Competition at the Left Edge: Left-Dislocation vs. Topicalization in Heritage Germanic

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1. Introduction

Pace Ross (1967) the left dislocation structure (LD) can be differentiated from (bare) topicalization constructions (BTC) with respect to the presence vs. absence of a resumptive, anaphoric element - which is sometimes a clitic - within the clause. This resumptive element agrees with the constituent in the Topic Phrase (i.e., the 'left dislocated' element). This can be seen in *Die Bäume (die) sind hoch;* 'The trees (they) are tall.' This 'doubling' of the Topic Phrase gives rise to structures exempt from the otherwise strict verb second rule typical of Germanic main clause declaratives (cf. Eide & Sollid 2011), assuming that the Topic Phrase (*Die Bäume*) is sentence internal ([s TP CL V_{FIN} SUBJ]), as opposed to adjoined with the clause (([TP [s CL V_{FIN} SUBJ]). The latter option is, of course, implied by the term, "Left Dislocation." Westbury (2016) surveys the comprehensive, and currently growing, literature on LDs and suggests that LD is a universal linguistic phenomenon (op.cit 22). He also mentions in passing (39) that from a diachronic perspective, LDs gradually move closer to the more prototypical fronting construction (BTC) "and then on to unmarked word order,"[1] which must imply that LDs have a tendency to extend possible uses to domains beyond the original ones.

Recent studies on LDs in heritage languages (HLs) demonstrate that heritage speakers (HSs) have robust knowledge of LD constructions and behave like monolingual native controls as regards production, interpretation, and use (cf. Montrul 2010; Méndez, Rothman & Slabakova 2015 for studies on HSs of Spanish; Laleko & Polinsky 2017 on HSs of Korean). This is somewhat surprising as Topic-related phenomena concern contextually and pragmatically constrained syntactic structures; i.e., should fall under the domain of "problematic interface phenomena." As is well corroborated in the literature, the pragmatic-syntactic interface (expressed via relations in the CP-domain) is particularly challenging for bilinguals generally, and HSs specifically (Sorace 2011; Benmamoun & al. 2013).[2] In the production and interpretations of null topics (i.e. 'topic-drop'), studies show that such phonologically-null elements present particular difficulties for adult bilinguals, even at advanced levels, and the relevant informants perform better with overtly expressed topics (cf. Okuma 2011 for Japanese; Jung 2004 for Korean). This is typical of "the silent problem" observed in much HL research, where conditions on phonetically null elements are gradually lost, and overt elements in HL expand into the functions of silent elements.

Combining the insights from Eide (2011) and Bousquette (2019), the current work allows for an analysis where the extension of LD into earlier non-LD domains in two distinct heritage varieties of Germanic, Heritage Norwegian and Heritage German, is subsumed by "the silent problem" analyses. In most attested languages (Westbury 2016), LDs occur at a higher rate during narration and discourses where an interlocutor is present. This is corroborated by our HL data, which also suggests ongoing change, extending LD use into previously unattested domains in the absence of pragmatic conditioning (i.e., overuse). In our analysis, we observe the reduction of null elements as resultant from pragmatic conditioning on a silent head of a functional projection (Force/Topic) in the left periphery of main clauses, gradually replaced in HLs by an overt resumptive head.

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[1] Cf. also Lambrecht (2001), López (2016). LDs come in at least two types, H-type and C-type. Cf. section 3 and 4.
[2] Also adult L2 learners, children with SLI, and patients suffering from Broca's aphasia; cf. Platzack (2001).

2. The Community and the Data: Recordings from Wisconsin Spanning 75 Years

Typically, modern heritage language speakers are unbalanced (simultaneous or sequential) bilinguals who shifted in early childhood from their heritage language to another language prevalent in their (new) linguistic community (their dominant language).[3] However, balanced bilingualism, or even HL monolingualism, was possible in many communities in the early 20th century, including the time when Seifert's (1946; 1951) and Haugen's (1953) interviews were conducted. For many HS populations, the HL tends to become moribund by the 3rd generation (e.g., Alba et al. 2002). In contrast, the German and Norwegian HSs were able to maintain their HL for multiple generations alongside English, due in large part to the maintenance of local autonomy in crucial domains of language acquisition and use within the community (cf. Salmons 2005a; 2005b; Brown, forthcoming). For decades, local HL communities in Wisconsin and Minnesota were able to determine the language of instruction in their parochial and public schools, and local congregations determined the language of their weekly services (Natvig, forthcoming). Newspapers in German and Norwegian HLs existed well into the 1960s. These arenas provided a steady supply of HL input, but the institutions were also telltale signs of a close-knit, viable linguistic community where the German and Norwegian were adequate and natural means of communication, as well as important markers of local identities.

In this preliminary study, we analyze data collected during two different periods: in the 1940s and the 2010s. For American Norwegian, we rely on six of Einar Haugen's recordings, done in 1942, some of Haugen's field notes, as well as on a selection of Arnstein Hjelde's and CANS' recordings from the 2010s. For American German, we use Lester Seifert's recordings of six Wisconsin 'High German' speakers from the late 1940s, and also recordings done by Joshua Bousquette, Alyson Sewell, and Benjamin Frey from 2012. All recordings were from Wisconsin and relevant data is harvested from stretches consisting of what might be labelled as free (or semi-structured), undirected speech. From this material, we compare the relevant structures across time, with our main focus being on the data from the 1940s.

3. Verb Second (V2) and Left Dislocations in (HL) Germanic

With the exception of English, most modern Germanic languages maintain some form of the verb-second (V2) constraint, under which the finite verb in main clauses obligatorily appears as the second syntactic constituent, "regardless of what the first constituent is" (Holmberg 2015: 343). This is illustrated for modern German (1ab) and Norwegian (1cd) below.

(1) a. *Hoch*   **sind**   *die Bäume*   (German)
       Tall   are   the trees
       'Tall are the trees.'

    b. *Die Bäume*   **sind**   *Hoch*   (German)
       The trees   are   tall
       'The trees are tall.'

    c. *Bakerst i hagen*   **står**   *trærne*   (Norwegian)
       Back.most in garden.DEF   stand   trees.DEF
       'In the back of the garden stand the trees.'

    d. *Trærne*   **står**   *bakerst i hagen.*   (Norwegian)
       Trees.DEF   stand   back.most in garden.DEF
       'The trees stand in the back of the garden.'

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[3] Cf. Scontras et al. (2015: 1). See also (Bennamoun et al. 2013: 260) for definitions of a 'heritage speaker'.

Heritage varieties of German and Norwegian (like HLs of other Germanic varieties) generally adhere to the V2 constraint in matrix clauses (Eide & Hjelde 2015; Eide 2019; Hopp & Putnam 2015; Sewell 2015; Joo 2018; Kühl & Peterson 2018; Bousquette 2019), although there are individual speakers whose language production reveals exceptions to the otherwise productive and robust V2 rule. Usually, V2 violations seem to be rule-governed and largely restricted to pragmatic or grammatical triggers (cf. Arnbjörnsdóttir et al. 2018 for North American Icelandic; Sewell 2015 for Wisconsin Heritage German; Westergaard et al. 2017 for Heritage Scandinavian).

As mentioned above, Westbury (2016) assumes that LD is a universal phenomenon, so it is not very surprising that it also occurs in Germanic languages, specifically Norwegian and German. Examples (2) and (3), from Heritage Norwegian (HN) and Wisconsin Heritage German (WHG), respectively, also demonstrate LD. The use of a resumptive pronoun (Norwegian *dei*; WHG *die* 'they') is not obligatory, and the utterance would be equally grammatical without them. In the absence of the resumptive, we are left with a Bare Topic Construction (BTC); a Topic + V2 structure.

(2) *Mest ta farmeran$_i$* **dei$_i$** *var* *norske* da (Heritage Norwegian)
　　 Most of　　　　 they were Norwegian then
　　 farmers.DEF
　　 'Most of the farmers were Norwegian, you know.' [fargo_ND_01 CANS corpus]

(3) *Die Beim$_i$* **die$_i$** *sind* *alle* *hoch* (Heritage German)
　　 The trees　 they are all tall
　　 'Tall are the trees.' [WHG Bousquette 2019: 29]

We should further note that the resumptive in example (2) or (3) could—in principle—be stressed or unstressed, and the Topic Phrase (*Mest ta farmeran/die Beim*) could be separated from the rest of the clause by a discourse marker, a response particle (*ja, weiss du/veit du*), an intonation break, or a parenthetical. In line with much recent literature, we assume that the presence/absence of stress on the resumptive and the presence/absence of discourse markers/intonation breaks between the Topic Phrase and the resumptive are signs of two different types of LD. The landscape of LDs used to be quite evasive until the separation made between Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) and Copy Left Dislocation (CLD) revealed that HTLDs are in fact very different from CLDs; cf. Grohmann (2000) for a succinct overview of these approaches. HTLDs are outside the clause proper; they only appear in root clauses and never embed, unlike CLDs that may embed in contexts where a BTC is also felicitous. HTLDs can co-occur with CLDs, but only in the sequence HTLD + CLD. As mentioned above, unlike CLDs, HTLDs can be separated from the clause by response particles, parentheticals, and discourse markers. Based on these underlying structural differences the two types of LD-constructions show very different stress patterns.

Table 1: Typology of Left-Dislocation Structures[4]

	HTLD	CLD	BTC
Embed under certain bridge verbs	*	√	√
Obligatory case agreement topic/resumptive	*	√	n/a
Resumptive pronoun may carry stress	√	*	n/a
Topic may be followed by response particle	√	*	*
May precede (the other type of) LD	√	*	*
Aboutness-shift Topic	√	√	√
Contrastive Topic	√	√	√
Given (familiar) Topic	*	*	√

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[4] This table is a compilation of facts from Grohmann (2000), Eide (2011), Julien (2015), Westbury (2016), Holmberg (2020). See Eide (2011) and Eide et al. (forthcoming) for a detailed analysis of HTLD.

As for the semantic and pragmatic factors, we will mention the three types of topics identified by Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) (in addition to HTLD, which is mentioned only in passing): 1) Aboutness-shift Topics, 2) Contrastive Topics, and 3) Given Topics. Whereas CLDs readily display the first two readings, given topics do not occur in CLDs (cf. Julien 2015: 144).

We clearly find both types of LD in the Germanic heritage varieties presently under investigation. In (5ab), we provide examples of HTLD from the oldest material, but they are also found in abundance in the contemporary recordings. Recall that HTLDs, unlike CLDs, accept parentheticals and response particles after the topic XP.

(5) a. *[Mein* *Vader]$_i$,* *der* *Sein* *Name* *war* *Julius* *August* *Seifert,*
         my   father   rel.   his   name   was   J   A   S

     der$_i$ *war* *in* *Hustisford* *Dodge* *County* *W* *geboren*
     res.   was   in   H   D   C   W   born

     'My father, his name was Julius August Seifert, he was born in Hustisford, Dodge County, Wisconsin.'   [Lester W. J. Seifert]

     b. *Hain* *[Jim* *Li]$_i$,* ***hain$_i$*** *æ* *død* *nå,* *hain* *va*
         he   Jim   Li   he   is   dead   now   he   was

     svær *te* *å* *fiske*
     big   at   to   fish

     'Jim Li, he is dead now, he was great at fishing.'
                                                    [Haugen's transcriptions, Westby (OS, C6)]

As the HTLDs are not the main concern in this paper, nothing more will be discussed about this type of topic construction at this point. The exception will be to remind the reader that HTLDs are outside the clause proper, unlike CLDs. These belong to the left edge of the main clauses and are clause-internal.

4. Competition at the Left Edge: CLD and BTC

CLD (Copy Left Dislocation) is by far the most frequently occurring type of LD in the data set. The Wisconsin Heritage German examples (6ab) from Seifert's 1940's recordings show CLD of subjects (6a) and object XP (6b). Likewise, (7ab) show examples of CLD in Heritage Norwegian from the same time (Haugen field notes), both CLD of subject XPs.

(6) a. *[Die* *Rosen]$_i$* ***die$_i$*** *riechen* *aber* *scheen.*
         the   roses   they   smell   rather nice
         'The roses smell nice.'   (Anselm 3B, 138)   WHG [Bousquette 2019: 35]

     b. *[Wie* *der* *rieberkam]$_i$* ***das$_i$*** *hab* *ich* *nie* *gehört*
         how   DEM   over-came   that   have   I   never heard
         'How they came over, that I have never heard.' (Würzel, 287)
                                                              WHG [Bousquette 2019: 30]

(7) a. *Å   [den   skolen]ᵢ   **denᵢ**   var   no   ganske   klen*
         and   that   school   it   was   PTL   rather   bad
         'And that school was rather bad, I tell you.'   [(FN, C-12) Haugen's transcriptions]

     b. *Han [Ole   Jensen]ᵢ   **hanᵢ**   bar   inn   vatn   å   ve*
         he   Ole   Jensen   he   carried in   water   And   wood
         'Ole Jensen, he took in water and firewood.'   [(OS, C-6) Haugen's transcriptions]

In addition to the recordings of Seifert and Haugen, more recent fieldwork in Wisconsin attests to the maintenance of CLDs. Lucht (2007) reports data from her 2005 interviews in Lebanon, WI, which includes examples of LD when HSs were engaged with an interlocutor (8a). Example (8b) was recorded during an extended narration of *The Frog Story*, in eastern Wisconsin in 2012. Examples (9ab) are taken from Hjelde's recordings in Wisconsin in 2010.

(8) a. *[Mein   Vater   und   meine   Mutter]ᵢ   **dieᵢ**   konnten   Englisch   sprechen*
         My   father and   my   mother   they   could   English   speak

     b. *[De   Peter   en de Hond]ᵢ   **dieᵢ**   läen   off´n   Bett*
         The   Peter   and the dog   they   lie   on.the   bed
         'Peter and the dog, they are lying on the bed.'   WHG [ET 03-17-2012]

(9) a. *Men   [bestefar   min]ᵢ   **heinᵢ**   likte   øl   hain*
         but   grandfather mine   he   liked   beer   he
         'But my grandfather, he likes beer, he did.'   [Hjelde: informant Johan]

     b. *[Ei jente ifrå   Nårje]ᵢ   **huᵢ**   va   på   skuLe   i   Minneapolis*
         a   girl   from   Norway   she   was on   school in Minneapolis
         'A girl from Norway she went to school in Minneapolis'.

                                                             [Hjelde: informant Bonnie]

Unlike HTLD, CLD and BTC are both 'left-edge' phenomena, occurring at the leftmost outskirts of a declarative main clause. In fact, CLD and BTC, distinguished by the presence versus absence of an *unstressed* resumptive pronoun, are clearly in competition. While BTC is prevalent in formal and written registers, CLD is characteristic of colloquial speech. In (spoken) Norwegian, LD (where CLD is clearly the most frequent) occurs approximately five times more frequently than in a written corpus (Eide 2011: 181). In WHG, structures exhibiting LDs are similarly shown to occur more frequently in extended narration and free conversation than during directed translation tasks (Bousquette 2019; cf. also Westbury 2016). This indicated that these spoken/narrative/interlocutor-dependent features are possibly universal traits of LDs.[5]

On the surface, CLD is differentiated from (bare) topicalization constructions (BTC) within the left periphery of the clause, agreeing in gender and number with the Topic Phrase, appearing at the left-most

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[5] Montrul (2016: 284) claims that it is true that topicalizations in general, (and LDs in particular), are a feature of informal, spoken language in Spanish. This seems not to be the case for topicalizations in Norwegian. Subject-initial declaratives are by far the most frequent in spoken Norwegian (more than 60%), as non-subject topicalized elements occur in about 30% of the utterances. The remaining 10% are declaratives with topic-drops. Bohnacker & Rosén (2008) compare the *Vorfeld* (clause-initial position) in Swedish and German and find that Swedish formal written corpora feature subjects in this position in 64% of declaratives. In German written corpora, the proportion is 54%. In informal registers, they find 73% subject-initial declaratives in Swedish; the proportion is 50% in German. German topicalizes (non-temporal and non-locative) adverbials in 25% of declaratives, but Swedish only does so in 9% of such instances. Søfteland (2014: 43) finds that in Norwegian corpora of spontaneous speech, the subject is a pronoun or an expletive in 88% of the cases; 72% of subjects occur before the verb (i.e., are clause-initial).

edge of a main clause as the specifier of a Topic/Force projection. Although CLDs are traditionally analyzed as being very different from BTCs (cf. for instance Bousquette 2019), in the present work we will evoke Occam's razor and assume that both constructions can be accommodated in the same structure. (We emphasize however that the structure we propose here accommodates BTC and the CLD, although, crucially, not HTLD.) The only structural difference between CLD and BTC is that in CLDs, the head of the Force/Topic projection is spelled out. In the words of Holmberg (2020), building on Eide (2011), "the difference would be that the head in the case of CLD has unvalued φ-features which are assigned values by the attracted DP and are spelled out as a pronoun." Like Holmberg, we adopt the figure in (10ab) from Eide (2011: 205) as the underlying structure of both BTCs and CLDs in HL German and Norwegian.

(10) a.

ForceP/A−TopP

A-Topic — Force′

Mest ta farmeran
*most of farmers.*DEF

Force
(dei)
they

FinP

Fin′

Fin — SC

var
were

norske da
Norwegian then

b.

ForceP/A−TopP

A-Topic — Force′

Die Beim
the trees

Force
(die)
they

FinP

Fin′

Fin — SC

sind
were

alle hoch
all tall
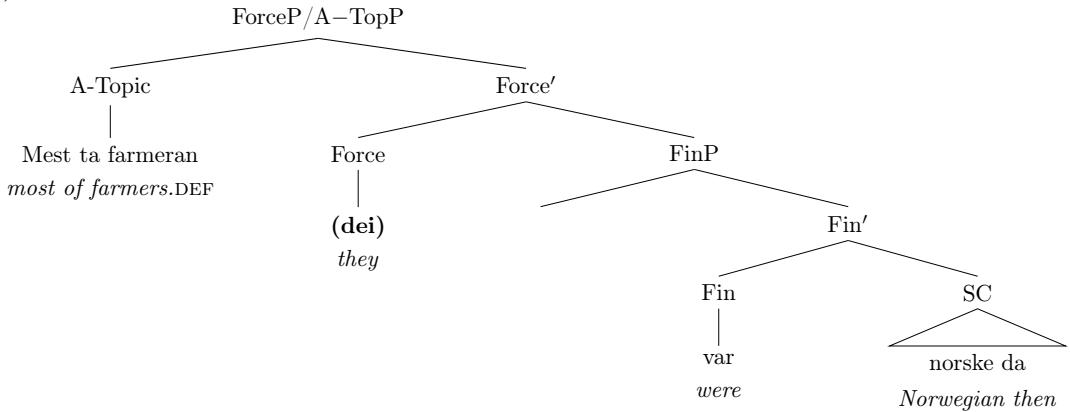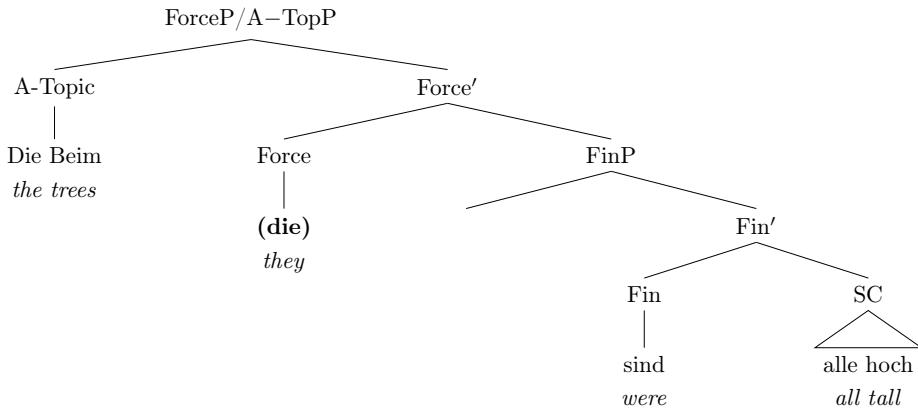
With this analysis, the competition between CLD and BTC consists in the +/- spelling out of a syntactic head – the head of the Force projection. As such, the "overuse" of CLD that we can observe with certain HL speakers can be reduced to substituting a covert head with an overt, spelled out head. It is well-known from many recent studies that acquiring and applying conditions on null elements are problematic for HL speakers, and phonetically null elements are often replaced by overt correspondents. Polinsky (2018; cf. references therein) even goes so far as to say that "the avoidance of null elements seems to be emerging as one of the defining properties of heritage grammars" (219-220). Hence, the overuse of CLD can now be subsumed under the phenomena dubbed "the silent problem"; cf. below. Though V2 and LD are in competition, our data suggest that HL speakers of both Heritage German and Heritage Norwegian have access to both constructions in their grammar. In rule-governed and pragmatically-conditioned environments, the availability of CLD in HL grammars does not directly relate to the potential robustness or erosion of V2, at least not in any obvious way. Although certain speakers seem to have a bigger proportion of CLD versus BTC compared to others, there is currently no clear evidence that CLD is in the process of replacing BTC, as is common in diachronic perspectives (Westbury 2016: 39).

5. "Overuse" of CLD in Heritage Germanic: Relaxing Conditions

The literature on LD (cf. also discussed above) shows that the felicitous use of CLD in homeland Norwegian and homeland German is governed by a range of syntactic and pragmatic factors, signaling a number of specific interpretations. CLD may have the effect of adding contrast, emphasis, or focus; it may introduce a new topic or reintroduce a topic mentioned earlier in the discourse, and it is pragmatically restricted to narratives and interlocutor-dependent contexts (Bousquette 2019; Eide 2011). However, CLD usually does not accommodate given/familiar topics (cf. Table 1 above) and is usually not featured in translation tasks (due to lack of an interlocutor). The data in our corpus suggest, however, that these specific constraints on LD appear to have been weakened. This has resulted in innovative uses of CLD in HL communities not attested in the pre-immigration or other monolingual varieties of the same languages. In the Seifert-material, this "overuse" is confined to one speaker (out of six informants investigated), otherwise we find scattered examples in Haugen's material and the modern recordings.

We want to make it very clear that, for the most part, HL speakers (even in the modern recordings) display the governing factors of the felicitous use of CLD known from the homeland varieties. These factors include the restriction of CLD to contexts with interlocutors and narration (since narration implies a listener-interlocutor). Hence, the following discourse reveals a fine-tuned mastery of these restrictions:

(11)

E	*kjem*	*på*	*da*	*bestefar*	*min*	og	onkelen	min	
I	recall	on	when	grandpa	my	and	Uncle	my	
dem	*ha*	*vøri*	*oppi*	*Westby*	*ein*	*gong*	*ette*	*dem*	
they	had	been	up.in	Westby	one	time	after	they	
selt	*tobakken*	*sin.*	*Og*	*da*	*vart*	*dem*	*fulle,*	*veit*	
sold	tobacco	theirs.	And	then	became	they	Drunk	know	
du.	*Men*	*dem*	*hadde*	*kensje*	*1500*	*daler*	*på*	*dem.*	
you.	but	they	had	maybe	1500	dollar	on	them.	
Å	*det*	*vart*	*(slutt?)*	*på*	*pengan*	*å*	*heile*	*gleia*	
and	it	was	end	of	money	and	whole	thing	
forsvann.	*Så*	*onkelen*	*min*	***hain***	*slutte*	*å*	*drekke*	*aldeles*	
disappeared.	So	uncle	my	he	stopped	to	drink	completely	
ætti	*det.*	*Men*	*bæstefar*	*min*	***hain***	*likte*	*øl*	*hain.*	
after	that	but	grandpa	my	he	liked	beer	he	

'I remember when my grandpa and my uncle, they had been up in Westby once after they had sold their tobacco. And then they got drunk, you know. But they had maybe 1,500 dollars on them. And the money was gone, the whole lump disappeared. So, my uncle, he stopped drinking completely, he did, after that. But my granddad, he liked beer, he did.'

[Hjelde recordings, informant Johan]

The discourse is interlocutor-directed and narrative. We see the first CLD embedded in a subordinate clause of exactly the kind where homeland Norwegian allows it; a subordinate clause where the main clause word order is allowed (*da bestefar min og onkelen min, dem…*). This CLD introduces the topic of the story as the grandpa and the uncle, and the pronoun is licensed by this topic introduction. The story goes on about the money and the events, and the second instance of CLD (*onkelen min hein…*) reintroduces the uncle as the topic. The third instance of CLD (*Men bæstefar min, hain*) is licensed by added contrast; unlike the uncle, who stopped drinking completely after this event, the grandpa still liked

his beer. This is a perfect display of fine-grained conditions being active in the grammar of a 3rd generation HS.

However, as for other topicalization structures (e.g., Yiddish movement; Prince 1981) these same governing factors are known to be changed or relaxed in a bilingual population, resulting in what is often perceived as "overuse" of the construction. Overuse may be informally described as a contact effect; a discrepancy which calls for a comparative feature-based analysis. The overuse of LD in contact varieties is discussed under various headings, such as (i) parsing and processing ("LD somehow relieves the processing difficulties associated with non-canonical word orders"); (ii) intonation ("LD is a sturdier tool than intonation to express focus and topic for bilingual speakers"); or (iii) vulnerability of the syntax-pragmatics interface in language contact (cf. Sorace 2011; Benmamoun et al. 2013). In our approach we assume that LD phenomena should be discussed under the larger heading of "left periphery" together with verb second (V2) phenomena, as LD and V2 are evidently competing constructions. Analyzing CLD and BTC as the overt versus covert realizations of the same Force-Topic head allows us to offer a syntactically based, but pragmatically-ruled explanation for cross-linguistic variation in the instantiation and use of functional structure in closely related languages. Moreover, by pursuing this line of thought, our analysis places the LD "overuse" phenomenon in "the silent problem" cluster. This adds to the viability and plausibility of both our approach and "the silent problem" cluster.

6. The ASH (Avoid Silent Heads) Principle

The previous sections attest to the appearance of CLD-structures in both Heritage (Wisconsin) German and Heritage Norwegian. Here we briefly elaborate on potential grammatical mechanisms at play that have motivated the maintenance of these sorts of structures in these moribund grammars. In spite of the noted vulnerability of the CP-layer (Platzack 2001; Bidese & Putnam 2014), the literature supports the high degree of maintenance of some versions of the V2-parameter, which we interpret as evidence of movement of the finite verb to Fin. In this we follow *The Bottleneck Hypothesis of V2* (Holmberg 2020). This hypothesis also implies that the topicalized elements in Spec, ForceP/ATopP have moved from Spec, FinP (cf. figure (10ab) above), and if the Topic XP has features of contrast, topic-shift, or topic reintroduction, this results in unvalued features (φ-features) that need to be spelled out as a pronoun; a lexicalization of the head of Force/ATopP (dubbed FoTop by Holmberg 2020). If the Topic XP displays no such features, (e.g., in the case of a familiar topic), the head should remain silent and unlexicalized. Certain HL speakers exhibit neither pattern, but rather use an overt resumptive pronoun in the absence of conditioning (pragmatic) features in the Spec, FoTop. We know that bilingual populations in general and HL populations in particular are prone to avoid silent elements in a syntactic structure, compared to monolingual populations (cf. e.g., Sorace 2011 on pronouns in HL Italian). Instead, bilinguals show a preference for lexicalizing silent elements. We express this preference as a general constraint on heritage grammars in the principle which we call ASH (*avoid silent heads*):

(12)   AVOID SILENT HEADS (ASH): Whenever possible, heritage grammars will seek to avoid silent functional heads in syntactic structure.

This principle finds its grounding in previous literature and particularly addresses Laleko and Polinsky's 'silent problem' in heritage grammars, calling for the reduction in syntactic structure under certain conditions (Polinsky 2018; Polinsky & Scontras 2020; Putnam 2020; Sorace 2011). With respect to CLD-structures, we assume that the pragmatic-syntactic conditions for assigning unvalued features to ForceP are not necessarily salient in a HL grammar, especially if speakers do not have sufficient exposure to multiple domains of acquisition and use, such that complementary distribution of CLD and BTC is apparent. In the absence of the productive alternation of neutral BTC and pragmatically-conditioned CLD, we would expect an erosion of these conditions for certain speakers. As a result, the ASH principle would predict that CLD-type structures would be preferred, explaining what seems to be a type of grammaticalization path in bilingual populations; the path described by Westbury (2016) where LD tends

to extend its domains[6] and incrementally replaces BTC as the unmarked word order in declaratives. This allows for the gradual licensing of CLD independent of pragmatic conditions, where such overuse obtains due to the grammaticalization of a formerly optional structure as obligatory (cf. van Gelderen's 2007: 283 *Head Preference Principle*). Hence, the data and analysis presented in this paper are the plausible results of language contact, particularly attesting to the vulnerability of the syntax-pragmatics interface. More broadly, the overuse of overt elements (CLD) at the expense of covert ones (BTC) is characteristic of HL grammars that have an overt/covert alternation in the baseline, and that is in contact with another language, irrespective of the nature or grammar of that contact variety.

Due to space constraints, we cannot fully elaborate on the full range of predictions and possible structural outcomes attributed to our ASH Principle. However, it is worth noting at this point that LD-type structures in Heritage German and Heritage Norwegian are dependent on a specifier being projected under ForceP, in order to provide a suitable position for A-topics (see (10ab)). In that sense, the pragmatic conditions that result in topicalization are also those which result in LD-type structures. We reserve for future discussion a large-scale examination of the functionality of Spec, ForceP in HLs, and the relative stability/vulnerability of such syntax-pragmatic structures in HL grammars.

7. Conclusion

The present work has presented and analyzed data on LD in heritage varieties of Norwegian and German spoken in Wisconsin over the last 60+ years. At a basic, descriptive level, we have provided positive evidence that HLs do maintain pragmatically, conditioned syntactic phenomena. In fact, LD is restricted to instances of extended narration or (semi-)structured interactions with an interlocutor for five of the six speakers in the Seifert Corpus, and is also attested in recordings from the early 20th century (cf. 8a,b). These findings are consistent with the homeland varieties of both languages, and such results are arguably indicative of a universal property of languages. At the same time, however, we have provided an analysis for the overuse of overt resumptive pronouns in the absence of pragmatically conditioned features in the derivation. This unconditioned output was obtained due to either the vulnerability of the syntax-pragmatics interface or to the typological tendency for heritage and contact varieties to realize covert elements as overt. We unify these two possible factors under ASH.

The analysis presented in this study has implications for LD and for HL syntax, more broadly. In our application of ASH, we provide an impetus for the possible reduction of two competing syntactic structures (BTC, CLD) down to one (CLD). We motivate this as a diachronic process effected not necessarily by the loss of the conditioning factor, per se, but rather by the preference for overt over non-overt elements. While overt heads might be easier for speakers to parse than non-overt ones, the implications of ASH are more far-reaching: spec-to-head reanalysis of feature specification can effectively eliminate the pragmatic features from the syntactic derivation, especially if HL grammars no longer provide sufficient evidence that ForceP need project beyond a simple head. Effectively, this analysis presents a unification of BTC and CLD phenomena, and also a formalization of the vulnerability of the syntax-pragmatics interface in HL grammars.

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[6] This includes the extension of HTLD into subordinate clauses, when HTLD is otherwise strictly a root clause phenomenon in homeland varieties. Cf. this example from Hjelde's recordings from 2010, informant *Johan* (the presence of the discourse marker *well* suggests this is an instance of embedded HTLD, but note that it could also be analyzed as a restart).

(i) *De vart ætti ei stund [at fork nesten well dom nesten likte itte det når du snakke norsk].*
It was after a while that people almost well they almost liked not it when you spoke Norwegian.

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