In the context of grammatical variation in HSs, the domain of phonology has only recently be-come the focus of investigation. While some suggest that phonology constitutes a robust domain of HL competence (e.g., Polinsky & Scontras 2019), others argue that HSs’ sound systems are subject to similar mechanisms as other language areas (Kupisch 2019). The production of certain segmental phenomena have been shown to be within the monolingual range in the HL (e.g., Au et al. 2002; Einfeldt et al., forthcoming; Oh et al. 2003), although the global accent of HL speakers has often been perceived as non-native (e.g., Lloyd-Smith et al. 2019). This study examines CLI in Italian HL speakers in Germany, comparing them to Italian and German L1 speakers who grew up as monolinguals. We measure the production of voiced (/b, g/) and voiceless (/p, k/) stops to assess how each individual speaker’s profile (general phonological proficiency, dominance, and language use across the lifespan) potentially interacts in the production of this phenomenon. The RQs are the following:

RQ1 Do HS differentiate between the majority and minority language with regard to VOT values?  
RQ2 Is VOT produced in a native-like manner in both early-acquired languages?  
RQ3 If the HL diverges from the monolingual norm, to what extent is this related to CLI (i.e., contact-induced variation), and to what extent is this CLI driven by degree of Italian use?

We collected semi-spontaneous speech data from 21 Italian-German HSs and from monolingual controls, using a picture sequence. VOT was measured controlling for place of articulation, vowel context and speech rate. Other variables include Italian phonological proficiency, lexical proficiency, and use across the lifespan.

The results of mixed effects regression models showed that the HS differentiate between their two languages for voiced and voiceless stops (RQ1). Compared to monolinguals, the HSs’ production of German stops did not differ for both types of stops (RQ2). However, in Italian HS differ from the VOT production of monolinguals only for voiceless stops. In this case, we find a significant effect of Italian use on the length of VOT (RQ3).

Overall, the HS show evidence for two separate VOT systems in their two languages. CLI was restricted to Italian voiceless stops. The amount of Italian used was a significant predictor of accuracy in the production of voiceless stops in Italian, with a higher Italian use producing shorter and more target-like stops.