Revisiting the Berlin German Akkudativ:
Evidence for Differential Object Marking

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Abstract

Berlin German (Berlinisch) is known for the 'confusion' of dative and accusative marking, a phenomenon that is known as the *Akkudativ*. Previous literature concludes that the dialect has a two case system, only distinguishing nominative and oblique/object case, in contrast to High German (Standard German), which distinguishes four cases: nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. This thesis systematically investigates the distribution of the dative and accusative forms in the dialect, showing that their distribution is in fact systematic and thus delivering counter-evidence to the claim that dative and accusative merge into one unified object case. Original data from questionnaires and elicitations with speakers from Berlin and the surrounding area shows that case marking in Berlin German should be instead analysed as Differential Object Marking (DOM), following a definiteness/specificity, animacy, and possibly gender distinction. In addition, the data shows that the genitive is not 'lost' either, as it is still used in possessives and with genitive-licensing prepositions. The animacy distinction can be understood as a level of added complexity, which is reflected in the syntax of DOM objects and dative-form accusatives in PPs. Berlinisch DOM objects are assigned structural accusative, and they do not compete with indirect objects, as some previous accounts of DOM predict. Instead, the mismatch of structural and morphological case can be accounted for by assuming a realisational model of morphology, in which the extra animacy feature gives rise to the spell-out of the dative form rather than the realisation of the underlying structural accusative. The DOM-determining factors can be mapped on a scale, which additionally allows to model synchronic and diachronic variation.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ANIM	animate
AUX	auxiliary
DAT	dative
DET	determiner
DOM	DOM-marker
ERG	ergative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
HUM	human
INAN	inanimate
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PDM	prepositional dative marking
PL	plural
POSS	possessive pronoun
PRF	perfect
PRT	(discourse) particle
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular

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1. Introduction

> Der Berliner saacht immer mir, ooch wenn't richtich is.
> *The Berliner always says me$_{DAT}$, even when it is correct.*
> *(Berlin German Proverb)*

One of the most notable properties of Berlin German (Berlinisch) grammar is the 'confusion' of dative and accusative forms, and particularly the overuse of dative pronouns, as reflected in the proverb above. The phenomenon has been noted and discussed since the earliest literature on the variety (Moritz, 1781; Meyer, 1925; Lasch, 1928; Rosenberg, 1986; Kruse, 1987; Schlobinski, 1988). Previously, the mixing of dative and accusative has been taken as a 'decay' of the case system (Lasch, 1928:267), a random 'confusion' (Moritz, 1781:6; Kruse, 1987:44; from Schlobinski, 1988:214) leading to the unification of dative and accusative as one object case, the *Akkudativ* (Meyer, 1925:9; Rosenberg, 1986:133; from Schlobinski, 1988:214).

In this thesis, it will be argued that the Akkudativ is neither a random confusion of accusative and dative forms, nor that accusative and dative have merged into one unified case. In contrast, it will be shown that it can be untangled and systematically explained when analysed as Differential Object Marking (DOM). Languages with DOM mark different kinds of direct objects distinctly, based on factors such as e.g. animacy, definiteness/specificity, topicality, telicity or affectedness (Bossong, 1985, 1991; Comrie, 1986, 1989; Aissen, 2003; a.o.). Based on original data that was collected through targeted elicitation, an online questionnaire and from spontaneous speech, it will be demonstrated that in Berlinisch, DOM is determined through definiteness/specificity, person, gender, and animacy.

In section 2, Berlinisch and the current state of research on its case marking system and the Akkudativ are introduced in more detail, leading to the research question whether the distribution of accusative and dative forms is in fact systematic and if so, what the underlying system is. Section 3 details the present study, which revisits the Akkudativ under the hypothesis that it is a case of DOM. After introducing the method of data collection, original data is presented, detailing the systematic distribution of dative and accusative forms. It is established that the Akkudativ can indeed be best accounted for if it is analysed as DOM, conditioned by definiteness/specificity, person, animacy and gender. Section 4 explores how DOM can be analysed within the Berlin German syntax. DOM datives add a layer of complexity to the

structure, which is reflected in an additional head carrying an animacy feature, so that the more specific dative form is spelled-out rather than the less specific accusative form. Finally, section 5 briefly discusses the emergence of DOM from language contact, and demonstrates that DOM-determining scales such as the animacy hierarchy can model synchronic as well as diachronic variation, as they arise from more general cognitive biases. Section 6 concludes.

2. Berlin German and the Akkudativ

2.1 About Berlin German

Berlin German (Berlinisch) is a variety of German spoken in and around Berlin. It emerged from contact of Middle Low German and High German starting in the 16th century (Schmidt, 1986). Middle Low German was primarily spoken in the area until a shift in trading connections and administration led to an orientation towards the south, where Upper Saxon was the standard. Although High German had some influence on Berlin's Middle Low German since the 13th century, the adjustment to the new ideal was slow and at first limited to the upper classes, trade and administration, where it was primarily used in written documents (Schmidt, 1986). Instead of a full shift to High German, the adaptation process and language contact gave rise to a new variety, Berlinisch (Schlobinski, 1987). Although this early version of High German started being used in schools and churches from the 16th century on, and over time it became the standard for all written language such as newspapers (Schmidt, 1986), it took much longer until the contact variety Berlinisch was adopted in the day-to-day language of the lower social classes. The development also differed regionally, progressing faster in the city, and slower in the rural surroundings of Berlin, where at first only the southernmost areas came into contact with High German (Schmidt, 1986). According to Schlobinski (1987), Berlinisch only became the standard for the working class in the 19th century, a development driven by the rapid growth of the city's population that was fuelled by the industrialisation. From then on, Berlinisch became the 'jargon' of the working class, and the variety was henceforth associated with low social class and a low education standard. At the same time, prescriptive grammarians and teachers sought to eradicate the variety, actively trying to fully establish High German as the standard (Schmidt, 1986). The resulting stigmatization was captured in poems and plays by Glaßbrenner as early as 1838 (Glaßbrenner, 1838; Schönfeld, 1986), where he establishes characters of different social classes through their language use. This trend continues until today, although the negative attitudes towards the variety, as well as the social divide were

much stronger in the former West compared to the East, as explored in Schlobinski's (1987) detailed sociolinguistic study.

Over time, Berlinisch also came into contact with other languages. According to Schmidt (1986), the people in the area had contact with their Slavic neighbours from the South-East of today's Brandenburg and the North of Saxony, the Sorbian-speaking Wends and Sorbs, even before the variety started to arise from contact of Middle Low German and Upper Saxon. Around 1700, a larger number of French Huguenots settled in Berlin, after which French also started to grow more popular in the aristocracy. Finally, groups of Dutch speakers, as well as a larger group of Yiddish-speaking people who fled from Austria and Eastern Europe settled in Berlin in the 18th century. Unfortunately, the diachronic literature on Berlinisch does not explore whether these languages had an influence on the grammar of Berlinisch. However, it is evident even in today's Berlinisch that these languages did have an influence on at least the vocabulary of the variety, as the following examples given by Schönfeld (1986:245-247)[1] illustrate: he lists words such as *Lanke* (a body of water) or *Plauze* ('belly') as having a Slavic origin, which also influenced the names of many places in and around Berlin, e.g. Spandau or Teltow. From French, a large number of words such *Bulette* (a kind of flat meatball), *proper* ('clean'), *Trottwar* ('sidewalk'), *Bredullje* (a difficult situation) have been adopted, and some mixed idioms have been created, e.g. *aus der Lameng* (from *la main*, 'spontaneously, without preparation'). As mentioned above, Berlinisch is closely related to Low German, which is reflected by loanwords such as *Molle* (a glass of beer), *Jöre* ('girl') or *kieken* ('to look'). Some words have also been adopted from Yiddish, such as *Mischpoke* ('family').

The Low German substrate can still be recognized today in the phonology of Berlinisch, as again examples from Schönfeld (1986) show: Low German /p/, /k/ and final /t/ are preserved in many environments, e.g. in *Appel* ('apple'), *Kopp ('head')*, *ick* (1SG.NOM), *Männeken* ('small man'), *wat* ('what'), *dit* (DET.N). Further, long vowels can be found where High German diphthongs /ei/ and /au/ occur, as in *Been* ('leg'), *kleen* ('small'), *ooch* ('also'), *Boom* ('tree'). In some environments, a short vowel appears instead, e.g. *rin* ('into'), *uff* ('on'). Another typical property of Berlinisch is the missing Auslaut, e.g. in *is* ('is'), *nich* ('not'), or *jetz* ('now'). Finally, the most stereotypical phonological property of the variety is the spirantization of /g/, which becomes /j/ or /x/, as in *jut* ('good') or *saacht* (say.3SG). Schlobinski (1987) notes that although it is mostly clear that some phonological properties are remnants of Middle Low German, while others are closer to High German, the patterns are not clear-cut and sometimes

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[1] Schönfeld's list overlaps with that of Lasch (1928), who provides and discusses an even longer list of loanwords.

inconsistent, giving rise to speculation about the exact development of the variety's sound system.

Berlinisch also differs from the standard in regard to some morpho-syntactic properties. There are some differences in plural formation, more specifically in terms of the form or presence of the suffix. For example, some words are plural-marked with –er instead of –e (*Dinger* 'things', *Stöcker* 'sticks'), and a suffix is added to others, e.g. –s or –n (*Jroschens* 'coins', *Fernstern* 'windows') (Lasch, 1928; Schönfeld, 1986). Historically, some words standardly ended in –e, e.g. *feste* ('firm') (Schmidt, 1986), which still arises when they are emphasized or in clause-final position, e.g. *icke* (1SG.NOM, emphasized), *ditte* ('that', emphasized) (Schönfeld, 1986). Moreover, Berliners say *als wie* instead of *wie* ('like'), *wo* instead of temporal *als* ('when'), *denn* instead of *dann* ('then') and *wat* for *warum* ('why', (1)) (Lasch, 1928:303, Schönfeld, 1986:242).

(1)   Wat   kieks=t=n   so?

        why   look.2SG=2SG.NOM=PRT   like.that

        'Why are you looking like that?'

Doubling is another typical property of Berlinisch grammar, which can be observed in multiple environments, such as negation ((2), some more examples in Lasch, 1928:308), clause-initial or focused verbs (3), and with adverbs, e.g. *dadabei* ('with it'), *dadamit* ('with it'), *dadadrum* ('around it'), *dadazu* ('to it') (Freywald, 2017 from Meyer, 1882:XIII and Fleischer, 2002). These adverbs can also be discontinuous, in which case the first morpheme, *da-*, can optionally be dropped (4a-b, to some extent discussed in Freywald, 2017). Freywald (2017) further discusses *Accusativus cum infinitivo* (AcI) constructions of *haben* that require the *zu*-infinitive (5), a construction in which other German varieties including High German do not require or allow *zu*[2].

(2)   Hat   keener   keen   Stift   nich?

        AUX   nobody   no   pen   NEG

        'Does nobody have a pen?'   (from Schönfeld, 1986:242)

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[2] As Freywald (2017:182) indicates, this becomes clearly visible on map 7/13a from the Atlas Alltagssprache (Elspaß & Möller, 2003), available at http://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/runde-7/f13a/.

(3) Haben   hab   ick   keenen

     have.INF   have.1SG   1SG.NOM   none

     'I do not have one.'   (from Freywald, 2017:180)

(4) a.   Da   hab   ick   keene Zeit   zu

          for.that have.1SG 1SG.NOM   no   time _for.that

          'I do not have time for that.'   (from Lasch, 1928:306)

     b.   Meens=te   mir   (da)mit?

          mean.2SG=2SG.NOM   1SG.DAT   with(.that)

          'Do you mean me with that?'   (from Lasch, 1928:306)

(5) Wat   hast=e   da   zu   liejen?

     what have.2SG=2SG.NOM there to   lie

     'What do you have lying there?'   (from Lasch, 1928:308)

Finally, Berlinisch differs from High German in its case system, most prominently in the dative and accusative, as well as in the genitive. The case system, and more specifically the dative-accusative alternation known as the Akkudativ, which is the main focus of research in this thesis, will be introduced in more detail in the next section.

2.2 Case and the Akkudativ

In a survey of case marking in different varieties of German, Shrier (1965) groups the area in which Berlinisch is spoken with Northern Germany, where varieties of Low German are spoken. They are characterized by a two-case system, in which only nominative (subject case) and oblique (object case) are distinguished. From this, it follows that Berlinisch does not distinguish datives and accusative, and that all kinds of objects receive the same case marking. In her overview of the German dialects' case systems, Shrier (1965:421) already leaves out the genitive, assuming that it has no distinct form anymore, an analysis that is upheld throughout the Berlinisch literature (Meyer, 1882; Lasch, 1928; Schönfeld, 1986; Freywald, 2017). Instead of a distinct genitive form or suffix, Berlinisch expresses possession through a combination of a dative possessor and possessive pronoun as in (6). Lasch (1928) notes that this possessive construction is not necessarily a unique characteristic of Berlinisch, but something that was

already used in Middle Low German, although the possessor was still genitive marked, as can be seen in (7). Dative possessors and possessives of the form [NP_{possessor} POSS NP_{possessee}] are also found in many other German dialects, some Dutch dialects, Frisian, Norwegian, Afrikaans and more languages (cf. Georgi & Salzmann, 2011, who refer to the phenomenon as possessor doubling).

(6) dem   Mann sein   Kind

     DET.M.DAT   man   POSS.M child

     'the man's child'

(7) *Middle Low German* (from Lasch, 1928:266)

     Peters   sin   kint

     Peter.GEN   POSS.M child

     'Peter's child'

Rather than the term *Objektkasus* ('object case'), the term *Einheitskasus* ('unified case') is more frequently used in the literature on Berlinisch (e.g. in Schlobinski, 1988), describing the observation that the variety does not seem to make systematic distinctions beyond nominative vs. oblique case. The term *Akkudativ* more specifically refers to the apparent lack of systematic distinction between dative and accusative, and is used in the Berlinisch literature since Meyer (1925) (Schlobinski, 1988:214). This property is so stereotypical for the variety that it has been the subject of multiple rhymes and poems, such as the ones in (8) and (9), where dative and accusative pronouns have been switched on purpose[3].

(8) Dir   und   dich   verwechsl   ick   nich,

     2SG.DAT   and   2SG.ACC   confuse   1SG.NOM   not,

     dit   kann   mich   nich   passiern!

     that   can   1SG.ACC   not   happen

     'I do not confuse you_{DAT} and you_{ACC}, that cannot happen to me_{ACC}!"

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[3] The false mockery of the *Akkudativ* is already mentioned in Lasch (1928:283). It is certain that the accusative pronouns are only used here to humorously mock this property of the Berlinisch grammar. Outside the context of these rhymes, the dative form is required in comparable contexts in place of the accusative *mich* and *dich*, as will be illustrated below.

(9)   Ick   liebe   dir,   ick   liebe   dich,

         1SG.NOM   love   2SG.DAT   1SG.NOM   love   2SG.ACC

         wie't   richtich   is,   dit   weeß   ick   nich.

         how=3SG   correct   is   that   know   1SG.NOM   NEG

         'I love you$_{DAT}$, I love you$_{ACC}$, how it is correct, that I do not know.'

In Lasch's (1928) description of the Berlinisch case system, dative and accusative are syncretic across all genders for determiners. Further, prepositions that standardly assign dative co-occur with accusative-marked nominals, as in (10) (Schönfeld, 1986; Schlobinski, 1988).

(10)   mit   die   Bahn

       with   DET.ACC   train

       lit. 'with the train' ('by train')

Other than the full syncretism predicted by Shrier's (1965) mapping, dative and accusative are only fully syncretic for 1st and 2nd person in the pronominal domain. For 3rd person, Lasch notes that although dative and accusative pronouns mostly share the dative form, sometimes accusative *ihn* and *sie* appear. This is confirmed by Schlobinski (1988) with a quantitative analysis of dative and accusative forms in two texts from the 19th century, written between 1810 and 1876. The two main observations are that personal pronouns almost always appear in their dative form, while NPs and PPs are more frequently accusative-marked, even when the dative is expected from the standard language. First and second person pronouns are more likely to be dative-marked than third person pronouns, although even some dative-form 3PL direct object pronouns can be occasionally found, as in (11).

(11)   was   ick   ihnen   frajen   wollte

       what   1SG.NOM   3PL.DAT   ask   want.PST

       'What I wanted to ask them'   (from Kruse, 1987:48)

Schlobinski furthermore claims that the Akkudativ has little relevance in NPs, but that it is more likely to find wrongly accusative-marked NPs with grammatically masculine nouns in comparison to feminine or neuter ones, leading to the proposal of the gender hierarchy in (12) (Schlobinski, 1988:222).

(12)   masculine > neuter > feminine

Lasch (1928) bases her explanation of the dative-form object pronouns in the linguistic roots of the variety, basically reducing the phenomenon to a failed attempt of imitating the idealized standard language: In Middle Lower German, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns were each syncretic in dative and accusative, *mi* and *di*. When the Berliners artificially tried to adopt High German, which distinguishes dative and accusative forms, *mir*/*mich* and *dir*/*dich*, Berlinisch only took over the dative-form pronouns *mir*/*dir*. According to Lasch, this has multiple reasons: firstly, *mi*/*di* did not change to *mich*/*dich* for direct object pronouns, as /ç/ competed with /k/ in the Middle Lower German sound system, a fact that is still preserved in some words, such as the 1SG.NOM form *ick* (SG: *ich*). Secondly, the Middle Lower German 3SG.M.OBL pronoun was *em*, which already sounded more like the standard dative form *ihm* than the accusative form *ihn*. Finally, again according to Lasch (1928), the Berliners were unfamiliar with the object case distinction due to the pre-existing syncretism in the Middle Lower German pronominal system, having 'a weakened feeling for datives and accusatives' (Lasch 1928:271), which is why they accept dative forms in accusative environments. The confusion of feminine 3rd person pronouns was a result of this missing feeling for case distinctions, resulting in an overextension of the pattern in the rest of the paradigm, namely the increased use of dative forms. This 'confusion' and inability to distinguish between the two cases, according to Lasch, is also the reason why there are accusative-form dative NPs: /m/, which is also the High German dative marker, was reduced to /n/, which is homophonous with the High German accusative marker. The view of the Akkudativ as a phonology-based confusion of object case marking, arising from blind imitation, and in combination with limited linguistic capabilities of the speakers, continued to be held even in more recent scientific writing (e.g. Schönfeld, 1986; Rosenberg, 1986).

Although Schlobinski (1988) does not fully agree with the view that the Akkudativ is mostly a coincidence and thus random, especially not regarding the forms of the 3rd person pronouns, he essentially follows Lasch's phonology-based account of the Akkudativ. More recently, Freywald (2017) notes that although there is more dative-accusative syncretism in the Berlinisch pronominal system than in Standard German, Berlinisch speakers in the conversation transcripts of Schlobinski (1987) do use a lot of standard case distinguishing pronouns, which challenges the view that Berlinisch does not distinguish object case at all. The *Einheitskasus* is thus only stable in 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Further, she points out that Middle Low German did have distinct dative and accusative forms for 3rd person pronouns, which raises the question why they are not distinguished in Berlinisch. However, Freywald leaves it for further research

if the forms are indeed distinguished systematically and if so, what this systematicity might be; questions which will be answered in this thesis.

Unlike Schlobinski (1988), who did notice grammatical gender-based differences, but did not connect them to the distribution of the dative forms and the reasons why they are observed at all, Meinunger (2007) picks up on the possible split between local (1st and 2nd person) and non-local (3rd person) pronouns as a possibly meaningful property of the system. In addition, he tentatively notes that there might be an animacy distinction in the third person, at least for some speakers of Berlinisch, giving the example in (13). Importantly, Freywald and Meinunger take contemporary spoken data into account, in contrast to Schlobinski, who analysed written texts from the 19th century. This could also be a possible reason why they develop a slightly differing opinion about the shape and nature of the Berlinisch case system. However, neither of the authors suggest a competing analysis to Lasch's and Schlobinski's phonology-based accounts, nor extends them.

(13) a. Ick   hab   ihr   jetroffen

          1SG.NOM   AUX   3SG.F.DAT   meet.PTCP

          'I have met her.'

          (*her* referring to a female person)

     b. Ick   hab   se / *ihr / *a   uff=n   Tisch   jestellt

          1SG.NOM   AUX   3F.ACC/*DAT/*DAT.CL on=DET.M.ACC table   put.PTCP

          'I have put it on the table.'

          (*it* referring to a grammatically female inanimate object)

<div align="right">(from Meinunger 2007:23)</div>

The Berlinisch case marking system is summarized in the determiner and pronoun paradigms below (Table 1 and Table 2), following the accounts of Lasch (1928) and Schlobinski (1988). According to them, dative and accusative determiners are unified in favour of the accusative form, while object pronouns have the dative form, which is not as consistent in 3rd person as it is in 1st and 2nd person. The Akkudativ is thus characterized by an increased use of dative forms in the pronominal domain, and a reduction of the case-distinguishing suffixes in DPs, which makes them homophonous with the accusative. The latter pattern is in addition particularly often observed with standardly dative-licensing prepositions (Schlobinski, 1988).

Table 1

Berlinisch Determiner Paradigm (according to Lasch, 1928)

	M	F	N
NOM	der	die	det
ACC	den	die	det/den
DAT	den	die	det/den

Table 2

Berlinisch Pronominal Paradigm (according to Lasch, 1928; Schlobinski, 1988)

	SG					PL		
	1	2	3M	3F	3N	1	2	3
NOM	ik	du	er	se	et	wir/wa	ihr	se
ACC	mir	dir	ihn/ihm[a]	se/ihr[a]	et	uns	euch	se/ihnen[a]
DAT	mir	dir	ihm	ihr	ihm	uns	euch	ihnen

[a]both forms are observed, no systematicity established at this point

The above described differing accounts and descriptions of the Berlinisch case system give rise to the central research question of this thesis: Is the distribution of dative and accusative forms truly random, supporting the analysis as a two-case system, or is it in fact systematic? If the latter is the case, the question arises what determines the distribution of dative and accusative forms. In other words, what is the underlying system of object case marking in Berlinisch? The hypotheses and further objectives of this thesis will be introduced in the next section.

3. Revisiting the Akkudativ

3.1 Objective and Hypotheses

As Freywald (2017) and Meinunger (2007) already tentatively conclude, some of the previous observations about the Akkudativ suggest that it should probably not be analysed as a random mix-up of dative and accusative case. Instead, these observations give rise to the hypothesis that there is an underlying systematicity to the apparent 'confusion' of the two cases: Firstly, all authors introduced above acknowledge a difference in the patterns between pronouns and

DPs. Secondly, most variation in the pronominal domain seems to affect third person pronouns, while the 1st and 2nd person pronouns are more consistently observed in their dative form. Thirdly, Schlobinski (1988) observes that the phenomenon is not equally strong across genders, giving rise to a gender hierarchy (see above). Finally, Meinunger (2007) presents one example in which animacy seems to play a role.

All of the above observations are reminiscent of Differential Object Marking (DOM; Bossong, 1985, 1991; Comrie, 1986, 1989; Aissen, 2003). In DOM-languages, the distinction of objects extends beyond the direct/indirect object difference, additionally distinguishing different kinds of direct objects. Based on factors such as animacy, specificity/definiteness, topicality, telicity, affectedness, gender or even a combination of factors (see e.g. Aissen, 2003 for an overview), one group of direct objects is marked differently than the other. In many languages, this special marking is expressed with the same marker that also marks indirect objects, which is often the dative (Moravcsik, 1978; Bossong, 1991; Bárány, 2018 and references therein). For example, Spanish non-DOM direct objects are null marked (14a), while Spanish DOM objects (14b) are *a*-marked like indirect objects (14c).

(14) a.   He   encontrado   (*a)   el   libro

           have.1SG   find.PTCP   A   DET   book

           'I found the book.'   (from Ormazabal & Romero, 2013a:222)

      b.   He   encontrado   *(a)   la   niña

           have.1SG   find.PTCP   A   DET   girl

           'I found the girl.'   (from Ormazabal & Romero, 2013a:222)

      c.   Enviaron   el   libro   a   la   doctora

           send.3PL   DET   book   A   DET   doctor

           'They sent the book to the doctor.'   (from Ormazabal & Romero, 2013a:223)

The factors giving rise to DOM are scalar and can thus be represented as hierarchies (cf. (15)) that reflect the likelihood of differential marking. In general, the higher a variable is located on the scale, the more likely it is that it is marked, whereas elements lower in the hierarchy will be less likely marked. If a higher element is unmarked, then the lower elements will be unmarked; if a lower element is marked, the higher elements will also be marked. The specific cut-off point determining where the distinction between unmarked and marked direct objects is made is

language-specific and can in theory be anywhere on the scale (Silverstein, 1981). For example, Aissen (2003:437) compares Turkish and Hebrew, where the former distinguishes between specific and non-specific objects, while the latter makes the divide higher on the scale, between definites and indefinites.

(15)   a. *Animacy Hierarchy* (Silverstein, 1976)

1st person pronoun > 2nd person pronoun > 3rd person pronoun > proper name > human noun > animate noun > inanimate noun

b. *Definiteness/Specificity Hierarchy* (Aissen, 2003)

pronoun > proper name > definite > specific indefinite > non-specific

The above observations give rise to the main hypotheses of this thesis, which is that Berlinisch does not have a two case system, but clearly morphologically distinguishes nominative, genitive, dative and accusative forms. Following an overview of the method of data collection, it will be shown below that dative and accusative forms are distributed in a systematic fashion, delivering evidence against the *Einheitskasus*. More specifically, it will be demonstrated that this systematicity follows the typical patterns of DOM. The exact cut-off point between standardly accusative- and specially dative-marked direct objects will be tested, based on the research presented above which suggests that the distinction is likely based on person, gender, and animacy. Finally, DOM can also account for the fact that dative-for-accusative pattern is found with pronouns only, while accusative is replacing the dative in DPs only, as this reflects the definiteness/specificity hierarchy, which ranks pronouns higher than DPs.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Participants

In total, eleven participants contributed to the data presented below. Although all of them self-identify as Berlinisch speakers, they are all bilingual, being exposed and speaking High German (Standard German) as well, e.g. in school or at work. Three speakers reported that the social pressure to speak Standard German negatively influenced the degree to which they used Berlinisch over time. As the researcher grew up in Berlin, participants were primarily recruited via personal contacts. The rest of them learned about the study from flyers posted at the workplaces of the researcher's friends and family and through an online social network for first generation academics.

The participants come from a wide range of age groups (31-35 years to 81-85 years) and a mixed educational background. Two left school after about ten years (middle school), three did an apprenticeship in addition to middle school, and six finished high school and got at least one university degree. All speakers grew up in and around Berlin: seven grew up in former West Berlin (Kreuzberg, Reinickendorf, Spandau) and four grew up in former East Germany, including Berlinisch-speaking places outside the city (Angermünde, Breesen, Brandenburg a. d. Havel, Friedrichshagen). All except two of the participants' parents came from the same area, six participants moved within Berlin and two lived outside the Berlinisch-speaking area for five or more years. A full overview of the sociolinguistic background can be found in the Appendix. Participants were assigned numbers based on the temporal order of their participation.

3.2.2 Method

Previous literature on Berlinisch, such as Schlobinski's (1988) description of the Akkudativ, is mostly based on written sources from the 19th century or earlier, and research based on spoken data is very limited (e.g. Schlobinski, 1987; Freywald, 2017). To get a detailed overview of the Berlinisch case system and the Akkudativ in particular, a questionnaire systematically testing the distribution of dative and accusative forms, in addition to some genitive forms, was developed for the present study. Furthermore, participants 1-5 were also recorded freely talking for about 5-10 minutes, adding spontaneous speech to the data.

There were two rounds of data collection. In Round 1, basic assumptions about the distribution of dative and accusative forms were tested in targeted elicitation sessions. These were held through individual video calls with speakers 1-5. Following up on the first round of data collection, Round 2 was implemented as an online questionnaire, testing some further predictions and follow-up questions. The less time-intensive and individual online format of the questionnaire attracted six more participants, speakers 6-11. Speakers 1-3 also filled in a questionnaire with the additional follow-up questions from Round 2, so that all participants except S4 and S5 provided answers for the full questionnaire. An overview of the rounds and participants is given in Table 3.

Table 3

Overview of Data Collection Rounds

	Round 1	Round 2
Method	targeted elicitation via videocall, recording of free narration	online questionnaire
Participants	1,2,3,4,5	1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10,11

While the personal video calls allowed recording the participants' speech and immediately asking follow-up questions, the impersonal online format of Round 2 had the advantage that it quickly attracted more participants. The increased willingness to participate was likely due to the fact that some of the additional participants in Round 2 could not participate in the video call sessions because of technical restrictions or for time reasons, but were happy to fill in the online questionnaire.

3.2.3 Tasks and Procedure

Prior to the study, all participants were informed about the procedure through an information letter, were given the chance to ask questions, and were then asked to give their informed consent. In both rounds, participants were first asked about their sociolinguistic background. In Round 1, this was followed by 5-10 minutes of free narration, during which the informants were asked to talk freely about a topic of their choice, such as a cherished childhood memory or the area they live in. Some participants also started talking about how or where they grew up while still answering the metadata questions. Besides delivering some first data, the free narration was supposed to make the informants more comfortable in the situation and with speaking the dialect in the presence of the researcher. To further overcome the hesitancy connected to the stigma surrounding Berlinisch, informants were assured that this variety was not 'wrong German', but of great interest to research, and that they were the experts that could help the researcher understand their language.

In the second part of the sessions in Round 1, the questionnaire was presented as slides on a computer screen, with one written item per slide. The materials were presented in written form instead of sound snippets, as the speaker that was supposed to record the test sentences had great trouble reading the ungrammatical options. Different kinds of tasks were used to make the session more engaging for the participants and to make sure that the kind of task had no

influence on the performance. A pilot test revealed that some tasks were easier for the informants than others. For example, a translation task was excluded later on, as test items presented in Standard German greatly influenced the informant, causing them to give an answer that was much closer to the standard than what they produced or accepted in the other tasks. Each task was introduced by two familiarization examples. The test items were pseudo-randomized within the same task block, spreading out similar target forms. Participants were instructed to answer intuitively and assured that there were no right or wrong answers. When in doubt, they were asked how they think other dialect speakers would respond.

In a first task, participants were presented a sentence with a gap in it. They were instructed to first read the sentence quietly and then read the completed sentence out loud. Although the examples were created to contain as little ambiguity as possible, an introductory sentence was given to make clear what the gap referred to, as in example (16). The purpose of the gaps was to elicit the target forms while avoiding further accommodation to or influence of Standard German as much as possible.

(16)   Meene Schwesta hat im Lotto jewonnen.

         Ick freu ____ für ____ .

         My sister has won the lottery. I am happy (REFL) for (her).

The second kind of task was a forced choice task, in which the speakers were again presented incomplete sentences with two options that could either fill that gap or continue the sentence, as exemplified in (17). The answer options in the forced choice task were randomized in order to avoid a response bias.

(17)   De Lehrerin sieht ____ Schüler.

         a. den   b. dem

         The teacher sees (the_{ACC}/the_{DAT}) student.

The face-to-face format of Round 1 allowed to further note where participants hesitated, had difficulties or preferred to drop arguments from the sentence. Moreover, the speakers were asked about their interpretation of the sentence when they marked two arguments the same way, allowed both options, or deviated from the patterns established so far in that session. When two participants showed the same deviating interpretation of a certain test item, the following participants were standardly asked about the reading of that sentence. For example, in Q55, repeated here as example (18), participants were standardly asked what Peter wants to eat, in

order to establish which argument they interpreted as direct and indirect object, especially when they chose b. or c., which are formally ambiguous.

(18) *Hans got lunch from the food stand for himself and Peter. As he did not know what Peter wanted to eat, he got both a Currywurst and a Bulette. He asks Peter, which food he prefers. Peter says:*

a.	Ick	zieh	die	Currywurst	der	Bulette vor
	I	prefer	DET.ACC	Currywurst	DET.DAT	Bulette_prefer
b.	Ick	zieh	die	Currywurst	die	Bulette vor
	I	prefer	DET.NOM/ACC	Currywurst	DET.NOM/ACC	Bulette_prefer
c.	Ick	zieh	de	Currywurst	de	Bulette vor
	I	prefer	DET.NULL	Currywurst	DET.NULL	Bulette_prefer

'I prefer the Currywurst over the Bulette.'

(Follow-up question: What does Peter want to eat?)

The third and last kind of task was a judgment task, in which participants were presented one or more sentences with a short context and were asked to judge whether each option was acceptable as Berlinisch or not. This task was used for more complex kinds of sentences testing e.g. word order variation, passivization, or PCC effects, e.g. Q50, repeated here as (19).

(19) *Doris showed Gitti pictures of a family celebration today. Later, Gitti tells another friend about it: 'I have never met Doris' daughter before, but…'*

a.	Doris	hat	se	mir	uffm	Foto	jezeigt.
	Doris	AUX	3SG.F.ACC	1SG.DAT	on=DET	picture	show.PTCP
b.	Doris	hat	mir	se	uffm	Foto	jezeigt.
	Doris	AUX	1SG.DAT	3SG.F.ACC	on=DET	picture	show.PTCP
c.	Doris	hat	ihr	mir	uffm	Foto	jezeigt.
	Doris	AUX	3SG.F.DAT	1SG.DAT	on=DET	picture	show.PTCP
d.	Doris	hat	mir	ihr	uffm	Foto	jezeigt.
	Doris	AUX	1SG.DAT	3SG.F.DAT	on=DET	picture	show.PTCP

'Doris has shown her to me on a picture.'

In Round 2, the same set of instructions as in Round 1 was provided in written form. The only difference in the tasks was that the gap task was transformed into a forced choice task, in which the choices were based on the answers of Round 1, presented together with the expected Standard German form. This was done so that participants did not need to type any answers, and to reduce the time it would take to fill out the online questionnaire.
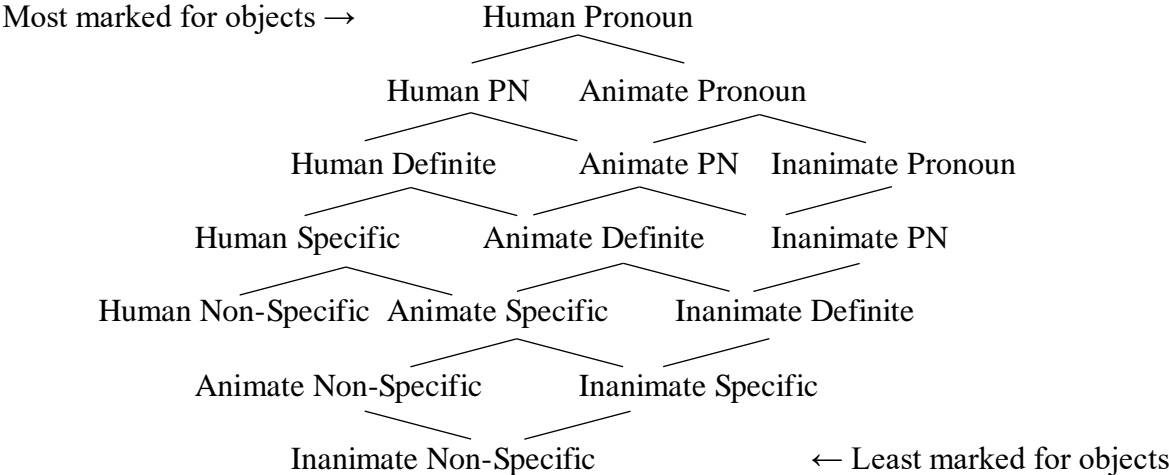
3.2.4 Materials

The test items were written based on the phonological properties of the variety that are described above, combined with the orthography used in a Berlinisch translation of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (Saint-Exupéry, 2002). In addition, the test items were evaluated for authenticity and comprehensibility by a Berlinisch speaker in a pilot test.

The sentences were manipulated to target the factors of interest to the hypothesis. From the literature summarized above, it was predicted that DOM might be based on a specificity contrast, namely between pronouns and full DPs, a gender contrast (cf. Schlobinski's hierarchy in X) or an animacy contrast (Meinunger, 2007). In addition to these factors, standard environments of datives and accusatives were tested as well, namely direct and indirect objects, reflexive pronouns, free datives and prepositions that license either case. This was done to test whether dative and accusative forms were confused in all environments in which they in principle could occur, pointing towards free variation, or if certain forms were restricted to certain environments, following the DOM hypothesis. In order to test the hypothesis that the dative also took over the genitive in Berlinisch, genitive licensing prepositions as well as possessives were also included in the questionnaire. Finally, a set of questions also targeted syntactic environments relevant to possible analyses, such as double object constructions and PCC contexts, topicalized and focused pronouns, and passives. This latter set of questions will be discussed in more detail in the analysis section.

Pronouns were manipulated for person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), number (singular, plural) and gender (feminine, masculine, neuter). In third person, they were additionally manipulated for animacy (human, animate, inanimate). DPs followed the third person distinctions of pronouns, and were additionally manipulated for different levels of specificity, following the hierarchy suggested by Aissen (2003:459), repeated in (20). In order to keep the questionnaire at a reasonable length, the full hierarchy was only tested for masculine nouns, as Schlobinski's (1988) gender hierarchy

predicted that the effect would be strongest for them. Specific NPs, proper names, and pronouns were also tested in the feminine form. As neuter forms are largely syncretic with the masculine forms in German, only direct object pronouns and definite determiners were tested in neuter form.

(20)   *Animacy and Definiteness Hierarchy* (Aissen, 2003:459)

Most marked for objects →   Human Pronoun

                       Human PN   Animate Pronoun

              Human Definite   Animate PN   Inanimate Pronoun

       Human Specific   Animate Definite   Inanimate PN

Human Non-Specific Animate Specific   Inanimate Definite

       Animate Non-Specific   Inanimate Specific

              Inanimate Non-Specific   ← Least marked for objects

The full questionnaire of Berlinisch test items with translations, an indication of the tested variables, and ordered by category can be found in the Appendix.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Inter-speaking Variation

Before discussing the results relevant to the hypothesis that Berlinisch has DOM, it must be noted that some considerable variation between speakers was found. However, this variation is not random, but groups speakers by the distance between their Berlinisch and Standard German. While some speakers used few or none of the forms relevant to the hypothesis, i.e. used dative and accusative forms as expected from Standard German, others showed the expected spread of dative forms to differing extents. In the following subsections, it will be established how exactly the groups differ in relation to the tested variables, refining the rough characterization of the groups in Table 4. The summarized results and refined grouping are presented in a preliminary summary at the end of this section.

Table 4

Grouping of Participants by Dative Forms in Standard German Accusative Contexts

Group	1	2	3	4	5
Characteristics	widest spread of dative forms	←——————————————————→			accusative forms as in SG, very few exceptions
Participants	2,10,11	3,6,7,9	8	1,5	4

3.3.2 Pronouns

Berlinisch exhibits an increased amount of dative-accusative syncretisms in the pronominal domain. While the Standard German dative and accusative pronouns are only syncretic in 1PL and 2PL (*uns*ACC/*uns*DAT, *euch*ACC/*euch*DAT), Berlinisch exhibits syncretic forms in the singular as well. However, dative and accusative forms do not alternate freely: As in the standard variety, the dative-form pronouns are also used as indirect objects (21a) and with certain θ-roles such as Experiencers (21b) and Beneficiaries (21c), all environments in which dative marking is expected. However, accusative forms are ungrammatical where dative is required, indicating that dative and accusative forms are not simply switched or mixed-up in both directions[4].

(21) a.   Ick   jebe dir/*dich   dit   Buch

          1SG.NOM   give 2SG.DAT/*ACC DET   book

          'I give you the book.'

      b.   Dit   is   mir/*mich   schnuppe

          3SG.N is   1SG.DAT/*ACC indifferent

          'I do not care about it.'

---

[4] This hypothesis could arise from rhymes as the ones presented above in (8) and (9). It moreover illustrates that the switching of dative and accusative forms in rhymes is a purely literary device and does not accurately mirror the variety as it is currently spoken.

      c.   Du   hilfst   mir

            2SG.NOM   help   1SG.DAT

            'You help me.'

More specifically, and supporting the DOM hypothesis, dative-form direct objects arise along the animacy scale in (22) and can thus be predicted from the person, number, gender and animacy of the pronoun. Other than in the classic Silverstein (1976) hierarchy, the animacy distinction is relevant for third person pronouns rather than common nouns. The groups differ in regard to the cut-off point between dative- and accusative-marked forms on the scale: if a participant in a certain group marked a certain direct object along the scale with dative, they also marked everything higher up in the scale as dative.

(22)   1/2SG > 3SG.HUM (F,M>N) > 3SG.ANIM > 3SG.INANIM > PL

The ordering in (22) reflects that just on the basis of DO pronouns, feminine and masculine cannot be ranked, as a few speakers only have syncretic feminine forms (S3, S7), while others only have syncretic masculine forms (S2, S6, S9) in third person. Nevertheless, the data still makes an interesting contribution in this regard, as it indicates that at least regarding pronouns, F is definitely higher ranked than N and might be equally or higher ranked than M, which requires a re-ordering of the Schlobinski's gender hierarchy in (12), repeated here as (23a).

(23)   a.   *Gender hierarchy according to (Schlobinski, 1988:222)*

              masculine > neuter > feminine

      b.   *Gender hierarchy according to present data*

              feminine/masculine > neuter

The same pattern and animacy hierarchy holds when pronouns are combined with accusative-assigning prepositions, such as *um* ('about'), *ohne* ('without'), and *durch* ('through').

(24)   a.   Se   sorgt   sich   um   mir.

             3SG.F.NOM   be.worried   3SG.REFL   about 1SG.DAT

             'She is worried about me.'

b.	Ohne	dir	würde	dit	keen	Spaß	machen.
without	2SG.DAT	MOD	that	no	fun	make

'That wouldn't be fun without you.'

c.	Ick	freu	mir	für	ihr.
1SG.NOM	be.happy	1SG.REFL	for	3SG.F.DAT

'I am happy for her.'

Contrary to Schlobinski and Lasch, who argued that the Akkudativ arises from phonological confusion, most speakers clearly distinguish 3SG.M direct and indirect object pronouns, not confusing them, but insisting on the –m and –n endings distinguishing the dative and accusative forms. For feminine 3rd person pronouns, it is even less likely that there is phonology-based confusion, as they are not phonologically similar in Standard German (sie_{ACC}/ihr_{DAT}), but still syncretic in Berlinisch human or animate 3SG.F pronouns (ihr_{ACC}/ihr_{DAT}). Although some speakers occasionally use reduced 1SG/2SG forms, *ma* and *da*, they offer *mir* and *dir* when asked if they could say it differently, and use the dative forms in other similar environments. Moreover, the dative forms remained stable when topicalized or focused in-situ, and are acceptable as short answers, as exemplified in 25a-c.

(25) a.	Mir	hast=e	natürlich	ma wieda	vajessn
1SG.DAT	have=2SG	of.course	again	forget.PTCP

'Of course you have forgotten me again.'

b.	Petra	hat	DIR	anjerufen
Petra	has	2SG.DAT	call.PTCP

'Petra has called *you.*'

c. Q: Wen hat Petra angerufen? *Who did Petra call?*

Dir!

2SG.DAT

'You!

Table 5 summarizes the distribution of accusative and dative forms in accusative environments, i.e. direct objects and accusative-assigning prepositions, and contrasts the Berlinisch speaker groups of the present study to Standard German. The IO forms are not repeated again, as they are dative-marked across all groups as in Standard German. In groups 1 and 2, some speakers only use the dative forms for feminine human or animate 3rd person pronouns, while others only use it for masculine, and some for both. As indicated above, this inter-speaker variation causes the unclear ranking of feminine and masculine. However, individual speakers do consistently follow their own preferences of ranking feminine or masculine higher.

Table 5

Pronouns in Standardly Accusative Environments

Group		1	2	3	4,5*	Standard German
1SG		**mir**	**mir**	**mir**	mich	mich
2SG		**dir**	**dir**	**dir**	dich	dich
3SG.HUM	F	se/**ihr**	se/**ihr**	se	se	sie
	M	ihn/**ihm**	ihn/**ihm**	ihn	ihn	ihn
	N	et	et	et	et	es
3SG.ANIM	F	se/**ihr**	se	se	se	sie
	M	ihn/**ihm**	ihn/**ihm**	ihn	ihn	ihn
	N	et	et	et	et	es
3SG.INAN	F	se	se	se	se	sie
	M	ihn	ihn	ihn	ihn	ihn
	N	et	et	et	et	es
1PL		uns	uns	uns	uns	uns
2PL		euch	euch	euch	euch	euch
3PL		se	se	se	se	sie

bold: dative forms, / indicates inter-speaker variation within one group

*Group 4 and 5 behave identically in regard to DO pronouns

3.3.3 Reflexives

In all groups except group 5, *mir* and *dir* are also used as reflexive pronouns, where Standard German uses the accusative-form *mich* and *dich*. The rest of the reflexives have the same form in Berlinisch and Standard German. The fact that the 3SG reflexive *sich*, /zɪç/, and 2PL *euch*, /ɔɪç/, are not altered, and that there is no documented evidence of an existing deviating form, is further evidence that the accusative *mich* and *dich* were not substituted by the dative forms for phonological reasons, as /ç/ can clearly be realized.

The animacy hierarchy can be applied to reflexives as well, although the split between dative and accusative forms is higher in the hierarchy than for personal pronouns, generally between 2nd and 3rd person. In addition, some speakers (S1, S2, S3, S6) distinguish between PSYCH and NON-PSYCH verbs in the marking of 1SG/2SG reflexives, generally using the standard accusative-form with NON-PSYCH verbs as in (26a-b), and the dative with PSYCH verbs (26c-d).

(26) a.   Ick   verloof   mich

          1SG.NOM   get.lost   1SG.REFL

          'I get lost.'

      b.   Du   setzt   dich

          2SG.NOM   sit.down   2SG.REFL

          'You sit down.'

      c.   Ick   freu   mir

          1SG.NOM   be.happy   1SG.REFL

          'I am happy.'

      d.   Du   wundast   dir

          2SG.NOM   wonder   2SG.REFL

          'You wonder…'

3.3.4 DPs

In contrast to pronouns, there is no animacy distinction in the case marking of direct object DPs, and no inter-speaker variation was found. The standard inflection is mostly preserved and

recognizable, although determiners are often reduced to their distinctive phonemes, e.g. masculine accusative determiners *den*/*ein* are reduced to *n*, the feminine NOM/ACC indefinite *eine* becomes *ne*. However, this latter fact is not necessarily a specific trait of Berlinisch, but rather normal in spoken German. The neuter determiner has a slightly different form than the Standard German one, as /a/ in *das* becomes /i/ (*dis/dit*). Spontaneous speech data indicates that the forms *dit* and *dis* are in free variation and can also be used as demonstratives (27a), except when there is emphasis put on it or it is in clause-final position, in which case it becomes *ditte* (27b), similarly to 1SG.NOM *ick* which becomes *icke* in the same environments. This pattern confirms the observations made in the Berlinisch literature as introduced in section 2.

(27) a.

Dit	war	nich	besonders	dolle, dis	kannte man	schon
That	was	not	particularly	great, that	know one	already

'That was not particularly great (interesting), one knew that already.'

b.

Wie	hieß	denn	ditte?
How	be.called	PRT	that

'What was that called again?'

However, it is notable that feminine determiners are reduced to *de* in both accusative (28a, Standard German: *die*) and dative (28b, Standard German: *der*) environments, obscuring the direction of the syncretism[5]. At the same time, the masculine and neuter determiners retain their distinct accusative and dative forms, *den*$_{M.ACC}$/*dem*$_{M.DAT}$ and *dit*$_{N.ACC}$/*dem*$_{N.DAT}$, which contradicts the paradigm given by Lasch (1928), which was introduced in section 2 as Table 1. The data again points towards a gender distinction, but in contrast to the pronominal domain, feminine and masculine forms pattern differently, indicating that based on DP data, feminine should be ranked higher than masculine and neuter, again in contrast to the hierarchy proposed by Schlobinski (1988).

(28) a.

Ick	treff	de	Nachbarin	uff=e	Straße
1SG.NOM	meet	DET.F.Ø	neighbour.F	on=DET.F.Ø	street

'I meet the neighbour on the street.'

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[5] The null marking is indicated by Ø in the glosses.

		b.	Der	Enkel	hilft	de	Oma
			DET.M.NOM	grandson	helps	DET.F.Ø	grandmother

'The grandson helps the grandmother.'

This distinction can again also be found in PPs. Besides the determiner, the inflection on adjectives and nouns is also reduced in certain cases: Instead of the expected dative-marked NP *mit alten Leuten* ('with old people'), the reduced null marked form is observed (29a). The same reduced form is observed in (29b) where the preposition *üba* ('over') usually licenses accusative.

(29)	a.	Ick	hab	viel	mit	alte	Leute	jemacht
		1SG.NOM	have	a.lot	with	old.Ø	people.Ø	make.PTCP

'I have done (worked) a lot with old people.'

	b.	Ihr	ärjert	euch	üba	de	Nachbarin
		2PL.NOM	be.upset	2PL.REFL	about	DET.F.Ø	neighbour.F.Ø

'You are upset with the neighbours.'

The pattern persists in ditransitive clauses, causing ambiguity between the DO and IO. However, the ambiguity in sentences like (30) is resolved by a strict DO>IO reading, indicating that a loss of morphological complexity comes at the price of stricter word order.

(30)	Ick	zieh	de	Currywurst	de	Bulette	vor.
	1SG.NOM	prefer	DET.Ø	currywurst	DET.Ø	bulette	_prefer

'I prefer the currywurst over the bulette.'

As a general side note on the interaction of prepositions and determiners, the Berlinisch determiner often clitizes to the preposition, as in *üba=n Hof* (across=DET.M.ACC courtyard.M), *uff=e Straße* (on=DET.F.ACC street.F), *inn=e U-Bahn* (in=DET.F.ACC underground.train.F). Berlinisch also differs lexically from the standard in regard to certain prepositions. Instead of *mit* ('with'), some speakers systematically use *bei* instead (as e.g. in (31)), for *letztes Jahr* ('last year'), they typically use *vorjes Jahr*, and in place of using direction-indicting *in*, some speakers would say *nach*, however all with the same meaning and same agreement patterns. Most noteworthy in this list is spatial *nach*, which can be used for a limited amount of directions in

the standard variety, but never in combination with a determiner (31)[6]. However, there is no indication that this lexical difference also causes a differences in the agreement patterns, as all of the above prepositions license the same case as their Standard German counterparts.

(31)   a. Ich fahre nach Italien / *nach den Kudamm / * nach den Westen [Standard German]

    b. Ick fahr nach Italien / nach=n Kudamm / nach=n Westen   [Berlin German]

    1SG.NOM drive to Italy / to=DET.ACC Kudamm / to=DET.ACC West.Germany

    'I drive to Italy / to the Kudamm (a street in Berlin) / to West Germany'

Given the definiteness/specificity and animacy hierarchies introduced above, in which pronouns are ranked higher than DPs, and the fact that the split is already found within the pronominal domain, it is expected that different DPs are not also marked distinctly based on specificity. For example, there is no distinction in the case marking of specific and non-specific direct object DPs; accusative forms are observed where they are expected and no unexpected dative-marked DP can be observed in the data. The only question that remains is why all feminine DPs are null marked. Given the above described pattern, it could be the case that the reduced forms found in DPs and PPs are due to a general tendency for phonological reduction. However, it is curious that this reduction concerns feminine forms more than e.g. masculine ones, as the latter ($den_{M.ACC}$/$dem_{M.DAT}$) are much more similar to each other than the former ($die_{F.ACC}$/$der_{F.DAT}$) and should thus be more prone to confusion. In addition, it is striking that the locus of variation is similar to the pronominal domain, supporting the tendency that feminine forms behave differently from neuter and possibly masculine ones. If gender was taken to be an indicator of DOM, it should hence be separated from animacy and specificity.

3.3.5 Possessive Datives and the Genitive

Although it is generally claimed that Berlinisch has no genitive, and that possessives can only be expressed with dative-marked possessors, the present study revealed the use of genitive forms. In spontaneous speech as well as in the questionnaire, almost all speakers exclusively used or preferred the s-genitive, as in *Peters Auto* ('Peter's car'). In Round 1, several speakers noted that the possessive dative, as in (32), is stereotypical for Berlinisch, and that many people use it, although they perceive it as 'wrong German'. However, the possessive datives of the

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[6] This is different for temporal *nach*, which must be combined with a dative-marked determiner in both varieties, e.g. *nach der Schule* ('after school').

form [DP_{possessor.DAT} POSS DP_{possessee}] were all accepted without comment in the questionnaire, and only two informants did not like it.

(32) (Dem) Peter sein Auto

      DET.DAT Peter his car

      '(The) Peter's car'

Despite the wide acceptance of (32), both with feminine and masculine possessors, only speakers in Group 1 and some in Group 2 accept a pronominalized possessor, as in (33a). Moreover, [Pronoun_{possessor.DAT} POSS DP_{possessee}] only seems to be possible when the possessor is 3SG.M, as a feminine possessor (33b) and non-third-person possessor (33c) are ungrammatical even for speakers who accept (33a). Speakers who do not allow pronominalization use the shorter standard form instead, e.g. *sein Auto* ('his car').

(33) a. ? Ihm sein Auto muss in=ne Werkstatt.

        3SG.M.DAT 3SG.M.POSS car must in=DET.F repair.shop

        'His car needs to be taken to the repair shop.'

      b. * Ihr ihre Wohnung is schön.

        3SG.F.DAT 3SG.F.POSS apartment is beautiful

        'Her apartment is beautiful'

      c. * Mir meene alte Freundin aus=se Schule

        1SG.DAT 1SG.POSS old friend from=DET.Ø school

        Intended: 'My old friend from school'

One of the speakers who accepts (33a) volunteered an alternative to repair (33b), where the noun from the DP_{possessor} is elided, as in (34), which is essentially a version of (32).

(34) Der ihre Wohnung is schön

      DET.F.DAT *e* 3SG.F.POSS apartment is beautiful

      'Her apartment is beautiful.'

In addition to the co-existence of s-genitive and possessive dative, genitive forms were used in combination with genitive-licensing prepositions such as *außerhalb* ('outside of'), *wegen* ('due

to'), and *trotz* ('despite'), even in combination with feminine nouns (35), which were null marked in combination with accusative- and dative-licensing prepositions.

(35) a. Ick   verloof mir   außerhalb   der   Nachbarschaft

　　　1SG.NOM   get.lost 1SG.REFL   outside   DET.F.GEN   neighbourhood.F

　　　'I get lost outside of the neighbourhood'

　　　b. Wir   treffen uns   wejen der   Beschränkungen nicht

　　　1PL.NOM   meet   1PL.REFL   due.to DET.F.GEN   restrictions.F   NEG

　　　'We do not meet due to the restrictions'

　　　c. Ick   kann   dir   trotz der   Entfernung   sehen

　　　1SG.NOM   can   2SG.DAT   despite DET.F.GEN   distance.F   see

　　　'I can see you despite the distance'

While example (33) suggests that gender might play a role in possessive dative constructions as in the other contexts above, there is no such distinction in genitive PPs, where the femine DPs are case-marked. Example (33) could be a reflection of phonological constraints to the surface forms similar to OCP effects (McCarthy, 1986): *ihm sein* might be allowed because the two elements are phonologically distinct, while *ihr ihr* or *mir meen* are quite similar. Nevertheless, a clear asymmetry remains between DPs and pronouns, raising the question why only DP possessors can be doubled, but not pronouns.

3.4 Overall Results and Preliminary Conclusion

In contrast to previous conclusions about the Akkudativ and Berlinisch, it was shown that accusatives and datives are not in free variation in Berlinisch, but are clearly distinguished. The appearance of unexpected dative forms, which are limited to pronouns, can be reliably predicted if the Akkudativ is analysed as DOM, driven by a definiteness/specificity, animacy and gender distinction. As DPs are less specific than pronouns and the DOM split is located in the pronominal domain, the DOM pattern is not relevant for DPs. Although gender plays a role in the case marking of pronouns, the fact that feminine DPs are zero-marked should thus be treated as a separate phenomenon, possibly as phonological reduction as suggested by Lasch (1928). Although dative possessors are perceived as a stereotypical property of Berlinisch, it could

furthermore be shown that the genitive is used in the variety, not only in possessives, but also in combination with standardly genitive-licensing prepositions. Hence, previous accounts claiming that Berlinisch has a two-case system, not distinguishing between dative, accusative and genitives (e.g. Shrier, 1965) cannot be upheld.

In order to account for the multiple factors giving rise to DOM in Berlinisch, the following factors are important, all of which can be represented as scales: person (36a), gender (36b), animacy (36c), and specificity/definiteness (36d).

(36) a.   1 > 2 > 3

      b.   fem > masc > neut

      c.   human > animate > inanimate

      d.   pronoun > proper noun > definite > specific > nonspecific

It is neither practical nor necessary to consider four scales in parallel. As they overlap at certain points, they can be collapsed into one hierarchy. Aissen (2003) proposes a combined hierarchy for animacy and definiteness (cf. (20)), but does not consider gender. In Berlinisch, scales (36a-c) are only relevant for pronouns, so that a finer distinction than pronouns vs non-pronouns (cf. 36d) is not necessary. Secondly, 1st and 2nd person can only be human, so that the animacy distinction is only relevant for third person. Thirdly, the same goes for the gender scale, as gender is not marked on 1st and 2nd person pronouns in German. Finally, the lowest elements on the animacy and gender scales, neuter and inanimate, should be at the same level, as none of the speakers marked either specially[7]. Human should be ranked above animate, as all speakers that allow dative animates also allow dative humans, but not vice versa. The same logic applies to the feminine/masculine distinction, giving rise to the unified scale in (37). As pointed out above, this scale differs from the Silverstein hierarchy in that it considers animacy in the pronominal domain, while it does not play a role lower on the scale.

(37)   1 > 2 > 3.HUM.F > 3.HUM.M > 3.ANIM.F > 3.ANIM.M > 3.INAN/NEUT/PL > non-pronouns

Compared to the hierarchies suggested by Silverstein (1976) or Aissen (2003), the finer distinction of pronouns furthermore allows to accurately predict the locus of inter-speaker variation, giving rise to the participant groups introduced above and predicting more generally

---

[7] It must be mentioned here that the equal behaviour of neuter and inanimate is not trivial, as gender and animacy are generally not linked in German. For example, there are some neuter nouns such as *das Mädchen* ('the girl') or *das Kind* ('the child') which are clearly human, while some feminine or masculine nouns such as *die Gabel* ('the fork') or *der Hut* ('the hat') are clearly not animate.

where the system can vary or not: While the pronoun/non-pronoun split seems to be a stable property of the variety, the groups differ in where they make the split on the scale in (37), as described in section 3.3.2. Table 6 summarizes how the groups can be characterized on the basis of this distinction across all pronominal elements discussed above. Speakers that make the PSYCH/NON-PSYCH distinction for reflexives can be found across different groups, meaning that this factor does not contribute to the distinction of the groups, despite being a useful predictor of intra-speaker variation.

Table 6

Participant Groups by Locus of DAT/ACC Split

Group	1	2	3	4	5
DO Pronouns	ANIM/INANIM[a]	HUM/ANIM	2SG/HUM	all ACC	all ACC
P(ACC)+Pronoun	ANIM/INANIM	HUM/ANIM	2SG/HUM	2SG/HUM	all ACC
Reflexives	2SG/HUM	2SG/HUM	2SG/HUM	2SG/HUM	all ACC

a) '/' indicates the locus of the case split on the scale in (37): the element left of / is dative marked, the element right of / is accusative marked

This chapter established that datives do not randomly appear in standardly accusative environments, but that dative-form pronouns arise in accusative contexts only under certain conditions typical of DOM. More specifically, it was shown that dative marking is more likely to appear the higher a nominal element is located in the hierarchy in (37): For example, if a speaker uses the dative form for 3rd person human pronouns, they will also do so for 1st and 2nd person. The next chapter section will go beyond the descriptive level and explore why exactly some objects are dative marked in Berlinisch, seeking to answer the question how DOM and the corresponding scale can be implemented in minimalist syntax.

4. An Analysis of the Akkudativ

4.1 Previous analyses of DOM

DOM is a thoroughly discussed phenomenon and there are at least three different perspectives from which analyses of the phenomenon are approached: Firstly, DOM can be viewed from a functionalist or frequency-based perspective, anchored in general cognitive concepts such as prominence and iconicity (e.g. Comrie, 1989; Aissen, 2003; Jäger, 2007). This perspective is not directly applicable to minimalist syntax, but will be discussed as a more general property of DOM in chapter 5. Secondly, some view DOM as a purely morphological phenomenon that is a result of post-syntactic operations (e.g. Glushan, 2010; Keine & Müller, 2014; Bárány, 2018). As a purely morphological analysis could only be justified if it was ruled out that the phenomenon is structural, this chapter will begin by giving an overview of the third group of analyses, which argue that DOM arises from certain syntactic configurations, closely linking it to agreement and case assignment, in addition to taking semantic factors such as animacy into account to different extents (e.g. Torrego, 1998; Rodríguez Mondoñedo, 2007; López, 2012; Ormazabal & Romero, 2013a; Irimia & Pineda, 2019).

Torrego (1998) presents a syntactic analysis of DOM in Spanish, in which objects raise to a specifier of *v* to check a definiteness feature (based on Chomsky's (1995) D-feature), accounting for the observation that definite/specific objects are DOM-marked (*a*-marked in Spanish). Furthermore, she assumes that datives originate in PPs with a null preposition, which can also carry a D-feature. Crucially, *a*-marking is directly associated with the syntactic structure and there is only one position in which it can be assigned.

(38)   *DOM following Torrego (1998:46)*
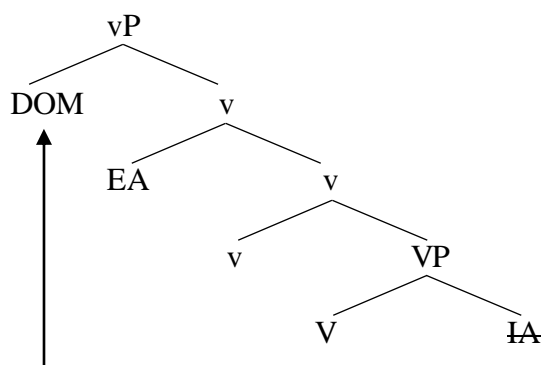
According to López (2012), who focuses his work on indefinite objects, non-DOM objects and DOM objects behave differently in syntax. While non-DOM objects are not case-marked and

thus need to incorporate first into V and then into *v* to satisfy their Case requirement (López, 2012:31), DOM objects are embedded in KP. KP prevents the DO's incorporation into V, so that DOM-objects have to move to a higher projection, Spec,αP, which is local to *v*, allowing the argument to receive Case. In contrast to Torrego's approach, *a*-marking is not determined by a structural position, but by realisational spell-out rules that take the DO's as well as the functional heads' properties into account, meaning that K is not obligatorily spelled out as *a*, but only in certain feature configurations.

(39)   *DOM following López (2012:49)*
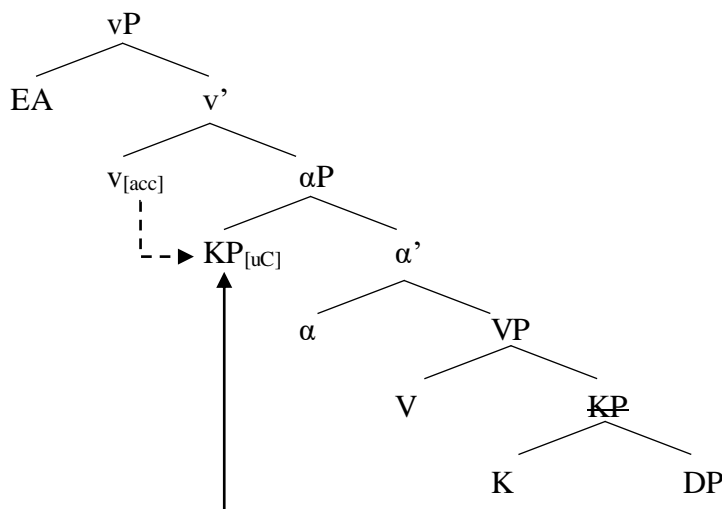
Ormazabal & Romero (2013a, henceforth O&R) generally follow Torrego's analysis, arguing that DOM objects raise to Spec,vP where they check a feature, which surfaces as *a*-marking. In contrast to Torrego, whose analysis is driven by the correlation of animacy and definiteness with DOM, O&R establish that DOM in Spanish is not actually triggered by semantic factors, but that semantic factors are parasitic on the syntactic configurations in which DOM is licensed. Two main observations give rise to this view: firstly, some animate direct objects do not show DOM, namely when they co-occur with an IO that is doubled by a clitic (40a). Secondly, not only animate direct objects, but also some inanimate objects can be *a*-marked (40b), namely when they are arguments of perception verbs or a causative predicate with an infinitival complement.

(40) a. Le   enviaron   (*a)   todos   los   enfermos   a   la

          3SG   sent.3PL   DOM   all   DET   sick.people to   DET

          doctora   Aranzabal

          doctor   Aranzabal

          'They sent doctor Aranzabal all the sick people.'   (from O&R, 2013a:224)

     b.   El   mago   hizo   levitar   a   las   sillas

          DET   magician   made   levitate   DOM   DET   chairs

          'The magician made the chairs levitate.'   (from O&R, 2013a:226)

From the above examples, O&R (2013a; 2013b) infer that the two objects in ditransitives compete for one and the same position where they can receive *a*-marking: the verb only licenses one argument, which raises to the object position above *v*, where it is assigned Case, while the other argument remains unlicensed and is null marked. According to O&R as well as Torrego, DOM is thus an indicator of agreement in Spanish. Moreover, O&R conclude that the language does not distinguish between datives and accusatives, but only between checked and unchecked objects.
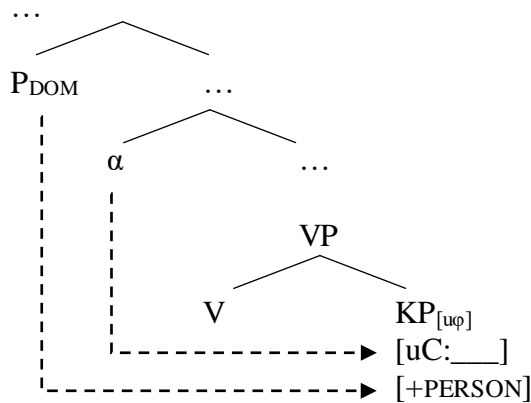
(41) *DOM following O&R (2013a:234f)*
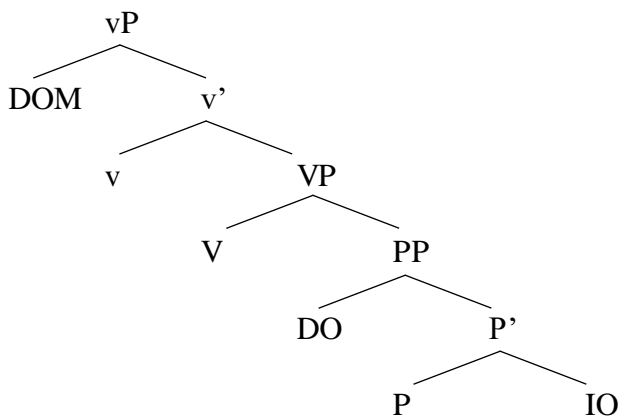
A theoretical implication of O&R's analysis is that some objects in Spanish are allowed to remain case-less, violating the Case Filter. O&R justify this by criticizing the Case Filter more generally, arguing that it should be abolished. López solves this problem differently: in his analysis, non-DOM objects incorporate into *v*, which satisfies the Case Filter, but does not lead

to overt case marking. Objects that are embedded in a KP are only *a*-marked if K is spelled out overtly, depending on the feature specifications of the elements in vP. In the case of Berlinisch pronouns, or the German nominal inflection more generally (cf. Müller, 2002), the distinct case marking of accusatives and the morphological distinction of more than two cases indicates that at least the checked/unchecked distinction is not sufficient. Given the widespread syncretism in the German nominal inflection, and especially between nominatives and accusatives, López' account could be adopted under the condition that accusative is considered the null-marked case. However, German nominal inflection is more complex than that, as different inflection classes and different exponents conditioned by gender need to be accounted for as well.

Irimia (2018) and Irimia & Pineda (2019) agree with the above mentioned approaches that DOM has to do with licensing and that non-DOM objects undergo incorporation. However, their approach differs in two significant ways from those above: firstly, they question whether all DOM objects need to be raised. Secondly, they argue that rather than just distinguishing between non-licensed and licensed objects, DOM requires a second licensing operation in addition to Case assignment. Irimia (2018:9-10) understands licensing as the establishment of a relationship between DPs and functional heads in the clausal spine, which is relativized to features that go beyond the categorial status of the nominal, such as animacy or specificity. In the spirit of Béjar & Rezac (2009), more than one feature might need to be licensed, which can be satisfied by separate operations. For example, definiteness could be licensed independently from animacy. For Old Catalan and Old Romanian, Irimia & Pineda (2019) propose the structure in (42): Without getting into further details, they suggest that animacy, represented as a [+PERSON] feature (cf. Adger & Harbour, 2007), is licensed separately from Case, and independent from φ-features. In order to account for variation in the specific animacy value, they suggest decomposing person and animacy features further (e.g. according to Harley & Ritter, 2002; Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Nevins, 2007); an idea that will also be fruitful in the analysis of Berlinisch DOM. This allows them to also account for DOM patterns that contradict the usual mapping of DOM on the animacy scale, such as in Old Catalan and Old Romanian, where 3rd person is marked to the exclusion of 1st and 2nd person.

(42)   *Secondary Licensing (Irimia & Pineda, 2019:9)*

```
…
 /\
P_DOM    …
 ┊      /\
 ┊     α    …
 ┊     ┊      \
 ┊     ┊      VP
 ┊     ┊     /\
 ┊     ┊    V    KP_[uφ]
 ┊     └ - - - - - - - - ► [uC:___]
 └ - - - - - - - - - - - ► [+PERSON]
```

Further support and central arguments for locating DOM in syntax, as well as O&R's competition account more specifically, arise from restrictions on the marking and co-occurrence of DO and IO in ditransitives, more specifically from the Person Case Constraint (PCC, also *me lui* constraint; Perlmutter, 1971; Bonet, 1991; 1994; Anagnostopoulou, 2003; 2005). DOM often correlates with the PCC, as DOM-marking is often dative and the PCC is a restriction on the co-occurrence of dative and accusative elements. More accurately, the PCC is a constraint on possible combinations of different object clitics or weak pronouns which occurs in a wide range of languages (see e.g. Haspelmath, 2004, or Anagnostopoulou, 2017). There are two main types of the PCC: The Strong PCC (43a) prohibits the combination of 1st/2nd person weak DO with any weak IO, and occurs e.g. in Greek. The Weak PCC (43b) prohibits the combination of 1st/2nd person weak DO with 3rd person weak IOs, and can be observed e.g. in Catalan.

(43)   a. *The Strong PCC* (Bonet, 1991:182)

In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be third person.

b. *The Weak PCC* (Bonet, 1991:182)

In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], if there is a third person it has to be the direct object.

Nevins (2007) describes two additional rarer types of the PCC: Firstly, the so-called *Me-First* PCC, which e.g. occurs in Romanian, where the 1st person must dominate and precede any other person, meaning that the DO cannot be 1st person if the IO is 2nd/3rd person. Secondly, the

Ultrastrong PCC, which is a combination of Me-First and Weak PCC, observable in e.g. Classical Arabic.

O&R provide a unified account for DOM and the PCC in a series of papers (O&R, 2007; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c): According to them, both phenomena can be accounted for under the assumption that there is just one position where objects can be licensed (cf. Torrego, 1998), and that some arguments can go unlicensed. O&R (2007) group 1st and 2nd person based on a shared [+animate] feature, while 3rd person is [-animate], arguing that PCC effects arise from the presence of animacy rather than certain person configurations. Accordingly, they re-formulate the PCC more generally as the *Object Agreement Constraint* (OAC), which is based on the assumption that object agreement is sensitive to animacy. As a consequence, at most one argument can be *a*-marked, and it has to be [+animate], meaning that if there are two arguments, the unmarked one cannot be 1st or 2nd person.

(44)   The *Object Agreement Constraint* (O&R, 2007:336)

If the verbal complex encodes object agreement, no other argument can be licensed through verbal agreement.

Adger & Harbour (2007, henceforth A&H) argue that the syncretism of 1st and 2nd person direct and indirect objects, which is also relevant to many DOM patterns such as the Berlinisch one, arises from the same syntactic conditions as the PCC. Although the term *syncretism* is often associated with morphology, syncretisms do not arise from a vacuum, but from certain feature specifications. A&H's analysis aims at providing an account of syncretisms in which the relevant feature specifications that give rise to syncretism arise from certain syntactic configurations (cf. Adger & Harbour, 2007: 2 and throughout their paper). This general idea will also be followed in the Berlinisch analysis later on. In contrast to the other approaches to the PCC that were discussed above, A&H suggest that the PCC arises from defective feature specifications on the Case-licensing heads *v* and Appl, the head of the applicative phrase ApplP. They also base their argumentation on the grouping of 1st/2nd person to the exclusion of 3rd person, based on the value of a [participant] feature, which is only valued for 1st and 2nd person, e.g. [part:1] for 1st person. In addition, A&H assume that Appl always needs an animate specifier and that a head may never probe for a feature in its c-command domain that it requires in its specifier (cf. their unnamed *Generalization*, A&H, 2007:26). In turn, this means that in the presence of Appl, the DO, which is the only argument in Appl's probing domain, must not be valued for [participant], i.e. be 1st or 2nd person, giving rise to the PCC. Accounting for the

feature bundles giving rise to syncretism, [part] plays a crucial role: A&H argue that while 1st and 2nd person are always inherently specified for [part], 3rd person only needs to have this feature if it is an indirect object and in Spec,ApplP. Having the same set of features, the morphological realization of 1st and 2nd person is always the same, independent of their status as a direct or indirect object. In contrast, 3rd person has two different forms, conditioned by its location: As V's complement, it does not have [part], but as the indirect object in Spec,ApplP it does, giving rise to two different morphological realizations. According to A&H's analysis of the PCC, it is thus closely linked to the animacy distinction that is also relevant for DOM.

While the analyses detailed above might account well for the languages discussed by the authors above, they cannot be directly applied to Berlinisch, as the PCC and DOM do not correlate in the variety. In the present study, 7/11 participants allowed any combination of person in the relevant environments. Only two speakers have strong PCC (S7, S9), not accepting (45a) and being the only two speakers not accepting (45b). Two more speakers (S8, S10) only prohibit the combination of 1/2 person DO with 1/2 person IO (46a). In addition, four more speakers (S1, S2, S4, S5) only allowed this combination if 1st person preceded 2nd person, making 1/2 DO + 1/2 IO the only person combination that is restricted for the majority of Berlinisch speakers in the present study. This is surprising, as one would expect from the classification of PCC effects above that more speakers allow 1/2 DO + 1/2 IO than 1/2 DO + 3 IO, as the Weak PCC is more permissive than the Strong PCC. However, the reverse case arises from the data. Only speaker S6 has Weak PCC, allowing 1/2 DO + 1/2 IO, but not 1/2 DO + 3 IO. As expected, no problems arise if the DO is 3rd person, as long as a strict DO > IO order is kept, which is a necessity for almost all speakers that also applies to all other person combinations.

(45) a. i. ?? Hat Peter mich/dich   dir/mir   empfohlen?

           Has Peter 1SG.ACC/2SG.ACC   2SG.DAT/1SG.DAT   recommend.PCTP

     ii. ?? Hat Peter dir/mir   mich/dich   empfohlen?

           Has Peter 2SG.DAT/1SG.DAT   1SG.ACC/2SG.ACC   recommend.PCTP

   b. i. ? Hast=e   mich   ihm   empfohlen?

           Have=2SG.NOM   1SG.ACC   3SG.DAT   recommend.PCTP

     ii. ? Haste=e   ihm   mich   empfohlen?

           Have=2SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   1SG.ACC   recommend.PCTP

(46) a. i.

Tanja	hat	mich	dir	vorjestellt
Tanja	has	1SG.ACC	2SG.DAT	introduce.PTCP

'Tanja has introduced me to you.'

ii.

Tanja	hat	mir	dich	vorjestellt
Tanja	has	1SG.DAT	2SG.ACC	introduce.PTCP

'Tanja has introduced you to me.'

b. i.

? Tanja	hat	dich	mir	vorjestellt
Tanja	has	2SG.ACC	1SG.DAT	introduce.PTCP

ii.

? Tanja	hat	dir	mich	vorjestellt
Tanja	has	2SG.DAT	1SG.ACC	introduce.PTCP

In addition to this inconsistent picture, the speakers that show PCC effects belong to different groups, while other members of their respective groups do not show any sensitivity to person restrictions. Moreover, the restrictions on the combination of DOs and IOs disappear when both are datives. The fact that some Berlinisch speakers allow two dative objects is important to note, as some of the previous accounts of the PCC build on the idea that only one object can be DOM/dative-marked (e.g. O&R, 2007; Adger & Harbour, 2007). Overall, the data does not support the correlation of the PCC and DOM in Berlinisch.

(47) a.

Hat	Peter	mir/dir	dir/mir	empfohlen?
Has	Peter	1SG/2SG.DAT	2SG//1SG.DAT	recommend.PCTP

'Has Peter recommended me/you to you/me?'

b.

Hast=e		mir/ihm	ihm/mir	empfohlen?
Have=2SG.NOM		1SG/3SG.DAT	3SG/1SG.DAT	recommended

'Have you recommended me/him to him/me?'

As a consequence, it is neither possible to argue along the lines of O&R that DO and IO compete for the same object position, nor like Adger & Harbour who argue that syncretism and PCC go hand in hand. Neither of these analyses would give rise to two dative objects. Instead, the possible co-occurrence of two dative arguments suggests that Berlinisch DOM-datives must be

licensed separately from IO-datives, and that the presence of the IO does not interfere with this process.

To further support the argument that the PCC is not a useful diagnostic for Berlinisch DOM, it is worthwhile to consider previous research on the PCC in German. Although Anagnostopoulou (2008) claims that German has at least Weak PCC effects, she also admits that there is a lot of ideolectal variation with no particular predictable pattern, across speakers from several different regions. In contrast to the above described patterns of DOM, the patterns and trends that arise in Berlinisch ditransitives are not restricted to and thus not defining for the variety at all, but were also observed from other German speakers by Anagnostopoulou. Besides debatable restrictions on person combinations, there is a strict DO>IO order for weak pronouns, except when they are 1st or 2nd person, in which case the IO may precede the DO. This trend also emerges in the data of the present study, as indicated above. Anagnostopoulou concludes that the PCC in German is related to underlying restrictions on word order in the specific position that weak pronouns can be found in, which further suggests that one cannot draw conclusions about feature checking in the vP from it.

Pankau (2020) found PCC effects in a sub-variety of Berlinisch which he calls North East Berlin German (NEBG). The combination of object clitics in NEBG is restricted depending on the type of verb. With one class of verbs, to which e.g. *empfehlen* ('to recommend'), *vorstellen* ('to introduce') or *zeigen* ('to show') belong, Strong PCC effects arise (48a). With a second class of verbs, to which e.g. *vorziehen* ('to prefer') belongs, Weak PCC effects arise (48b).

(48) a.

Die	hat	n	mir	/*mir	m
3SG.F	has	3SG.ACC	1SG.DAT	1SG.ACC	3SG.DAT

/*dir	mir	jezeigt
2SG.ACC[8]	1SG.DAT	show.PTCP

'She showed him to me/*me to him/*you to me.'

---

[8] Glosses are adopted from Pankau (2020), who glosses the dative-form direct object clitics as accusative.

b. Die hat n mir /*mir m

3SG.F has 3SG.ACC 1SG.DAT 1SG.ACC 3SG.DAT

/dir mir ausjespannt

2SG.ACC 1SG.DAT steal.PTCP

'She stole him from me/*me from him/you from me.'

(from Pankau, 2020:4)

Interestingly, the effects found by Pankau were not be replicated in the present study. As detailed above, no consistent picture regarding PCC effects emerged from the data, and certainly no consistent Strong PCC was found. This could be due to the fact that NEBG refers to Berlinisch spoken in Berlin-Marzahn, an area of Berlin where none of the speakers from the present study are from. However, as the informants that showed PCC effects in the present study cannot be grouped by area either, and as the PCC is not necessarily restricted to Berlinisch (cf. Anagnostopoulou's findings summarized above), it is more likely that the differences between Pankau's study and the present study are again due to ideolectal variation. Overall, more research into PCC effects in German is needed in general, in order to investigate the parallel observations between the different studies in more detail, and to understand and be able to predict inter-speaker variation. To sum up, the PCC cannot be related to the Akkudativ, and thus should not play a role in its analysis.

4.2 Berlinisch DOM datives are structural ACC

Having established that DO and IO do not compete with each other for case or agreement with one and the same head, and that competition analyses are thus out, the challenge to explain why some direct objects are dative marked remains. In German, dative can be structural, such as on indirect objects (49a) or inherent, e.g. with certain prepositions (49b, and many more) or verbs (49c-d) (Fanselow, 2000). In the latter case, the dative is linked to certain thematic roles such as Experiencers, Beneficiaries, or Recipients. Moreover, the German dative can be associated with certain semantic effects, for example expressing affectedness, and can be applicative (see Abraham, 2006 for an overview).

(49) *Standard German*

a. Ich   gebe   dir   das   Buch.

1SG.NOM   give.1SG   2SG.DAT   DET.N.ACC   book

'I give you the book.'

b. Hanne hat   nach dir   Geburtstag.

Hanne have.3SG   after 2SG.DAT   birthday

'Hanne has her birthday after you.'

c. Dir   schmeckt   Schokokuchen   gut.

2SG.DAT   taste.3SG   chocolate.cake   good

'Chocolate cake tastes good to you.'

d. Ich   helfe   dir.

1SG.NOM   help.1SG   2SG.DAT

'I help you.'

e. Dir   ist   der   Reis   angebrannt.

2SG.DAT   BE   DET.NOM   rice   burn.PCTP

'(It happened to you that) the rice burned.'

Despite this wide range of dative use, regular direct objects cannot usually bear dative, but morphologically match the structural accusative they receive from *v*. If Berlinisch DOM datives arose under the same circumstances as High German datives, DOM datives should fit one of the dative environments introduced above, rather than behaving like a true direct object. The following paragraphs will test this prediction and show that it does not hold. Firstly, DOM objects behave like DOs in passivization. As expected from structural Case, they switch to nominative in passives (50a-b). Inherent datives yield impersonal readings, as in Standard German (50c-d).

(50) a. De   Frau   sieht   dir.

DET.F.NOM   woman   see.3SG   2SG.DAT

'The woman sees you.'

46

b. Du   wirst   jesehen.

   2SG.NOM   AUX.2SG   see.PTCP

   'You are seen.'

c. De   Frau   hilft   dir.

   DET.F.NOM   woman   help.3SG   2SG.DAT

   'The woman helps you.'

d. Dir   wird   jeholfen.

   2SG.DAT   AUX.3SG   help.PTCP

   'You are helped.'

If DOM dative was inherent case, one would expect it to be preserved in passives or at least allowed with an impersonal reading as in (50c-d), but those options are ungrammatical in Berlinisch DOM contexts (51).

(51) a. *Dir   wirst   jesehen.

          2SG.DAT   AUX.2SG   see.PTCP

      b. *Dir   wird   jesehen.

          2SG.DAT   AUX.3SG   see.PTCP

Secondly, the fact that the same verb can have an accusative- or dative-marked internal argument is further evidence against inherent case. Which case marking is observed only depends on the lexical properties of the nominal element and not on the verb, as illustrated in (52). If one wanted to model this as verb-dependent, it would require two lexical entries for the same verb, one which selects animate objects and assigns dative, and one that selects inanimate objects and assigns accusative. The number of different *v*s would be further increased by the fact that Berlinisch does not only have a person distinction, but also distinguishes gender and animacy.

(52) a. Se   sieht   se.

          3SG.F.NOM   see   3SG.F.INANIM.ACC

          'She sees her.' (referring to inanimate)

b. Se   sieht   ihr.

3SG.F.NOM   see   3SG.F.ANIM.DAT

'She sees her.' (referring to animate)

A third argument against analysing DOM dative as inherent case is that DOM datives are not limited by certain thematic roles. Although datives are found in all the special semantically conditioned environments as in Standard German, Berlinisch datives extend beyond these environments or theta-roles. Besides Experiencers, Recipients and Beneficiaries, which are also mostly dative-marked in High German, Berlinisch DOM datives extend to Patient/Theme arguments. Any Patient/Theme that fulfils the DOM requirements will surface as dative, as the above examples of Berlinisch direct objects show. However, any Patient/Theme that does not fulfil the DOM requirements surfaces as accusative, indicating that DOM datives are not linked to specific θ-roles.

Finally, the differential marking in Berlinisch is not limited to direct objects, but also arises in other environments where accusative is expected, namely in PPs, as described above and illustrated again in (53).

(53) a. Se   sorgt   sich   um   mir

          3SG.NOM   worry.3SG   REFL   about 1SG.DAT

          'She worries about me.'

      b. Se   sorgt   sich   um   se

          3SG.NOM   worry.3SG   REFL   about 3SG.ACC

          'She worries about her.' (referring to a cat)

Although it is generally assumed that case in PPs is inherent, the same problem arises as in the vP: the differentially marked nominals in Berlinisch seem to 'override' the accusative, surfacing as dative. With the desideratum in mind that the phenomenon should be explained in a uniform way across syntactic contexts, the unexpected dative forms in PPs deliver additional evidence against a competition account, as there is clearly just one argument of P. Alternatively, one could assume that there are two versions of the same preposition, one assigning dative, one assigning accusative, but this would require that P is sensitive to animacy and that it could only select nominals with certain animacy values. Moreover, it is also undesirable to assume two lexical entries for the same preposition, in the same way as assuming that the exact same verb

exists twice, assigning different case depending on its internal argument. If the lexicon could standardly adjust like that, it would further raise the question why a second version of a functional element assigning a different case only seems to be available for standardly accusative-assigning elements and not for other cases. The assumption that prepositions and verbs can exist in as many versions as necessary, accommodating any kind of complement as needed, is furthermore undesirable as it overgenerates. Thus, a more restrictive explanation is needed.

To conclude, it is evident that Berlinisch DOM objects behave like regular DOs rather than fitting any of the dative environments known from Standard German, which indicates that they should receive structural accusative Case. However, the observed morphological case marking on direct objects does not match the structural Case, and the case marking in PPs does not match inherent case assigned by P, indicating that Berlinisch DOM datives need to be analysed differently than Standard German datives. At the same time, standard analyses of DOM run into problems when applied to the Berlinisch data, mostly due to the fact that PCC effects are very unstable in German, and Berlinisch speakers allow two dative arguments in the same clause.

4.3 Deriving dative accusatives in Berlinisch

Morphological case on Berlinisch pronouns cannot be solely determined by the properties of the case-assigning head. The purely syntactic analyses above do not account well for the Berlinisch data, and tests such as the behaviour in ditransitives and passivization revealed that all direct objects should be assigned structural accusative Case. Thus, it cannot be assumed that DOM objects and IOs in Berlinisch are assigned case in the same way, as is for example assumed in O&R's (2013a) analysis. Instead, DOM objects behave like other direct objects, only sharing the morphological form with IOs. Hence, Berlinisch DOM case is a mismatch of structural Case and morphological case marking. This observation is the basis for morphological accounts of DOM, which we will now turn to with the aim to explain how the mismatch arises.

Before getting into the details of DOM in morphology, a few basic assumptions need to be established. In general, morphological accounts of DOM, as well as this thesis, assume a realisational morphology, meaning that syntax only yields abstract feature bundles, which morphology then realizes by inserting items, i.e. morphemes, from the lexicon. More

specifically, in Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle & Marantz, 1993) the lexical entries are called Vocabulary Items (VI), which are themselves also specified for certain features. The insertion of VIs is determined by the Subset Principle, according to which a VI can only be inserted if its features are a subset of the abstract morpho-syntactic features it realizes, and that the most specific vocabulary item is inserted (Halle, 1997). Without the need to subscribe to DM specifically, a crucial common assumption in this kind of analysis is that features can and should be decomposed further. For case assignment, this means that rather than just one value, such as [ACC], a number of features can be assigned to the nominal element, depending on how case is decomposed. Bárány (2018) illustrates this idea with some abstract features: For example, instead of *v* assigning [ACC], it values the nominal's case feature with the features [A, B]. The case features are added to the other features in the bundle, e.g. number or gender, which then could be realized as the accusative marker. Following the concept of case hierarchies (54) and case containment (55), which can account for syncretism in a wide range of languages and are a central idea in nanosyntax (e.g. Caha, 2009, 2013), dative-assigning heads have at least one additional feature, e.g. [C]. The accusative, being less specific and less complex than the dative, is contained by the dative, or in other words, is defined by a subset of the features that define the dative, as the containment relation in (55) abstractly illustrates.

(54)   Case Hierarchy (Blake, 2001:156)

      NOM > ACC/ERG > GEN > DAT > LOC > ABL/INS > …

(55)   Abstract Subset Relation of Case Features (Bárány, 2018:23)

      $\{A\} \subset \{A, B\} \subset \{A, B, C\} \subset \cdots$

In order to account for the fact that not all structural datives and accusatives have the same surface realization, the feature bundles from syntax can be impoverished. Impoverishment is a central concept of DM, which allows to delete features from the syntactic feature bundles before the insertion of the vocabulary items (Halle & Marantz, 1993). This principle is central to Keine & Müller's (K&M; 2014) DM approach to DOM, which is motivated by a problem that was already pointed out above: some languages, such as German, do not only distinguish zero/non-zero case marking like Spanish, but have two or more overt case exponents. By arguing that DOM arises from impoverishment, they can account for more differentiated systems, and for systems where the less specified exponent is not necessarily a zero exponent. One example that K&M discuss is the so-called *Rheinischer Akkusativ*, a characteristic of German varieties spoken throughout the Palatine and Rhine region of Germany: in these varieties of German,

masculine DPs are syncretic in nominative and accusative, extending the syncretism that is standardly found in German feminine, neuter and plural DPs. Rather than being accusative-marked, masculine direct objects are nominative-marked (56a). As in Berlinisch, there is a definiteness contrast, although the Rheinischer Akkusativ affects DPs rather than pronouns (56b).

(56)   *Mannheim German (from Keine & Müller, 2014:26)*

    a.   Hol   mir   mal   der   Eimer

        fetch   1SG.DAT   PRT   DET.NOM   bucket

        'Fetch me the bucket.'

    b.   Hol   en/*er   mir   mal   her

        fetch   3SG.M.ACC/*NOM   1SG.DAT   PRT   PRT

        'Fetch it for me.'

K&M adopt the feature decomposition in (57) and vocabulary items in (58) from Wiese (1999). Gender and number can be summarized in one set of features, as the German plural is fully syncretic and does not distinguish different forms based on gender. Only the relevant two VIs are repeated in (58), as the other specifications are peripheral to the example.

(57)   *Feature Decomposition in K&M (2014:27), from Wiese (1999)*

a. Case

NOM	[-obl(ique), -gov(erned)]
ACC	[-obl, +gov]
DAT	[+obl,+gov]
GEN	[+obl, -gov]

b. Gender/Number

MASC	[+masc,-fem]
FEM	[-masc, +fem]
NEUT	[+masc,+fem]
PL	[-masc,-fem]

(58)   *Vocabulary Items of German Determiner Inflection (K&M, 2014:27, from Wiese, 1999)*

/n/ ↔ [+masc, +gov]   (ACC.M.SG)

/r/ ↔ [+masc]   (NOM.M.SG)

Given these specifications, the feature bundle on a masculine direct object would thus be [-obl, +gov, +masc, -fem]. As /n/ is the more specific candidate, it would be inserted. However, in this particular variety of German, an impoverishment rule applies before vocabulary insertion, which deletes [+gov], yielding [-obl, +masc, -fem]. As /n/ is not a subset of these features, /r/ is inserted instead, yielding the observed syncretism with nominative. The different case marking of pronouns and DPs arises from a ranking of constraints, which is based on the definiteness scale, where pronouns are ranked higher than DPs (refer to K&M, 2014 for a detailed explanation of the relevant scales and rankings). In a nutshell, the ranking has the effect that the impoverishment rule only applies to DPs, but not pronouns.

Similarly to the Rheinischer Akkusativ, Berlinisch DOM case is structural accusative, but realized as a different case, suggesting that the mismatch of abstract and morphological case in Berlinisch could also be accounted for with a morphology-based analysis of DOM. However, the above accounts cannot be adopted as is for two reasons: firstly, rather than a less specific exponent, Berlinisch DOM objects are marked with a more specific exponent, namely with dative instead of accusative. Under K&M's approach, the rule would have to be that *v* always assigns the feature set of datives, which can then be impoverished for elements lower on the definiteness scale to yield the more general accusative marking. Secondly, Berlinisch DOM is sensitive to specific animacy values, which is not generally assumed to play a role in the features that are checked in German syntax. Recalling that morphology only realizes what is built in syntax, the role of animacy presents a challenge that the analysis of Berlinisch DOM needs to account for. As a possible solution to these problems, it will be suggested that rather than impoverishing the feature bundle of direct objects, Berlinisch DOM objects have a layer of added complexity, which is reflected in their feature bundle, giving rise to the insertion of the more specific dative exponent in morphology. The view of DOM as added structural complexity is not new, but e.g. reflected in the accounts of Torrego (1998), López (2012) or Irimia & Pineda (2019), who all assume that DOM objects are more complex than non-DOM objects. In addition, it is also compatible with the idea of case containment, which predicts that datives are more complex than accusatives, as illustrated in (54-55).

First of all, this added layer of complexity should be closely linked to the kind of nominal elements that can be DOM-marked, rather than to the functional heads assigning Case. Neither *v* nor P are standardly sensitive to animacy, and they should not be, as that would mean that they could assign different case or case features, depending on the animacy value, and for some speakers also the gender value of the nominal element. The consequence of that would be that

there are two versions of one and the same *v* and each standardly accusative-assigning P in the lexicon. For example, a transitive verb such as 'to see' would need to exist twice, one version assigning dative to animate arguments, and a second one assigning accusative to inanimate arguments. Variation would then arise from different kinds and numbers of *v*s and Ps in the lexicon, all identical except for the feature values they can check and the case they assign. This should be rejected, as it appears to be an unnecessarily inefficient solution.

Instead, the structure of DOM objects themselves should be reconsidered from the perspective of animacy. As should be abundantly clear at this point, pronouns that appear in dative form in accusative contexts are located high in the animacy hierarchy. In other words, they are marked specially due to a certain specification of animacy that distinguishes them from elements lower in the hierarchy. It is this specification that should also motivate the structural difference between DOM and non-DOM objects in Berlinisch that gives rise to the difference in the feature bundle leading to spell-out as dative. This idea is not new, but leads us back to the syntactic accounts of DOM, in which it can be found in more or less concrete ways. In Torrego's (1998) analysis, this idea is represented by the D-feature which only allows DOM objects to raise. However, this feature is closely associated with *v* rather than the direct object. A better basis for the analysis of Berlinisch DOM is López' proposal that DOM objects are embedded in a KP, where K contributes the feature(s) that can lead to spell-out of the DOM marker, e.g. *a* in Spanish. The basic structure for DOM objects is given in (59), following the proposal of López (2012:59).

(59)

```
            KP
           /  \
          K    DP
          ↕     …
        /DOM/
```
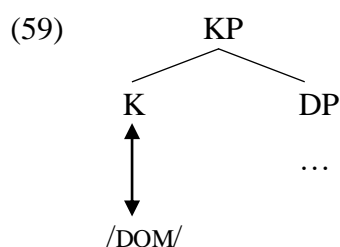
Irimia & Pineda (2019) have some more concrete ideas regarding the specific feature in K that gives rise to DOM-marking. Their equivalent of López' K head is a specific feature that is connected to sentience or perspective, which can have a different value depending on the individual language. Following accounts that decompose person features further, namely Harley & Ritter (2002), Nevins (2007) and Anagnostopoulou (2003), this extra feature would e.g. be [speaker] for 1st person, [addressee] for 2nd person and [person] for 3rd person. DOM and a non-DOM objects then differ in whether or not this extra feature is present in the syntax, as

illustrated in (60) (roughly following Irimia & Pineda, 2019:11): The first structure with the extra feature in (60a) represents a 3rd person animate noun that would be DOM-marked, whereas the structure in (60b) does not have this feature, or in López' terms is not embedded in a KP, and therefore cannot be DOM-marked.

(60) a. …   b.'   D   b.''   N
          K[PERSON]   …   D   N   N
   D   N

Independent of the rest of López' or Irimia & Pineda's structures, which are conceptualized to account for the facts of other languages, the general idea can be adopted for Berlinisch. Crucially, only sentient entities are accounted to receive the DOM-dative, which fits with the more general cross-linguistic observation that experiencers are often marked specially to contrast them with non-experiencing arguments (Wierzbicka, 1981). This idea was further developed and generalized by Landau (2009), who argues that this special marking, which is often expressed by oblique case, can be explained by assuming that all experiencers are 'mental locations' (Landau, 2009:6), or locatives in the syntactic sense. More precisely, all experiencing arguments are licensed by a silent null preposition $\emptyset_{\Psi}$, which can in some languages assign oblique case. While Landau mostly focuses on experiencers in the thematic sense, i.e. as arguments of psych verbs as understood by Belletti & Rizzi (1988), receiving inherent case in the sense of Emonds (1985, 1987), the logic can be extended to any object capable of experience in the general semantic sense. Besides the general observation that Berlinisch DOM objects are always sentient, the split reflexive pattern is further evidence that Landau's proposal holds in Berlinisch: some speakers make a distinction between PSYCH-reflexives (dative-marked) and NON-PSYCH-reflexives (accusative-marked). Moreover, dative-form PSYCH-reflexives are the last environment in which Berlinisch dative holds up when a speaker marks all other forms accusative (e.g. S1), as required in the standard variety. Essentially, Landau's proposal allows to adopt the idea of embedding DOM objects without subscribing to analyses that were developed for Spanish, which differs from Berlinisch in a number of relevant structural ways, for example with respect to ditransitives and the PCC. Concerning the specific properties of $\emptyset_{\Psi}$, it does not assign dative case in Berlinisch, but only contributes the relevant features that distinguish DOM from non-DOM objects and that give rise to their different surface forms, as was assumed above for K.

Following the above considerations, Berlinisch DOM can be derived as follows: All direct objects, DOM-marked or not, receive structural accusative from *v*. Complements of accusative-assigning prepositions receive accusative from P. DOM-marked arguments differ from non-DOM ones in that they are embedded in a phrase whose head $\emptyset_\Psi$ contains the feature bundle that later gives rise to spell-out as morphological dative. This feature needs to be part of the nominal's feature bundle in syntax, in order to be relevant to VI insertion in morphology. Non-DOM objects only have a semantic animacy value which is not realized in syntax, as it is not relevant to morphology and does not fall into the category of elements introduced by $\emptyset_\Psi$ that is established by Landau (2009). The derivation of a Berlinisch transitive verb with a DOM object is illustrated in (61), and for reasons of illustration, the derivation of non-DOM objects is given in (62). The set of features on $\emptyset_\Psi$ is temporarily represented by an abstract variable [A] and accusative is simplified as [ACC] for now. The DP has its case feature valued when it enters Agree with *v*. $\emptyset_\Psi$ does not intervene, as its features do not match with *v*.

(61) *DOM Object*
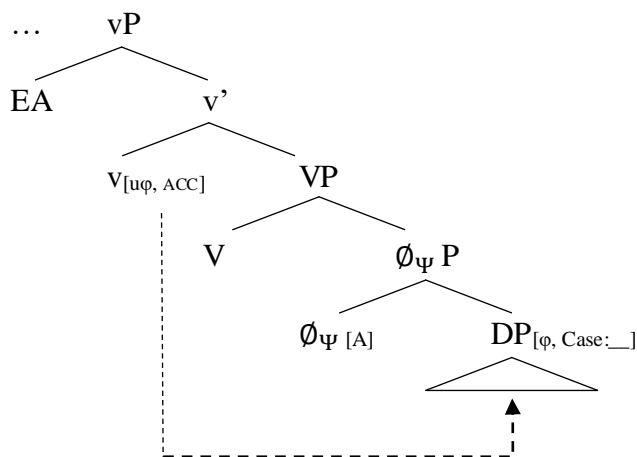
(62) *Non-DOM Object*
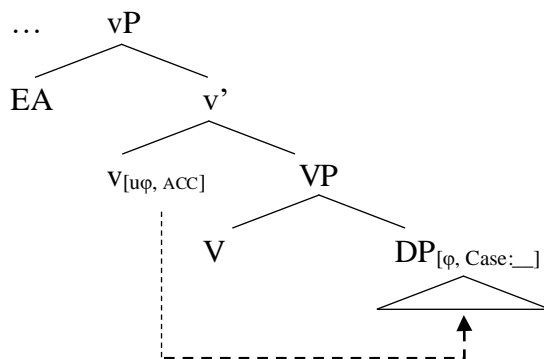
The derivations above yield the feature bundle [φ,ACC,A] for the DOM object, whereas the feature bundle of the non-DOM object is [φ,ACC]. Assuming the abstract spell-out rules in (63) for Berlinisch, DOM object pronouns are spelled-out as dative, while non-DOM object pronouns are spelled-out as accusative.

(63)   (accusative pronouns)   ↔   [φ,ACC]

        (dative pronouns)   ↔   [φ,ACC,A]

The spell-out rules above are only an abstract, simplified representation of the actual VI specifications, which vary in the value of the φ-features, as well as the concrete set of features represented by [A]. Variation can be modelled through the exact feature value of $\emptyset_\Psi$. Although person features and animacy values overlap to a certain extent, it is not sufficient to only define animacy through person. While 1st and 2nd person are logically human, 3rd person can be human, animate or inanimate. This brings us back to the question how person and animacy features can be decomposed in a unified way, which was already briefly introduced above in the context of PCC analyses. Nevins (2007) argues that a distinction of [±person], where [-person] is 3rd person (as assumed by Anagnostopoulou (2005), Adger & Harbour (2007), a.o.) is not fine-grained enough. Similarly, O&R's (2007) proposal to make a distinction based on [±animate] cannot account for all observed variation. It only accounts for a split between 1st/2nd and 3rd person, but cannot account for lower cut-off points on the animacy scale, such as a distinction between 3SG.HUM and 3SG.ANIM. Nevins' alternative suggestion to adopt Halle's (1997) feature decomposition based on [±author] and [±participant] as in (64) can model the necessary distinctions between the three persons, but still does not incorporate an animacy distinction for third person.
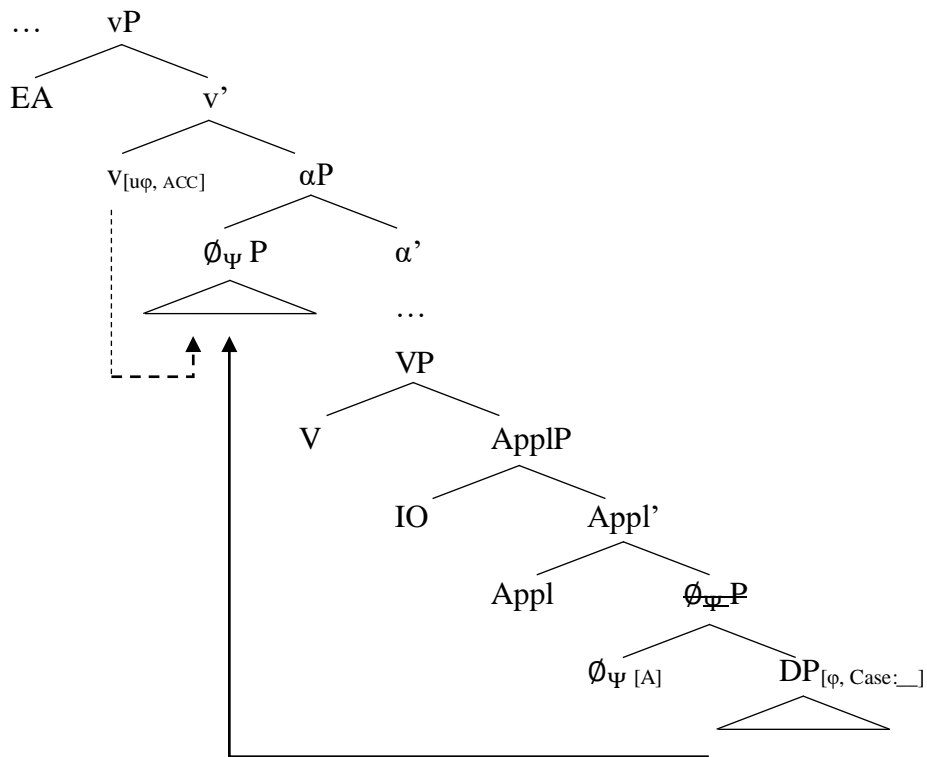
(64)   *Person Feature Decomposition* (Nevins, 2007:288, following Halle, 1997)

        a.   [+Auth, +Part]= 1st person

        b.   [-Auth, +Part] = 2nd person

        c.   [-Auth, -Part] = 3rd person

        d.   [+Auth, -Part] = logically impossible

As long as 3rd person is not decomposed further, and animacy and person features cannot be integrated, an additional specification of animacy is required beyond the person features. Unfortunately, establishing a well-grounded feature matrix that takes all relevant DOM factors into account is well beyond the scope of this thesis. However, van Heusinger & Kaiser (2003)

take some first steps into that direction by discussing the relevant factors and limitations of such a feature matrix or scale for different varieties of Spanish. They also note that more basic research into the properties of certain scales is needed first. For the time being, the additional head representing the extra animacy information has to be abstractly represented by [A], which abstractly substitutes features such as [human] or [animate], representing the groups' individual cut-off points on the animacy scale. If [A] is [human], the split is between human and animate, as in speaker group 2; if it is [animate], it allows the distinction of 3rd person animates and inanimates, as in group 1. The split between 1st and 2nd person, which are both human, arises from the person value.

As explained above, all direct objects receive structural accusative Case from *v*, and the presence of a second argument should not interfere with that. This predicts that two arguments can surface in dative form, which was confirmed by a number of speakers, and demonstrated above (ex. (47)). Based on the observation that all speakers of Berlinisch that allow double datives have a strict DO>IO reading, the DO should be higher in the structure, which is also necessary for it to receive structural accusative Case. The underlying order of arguments in German ditransitives is debated in the literature, as e.g. Müller (1995) argues against underlying IO>DO order, and in favour of DO>IO. This would allow the derivation to proceed exactly as above, as the DO would remain the closest matching goal to *v*, because the IO is located lower in the structure. Under the IO>DO view, which is e.g. supported by Anagnostopoulou (2008), the DO would need to raise above the IO, e.g. to a position similar to López' Spec,αP. This ensures that the DO is the closest matching goal to *v* and is thus assigned structural accusative Case, as illustrated in (65). Although it is clear that the DO must be closer to *v* than IO to be assigned [ACC], the precise way this is achieved must be left for future research.

(65)   *Ditransitive with DOM object under the IO>DO view*

$$\text{vP tree (65)}$$

... vP
- EA
- v'
  - V[uφ, ACC]
  - αP
    - ∅_Ψ P
    - α'
      - ...
      - VP
        - V
        - ApplP
          - IO
          - Appl'
            - Appl
            - ~~∅_Ψ P~~
              - ∅_Ψ [A]
              - DP[φ, Case:__]

Finally, dative-form accusatives in PPs are not derived any differently than DOM objects. Like *v*, certain prepositions can assign accusative. As was shown above, case marking in this environment behaves exactly the same way as in the vP, i.e. the same kinds of pronouns surface in dative form rather than in the accusative form. As DOM objects, pronouns are embedded in ∅_Ψ P which has the relevant animacy feature in its head. Under the assumption that the full feature bundle should arise from syntactic configurations, a view of Ps as probes (Kayne, 2004) should be adopted. This way, checking of φ-features and case assignment are connected in the PP as they are in the vP. In combination with [ACC] assigned from P, the full feature bundle that gives rise to the insertion of the dative-form VI is established in syntax.

(66)   ... PP
- P[uφ, ACC]
- ∅_Ψ P
  - ∅_Ψ [A]
  - DP[φ, Case:__]
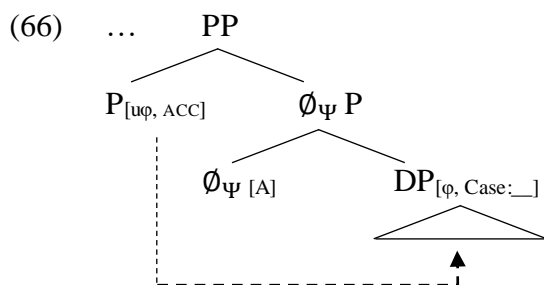
One crucial motivation for the proposed analysis with the extra head introducing the animacy distinction is the fact that DOM makes Berlinisch more complex than its close relatives Low German and High German. The fact that animacy plays a role in case marking indicates an extra level of complexity, as this is not the case in closely related varieties. The next section will discuss in more detail how the observed synchronic and diachronic variation can be explained.

5. DOM as an Emergent Property

In section 3, it was shown that the different participant groups' pronominal systems do not vary randomly, but are predicted by the possible different cut-off points on the relevant DOM scale. The development of Berlinisch can be explained along the same lines. As detailed above, Berlinisch arose as a contact variety when Middle Low German came into contact with High German, which became the sought-after ideal in the greater Berlin area in the 16th century (Lasch, 1928; Schmidt, 1986). When comparing the pronominal system of Middle Low German, the Berlinisch described in Lasch (1928), and High German, it becomes evident from Table 7 that rather than being simplified, Berlinisch kept the Low German pattern instead of adopting the more complex High German paradigm. First and second person were already syncretic in Middle Low German and did change to adopt the DAT/ACC distinction of High German. However, according to Lasch (1928), a preference for the dative-form third person direct object pronoun developed due to phonological similarities to and the underlying sound system of Middle Low German. This strong preference for dative-form pronouns in accusative contexts is confirmed by Schlobinski's (1988) quantitative analysis. Unfortunately, neither study mentions anything about animacy, which is why it is not possible to say whether the small number of correctly used accusative forms were low on the animacy scale, as predicted by the present analysis[9]. Nevertheless, the syncretism of 1st and 2nd person could indicate that Middle Low German already had DOM, which Schlobinski's gender hierarchy might also be a sign of.

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[9] For a complete and accurate understanding of the development of Berlinisch, future research could revisit the texts analysed by Lasch and Schlobinski and check whether their reported 'outliers' of correct accusative use is in fact already related to animacy. Unfortunately, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Table 7

Accusative and Dative Pronouns in Middle Low German, Berlinisch and High German

		SG					PL		
		1	2	3M	3F	3N	1	2	3
MLG[a]	ACC	mî(k), mê(k)	dî(k), dê(k)	en(e), on(e)	sê, si(e), sü	it, et	uns, ûs	jû(we), jük, ûch	sê, si(e)
	DAT	mî(k), mê(k)	dî(k), dê(k)	em(e), om(e), en	er(e/er), öre	em(e), om(e), en	uns, ûs	jû(we), jük, ûch	em, en, öm, jüm
BG	ACC	mir	dir	ihn, ihm[b]	se, ihr[b]	et	uns	euch	se
	DAT	mir	dir	ihm	ihr	ihm	uns	euch	ihnen
HG	ACC	mich	dich	ihn	sie	es	uns	euch	sie
	DAT	mir	dir	ihm	ihr	ihm	uns	euch	ihnen

MLG = Middle Low German (data from Lasch, 1914:213ff); BG = Berlin German (data from present study); HG = High German

[a] Several forms are given as in Lasch (1914:213ff), as MLG consisted of several varieties, which cannot always be cleanly divided in regard to the pronouns. Based on the available data, it cannot clearly be said which of the forms was predominant in the Berlin area.

[b] depending on animacy, as explained above

Overall, this means that the imitation of and adaptation to High German (cf. Lasch's line of argumentation) was not successful, at least until the 19th century. On the contrary, it seems like the Berlinisch system rather resembles the direction in which Low German developed in general: Modern Low German, as spoken as a minority language in Northern Germany today, only distinguishes subject and object case (cf. Table 8), meaning that object pronouns are fully syncretic in dative and accusative (Lindow et al., 1998). As in Berlinisch, the feminine determiners are uniformly *de*, independent of case.

Table 8

*Pronouns in Modern Low German* (Lindow et al., 1998)

	SG					PL		
	1	2	3M	3F	3N	1	2	3
NOM	ik	du	he	se	et/dat	wi	ji	se
OBL	mi	di	em	ehr	et/dat	uns	ju	jem

As has been discussed above, more recent accounts of Berlinisch, including the present study, suggest that the variety did change in the direction of High German over time, although the comparison with Modern Low German suggests that this development might have impacted the case system later than assumed by Lasch (1928). Moreover, different groups of speaker have adapted to the standard to differing extents, as discussed in section 3. As a consequence of the progressing standardization of High German and thus increased contact, Berlinisch started acquiring the systematic DAT/ACC distinction[10] for object pronouns. However, rather than just taking over the paradigm of the standard variety, a layer of complexity was added by not only distinguishing between direct and indirect object pronouns, but also adding an animacy distinction to the system where it was not previously made.

This additional level of complexity can be explained if it is assumed that Berlinisch did not evolve at once and randomly, but incrementally along the lines of the animacy hierarchy that was introduced above in order to account for the synchronic inter-speaker variation. Following this logic, from Middle Low German to 19th century Berlinisch, the cut-off point between dative and accusative object marking moved lower, possibly due to the overgeneralization that led to a preference for dative forms, as suggested by Lasch (1928). With increased standardization and spread of High German, the cut-off point for present-day Berlinisch's differential marking moved higher in the hierarchy again. As discussed above, the exact point differs between Berlinisch speakers, possibly depending on their individual level of accommodation to the standard, but it is clear that the underlying animacy hierarchy can reflect this variation accurately. More generally, it is predicted that DOM arises when a language's cut-off point is located somewhere between the rightmost and leftmost element on the scale, whereas languages without DOM would be located at its edges, which is why all elements on it fall into the same

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[10] As mentioned above, it cannot yet be ultimately decided if it already was systematic in the 19th century, due to a lack of detail in the available data. The wording here thus follows the assumption from the above discussed literature that dative and accusative forms were mostly randomly used for third person pronouns.

markedness category. To illustrate the idea, the cross-varietal differences are sketched in (67), where the arrow indicates the split between dative (left of arrow) and accusative (right of arrow) forms for direct objects. In High German, all direct object pronouns are accusative, in Low German, neither DO pronouns nor determiners distinguish DAT/ACC, always having the oblique/dative form.

(67)   1   > 2   > 3.HUM   > 3.ANIM   > 3.INAN/N/PL > non-pronouns

High German Mid. Low German   Berlinisch   Low German
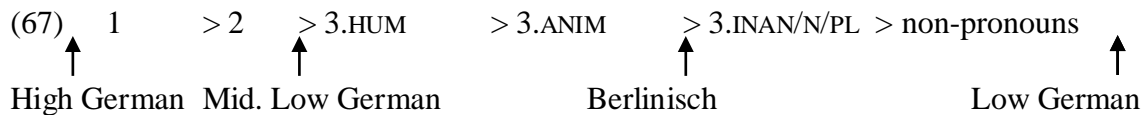
The fact that the area in which Berlinisch is spoken still lies in the transition zone between Low German and High German is very nicely reflected in the pronominal paradigm: as described above, Low German has dative-form-only object pronouns, High German has a full distinction of dative and accusative pronouns, and Berlinisch has a partial differentiation, with datives still marking the more prominent objects. In other words, Low German and High German lie on opposed ends of the animacy scale. Berlinisch, which is developing from a Low German substrate towards High German, changes incrementally along the animacy hierarchy. These incremental steps cause a division on the scale, which in turn gives rise to DOM, where the elements on one side of the division are marked differently than the ones on the other side.

The incremental change and development along a scale is also documented for Maltese and Spanish. In Maltese, a Semitic language which evolved from Classical Arabic, DOM emerged from contact with Old Sicilian (Döhla, 2016). As suggested for Berlinisch above, the grammaticalization of DOM in Maltese follows the specificity/definiteness and animacy scales. More specifically, it started from personal pronouns, which in Modern Maltese are now always marked specially, continuing with personal nouns that are topics. Common nouns are more often marked differentially if they are definite or specific. On the animacy scale, the split is between human and animate common nouns (Döhla, 2016:152ff). In Spanish, DOM started from animates and developed along the specificity scale, spreading from pronouns all the way down to specific indefinites over time, according to van Heusinger & Kaiser (2005:35). As the same authors argue, the incremental evolution of DOM is evidenced by the relative frequency of DOM on certain elements on the scale: near the cut-off point, which is the shifting division between DOM and non-DOM elements, the ratio of differentially marked elements is lower compared to the elements that are higher on the scale, where DOM is already established. This predicts that relative frequencies of differentially marked objects can indicate how far DOM is

developed in the language[11]. Van Heusinger & Kaiser further argue that an even more fine-grained scale with topicality [±top] as an additional variable applying per level of the hierarchy accurately makes the steps of development even smaller. If topicality plays a role in the respective system, DOM would first arise on [+top] elements and then spread to [–top] elements of the same category. For example, it would first affect [+top] definites and then [–top] definites, as in the case of Spanish[12]. In the case of Berlinisch, the smaller steps via topicality distinctions do not seem to be relevant.

Besides the evidence from Maltese and Spanish, as well as the fact that the animacy hierarchy is a useful concept Berlinisch, nicely accounting its synchronic and diachronic variation as well as its geographic location, it is not far-fetched to attribute a certain level of universality to the scale. As Aissen (2003) discusses, scales like this one correctly predict markedness patterns in many languages, as they realize the more general principle of prominence. Essentially, the scales that have so far been discussed are prominence scales: it was repeatedly observed that elements that are high in prominence scales, such as humans on the animacy scale or definite nouns on the specificity scale, are more frequently agents/subjects than patients/objects (Bossong, 1985, 1991; Comrie, 1989; Iemmolo, 2010, 2013). The trend is statistically sound, as discussed in Jäger (2007). Encountering a highly prominent element such as e.g. a 1st person pronoun as a non-agent/object is thus unusual, giving rise to special marking.[13] In the broader sense, DOM can thus be seen as a form-frequency correspondence (Haspelmath, 2021a). More specifically, the association of prominence and marking was formalized by Haspelmath (2021b), in general terms as the role-reference association universal (his Universal 1, (68)) and specifically concerning DOM, or in Haspelmath's (2021b:131) words 'split P[14] flagging', as the universal in (his Universal 4, (69)).

(68)   The role-reference association universal (Haspelmath, 2021b:125)

        Deviations from usual associations of role rank and referential prominence tend to be coded by longer grammatical forms if the coding is asymmetric.

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[11] This is quite a relevant prediction, as instability in the system can also be interpreted as 'confusion' as in the case of Berlinisch 3rd person pronouns.

[12] For a more detailed and nicely visualized explanation, please refer to van Heusinger & Kaiser (2005).

[13] The same principle applies to subjects, where the logic is reversed: As Aissen (2003:437) puts it: 'the high prominence which motivates DOM for objects is exactly the prominence which is unmarked for subjects'. This concept is also known as *markedness reversal* (cf. Aissen, 2003 and references therein).

[14] In this context, *P* refers to the θ-role patient rather than to prepositions, as defined in Haspelmath (2011).

(69)   Split P flagging ('Differential Object Case-Marking') (Haspelmath, 2021b:131)

        If a language has an asymmetric split in P flagging depending on some prominence scale, then the special flag is used on the prominent P-argument.

The assumption that the pronominal paradigm changed following these higher principles, realized by a scalar specificity and animacy distinction, firstly accounts for the Berlinisch pattern in a straightforward way, but secondly gives rise to a new testable hypothesis: it predicts that languages in comparable linguistic contexts, namely in a situation where differently complex object marking systems come into contact, might change following the same principles. In other words, it is predicted that DOM can emerge in contact, even when neither of the two languages involved previously had DOM.

Evidence for this hypothesis comes from Heritage German in the Americas: Yager et al. (2015) show that rather than showing random case loss due to incomplete acquisition or language attrition, speakers of Heritage German have innovative case marking patterns which should be analysed as emergent DOM. Data from several separate speech communities in Wisconsin, Texas, and Argentina is remarkably similar to what is observed for Berlinisch: pronouns retain dative marking longer than NPs, definites longer than indefinites, and animate nominals are more often dative-marked than inanimates. Yager et al. (2015) argue that this pattern cannot be simply explained with the influence of the contact language, as the historical linguistic roots as well as the current linguistic environment differ for each of the investigated varieties. Rosenberg (2005) also classifies the persistent dative on pronouns with simultaneous loss of case distinction on other nominals as language-internal rather than contact-induced change, based on the fact that this pattern is common across German language islands[15] all over the world. Besides the specificity distinction, Rosenberg (2005: 230) also takes note of a slight tendency for a gender-based effect, where masculine is more often distinctly marked than feminine and neuter, which corresponds to Schlobinski's (1988) gender hierarchy for Berlinisch.

It is noteworthy that DOM can emerge from contact of two non-DOM languages. It contradicts the view that contact leads to a simplification of the languages involved, as e.g. manifested by the use of the term *case loss* which is often used to describe a changing case system. The same

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[15] The term *language island* is defined as follows: 'Language islands are internally structured settlements of a linguistic minority on a limited geographical area in the midst of a linguistically different majority' (Rosenberg, 2009:221, translated from Hutterer, 1982:178). Rosenberg takes data from German-speaking language islands in many different countries in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Latin America, and the Unites States into account.

issue arises with term *Einheitskasus*, which suggests that the Akkudativ is a loss of distinction, a unification of dative and accusative, which, as has been shown above, is not the case. DOM is clearly a more complex system taking more variables into account than a non-DOM system, which in turn means that the emergence of DOM increases the complexity of the case system rather than simplifying it. More accurately, one should speak of a changing or shifting case system, but neither of loss nor simplification. Moreover, the emergence of DOM means that languages cannot only acquire new properties though borrowing, but that patterns that are new to either of the languages' systems may emerge from contact, such as the animacy distinction in Berlinisch.

Following the above observations, the question arises why a more complex, innovative system should emerge at all, as increased complexity could be associated with decreased efficiency. However, efficiency is not a weakness or problem, but an asset of DOM: Firstly, returning to the concept of prominence, it is functionally desirable to mark unusual objects specially, as objects of high prominence are unexpected. Secondly, the fact that the dative marker[16] is recycled for that purpose is another sign of efficiency, arising from a general cognitive bias, or third factor in Chomsky's (2005) sense, such as Maximize Minimal Means (MMM, Biberauer, 2017). MMM builds on the early Humboldtian idea to 'make infinite use of finite means' (von Humboldt, 1836:70), and predicts recycling of elements also used in other contexts (Wiltschko, 2014; Biberauer, 2017; Benerjee, Biberauer, Chandra & D'Alessandro, in prep.). Similarly, the marking of unusual objects in the sense of prominence could be such a general cognitive bias, given its universality following Haspelmath (2021b).

If the emergence of DOM is driven by these higher, general factors of language design, it is not entirely unexpected that it can also emerge from non-DOM languages in contact, as cognitive biases persist independent of specific grammars. Similarly, this view of DOM offers an explanation why non-DOM languages can adopt DOM in contact, which could be considered surprising from the perspective that it makes the language's object marking system more complex, as discussed above. For example, human or animate direct objects in Afrikaans can optionally be marked with *vir*, which also co-occurs with Recipient and Beneficiary indirect objects, in which case it is a preposition ('for') (den Besten, 2000). This property of Afrikaans

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[16] Depending on the language, it could of course also be another kind of element, e.g. a preposition. The crucial idea here is that DOM-markers are elements that are primarily used in a different context and with a different function.

grammar emerged from contact with Indo-Portuguese, which marked animate direct objects with *per* ('for, to') (den Besten, 2000).

(70) a.   *Afrikaans* (from den Besten, 2000:950)

        hulle   het   (vir)   Piet   geslaan

        2PL   have   for   Pete   beat.PTCP

        'They have beaten Pete.'

    b.   *Indo-Portuguese* (den Besten, 2000:955, from Schuchardt 1890:227)

        elle   ja   olha   per   elle

        3SG   PRF   see   DOM   3SG

        'He has seen him.'

Some varieties of Basque acquired DOM marking from Spanish (Austin, 2006; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013), more specifically the *leísta* varieties, which use the dative clitic in place of the accusative clitic, if it refers to animate objects (Fernandez-Ordoñez, 1999). In the case of Basque, the animate direct object is dative rather than absolutive, which is also reflected on the verbal agreement marker (71).

(71) a.   *Standard Basque*

        Nik   zu   entzun zaitu-t

        1SG.ERG   2SG.ABS   hear   2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG

        'I have heard you_{ABS}'

    b.   *DOM Basque*

        Nik   zuri   entzun di-zu-t

        1SG.ERG   2SG.DAT   hear   3SG.ABS-2SG.DAT-1SG.ERG

        'I have heard you_{DAT}'   (both from Austin, 2006:140)

Finally, even in some West Germanic languages that have not been discussed so far, tendencies to mark highly prominent objects different than other kinds of objects can be found. For example, in Yiddish, nouns are not usually case-marked. However, a small group of them are, namely some nouns that denote humans worthy of respect such as *tate* ('father'), *mame*

('mother'), or *mentsh* ('person') or are proper names (Katz, 1987; Aissen, 2003). The 3SG.M pronoun is syncretic in dative and accusative, but everywhere else they are distinguished (Katz, 1987:104f). De Swart (2014) argues that Dutch distinguishes animacy or sentience of objects in combination with certain verbs, specifically those of physical contact, such as *bijten* 'to bite', *slaan* 'to hit' or *schoppen* 'to kick'. Inanimate or non-sentient objects are prepositionally-marked in this context, animate or sentient ones are not (72). Specifically for the verb 'to bite', the same pattern arises in German.

(72)   *Dutch* (from de Swart, 2014:445f)

a.   De   hond   beet   de   man

        DET   dog   bit   DET   man

        'The dog bit the man.'

b.   De   hond   beet   in   het   brood

        DET   dog   bit   in   DET   bread

        'The dog bit the bread.'

Finally, Seiler (2003) describes prepositional dative marking (PDM) in a number of Upper German dialects, mostly Alemannic and Bavarian. It mostly occurs where datives are expected in German, such as with indirect objects (73a), lexical datives of verbs such as *helfen* ('to help'), or with the above discussed possessor dative. However, in some exceptional cases, it can sometimes appear with direct objects, particularly when they are focused or emphasized (73b). PDM is optional for most speakers and does not seem to be conditioned by definiteness, specificity or animacy, but rather seems to be weakly linked to information structure, most strongly in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

(73)   a. *Bavarian* (Oberinntal) (Seiler, 2003:15; from Schöpf, 1866:286)

        sàg's   in   der   frau

        say=3SG.N   in   DET.DAT   woman

        'Say it to the woman.'

b. *Swiss German* (Luzern) (from Seiler, 2003:177)

ich	lüüt	öpperem	aa	und	zwar	i	miinere	muetter
I	call	someone.DAT	_call	and	namely	PDM	my	mother

'I call someone, namely my mother.'

As these examples seem to be the exception in these languages, it is maybe too bold to speak of DOM. However, they evidence the universality of marking highly prominent or exceptional objects specially.

6. Conclusion

The present study demonstrated that in contrast to previous claims, the Berlinisch Akkudativ is not a random confusion of accusative and dative forms, but should be analysed as DOM conditioned by definiteness/specificity, animacy and possibly gender. In addition, it was shown that Berlinisch speakers do use genitive forms in possessives and with genitive-assigning prepositions. Berlinisch DOM is visible on pronouns rather than DPs, as pronouns are ranked higher than DPs in the Silverstein hierarchy and related scales. More precisely, the split between DOM and non-DOM objects is predictable from a fine-grained animacy distinction: elements higher in the animacy hierarchy are more likely to be DOM-marked, meaning that speakers that use the dative form for 3rd person animate pronouns also use the dative form for any element that is higher in the hierarchy. It was argued that the zero-marking of feminine DPs is due to a phonological reduction rather than DOM, following Lasch (1928) and resembling the case system of Low German, which is a closely related variety. However, the fact that feminine forms are more often syncretic than masculine or neuter ones in the present study should be confirmed with a larger sample size, as it contradicts previously established gender hierarchies such as Schlobinski's (1988).

As Berlinisch DOM differs in its syntactic behaviour from other DOM languages such as Spanish, for example missing the correlation of the PCC and DOM or allowing two dative objects, previous structural analyses could not be directly adopted. However, the well-established intuition that DOM adds complexity to the structure also proved to be fruitful for Berlinisch. Further research might explore how the analysis can be refined, as some details such as the exact derivation of ditransitives or the unification of DOM scales as feature matrices could not be resolved within the limits of this thesis, giving rise to much bigger questions.

Inter-speaker variation can be predicted along the animacy scale, with the lowest observed cut-off point being between animate and inanimate 3rd person pronouns. Similarly, the animacy hierarchy can also account for diachronic variation. Rather than fully adopting the High German system, Berlinisch DOM dative spread incrementally along the animacy hierarchy, which is also accounted for in the development of DOM in other languages such as Maltese or Spanish. Even if Berlinisch was initially the result of Middle Low German speakers randomly imitating High German, as suggested by Lasch (1928), the eventual language change was systematic and resulted in a more complex case marking system. Future research should revisit the instability in 3rd person pronoun case marking that was observed by Lasch (1928) and Schlobinski (1988) in older written sources, as the new understanding of the Akkudativ suggests that this variation might actually already be DOM. This would not be unlikely, as a wider look at specially marked objects in other varieties of German and other languages demonstrates that the phenomenon might be even more wide-spread than previously assumed.

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Appendix

I. Sociolinguistic Background

Table I.1

Sociolinguistic Background: Questions

Q.Nr.	Question
SB01	Age Group
SB02	Highest Level of Education
SB03	Would you say of yourself that you speak Berlinisch on a regular basis?
SB04	Where did you grow up?
SB05	Do you still live there? (If no, where do you live now?)
SB06	Are your parents from where you grew up? (If no, where are they from?)
SB07	Have you lived outside the Berlin/Brandenburg area for some time? (If yes, where and for how long?)

Table I.2.1

Sociolinguistic Background: Responses (SB01-03)

P.Nr.	SB01	SB02	SB03
S1	31-35	university	yes, but less since going to university and starting work, still speaks it when visiting home
S2	71-75	middle school	yes, although used it much less since starting to work
S3	51-55	apprenticeship	yes
S4	56-70	apprenticeship	yes
S5	81-85	middle school	yes
S6	51-55	apprenticeship	yes
S7	51-55	university	yes
S8	41-45	university	yes
S9	36-40	university	yes
S10	51-55	university	yes
S11	66-70	university	yes

Table I.2.2

Sociolinguistic Background: Responses (SB04-07)

P.Nr.	SB04	SB05	SB06	SB07
S1	Breesen	no, Berlin (10+ years)	yes	no
S2	Berlin-Spandau	no, Berlin-Reinickendorf (ca. 50 years)	yes	no
S3	Brandenburg a. d. Havel	yes	yes	no
S4	Berlin-Kreuzberg	no, Berlin-Reinickendorf (30+ years)	yes	no
S5	Friedrichshagen	no, Berlin-Lichtenberg (ca. 60 years)	yes	yes (Essen, 5 years)
S6	Berlin-Reinickendorf	yes	yes	no
S7	Berlin-Reinickendorf	no, ca. 10 years in Berlin-Moabit, now Berlin-Wedding (past 25 years)	no, mother from Bautzen, father from Tarnowke (Western Prussia), but lived in Berlin since he was 4 years old	no
S8	Berlin-Reinickendorf	yes	yes	no
S9	Angermünde	no, now lives in Berlin-Pankow	mother: yes, father: no, from Lieberose	no
S10	Berlin	yes	yes	no
S11	Berlin-Reinickendorf	yes	father yes, mother from Breslau	yes (Saarland, 7 years)

II. Questionnaire

Reflexive Pronouns

Q.NR.	VARIABLE	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
1	1SG, NPSCH	Ick bück … (mich/mir), um meene Schuhe zu zu machen.	I bend down to tie my shoes.
2	1SG, NPSYCH	Ick streng … (mir/mich) an.	I make an effort.
3	1SG, NPSYCH	Ick verloof … (mir/mich) außerhalb der Nachbarschaft / am Bahnhof Zoo immer.	I always get lost at the train station 'Zoologischer Garten'.
4	1SG, NPSYCH	Ick tu … (mir/mich) da schwer.	I have difficulties with it.
5	1SG, PSYCH	Ick interessier … (mir/mich) für sowat nich.	I am not interested in that.
6	1SG, PSYCH	Meene Schwesta hat im Lotto jewonnen. Ick freu … (mir/mich) **für … (se/ihr).**	My sister has won the lottery. I am happy for her.
7	2SG, NPSYCH	Du ruhst … (dich/dir) nachm Spazierjang erstmal aus.	You rest after the walk.
8	2SG, NPSYCH	Du setzt … (dir/dich) uffn Stuhl.	You sit down on a chair.
9	2SG, PSYCH	Du ärjerst … (dir/dich) immer wejen sone Kleinigkeiten.	You (sg) are always upset about such small things.
10	2SG, PSYCH	Du bedankst … (dich/dir) für dit Jeschenk.	You thank for the gift.
11	2SG, PSYCH	Du freust … (dich/dir) über de juten Neuigkeiten.	You are happy about the good news.
12	2SG, PSYCH	Deene Tante isst Currywurst mit Senf. Du wunderst … (dir/dich) über ihrn Jeschmack.	Your aunt eats Currywurst with mustard. You wonder about her taste.
13	3SG.F, PSYCH	Se wundat … (sich/ihr), dattet Kuchen zum Frühstück jibt.	She is surprised that there is cake for breakfast.
14	3SG.M, NPSYCH	Er sieht … (sich/ihm) selbst im Spiegel.	He sees himself in the mirror.
15	1PL, NPSYCH	Wir treffn … (uns) wegen (de/die/der) Beschränkungen nicht.	We do not meet because of the restrictions.
16	2PL, PSYCH	Ihr ärjert … (euch) üba de Nachbarn.	You (pl) are upset with the neighbours.
17	3PL, NPSYCH	Se kabbeln … (sich) seit … (eena, eene) **Woche**.	They have been fighting for one week.

Direct Object Pronouns

Q.NR.	VARIABLE	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
18	2SG 1SG	Ick seh … (dir/dich) nich, aber du siehst …. (mir/mich).	I do not see you, but you see me.
19	3SG.M.HUM	Der Schüler rennt durch den Flur. Die Lehrerin sieht … (ihn/ihm) .	The student runs in the hallway. The teacher sees him.
20	3SG.M.ANIM	Hanne ihr Hund ist im Park wegjelaufen. Helga sieht … (ihm/ihn), er liegt unter ner Bank.	Hanne's dog ran away in the park. Helga sees him, he is lying under a bench.
21	3SG.M.INAN	Der Bäcker sucht den Zuckerguss. Er sieht … (ihn/ihm) neben de Milch stehen.	The baker is searching the sugar icing. He sees it standing next to the milk.

22	3SG.N.HUM	Dit Kind spielt. Ick seh … **(et/ihm)**.	The child is playing. I see it.
23	3SG.N.ANIM	Dit Pferd steht uffe Weide. Ick seh … **(et/ihm)**, dit frisst Gras.	The horse is standing on the pasture. I see it, it is eating grass.
24	3SG.N.INAN	Helga sucht dit Feuerzeug. Peter sieht … **(et/ihm)**, dit liegt uffm Tisch.	Helga is searching the lighter. Peter sees it, it is on the table.
25	3SG.F.HUM	De Schülerin jeht üban Hof. De Direktorin sieht **… (se/ihr).**	The student (f) walks across the yard. The headmaster sees her.
26	3SG.F.HUM	Maria hat Helga schon lange nich mehr jesehn aber se trifft **… (se/ihr)** heute inn(e/a) Mittachspause.	Maria has not seen Helga in a long time, but today she is meeting her during the lunch break.
27	3SG.F.ANIM	De Katze versteckt sich hinterm Sofa, aber Helga sieht **… (se/ihr)** trotzdem.	The cat hides behind the couch, but Helga sees her anyway.
28	3SG.F.INAN	Der Bäcker bäckt ne Torte. Der Kunde sieht **… (se/ihr)** in der Vitrine.	The baker bakes a cake (f). The customer sees it in the display case.
29	3SG.F.INAN	Nachm Urlaub wird de Wohnung staubig sein. Ick putz **… (se/ihr)** erstmal gründlich, wenn ick zurück komme.	After the vacation, the apartment will be dusty. I will clean it right away when I get back.
30	3SG.F.INAN/ANIM	Petra ihre Lieblingspflanze braucht viel Wasser. Se jießt **… (se/ihr)** jeden Tach.	Petra's favourite plant needs a lot of water. She waters it every day.

Direct Object DPs

Q.NR.	VARIABLE	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
31	PN, M	Helga sieht **… (den/dem) Hans**.	Helga sees the Hans.
32	DEF, HUM, M	Die Lehrerin sieht **… (den/dem) Schüler**.	The teache sees the student.
33	DEF, ANIM, M	Helga sieht **… (den/dem) Hund**.	Helga sees the dog.
34	DEF, INAN, M	De Bäckerin sieht **… (den/dem) Kuchen**.	The baker sees the cake (m).
35	INDEF, HUM, M	De Direktorin sieht **(n/nen/nem) Schüler**.	The headmaster sees a student.
36	SPEC. INDEF, HUM, M	De Direktorin sieht **… (nen/nem) Schüler**, der üba(n/m) Hof jeht.	The headmaster sees a student that walks across the yard.
37	INDEF, ANIM, M	Er sieht **(nen/nem) Hund**.	He sees a dog.
38	SPEC. INDEF, ANIM, M	Er sieht **(nen/nem) Hund**, der **mit(n/m) Schwanz** wedelt.	He sees a dog that wags its tail.
39	INDEF, INAN, M	Se sieht **(nen/nem) Kuchen**.	She sees a cake.
40	SPEC. INDEF, INAN, M	Se sieht **(nen/nem) Kuchen**, der mit Schokolade überzogen ist.	She sees a cake that is covered in chocolate.
41	DEF, HUM, F	De Lehrerin sieht **... (de/die/der) Kollegin**.	The teacher sees the colleague (f).
42	DEF, HUM, F	Ick treff **… (de/die/der) Nachbarin uff(e/a)** Straße.	I meet the neighbour (f) on the street.

43	DEF, HUM, F	Petra sieht … (de/der/die) Maria.	Petra sees the Maria.
44	DEF, ANIM, F	Helga sieht … (de/die/der) Katze.	Helga sees the cat.
45	DEF, INAN, F	De Bäckerin sieht … (de/die/der) Torte.	The baker sees the cake (f).
46	DEF, INAN, F	Helga putzt … (de/die/der) Wohnung am Wochenende.	Helga cleans the apartment on the weekend.
47	DEF, ANIM/INAN, F	Petra jießt … (de/die/der) Pflanze bei … (de/die/der) Hitze jeden Tag.	Petra waters the plant every day in this heat.
48	DEF, HUM, N	Hanne sieht … (das/dis/dit) Kind.	Hanne sees the child.

Ditransitives

Q.NR.	VARIABLE	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
49	1SG.ACC 2SG.DAT	Helga bringt ihr Fahrrad zu Hans, damit er es repariert. Er weiß aber nicht, woher Helga überhaupt weiß, dass er Fahrräder repariert, darum fragt er: a. Hat Peter dir mir empfohlen? b. Hat Peter mir dir empfohlen? c. Hat Peter dir mich empfohlen? d. Hat Peter mich dir empfohlen?	Helga brings Hans her bike, so that he repairs it. He does not know, how Helga knows at all that he repairs bikes, so he asks: a. Has Peter recommended you me (DAT)? b. me (DAT) you c. you me (ACC) d. me (ACC) you
50	3SG.F.ACC 1SG.DAT	Doris hat Gitti heute Fotos von einer Familienfeier gezeigt. Gitti erzählt einer anderen Freundin später: "Ick hab de Tochter noch nie jetroffn, aber..." a. Doris hat se mir uffm Foto jezeigt. b. Doris hat mir se uffm Foto jezeigt. c. Doris hat ihr mir uffm Foto jezeigt. d. Doris hat mir ihr uffm Foto jezeigt.	Doris showed Gitti pictures of a family celebration today. Later, Gitti tells another friend about it: 'I have never met Doris' daughter before, but…' a. Doris has shown her (ACC) to me on the picture. b. me her (ACC) c. her (DAT) to me d. me her (DAT)
51	3SG.N.ACC 1SG.DAT	Vorhin haben Gitti und Ursel zusammen ein Foto mit Gittis Handy gemacht. Ursel fragt: a. Hast du's mir schon jeschickt? b. Hast du mir's schon jeschickt?	Earlier, Gitti and Ursel took a picture together on Gitti's phone. Ursel asks: a. Have you sent it to me already? b. Have you sent me it already?
52	1SG.ACC 3SG.M.DAT	Peter sucht einen neuen Job und würde gerne bei Ulli in der Firma arbeiten. Peter hat Ulli darum gebeten, dass er bei seinem Chef eine Empfehlung für ihn abgibt. Peter fragt Ulli: a. Haste mich ihm empfohlen? b. Haste ihm mich empfohlen? c. Haste mir ihm empfohlen? d. Haste ihm mir empfohlen?	Peter is looking for a new job and would like to work in Ulli's firm. Peter has asked Ulli to recommend him to his boss. Peter asks: a. Have you recommended me to him? b. Have you recommended him me? c. Have you recommended me (DAT) to him? d. Have you recommended him me (DAT)?
53	2SG.ACC 3SG.F.DAT	Ulli ist auf einer Feier. Er sieht, dass seine Frau Gerda und sich mit Suse unterhält und dann auf ihn zeigt. Später fragt Ulli Gerda, warum sie auf ihn gezeigt hat. Sie antwortet, dass Suse gefragt hat, wer ihr Mann ist. Sie sagt: a. Ick hab dich ihr jezeigt. b. Ick hab ihr dich jezeigt. c. Ick hab dir ihr jezeigt. d. Ick hab ihr dir jezeigt.	Ulli is at a party. He sees that his wife Gerda is talking to Suse and then points to him. Later Ulli asks Gerda why she pointed at him. She answers that Suse was asking who her husband is. She says: a. I have shown you to her. b. her you c. you (DAT) her d. her you (DAT)
54	3SG.M.ACC 3SG.F.DAT	Gabi fragt Renate: Wen magste lieber, Helga oder Hans? Renate sagt: a. Ick ziehe ihn ihr vor. b. Ick ziehe ihr ihn vor.	Gabi asks Renate: Who do you like better: Helga or Hans? Renate says: a. I prefer him over her. b. I prefer over her him.

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			(Follow-Up: Who does Renate like better?)
55	F.ACC F.DAT	Hans hat für sich und Peter Mittag am Imbiss geholt. Da er nicht wusste, was Peter essen will, hat er sowohl eine Currywurst als auch eine Bulette geholt. Er fragt Peter, welches Essen er bevorzugt. Peter antwortet: a. Ick zieh die Currywurst der Bulette vor. b. die Currywurst...die Bulette c. de Currywurst...de Bulette	Hans got lunch from the food stand for himself and Peter. As he did not know what Peter wanted to eat, he got both a Currywurst and a Bulette. He asks Peter, which food he prefers. Peter says: a. I prefer the Currywurst over the Bulette. b. + c. ambiguous (null marked) (Follow-Up: What does Peter want to eat?)
56	1SG M.DAT	Hanne stellt … (mich/mir) dem Kapitän vor.	Hanne introduced me to the captain.

Genitive/Dative Possessors

Q.NR.	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
57	**Peters Auto** muss inne Werkstatt.	Peter's car needs to go into the repair shop.
58	**Peter sein Auto** muss inne Werkstatt.	Peter his car needs to go into the repair shop.
59	**Sein Auto** muss inne Werkstatt.	His car needs to go into the repair shop.
60	**Ihm sein Auto** muss inne Werkstatt.	Him his car needs to go into the repair shop.
61	**Claudias Wohnung** ist schön.	Claudia's apartment is beautiful.
62	**Claudia ihre Wohnung** ist schön.	Claudia her apartment is beautiful.
63	**Ihre Wohnung** ist schön.	Her apartment is beautiful.
64	**Ihr ihre Wohnung** ist schön.	Her her apartment is beautiful.
65	Hanne will Gitti noch etwas von ihrer Zugfahrt erzählen. Sie sagt: „Du wirst nicht glauben, wen ich gestern in der S-Bahn gesehen habe!" Gitti fragt: „Wen denn?" Darauf ruft Hanne: a. **Mir meene alte Freundin** ausse Schulzeit! b. **Meene alte Freundin** ausse Schulzeit!	Hanne wants to tell Gitti one more thing from the train ride. She says: 'You won't believe who I ran into on the train yesterday!' Gitti asks: 'Who did you see?' Hanna answers: a. Me my old friend from school. b. My old friend from school.
66	Ick seh **dein Chef** immer morjens inne U-Bahn.	I see your boss every morning on the subway.
67	Ick seh **dir dein Chef** immer morjens inne U-Bahn.	I see you (DAT) your boss every morning on the subway.

Other Datives

Q.Nr.	Item Berlinisch	Translation
68	Hanne tut ihr Zahn weh. **Dit graut** … (se/ihr) davor zum Zahnarzt zu müssen.	Hanne's tooth hurts. She dreads having to go to the dentist.
69	Der Enkel **hilft** … (de/die/der) **Oma** mitte Einkäufe.	The grandson helps the grandmother with the groceries.
70	Se weeß noch ja nich, was … (se/ihr) **blüht**.	She does not yet know what awaits her.
71	Eisbein **schmeckt** … (de/die/der) **Wirtin** jut.	Ham knuckle tastes good (to the restaurant manager).
72	Pfannkuchen sind (**mir/mich**) zu süß.	Donuts are too sweet to me.

Topic, Focus, Emphasis

Q.NR.	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
73	Hans sitzt mit seiner Familie beim Kaffee. Es gibt nur noch ein Stück Kuchen. Seine Frau fragt: „Wer will das letzte Stück Kuchen?" Hans sagt: **a. Icke** **b. Ick**	Hans is having coffee with his family. There is only one piece of cake left. His wife asks: Who wants the last piece of cake? Hans says: a. me (emphatic) b. me
74	Hanne und Gitti haben gestern telefoniert, als Hanne gerade S-Bahn fuhr. Am nächsten Tag fragt Hanne, ob Gitti sie gut hören konnte. Gitti sagt: **a. Dir / b. Dich** habick nich jehört, aba dafür allet andere im Zuch!	Hanne and Gitti have called each other yesterday, when Hanne was on the train. The next day, Hanne asks whether Gitti could hear her well. Gitti says: a. You (DAT) / You (ACC) I did not hear, but I heard everything else on the train!
75	Renate will Helga erzählen, dass Petra für sie angerufen hat. Helga hört leider nicht mehr so gut, darum wiederholt sich Renate: a. Petra hat **DICH** anjerufen. b. Petra hat **DIR** anjerufen.	Renate wants to tell Helga that Petra called for her. Helga unfortunately cannot hear well anymore, so Renate has to repeat herself: a. Petra has called you (ACC). b. Petra has called you (DAT).
76	Helga hat immernoch nicht alles verstanden, darum fragt sie: „Wen hat Petra angerufen?" Renate: **a. Dich!** **b. Dir!**	Helga still has not understood everything, so she asks: 'Who did Petra call?' Renate: a. You! (ACC) b. You! (DAT)

Prepositions

PPs were integrated into other test items to make the questionnaire shorter. They are repeated here to highlight the tested variables, with repeated question numbers.

Q.NR.	VARIABLE	ITEM BERLINISCH	TRANSLATION
79	P(ACC) 3PL.HUM	Ick jeh jerne mit meene Freundinnen kejeln. **Ohne … (se/ihnen)** würde dit keen Spaß machen.	I like to go bowling with my friends (f). Without them, it would not be fun.
6	P(ACC) 3SG.F.HUM	Meene Schwesta hat im Lotto jewonnen. Ick freu … (mir/mich) **für … (se/ihr).**	My sister has won the lottery. I am happy for her.
78	P(ACC) 3SG.F.ANIM	Hanne ihre Katze hat dit Futter kaum anjerührt. Se sorgt sich **um … (se/ihr).**	Hanne's cat has barely touched her food. She worries about her.
77	P(ACC) 3SG.M.HUM	Letztes Jahr war Claudia ihr Sohn kaum inna Schule. Se sorgt sich **um … (ihn/ihm).**	Last year, Claudia's son was barely in school. She worries about him.
36	P(ACC) M.INAN	Die Direktorin sieht … (nen/nem) Schüler, der **üba(n/m) Hof** jeht.	The headmaster sees a student that walks across the yard.

26	P(DAT) F.INAN	Maria hat Helga schon lange nich mehr jesehn aber se trifft … (se/ihr) heute **inn(e/a) Mittachspause**.	Maria has not seen Helga in a long time, but today she is meeting her during the lunch break.
42	P(DAT) F.INAN	Ick treff … (de/die/der) Nachbarin **uff(e/a)** Straße.	I meet the neighbour (f) on the street.
47	P(DAT) F.INAN	Petra jießt … (de/die/der) Pflanze bei … **(de/die/der) Hitze** jeden Tag.	Petra waters the plant every day in this heat.
38	P(DAT) M.INAN	Er sieht (nen/nem) Hund, der **mit(n/m) Schwanz** wedelt.	He sees a dog that wags its tail.
15	P(GEN) F.INAN	Wir treffn … (uns) **wegen (de/die/der) Beschränkungen** nicht.	We do not meet because of the restrictions.
80	P(GEN) F.INAN	Ick kann dir **trotz … (de/die/der) Entfernung** sehn.	I can see you despite the distance.