination of an adverb or prepositional phrase followed by a modifying subordinate clause.

What happens when with when the would-be prefield is "clause-ful?" Left dislocation occurs in 60 of 68 such cases, or 88.2% of the time, for the mid-century northern speakers. For half of the speakers (Käthe, Verena, Renate, and Sophie), left dislocation occurs in 100% of instances when a clause would otherwise be embedded in the prefield. With the exception of Bertha, who does not produce any prefields with embedded clauses nor produce left dislocation with clausal

referents, all speakers have a rate of left dislocation above 50% when the would-be prefield involves a clause.

Would-Be Prefield Length	All Would-Be Prefields	Would-Be Prefield Includes a Clause
0	N/A	N/A
1	29.0%	N/A
2	39.1%	-
3	30.6%	100.00%
4	48.4%	83.3%
5	68.4%	90.9%
6	85.7%	88.9%
7	73.3%	80.0%
8	63.6%	77.8%
9+	100.0%	100.0%
All	44.7%	88.2%

Table 4.9 Left dislocation rates overall vs. with clause in would-be prefield for mid-century speakers in northern Germany

Table 4.9 shows that the rate of left dislocation when the would-be prefield includes a clause is higher than the rate across all would-be prefields. This holds even when comparing would-be prefields of the same length, with the exception that left dislocation occurs in 100% of cases when the would-be prefield is nine or more words long, whether that includes a clause or not. The jump in the rate of left dislocation when there is a potentially embedded clause is particularly pronounced among relatively short clauses, those ranging from three to five words. Note that these rates are based on few instances; there are two would-be prefield clauses only three words in length, six with four words, and eleven with five words. Nevertheless, a two-tailed Fisher's exact test shows that the factor of a clause in the would-be prefield has a nonrandom association with whether left dislocation occurs or not; the relationship is extremely significant with a p value less than .0001. For individual speakers, a clause in the would-be

prefield has a statistically significant ($p<.01$) association with the presence of left dislocation for five speakers: Käthe, Frieda, Renate, Sofie, and Birgit. The association is extremely significant for Renate and Sofie, who produce left dislocation structures with dislocated clauses as the referent 13 and 17 times, respectively. Neither embeds a single clause in a prefield. Although the clause factor is not statistically significant for Bertha, Verena, or Bärbel, embedded clauses in the prefield appear to be dispreferred by these speakers, as well. Bertha produces no LD-eligible prefields that include a clause. Verena uses left dislocation in the single instance of a clause-ful would-be prefield. Finally, Bärbel uses left dislocation at a higher rate when there is a clause in the would-be prefield (8 of 11, or 72.7%) than when there is no clause (17 of 32, or 53.1%).

Next we look more closely at different types of would-be prefield elements containing a clause. Forty-nine of sixty-eight clause-ful would-be prefields comprise a single clause. The single clauses overwhelmingly have adverbial referents and are most often clauses that begin with *als* or *wann*. The two would-be prefields that are single clauses with nominal referents, both *wer*-clauses, are left dislocated. The next most common type of clause-ful prefield or LD referent is a determiner phrase followed by a clause. Seven such elements are nominal, specifically an initial determiner phrase modified by a relative clause. Three additional instances are adverbial time expressions.

Table 4.10 outlines the rate of left dislocation for the different types of clause-ful would-be prefields for each speaker and in aggregate. Of the 49 single clause would-be prefields, left dislocation occurs in all but seven (85.7% left dislocation rate). Only three speakers do not have a 100% left dislocation rate with would-be single clause prefields. Bärbel is split 3:3 in these situations, and Frieda produces two prefields with single clauses as the prefield element and uses left dislocation three times with a single clause as the referent, for a 60.0% rate of left. Birgit

uses left dislocation with a single clausal referent in ten cases and produces a single-clause prefield twice. The seven single-clause elements that appear as a prefield element range in length from four words to eight words, with an average length of 6.1 words a median length of 6 words. In comparison, the single clauses that appear as referents in a left dislocation structure range in length from three words to eighteen words, but have an average length of 6.5 words and a median length of six words. Eliminating the would-be prefields longer than eight words, the average length for dislocated single-clause referents lowers to 5.8 words and the median remains six words. Thus, for clauses less than nine words long, there is no direct relationship between length of the clause and whether it appears embedded in a prefield versus as a left dislocated referent. As a reminder, however, these clausal referents are very likely to be dislocated and are more likely to be dislocated than a non-clausal referent of the same length.

Speaker	**Single Clause**	**Multi-Clause**	**Non-Clause Element Plus Clause**	**All Clause-ful Types**
Bertha (n=0)	-	-	-	-
Käthe (n=5)	100.0%	-	100.0%	100.0%
Frieda (n=5)	60.0%	-	-	60.0%
Verena (n=1)	100.0%	-	-	100.0%
Renate (n=13)	100.0%	-	100.0%	100.0%
Sofie (n=17)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Birgit (n=16)	83.3%	100.0%	66.7%	81.3%
Bärbel (n=11)	50.0%	100.0%	100.0%	72.7%
All^{O} (n=68)	85.7%	100.0%	93.8%	88.2%

Table 4.10 Rate of left dislocation with would-be prefields involving a clause in mid-century Low German

The other types of clause-ful would-be prefields in the data are less common and show an even higher rate of left dislocation. Among the speakers from northern Germany, there are three left dislocated referents that comprise more than one clause and no prefields that contain multiple embedded clauses, yielding a 100% left dislocation for the multi-clause type. Would-be prefields

that combine a non-clausal element with a clause are left dislocated in fifteen of sixteen instances, a 93.8% left dislocation rate. The one case when left dislocation does not occur is produced by Birgit. The clause-ful prefield in question comprises a three-word determiner phrase followed by a five-word relative clause:

Ex. 4.1 dieser alte Bauer, der mir das alles erzählte, lebte dann nicht mehr lange
'this old farmer, who told me all that, did not live long after that'

These data support an analysis that left dislocation approaches grammaticalization when the clause begins with an element that is or includes a clause. The statistically significant relationship between would-be embedded clauses in the prefield and left dislocation is independent from the previously discussed association between left dislocation and the word count of the potential prefield. However, both word count and clausal structure contribute to a sense of complexity in the prefield that mid-century speakers in northern Germany can and do reduce through the use of left dislocation.

4.6 Case studies

To complement the overview of mid-century German speakers provided above, this section zooms in on two speakers: Frieda and Käthe. These are the two youngest speakers from northern Germany and are represent municipalities near each other in Lower Saxony. Their frequencies of left dislocation, however, notably diverge. The case study approach in this section provides more information about the similarities and differences between these speakers and how left dislocation appears in their speech.

4.6.1 Frieda

Frieda is one of two Northern Low Saxon speakers in this study, representing the small municipality of Filsum near the Netherlands border and the North Sea. Frieda stands out for having the lowest rate of left dislocation and being the youngest of the mid-century speakers in

northern Germany. She is also the speaker with the lowest percentage of one-word prefields overall, though one-word prefields are still the majority (59.6%) for her main clauses.

At the time of her recording for the Zwirner Corpus in 1959, Frieda is a 26- or 27-year-old homemaker in Filsum, Lower Saxony. In the recording, she speaks about her parents, her schooling, and how she and her husband came to live on and manage the land where she was raised. Frieda's formal education began by attending elementary school until the age of ten. After a multi-year interruption in her schooling due to World War II, she transitioned to a school for girls and completed secondary school at age seventeen. She also completed formal household arts training at local college (*Landwirtschaftsschule*) in nearby Emden, the main city of the East Frisia region. She shares that she and her husband put a lot of work into rehabilitating the farm property and they have thirteen cows and twenty young cattle at the time of her recording.

The interviewer asks Frieda several questions throughout the nearly ten-minute recording, but Frieda does not need continual prompting to generate speech. Frieda gives the impression of speaking deliberately, using complete sentences and taking pauses between thoughts. It is likely that Frieda had written down details of her life story in preparation for this recording and that some of her statements, especially near the beginning of the recording, were being read in full or in part from her notes. Frieda's speech therefore may not be as spontaneous as the spoken narratives produced by others in this data set.

As mentioned, Frieda has the lowest rate of left dislocation among her peers in northern Germany. Though left dislocation is possible in fully half of Frieda's main clauses, left dislocation occurs in only seven of those fifty-two potential instances. Examples 4.2.1-7 show Frieda's seven instances of left dislocation in the order they appear in the recording. Each example includes three parts. The first (a) is the instance of dislocation with the additional

context of a preceding clause. Clauses that follow the instance of left dislocation are also included if they contribute to the completion of a sentence-like utterance. Within part one, the clause that includes the left dislocation is bolded and the referent and corresponding resumptive element are marked with a subscript i. The second part of each example (b) provides an English transliteration of the instance of left dislocation. The third part (c) is an English translation of the full excerpt.

Ex. 4.2.1 a) mein Mama und Papa waren beide von Holtland,
[mein Papa]$_i$ der$_i$ war schon zweiundvierzig
und Mama war zwanzig Jahre, als sie sich verheiratet hatten

b) [***my***$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ ***dad***]$_i$ **[*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$*was* *already twenty-two***

c) ‘my mom and dad were both from Holtland,
my dad, he was twenty-two already
and mom was twenty years old when they got married’

Ex. 4.2.2 a) sie hatten feine Jahre miteinander, nach einem Jahr wurde ich geboren,
aber **[als ich drei Jahr war]$_i$ da$_i$ ist meine Mama schon gestorben**

b) *but* **[*when I three year was*]$_i$ [*there*]$_i$ *is* *my mom already died***

c) ‘they had good years with each other, I was born after a year,
but **when I was three years old, then** my mom died’

Ex. 4.2.3 a) ja, in, in Vilzen bin ich zur Volksschule gegangen,
[als ich zehn Jahr war]$_i$ da$_i$ meinte unser Meister,
ich müsste zur höheren Schule hin, aber damals war Krieg

b) **[*when I ten year was*]$_i$ [*there*]$_i$*opined* *our teacher,***

c) ‘yeah, I went to elementary school in Filsum,
when I was ten years old, then our teacher thought,
I needed to go to a higher level of school, but there was war at that time’

Ex. 4.2.4 a) hier in der Schule war es zu schlecht mit Meistern bestellt, mich befriedigte das nicht ganz
und **[unser Pappa]$_i$ der$_i$ wollte auch noch ganz gerne,**
dass ich ein bisschen mehr lernen täte

b) *and* **[*our*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *dad*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$*wanted also still very gladly**

c) ‘here the school was not staffed well with teachers, I was not quite satisfied with that
and **our dad, he** also really wanted me to study a little more’

Ex. 4.2.5 a) da sah es hier erst mal mager aus,
aber **[mein Mann]$_i$ der$_i$ verstand einen Groschen zu machen**
und wir sind beide gesund gewesen und nun geht es schon ganz gut

b) *but* **[*my*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ *husband*]$_i$ [*the*$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$*understood a penny to make***

c) ‘it looked meager here at first,
but **my husband, he knew how to make money**
and we were both healthy and now it is going quite well’

Ex. 4.2.6 a) unser Mähland hier liegt immer leicht unter Wasser,
[früher]$_i$ da$_i$ haben wir das Wasser gerne gesehen,
da brachte es Schlick mit, aber heute sind alle die Moore entwässert

b) **[*earlier*]$_i$ [*there*]$_i$ *have we the water gladly seen***

c) ‘our meadow here is easily under water,
earlier, then we were happy to see water,
then it brought silt, but today all the swamps are drained’

Ex. 4.6.7 a) kostet erstmal seinen Haufen Geld und einen Haufen hatte ich zu kochen,
aber ich glaube, **[wenn dann auch alles zu Ende ist]$_i$ dann$_i$ sind** die meisten Leute zufrieden damit

b) *but I believe,* **[*when then also everything to end is*]$_i$ [*then*]$_i$ *are the most people pleased with-it***

c) ‘it costs first off all a ton of money and I had to cook a ton,
but I think, **when everything is finished, then** most people will be happy with it’

Frieda’s first instance of left dislocation, 4.2.1, is in her third clause of the recording and the second opportunity for left dislocation. Her second instance, 4.2.2, is only four main clauses and several seconds later. The remaining instances of left dislocation occur throughout the first two-

thirds of the recording; she does not produce any left dislocation near the end of her narrative. Considering the intentionality and possibly written-like nature of how Frieda begins her narrative, the early appearances of left dislocation support the assumption that left dislocation is not stigmatized by mid-century speakers in northern Germany nor limited to particularly informal, spontaneous speech.

Frieda produces three examples of left dislocation with a nominal referent (4.2.1, 4.2.4, and 4.2.5. Each of these appear as prototypical examples of Altmann's *Linksversetzung* (LV). Each time, the dislocated element appears in the nominative case, and the resumptive element is a masculine demonstrative pronoun in the prefield. Moreover, all three instances involve a two-word possessive phrase with a male relative of Frieda's (her father or husband) as the dislocated referent. Frieda's recording includes five parallel instances of two-word possessive phrases, including two additional occurrences of *mein Papa* ('my dad'), that fill a prefield rather than being dislocated in a left dislocation structure. For Frieda, possessive phrases thus do not necessitate left dislocation or even tend toward it the majority of the time. As for other nominal elements, Frieda fills prefields with determiner phrases, nominal phrases, and names of various lengths, and there are no instances of these other types of nominal elements as referents in a left dislocation structure. Across all would-be prefields with nominal elements, Frieda produces left dislocation just 9.7% of the time.

Beyond the three nominal left dislocation examples, Frieda produces four left dislocation structures with an adverbial referent. This translates to left dislocation in 21.1% of possible cases with an adverbial element, nearly twice the rate of left dislocation for nominal elements. Looking more closely at the structural features involved, three of the adverbial referents in these left dislocation examples are clauses, two beginning with the subordinating conjunction *als* ('when')

and one with *wann* (‘when’). At seven words, the *wann* clause is the longest. These three clausal referents are among five would-be prefields made of a single clause, meaning Frieda’s left dislocation rate with clausal referents is 60.0%. The two clauses that Frieda embeds in the prefield position are, similar to 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, *als* clauses that provide Frieda’s age when a particular life event happened.

Frieda’s single instance of adverbial left dislocation not involving a clausal referent is in example 4.2.6 with the adverb *früher.* In the recording, there is a pause both before and after Frieda says *früher*, which supports the analysis that this element is neither in the middle- or post-field of the previous clause or the prefield of the following clause. The pronominal adverb *da* refers to the temporal information provided by the immediately preceding adverb *früher* and also allows for an interpretation in which *da* captures additional scene setting information from the previous clause. In earlier times, and specifically on that area of land, Frieda and her husband were happy to see water. That said, Frieda’s use of *da* is typical for her speech; she fills 11.5% of all prefields with *da* and only 2.9% with *dann.* Analyzing *dann* rather than *da* as a resumptive element would require a temporal reading more strictly connected to the referent *früher*.

Though Frieda’s speech is less inclined toward one-word prefields and left dislocation than her counterparts, left dislocation with clauses and possessive phrases, perhaps especially those possessive phrases with known human referents, are still a productive structural option for her. Based on Fisher’s exact test, the association between a clause in the would-be prefield and the production of left dislocation is statistically significant, though not particularly strong ($p=.0139$). There is also a statistically significant association ($p<.05$) for Frieda between left dislocation and would-be prefields at least five words long.

Would-Be Prefield Content	**LD Not Present**	**LD Present**
Includes Clause	2	3
Does Not Include Clause	43	4
Total	45	7

Table 4.11 Values for Frieda's clause-based Fisher's two-tailed exact test

How do Frieda's uses of left dislocation function pragmatically? A tempting way to describe the function of left dislocation, at least for the nominal examples, is to follow Altmann's observation that *Linksversetzung* (LV) is used to contrast topics. In 4.2.1, left dislocation with the referent *mein Papa* ('my dad') establishes the father as the topic available for comment immediately after a clause that combines the mother and father as a single topic. The left dislocation structure begins a statement about the father's age, which is immediately followed by a statement of the mother's age at the time of their marriage. Contrast also plays a role in the context of 4.2.5: the left dislocated *mein Mann* ('my husband') occurs directly after the contrastive conjunction *aber* (but). Contrast plays a role in 4.2.4, as well. *Unser Papa* ('our dad') is not a topic in the clauses immediately leading up to the left dislocation, but he is mentioned previously as part of Frieda's discussion of her schooling. At the point of left dislocation, Frieda has just mentioned her own displeasure with the state of teaching and learning at the school she was attending. When she reintroduces her father as a topic, she shares that he, too, was interested in her continuing her education. Though both Frieda and her father held similar desires for her schooling, left dislocation with the second of these juxtaposed clauses may help emphasize the difference between the position of Frieda as the daughter and the influence of her father in family decisions.

The adverbial instances of left dislocation also support some level of contrast between the left dislocated scene-setting topics and what had come before. In 4.2.2, Frieda first mentions the good years her parents had together and Frieda's own birth. This is juxtaposed with Frieda

sharing that her mother died, and the scene-setting clause that transitions us to a more tragic event both follows the contrastive conjunction *aber* (‘but’) and is left dislocated. The left dislocation in 4.2.7 also comes after an *aber* and involves an adverbial referent that draws a distinction between points in time. Lastly, the adverb *früher* (‘earlier’) left dislocated in 4.2.6 by definition establishes a comparison to another time. Thus, when reviewing Frieda’s production of left dislocation seeking a context of contrast, contrast can always be found. I argue that naming pragmatic functions of left dislocation such as “contrast” and “topic verification,” while not inaccurate, are too vacuous to offer explanative or predictive value in this study.

Instead, Frieda’s narrative supports the case that specific structural features related to complexity of potential prefield elements are factors in the use of left dislocation across northern Germany in the mid-twentieth century, even for speakers who produce relatively little left dislocation. Frieda’s production of left dislocation has modest but statistically significant relationships with potential prefield length and the presence of a clause. This is true even though Frieda shows a higher tolerance than her peers for prefields longer than one word and embedded clauses in the prefield. Frieda’s relatively scarce use of left dislocation sets her apart even from the full dialect speaker of Northern Low Saxon, Verena. Frieda’s younger age and level of formal education may be sociolinguistic factors associated with reduced use of less dislocation. The question of whether Frieda is a harbinger of a broader decline in the use of left dislocation in this region or across the broader northern German region will be addressed with the following chapter.

4.6.2 Käthe

Käthe is the other mid-century speaker, along with Frieda, from the East Frisia region of Lower Saxony, and she speaks a variety of German influenced by Northern Low Saxon. Käthe is

notable because she is the one northern German speaker in this study identified in the Zwirner Corpus as speaking a *Halbmundart*, or half dialect. Käthe has a rate of left dislocation of 46.3% among when left dislocation is possible, just below the average for the mid-century northern speakers and similar to the Westphalian speakers (Sofie, Birgit, and Bärbel). Käthe differs from other northern speakers in having the highest percentage of empty prefields. 7.1% of Käthe's main clauses have a prefield filled with a null element (length zero), and another 83.9% have one-word prefields.

Käthe's recording is in the municipality Krummhörn, and content of her recording is about the village of Uttum within Krummhörn and how Uttum has changed over the course of her life. At the time of her recording in 1956, Käthe is 35 or 36 years old. Käthe's father was a blacksmith in Uttum, and Käthe attended school first in the village and then commuted to school in Emden. Working as a cashier, Käthe likely comes in regular contact with various people from the area in her daily life. From her narrative, we know she interacted with her father's many apprentices while growing up, has also interacted with local farmers, and pays attention to the local political process.

Käthe produces nineteen instances of left dislocation, eleven with adverbial referents and eight with nominal referents. All of Käthe's instances of left dislocation can be found as an appendix. The first instance is the very first clause of Käthe's narrative, in which begins to tell a brief history of Uttum. This and several other examples of left dislocation produced by Käthe involve a dislocated prepositional phrase defining a temporal referent, e.g., *in ganz alten Zeiten* ('in very old times'), *im Jahre 966* ('in the year 966'), *zu meiner Zeit* ('in my day'). Other left dislocated referents include *als*- and *wenn*-clauses, the adverbs *anders* ('otherwise') and *abends* ('in the evening'), and names or determiner phrases, sometimes those with modifying particles or

relative clauses, as in *Papa selbst* (‘dad himself’) or *die Partei, die die Mehrheit hat* (‘the party that has the majority’). Unlike Frieda, Käthe does not produce any left dislocation with possessive phrases as referents, whether the referent is her father or not; Käthe’s one instance of *mein Papa* in a would-be prefield is not involved in left dislocation.

How does Käthe’s production of left dislocation relate to the content and structural factors we have previously discussed? For Käthe, would-be prefields with adverbial content are involved in left dislocation 50.0% of the time, and the left dislocation rate with nominal content is just below that at 47.1%. The broad type of content therefore seems to neither promote nor deter left dislocation. Looking just at prepositional phrases, would-be prefields that comprise a prepositional phrase are left dislocated in four cases and not left dislocated in four cases, yielding a 50:50 split in line with the overall trend for adverbial elements. The four prepositional phrases that are left dislocated all refer to temporal information. The four prepositional phrases appearing in the prefield and not involved in left dislocation are divided between temporal and non-temporal referents. These four instances are shown as Ex. 4.3.1-4. below.

Ex. 4.3.1 und nach dem einen Häuptling ist das dann auch schließlich genannt worden.
‘and that was also ultimately named after the one chief’

Ex. 4.3.2 und, und seit dieser Zeit haben die Hahnes hier dann auch regiert
‘and, and since that time the Hahnes [family name] have reigned here’

Ex. 4.3.3 eher als halb acht gab es dann kein Abendessen
‘there was no dinner before seven thirty’

Ex. 4.3.4 also nach ihrem Stöhnen und Klagen muss das ganz gut gehen
‘so, according to their groaning and complaining, things must be going quite well’

The two cases in which a temporal prepositional phrase occurs in the prefield are examples 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. In 4.3.2, the prepositional phrase *seit dieser Zeit* (‘since that time’) refers to a time period that does not have a clear endpoint and thus has a sense of indefiniteness. Similarly, in

4.3.3, the prepositional phrase *eher als halb acht* refers not to any time earlier than seven thirty on a particular day, but rather that time range on any day during Käthe's childhood. Though the referents in these cases could hypothetically be captured by *da* or *dann* in a left dislocation structure, the less direct match between these temporal referents and the definiteness of a demonstrative pro-form could deter left dislocation. The two non-temporal cases, examples 4.3.1 and 4.3.4, include a prepositional object (*nach dem einen Häuptling*) and a sentential modifier (*nach ihrem Stöhnen und Klagen*), neither of which provide information that could not be captured by the demonstrative pro-forms *da* or *dann.* A hypothetical left dislocation structure could use another prepositional phrase, *nach ihm*, or a da-compound, *danach*, as a resumptive element. Thus, left dislocation in either of these cases would not match the prevalent structural pattern of Käthe's instances of left dislocation nor yield a prefield filled with a single-syllable demonstrative pro-form.

Would-be prefield length and avoidance of clausal embedding in the prefield, however, have a clearer role in Käthe's use of left dislocation. For Käthe, a modest but statistically significant (p=.0214) relationship exists between left dislocation and would-be prefields at least two words long. Left dislocation occurs in all four instances in which the would-be prefield is six words or longer. In the five cases when the would-be prefield contains a clause (three with *wenn*, one with *als*, and one that is a determiner phrase with a relative clause), left dislocation occurs, and the association is statistically significant (p=.0155).

Would-Be Prefield Content	**LD Not Present**	**LD Present**
Includes Clause	0	5
Does Not Include Clause	22	14
Total	22	19

Table 4.12 Values for Käthe's clause-based Fisher's two-tailed exact test

Though both Käthe and Frieda are from the same region and of similar ages, Frieda produces left dislocation at a much higher rate, and that is true whether considering all main clauses or just the "LD Possible" clauses. For both speakers, there is a nonrandom association between potential clausal embedding in the prefield and the presence of left dislocation, but Käthe produces left dislocation in 100% of such cases versus Frieda's 60%. Similarly, there is a statistically significant relationship for both speakers between left dislocation and would-be prefields length, but the significant association is with even shorter would-be prefields for Käthe. As a reminder, this mirrors the fact that Käthe shows an even stronger preference for short, if not empty, prefields overall than Frieda. Frieda and Käthe will be kept in mind as we continue to explore whether use of left dislocation is maintained over the course of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first and, if so, whether it appears as a non-dialectal, regional feature of northern German varieties, is strongly correlated with particular dialect regions, or neither.

4.7 Cross-regional comparison

Though this dissertation focuses on left dislocation phenomena in northern German data, an important question is whether the results are specific to northern Germany or may extend to German varieties outside of the north. With this section, I offer data from four additional recordings in the Zwirner Corpus by women who grew up and lived outside of northern Germany. As a reminder, those speakers are:

Speaker	Location	Variety	Profession	Birth Year	Recording Year	Age
Anna	Altenvers	West Middle German: Rhenish Franconian	Homemaker	1906	1958	52
Ilse	Isenburg	East Middle German: Upper Saxon; West Middle German: Middle Franconian (regionally marked vernacular)	Homemaker	1911	1957	46
Karla	Karlsdorf-Neuthard	High German: Southern Franconian	Cigar maker	1921	1955	34
Luise	Langenbach	High German: Central Bavarian (partial dialect)	Homemaker	1900	1956	56

Table 4.13 Mid-century German speakers outside northern Germany

4.7.1 Prefields of speakers outside northern Germany

We begin again by understanding how speakers generally fill the prefields of main clauses. For non-northern speakers, the top ten most common prefield elements include nine of the same elements found in the top ten list for northern speakers (see Table 4.14). Only *nun* (‘now’) is absent for speakers outside northern Germany, and it is replaced in the tenth most common spot by a different single-syllable adverb, *so* (‘so’; ‘thus’). Therefore, the most common prefields are again all single syllable words, mostly pronominal elements. The ten most common elements account for more than 65% of prefields for all non-northern speakers, peaking at 77.1% of prefields for Anna, who speaks a West Middle German dialect and for whom over 30% of prefields are filled with *da* (‘there’).

Speaker	***da***	***das***	***dann***	***die***	***ich***	***wir***	**NULL**	***der***	***es***	***so***	**Top 10**
Anna	31.8%	15.3%	5.1%	8.3%	1.3%	3.2%	3.2%	5.1%	1.3%	2.5%	77.1%
Ilse	18.9%	18.9%	7.6%	6.8%	3.0%	5.3%	0.8%	3.8%	6.1%	0.8%	69.7%
Karla	6.4%	3.8%	17.3%	6.0%	9.4%	7.5%	7.1%	1.9%	2.3%	4.1%	65.8%
Luise	12.7%	11.2%	6.0%	9.7%	7.5%	2.2%	6.7%	5.2%	4.5%	0.7%	66.4%
All^{O}	15.8%	10.7%	10.4%	7.4%	6.0%	5.1%	4.9%	3.2%	3.2%	2.5%	69.2%
All^{S}	17.5%	12.3%	9.0%	7.7%	5.3%	4.6%	4.5%	4.0%	3.5%	2.0%	69.7%

Table 4.14 Non-Northern top ten[9] *prefield elements as percentage of prefields for main clauses*

For the four non-northern speakers, the most common prefield element is again always from the subset of *da*, *dann*, and *das*, though *das* rises to second most common overall ahead of *dann.* There is a less dramatic drop off in the frequency of elements other than these three than seen with the northern speakers. *Da*, *das*, and *dann* fill 37.0% of the prefields in the non-northern data as opposed to 42.5% of prefields in the northern data. Another difference from the northern top ten prefield elements list is that the masculine determiner *der* is lower on the list in the eighth most common position. Together, the set of demonstrative adverbs and nominative nominal pronouns (*da*, *dann*, *der*, *die*, and *das*), which are the top five most common elements for northern speakers and account for the majority of their prefields (53.4%), are still strongly represented in the prefields of non-northern speakers (47.6% of prefields) but shy of the majority. One type of prefield that is more common in the non-northern data is the empty prefield, or one filled with a null element. These are most common for Karla and Luise and account for around 7% of prefields for both of these speakers, who represent the most southern (or High) German varieties in the study.

[9] The elements *so* and *auf einmal* have an equal number of occurrences (17) and therefore tied as the tenth-most frequent prefield element among the non-northern speaker data. Because all instances of *auf einmal* are produced by one speaker, Karla, *so* was chosen for inclusion in the Top 10.

The distribution of prefield content both in terms of adverbial or nominal elements and with regard to prefield word length is overall very similar to the data from northern Germany. The distribution of prefield content types for northern speakers is presented in Table 4.15. Nominal prefield elements are again more common overall, though not the majority for all individual speakers. While Ilse and Luise fill a majority with nominal elements, the other two speakers, Anna and Karla, fill a slight majority of prefields with adverbial elements. The percentage of prefields in the "not applicable" category is slightly higher for non-northern set of speakers than is the case among the northern speakers. This difference is driven by high percentages of null prefields by Karla and Luise, who represent the two most southern dialect varieties. These data suggest that both nominal and adverbial prefield elements are common across dialect regions of Germany, and there may be a modest preference overall for filling prefields with nominal elements in the genre of spoken narratives.

Speaker	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**	**N/A**	**Other**
Anna	53.5%	43.3%	3.2%	0.0%
Ilse	37.9%	56.8%	0.8%	4.5%
Karla	50.8%	41.7%	7.5%	0.0%
Luise	32.1%	59.0%	7.5%	1.5%
All^{O}	45.3%	48.3%	5.2%	1.2%
All^{S}	43.6%	50.2%	4.7%	1.5%

Table 4.15 Prefield content types for mid-century German speakers outside northern Germany

With regard to prefield length, short prefields, and particularly single-word prefields, are dominant across all regions of Germany. Table 4.16 shows the distribution of each non-northern speaker's prefields by word length. The average percentage of one-word prefields for non-northern speakers is roughly 80%, just like for northern speakers. Moreover, each of the non-northern speakers' percentages of one-word prefields fall between the peak of 93.5% set by

Renate and the lower boundary of 59.6% in Frieda's narrative. When it comes to other prefield lengths, the non-northern speakers have, on average, higher percentages of both null prefields and of prefields two words long. Karla and Luise have null prefields about 7% of the time, which is similar to Käthe, an outlier among the northern speakers for having such a high percentage of null prefields. Prefields of two words or fewer account for over 90% of the prefields for all four non-northern speakers. Whereas none of the northern speakers have a prefield length greater than ten words, Luise is the only one of the four non-northern speakers without an instance of such a long (or longer) prefield. Still, the maximum frequency of prefields at least ten words long for any individual speaker is a modest 1.5% by Ilse.

Speaker	**0 (NULL)**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5-9**	**10+**
Anna	3.2%	86.0%	9.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%
Ilse	0.8%	89.4%	5.3%	2.3%	0.0%	0.8%	1.5%
Karla	7.1%	72.9%	12.0%	4.5%	1.5%	0.8%	1.1%
Luise	6.7%	79.1%	9.0%	3.7%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%
All^{O}	4.9%	80.3%	9.6%	2.9%	0.9%	0.6%	0.9%
All^{S}	4.5%	81.9%	9.0%	2.6%	0.7%	0.5%	0.8%

Table 4.16 Distribution of prefield element lengths for mid-century German speakers outside northern Germany

Comparing the prefields of the northern and non-northern speakers shows how German speakers across dialect regions mostly produce single-syllable, semantically light prefields in a narrative context, with *da*, *dann*, and *das* occurring most frequently. Though prefields are not commonly filled by elements more than three or four words long by any speaker, there appears to be a stronger dispreference for prefields longer than nine words in northern varieties and more frequent use of null prefields by the most southern varieties. The general prefield patterns provide valuable context as we consider non-northern speakers' use of left dislocation in the next section.

4.7.2 Left dislocation by speakers outside northern Germany

What left dislocation can be found in the Zwirner narratives from our four non-northern speakers? Figure 4.3, like Figure 4.1 above, presents the distribution of each narrative's main clauses as either a clause in which left dislocation occurs (LD Present), left dislocation is possible but does not occur (LD Possible), or left dislocation is not possible (LD Not Possible). Left dislocation occurs in 80 of the 689 analyzed main clauses across non-northern Zwirner narratives, for a frequency of 11.6% compared to 14.6% for the northern speakers. The rate of left dislocation across all clauses ranges from a low of 2.6% to a high of 22.0%, with a marked difference in frequency between the group of Anna and Ilse and the group of Karla and Luise.

Figure 4.3 also shows the percentage of analyzed clauses in which left dislocation was possible versus not. In total, left dislocation would be possible in 199, or 28.9%, of the non-northern clauses, compared to being possible in 32.5% of clauses by the northern speakers. Karla and Luise have the highest rates of clauses in which left dislocation could not have occurred; left dislocation would be possible in less than a quarter of Luise's main clauses. This difference is in part due to their relatively high instances of clauses with null prefields.

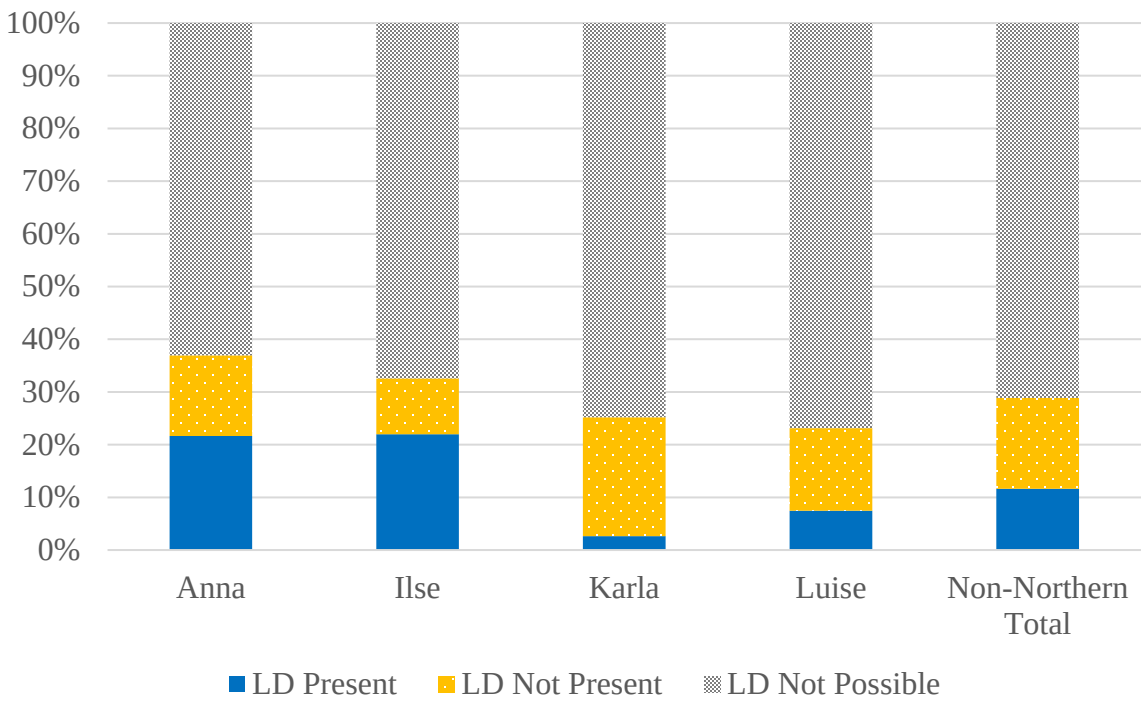


Figure 4.3 Presence and possibility of left dislocation outside northern Germany

We next consider how frequently left dislocation occurs when syntactic conditions would allow for it. Both Anna and Ilse produce left dislocation in more than half of the cases when it would be possible. Though neither reach Renate's notable frequency of 72.3%, Anna and Ilse opt for left dislocation more frequently than most of the speakers in northern German speakers at 59.6% and 67.4%, respectively. Luise's frequency is somewhat of a middle ground at 32.3%, while Karla only produces left dislocation in 10.4% of possible situations (7 instances). This means that Karla's rate of left dislocation is below Frieda's (13.5%), who clearly had the lowest rate among the northern German speakers.

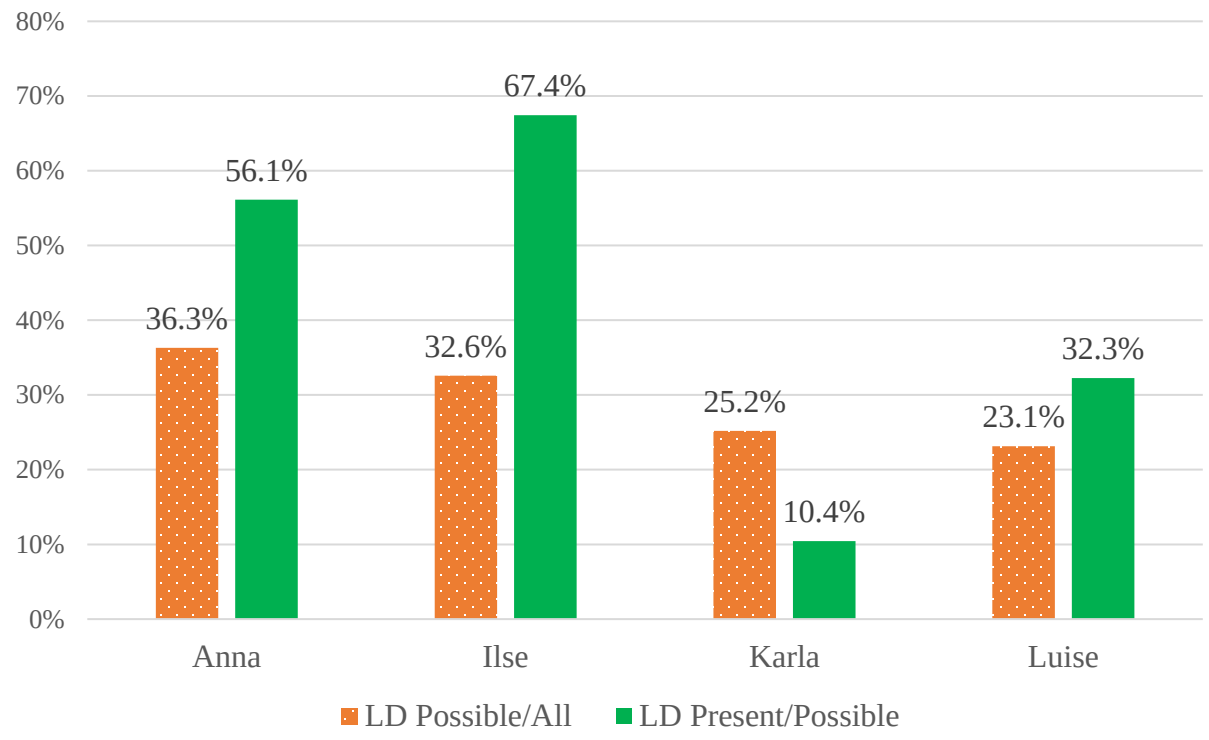


Figure 4.4 Rates of left dislocation possibility and presence outside northern Germany

For the non-northern speakers with the highest overall rate of dislocation, Anna and Ilse, left dislocation occurs in a majority of eligible adverbial and nominal prefields. Notably, Ilse uses left dislocation in 80.0% of cases when the would-be prefield is adverbial, whereas Karla only produces left dislocation with adverbial referents in 5.0% of eligible cases. This result in conjunction with the data from northern Germany suggests that the likelihood of dislocating adverbial elements is a major contributor to the variation left dislocation frequency found between individual speakers and between regional varieties.

Speaker	Adverbial	Nominal	Other
Anna	50.0%	66.7%	-
Ilse	80.0%	59.1%	0.0%
Karla	5.0%	18.5%	-
Luise	35.3%	28.6%	-
All^{O}	50.0%	45.2%	0.0%
All^{S}	48.5%	43.2%	-

Table 4.17 Rate of left dislocation for non-northern German speakers by would-be prefield content type

In the northern German left dislocation data, statistically significant relationships are found in connection with would-be prefield length and with the presence of a clause in the would-be prefield. Rates of left dislocation with these two factors in mind are presented for non-northern speakers in Table 4.18. For Anna, Ilse, and Luise, the rate of left dislocation for any particular prefield length of four words or greater is above 50%. Compared to Luise, Anna and Ilse produce left dislocation more frequently with one-, two-, and three-word prefield elements, which helps account for their higher overall rates of left dislocation. In contrast, would-be prefields of a particular length do not appear to strongly promote left dislocation for Karla, who produces left dislocation with the lowest frequency overall. Karla does produce left dislocation in her one instance of an 8-word would-be prefield, but she does not produce left dislocation with would-be prefields 6- or 7-words in length. Moreover, left dislocation occurs less than the majority of the time for Karla when the would-be prefield element is five words or fewer.

Turning to the role of clauses, the same two-tailed Fisher's exact test used for northern speakers shows that the association between left dislocation and a clause in the would-be prefield is very significant ($p<.01$) for Anna, Ilse, and Luise. Luise produces left dislocation in all five instances when the would-be prefield contains a clause (100% left dislocation rate), even though her rate of left dislocation overall is only 32.3%. These five instances account for 80% of her left

dislocation with adverbial referents; the referent in the final instance is the prepositional phrase *in meiner Kinderzeit* (‘during my childhood’). Ilse produces left dislocation in 93.8% of cases when the would-be prefield contains a clause, and Anna in 87.5% of cases. For Karla, on the other hand, the association with clauses is not statistically significant. Karla only produces left dislocation in one of six instances when the would-be prefield contains a clause, which means her rate of left dislocation when the would-be clause includes a prefield is the lowest among the mid-century German speakers.[10]

	Anna		**Ilse**		**Karla**		**Luise**	
Would-Be Prefield Length	**All**	**Contains a clause**	**All**	**Contains a clause**	**All**	**Contains a clause**	**All**	**Contains a clause**
1	30.8%	N/A	28.6%	N/A	0.0%	N/A	20.0%	N/A
2	50.0%	-	63.6%	-	6.7%	-	15.4%	-
3	100.0%	-	33.3%	-	7.7%	-	16.7%	-
4	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	33.3%	0.0%	80.0%	100.0%
5	87.5%	85.7%	66.7%	-	33.3%	50.0%	-	-
6	100.0%	100.0%	-	-	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
7	66.7%	66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-	-
8	100.0%	100.0%	80.0%	100.0%	100.0%	-	-	-
9+	100.0%	100.0%	85.7%	85.7%	-		-	-
All	58.6%	87.5%	67.4%	93.8%	10.4%	16.7%	32.3%	100.0%

Table 4.18 Rate of left dislocation for speakers outside northern Germany by would-be prefield length for all cases and for cases including a clause

[10] Note that Bertha does not produce any clauses for which the would-be prefield includes a clause, so a comparable rate of left dislocation could not be calculated.

4.8 Summary

This chapter explored how speakers of mid-twentieth century German varieties fill their prefields and produce left dislocation in spoken narratives. Both within and outside of northern Germany, mid-century speakers show a strong preference for prefields filled with single-syllable demonstrative pro-forms, most frequently *da*, *dann*, and *das.* The use of left dislocation structures supports this general trend, as most instances of left dislocation result in a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield. With regard to the constituents involved in left dislocation structures, the data in this chapter suggest that the focus on nominal examples in literature about left dislocation does not reflect the reality that many of the left dislocation structures actually produced by speakers, at least in northern Germany, have adverbial referents. Though it is not novel or surprising to find a resumptive *dann* following a *wenn*-clause in German, the data in this chapter tie such examples to broader patterns of left dislocation. Moreover, the approach of analyzing "would-be" prefields demonstrated how the potential to reduce two different factors of complexity, constituent length and clausal embedding, is associated with the use of left dislocation across varieties of northern Germany.

Critically, variation in the prevalence and likelihood of left dislocation between speakers and across dialect regions indicates that left dislocation is not only a structure available in spoken German varieties, but a regional feature that may be grammaticalized to varying degrees. The sole Low Franconian speaker, Renate, produces left dislocation most frequently and in 100% of cases when the prefield would have otherwise contained a clause. The dialect speakers further north in Germany were less likely to produce left dislocation than Renate and their Westphalian peers. Notably, the inclusion of speakers from outside northern Germany showed that the use of left dislocation appears most consistently and is perhaps grammaticalized under certain

conditions for varieties close to the Benrath line: Low Franconian, southern varieties of Low German (e.g., Westphalian) and in East and West Central German varieties. As we move our attention to the twenty-first century in the next chapter, we will see similarities and differences in patterns of the left periphery.

Chapter 5: Synchronic analysis: Left periphery in the early twenty-first century

5.1 Overview of early-twenty-first-century analysis

Following the model of Chapter 4, this chapter presents a synchronic analysis of left dislocation from spoken German varieties in northern Germany during the early twenty-first century. Importantly, this chapter analyzes narratives produced in Low German and in local regiolects, which I describe here as "High German" to highlight the contrast between varieties. This chapter documents broad northern German trends while offering comparisons of the two linguistic subgroups. After reviewing the data sources, we address how speakers fill the prefields of main clauses in general. This understanding of broad prefield patterns serves as a backdrop when we then quantify left dislocation with regard to overall frequency and according to semantic and syntactic features. Four cases studies of individual narratives, two in Low German and two in High German, situate examples of left dislocation in their narrative context and facilitate more nuanced comparison of speakers. Throughout the quantitative and qualitative analyses, results show greater use left dislocation in Low German compared to High German. Across varieties, syntactic factors play a statistically significant role in promoting left dislocation constructions. This chapter thus enhances our understanding of syntactic variation in contemporary northern Germany.

5.2 Twenty-first-century data sources

The contemporary narratives selected for this study are part of the Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN) Corpus. As a reminder, the SiN Corpus includes spoken language from the early 2010s produced by adult women consultants representing towns across northern Germany. Narratives (*Erzählungen*) were produced as one of several task types with each consultant, and speakers with competence in Low German were prompted to produce their

narrative in Low German. Table 5.1 presents the 15 contemporary speakers whose narratives are analyzed in this chapter. Each speaker is listed with their location, the local Low German dialect variety, and notes about the speaker's Low German and standard German competence as described in the SiN Corpus metadata.

The selection of consultants aims to reflect different locations within northern Germany and, to the extent possible, both Low German and High German narratives from the same locality. Map 5.1 shows the locations of the consultants and whether the narratives from that location are exclusively Low German, High German, or one of each. For each of the mid-twentieth century northern German speakers from Chapter 4, two early twenty-first century speakers from the same or a nearby town were selected. The exception is that Larissa, from Lütjenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, is the only counterpart for Chapter 4's Bertha of Blekendorf. Unfortunately, transcripts were not available for the other consultants from Lütjenburg in the SiN Corpus, and thus only Larissa's narrative, produced in Low German, was chosen for analysis. The locations Hinte and Warsingsfehn also only have Low German narratives. The dichotomy of one speaker with strong Low German competence and one without is present for three of the six pairs: those from Südlohn, Heiden, and Rödinghausen. The narratives from South Westphalia, those in Rüthen and Balve, are all produced in High German. This distribution reflects that the speakers from further north, especially in the northeast of Germany, are more likely to have strong competence in a Low German variety and may have learned Low German before or alongside a High German variety. In the SiN Corpus, consultants from further south in the northern German region more often have no or only a passive competence in a Low German variety, and that trend is reflected in this the consultants for this study.

Speaker	Locality	Local Low German Variety	Narrative Language	Low German Competence[1]	Standard (High) German Competence	Mid-Twentieth Century Counterpart
Larissa	Lütjenburg, Holstein	Northern Low Saxon	Low German	Unclear/L1	L1	Bertha
Hanna	Hinte, East Frisia	Northern Low Saxon	Low German	Unclear/L1	L1	Käthe
Helena	Hinte, East Frisia	Northern Low Saxon	Low German	Unclear/L1	L2	Käthe
Wilma	Warsingsfehn, East Frisia	Northern Low Saxon	Low German	Weak	L1	Frieda
Wiebke	Warsingsfehn, East Frisia	Northern Low Saxon	Low German	L1	L2	Frieda
Stefanie	Südlohn, South Münsterland	Westphalian	Low German	Unclear/L1	L2	Verena
Susanne	Südlohn, South Münsterland	Westphalian	High German	Unclear/L2	L1	Verena
Heike	Heiden, West Münsterland	Westphalian	Low German	L1	L2	Renate
Heidi	Heiden, West Münsterland	Westphalian	High German	No	L1	Renate
Rieke	Rödinghausen, East Westphalia	Westphalian	Low German	Yes	Unclear	Sofie
Rita	Rödinghausen, East Westphalia	Westphalian	High German	No	L1	Sofie
Ramona	Rüthen, South Westphalia	Westphalian	High German	Unclear	L1	Birgit
Regina	Rüthen, South Westphalia	Westphalian	High German	Unclear	L1	Birgit
Bettina	Balve, South Westphalia	Westphalian	High German	No/Passive L2	L1	Bärbel
Britta	Balve, South Westphalia	Westphalian	High German	No	L1	Bärbel

Table 5.1 Overview of early twenty-first century speakers in study

[1] The competencies listed are translations of metadata shared with me from the SiN Corpus. For example, the original competence description *unklar* appears in Table 5.1 as "unclear."

Map 5.1 Locations of early twenty-first century German speakers in study[2]

How can we quantify the data available from these twenty-first century narratives? Table 5.2 presents the length of time each speaker took to complete their narrative task plus the number of analyzed prefields from the speech in their narrative. In some cases, the length of time includes brief interruptions or reactions a researcher, but speech produced by researchers is not included among the prefield count or otherwise analyzed in the study. In total, the narratives yield over an hour (1:18:10[3]) of spoken language and 1079 prefields across fifteen speakers. Though at least some of the speakers were specifically prompted to talk for about three minutes for the narrative task, the narratives range from about two-and-a-half minutes (Wilma at 2:25) to over seven minutes (Hanna at 7:15). The number of prefields per speaker ranges from 30 in Wilma's short

[2] An interactive version of this map is available through Google Maps at https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1AaWp9srXDT5-_e6EMxleeHgUVk4XgqEm&usp=sharing.

[3] Lengths of time are presented in the format hours:minutes:seconds or, if less than one hour, minutes:seconds.

narrative to 106 in Regina's relatively long one. The total number of minutes of speaking and total prefields are divided roughly evenly between the Low German and High German subgroups, with a modest majority of the data coming from the High German narratives. The eight Low German narratives yield 527 prefields for an average of 65.9 prefields per speaker and median of 61.5 prefields per speaker. Although the High German narratives include slightly fewer prefields per second than Low German narratives, the average number of prefields per speaker is higher. The High German narratives have a total of 552 prefields and average 78.9 prefields per speaker (median = 71 prefields). The upcoming section examines these prefields more deeply to establish patterns that can be compared with data specifically related to instances of left dislocation.

Speaker	**Length of Narrative**	**Prefield Count**
Larissa	6:50	100
Hanna	7:15	88
Helena	3:00	62
Wilma	2:25	30
Wiebke	7:00	81
Stefanie	3:25	60
Heike	2:40	45
Rieke	5:00	61
Low German	*37:35*	*527*
Susanne	6:30*	102
Heidi	4:40	71
Rita	4:35	41
Ramona	5:45*	98
Regina	6:40	106
Bettina	5:45	68
Britta	6:40	66
High German	*40:35*	*552*
Total	**1:18:10**	**1079**

Table 5.2 Early twenty-first century German narrative recording lengths and prefield counts

*Transcription of narrative concludes, and subsequent clauses are not analyzed for this study. The speaker continues for several minutes.

5.3 Prefields patterns

How do contemporary speakers of northern German varieties fill the prefields of main clauses? In order to identify broad prefield trends as well as differences between speakers and varieties within northern Germany, this section presents the elements most commonly found in prefields and considers semantic and syntactic features of all prefield elements.

Speaker	***dann* 'then'**	***das* 'the'**	**NULL**	***da* 'there'**	***ich* 'I'**	***wir* 'we'**	***die* 'the'**	***es* 'it'**	***der* 'the'**	***sie* 'she/her; they/them'**	**Top 10**
Larissa	24.0%	9.0%	2.0%	8.0%	2.0%	5.0%	7.0%	0.0%	6.0%	2.0%	65.0%
Hanna	14.8%	19.3%	8.0%	14.8%	4.5%	2.3%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	67.0%
Helena	19.4%	4.8%	3.2%	24.2%	3.2%	11.3%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	69.4%
Wilma	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	10.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%	3.3%	0.0%	56.7%
Wiebke	9.9%	12.3%	9.9%	16.0%	11.1%	1.2%	7.4%	0.0%	4.9%	2.5%	75.3%
Stefanie	23.3%	8.3%	18.3%	1.7%	0.0%	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	70.0%
Heike	17.8%	13.3%	0.0%	8.9%	0.0%	0.0%	15.6%	6.7%	2.2%	0.0%	64.4%
Rieke	19.7%	18.0%	3.3%	6.6%	3.3%	18.0%	4.9%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	77.0%
Low German Subtotal	*17.3%*	*12.5%*	*6.1%*	*11.6%*	*4.7%*	*5.9%*	*5.9%*	*1.3%*	*2.7%*	*0.9%*	*68.9%*
Susanne	4.9%	10.8%	13.7%	5.9%	8.8%	12.7%	2.0%	7.8%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%
Heidi	12.7%	5.6%	11.3%	4.2%	9.9%	5.6%	7.0%	1.4%	0.0%	9.9%	67.6%
Rita	7.3%	4.9%	22.0%	7.3%	9.8%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	2.4%	2.4%	58.5%
Ramona	21.4%	12.2%	17.3%	6.1%	5.1%	8.2%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	74.5%
Regina	15.1%	13.2%	10.4%	8.5%	9.4%	1.9%	4.7%	6.6%	0.0%	1.9%	71.7%
Bettina	10.3%	2.9%	7.4%	11.8%	7.4%	2.9%	16.2%	0.0%	4.4%	1.5%	64.7%
Britta	6.1%	7.6%	18.2%	6.1%	15.2%	7.6%	6.1%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	75.8%
High German Subtotal	*11.8%*	*9.1%*	*13.8%*	*7.1%*	*9.1%*	*6.2%*	*5.3%*	*4.5%*	*0.7%*	*2.0%*	*69.4%*
All^{O}	**14.5%**	**10.8%**	**10.0%**	**9.3%**	**7.0%**	**6.0%**	**5.6%**	**3.0%**	**1.7%**	**1.5%**	**69.1%**
All^{S}	**13.8%**	**10.6%**	**9.7%**	**9.3%**	**7.3%**	**5.7%**	**5.6%**	**3.1%**	**1.8%**	**1.5%**	**68.3%**

Table 5.3 Frequency of top ten prefield elements for early twenty-first century German narrative recordings [4]

[4] In Table 5.3 and subsequently, two "total" or "all" values may be present. Total^{O} or All^{O} combines all relevant instances (here: prefields) from the data set and weights each instance evenly. The superscript "O" can be thought of as "overall." Total^{S} or All^{S}, on the other hand, weights the calculated values for each speaker evenly, so that speakers, rather than instances, contribute equally to that row's values. The superscript "S" can be thought of as "speaker."

To begin, Table 5.3 identifies the ten most frequent prefield elements across the fifteen narratives and the rate at which each element occurs, shown as a percentage of total prefields for that speaker. Frequency rates are also calculated for the subgroups of Low German and High German narratives. The most common ten prefield elements are all one-word pronominal elements, with the exception of the null element from "empty" prefields.[5] The pronominal elements include two demonstrative adverbs (*dann* and *da*), nominative forms of demonstrative pronouns (*der, die, das*), and nominative forms of personal pronouns used for first-person and some third-person referents (*ich, wir, es, sie*). The combination of the ten prefield elements from Table 5.3 comprise 69.1% of prefields in the data set and the majority of prefields for each individual, ranging from 56.7% of prefields (Wilma) to 77.0% (Rieke). Though no individual speaker's narrative includes each of top ten elements as a prefield, and thus a "top ten" list would vary by speaker, these common elements confirm previously established preferences for single-syllable prefield elements and, critically, prefields that do not introduce new semantic referents.

The single most frequent prefield-filling element across all narratives is *dann.* This one element accounts for 14.5% of all prefields and 17.3% of Low German prefields. Considering individual Low German speakers, *dann* is the most frequent prefield for six of ten Westphalian narratives, including in all three Westphalian Low German narratives as well as the Low German narrative produced by Larissa in Holstein. Nearly one quarter of Larissa's clauses begin with *dann* in the prefield.

Following *dann*, the second most common prefield element in the Low German narratives is the neuter demonstrative pronoun *das*. *Das* fills 12.5% of the Low German prefields. The third most common prefield element for Low German narratives is the demonstrative adverb *da*,

[5] The next most frequent (eleventh most) prefield element in the data is the adverb *jetzt*, which is also one word long, but not a pronominal element.

which fills 11.6% of the Low German prefields. *Da* is particularly frequent in narratives produced in the East Frisian region. One of *da* or *dann* is the most frequent element in two-thirds (10/15) of the narratives, three-quarters (6/8) of the Low German narratives. Together, the demonstrative adverbs *da* and *dann* fill 156 and 100 prefields, respectively, for a total of 23.8% of prefields (28.9% in Low German, 18.9% in High German). Meanwhile, the three most common nominal demonstrative pronouns, the nominative and occasionally accusative forms *der*, *die*, and *das*, account for 18.1% of prefields (21.1% in Low German, 15.1% in High German). These data show a clear pattern of demonstrative pro-forms in the prefield, with that preference being heightened among Low German speakers.

Despite the trend of demonstrative pro-forms in High German prefields, the plurality of prefields in the High German subset are actually filled with a null element. Like one-word, pronominal elements, the null element creates a prosodically "light" prefield and certainly avoids the introduction of a new referent in the prefield of the clause. 13.8% of prefields in the High German are filled with null elements. The next most common prefield element for High German narratives is *dann* at 11.8% and then *das* and the first-person singular nominative singular pronoun *ich*, both at 9.1%. null prefields are more than twice as common in the High German narratives compared to the Low German narratives. Whereas the null element fills only 6.1% of Low German prefields, and two Low German speakers had no null prefields at all, all but one of the High German speakers filled at least 10% of prefields with null elements.

When considering the top ten prefield elements for individual speakers, Wilma appears as an outlier. Her narrative is the only one in which the most frequent prefield element is a personal pronoun. In Wilma's case, *ich* fills 20.0% (6/30) of prefields. Further, Wilma produces no instances of *dann* in the prefield, and *da* only accounts for 10% of her prefields in the narrative.

The limited use of demonstrative adverbial prefields stands out among Low German narratives. Also notable is that Wilma does not use five of the top ten elements for any of her prefields. Wilma's data may be skewed by the fact that hers is the shortest recording with the fewest prefields (only 30). Her different syntactic choices may also reflect the reality that she produces a narrative in Low German despite her Low German competence designated as "weak." Despite this deviation from Low German peers, the majority of Wilma's prefields are still filled with one-word pronominal elements, including strong representation of the demonstrative elements *das* and *da.*

Following the presentation of particularly common prefield elements, Table 5.4 illustrates the types of content found across all prefields using the categories of adverbial, nominal, not applicable (N/A), and other. As in the previous chapter, prefields filled with null elements and instances of directly reported speech quotations in a prefield are coded as not applicable (N/A). "Other" prefield element types include numeral (e.g., *sössunnegenzig* [High German: *sechsundneunzig*, 'ninety-six']) and verbal (e.g., *praten* [High German: *sprechen*, 'to talk'], *kirchlich heiraten*, 'to get married in the church'). No prefields from the early twenty-first century narratives are filled with adjectival elements. Once again, green shading is used to indicate the most common category for each individual, and any categories for which an individual speaker produced zero instances are shaded orange.

The vast majority of prefields produced by early twenty-first century northern German speakers, almost 90%, can be categorized as either adverbial or nominal. Though some speakers produce more adverbial prefields, nominal prefields are in the plurality overall and in the slight majority for the High German narratives. Adverbial elements account for around 40% of prefields overall all and are about 9% more frequent in Low German than in High German.

About another 10% of prefields are coded as "not applicable," and this reflects the presence of empty prefields, especially in High German narratives. Less than 1% of prefields are filled with any other content type. These "other" types are only produced by five speakers, and the largest percentage by far comes from Helena, who produces three prefields filled with infinite phrases. No other speaker produces more than one prefield that is not coded as adverbial, nominal, or not applicable. These data show variation between speakers, but offer broad patterns for how prefields are filled by adverbial, nominal, and null elements. The differences between Low German and High German with respect to adverbial elements and null elements extend the trends found by analyzing common prefield elements.

Speaker	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**	**N/A**	**Other**
Larissa	46.0%	50.0%	4.0%	0.0%
Hanna	44.3%	46.6%	8.0%	1.1%
Helena	54.8%	37.1%	3.2%	4.8%
Wilma	30.0%	70.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Wiebke	34.6%	55.6%	9.9%	0.0%
Stefanie	41.7%	40.0%	18.3%	0.0%
Heike	55.6%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Rieke	39.3%	55.7%	3.3%	1.6%
Low German Subtotal	*43.6%*	*49.0%*	*6.5%*	*0.9%*
Susanne	21.6%	63.7%	13.7%	1.0%
Heidi	32.4%	56.3%	11.3%	0.0%
Rita	56.1%	22.0%	22.0%	0.0%
Ramona	49.0%	33.7%	17.3%	0.0%
Regina	36.8%	52.8%	10.4%	0.0%
Bettina	36.8%	54.4%	7.4%	1.5%
Britta	18.2%	63.6%	18.2%	0.0%
High German Subtotal	*34.8%*	*51.1%*	*13.8%*	*0.4%*
All^{O}	**39.1%**	**50.0%**	**10.2%**	**0.6%**
All^{S}	**39.8%**	**49.7%**	**9.8%**	**0.7%**

Table 5.4 Prefield content types for early twenty-first century German narrative recordings

To further explore prefield trends with regard to grammatical weight, Table 5.5 offers the distribution of all analyzed prefields by length, as measured by syntactic word count. Null prefields are coded as having a length of zero words. The most common prefield length is, of course, one word. One-word prefields account for 72.7% of all prefields across the fifteen narratives. One-word prefields account for 78.6% of prefields (standard deviation: 7.7%) in Low German, whereas one-word elements fill 67.0% of prefields (standard deviation: 8.6%) in High German. Rita, a High German speaker, is the only speaker for whom one-word prefields to not constituent the majority, and she is also the speaker with the highest percentage of empty prefields (22.0%). On the other end of the spectrum, half of the Low German speakers (Larissa, Helena, Heike, and Rieke) fill at least 80% of prefields with one-word elements.

Prefields that are not filled with a single-word element are most often filled with two-word elements or with null elements; 92.4% of prefields in the narratives are filled with null elements, one-word elements, or two-word elements. Two-word prefields are more common than empty prefields in Low German, and the opposite is true in High German. Prefields of length three drop to less 5% for both High and Low German narratives, and percentages continue to decrease for lengths of four and five. In Low German, fewer than 1% of prefields are six words or longer, and there is only one instance of a prefield 10 words or greater. That single instance is a ten-word prefield produced by Larissa. In High German, just under 1% of prefields have lengths between six and nine words, and 0.5% of prefields are ten words or longer. That 0.5% comes from three instances produced by just two speakers, Rita and Regina. The longest prefield is seventeen words and produced by Rita, the same speaker who has the lowest percentage of one-word prefields.

These data emphasize northern German speakers' proclivity for filling prefields with one-word elements even beyond the common pronominal elements seen in Table 5.3 and how this pattern is even more pronounced in Low German. Further, we see how rarely speakers produce prefields filled with elements longer than two or three words. With this context regarding the prefields in contemporary northern German narratives, we turn our attention to the production of left dislocation.

Speaker	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6-9**	**10+**
Larissa	2.0%	87.0%	9.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Hanna	8.0%	69.3%	12.5%	3.4%	4.5%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Helena	3.2%	83.9%	8.1%	3.2%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Wilma	0.0%	76.7%	10.0%	6.7%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Wiebke	9.9%	79.0%	6.2%	1.2%	0.0%	2.5%	1.2%	0.0%
Stefanie	18.3%	65.0%	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Heike	0.0%	80.0%	15.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.4%	0.0%
Rieke	0.0%	85.2%	6.6%	1.6%	1.6%	4.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Low German Subtotal	*5.7%*	*78.6%*	*9.3%*	*2.7%*	*1.7%*	*1.3%*	*0.6%*	*0.2%*
Susanne	13.7%	70.6%	8.8%	3.9%	2.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Heidi	11.3%	69.0%	12.7%	4.2%	0.0%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Rita	22.0%	46.3%	14.6%	2.4%	7.3%	2.4%	2.4%	2.4%
Ramona	17.3%	68.4%	4.1%	3.1%	3.1%	1.0%	3.1%	0.0%
Regina	10.4%	70.8%	11.3%	4.7%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	1.9%
Bettina	7.4%	67.6%	14.7%	5.9%	2.9%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%
Britta	18.2%	63.6%	12.1%	3.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%
High German Subtotal	*13.8%*	*67.0%*	*10.5%*	*4.0%*	*1.8%*	*1.4%*	*0.9%*	*0.5%*
All^{O}	**9.8%**	**72.7%**	**9.9%**	**3.3%**	**1.8%**	**1.4%**	**0.7%**	**0.4%**
All^{S}	**9.4%**	**72.2%**	**10.3%**	**3.5%**	**2.0%**	**1.4%**	**0.8%**	**0.4%**

Table 5.5 Distribution of prefield element lengths for early twenty-first century German narrative recordings

5.4 Presence of left dislocation

This section presents instances of left dislocation and categorizes them according to factors that may promote the use the left dislocation. From 1079 analyzed prefields, the contemporary narratives yield 62 total instances of left dislocation, with 43 in the Low German narratives and

19 in High German narratives.[6] The higher number of instances of left dislocation in Low German comes despite Low German being slightly less represented in the corpus in terms of recorded time and main clauses. Table 5.6 shows the distribution of left dislocation by speaker as well as information related to the placement and form of resumptive elements. All but one (61/62, 98.4%) of the resumptive elements in the narratives' left dislocation constructions occur in the prefield, and all but one of the resumptive elements are either adverbial or nominal pro-forms. The one instance of left dislocation with a resumptive element outside the prefield involves a left dislocated *wenn*-clause and the resumptive element *dann* in the middle field. In the one instance the resumptive element is not a demonstrative pro-form, the resumptive element is instead the plural first-person pronoun *wir* ('we'). Though these isolated instances justify a coding procedure that looked for all forms of left dislocation, they data also demonstrate the dominance of left dislocation involving a demonstrative pro-form as a resumptive element in the prefield.

[6] One utterance from Larissa raised the question of whether the adverb *manchmal* ('sometimes') could be the referent in a left dislocation construction. The utterance, from a Low German narrative, is as follows:

Ex. 5.1 manchmol denn hebbt se vörher jo ok heimlich en Stück instudiert
'sometimes then they have secretly rehearsed a piece [of music] before that'

Drawing on Lambrecht (1994) and a close reading of the utterance, I determined that the indeterminate meaning of *manchmal* is not capable of becoming a topic. This drove the decision to code *manchmal* as not eligible for left dislocation. For the utterance in question, *manchmol* is analyzed as part of the pre-prefield but not a referent for *denn.*

Speaker	LD Occurrences	Resumptive Element in Prefield	Resumptive Element is Demonstrative Pronoun
Larissa	11	11	11
Hanna	5	5	5
Helena	5	5	5
Wilma	1	1	1
Wiebke	11	11	11
Stefanie	1	1	1
Heike	4	4	4
Rieke	5	5	4
Low German Subtotal	*43*	*43*	*42*
Susanne	2	2	2
Heidi	1	1	1
Rita	0	0	0
Ramona	4	4	4
Regina	6	6	6
Bettina	5	5	5
Britta	1	0	1
High German Subtotal	*19*	*18*	*19*
All	**62**	**61**	**61**

Table 5.6 Overview of instances of left dislocation in early twenty-first century German narrative recordings

A high-level overview of the content involved in these left dislocation constructions is presented in Table 5.7. Of the 62 instances of left dislocation, 53.2% have adverbial referents and 46.8% have nominal referents. The higher rate of left dislocation with adverbial referents comes despite nominal elements being more common in prefields overall (see Table 5.4). In Low German narratives, 51.2% of left dislocation referents are adverbial, and in High German 57.9% are adverbial. No instances of left dislocation occur with other types of referents (e.g., numeral, verbal). Although the number of instances is relatively small, the data suggest that both adverbial and nominal constituents can be unmarked referents in left dislocation among the contemporary northern German varieties. At the same time, the data show left dislocation with adverbial

referents being modestly more common than with nominal referents, somewhat more so in High German narratives.

Speaker	**Adverbial Referent**	**Nominal Referent**	**Other Type of Referent**
Larissa	4	7	0
Hanna	3	2	0
Helena	4	1	0
Wilma	1	0	0
Wiebke	5	6	0
Stefanie	0	1	0
Heike	3	1	0
Rieke	2	3	0
Low German Subtotal	*22*	*21*	*0*
Susanne	1	1	0
Heidi	1	0	0
Rita	0	0	0
Ramona	3	1	0
Regina	3	3	0
Bettina	2	3	0
Britta	1	0	0
High German Subtotal	*11*	*8*	*0*
All	**33**	**29**	**0**

Table 5.7 Content type of left dislocation referents in early twenty-first century German narrative recordings

Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3 and parallel to Figure 4.1, Figures 5.1 and 5.2 present the distribution of each narrative's main clauses as either a clause in which left dislocation occurs (LD Present), left dislocation of the prefield element would be possible but does not occur (LD Not Present), or left dislocation of the prefield element is not possible (LD Not Possible). In total, left dislocation is possible in 148 of the identified main clauses among Low German narratives (28.1%). In High German narratives, left dislocation is possible in 145 of the main clauses (26.3%). For all individual narratives, left dislocation is a possibility in at least 18.2% of main clauses ranges, and the highest percentages in an individual narrative are

40.0% (Wilma) followed by 38.2% (Bettina). This means that the majority of prefields produced by these speakers do not structurally permit left dislocation. Though the Low German narratives have, on average, a slightly higher rate of clauses in which left dislocation could occur, these data do not suggest a meaningful difference in how often left dislocation would be structurally possible in Low German versus High German varieties of northern Germany.

With what frequency does left dislocation occur in the Low German and High German narratives? The rate of left dislocation across all analyzed main clauses is 5.7% (62/1079). The rates of left dislocation for individual narratives range from a low of 0.0% (Rita) to a high of 13.6% (Wiebke). The average rate across Low German narratives is 8.4%, and the average rate across High German narratives is 3.4%. Low German narratives thus average left dislocation at nearly 2.5 time the rate of High German narratives, and the highest rate of left dislocation among the High German narratives (7.4% by Bettina) is lower than the average left dislocation rate for the Low German narratives. A Fisher's exact test shows that there is a statistically significant association ($p<.01$) between whether the narrative is produced in High German or Low German and the production of left dislocation.

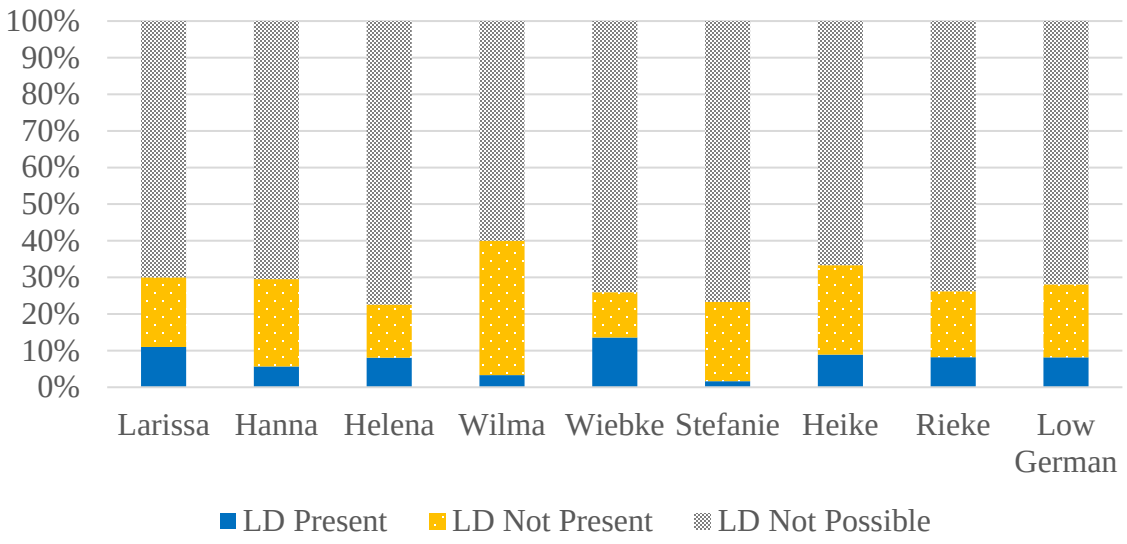


Figure 5.1 Presence and possibility of left dislocation in early twenty-first century Low German narrative recordings

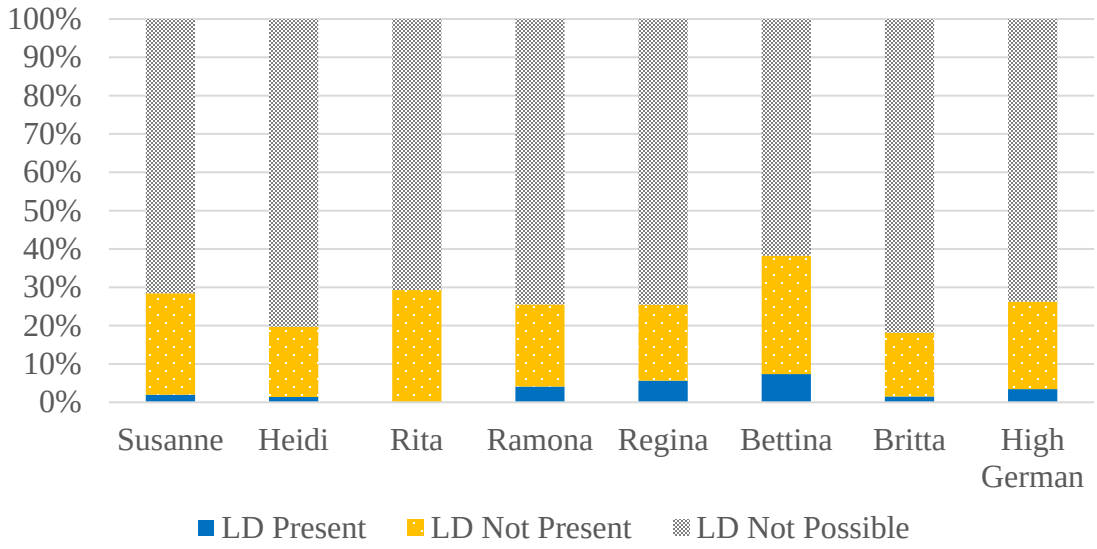


Figure 5.2 Presence and possibility of left dislocation in early twenty-first century High German narrative recordings

The relationship between Low German and higher rates of left dislocation, as compared to High German, is also suggested by juxtaposing the pairs of speakers who represent the same locality, but with one producing a Low German narrative and the other a High German narrative. Heike produces left dislocation in 8.9% of clauses in her Low German narrative, while her High German counterpart Heidi's narrative has a left dislocation rate of 1.4%. Reike's narrative has a left dislocation rate of 8.2%, while Rita is the speaker with no instances of left dislocation. Stefanie and Susanne, both of Südlohn in South Münsterland, present an exception. Stefanie and Susanne have similar rates of left dislocation in their narratives, with Susanne's High German narrative having the slightly higher rate (2.0% versus 1.7%). Their narratives thus do not provide evidence of substantially higher left dislocation in a High German variety, but offer an instance of similarly low left dislocation rates in Low German and High German varieties from the same area.

Notably, higher rates clauses in which left dislocation would be possible or does in fact occur, which I refer to as "LD-eligible clauses," do not correlate with rates of left dislocation. For example, Wiebke's narrative has the highest rate of left dislocation, but the percentage of LD-eligible clauses is below the average for a Low German narrative. Meanwhile Bettina's narrative, which has the highest rate of left dislocation among the High German narratives, also has the highest percentage of clauses in which left dislocation with the prefield element as a dislocated referent could hypothetically occur.

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 reframe the data of the previous figures to show ratios related to the possible production of left dislocation. For each speaker, the column on the left shows the percentage of main clauses in which left dislocation would have been possible or did in fact occur. The column on the right for each speaker shows the percentage of clauses in which left

dislocation occurs within the subset of LD-eligible clauses. The rate of left dislocation when structurally available ranges from 0.0% (Rita) to 52.4% (Wiebke). The average rate of left dislocation when structurally possible is 21.2% across all fifteen narratives, with Low German narratives having left dislocation in 29.1% of clauses among eligible clauses. The narratives in High German have left dislocation present in only 13.1% of possible cases. A Fisher's exact test shows that there is a statistically significant association ($p<.01$) between whether the narrative is produced in High German or Low German and production of left dislocation within the subset of clauses when left dislocation is possible.

Looking again at cases with a Low German and High German narrative from the same locality, the rate of left dislocation among eligible clauses is always higher in the Low German narrative. This is true even with Stefanie and Susanne's narratives, though the difference is slight, as it was when looking at overall left dislocation rate. Stefanie's left dislocation rate among eligible clauses is 7.1% and Susanne's is 6.9%. For the other two such pairs with a shared location, the difference between Low German and High German is more pronounced. Heike's rate is 26.7% compared to Heidi's 7.1%, and Rieke's rate is 31.3% to Rita's 0.0%.

As for variation within Low German, the distribution of left dislocation rates does not suggest obvious regional differences. Exactly half of the Low German narratives show left dislocation in possible cases at a higher rate than the average for the Low German subgroup. Those speakers, Larissa (36.7%), Helena (35.7%), Wiebke (52.4%), and Rieke (31.3%), represent the both the Northern Low Saxon and Westphalian subgroups of Low German, specifically the areas of Holstein, East Frisia, and East Westphalia.

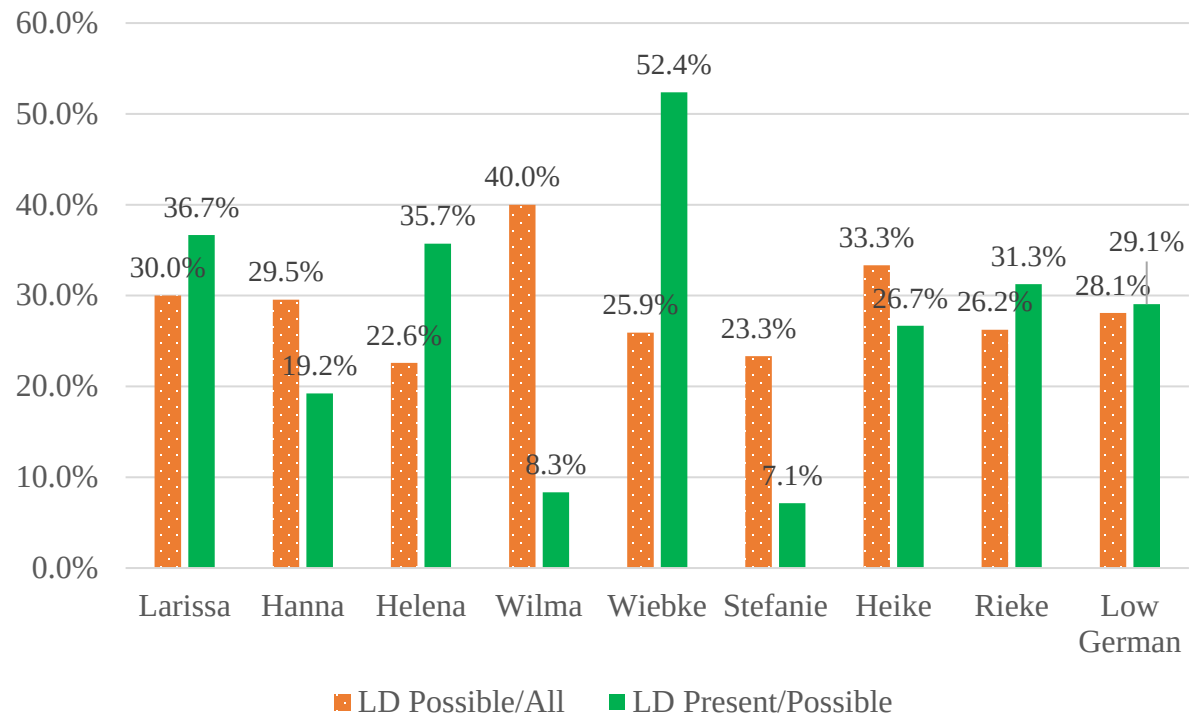


Figure 5.3 Rates of left dislocation possibility and presence in early twenty-first century Low German narrative recordings

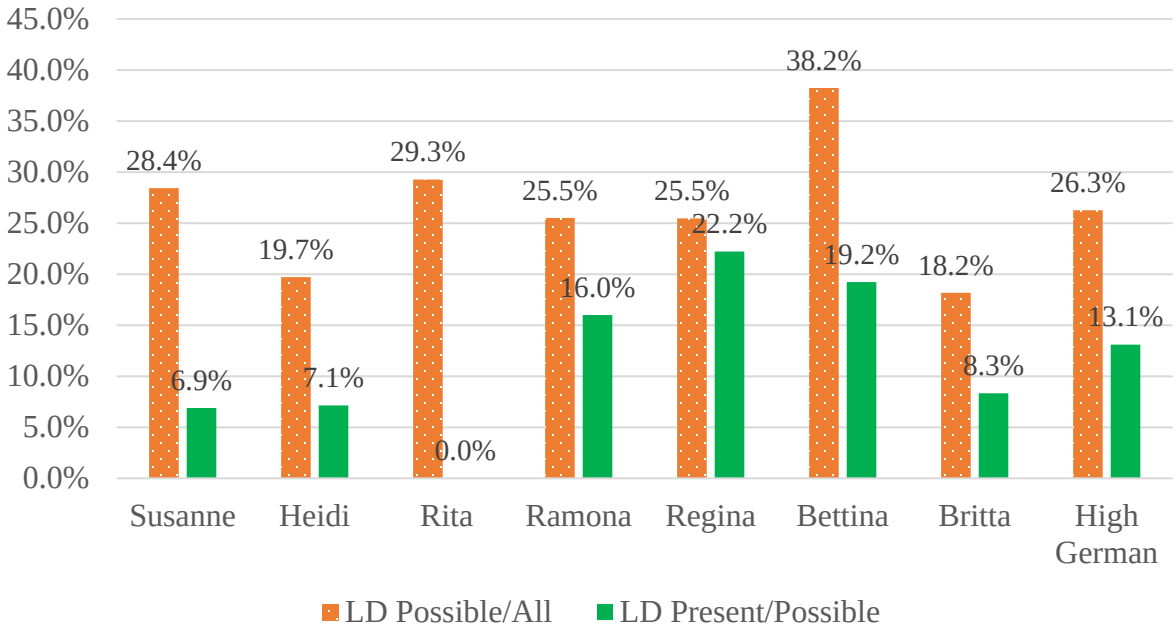


Figure 5.4 Rates of left dislocation possibility and presence in early twenty-first century High German narrative recordings

Potential regional variation within northern High German varieties is suggested by the fact that three of the four highest rates of left dislocation among High German narratives are in narratives from South Westphalia. When considering left dislocation only among clauses in which LD would be possible, the four South Westphalian speakers have the four highest rates for High German narratives. The two speakers from Rüthen, Ramona and Regina, produce left dislocation in 16.0% and 22.2%, respectively, of LD-eligible clauses. These speakers' competence in Low German is unclear, but we know they chose to produce their narrative in High German. The two speakers from Balve, Bettina and Britta, produce left dislocation in 19.2% and 8.3% of LD-eligible clauses. Bettina has passive competence of Low German, and Britta's Low German competence is, like the Rüthen speakers', unclear.

Having previously looked at all 1079 prefields, we know that a majority of prefields produced by these speakers are filled with one-word elements, often demonstrative pro-forms. Left dislocation constructions typically yield a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield, which supports an existing structural preference. Left dislocation constructions are produced in 14 of 15 of the narratives examined, including both Low German and High German, with left dislocation occurring in slightly more often with adverbial referents. Multiple lenses of analysis show a higher rate of left dislocation in Low German compared to High German, which correlates with the stronger preference for demonstrative pro-forms in the prefield among the Low German narratives. Although the data set is limited, the narratives suggest that left dislocation plays a greater role in the High German-based varieties of South Westphalia compared to some other northern German regions. The data from South Westphalia also suggest that competence, even passive competence, of Low German may be associated with greater use of left dislocation in one's colloquial High German.

5.5 Content of "would-be prefields"

Next we examine the referents involved in left dislocation and factors that may systematically promote left dislocation, namely content type and grammatical weight. Utilizing methodology introduced in Chapter 3, the analysis focuses on "would-be prefields" for clauses in which left dislocation is structurally possible. When left dislocation does not occur or the resumptive element of a left dislocation construction is in the middle field, the would-be prefield is the same as the prefield as produced by the speaker. If left dislocation does occur, the would-be prefield is the element, typically identical to the dislocated element, that would have hypothetically filled the prefield had left dislocation not occurred. Each would-be prefield is identified as containing adverbial, nominal, or another type of content. The grammatical weight of each would-be prefield is reflected as a length (in syntactic words) and by whether the would-be prefield is or contains a clause, typically a dependent clause. Categorizing would-be prefields according to these features facilitates a comparison of when left dislocation occurs versus when it does not.

5.5.1 Would-be prefield content type

Previously, Table 5.7 showed that instances of left dislocation are divided between adverbial and nominal referents, with a modest preference toward adverbial referents that is more pronounced in the High German recordings. Looking at all clauses in which left dislocation would have been possible, does the rate of left dislocation diverge based on whether the dislocated element would be an adverbial referent or nominal referent?

Table 5.8 presents the rate of left dislocation according to whether the would-be prefield includes adverbial, nominal, or some "other" type of content. By definition, a null element cannot be a referent for left dislocation. The "other" category captures six numeral and verbal

prefield elements that could serve as the referent in a left dislocation structure, but left dislocation does not occur with any of these referents in the narratives.

In LD-eligible clauses in which the dislocated element would be adverbial, left dislocation occurs 24.3% of the time, with a (now) predictably higher rate in Low German narratives (32.9% in Low German vs. 15.7% in High German). For one speaker, Wiebke, left dislocation occurs in five of six of cases (83.3%) when the would-be prefield is adverbial. There are two speakers, Larissa and Britta, for whom left dislocation occurs in exactly 50.0% of cases with adverbial elements as the would-be prefield. For Stefanie and Rita, on the other hand, left dislocation happens in zero of six and zero of twelve cases, respectively, when the would-be prefield is adverbial. Both the high and low rates of left dislocation come from a combination of Low and High German narratives.

When considering nominal would-be prefields, left dislocation occurs 19.0% of the time across all fifteen narratives. Parallel to the adverbial cases above, the likelihood of left dislocation with a nominal referent is higher on average in Low German narratives (27.0%) than in High German narratives (11.0%). Among the Low German speakers, fully half have a higher rate of left dislocation with nominal would-be prefields than with adverbial would-be prefields, even though the overall rate of left dislocation in Low German narratives is higher for would-be adverbials. Helena and Heike show the highest rate of left dislocation with would-be nominal elements at 50.0%. For one Low German speaker, Wilma, left dislocation occurs in zero of six cases that have an eligible nominal element in the prefield. Wilma is also the speaker noted as having low proficiency in Low German, so the lack of left dislocation may reflect an idiolect less influenced by Low German syntactic patterns. In High German narratives, the highest rate of left dislocation with eligible nominal referents in the would-be prefield is 33.3% (Ramona). Three of

the High German narratives include no instances of left dislocation with a nominal element. For one of those speakers, Rita, a rate of left dislocation among nominal prefields does not apply, since Rita does not produce any main clauses with left dislocation or an eligible nominal element in the prefield.

Speaker	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**	**Other**
Larissa	50.0%	30.0%	-
Hanna	25.0%	15.4%	0.0%
Helena	40.0%	50.0%	-
Wilma	16.7%	0.0%	-
Wiebke	83.3%	40.0%	-
Stefanie	0.0%	12.5%	-
Heike	23.1%	50.0%	-
Rieke	28.6%	37.5%	0.0%
Low German Subtotal (n=148)	*32.9%*	*27.0%*	*0.0%*
Susanne	20.0%	4.3%	-
Heidi	16.7%	0.0%	-
Rita	0.0%	-	-
Ramona	13.6%	33.3%	-
Regina	27.3%	18.8%	-
Bettina	16.7%	23.1%	-
Britta	50.0%	0.0%	-
High German Subtotal (n=145)	*15.7%*	*11.0%*	-
All (n=293)	**24.3%**	**19.0%**	**0.0%**

Table 5.8 Rate of left dislocation in early twenty-first century German narratives by would-be prefield content type

Despite somewhat higher average rates of left dislocation when the would-be prefield contains adverbial content, the analysis of content type shows high speaker-level variability in the rate of left dislocation with either adverbial or nominal elements and no clear pattern of preferencing left dislocation with adverbials moreso than nominal referents or vice versa. Indeed, Fischer's exact tests show there is no statistically significant association between occurrences of

left dislocation and whether the would-be prefield contains an adverbial or nominal element. At the same time, these results demonstrate that the higher rate of left dislocation in Low German compared to High German is not driven by increased left dislocation of just adverbial or just nominal referents, but by similar increases in left dislocation for both types of content. Additionally, the data show that the rare instances of numeral phrases, verbal elements, or other types of content in the prefield distinct from "adverbial" or "nominal" are unlikely to appear as the referent in a left dislocation construction, even when such a construction is hypothetically possible.

5.5.2 Would-be prefield length

Understanding that whether the potential referent is nominal or adverbial does not directly correlate with rates of left dislocation, we turn to another feature of the would-be prefield: constituent length. Syntactic word count is an established a measure of length and proxy for grammatical weight. Earlier in the chapter we saw a preference for prefields filled with one-word elements across northern German varieties; over 70% of prefields produced as part of main clauses had a length of one. To help understand whether there is a relationship between would-be prefield length and left dislocation, we consider rates of left dislocation when for would-be prefield elements of various lengths.

Table 5.9 relates would-be prefield length and rates of left dislocation for all early twenty-first century northern German speakers as well as for the Low German and High German subgroups. A left dislocation rate does not apply for would-be prefields of length 0, as left dislocation could not occur with a null element as the referent. When the prefield would be filled with a one-word element, left dislocation occurs in 10.9.% of cases, with a left dislocation rate of 12.9% in Low German narratives and 9.1% in High German narratives. In these cases, a

pronominal element may have a lighter prosodic weight (e.g., be fewer syllables) than another one-word element, but left dislocation would not change the word count of the prefield. Of all would-be prefield lengths in the northern German data set, one-word would-be prefields as associated with left dislocation least often. Rates of left dislocation generally increase as would-be prefield length increases. Left dislocation occurs 14.9% of the time when the would-be prefield element is two words long, the left dislocation rate reaches a maximum rate of 70.4% with would-be prefield elements between six and nine words long. The left dislocation rate sinks to 42.9% for the seven examples when the would-be prefield length is ten words or greater. To test whether the relationship between would-be prefield length and left dislocation is nonrandom, I used a two-tailed Fisher's exact test. Across all fifteen northern German narratives, the correlation between the left dislocation and would-be prefields at least two words long is statistically significant with a modest p value equal to .0244. The correlation between would-be prefield length and left dislocation becomes extremely significant ($p = .0001$) when would-be prefield lengths are categorized as either one-to-two words or three or more words long. The association remains extremely significant ($p < .0001$) when associating left dislocation and would-be prefields at least four words long. Even with left dislocation happening less than the majority of the time, these results show that constituents with a minimal grammatical weight are more likely to be dislocated as part of a left dislocation construction in northern German varieties.

Would-Be Prefield Length	**Low German**	**High German**	**All**
0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1 (n=64)	12.9%	9.1%	10.9%
2 (n=114)	25.0%	3.7%	14.9%
3 (n=39)	23.5%	13.6%	17.9%
4 (n=25)	35.7%	9.1%	24.0%
5 (n=17)	12.5%	22.2%	17.6%
6-9 (n=27)	80.0%	58.3%	70.4%
10+ (n=7)	66.7%	25.0%	42.9%
All (n=371)	**29.1%**	**13.1%**	**21.2%**

Table 5.9 Rate of left dislocation for mid-century northern Germany by would-be prefield length

How does the role of would-be prefield length differ between the subsets of Low German narratives and High German narratives? An initial observation is that the rate of left dislocation increases for Low German and decreases for High German when the would-be prefield element length changes from one to two. Fisher's exact test shows that the association between left dislocation and would-be prefields of length two or greater is statistically significant ($p < .05$) in the Low German narratives. The association with left dislocation becomes extremely significant ($p < .0001$) in Low German when would-be prefields elements are at least six words long. It is also the case that the rate of left dislocation rate in Low German is greater than 50% when the would-be prefield is at least six words long, and the single instance of a Low German would-be prefield with a length greater than ten is left dislocated. Six words thus appears to be a potential tipping point to trigger left dislocation or another means of reducing the grammatical weight of the prefield for contemporary Low German speakers. This analysis does not imply that the likelihood of left dislocation in contemporary Low German increases linearly as would-be word length increases, but the data show that left dislocation is preferred over prefields of six words or

longer and that left dislocation is becomes more likely even when the prefield would shorten by only one or two words.

As with Low German, the High German data show the highest rates of left dislocation when the would-be prefield is at least six words. In contrast, however, the association between length and left dislocation is not statistically significant as soon as the would-be prefield length is greater than one. Moreover, left dislocation does not occur in the majority of cases when the would-be prefield is at least ten words long; the High German narratives include would-be prefields of length ten, eleven, and seventeen that are not left dislocated. Nevertheless, the association between left dislocation and would-be prefield length is extremely significant in High German when prefield elements are at least five words long or at least six words long. The extent to which certain grammatical weights are associated with left dislocation varies, but appears to be influenced in part by the variety of German being spoken.

5.5.3 Would-be prefield clausal elements

In the previous chapter, we saw that not only would-be prefield length, but the potential presence of a clause in the prefield, is associated with left dislocation in mid-twentieth century northern German varieties. Clauses appear in prefields and as dislocated elements of left dislocation constructions in the twenty-first century narratives, as well. I describe these occurrences before analyzing the relationship between potentially embedded clauses and left dislocation. In the early twenty-first century narratives, 44 of 293 would-be prefields contain a clause. The lengths of these constituents containing a clause, which I refer to as "clause-ful," range from 3 words to 17 words, with a mean length of 6.54 and a median length of 6. All but one (97.7%, 43/44) of the would-be prefields that include a clause are adverbial.[7] 86.4% (38/44)

[7] In addition to one would-be prefield that is nominal, the data include an example in which left dislocation occurs with an adverbial clause as the dislocated referent, the resumptive element *dann* ('then') in the middle field, and a

of the clause-ful would-be prefields comprise a single clause. The six instances of would-be prefields that comprise not a single clause, but a clause preceded by another element (an adverb, determiner phrase, possessive phrase, or another clause) are all produced in Low German narratives. Overall, however, the clause-ful would-be prefields are distributed fairly evenly between Low German (23) and High German (21).

Table 5.10 presents left dislocation rates related to clauses in the would-be prefield. Left dislocation occurs in 65.9% of the 44 cases when the would-be prefield contains a clause. The mean length of clause-ful constituents that are left dislocated is 6.24 and the median length is 6. The mean length of left dislocated clause-ful elements is thus marginally less (.3 words) than the mean length among all clause-ful would-be prefields; the median length for these two groups is the same. The association between clause-ful would-be prefields and left dislocation is extremely statistically significant ($p < .0001$). This nonrandom association holds for both contemporary Low German and contemporary High German narratives and its statistical significance is independent from calculations based on word length.

nominative subject in the prefield. To capture how the dislocated referent would likely have been embedded in the clause in the absence of left dislocation, the would-be prefield for this instance was coded as adverbial. The full clause with left dislocation, produced by Britta, is provided below:

Ex. 5.2 wenn irgendwas anliegt die Mitglieder haben sich dann zunächst an die Ortsfrau zu wenden
'when anything comes up as a concern, the members are then to turn to the local (female) representative'

Speaker	Single Clause	Multi-Clause	Non-Clause Element Plus Clause	All Clause-ful Types
Larissa	100.0%	-	100.0%	100.0%
Hanna	66.7%	-	-	66.7%
Helena	100.0%	-	100.0%	100.0%
Wilma	-	-	-	-
Wiebke	66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	80.0%
Stefanie	-	-	-	-
Heike	75.0%	-	0.0%	60.0%
Rieke	100.0%	-	100.0%	100.0%
Low German Subtotal (n=23)	*82.4%*	*100.0%*	*80.0%*	*82.6%*
Susanne	100.0%	-	-	100.0%
Heidi	100.0%	-	-	100.0%
Rita	0.0%	-	-	0.0%
Ramona	37.5%	-	-	37.5%
Regina	75.0%	-	-	75.0%
Bettina	33.3%	-	-	33.3%
Britta	50.0%	-	-	50.0%
High German Subtotal (n=21)	*47.6%*	-	-	*47.6%*
All (n=44)	**63.2%**	**100.0%**	**80.0%**	**65.9%**

Table 5.10 Rate of left dislocation with would-be prefields involving a clause for early twenty-first century German narratives

For the Low German subset, the left dislocation rate for clause-ful would-be prefields is 82.6%, which is notably higher than the rate of 29.1% for all LD-eligible clauses. Left dislocation in Low German occurs around 80% of the time whether the would-be prefield contains a single clause or a combination of a clause and another element. Left dislocation occurs in the single example, produced by Wiebke, in which the would-be prefield contains multiple clauses. This example is shown as Example 5.3. A *wenn*-clause introduces a quotation, which itself includes a main clause, and the adverbial element formed by the depending *wenn*-clause plus quotation is dislocated, appearing ahead of a resumptive demonstrative adverb.

Ex. 5.3 ja un wenn ik denn pla… segg ik proot plattdüütsch denn sünd se heel blied
'yes and when I then pla…say I speak Platt, then they are very happy'

None of the Low German narratives have a rate of left dislocation below 60% when the would-be prefield contains a clause. Two speakers, Wilma and Stefanie, do not have an established rate of left dislocation related to potentially embedded clauses, because neither produce any clauses for which the would-be prefield contains a clause. That said, their lack of prefields containing clauses does not detract from the apparent tendency among twenty-first century Low German speakers to avoid embedded clauses in the prefield.

Turning to just the High German narratives, left dislocation happens less than 50% of the time when the would-be prefield contains a clause. Though based on only 21 relevant cases, the left dislocation rate of 47.6% (10/21) is certainly higher than left dislocation rate of 13.1% all LD-eligible cases. The highest individual rate of left dislocation, 100%, is seen with Susanne and Heidi, both of whom produce left dislocation in their single relevant instance. Rita's left dislocation rate of 0% for clause-ful would-be prefields is based on two instances of clausal embedding in the prefield and no instances of left dislocation. The High German data does not include any would-be prefields that comprise a clause plus an additional element. When producing their narratives, High German speakers use strategies other than left dislocation to introduce complex referents without embedding clauses as part of larger constituents in the prefield.

Considering overlap between the factors we have considered so far reveals a nuance related to constituent content and clauses. Clauses that would either be embedded in the prefield or left dislocated are typically adverbial; the data include 40 adverbial would-be prefields that include a clause and only four nominal would-be prefields including a clause. When the would-be prefield is adverbial, the association between a clause-ful constituent and left dislocation is extremely

statistically significant ($p < .0001$). When the would-be prefield is nominal, the association between a clause-ful constituent and left dislocation is not statistically significant.[8] Notably, of the four would-be prefields that are nominal and contain a clause, left dislocation occurs in three cases. Nevertheless, this finding indicates a particularly strong association between clause-ful constituents and occurrence of left dislocation when that constituent is adverbial. It is less clear whether the clause-ful nominal constituents promote left dislocation in a similar way, but the few relevant examples indicate that left dislocation is more likely with nominal cases, as well.

The above analysis shows that two factors associated with syntactic complexity or weight, greater constituent length and clausal embedding, are significantly associated with higher rates of left dislocation in twenty-first century northern German narratives. Left dislocation is particularly likely when an element at least five or six words long would otherwise be present in the prefield. In contrast, rates of left dislocation are not meaningfully distinguished based on whether the referent would be adverbial or nominal. Importantly, this section shows that each of these factors influence rates of left dislocation in similar ways for both Low and High German, even though the overall rates of left dislocation are consistently higher among Low German speakers.

5.6 Case studies

A closer look at individual speakers' use of left dislocation can add to our understanding of how left dislocation use varies in early twenty-first century northern German varieties. We highlight four speakers: Heike, Heidi, Wiebke, and Regina. Unlike in the previous chapter, we do not have access to birth years or job titles for speakers. Based on the parameters of the *Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland* project, however, we know that each speaker was likely

[8] The p value of this Fisher's exact test is .0220, so the relationship is not statistically significant at $p < .01$, but is statistically significant at $p < .05$.

between 40-45 years old at the time of recording and lived in a small town (ca. 2,000-8,000 residents) away from tourist destinations, metropolitan areas, or communities with a high level of commuters.

The four speakers chosen include two who produced Low German narratives and two who produced High German narratives. Heike and Heidi both represent the same municipality in North Rhine-Westphalia where the local Low German variety is part of the Westphalian dialect group. Of the pair, only Heike has competence in Low German and produces her narrative in Low German. Heike and Heidi's case studies shed light on how left dislocation can appear differently in Low German and High German texts produced by speakers in the same locality. To complement that local comparison, the case studies of Wiebke and Bettina present the speakers with the highest rates of left dislocation in Low German and High German, respectively.

5.6.1 Heike

Heike is a woman from Heiden in the West Münsterland region of Germany who speaks both Low German and High German. In her narrative recording, Heike speaks in Low German about local wedding traditions. Though she describes the decorating and other tasks that accompanied a recent wedding in her community of Heiden, the narrative represents these efforts in a way that transcends the individual couple that was married. The narrative is relatively short at only 2:40 (two minutes forty seconds). Of 45 main clauses, left dislocation would have been possible in 15 and occurred in 4. Heike's left dislocation rate is thus 8.9%, marginally higher than the Low German average of 8.4%. Among the LD-eligible clauses, left dislocation occurs at a rate of 26.7%, near the Low German average of 29.1%. Heike thus functions as a compelling representative of contemporary Low German due to her choice of a cultural topic for the narrative and her production of left dislocation at an average rate.

Examples 5.4.1-4 show Heike's four instances of left dislocation in the order they appear in the narrative. These instances of left dislocation all occur in a 50-second interval in the middle of Heike's short narrative as she describes the process of preparing decorations that are part of local wedding traditions. The examples are presented below in parallel fashion to the case study examples in the previous chapter. The first part (a) is the instance of dislocation (bolded), with preceding and following clauses included for additional context. The second part of each example (b) offers an English transliteration of the left dislocation construction. An English translation of the full excerpt is part (c).

Ex. 5.4.1 a) wenn man so twee Mannsmenske övernene stellt is den Bogen te hoch.
[nümmt man Fraulüüd]$_i$ die bünt en bättken kötter **dann$_i$ komm we met twee en half Frau darhen**.
dat klappt dann halt etwas beter

b) ***[if one takes women]$_i$*** *they are a little shorter* ***then$_i$ we get there with two and a half women***

c) 'when you put two men over one another, the arch is too high
if you take women – they are a little shorter – **then we get there with two and a half women**
that simply works a bit better'

Ex. 5.4.2 a) un die kann man ok ganz gut in de Teed noch unterbrengen.
ja **[wenn dat Kranzutmeten dann fertig is]$_i$ dann$_i$ wörrt den Plan afnomen**.
dann kommt… de Bruutlüüd mütt heruutkommen.

b) *yeah* ***[when the wreath measuring then is done]$_i$ then $_i$ the plan commences***

c) 'and one can get that done in time quite well.
yeah **when the wreath measuring is done, then the plan commences**
then c… the bridal couple must come out'

Ex. 5.4.3 a) die mütt den Plan afnemen of se ok so wall den Kranz darvörhangen hebben willt
ja… ja **[wenn se dann underschrebben hebbt]$_i$ dann$_i$ kann et Kränzen losgohn.**
ach dar bruukt se ja dregen veer Dage vör dass se en Bogen vör de Huustür harr.

b) *yeah… yeah* ***[when they then have signed off]$_i$ then$_i$ the wreath-ing can begin***

c) 'they need to take up the plan if they also want the wreath to hang in front
yeah… yeah… **when they have signed off, then the wreath-ing can begin**
they need to carry that four days before they have an arch in front of the house door'

Ex. 5.4.4 a) dann wörrt en Bruutwagen schmückt
aber **[dat schönste]$_i$ dat$_i$ is den Bowagen**[9]
die wörrt ja von Peerde trocken. un die krieg drie Bögen

b) *but* ***[the$_{NEUT\text{-}NOM}$ most beautiful]$_i$ [the$_{NEUT\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ is the 'bowagen'***

c) 'then bridal carriage was decorated
but **the most beautiful thing, that is the carriage with bows**,
it is pulled by horse, and it gets three bows'

Heike's first three instances of left dislocation, examples (5.4.1-3), highlight the use of left dislocation with conditional or scene-setting information, specifically in conjunction with adverbial clauses. Two of the referents are *wenn*-clauses, and the remaining dislocated clause (5.4.1) is a verb-first conditional clause. The lengths of the dislocated clauses are three words, six words, and five words, meaning that the lengths of the dislocated clauses were below the average length of would-be clauses in Low German narratives. An additional syntactic factor in example 5.4.1 is the presence of a parenthetical clause, *die bünt en bättken kötter* ('they are a bit shorter'), which is said between the dislocated conditional clause and the resumptive element. This intervening utterance has the word order of a main clause, not a relative clause. Though it is

[9] I have been unable to confirm the translation of *bowagen.*

not in the scope of this project to analyze intonation patterns, a lay interpretation of the utterance's main clause word order and its intonation suggests the remark was made as an explanatory aside rather than as an extension of or ending to the thought introduced by *nümmt man Fraulüüd* ('if you take women'). For these reasons, those additional five words are not coded as part of the dislocated referent. Nevertheless, the additional words add grammatical weight to the initial part of the utterance that may further promote the use of a resumptive element, forming a left dislocation construction, more specifically a hanging topic construction. Heike does not produce any left dislocation constructions with dislocated adverbial phrases that are not clauses.

Heike's final left dislocation construction (5.4.4) has a nominal referent, specifically a two-word determiner phrase. The referent, *das schönste* ('the most beautiful thing'), is an abstract noun based on a superlative adjective. In the context of the narrative, *das schönste* establishes a contrast between the bridal carriage and the even more beautiful *Bowagen.* Prosodic emphasis on *das schönste* and use of a left dislocation construction (again hanging topic) to begin that clause support and possibly enhance the contrastive transition in the discourse.

Having seen the instances of left dislocation in Heike's narrative, we next consider when left dislocation was possible but did not occur. Eleven prefields were filled with constituents that could have been the referent of a left dislocation constructions, but were not. Ten of the eleven (90.9%) were adverbial constituents: two clauses, including one *wenn*-clause, and eight adverbs or adverbial phrases that were only one or two words long, e.g., *gistern* ('yesterday'), *mit twee* ('with two'). None of the one- or two-word adverbials in these prefields introduce new referents into the discourse, and some even maintain indefiniteness, e.g., *ärgenwo* ('somewhere'), *ander Weke* ('the other week'). The eleventh case, and sole nominal would-be prefield that does not

result in left dislocation, is a two-word determiner phrase, *de Bruutlüüd* (‘the bridal couple’). Though the bridal couple had not been specifically referred to before that point, the content of the narrative was wedding traditions done in service of the couple getting married. Subsequent clauses describe actions taken by a bridal couple without defining or commenting on the bridal couple in more detail, so the narrative continues to be about the local traditions rather than a specific couple. In the telling of her narrative, then, Heike does not introduce new discourse referents in the prefield, and prefield is most often filled with adverbials that, even if not pronominal, refer to established content in the discourse or provide vague scene-setting information. Heike is most likely to produce left dislocation in connection with clausal adverbials, typically *wenn*-clauses, or when left dislocation would help emphasize a contrast or transition in discourse topic.

5.6.2 Heidi

Heidi’s narrative contrasts from Heike’s in several ways. First, Heidi does not have competence in speaking Low German, and her narrative is produced in High German. In terms of content, Heidi speaks about a family reunion with extended members of her husband’s family, who were all brought together through his hobby of genealogy research. Unlike Heike’s narrative, this story does not function as a documentation of local culture or history, and Heidi does not generalize beyond specific people and her own experience with the family gathering. The narrative lasts 4:40 (four minutes forty seconds) and includes 70 main clauses, meaning the Heidi’s narrative is 1.75 times as long as Heike’s and has just over 1.5 times as many main clauses. However, Heidi’s narrative includes relatively few prefields that are not already empty or filled with pronominal elements. Heidi produces only 14 LD-eligible clauses, one less than Heike, and only one instance of left dislocation. Heidi’s left dislocation rate is 1.4% (compared

to High German average of 3.4%), or 7.1% among LD-eligible clauses (compared to High German average of 13.1%). Heidi's narrative reflects below-average production of left dislocation despite the speaker's affiliation with a locality in which Low German is still part of the cultural and linguistic landscape.

Under what circumstance, then, does Heidi produce left dislocation? The single instance of left dislocation in Heidi's narrative is presented in Example 5.5. The instance occurs just under two minutes into the recording, so neither right at the beginning nor at the end of the narrative. The referent in the left dislocation construction is an adverbial clause beginning with the conjunction *bis* (until), and the referent is seven words long. The pronominal adverb *da* is in the prefield, though one can also interpret the temporal pronominal adverb *dann* in the middle field as having the same referent. Due to the overwhelming pattern of resumptive elements occurring in the prefield, the *da* in the prefield is analyzed as the resumptive element for a left dislocation construction.

Ex. 5.5 a) wir kannten die zwei drei Leute die hier aus Heiden kommen
und dann ist man immer erst so… ja ist es erstmal fremd ne.
und **bis man sich dann so angenähert hatte da gab es dann das Mittagessen.**
und nach dem Mittagessen gab es dann ein Gruppenfoto

b) *and* ***[until one had then so approached oneself]$_i$ then$_i$ there was then the lunch***

c) 'we knew the two three people who come from here, Heiden
and then at first you are always… yeah it is strange at first, right
and by the time people had gotten a little closer to each other, lunch was ready, and after lunch there was a group photo'

Accompanying Heidi's single case of left dislocation are thirteen cases in which the prefield element could be left dislocated, but is not. In all thirteen cases, the element occurring in the prefield is five words or fewer, and none of the constituents of these LD-eligible prefields

contain clauses. This means that, for Heidi, left dislocation occurs in the single case that the would-be prefield contains a clause and also in the single case that the would-be prefield is longer than five words. The would-be prefields that are not left dislocated include five adverbials, specifically adverb phrases or prepositional phrases that offer temporal information (e.g., *heute Morgen, gestern Abend, nach dem Mittagessen*). The would-be prefields also include eight nominal constituents, including determiner phrases (e.g., *die Kinder, dieses Gruppenfoto,* multiple mentions of *dieser Reinhold Pitz*); possessive phrases (e.g., *mein Mann*); and one instance of the indefinite determiner *manche.* Only with the clausal referent does left dislocation occur.

One additional example from Heidi's narrative, provided below as Example 5.6, further highlights how Heidi avoids embedded clauses.

Ex. 5.6 a) und mein Mann hat [die$_{PL\text{-}NOM}$ Ahnenchroniken die er hersch… hergestellt hat…]$_i$ hat [die$_{PL\text{-}ACC}$]$_i$ mitgenommen

b) *and my husband has [the$_{PL\text{-}NOM}$ ancestry records that he produced]$_i$ has [them$_{PL\text{-}ACC}$]$_i$ with-taken*

c) 'and my husband took the ancestry records that he produced, took them with'

The utterance begins with a possessive phrase, *mein Mann* ('my husband'), in the prefield. The left bracket is filled by a conjugated form of *haben* (to have), which serves as a helping verb to build the present perfect tense. The middle field introduces a new referent: *die Ahnenchroniken, die er hergestellt hat* ('the ancestry records that he produced'). This referent comprises a demonstrative phrase plus relative clause. In the recording, you hear a false start and brief pause (*hersch…*) before Heidi produces the past participle *hergestellt* to complete the relative clause. Rather than immediately completing the overarching main clause with the participle *mitgenommen*, however, Heidi first repeats the conjugated verb, *hat*. This move reestablishes the

left bracket. Heidi continues by saying *die*, a demonstrative pronoun referring to the ancestry records, as a new middle field. The right bracket is filled with the past participle *mitgenommen*, and this completes the utterance.

Though the example in 5.6 does not constitute left dislocation, most notably because no dislocated referent is in the pre-prefield of a main clause, this construction mimics how Heidi uses left dislocation when the prefield would otherwise include an embedded clause. The rephrasing used by Heidi in 5.6 introduces a resumptive pro-form to replace a constituent that included an embedded clause in the middle field. By reestablishing the left bracket and then offering a pronominal form of the constituent in the middle field, Heidi's revised utterance also creates a topic-comment structure that emphasizes the husband's action, *taking something with*, rather than the prior creation of the ancestry records. The husband's action of bringing documents to share with family members propels the narrative about the family reunion.

Heidi's narrative represents minimal use of left dislocation in twenty-first century northern Germany. Her example highlights how left dislocation, if occurring at all, is associated with avoidance of a clause embedded in the prefield.

5.6.3 Wiebke

The next two case studies focus on speakers who produce left dislocation with greater frequency than their peers. The first speaker, Wiebke, produces her narrative in Low German. Wiebe is from Warsingsfehn in northwestern Lower Saxony, which falls within the East Frisian area of the Northern Low Saxon dialect region. In her narrative, Wiebke talks about her nursing career and the benefit of being able to speak Low German, or *Platt*, with patients. She also discusses her nephew's experience learning and practicing dialect with the support of an enthusiastic daycare teacher. Wiebke's narrative showcases use of Low German in her

community and in personal life while acknowledging that not everyone around her speaks it. Wiebke's narrative is the second-longest at 7:00 (seven minutes) and has the highest rate of left dislocation of all the twenty-first century northern German narratives; she produces 11 instances of left dislocation in 81 main clauses (13.6%). When only considering LD-eligible clauses, Wiebke's left dislocation rate is 52.4% (11/21).

Wiebke's instances of left dislocation are provided as Examples 5.7.1-11. The first instance, 5.7.1, occurs as the start of Wiebke telling her narrative. Examples 5.7.6-9 occur in quick succession; if you include all clauses presented in part (a) of these examples, these examples reflect a continuous chain of text from the narrative.

Ex. 5.7.1 a) **[domals as ik ut School kamen bün]$_i$ do$_i$ hebb ik dat immer geern lehren wullt Krankenschwester.**
un ik weer domals sössteihn oder eben över sössteihn.

b) ***[at that time when I came out of school]$_i$ then$_i$ I had always gladly wanted to learn that, nursing***

c) '**At the time when I finished school, I had always really wanted to study nursing**
and I was sixteen or just over sixteen at that time'

Ex. 5.7.2 a) ja un dor weer dat denn even ok so en lüttje Familienbetrieb
un **[as ik denn mien Ausbildung to Enn harr]$_i$ do$_i$ hebben de denn seggt**
du bliffst aber bi uns ne

b) *and **[when I then my training in Enn had]$_i$ there$_i$ have they then said***

c) 'yeah and that was then a little family business
and when I had my training in Enn, they said
you are going to stay with us, right'

Ex. 5.7.3 a) ja bün dann ok dör disse Kurse und Fortbildungen
hebb ik dat denn mi alles anegent.
und **[irgendwenn]$_i$ da$_i$ hebb ik denn von de Pflegedienst hier ut Örd hebben de bi mi anropen**
un hebben denn seggt wullt du nie bi uns arbeiden.

b) *and* ***[sometime]$_i$ there$_i$ have I then from the nursing service here in town they called me***

c) ‘yeah I went through these courses and continuing training
I learned it all
and **at some point I got from the local nursing service they called me**
and then said don’t you want to work with us’

Ex. 5.7.4 a) un denn wenn man denn dor kummt un ok dat eerste Mol man warrt ((fuurt)) oder meestens fraagt prootst du Plattdüütsch.
ja un **[wenn ik denn pla… segg ik proot plattdüütsch]$_i$ denn$_i$ sünd se heel blied**
weil se n… hebben keen… keen ja keen Hemmungen wat to seggen weil se immer A… Angst hebben dat seggen wi nie richtig ne.

b) *yes and* ***[when I then sp… say I speak Platt]$_i$ then$_i$ they are very happy***

c) ‘and then, when someone comes there and also the first time you’re asked or usually asked do you speak Platt
yea and **when I say I speak Platt, then they are very happy**
because they don’t have... yeah don’t have any inhibitions around what to say because they are always afraid that we never say things right, you know’

Ex. 5.7.5 a) aber ok en heel Bult von außerhalb gifft ok. ja genau ja. warum is der… ja der Sohn
[de$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ Jung]$_i$ [de$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ is hierhertrocken
un de… de Ollen sünd denn ok hierherkamen.

b) ***[the$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ boy]$_i$ [the$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ trekked here***

c) ‘but there are also a whole bunch from outside. yeah, exactly. why is the… yeah the son
the boy, he came here
and the parents came here then, too’

Ex. 5.7.6 a) un de hett natürlich ok immer… proot ok Sächsisch un is ok interessant. also ik kumm dor aber mit kloor.
also [**mien$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ Neffe]$_i$ [de$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ is in Kindergarten in Leer.**
he is söss Johr oolt

b) *so* ***[my$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ nephew]$_i$ [the$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$]$_i$ is in daycare in Leer***

c) ‘and they of course always… also speak Saxon and that is also interesting. anyway I get by with that.
so **my nephew, he is in daycare in Leer**
he is six years old’

Ex. 5.7.7 a) dor geiht de al dree Johr hen.
und **[en$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ Kindergärtnerin]$_i$ [de$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ kummt ut Rheiderland**

b) and ***[one$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ daycare teacher]$_i$ [the$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ comes out of Rheiderland***

c) ‘he has been going there three years already
and **one daycare teacher, she comes from Rheiderland**’

Ex. 5.7.8 a) **Waltraud$_i$ [de$_{FEM\text{-}ACC}$]$_i$ kennen wi nu mittlerweile ok al.**
un Waltraud proot mit de Kinner Platt einfach nur so

b) ***Waltraud$_i$ [the$_{FEM\text{-}ACC}$]$_i$ know we now meanwhile also all***

c) ‘**Waltraud, we all know her now**
and Waltraud speaks Platt with the kids, simply so

Ex. 5.7.9 a) weil sie ja se find de plattdeutsche Sprache ok moi.
und **[mien$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$ Neffe]$_i$ [de$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ hett wirklich en besondere Begabung Sprachen.**
de ke… nimmt dat ganz toll up

b) *and* ***[my$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$ nephew]$_i$ [the$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ has really a special talent languages***

c) ‘because she thinks the Low German language is great.
and **my nephew, he really has a special talent for languages**.
he absorbs that so well’

Ex. 5.7.10 a) un denn seggt de dat ok up Plattdüütsch.
und **[as ik Geburtstag harr]$_i$ dor$_i$ hett he sogor en plattdüütsche Geburtstagslied sungen.**
also dat hett… dat war echt toll ja

b) *and* ***[when I birthday had]$_i$ there$_i$ had he even a Low German birthday song sung***

c) ‘and **when it was my birthday, he even sang a Low German birthday song**
so that was really great, yeah’

Ex. 5.7.11 a) also mein… mien Schwager proot ok platt
aber **[mien$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ Schwägerin]$_i$ [de$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ kummt even ut Leer**
un de proot… de kann woll en poor Brocken

b) *but* ***[my$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ sister-in-law]$_i$ [the$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ comes just out of Leer***

c) so my brother-in-law also speaks Platt
but **my sister-in-law, she comes just from Leer**
and she speaks… she can speak a few fragments

The referents in these examples of left dislocation include both nominal and adverbial elements and range in length from one word to eight words. Four of the dislocated referents, all adverbial, involve a subordinate clause. This means that over one-third of the instances of left dislocation have a referent containing an adverbial clause. The subordinating conjunctions involved in Wiebke's left dislocation examples are *wenn* and *as* (High German: *als*). In the case of 5.7.1, the clause begun by *als* modifies an initial adverb, *damals* ('back then') to provide a more specific temporal framing at the start of the narrative. Another three left dislocated referents are two-word possessive phrases, and all three instances denote a person related to the speaker: two instances of *mien Neffe* ('my nephew') and one instance of *mien Schwägerin* ('my sister-in-law'). The remaining three nominal referents are a determiner phrase (*de Jung*, 'the boy'), an indefinite phrase (*en Kindergärtnerin*, 'the [female] daycare teacher'), and a name (*Waltraud*). Finally, there is one example of left dislocation following the indefinite adverb *irgendwenn* (High German: *irgendwann*, 'sometime').

How do these examples of left dislocation serve Wiebke's narrative? The adverbial referents offer scene-setting information. The clausal referents, in particular, offer specific temporal reference points or, in the case of 5.7.4, conditions for events in the narrative. The left dislocation of *irgendwenn* in Example 5.7.3 is notable, given the indefinite nature of the adverb. Despite its generic meaning ('sometime'), this adverb fulfills the role of a temporal marker for the transition in Wiebke's career trajectory. Before *irgendwenn*, she was working in another location and spending time on professional development. At the point of *irgendwenn*, she gets the phone call that leads to a new position.

Example 5.7.3 is also notable for what happens after the left dislocation construction. Wiebke completes the utterance in a way that, while not a second example of left dislocation, uses a resumptive pronoun as part of forming a grammatically lighter middle field. After beginning a passive construction that introduces the local nursing service (*de Pflegedienst hier ut Örť*) as a constituent in the middle field of the clause, Wiebke reformulates the clause as an active construction, restarting a the left bracket position with a newly conjugated form of *haben* and then producing a middle field that includes two pronominal elements: the demonstrative pronoun *de* (High German: *die*, 'they'), referring to employees of the nursing service, plus the personal pronoun *mi* (High German: *mir*, 'me'). For both the original passive construction and the repaired active construction, the resumptive element *da* fills the prefield.

Returning to Wiebke's left dislocation constructions, the stretch of Examples 5.7.6-9 involve dislocated nominal referents. In each of these instances, the dislocated referent is being introduced for the first time in the narrative or reestablished as a topic. Wiebke's nephew (*mien Neffe*, 'my nephew') is first introduced to the narrative in Example 5.7.6. In the immediately following main clauses, the nephew is referred to using the personal pronoun *he* and the demonstrative pronoun *de*. Then Wiebke produces two sentences about the daycare teacher, Waltraud, and these sentences do not include direct references to the nephew. When the nephew returns as the sentence topic in 5.7.9, the element *mien Neffe* is again left dislocated.

The intervening sentences, shown at 5.7.7-8, also include left dislocation. Even though the sentence topic is the same human in these two sentences, the referents are unique (*en Kindergärtnerin* versus *Waltraud*) and provide different identifying information. In the two other instances of left dislocated nominal referents, *de Jung* in 5.6.5 and *mien Schwägerin* in 5.7.11, the sentence topic is a referent that is being introduced for the first time in the narrative.

When is left dislocation not used by Wiebke? Two instances can be found adjacent to the examples of left dislocation presented above. In Example 5.7.5, we see left dislocation with *de Jung*, but the subsequent clause introduces another referent, *de Ollen* (High German: *die Eltern*, 'the parents'), as the sentence topic without left dislocation. Like *de Jung*, *de Ollen* is a two-word determiner phrase and denotes humans, specifically family members of Wiebke. In 5.7.8, the name *Waltraud* fills the prefield of the sentence directly after the name's introduction with a left dislocation construction. In each case, these nominal elements are left dislocated in conjunction with a particular pragmatic emphasis on their referent, such as the (re)introduction of a new person or a contrast between referents. In the case of *die Ollen*, a possible interpretation for why this new referent is not left dislocated is that the sentence topic is actually the action, "came here," not the parents; left dislocation would result in a pro-form of *de Ollen* as the topic, and that would not align with the intended information structure of this clause. Syntactic evidence for this is the parallel clause structure and similar verb choices (*hierhertrecken v*s. *hierherkommen*) between the clause that begins with *de Jung* and the subsequent *de Ollen* clause. The parents are the new information, not the information to be commented on. A pragmatic explanation also exists for why the second instance of *Waltraud* in Example 5.7.8 may have been less likely to be left dislocated. That particular referent had just been introduced the clause before as part of a left dislocation construction. Repeating the name in the subsequent clause helps establish Waltraud as the subject, but the clause does not highlight a particular contrast or transition in the discourse related to Waltraud.

In total, ten of Wiebke's LD-eligible prefields do not occur with left dislocation (compared to eleven with left dislocation). Only two of the instances in which left dislocation does not occur involve adverbial elements in the prefield; the other eight retain non-pronominal nominal

elements in the prefield. In addition to the two examples above, non-dislocated nominal referents include two two-word possessive phrases describing additional family members (*mien Schwager* [‘my brother-in-law’], *mien Schwiegerpapa* [‘my dad-in-law’) and another instance of the demonstrative phrase *de Ollen* (used in a generic sense and not with regard to a particular set of parents). Finally, Examples 5.7.12-14 show instances of nominal elements appearing in a prefield that denote abstract referents. The prefield is underlined in each example.

Ex. 5.7.12 a) und <u>even wat ik veel hebb</u> sind ool Minschen de ok hier wegkamen

b) *and just what I much have are old people the*$_{PL\text{-}NOM}$ *also here away-came*

c) ‘and right now I have a lot of old people who got away to here’

Ex. 5.7.13 a) aber <u>ok en heel Bult von außerhalb</u> gifft ok

b) *but also a whole mound from outside gives also*

c) ‘but there are also a whole bunch from outside’

Ex. 5.7.14 a) <u>Gedichte Lieder alles up Plattdüütsch</u> lesen de

b) *poems songs everything in Low German read the*$_{PL\text{-}NOM}$

c) ‘they read poems, songs, everything in Low German’

The prefield element in 5.7.12 includes an embedded clause that starts with *wat* (High German: *was,* ‘what’). Rather than being a topic for comment, however, the subject in the prefield is defined by the middle field. In 5.7.13 and 5.7.14, the referents in the prefield not only have abstract referents, they are the direct objects of their respective clauses. Though not absent from the data, left dislocation with direct objects is rare. In each of these cases, the prefield is filled with an element that is five or six words long. Despite the more grammatically heavy prefields in terms of word count and, for 5.7.12, clausal embedding, Wiebke does not produce left dislocation in these instances. These examples support the arguments that abstract referents and

information structure that are not topic-comment reduce, and for some speakers or situations may eliminate, the likelihood of left dislocation even when syntactically possible.

The final two examples when Wiebke does not left dislocate with an LD-eligible prefield are a numeral phrase (*zwei Stück,* 'two pieces') and a locative adverbial phrase (*hier am Ort,* 'here in town'). Thus, even for the speaker in this data set for whom left dislocation is most likely, left dislocation does not occur with numeral phrases and is not a given with adverbial phrases. The adverbial phrase that is not left dislocated is only three words, is not a clause, and, notably, occurs at the turning point of a pivot construction, shown as Example 5.7.15. The underlined adverbial element is part of a middle field while also serving as the prefield of a main clause. Adverbials are stacked in this clause, with *do* (High German: *da,* 'there') already referring to the practice where Wiebke receives an apprenticeship. The pivot construction, rather than left dislocation, results in one less adverbial constituent in the middle field of the new clause. Extraposition of the prepositional phrase *als Verkäuferin* also reduces the grammatical weight of the middle field.

Ex. 5.7.15 a) un do hebb ik denn <u>hier am Ort</u> hebb ik do en Lehrstelle kregen als Verkäuferin

b) *and there have I then <u>here in town</u> have I there an apprenticeship position received as saleswoman*

c) 'and there I have here in town I received an apprenticeship position in sales'

Through Wiebke's narrative, we see how consistent left dislocation with adverbial clauses contributes to the frequency of left dislocation rates among Low German speakers, but that left dislocation with non-clausal referents, especially nominal phrases, is also part of reaching a left dislocation rate higher than many contemporary northern German peers. Wiebke's uses of left

dislocation align with pragmatic explanations previously documented. Differing probabilities based on features related to grammatical weight, however, also appear to play a role.

5.6.4 Bettina

For a final case study, we turn to Bettina of Balve, North Rhine-Westphalia, because she produces the High German narrative with the highest rate of left dislocation. Bettina is from the South Westphalia region, where there are few active speakers of Low German. In the SiN corpus, all eight narratives from the two South Westphalia locations are produced in High German. Bettina is noted, however, as having passive Low German competence. In her narrative, Bettina talks about her involvement in the community, particularly as a volunteer with the Katholische Frauengemeinschaft Deutschlands (KFD, a Catholic women's organization). She also shares information about her family members. The narrative lasts 5:45 (5 minutes 45 seconds) and yields five instances of left dislocation out of 68 main clauses. That means that Bettina's left dislocation rate in the narrative is (7.4%). The dislocation rate among LD-eligible clauses is 19.2% (5/26). Bettina's five instances of left dislocation are provided as Examples 5.8.1-5. In the transcript produced by the SiN project, names were anonymized in Bettina's transcript, and preserve that anonymity here.

Ex. 5.8.1 a) also jeder Verein hat sein Patronat
zum Beispiel die Feuerwehr hat Agata
und [**wir von Langenholthausen]$_i$ [[unser$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ Patronat]$_j$ [der$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_j$ ist Sankt Johannes Babtist**
der hat zum Beispiel am vierundzwanzigsten Juni Namenstag oder wie man das nennt.

b) *and **[we from Langenholdhausen]$_i$ [our$_i$ patron]$_j$ [the$_{MASC\text{-}NOM}$]$_j$ is Saint John the Baptist***

c) 'so every club has its patron
for example the fire department has Agatha
and we from Langenholthausen, our patron is Saint John the Baptist
for example he has his Saint's day or whatever that is called on June 24'

Ex. 5.8.2 a) und dann ist dann eben Patronatsfest oder Feier oder so.
ja zum Beispiel **[wenn das beim beim von der von der vom Schützenverein ist]$_i$ dann$_i$ wird dann oben in der Schützenhalle wird Messe gemacht** und ja nachher meistens ein ein Frühschoppen oder ja dann Abrechnung noch vom Schützenfest und so was.

b) *yes for example **[when that by by from the from the from the shooting association is]$_i$ then$_i$ is then above in the shooting hall is a fair***

c) 'and then is Saint's festival or celebration or whatnot.
yeah for example **when that is done by the shooting association, then there is a fair up in the shooting hall** and afterward usually a pre-lunch drink and then settlement from the Schützenfest ('marksmen's festival') and that kind of thing'

Ex. 5.8.3 a) und ja Kinder haben sie noch keine.
[unsere$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ [NAME1]]$_i$ [die$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ ist in Bielefeld verheiratet
ja die hat die kleine [NAME2]

b) ***[our$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$ [NAME1]]$_i$ [the$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ is in Bielefeld married***

c) 'and yeah they don't have any kids yet.
our [NAME1], she is married in Bielefeld
yeah she has the little [NAME2]'

Ex. 5.8.4 a) [NAME1] ist Er… ist Erzieherin aber jetzt in Mutterschaft ja.
[NAME3]$_i$ [die$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ hat Hotelfachfrau gelernt
macht aber zur Zeit Fachabi

b) ***[NAME3]$_i$ [the$_{FEM\text{-}NOM}$]$_i$ has hotel manager studied***

c) '[NAME1] is a preschool teacher but now on maternity leave yeah.
[NAME3], she studied hotel management
she is currently completing a vocational diploma'

Ex. 5.8.5 a) ja [NAME3] hat noch einen Freund [NAME4] kommt aus Schmalenberg.
das da hört man den…
Schmalenberg$_i$ da$_i$ hört man schon so ein Unterschied.
Schmalenberg. Steinbruch.

b) ***Schmalenberg$_i$ there$_i$ hears one already so a difference***

c) 'yeah [NAME3] has a friend [NAME4] he comes from Schmalenberg.
you hear that there the…
Schmalenberg, there you hear such a difference
Schmalenberg. Steinbruch.'

The first example of left dislocation in Bettina's narrative presents a compelling example of what one might call "referent stacking" with left dislocation. To begin, Bettina establishes the referent *wir von Langenholthausen*[10] ('we from Langenholthausen'). This element occurs in a left dislocated position before the resumptive possessive pronoun *unser*, part of the possessive phrase *unser Patronat* ('our patron'). The prefield of the clause is not filled by *unser Patronat*, however. Instead, *unser Patronat* is followed by the resumptive pronoun *der*, and it is the demonstrative pronoun *der* that fills the prefield of the main clause. The referent in this left dislocation construction is thus not only *unser Patronat*, but the five words beginning with *wir*. To introduce the full meaning of the referent in a single prefield without left dislocation, one may have said *unser Patronat in Langenholthausen* ('the patron in Langenholthausen') or *der Patronat für uns in Langenholthausen* ('the patron for us from Langenholthausen'). In any alternative, the prefield would include a nominal phrase with a prepositional or type of modifier for a determiner or possessive phrase. Instead, Bettina's structure spreads the information out beyond the strict bounds of the clause and yields the preferred one-word pronominal prefield.

Three of Bettina's other examples of left dislocation are typical to what we have seen with other narratives. Two examples, those in 5.8.3 and 5.8.4, involve a dislocated name, one as part of possessive construction, and the resumptive pronouns are nominative demonstrative pronouns in the prefield. One example, in 5.8.2, shows left dislocation with a *wenn*-clause and a resumptive *dann*. The left dislocated clause includes several corrections as Bettina formulates a prepositional phrase within the *wenn*-clause.

With the final example of left dislocation, Example 5.8.5, we find a free topic construction; the dislocated referent informs but does not exactly match the resumptive pronominal element.

[10] Langenholthausen is a district within the town of Balve. Historically, Langenholthausen was a free county (*Freigraftschaft*). Langenholthausen was incorporated into Balve in 1975.

The referent in the pre-prefield is *Schmalenberg*, the place name for where a friend of the family comes from. A place name, on its own, is a nominal element and would not typically have an adverbial function in a clause. The subsequent prefield, however, is filled by the adverbial pronoun *da*. In this situation, *da* takes on the meaning of "in Schmalenberg" or "when talking to this friend from Schmalenberg." Initially, Bettina states *da hört man den…* ('there you hear the…'), but does not finish the clause. Notably, Bettina and the interviewer overlap in speaking during this initial attempt, with the interviewer commenting that she had previously heard of "that" (referring to Schmalenberg). After a brief pause by both speakers, Bettina restarts her previous clause, though this time the prefield is preceded by *Schmalenberg*. Providing this place name in the pre-prefield position through a left dislocation construction thus provides a clarification for the meaning of *da* while preserving a preferred form of a filling prefields.

Alongside these examples of left dislocation, Bettina produces 21 LD-eligible prefields in which left dislocation does not occur. The non-LD examples comprise an equal number of adverbial elements and nominal elements at ten each, and the final example is verbal (a topicalized infinitive phrase). Two of the adverbial elements include clauses, one specifically a *wenn*-clause. Most of the remaining adverbial prefields that were not left dislocated provide temporal information, whether through a standalone prepositional phrase (e.g., *im Mai*), an adverb modified by a prepositional phrase (e.g., *jetzt am Sonntag*), or nominal time expression (e.g., *dieses Jahr* ['this year']). Other adverbial elements provide locations (e.g., *in Osnabrück, oben in der Schützhalle*) or other context (*bei der KFD, bei den Älteren*). LD-eligible nominal elements in Bettina's prefields include four names of people and a variety of other non-pronominal subject phrases, including possessive phrases (*e.g., ihr Mann, mein Bezirk*) and demonstrative phrases (e.g., *die Männer, die Feuerwehr*).

How do these instances compare to the referents of Bettina's left dislocation? The average length of the would-be prefields when left dislocation occurs is 2.8, and the average length in the non-LD examples is 2.5. Left dislocation is thus associated with slightly longer prefields for Bettina, though, as we have seen, prefield length is not determinative in individual cases. For example, the left dislocated clause is five words, but one of the clause-ful constituents that is embedded in a prefield is eight words long. From a pragmatic perspective, many of the nominal referents, including names of relatives, are introduced for the first time without left dislocation. So, similar to constituent complexity, pragmatic considerations increase the likelihood of left dislocation without being a determinative factor. For Bettina, passive knowledge of Low German may influence her idiolect and be correlated with a relatively low threshold for producing left dislocation in High German compared to speakers in northern Germany who do not have that additional dialect competence.

5.7 Summary

The data presented in this chapter serve to answer questions about how speakers in northern Germany fill the prefields of main clauses and how they use or do not use left dislocation during the task of telling a narrative. Both Low German and High German varieties of contemporary spoken Germany show a strong tendency to fill prefields with single-syllable demonstrative pro-forms, and this trend is even more robust in Low German. In High German varieties, on the other hand, speakers produce empty prefields with greater frequency. Low German's stronger preference toward filling prefields with demonstrative pro-forms, especially *dann*, *das*, and *da* is accompanied by higher rates of left dislocation. Indeed, main clauses in Low German involve left dislocation at more than 2.5 times the rate for High German. That said, rate of left dislocation within any individual narrative did not exceed 13.6% among all main clauses or 52.4% among

LD-eligible clauses. Acknowledging that exact rates of left dislocation would vary by speaker and text type, the data from northern German narratives still support the analysis that left dislocation is more grammaticalized in Low German than in High German-based northern German regiolects. Moreover, the data from this study suggest that speakers with some competence in Low German produce left dislocation in their High German regiolect at higher rates than those who do not have this competence. Further studies are needed to understand the extent to which left dislocation patterns vary as a result of syntactic influence across languages for multilingual speakers and in language contact situations.

This chapter also examined the constituents involved in left dislocation using a methodology that focused on prefield constituents. The occurrences of left dislocation overwhelmingly involve a resumptive demonstrative pronoun in the prefield. Both adverbial and nominal referents both regularly appear as dislocated elements in left dislocation, reinforcing that adverbial elements must be more consistently incorporated into scholarly accounts of left dislocation. Adverbial constituents that are clauses, such as *wenn*- or *als*-clauses are dislocated more frequently than many other constituents, and the instances of left dislocation from speakers with low rates of left dislocation are likely to involve dislocated adverbial clauses. More broadly, the data point to a statistically significant association between would-be prefields that involve a clause and production of left dislocation; left dislocation is more likely when such a construction would help avoid clausal embedding in the prefield. A related but distinct statistically significant relationship exists between longer would-be prefields and left dislocation, with left dislocation becoming more likely with even shorter would-be prefields in Low German than in High German. Case studies with four speakers revealed that pragmatic factors can help explain why left dislocation is not used in certain instances, but these factors cannot satisfactorily predict when left dislocation

will be used or explain differences between varieties of German. The quantitative analysis of structural features of would-be prefields, coupled with qualitative observations about individual cases, thus serves as a productive approach to gaining new insights into patterns of left dislocation.

Chapter 6: Diachronic analysis of left dislocation and the left periphery

6.1 Overview of diachronic analysis

As northern German regiolects have developed and become largely dominant as colloquial varieties in northern Germany, has there been any change in the use of left dislocation? This third findings chapter brings together quantitative analyses of narratives from the same areas of northern Germany approximately fifty years apart to offer a diachronic perspective on regional syntactic patterns related to prefields and left dislocation. This juxtaposition of results from the previous two chapters reveals changes in Low German between the mid-twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. Critically, the use of null prefields is rising while the use of left dislocation is decreasing in contemporary Low German. Also incorporating data from northern German regiolects in the early twenty-first century illuminates how syntactic developments in the region appear to be influenced by interactions between Low German varieties and the emerging northern regiolects, which are regionally influenced varieties of High German.

After briefly reviewing the scope of the data produced in each time period, we explore similarities and differences in how speakers fill prefields. As a reminder, the analyses presented only consider prefields of main clauses that are not imperatives or interrogatives. The discussion of prefields will highlight how Low German narratives display a strong preference for filling the prefield in ways that parallel the prefields in prototypical cases of left dislocation, but that "empty" prefields are on the rise. Having considered developments with prefields broadly, we will compare rates of left dislocation and then the now familiar factors of content type and grammatical weight on the production of left dislocation.

6.2 Comparison of data sets

What amount of data forms the basis of this study, and how do the data sets compare? To establish a diachronic comparison, we focus only on the data from speakers in northern Germany and exclude the non-northern mid-twentieth-century speakers moving forward unless otherwise noted. As introduced in Chapter 3, the study includes spoken narratives from 23 adult women in northern Germany, eight from the mid-twentieth-century corpus and fifteen from the early twenty-first-century corpus. Although there are fewer speakers represented from the mid-twentieth century, their narratives average over twice as long (11 minutes versus 5 minutes 10 seconds). In both time periods, speakers produced, on average, around 13 or 14 main clauses per minute (13.0 prefields/minute in mid-twentieth century vs. 13.9 prefields/minute in twenty-first century). Thus, not only is the total speaking time in each time period similar, the total number of analyzed prefields is, as well. The data from the mid-twentieth century include 1140 prefields, 51.4% of the total prefields in the study, and the early twenty-first-century data include just 61 fewer. Table 6.1 offers an overview of the quantity of northern German data from each time period and the totals when the two time periods are combined.

Corpus	**Speaker Count**	**Speaking Time**	**Average Speaking Time per Speaker**	**Prefield Count**	**Average Prefield Count per Speaker**	**LD Count**	**Average LD Count per Speaker**
Mid-20th Century	8	1:28:00	11:00	1140	142.5	166	20.8
Early 21st Century	15	1:17:30	5:10	1079	71.9	62	4.1
All	23	2:45:30	7:12	2219	96.5	228	9.9

Table 6.1 Overview of quantity of analyzed data for northern German speakers

Ultimately, the mid-twentieth-century data set includes more than 2.5 times as many instances of left dislocation as the early twenty-first-century data and, on average, more than five times as many instances of left dislocation per speaker. Of the 228 instances of left dislocation produced by northern German speakers, 166 (72.8%) come from the mid-twentieth century. This difference emerges despite comparable quantities of prefields for both points in time and thus signals different rates of left dislocation between the two data sets, with a higher rate of left dislocation in the mid-twentieth century. This chapter's analysis seeks to utilize the available data to understand how the patterns of left dislocation are changing.

6.3 Prefield patterns across across northern German varieties

Understanding how speakers generally fill the prefields of main clauses offers context with which to better understand whether the demonstrative pro-forms occurring in prefields as part of left dislocation constructions reinforce broader prefield patterns for northern German speakers. This section assesses similarities and differences that emerge from the prefield analyses in Chapters 4 and 5. We first review the "top ten" prefield lists from those chapters, considering both the individual elements included and the prominence of those elements in their respective data sets. The "top ten" elements are the prefield elements that most commonly filled prefields of main clauses in the narrative data, rated from most common (1) to tenth most common (10). We will also briefly review the types of content occurring in prefields even beyond those most common elements and compare the frequency of prefields of different lengths.

The "top ten" lists in the mid-twentieth century and twenty-first-century data reveal many parallels with regard to characteristics of the individual elements and the relative frequency of these most common elements as prefield-fillers. All ten most common elements from both time periods are single-syllable elements or the null element. The single-syllable elements are

predominantly demonstrative pro-forms or personal pronouns. The exceptions are the single-syllable adverbs *nun* (tenth most common in 21st century Low German) and *jetzt* (ninth and tenth most common for in twenty-first-century Low German and High German, respectively). Notably, the demonstratives *da*, *dann,* and *das* are three of the four most frequent prefields elements in both time periods and consistently the top three most frequent prefield elements in Low German narratives. In both the earlier and later data sets, the prefields filled by the top ten elements constitute just under 70% of all analyzed prefields.

Prefield Element	**Mid-20th Century Low German**		**Early 21st Century Low German**		**Early 21st Century High German**	
	Rank	**Frequency**	**Rank**	**Frequency**	**Rank**	**Frequency**
da	1	15.8%	3	11.6%	5	7.1%
dann	2	14.4%	1	17.3%	2	11.8%
das	3	12.4%	2	12.5%	3/4	9.1%
die	4	6.3%	5/6	5.9%	7	5.3%
der	5	5.0%	8	2.7%	11/12/13	0.7%
ich	6	4.3%	7	4.7%	3/4	9.1%
wir	7	3.2%	5/6	5.9%	6	6.2%
NULL	8	1.9%	4	6.1%	1	13.8%
es	8	1.9%	10/11	1.3%	8	4.5%
nun	10	1.8%	12	1.1%	N/A	0.0%
jetzt	14	0.7%	9	1.5%	10	0.9%
er	11	1.7%	10/11	1.3%	>20	0.2%
sie	12/13	1.0%	13	0.9%	9	2.0%
Top 10		**68.1%**		**69.4%**		**69.6%**

Table 6.2 Rank and frequency of top prefield elements for northern German narratives

Table 6.2 shows the rank and frequency (as a percentage of main clause prefields) for the top ten elements for both time periods. Whereas Table 5.3 included the top ten elements from the combined 21st century northern German data set, Table 6.2 includes the top ten elements for both the Low German and northern High German from that period. Elements that are in the top ten for one German variety and time period but not for all three are highlighted in orange. When

elements are tied with others for a certain rank, the range of ranks involved in the tie are listed with forward slashes.

What differences emerge related to elements that commonly fill the prefield? Among the most notable differences are the frequency of "empty" prefields, or those filled with a null element, and the frequency of demonstrative pro-forms. Empty prefields are much more frequent in the contemporary data. The null element is the eighth most frequent in the mid-twentieth century, filling 1.9% of all prefields in that data set. In the early twenty-first century, the null element is the third most frequent prefield element and accounts for 10.0% of prefields in the data set. The use of null prefields is highest in the contemporary High German narratives, accounting for 13.8% of prefields and at least 7.4% of prefields for each speaker from that subgroup. Moreover, null prefield usage is higher in contemporary Low German (6.1%) than in mid-twentieth-century Low German varieties.

The differing frequencies of null prefields suggest a change over the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. Over these approximately fifty years, the frequency of null prefields in Low German varieties increases to accounting for over three times as many prefields. This rise also brings the rate of null prefields in early twenty-first-century Low German to nearly halfway between the earlier Low German rate and the contemporaneous High German rate. Use of null prefields in spoken German varieties may be on an upward trajectory across varieties. Two of the non-northern speakers from the mid-twentieth century, Karla the South Franconian speaker and Luise the partial Central Bavarian speaker, employ null prefields at a rate similar to contemporary Low German. The other two non-northern speakers from the earlier data set, both representing Middle German varieties, show lower usage of null prefields, more akin to the Low German speakers of that time. Although it is outside the scope of

this study to fully explore diachronic developments in the production of empty prefields for northern regiolects, we know that at least some High German dialect speakers outside of northern Germany in the mid-twentieth century were producing null prefields more frequently than their Low German-speaking peers, but less frequently than in the regiolect narratives from northern Germany. The increased presence of null prefields in spoken Low German varieties may be influenced at least in part by speakers' contact with and knowledge of standard German and a regiolect that more frequently produce empty prefields.

Another area of diachronic contrast is in the frequency of demonstrative pro-forms, both as a group and for individual elements. In the mid-twentieth-century narratives, the collection of demonstrative adverbs and pronouns comprise a greater proportion of prefields and speakers use a slightly wider variety of demonstratives as prefield elements. The adverbial *da* and *dann* plus the nominal *der, die,* and *das* are the five most common prefield-filling elements and accounted for 53.9% of prefields for this earlier time period. Demonstratives from outside the "top ten" list that appear alone as prefield elements are *den, denen,* and *dort. Den* occurs four times, always as the masculine accusative demonstrative pronoun and not as a dative plural form. *Denen,* the dative plural relative pronoun, occurs once as a prefield element.[1] *Dort,* a less-common demonstrative adverb, occurs three times, with all three instances produced by the same speaker (Sofie).

In the twenty-first century, data show notable differences between the Low German and northern High German varieties with regard to demonstrative pro-forms in the prefield. For the

[1] In the following example from Renate, the relative pronoun *denen* begins a relative clause that has the word order of a main clause. This is the only example of *denen* as a prefield-filling element in the study, which only considers prefields from main clauses.

Ex. 6.1 da waren Leute, denen war schon öfter ein Kind abgestorben
'there were people, often a child of theirs would die'

later northern German narratives as a group, only *dann*, *das*, and *da* are among the top five most common prefields, and those three elements together with *der* and *die* account for only 41.9% of prefields. In contemporary Low German, however, those five most common demonstratives account for exactly 50.0% of prefields, and just the top three elements (*dann*, *das*, and *da*) fill 41.4% of prefields. Beyond the demonstratives from the top ten list, the masculine accusative form *den* occurs once and a Low German form *deit* (High German: *dies,* 'this') appears once. In the contemporary High German narratives, the top five demonstratives only account for 34.0% of prefields, and again the most common prefield element is not a demonstrative, but rather the null element. The only other demonstrative pronoun filling a prefield in the High German recordings is one instance of the masculine dative form *dem.*

Thus, in the mid-twentieth century and into the twenty-first, demonstrative pro-forms account for 50% or more of prefields for main clauses in spoken Low German narratives. This means that when Low German speakers produce prototypical cases left dislocation with a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield, be that referring to nominal or adverbial content, the speaker is filling the prefield in a way that fits a template in use for the majority of main clauses. Though demonstrative elements play a substantial role in how speakers fill prefields across varieties of German, the frequency of these elements in prefields is less robust in the regiolects of northern Germany than in contemporaneous or earlier forms of Low German.

Looking beyond the top ten elements, are there changes in the types of content found in prefields over time? As in previous chapters, prefield content is categorized as adverbial, nominal, not applicable (N/A), and other. Prefields filled with null elements and instances of directly reported speech quotations in a prefield are coded as not applicable (N/A), and "other"

prefield element types include numeral, verbal, and adjectival. The relative use of these categories across time and language variety can be seen in Table 6.3.

Corpus	Adverbial	Nominal	N/A	Other
Mid-20th-Century Low German	45.2%	49.2%	4.6%	1.1%
Early-21st-Century Low German	43.6%	49.0%	6.5%	0.9%
Early-21st-Century Regiolect	34.8%	51.1%	13.8%	0.4%

Table 6.3 Prefield content types for northern German narratives

The nominal and "other" categories show stable use across the data sets. Nominals are consistently the most frequent type of content in prefields. Nominal elements fill the slight majority of prefields in contemporary High German narratives and a near majority, at least 49.0%, in Low German from both time periods. There is only a 0.2% difference in the percent ratio of nominal prefields between time periods. There is no evidence for diachronic change in the frequency of nominals as prefield-filling elements nor meaningful differences in the use of nominal prefields in Low German versus High German of the region. Similarly, adjectival, verbal, and "other" types of content distinct from the major adverbial and nominal categories maintain a modest presence, decreasing from 1.1% of Low German prefields to 0.9% over the approximately fifty years and only constituting 0.4% of prefields in the High German narratives.

Adverbial prefields and prefields filled with the null element or reported speech, on the other hand, show changes in frequency that may reflect modest diachronic change. Adverbial prefields have their greatest frequency, 45.2% of prefield elements, in mid-twentieth-century Low German. In the Low German narratives of early twenty-first century, adverbials comprise 43.6% of prefields. Though this is only a 1.6% decline, this change corresponds with a similar rise in the "N/A" category, a result of greater use of empty prefields. Adverbial prefields account for nearly 9% less of the High German prefields compared to Low German prefields. As brought up

previously, influence from High German varieties may be leading to more null prefields in contemporary Low German and thus changing the balance of different types of content in the prefield.

As a final factor related to general prefields, we consider prefield length and encounter changes in the strength of the preference for one-word prefields. Prefields that have a syntactic word length of exactly one are most common, as evidenced by the "top ten" prefield element lists. Beyond those most frequent examples, the narratives show that overall use of one-word prefields is greater in Low German varieties than in . The proportion of one-word prefields is highest in mid-twentieth-century Low German (see Table 6.4). Prefields that are ten words or longer, on the other hand, are rare across the board. There are no prefields of ten words or more in mid-twentieth-century Low German narratives. Such long prefields do occur rarely in Low German produced in the early twenty-first century. Prefields ten words or longer are most common, but still only 0.5% of prefields, in High German. The prefield length data suggest a possible shift in Low German over time to use fewer one-word prefields coupled with an increase in null prefields and two-word prefields. These shifts, though small, mean fewer prefields overall that look like the prefields filled as part of typical left dislocation constructions.

Corpus	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5-9**	**10+**
Mid-20th-Century Low German	3.2%	81.4%	7.5%	4.7%	1.5%	1.7%	0.0%
Early-21st-Century Low German	5.7%	78.6%	9.3%	2.7%	1.7%	1.9%	0.2%
Early-21st-Century High German	13.8%	67.0%	10.5%	4.0%	1.8%	2.3%	0.5%

Table 6.4 Distribution of prefield element lengths for northern German narratives

6.4 Presence of left dislocation across northern German varieties

How does left dislocation appear over time, and how to the left dislocation constructions in narratives impact the prefields just discussed? Across the sets of narratives, instances of left

dislocation almost exclusively follow the template of a dislocated element followed by a resumptive demonstrative pro-form in the prefield of the main clause, features typical of *Linksversetzung* (LV). In mid-twentieth century Low German narratives, there are 166 instances of left dislocation. Four of those constructions (2.4%) do not include a resumptive element in prefield and four (2.4%) do not have a demonstrative pro-form as a resumptive element. The Low German narratives from the early twenty-first century include 43 instances of left dislocation, all of which have a resumptive element in the prefield. Only one of those 43 left dislocation constructions (2.3%) does not have a demonstrative pro-form as a resumptive element, and it is instead the plural personal pronoun *wir* ('we'). In the contemporary High German narratives, one of the nineteen instances of left dislocation (5.3%) does not have a resumptive element in the prefield and all nineteen have a demonstrative pro-form as a resumptive element. These numbers do not suggest clear diachronic changes with regard to the types of left dislocation constructions; left dislocation in the spoken narratives consistently involves resumptive elements, almost exclusively demonstrative pro-forms, in the prefield.

Frequency of left dislocation, however, does show change over time. Results from the narrative data show decreasing frequency of left dislocation in spoken Low German, as northern German regiolects emerge. From the mid-twentieth century to the early twenty-first, the proportion of Low German main clauses with left dislocation out of all Low German main clauses decreased from 14.6% to 8.4%, a 42.5% drop. Meanwhile, the rate of left dislocation among clauses when left dislocation would be structurally possible with the prefield decreased from 44.7% to 29.1% for Low German. For twenty-first-century High German narratives, the rate of left dislocation is 3.4% overall and 13.1% among clauses in which left dislocation is possible.

Corpus	LD Rate for All Main Clauses	LD Rate for LD Possible Clauses
Mid-20th-Century Low German	14.6%	44.7%
Early-21st-Century Low German	8.4%	29.1%
Early-21st-Century High German	3.4%	13.1%

Table 6.5 Rates of left dislocation in northern German narratives

Accompanying the changing frequency of left dislocation are modest decreases in the percentage of main clauses in which left dislocation is possible based on the prefield element. The rate of LD-eligible prefields in the twentieth-century narratives is 32.5%. The later Low German narratives have 28.1% LD-eligible prefields. In the contemporary High German narratives, 26.3% of prefields are LD-eligible. The ranking of the three subgroups of speakers by percentage of LD-eligible prefields thus follows the ranking of how frequent left dislocation is. The percentage of how many clauses are LD-eligible is tied to prefield patterns discussed before, including the use of empty prefields. The increase in null prefields means fewer LD-eligible clauses.

A more detailed view of left dislocation rates by speaker reinforces the general pattern of left dislocation decreasing in Low German since the mid-twentieth century. Figures 6.1 and 6.2 present the rates of left dislocation among all main clauses and among clauses with LD-eligible prefields, respectively. Each column represents a speaker, and the columns are grouped by locality. For example, the speakers represented by “Holstein” are Bertha from Blekendorf in the 1960s and Larissa from nearby Lütjenburg in the 2010s, both of whom produce their narrative in Low German. The earlier speakers’ data are shown with solid-colored columns, and the later speakers’ columns have striped patterns. For six of eight localities, the Low German narrative from the twentieth century clearly has the highest rate of left dislocation for that area. This is true both for overall left dislocation and for left dislocation rates only among LD-eligible cases.

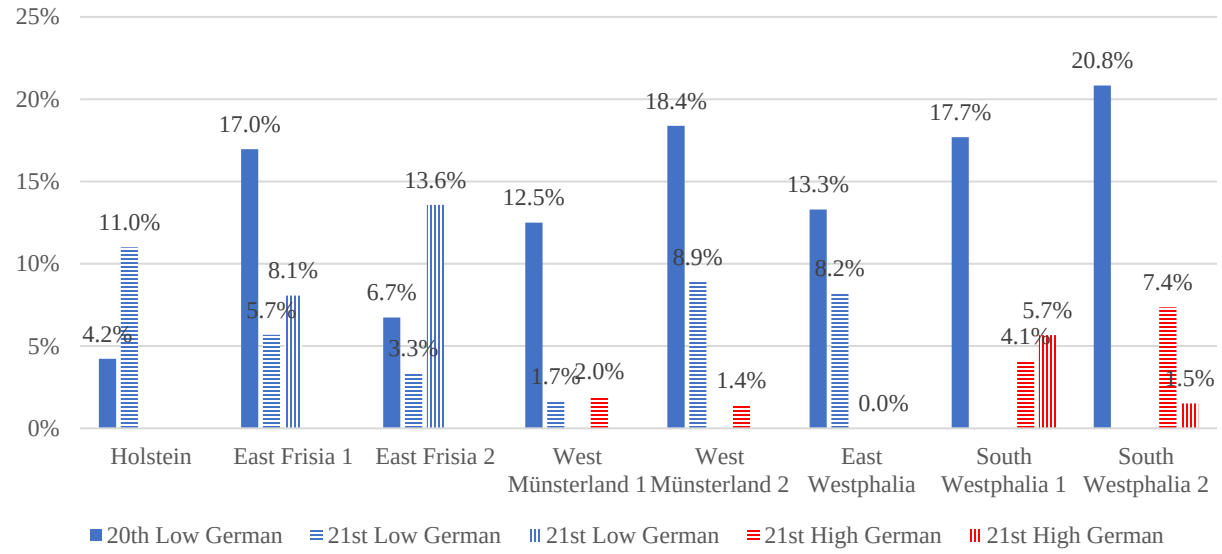


Figure 6.1 Overall left dislocation rates by locality and variety

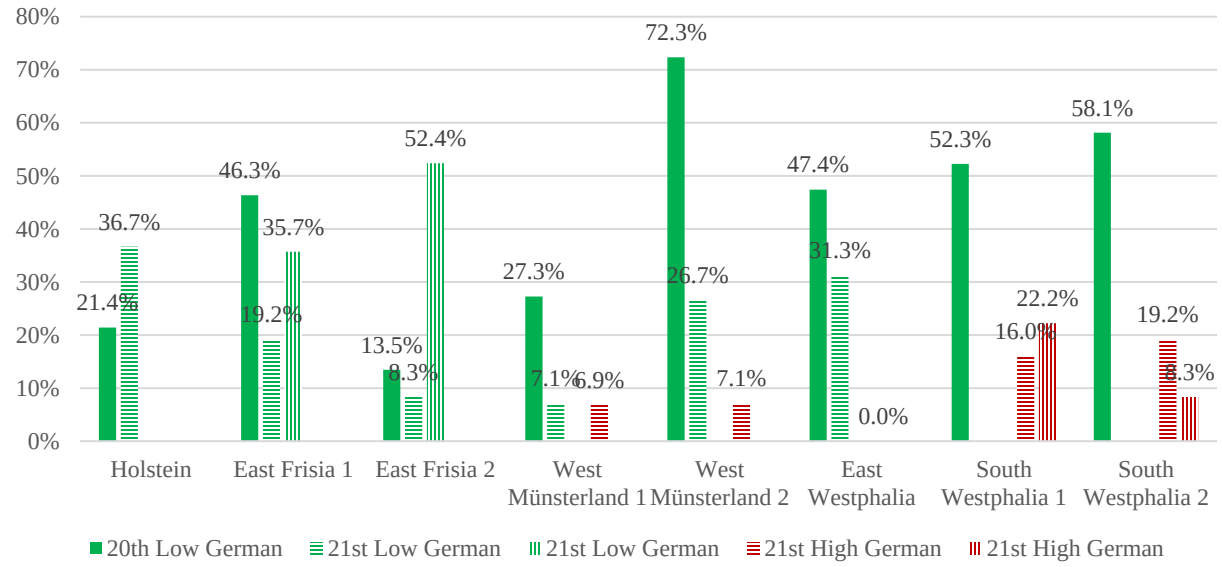


Figure 6.2 Rates of left dislocation when structurally possible by locality and variety

While confirming the important general trend of less Low German left dislocation over time, the data in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 also signal potential regional variation within northern Germany

that intersects with differences in the availability with Low German narrative data in the twenty-first century. First, the two localities that show at least one speaker in the twenty-first century with higher rates of left dislocation than the twentieth century speaker from that locality are in the same two regions where the twenty-first-century data only includes narratives in Low German. The two regions, Holstein and East Frisia, are both further north within northern Germany. When the researchers who originally collected the early-twenty-first-century narratives in this study sought consultants in these areas, they only found speakers with at least some competence in Low German. This contrasts with the other locations in the study, where more women could be found who did not have competence in Low German and indeed Low German speakers were not available for some locations. Thus, while frequency of left dislocation is decreasing overall in northern Germany and decreasing in Low German over the same time period that regiolects are becoming a more dominant spoken variety, the frequency of left dislocation is not consistently decreasing (nor consistently increasing) in the Low German varieties of areas that have maintained more widespread knowledge of Low German. The exceptions of Holstein and East Frisia bolster the interpretation that the overall decreasing rates of left dislocation northern Germany are at least in part due to contact with High German-based varieties.

The diachronic data from South Westphalia offer a different, but complementary, story of regional syntax. Narratives from South Westphalia show consistently high rates of left dislocation. This is true when comparing the twentieth century Low German narratives from South Westphalia with other Low German narratives in the twentieth century, and it also holds when comparing High German narratives of northern German in the twenty-first century. Low Franconian and Westphalian speakers have highest rates of left dislocation in twentieth-century

Low German narratives. Of the seven High German narratives the twenty-first century, the three highest rates of left dislocation are from South Westphalia, and the top four rates of left dislocation among LD-eligible clauses in High German are from the four narratives of South Westphalia. These findings suggest that the particularly frequent occurrence, if not grammaticalization, of left dislocation in South Westphalian Low German varieties influenced the syntax the regiolects developing locally even as those Low German varieties rapidly decreased in use. Together, diachronic developments regarding the presence of left dislocation in our most northern and most southern locations of northern Germany show variation that reflects regionally differing interactions between High German and Low German.

As a final piece of our overview of instances of left dislocation, we follow previous chapters and look at what types of referents are involved in left dislocation. In this area, however, there is little to no diachronic change. Both adverbial and nominal referents are well represented in left dislocation from Low German and High German narratives. In Low German, the proportion of adverbial referents increases between the two time periods, flipping a slight majority (51.2%) of nominal referents to an equally slight majority of adverbial referents. The stability of that near 50:50 ratio for Low German is notable against the ratio for High German left dislocation, which favors adverbial referents more strongly at 57.9%. Thus, the near 50:50 ratio is not an inevitability, and additional increases in the proportion of adverbial referents in Low German could indicate crosslinguistic influence from nearby High German varieties.

Corpus	Adverbial Referent	Nominal Referent
Mid-20th-Century Low German	48.8%	51.2%
Early-21st-Century Low German	51.2%	48.8%
Early-21st-Century High German	57.9%	42.1%

Table 6.6 Content type of left dislocation referents in northern German narratives

Our review of the presence of left dislocation highlighted the decreasing frequency of left dislocation in Low German as northern German regiolects emerge while also showing that the form and content types involved in left dislocation have remained relatively constant. Nearly all instances of left dislocation at each time point and in both Low German and High German involve a resumptive demonstrative pro-form in the prefield of the clause. The proportion of clauses with these left dislocation constructions, however, is decreasing in Low German and moving toward the rates in High German. Exceptions to the decreasing pattern are in areas with a greater presence of Low German in the early twenty-first century. Comparing data from different regions of northern Germany, we see that language contact not only seems to impact left dislocation rates of Low German, but of the new regiolects of northern Germany, as well.

6.5 Content of "would-be prefields" across northern German varieties

Now that we have seen changes in the frequency of left dislocation over time, we will determine how the associations between left dislocation and features of the potential referent shift or not. Quantifying the features of "would-be prefields" for clauses in which left dislocation occurs or is structurally possible enables us to assess correlations between those features and the use of left dislocation. The would-be prefield is the same as the prefield produced by the speaker if left dislocation does not occur or the resumptive element of a left dislocation construction is in the middle field, When left dislocation does occur, the would-be prefield is the element, typically identical to the dislocated element, that would have hypothetically filled the prefield had there

not been a left dislocation construction. The following subsections will bring together previous analyses of would-be prefields to determine patterns or changes related to constituent type as well as two measures of grammatical weight.

6.5.1 Would-be prefield content type

Throughout the study, content type has not proven to be a particularly productive factor for understanding left dislocation patterns. For each time period, variation between speakers is the norm and Fischer's exact tests show there is no statistically significant association between occurrences of left dislocation and whether the would-be prefield contains an adverbial or nominal element.

At the same time, consistently higher rates of left dislocation for adverbial would-be prefields suggests that left dislocation is associated more strongly with adverbials. In the mid-twentieth century, the rate of left dislocation is 50.0% when the would-be prefield is adverbial and 42.3% when the would-be prefield is nominal. By the early twenty-first century, Low German varieties have an average left dislocation rate of 32.9% with adverbial would-be prefields and 27.0% with nominal would-be prefields. The rates are lower in the more recent narratives, as expected based on the overall rates of left dislocation, and the rates of left dislocation shift fairly proportionally; adverbial would-be participate in left dislocation at around 1.2 times the rate of nominal would-be prefields. Since the content type itself does not appear to be a primary factor, however, we look to other structural information.

Corpus	**Adverbial**	**Nominal**
Mid-20th-Century Low German	50.0%	42.3%
Early-21st-Century Low German	32.9%	27.0%
Early-21st-Century High German	15.7%	11.0%

Table 6.7 Rate of left dislocation in northern German narratives by would-be prefield content type

6.5.2 Would-be prefield length

Unlike content type, previous analyses have identified statistically significant relationships between the length would-be prefield, as quantified by number of syntactic words, and the likelihood of left dislocation. Length as a measure of grammatical weight is affiliated with left dislocation across time and varieties, though the balance of what lengths lead to what significance shifts. The current analysis necessarily abstracts from the patterns of any individual speaker to shed light on what is happening across northern German with a particular language variety at a given time.

Would-Be Prefield Length	**Mid-20th-Century Low German**	**Early-21st-Century Low German**	**Early-21st-Century High German**
0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1	29.0%	12.9%	9.1%
2	39.1%	25.0%	3.7%
3	30.6%	23.5%	13.6%
4	48.4%	35.7%	9.1%
5	68.4%	12.5%	22.2%
6	85.7%	80.0%	75.0%
7	73.3%	83.3%	100.0%
8	63.6%	75.0%	33.3%
9	100.0%	-	-
10+	100.0%	66.7%	25.0%

Table 6.8 Rate of left dislocation for in northern German narratives by would-be prefield length

In the earlier Low German narratives, longer would-be prefield lengths seem to predictably lead to higher rates of left dislocation, with tipping points at four words and five words long. One-word would prefields are associated with left dislocation least often, though left dislocation still occurs in 29.0% of LD-eligible cases. The association between left dislocation and would-be

prefield length becomes statistically significant ($p = .0054$) when lengths of three or greater are grouped together, but the association is extremely significant ($p < .0001$) if you group would-be prefields with lengths of four or more. The mid-twentieth-century Low German data also show that would-be prefields with a length of at least five words are left dislocated a majority of the time, and the rate is 100% if the length is at least nine words.

Length is also a factor associated with promoting left dislocation in contemporary Low German. For the more recent Low German narratives, would-be prefields that are one word or five words long are least likely to be left dislocated. Fisher's exact test shows that the association between left dislocation and would-be prefields of length two or greater is statistically significant ($p < .05$), meaning that left dislocation becomes statistically more likely as soon as the would-be prefield is longer than one word. The association becomes extremely significant ($p < .0001$) for these narratives by grouping would-be prefield is at least six words long. Relatedly, the rate of left dislocation rate is greater than 50% when the would-be prefield is at least six words long, and the single instance of a Low German would-be prefield with a length greater than ten is left dislocated. Six words thus appears to be a potential tipping point to trigger left dislocation or another means of reducing the grammatical weight of the prefield for contemporary Low German speakers.

To summarize, key differences related to word length in Low German revolve around the tipping point for extreme statistical significance. In the twentieth century, extreme statistical significance is present when you group lengths of four or more, versus six words or more for twenty-first-century Low German. Moreover, in the earlier varieties of Low German, rates of left dislocation are not only higher beginning with would-be prefields only one word long, left dislocation is possibly obligatory when the alternative would be a prefield of nine words or more.

What about the High German-based northern German regiolects? The rates of left dislocation for various word lengths do not tell as straightforward of a story for twenty-first century High German narratives, but a few points stand out. Unlike in both snapshots of Low German, High German data show the lowest rates of left dislocation when the would-be prefield is two words long. Relatedly, the association between length and left dislocation is not statistically significant as soon as the would-be prefield length is greater than one. The association between left dislocation and would-be prefield length is extremely significant in High German when would-be prefield elements are at least five words long or at least six words long, and the highest rates of left dislocation occur when the would-be prefield is six or seven words long. Notably, however, left dislocation does not occur in the majority of cases when the would-be prefield is at least ten words long.

Juxtaposing the twenty-first-century Low German and High German varieties, a couple parallels are evident. Left dislocation rates peak for both language varieties when would-be prefields are near 6 or 7 words. Additionally, the contemporary varieties have a greater tolerance for longer elements in the prefield than mid-twentieth-century Low German. The use of longer prefields without employing left dislocation may be a result of standard German influence in the region, particularly evident in the development of regiolects.

6.5.3 Would-be prefield clausal elements

Like would-be prefield length, the presence of a clause in the would-be prefield has been shown to have statistically significant relationships with the likelihood of left dislocation across time and varieties. In this section, we will compare the proportion of LD referents that involve a clause over time and review the relationships between would-be prefields containing a clause and the likelihood of left dislocation, considering the content types of different clauses, as well.

We will again use the term “clause-ful” to describe any would-be prefield that includes a clause, whether the clause is alone or with additional elements.

Corpus	Single Clause	Multi-Clause	Non-Clause Element Plus Clause	All Clause-ful Types
Mid-20th-Century Low German	85.7%	100.0%	93.8%	88.2%
Early-21st-Century Low German	82.4%	100.0%	80.0%	82.6%
Early-21st-Century High German	47.6%	-	-	47.6%

Table 6.9 Rate of left dislocation with would-be prefields involving a clause in northern German narratives

Importantly, the proportion of left-dislocated elements in Low German that are or contain a clause increases between the mid-twentieth century and early twenty-first century. The variety with the highest proportion of left-dislocated elements being clause-ful is twenty-first-century High German. In the mid-twentieth-century Low German narratives, 60 of 166 instances of left dislocation (36.1%) involve a clause-ful referent that is dislocated. The ratio of clause-ful referents rises to 19 of 43 (44.2%) in early twenty-first-century Low German. Left dislocation in twenty-first-century High German involves a clause-ful referent in 10 of 19 instances of LD (52.6%). These particular numbers on their own do not indicate the extent to which left dislocation is or is not prompted by clause-ful constituents in a particular variety or for a particular speaker. At the same time, the data highlight how left dislocation in Low German has become more strongly affiliated with the dislocation of clause-ful elements and that this may be influenced by speaker contact with and knowledge of High German-based spoken standard German.

Over time, Low German maintains low tolerance for clauses in the prefield and a strong tendency to dislocate adverbial clauses. First considering mid-twentieth-century Low German,

left dislocation occurs 88.2% of the time when the would-be prefield contains a clause. The rate of left dislocation is even higher when the would-be prefield contains a clause combined with another element, such as the combination of a possessive phrase plus a relative clause, a clause with an extraposed prepositional phrase, or the combination of two clauses. Left dislocation occurs in 100% of the three instances of a would-be prefield comprising two clauses. In the narratives from this time, the relationship between a clause in the would-be prefield and occurrence of left dislocation is extremely statistically significant ($p < .0001$).

In the mid-twentieth-century data, an extremely statistically significant relationship also exists between left dislocation and specifically would-be prefields that are both clause-ful and adverbial. Of 60 clause-ful would-be prefields in the mid-twentieth-century Low German narratives, 56 are adverbial and left dislocation occurs in 49 of those 56 cases (87.5%). Left dislocation occurs in eleven of twelve cases (91.7%) when the clause-ful would-be prefield is nominal. For the nominal cases, the relationship with left dislocation is statistically significant with $p = .0004$; more cases would be needed to determine stronger statistical significance.

Rates of left dislocation with clause-ful would-be prefields are similar for Low German narratives in the early twenty-first century. The contemporary Low German narratives offer 23 instances of a clause in the would-be prefield, and left dislocation occurs 82.6% of the time. This represents a drop of 5.6%, about 6% of the earlier rate for clause-ful would-be prefields. The association between clause-ful would-be prefields and left dislocation is still extremely statistically significant in this period. The single instance of a would-be prefield consisting of two clauses is left dislocated. Left dislocation occurs in four of five cases when the would-be prefield is a clause combined with other non-clause element, for a left dislocation rate quite similar when would-be prefields consisting of just a single clause.

We can again consider the intersection between clause-ful status and content type. Parallel to earlier Low German, an extremely statistically significant relationship ($p < .0001$) exists in twenty-first-century Low German between left dislocation and specifically the would-be prefields that are both clause-ful and adverbial. Of 19 adverbial, clause-ful cases, left dislocation occurs in 16 (84.2%). Left dislocation occurs in three of four instances with a clause-ful would-be prefield that is nominal, for a left dislocation rate of 75.0%. The relationship between nominal cases and left dislocation is not quite statistically significant ($p = .0577$). Establishing statistical significance for the nominal cases would require a larger number of relevant instances.

The findings related to clause-ful would-be prefields in Low German thus show consistency in the extremely significant relationship with left dislocation and in the fact that the clause-ful elements are much more likely to be adverbial. In both time periods, there are more than four times as many adverbial clause-ful would-be prefields compared to nominal ones. The nominal instances do not have as strong of statistical associations with left dislocation as adverbial instances do, though the rates of left dislocation suggest that statistical significance would emerge or strengthen with a larger data set.

Turning to High German in the twenty-first century, we see the lowest rates of left dislocation with clause-ful elements and the greatest imbalance between adverbial and nominal occurrences of clause-ful would-be prefields. In the High German narratives, there are 21 instances of clause-ful would-be prefields, and 10 (47.6%) of those are left dislocated. Despite the lower rate of left dislocation compared to Low German, and indeed a rate less than 50%, the relationship between a clause in the would-be prefield and left dislocation is extremely statistically significant ($p < .0001$); remember that left dislocation occurs in only 13.1% of all LD-eligible clauses in the High German narratives. In terms of content and structure, the would-

be prefields containing a clause are relatively homogonous. All 21 clause-ful would-be prefields are adverbial, and all of them comprise a single subordinate clause. In fact, 15 of the 21 clause-ful would-be prefields begin with the subordinating conjunction *wenn* (‘if, whenever’), and nine of ten cases when left dislocation occurs involve dislocation of a *wenn*-clause. This means that nine of nineteen total instances of left dislocation in the High German data, almost half, have a *wenn*-clause as the dislocated referent. Adding in the remaining left-dislocated clause, which begins with the subordinating conjunction bis (‘until’), over half of the left dislocation in the contemporary regiolects of northern Germany comes from dislocation of adverbial clauses. Other types of would-be prefields are either not produced by these speakers or are not as consistently connected to left dislocation.

Left dislocation and clause-ful elements in northern Germany thus have an ongoing, statistically significant association from the mid-twentieth century into the twenty-first, particularly when the clause-ful element is adverbial. However, the overall rates of left dislocation, as well as how dislocation of clause-ful elements relates to the overall picture of left dislocation, differ between Low German and High German varieties. In Low German, left dislocation occurs more frequently, over 80% of the time, when the likely alternative would be a clause embedded in the prefield. Among these cases with a clause-ful would-be prefield, the rate of left dislocation is higher in the mid-twentieth century than in the more recent Low German data, which may reflect a change in progress with the grammaticalization of left dislocation, but the likelihood of subordinate clauses being left dislocated remains strong. In twenty-first century High German data, left dislocation occurs less than half of the time when the would-be prefield comprises a clause, yet the association with left dislocation is still statistically significant. As a proportion of all referents from left dislocation constructions, clause-ful referents, which are

predominantly adverbial and often *wenn*-clauses, have a larger role in the twenty-first century. The rates of left of left dislocation with clausal referents are thus an increasingly major factor in overall rates of left dislocation.

6.6 Summary

In reviewing prefield and left dislocation results through a diachronic lens, this chapter reveals differences over time and between spoken German varieties that point to growing alignment Low German and northern German regiolects. Perhaps most critically, the rate of left dislocation in Low German decreased between the 1960s and 2010s, dropping from 14.6% of main clauses to 8.4%, and ending closer to the rates of left dislocation found in northern Germany's twenty-first-century regiolects (3.4%). In High German and later instances of Low German, left dislocated adverbial clauses make up higher proportions of all instances of left dislocation. As left dislocation is becoming less frequent in Low German, the use of null prefields rises. With all of these developments, the prefield patterns of twenty-first-century Low German are more like the patterns found in northern Germany's regiolects. On the other hand, consistency can be found in many of the most frequent prefield-filling elements and with the strong associations between left dislocation and factors related to grammatical weight.

The story told through these data offers an example of syntactic change in a region of Germany experiencing a rapidly shifting linguistic landscape. The changes in Low German prefields and rates of left dislocation appear to be due to Low German speakers' increased contact with and use of High German varieties, including standard German varieties and locally influenced regiolects. The syntax of emerging regiolects is also influenced by local Low German varieties, and the relatively high rates of left dislocation by High German speakers in South Westphalia provides evidence to support this. The next chapter will offer additional

interpretation of the data presented over the last three chapters, emphasizing how this study of left dislocation in northern German data contributes to our understanding of left dislocation, language change, and the interplay between syntax and pragmatics.

Chapter 7: Concluding thoughts and directions for future research

7.1 Overview of main takeaways

By sharing their anecdotes and their lives with researchers, women throughout northern Germany have helped tell a story about German syntax and contemporary language change. This dissertation focuses on use or non-use of left dislocation, a nonstandard construction involving clausal topics and the left periphery. In addition to making methodological and empirical contributions that can facilitate future comparative studies of syntax, the contributions of this study inform deeper understanding of the syntax-pragmatics interface and ongoing syntactic change that parallels a shift in the linguistic landscape of German-speaking Europe.

Initial goals of this research were to discover the patterned ways speakers in contemporary varieties in northern Germany use left dislocation. I also aimed to identify how use of left dislocation has shifted in northern Germany as regiolects have become dominant. In pursuit of those goals, this study is the first to quantify likelihood of left dislocation and compare rates across multiple spoken varieties of German. Engaging with multiple axes of variation, the analyses confirm higher frequency of left dislocation in Low German than in locally spoken regiolects. Notably, the study also reveals a decrease in the use of left dislocation for Low German over the fifty years from the late 1950s into the twenty-first century.

This final chapter will engage with three main takeaways that rely on both diachronic and synchronic data:

1) Syntactic factors are critical to predicting use of left dislocation; the production of left dislocation is more likely when it would yield a notable decrease in the grammatical weight of the prefield.

2) Frequency and forms of left dislocation correlate with how speakers prefer to fill prefields more generally, and these preferences show diachronic and cross-linguistic variation.
3) The syntax of Low German varieties both influence and are influenced by locally emerging regiolects, as evidenced by the use of left dislocation in these varieties.

These findings apply, at a minimum, to the contemporary northern German context. Each takeaway places this study's findings in conversation with other scholars' observations about developments in German and syntax more broadly. Following the discussion of linguistic takeaways, this chapter will suggest potential applications of the research that would have impact beyond the scholarly community. The study concludes by addressing known limitations of this work, highlighting productive directions for future research, and offering final remarks.

7.2 Reducing grammatical weight of the prefield

This study enriches our understanding of what drives the use of left dislocation by demonstrating clear and quantifiable connections to syntactic factors. This section reviews how left dislocation is more likely when an alternative construction without left dislocation would have a particularly heavy prefield, either in terms of word count or clausal embedding. This is followed by discussion of how this study's findings align with previous descriptive studies of German. I then argue that scholars must consider syntactic factors in addition to discourse functions when describing use of left dislocation. Finally, I remark how the relationship between grammatical weight and left dislocation shown by this study support a probabilistic approach to studying syntax.

By considering syntactic features of "would-be prefields," this study shows that the production of left dislocation is more likely when left dislocation would yield a notable decrease

in the grammatical weight of the prefield. Specifically, occurrences of left dislocation are strongly associated with two variables that serve as proxies for the grammatical weight of a potential prefield: word length and presence of a clause. When a speaker could either produce a constituent in the prefield or as the dislocated referent in a left dislocation construction, left dislocation is statistically more likely if that constituent has a longer word count and/or involves a clause. Extremely statistically significant relationships are found for both measures of grammatical weight across the time periods and language varieties studied. The consistency of the results indicate that syntactic factors are critical to explaining instances of left dislocation.

With regard to the scalable nature of word length, the relationship between left dislocation and length is not a straight line. Tests of statistical significance indicate that the association with left dislocation achieves a critical threshold when constituents reach 5-7 words. The exact threshold for achieving and maintaining a high degree of statistical significance varies by speaker and language variety, with meaningful thresholds being reached with lower word lengths in Low German. Adding additional words beyond the threshold length does not necessarily increase the likelihood of left dislocation, though it is worth noting that left dislocation occurs in each of twelve cases from mid-twentieth-century Low German when the potential prefield constituent is at least nine words long.

The use of a resumptive *da* or *dann* after an initial *wenn*-clause is entirely unremarkable to German speakers, discussions of left dislocation have rarely focused on dislocated clausal referents. In a study of *wenn*-clauses in informal spoken German, Auer (2000) finds that nearly half of pre-positioned *wenn*-clauses are followed by a resumptive element, and *wenn*-clauses more likely to be pre-positioned than to be embedded in the prefield. The current study shows that speakers' inclination to include a resumptive element after a dislocated adverbial clause is

not unique to *wenn*-clauses. Such structures fit the larger pattern of avoiding particularly heavy prefields and primarily producing filled by grammatically light demonstrative pro-form.

Understanding left dislocation as a means to reduce grammatical weight early in the clause is in line with the principles articulated by Behaghel (1932) for German and, later, Hawkins (1994; 2004; 2014) for cross-linguistic language change. In well over 90% of left dislocation constructions from the narrative data, the resulting prefield-filling constituent is a one-syllable demonstrative pro-form. By having a grammatically heavier element further left in the left periphery, the resulting clauses conform to Behaghel's fourth law (1932: 5), which states that, when possible, a shorter element precedes a longer one in the clause. Hawkins's theory of Early Immediate Constituents (EIC), previously tested on German verbal complexes in the right periphery (Dubenion-Smith 2008), also predicts that left dislocation would be more preferred in proportion to the magnitude of the potential processing benefit for speakers and listeners (Hawkins 1994: 78–79). In mid-twentieth century Low German, left dislocation seems left obligatory or nearly obligatory for certain speakers and under certain syntactic conditions, specifically when the prefield would otherwise contain an embedded clause or a constituent longer than nine words. Use of left dislocation leads to a grammatically lighter prefield and eases processing for speaker and listener. While left dislocation's alignment with principles of word and constituent order are most straightforward when you analyze the dislocated element as preceding the clause, but this study's findings do not depend upon a particular analysis of left dislocation's underlying structure.

This study acknowledges left dislocation's intractable connections with pragmatics while pointing out that variation in the use of left dislocation cannot be satisfactorily described or predicted by pragmatics alone. The methodology of the current study relies on Lambrecht's

(1994) understanding of information structure, which brings together syntax and pragmatics. Results about grammatical weight do not negate the reality that use of left dislocation can achieve discourse functions such as maintenance of the topic, revival of a conversational topic or drawing a contrast, but variation in the use of left dislocation cannot be satisfactorily predicted by these functions. Evidence of a possible disconnect between left dislocation and discourse functions, however, can be discerned from other descriptive studies. In an analysis of Wisconsin Heritage German, Bousquette (2019) provides an analysis that most speakers' use of left dislocation is pragmatically triggered while also noting that one speaker produces left dislocation constructions only while completing a translation task; for the one speaker, a bilingual German-English speaking man born in Wisconsin to German-born parents in 1864, left dislocation appears to be grammaticalized. In the current study, we see that many Low German speakers born around fifty years after the gentleman from Bousquette's study produce left dislocation the majority of the time when structurally available, indicating grammaticalization rather than pragmatic selection.

The findings about grammatical weight strengthen the case for a probabilistic understanding of syntax. The "probabilistic turn" in linguistics has brought scholarly attention to questions of what is linguistically likely, not merely what is possible, and how to adequately capture variation (Chater & Manning 2006: 335-336). Labov's introduction of variable rules offered an alternative to the Chomskyan approach of conceptualizing rules as either obligatory or simply optional, and a variable rules analysis recognizes the influence of contextual and sociolinguistic variables in shaping linguistic output of the individual (Cedergren & Sankoff 1974). The next section will further address cross-linguistic and regional variables as part of understanding patterns of the left periphery in northern Germany.

7.3 Correlating left dislocation and prefield patterns

Results from this study support the hypothesis that frequency and forms of left dislocation correlate with patterns for filling prefields of main clauses more broadly. Left dislocation constructions reinforce broader prefield preferences by involving demonstrative pro-forms and adverbials generally in the prefield. Observed differences in the prevalence of V1 constructions across Low German and regiolect varieties parallel relative frequency of left dislocation; diachronic changes in Low German help reveal the synchronic relationship between these phenomena. This section reviews these findings and then discusses the findings in relation to indicators of language of proximity and the status of New High German as a "topic drop" language.

A primary parallel between left dislocation and prefields broadly is the presence of a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield. A demonstrative pro-form in the prefield is a particularly common way to begin a declarative main clause; for both time periods in the current study, the majority of Low German main clauses are filled with a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield. These types of elements also characterize prototypical left dislocation constructions in German. In the current study, well over 90% of left dislocation constructions have a resumptive element in prefield and over 97.5% have a demonstrative pro-form as the resumptive element. The use of left dislocation constructions can thus reinforce an existing preference of speakers for filling the prefield.

As a quick note, a demonstrative pro-form in the prefield is not always indicative of Altmann's *Linksversetzung*, the prototypical left dislocation type for German. Dislocated elements are not always prosodically integrated into the subsequent clause and sometimes even co-occur with repair structures. Additionally, not all nominal resumptive elements share

grammatical number and gender with their referent. This dissertation does not aim to categorize instances of left dislocation in a way that advances a particular definition, typology, or theoretical framework, but describing the form and placement of resumptive pronouns helps highlight connections between left dislocation and German prefields.

Another pattern linking left dislocation to broader trends of the German left periphery is the prevalence of adverbial content. Relative use adverbs in the prefield is a feature that is salient to German speakers (Bohnacker & Rosén 2008), and Auer has observed that elements in the pre-prefield of spoken German are often adverbial in nature (1997). Roughly half of all instances of left dislocation in Low German involve adverbial referents, with the percentage shifting less than 2.5% downward from the mid-twentieth to the twenty-first century. The percentage of left-dislocated referents that are adverbial is even higher in contemporary northern German.

The consistent appearance of adverbials as dislocated referents across time and German varieties is not reflected by standard descriptions of left dislocation. Duden (2009) asserts that initial reference expressions of left dislocation (captured in Duden as *Referenz-Aussage-Strukturen*) are overwhelmingly nominal phrases. The proportion of adverbial referents also contrast with how left dislocation scholarship, at least for German and languages of Europe, so often concentrates on creating typologies that foreground nominal features such as case agreement. The prevalence of adverbial referents is again well captured by Lambrecht's approach, which names left dislocation's scene-setting function. Future descriptions of left dislocation for varieties of German must recognize the high proportion of adverbial referents and directly address adverbial referents in any proposed typology.

A closer look at how speakers fill prefields reveals differences between Low German and northern German regiolects that correspond with differing frequencies of left dislocation. Greater

use of demonstrative pro-forms to fill prefields generally correlates with greater use of left dislocation, and greater use of V1, or "empty prefield," constructions correlates with reduced use of left dislocation. This relationship is most clearly demonstrated by changes in Low German over time; left dislocation rates in Low German fall as the use of empty prefields rises and demonstrative pro-forms become slightly less dominant. Additionally, when comparing twentieth-century Low German, twenty-first-century Low German, and twenty-first century regiolects, higher percentages of one-word prefields overall correlate with higher rates of left dislocation for that language variety. The lower use of one-word prefields in regiolects in northern Germany correlates not only with greater tolerance for longer prefields, but to the previously mentioned higher rate of empty prefields.

Heightened use of in Low German in Low German exemplifies a broader reality that aggregative structures and overt topic marking are more prevalent in Low German than local regiolects. Although dialect syntax and spoken language syntax are not equivalent, certain features associated with oral language production are particularly common in dialects, as dialects are most often used orally and have not undergone a process of standardization (Fleischer 2010: 93). Aggregative structures (e.g., repetition, multiple marking) are known to be more common in contexts reflecting language of proximity and, relatedly, in nonstandard spoken varieties (Ágel & Hennig 2006).

Though regiolects, like Low German, are nonstandard varieties, prefields patterns in northern German regiolects show less of an orientation toward overt topic markers. As part of their discussion of subject pronouns in the history of the German language, Fleischer & Schallert describe New High German as a "topic-drop" language, not a "pro-drop language" (2011: 197). "Topic drop" typically manifests as verb-first placement in declarative sentences, also known as

main clauses with empty prefields.[1] A "topic drop" orientation is at odds with prefield preferences that would promote left dislocation. Lower rates of left dislocation are thus one way that the High German foundations in the emergent northern German regiolects are reflected in patterns of the prefield.

7.4 Bidirectional syntactic influence in northern Germany

Evidence from regional and diachronic variation in the use of left dislocation bolsters the recent view that contact between Low German and northern German regiolects results in bidirectional influence. Importantly, modern dialectological research understands dialecticity and orality as two fundamentally different dimensions (Fleischer 2010: 89). This study's analyses show regional differences in the use of left dislocation. As specific examples, mid-twentieth-century Low German speakers further north in Germany were less likely to produce left dislocation than their Westphalian peers. Comparable recordings from speakers from outside northern Germany showed that the use of left dislocation appears most consistently and is perhaps grammaticalized under certain conditions for varieties close to the Benrather Line: Low Franconian, southern varieties of Low German (e.g., Westphalian) and in East and West Central German varieties. The sole Low Franconian speaker in the study, Renate, produces left dislocation most frequently and in 100% of cases when the prefield would have otherwise contained a clause. Though the interregional data are limited, the dialects from further south in the Germany had lower rates of left dislocation than those in northern Germany.

Comparing data from different regions of northern Germany over time, we see evidence for syntactic influence between language varieties. Rates of left dislocation in Low German notably

[1] Though verb-first placement is a well-documented phenomenon in Old High German and also present in New High German, it is unclear if the constructions are a result of continuity throughout the history of High German or if the contemporary data represent a new construction unrelated to the Old High German examples (Fleischer & Schallert 2011: 151–153).

decrease in frequency over the second half of the twentieth century and move toward the rates in High German regiolects. Exceptions to the decreasing trend are found in Holstein and East Frisia, areas in which Low German maintains a greater presence into the early twenty-first century. A related finding is that the twenty-first century Low German varieties have a tolerance for longer elements in the prefield than mid-twentieth-century Low German, and this change brings the prefield patterns of Low German closer to those of the regiolects. These observations support the theory that the decreased frequency of left dislocation in Low German is due to contact with regiolects.

Diachronic developments indicate that syntactic influence flows not only from standard German, but from the dialects to the regional varieties. Regional variation in standard German has been acknowledged since at least the 1990s, with Ursula Götz (1995) being the first to extensively engage with data exploring such variation. Regiolects, in turn, show geographically-based variation. The regiolects in South Westphalia, a region where left dislocation had been particularly common in the local Low German varieties documented in the 1950s, show higher use of left dislocation than the regiolects produced elsewhere in northern Germany. Such evidence of a substrate influence in the syntactic realm is relatively rare in the history of German, and certainly less common than vocabulary influences (Fleischer & Schallert 2011: 266). Traces of Low German influence on the syntax of locally produced standard German have been previously identified by Berg (2012). By showing recent evidence of syntactic influence from Low German on the local regiolects, this study lends support to Louden's hypothesis that the linguistic landscape in northern Germany involves a language continuum rather than a strict dichotomy between Low German and High German varieties and thus more similar to other German-speaking regions of Europe than is often claimed (2009: 218–219).

7.5 Pedagogical implications

Critical to any research is the process of reflecting upon and seeking to achieve impact beyond the scholarly discourse. By describing left dislocation phenomena without judgment, this study supports the destigmatization of nonstandard linguistic constructions and, in turn, the destigmatization of speakers who use such constructions. Increasing public awareness about regional and diachronic variation can help counter narratives about the "purity" or superiority of standard language varieties and the need to stop language change, narratives which are often connected to discriminatory policies (e.g., Shohamy 2006). Professionals in the field of German studies should be encouraged to recognize dislocation phenomena as a reality of the German language, especially in spoken German, and to consider the benefits of discussing dislocation phenomena along with other patterns of natural language with their students.

German language learners in German-speaking countries, the United States, and elsewhere can be empowered when instructors address the most common ways to fill the prefield and identify structural conditions associated with left dislocation. This knowledge can help language learners develop greater sensitivity to how meaning is made and negotiate in the target language in different registers and modalities. Relatedly, Lambert (1976) advocated nearly fifty years ago for "discussion of the concept of unbracketing and the conditions under which extraposition is obligatory … in intermediate and advanced German instruction." Explicit instruction regarding dislocation phenomena can help students construct clauses in ways that better align with language processing demands and, relatedly, native speaker norms. Instructors need not wait until the intermediate level, however. More recent work by Fehrmann (2016) offers a Concept-Based Instruction approach that helped elementary-level language learners successfully apply form-function mapping to the German prefield and start their declarative clauses in more native-

like ways. Instructors should seek out models of both oral and written production to present to students, possibly using corpus data to assist students with the development of syntactic and pragmatic competencies (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, Mossman, & Vellenga 2015).

Although my primary orientation to German language learning is the context of L2 German learners in the United States, the findings of this study can also be applied in Low German revitalization efforts in Germany. Low German courses and language groups for adults can be found across northern Germany. The Institut für Niederdeutsche Sprache notes that Low German is increasingly taught as a subject in schools of northern German states, even becoming a subject for Abitur exams in 2017, though the extent of Low German offerings and the content of instruction depend on the state and vary greatly (2022). When the goal is language acquisition, instructors can help High German speakers recognize their existing sensitivities to grammatical weight in the prefield and facilitate heightened use of left dislocation in Low German through noticing exercises with authentic examples of language. Future pedagogical materials in Low German, such as future editions of *Platt. Dat Lehrbook* (Arbatzat 2016), could more intentionally integrate examples of left dislocation into narratives and other contexts and thematize such constructions for learners.

The pedagogical implications of this study extend beyond courses aimed at language acquisition. Spoken language phenomena and forms of language variation should of course be thematized with students studying linguistic content, and left dislocation can serve as a useful case for cross-linguistic comparison. Furthermore, colleagues in literary and cultural studies more fully supports students' continued growth as language learners and scholars when instruction acknowledges the systematicity of nonstandard phenomena and the facilitates

students' ability to analyze linguistic phenomena like left dislocation with regard to information structure, register, and cultural context.

7.6 Opportunities for future research

What would be productive next steps to follow this research? This, and any, study is necessarily restricted in scope and leaves space for future work to bring new insights to the same research questions or related inquiries. This section suggests directions for research that build upon the methodology, data, and results of this study.

To confirm and extend findings from this study, analyses with expanded data sets that include more data, especially data from more locations and points in time, would be of particular interest. The present study's chosen methodology prioritized language samples from women speakers with comparable ages. That prioritization limited the number of locations, and thus speakers, in the study. The narrative recordings are also relatively short, some only lasting a couple minutes, which restricted the overall quantity of data. That said, more narratives from both corpora are available, including a modest number of additional SiN narratives representing the same locations or dialect regions as those included in this study. Furthermore, new corpora are being generated and made available to scholars, increasing access to spoken language data of various types. An increased sample size could increase the statistical reliability of the findings or even add to the results that are statistically significant. Future research can confirm, for example, whether the highest rates of left dislocation in German are found in the spoken varieties of central Germany on either side of the Benrather Line. This study also raises questions about potential diachronic developments in the production of empty prefields for High German varieties. We know that at least some High German dialect speakers in the mid-twentieth century were producing empty prefields more frequently than their Low German-speaking peers yet less

frequently than the speakers of northern German regiolects in the twenty-first century. Has the use of empty prefields increased among High German speakers over the past several generations? Thoughtful curation of expanded data sets could reveal meaningful findings related to regional and diachronic variation in the left periphery.

Moreover, a deeper understanding left dislocation in German requires future research to consider sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors that were not addressed in the present study. Future studies can incorporate speakers of different genders, age groups, and levels of formal education, for example, to determine whether and how those social identities systematically correlate with patterns of the prefield. Additionally, studies should extend to other text types, either using additional SiN data or other data sets. Though it is widely accepted that left dislocation is associated with spoken, rather than written, forms of language, this study opens the door to quantifying how use of left dislocation varies across genres or text types. An initial analysis of twenty speakers from SiN study indicates left dislocation occurs across spoken registers in northern German regiolects, with even higher rates in researcher-led interviews than during table talk with family and friends (Evans 2016). Thus, scholarship that relies on assumptions that left dislocation is more common in "less formal" forms of language may lead to inaccurate conclusions. Quantifying left dislocation and other prefield patterns across communicative situations would facilitate meaningful comparisons and could shed further light on the intersections of grammatical weight, information structure, and pragmatics.

Methodological contributions from the current study could assist scholars pursuing such questions. The "would-be prefield" concept applied in this study offers a tool for linguists to quantify rates of left dislocation and other prefield phenomena when speakers can choose between allosentences with different prefields. For those wondering how much data to collect or

analyze, this study provides potentially useful reference points. In the Low German narratives from the mid-twentieth century, each minute of spoken language yielded approximately 1.9 instances of left dislocation. In the twenty-first century narratives, which include both Low German and regionally inflected High German, each minute yielded less than one instance of left dislocation (0.8), and the rate of left dislocation was much lower (less than 0.5/minute) for the High German narratives. When gathering instances of left dislocation from spoken colloquial standard German, future scholars might anticipate needing at least 3.5 hours of recorded language to yield 100 examples.

Distinct from the call to analyze more data on left dislocation, this study invites scholars to include phenomena of the left and right peripheries to ongoing discussions of regionality and language change in progress. Left dislocation should be studied in conjunction with other syntactic phenomena; feature bundles are more relevant than an individual feature for locating regiolects (Langhanke 2015: 90). While analyzing the data for this study, I was left wondering about potential regional differences in the use of *da* versus *dann* to fill the prefield. What other patterns correlate with how speakers fill the prefields? Does greater use of left dislocation have any correlation with use of right dislocation? The clear evidence of syntactic variation in narratives in northern Germany indicate that at least some of these areas of inquiry would be fruitful for our understanding of the syntactic-pragmatics interface and language change more broadly.

Even outside of the context of language change, this research invites a closer examination of left dislocation together with related phenomena, including the topic constructions mentioned in Chapter 2 and repetitions similar to left dislocation that occur within “repairs” and dependent clauses. This study’s findings related to prefields highlight left dislocation’s membership as part

of a group of (unconscious) strategies that support compactness of the prefield and middle field, and thus the clause, in German. These strategies are almost certainly related to processing demands and constraints for both the speaker and listener, factors that exist for speakers across languages and language varieties. Conducting robust analyses of left dislocation along with related phenomena in natural language could offer exciting insights into how language users manage topics and clausal compactness in patterned ways.

7.7 Final remarks

This study tells several intersecting stories about language variation and change in the left periphery. The quantitative contribution of this research is significant not only in a statistical sense, but in the way it provides future researchers a basis for comparison when studying left dislocation and the patterned ways German speakers fill prefields. Moreover, this work expands our understanding of regional variation and diachronic change in the spoken varieties of northern Germany over the past half century. Regardless of whether it leads to specific changes in scholarly discussions of left dislocation or instruction related to the German left periphery, this study supports destigmatization of nonstandard language varieties and celebrates language as a dynamic cultural phenomenon.

References

Ágel, Vilmos & Mathilde Hennig. 2006. Theorie des Nähe-- und Distanzsprechens. In *Grammatik aus Nähe und Distanz: Theorie und Praxis am Beispiel von Nähetexten 1650--2000*, 3–32. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Altmann, Hans. 1981. *Formen der "Herausstellung" im Deutschen : Rechtsversetzung, Linksversetzung, freies Thema und verwandte Konstruktionen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Arbatzat, Hartmut. 2016. *Platt dat Lehrbook: Ein Sprachkurs für Erwachsene*. (Ed.) Institut für niederdeutsche Sprache. Hamburg: Quickborn.

Auer, Peter. 1997. Formen und Funktionen der Vor-Vorfeldbesetzung im gesprochenen Deutsch. In Peter Schlobinski (ed.), *Syntax des gesprochenen Deutsch*, 55–92. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Auer, Peter. 2000. Pre- and post-positioning of wenn-clauses in spoken and written German. In Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen & Bernd Kortmann (eds.), *Cause - condition - concession - contrast: Cognitive and discourse perspectives* (Topics in English Linguistics), 173–204. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Behaghel, Otto. 1928. *Deutsche Syntax* (Germanische Bibliothek. I. Sammlung Germanischer Elementar- Und Handbücher. 1. Reihe: Grammatiken 10). Vol. 3. Die Satzgebilde. 4 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Behaghel, Otto. 1932. *Deutsche Syntax* (Germanische Bibliothek. I. Sammlung Germanischer Elementar- Und Handbücher. 1. Reihe: Grammatiken 10). Vol. 4. Wortstellung. Periodenbau. 4 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Bellmann, Günter. 1983. Probleme des Substandards im Deutschen. In Klaus J. Mattheier (ed.), *Aspekte der Dialekttheorie*, 105–130. Berlin/New York: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Boeckx, Cedric & Kleanthes K. Grohmann. 2005. Left dislocation in Germanic. In Abraham Werner (ed.), *Focus on Germanic Typology* (Studia Typologica 6), 131–144. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Bohnacker, Ute & Christina Rosén. 2008. The clause-initial position in L2 German declaratives: Transfer of information structure. *SSLA* 30. 511–538. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263108080741.

Bousquette, Joshua. 2019. Left-Dislocation in Wisconsin Heritage German: Evidence from the Seifert Recordings, 1948-1949. In Kelly Biers & Joshua R. Brown (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 9th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas*, 28–36. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Cedergren, Henrietta J. & David Sankoff. 1974. Variable Rules: Performance as a Statistical Reflection of Competence. *Language*. Linguistic Society of America 50(2). 333–355. https://doi.org/10.2307/412441.

Chater, Nick & Christopher D. Manning. 2006. Probabilistic models of language processing and acquisition. *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 10(7). 335–344. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2006.05.006.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1977. The movement nature of left dislocation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(2 (Spring)). 397–412.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-bar Dependencies* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1997. 'Topic' constructions in some European languages and 'connectedness.' In Elena Anagnostopoulou, Henk van Riemsdijk & Frans Zwarts (eds.),

Materials on Left Dislocation (Linguistik Aktuell 14), 93–118. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Dewald, Anika. 2012. *Versetzungsstrukturen im Deutschen: Zu ihrer Syntax, Prosodie und Diskursfunktion*. Cologne: Universität zu Köln Dissertation.
Drach, Erich. 1937. *Grundgedanken der deutschen Satzlehre*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
Dubenion-Smith, Shannon A. 2008. *Verbal Complex Phenomena in the West Central German Dialects*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin–Madison Dissertation.
Duranti, Alessandro & Elinor Ochs. 1979. Left dislocation in Italian conversation. In Talmy Givon (ed.), *Discourse and Syntax* (Syntax and Semantics 12), 377–416. Academic Press.
Dürscheid, Christa. 2012. *Syntax. Grundlagen und Theorien. Mit einem Beitrag von Martin Businger*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Elmentaler, Michael. 2012. Plattdüütsch hüüt. Erhebungen zur niederdeutschen Syntax in Schleswig-Holstein. In Robert Langhanke, Kristian Berg, Michael Elmentaler & Jörg Peters (eds.), *Niederdeutsche Syntax* (Germanistische Linguistik 220), 137–156. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms.
Elmentaler, Michael & Peter Rosenberg. 2015. *Norddeutscher Sprachatlas (NOSA)* (Deutsche Dialektgeographie). Vol. 1: Regiolektale Sprachlagen. Unter Mitarbeit von Liv Andresen, Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers, Kristin Eichhorn, Robert Langhanke, Hannah Reuter, Claudia Scharioth und Viola Wilcken; Kartografie, Layout und Satz: Ulrike Schwedler. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms.
Elmentaler, Michael & Peter Rosenberg. 2022. *Norddeutscher Sprachatlas (NOSA)* (Deutsche Dialektgeographie). Vol. 2: Dialektale Sprachlagen. Unter Mitarbeit von Liv Andresen, Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers, Chiara Fioravanti, Robert Langhanke, Viola Wilcken und Martin Wolf; Kartografie, Layout und Satz: Ulrike Schwedler. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms.
Elspaß, Stephen. 2010. Regional Standard Variation in and out of Grammarians' Focus. In *Grammar Between Norm and Variation* (VarioLingua 40), 127–144. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.
Erben, Johannes. 1998. *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*. Berlin: Weidler.
Evans, Christine. 2016. Auf der linken Seite da: Left dislocation in Northern German. Presented at the Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland.
Fauconnier, Gilles. 1985. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Fehrmann, Ingo. 2016. Teaching the form-function mapping of German 'prefield' elements using Concept-Based Instruction. *Yearbook of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association.* De Gruyter Mouton 4(1). 153–170. https://doi.org/10.1515/gcla-2016-0011.
Fleischer, Jürg. 2010. Zum Verhältnis von Dialektsyntax und Syntax der Nähekommunikation. In Vilmos Ágel & Mathilde Hennig (eds.), *Nähe und Distanz im Kontext variationslinguistischer Forschung* (Linguistik – Impulse & Tendenzen 35), 85–108. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.
Fleischer, Jürg & Oliver Schallert. 2011. *Historische Syntax des Deutschen: eine Einführung* (Narr Studienbücher). Tübingen: Narr.
Fleischer, Jürg. 2017. *Geschichte, Anlage und Durchführung der Fragebogen-Erhebungen von Georg Wenkers 40 Sätzen: Dokumentation, Entdeckungen und Neubewertungen* (Deutsche Dialektgeographie 123). Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms.

forsa. 2021. *Hannover – Zentrum des Hochdeutschen. Einschätzung zum »besten« Hochdeutsch in Deutschland*. (Ed.) François Conrad, Stefan Ehrlich & Peter Schlobinski. Berlin: forsa Politik- und Sozialforschung.

Frey, Werner. 2005. Pragmatic properties of certain German and English left peripheral constructions. *Linguistics* 43(1). 89–129.

Götz, Ursula. 1995. Regionale grammatische Varianten des Standarddeutschen. *Sprachwissenschaft* 20. 222–238.

Grewendorf, Günther. 2009. The left clausal periphery: Clitic left dislocation in Italian and left dislocation in German. In Benjamin Shaer, Philippa Cook, Werner Frey & Claudia Maienborn (eds.), *Dislocated Elements in Discourse: Syntactic, Semantic, and Pragmatic Perspectives*, 49–94. London: Routledge.

Grimme, Hubert. 1910. *Plattdeutsche Mundarten*. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen.

Hawkins, John A. 1994. *A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 73). Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University.

Hawkins, John A. 2004. *Efficiency and Complexity in Grammars*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University.

Hawkins, John A. 2014. *Cross-linguistic Variation and Efficiency*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University.

Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316423530.

Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 1985. Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36. 15–43.

Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 2007. Schriftlichkeit und Kommunikative Distanz. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 35(3). 346–375.

Köhler, Carl. 1896. *Volkslieder von der Mosel und der Saar*. (Ed.) John Meier. Vol. 1. Niemeyer.

König, Werner & Hans-Joachim Paul. 2004. *Dtv-Atlas Deutsche Sprache*. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

Lambert, Pamela Jean. 1976. *Ausklammerung in Modern Standard German* (Hamburger Phonetische Beiträge: Untersuchungen Zur Phonetik Und Linguistik 21). Hamburg: Buske.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71). Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71). Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University.

Lambrecht, Knud. 2001. Dislocation. In Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher & Wolfgang Raible (eds.), *Language Typology and Language Universals* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK) 20), vol. 2, 1050–1078. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Langhanke, Robert. 2015. Regiolektsyntax. In Elin Fredsted, Robert Langhanke & Astrid Westergaard (eds.), *Modernisierung in kleinen und regionalen Sprachen* (Kleine Und Regionale Sprachen 1), 85–124. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms.

Lameli, Alfred. 2008. Deutsche Sprachlandschaften. *Nationalatlas Aktuell* 3 (08.2008)(9). http://aktuell.nationalatlas.de/Dialektraeume.9_08-2008.0.html.

Leibniz-Institute für Deutsche Sprache. 2023. Deutsche Mundarten: Zwirner-Korpus. *Archiv für Gesprochenes Deutsch*. https://agd.ids-mannheim.de/ZW--_extern.shtml. (15 April, 2023).

Loewen, Royden. 2006. *Diaspora in the countryside: Two Mennonite communities and mid-twentieth-century rural disjuncture*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press. https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/9910025814502121. (11 April, 2023).

Lötscher, Andreas. 1995. Herausstellung nach links in diachronischer Sicht. *Sprachwissenschaft* 20. 32–63.

Lötscher, Andreas. 2004. Dialektsyntax oder Syntax der gesprochenen Sprache? Eine Fallstudie anhand von Nebensatzproblemen im Schweizerdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 71(2). 156–179.

Mahnke, Georg. 1931. *Die Schlawer Mundart: Sprachgeschichtliche und dialektgeographische Untersuchung* (Vorarbeiten Zum Pommerschen Wörterbuch 3). Greifswald: Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg.

Matthews, Peter Hugoe. 2014. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ott, Dennis. 2014. An ellipsis approach to contrastive left-dislocation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(2). 269–303. https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00155.

Paardekooper, F. C. 1977. *Geknopte ABN-syntaksis*. 3rd edn. Eindhoven.

Riemsdijk, Henk van. 1997. Left dislocation. In Elena Anagnostopoulou, Henk van Riemsdijk & Frans Zwarts (eds.), *Materials on Left Dislocation* (Linguistik Aktuell 14), 1–10. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ross, John R. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Dissertation.

Salfner, Fabienne & Felix Salfner. 2011. Das Adverb da im Deutschen als eine Topiksituations-Proform: Eine SDRT-Analyse. In Eva Breindl, Gisella Ferraresi & Anna Volodina (eds.), *Satzverknüpfungen: Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion* (Linguistische Arbeiten 534), 211–228. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Sandig, Barbara. 1973. Zur historischen Kontinuität normativ diskriminierter syntaktischer Muster in spontaner Sprechsprache. *Deutsche Sprache* (3). 37–57.

Scheel, Käthe. 1939. *Untersuchungen üben den Satzbau der niederdeutschen Volkssprache und Kunstprosa*. Hamburg: Karl Wachholtz.

Scheutz, Hannes. 2005. Pivot constructions in spoken German. In Auli Hakulinen & Margret Selting (eds.), *Syntax and Lexis in Conversation: Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction* (Studies in Discourse and Grammar), 103–128. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Schmidt, Jürgen Erich & Joachim Herrgen. 2011. *Sprachdynamik: Eine Einführung in die moderne Regionalsprachenforschung* (Grundlagen Der Germanistik 49). Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Schwitalla, Johannes. 2012. *Gesprochenes Deutsch: Eine Einführung* (Grundlagen der Germanistik 33). 4th edn. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

Seifert, Lester. 1951. Methods and aims of a survey of the German language spoken in Wisconsin. In *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, vol. 40, 201–210.

Selting, Margret. 1993. Voranstellung vor den Satz. Zur grammatischen Form und interaktiven Funktion von Linksversetzung und Freiem Thema im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 21(3). 291–319.
Shohamy, Elana. 2006. *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. 0 edn. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203387962.
Stallings, Lynne & Maryellen C. MacDonald. 2011. It's not Just the "Heavy NP": Relative Phrase Length Modulates the Production of Heavy-NP Shift. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 40(3). 177–187.
Stift, Ulf-Michael & Thomas Schmidt. 2014. Mündliche Korpora am IDS: Vom Deutschen Spracharchiv zur Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch. In Melanie Steinle & Franz Josef Berens (eds.), *Ansichten und Einsichten. 50 Jahre Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (Institut Für Deutsche Sprache), 360–375. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.
Vat, Jan. 1997. Left dislocation, connectedness, and reconstruction. In Elena Anagnostopoulou, Henk van Riemsdijk & Frans Zwarts (eds.), *Materials on Left Dislocation* (Linguistik Aktuell 14), 67–92. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Verhagen, Arie. 1979. On the E-hypothesis of dislocation and conditions on discourse grammar. *Recherches Linguistiques* 8. 131–158.
Verhoeven, Elisabeth & Nico Lehmann. 2018. Self-embedding and complexity in oral registers. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 3(1). 93.
Wasow, Thomas. 1997. Remarks on grammatical weight. *Language Variation and Change* 9. 81–105.
Weinert, Regina. 2007. The relationship between deixis and modality. In Regina Weinert (ed.), *Spoken Language Pragmatics: An Analysis of Form-Function Relations*, 94–127. London/New York: Continuum.
Wirrer, Jan. Beschreibung des SiN-Projekts - DFG-Projekt Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland. *DFG-Projekt Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland*. https://corpora.uni-hamburg.de//sin/projektbeschreibung.html. (16 April, 2023).
2009. *Die Grammatik* (Der Duden in 12 Bänden 4). 8th edn. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
2022. Platt in der Schule. *Institüt für Niederdeutsche Sprache*. https://ins-bremen.de/schule/. (28 March, 2023).

Appendix A: Information to identify consultants in source corpora

The two tables below (A.1 and A.2) provide information that connect the 27 consultants in this study with information that identifies them in their respective source corpus, either Zwirner or Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland (SiN). Specifically, I provide the identification code for the consultant and the identification code for their narrative recording.

Consultant name (pseudonym)	**Location (town or municipality)**	**Zwirner Consultant ID**	**Zwirner Recording ID**
	Northern Germany		
Bertha	Blekendorf	ZW_S_04330	ZW_E_04183
Käthe	Krummhörn	ZW_S_02315	ZW_E_02180
Frieda	Filsum	ZW_S_04931	ZW_E_04784
Verena	Vreden	ZW_S_02961	ZW_E_02819
Renate	Raesfeld	ZW_S_02989	ZW_E_02847
Sofie	Spenge	ZW_S_05844	ZW_E_05693
Birgit	Büren	ZW_S_03785	ZW_E_03641
Bärbel	Balve	ZW_S_03137	ZW_E_02993
	Outside northern Germany		
Anna	Altenvers	ZW_S_04449	ZW_E_04302
Ilse	Isenburg	ZW_S_02652	ZW_E_02515
Karla	Karlsdorf-Neuthard	ZW_S_00699	ZW_E_00598
Luise	Langenbach	ZW_S_01619	ZW_E_01487

Table A.1 Information to identify Zwirner consultants and their narratives in Datanbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch (DGD)

Consultant name (pseudonym)	Location (town or municipality)	SiN Consultant ID	SiN Recording ID
Larissa	Lütjenburg	HO-LUE01	HO-LUE01-E
Hanna	Hinte	OFL-HIN02	OFL-HIN02-E
Helena	Hinte	OFL-HIN03	OFL-HIN03-E
Wilma	Warsingsfehn	OFL-WAR01	OFL-WAR01-E
Wiebke	Warsingsfehn	OFL-WAR02	OFL-WAR02-E
Stefanie	Südlohn	WML-SUE01	WML-SUE01-E
Susanne	Südlohn	WML-SUE05	WML-SUE05-E
Heike	Heiden	WML-HEI01	WML-HEI01-E
Heidi	Heiden	WML-HEI06	WML-HEI06-E
Rieke	Rödinghausen	OW-ROE04	OW-ROE04-E
Rita	Rödinghausen	OW-ROE03	OW-ROE03-E
Ramona	Rüthen	SW-RUE01	SW-RUE01-E
Regina	Rüthen	SW-RUE02	SW-RUE02-E
Bettina	Balve	SW-BAL01	SW-BAL01-E
Britta	Balve	SW-BAL02	SW-BAL02-E

Table A.2 Information to identify SiN consultants and their narratives (access provided directly by SiN project leadership)

Appendix B: Distribution of resumptive elements

The two tables below (B.1 and B.2) show the distribution of resumptive elements in left dislocation constructions as raw counts for each consultant. Table B.1 provides the data from the Zwirner narratives. Table B.2 provides the data from the SiN narratives.

Consultant	**Resumptive Element**										
	dann	***da***	***die***	***der***	***das***	***alles***	***den***	***es***	***so***	***wir***	**All**
Bertha	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Käthe	8	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Frieda	1	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Verena	3	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	9
Renate	2	14	8	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	34
Sofie	9	9	11	9	7	-	1	-	-	-	46
Birgit	12	6	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	23
Bärbel	7	2	6	3	5	-	-	1	1	-	25
Northern Germany Total	*43*	*37*	*35*	*30*	*16*	*2*	*1*	*1*	*1*		*166*
Anna	2	14	9	3	5	-	-	-	-	1	34
Ilse	5	8	5	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	29
Karla	-	2	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Luise	3	3	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	10

Table B.1 Distribution of resumptive elements in Zwirner narratives

Consultant	**Resumptive Element**										
	dann	***da***	***die***	***der***	***das***	***alles***	***den***	***es***	***so***	***wir***	**All**
Larissa	2	2	2	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	11
Hanna	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5
Helena	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Wilma	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Wiebke	1	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Stefanie	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Heike	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
Rieke	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	5
Low German Subtotal	*11*	*11*	*7*	*8*	*4*	-	*1*	-	-	*1*	*43*
Susanne	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Heidi	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rita	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ramona	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
Regina	2	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bettina	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Britta	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
High German Subtotal	*8*	*4*	*3*	*1*	*3*	-	-	-	-	-	*19*
Total	**19**	**15**	**10**	**9**	**7**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**62**

Table B.2 Distribution of resumptive elements in SiN narratives

Appendix C: Presence and possibility of left dislocation (Clause counts)

The two tables below (C.1 and C.2) show the distribution of main clauses for each consultant according to whether left dislocation was present, possible but not present, or not possible. The numbers provided count clauses. Table C.1 provides the data from the Zwirner narratives. Table C.2 provides the data from the SiN narratives.

Consultant	**LD Present**	**LD Possible, Not Present**	**LD Not Possible**	**Total**
Bertha	3	11	57	71
Käthe	19	22	71	112
Frieda	7	45	52	104
Verena	9	24	39	72
Renate	34	13	138	185
Sofie	46	51	249	346
Birgit	23	21	86	130
Bärbel	25	18	77	120
Northern Germany Total	*166*	*205*	*769*	1140
Anna	34	24	99	157
Ilse	29	14	89	132
Karla	7	60	199	266
Luise	10	21	103	134

Table C.1 Presence and possibility of left dislocation in Zwirner narratives

Consultant	LD Present	LD Possible, Not Present	LD Not Possible	Total
Larissa	11	19	70	100
Hanna	5	21	62	88
Helena	5	9	48	62
Wilma	1	11	18	30
Wiebke	11	10	60	81
Stefanie	1	13	46	60
Heike	4	11	30	45
Rieke	5	11	45	61
Low German Subtotal	*43*	*105*	*379*	*527*
Susanne	2	27	73	102
Heidi	1	13	57	71
Rita	-	12	29	41
Ramona	4	21	73	98
Regina	6	21	79	106
Bettina	5	21	42	68
Britta	1	11	54	66
High German Subtotal	*19*	*126*	*407*	*552*
Total	**62**	**231**	**786**	**1079**

Table C.2 Presence and possibility of left dislocation in SiN narratives

Appendix D: Occurrence of left dislocation by would-be prefield content type (Clause counts)

The two tables below (D.1 and D.2) show the distribution of whether left dislocation occurred or did not occur among clauses when left dislocation was possible, and the data are divided according to whether the would-left prefield contains adverbial or nominal content. Instances of would-be prefields that are not nominal or adverbial are not included in the table; left dislocation did not occur in any such cases (nine from northern Germany Zwirner narratives, six from non-northern Zwirner narratives, and six from SiN narratives). The numbers provided count clauses. Table D.1 provides the data from the Zwirner narratives. Table D.2 provides the data from the SiN narratives.

Consultant	**Adverbial Would-be Prefield**		**Nominal Would-be Prefield**	
	LD Present	**LD Possible, Not Present**	**LD Present**	**LD Possible, Not Present**
Bertha	1	1	2	7
Käthe	11	11	8	9
Frieda	4	15	3	28
Verena	3	13	6	10
Renate	16	4	18	9
Sofie	21	21	25	30
Birgit	17	8	6	12
Bärbel	11	11	14	7
Northern Germany Total	84	84	82	112
Anna	14	14	20	10
Ilse	16	4	13	9
Karla	2	38	5	22
Luise	6	11	4	10

Table D.1 Occurrence of left dislocation by would-be prefield content type in Zwirner narratives

Consultant	Adverbial Would-be Prefield		Nominal Would-be Prefield	
	LD Present	LD Possible, Not Present	LD Present	LD Possible, Not Present
Larissa	5	5	6	14
Hanna	3	9	2	11
Helena	4	6	1	1
Wilma	1	5	-	6
Wiebke	5	1	6	9
Stefanie	-	6	1	7
Heike	3	10	1	1
Rieke	2	5	3	5
Low German Subtotal	*23*	*47*	*20*	*54*
Susanne	1	4	1	22
Heidi	1	5	-	8
Rita	-	12	-	-
Ramona	3	19	1	2
Regina	3	8	3	13
Bettina	2	10	3	10
Britta	1	1	-	10
High German Subtotal	*11*	*59*	*8*	*65*
Total	**34**	**106**	**28**	**119**

Table D.2 Occurrence of left dislocation by would-be prefield content type in SiN narratives

Appendix E: Käthe's instances of left dislocation with glosses

This appendix shows all nineteen instances of left dislocation in Käthe's narrative from the Zwirner Corpus.

C.1 a) [in ganz alten Zeiten]$_i$ da$_i$ war Uttum all bekannt

b) [*in very old times*]$_i$ *there*$_i$ *was Uttum already known*

c) 'long long ago, Uttum was already known'

C.2 a) [im Jahre neunhundertundsechsundsechzig]$_i$ da$_i$ stand hier schon eine Kirche

b) [*in the year 966*]$_i$ *there*$_i$ *stood here already a church*

c) 'in 966, a church already stood here'

C.3 a) aber so als wir dann [als ich noch Kind war]$_i$ dann$_i$ mussten die Lehrjungens erstmal bedeutend mehr arbeiten

b) *but so when we then* [*when I still child was*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *needed the apprentices first meaningfully more work*

c) 'but so when we then when I was still a child, the apprentices needed to work a lot more'

C.4 a) anders$_i$ dann$_i$ ging das ja nicht

b) *differently*$_i$ *then*$_i$ *went that yes not*

c) 'it wouldn't work otherwise'

C.5 a) aber [Papa selbst]$_i$ der$_i$ arbeitet noch immer

b) *but* [*Dad himself*]$_i$ *he*$_i$ *works still always*

c) 'but Dad, he continues to work'

C.6 a) [die Bauern]$_i$ die$_i$ können sich eben nicht nach Sechsstundentag richten

b) *[the farmers*]$_i$ *they*$_i$ *can themselves even not after six-hour day follow*

c) 'the farmers, they cannot follow a six-hour [work] day'

C.7 a) dann [Nachmittag dann oder jedenfalls gegen Abendzeit]$_i$ dann$_i$ laufen die Kinder mit Kopp-Kapp-Kögel und singen dazu von Haus zu Haus als das Martin Luther ja auch getan hat

b) *then* [*afternoon then or in any case around dinner time*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *run the children with Kopp-Kapp-Kögel and sing in addition from house to house as that Martin Luther yes also done had*

c) 'then during the afternoon then or in any case around dinner, the children run with *Kopp-Kapp-Kögel* and also sing from to house just like Martin Luther had done'

C.8 a) und [abends]$_i$ dann$_i$ ist ein Maskenlauf

b) *and evenings*$_i$ *then*$_i$ *is a mask-race*

c) ‘and in the evening a mask-race takes place’

C.9 a) überhaupt [wenn man nun weit weg vom Ofen saß]$_i$ dann$_i$ war das doch mal tüchtig kalt

b) *overall* [*when one now far away from the oven sat*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *was that once vigorously cold*

c) ‘overall when you sat far away from the oven, then it was seriously cold’

C.10 a) ja da [zu meiner Zeit]$_i$ da$_i$ war das Hauptfach Sache noch mehr Religion

b) *yes there* [*to my time*]$_i$ *there*$_i$ *was the main subject thing still more religion*

c) ‘yes there in my day the main thing was still more so religion’

C.11 a) und ja nn [Dütt damals]$_i$ der$_i$ hat uns auch mal gelehrt irgendwas von Chemie und von Physik

b) *and yes* [*Dütt at that time*]$_i$ *he*$_i$ *had us also once taught something from chemistry and from physics*

c) ‘and yeah Dütt back then he taught us some chemistry and some physics’

C.12 a) ja [die Bauern]$_i$ die$_i$ stöhnen und klagen immer

b) *yes* [*the farmers*]$_i$ *they*$_i$ *groan and complain always*

c) ‘yes the farmers they always groan and complain’

C.13 a) [wenn er das Sträßchen dann lang stapfen kam]$_i$ dann$_i$ rissen wir all schnell nach der Tür hin und stellten uns auf

b) [*when he the narrow street then along trudge came*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *tore we all quickly toward the door and arranged ourselves*

c) ‘when he came trudging down the narrow street we all tore quickly toward the door and arranged ourselves’

C.14 a) und [die andern]$_i$ die$_i$ mussten dann äh still irgendwie arbeiten

b) *and [the others]*$_i$ *they*$_i$ *needed to then uh quietly somehow work*

c) ‘and the others they needed to do some kind of quiet work’

C.15 a) [anders]$_i$ dann$_i$ ging das nicht bei so vielen

b) *differently*$_i$ *then*$_i$ *went that not at so many*

c) ‘otherwise it did not work for so many [people]’

C.16 a) ja nun [der Bürgermeister]$_i$ der$_i$ wird jedes Jahr meistens gewählt neu gewählt wieder gewählt von den Gemeinderäten

b) *yes now* [*the mayor*]$_i$ *he*$_i$ *is every year mostly elected newly elected reelected from the local council*

c) ‘yes now the mayor, he is usually elected newly elected reelected by the local council’

C.17 a) also [die Mehrheit]$_i$ die$_i$ überwiegt dann ja

b) *so* [*the majority*]$_i$ *it*$_i$ *prevails then yes*

c) ‘so that majority then prevails, right’

C.18 a) und [wenn man eben zwei Parteien hat]$_i$ dann$_i$ kann jede einen vorschlagen

b) *and* [*if one even two parties has*]$_i$ *then*$_i$ *can each one nominate*

c) ‘and if you have two parties then each can nominate one’

C.19 a) [die Partei die die Mehrheit hat]$_i$ die$_i$ stellt eben den Bürgermeister wenn er will

b) [*the party the the majority has*]$_i$ *it*$_i$ *sets even the mayor if he wants*

c) ‘the party in the majority, it sets the mayor if he wants’