

## ACQUIRING V°-TO-I° MOVEMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF MORPHOLOGICAL CUES

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### CLAIMS:

- (i) Independent V°-to-I° movement is possible in Northern Norwegian despite the scarcity of agreement and tense morphology.
- (ii) The acquisition of verb movement in Northern Norwegian is triggered by syntax rather than by morphology.

## 1. BACKGROUND: VERB MOVEMENT IN SCANDINAVIAN

### 1.1 V°-to-C° movement (V2)

- All the Scandinavian languages are V2:

(1) V2 in main clauses:

- a. Igår *var* guttene overhodet ikke uenige (Norwegian)  
yesterday were boys.the at-all not disagreed

(2) Embedded V2 in complements of non-bridge verbs (the Icelandic examples in (2) and (3) are based on Vikner 1994):

- a. það var óvænt, að þessa bók *skyldi* Helgi oft hafa lesið (Icelandic)
- b. \*Det var uventet at denne boken *skulle* Helge ofte ha lest (Norwegian)  
it was unexpected that this book should Helge often have read

(3) Embedded V2 in complements of bridge verbs:

- a. Ég veit að Helgi *hefur* aldrei kysst Maríu (Icelandic)
- b. Jeg vet at Helge *har* aldri kysset Maria. (Norwegian)  
I know that Helge has never kissed Maria

- Embedded V2 as CP recursion (Vikner 1994, 1997):

(4) Ég veit  
[<sub>CP</sub>að [<sub>CP</sub> Helgi<sub>i</sub> hefur<sub>j</sub> [<sub>IP</sub>t<sub>i</sub> aldrei t<sub>j</sub> kysst Maríu]]]

### 1.2 V°-to-I° movement and its relation to morphology

- Icelandic is assumed to be the only Scandinavian language with independent V°-to-I° movement:

(5) Independent V°-to-I° movement:

- a. Ég spurði af hverju Helgi *hefði* oft lesið þessa bók (Icelandic)
- b. \*Jeg spurte hvorfor Helge *hadde* ofte lest denne boken (Norwegian)  
I asked why Helge had often read this book

- The differences between the two languages related to the verbal morphology:

(6) Paradigm for verbal agreement on the verb ‘hear.’ (based on Bobaljik 2001)

a. Icelandic: <i>heyra</i>		b. Norwegian <i>høre</i>		c. English: <i>hear</i>	
<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>
ég heyr- <b>i</b>	heyr- <b>ði</b>	jeg hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	I hear	heard
þú heyr- <b>ir</b>	heyr- <b>ði-r</b>	du hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	you hear	heard
hann heyr- <b>ir</b>	heyr- <b>ði</b>	han hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	he hear- <b>s</b>	heard
við heyr- <b>um</b>	heyr- <b>ðu-m</b>	vi hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	we hear	heard
þið heyr- <b>ið</b>	heyr- <b>ðu-ð</b>	dere hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	you hear	heard
þeir heyr- <b>a</b>	heyr- <b>ðu</b>	de hør- <b>er</b>	hør- <b>te</b>	they hear	heard

Vikner (1997:200): ‘An SVO-language has V°-to-I° movement if and only if ... person morphology is found in all tenses.’

Rohrbacher (1999:116): ‘A language has V°-to-I° raising if and only if in at least one number of one tense of the regular verb paradigm(s), the person features [1ST] and [2ND] are both distinctively marked.’

## 2. NORTHERN NORWEGIAN

(7) The present tense verbal paradigm in Northern Norwegian:

(i) <i>hoppe</i> ‘jump’		(ii) <i>spise</i> ‘eat’		(iii) <i>gå</i> ‘walk’	
<u>Present:</u>	<u>Past:</u>	<u>Present:</u>	<u>Past:</u>	<u>Present:</u>	<u>Past:</u>
æ hoppe	hoppa	æ spis	spiste	æ går	gikk
du hoppe	hoppa	du spis	spiste	du går	gikk
han hoppe	hoppa	han spis	spiste	han går	gikk
vi hoppe	hoppa	vi spis	spiste	vi går	gikk
dokker hoppe	hoppa	dokker spis	spiste	dokker går	gikk
dem hoppe	hoppa	dem spis	spiste	dem går	gikk

- Scarce inflectional morphology, but (optional) independent V°-to-I° movement in several constructions:

**(i) Independent V°-to-I° movement in embedded clauses under non-bridge verbs:**

(8) Vi va bare tre stokka før det at han Nilsen *kom* ikkje  
we were only three people because that he Nilsen came not

(Iversen 1918:83-4)

**(ii) Independent V°-to-I° movement embedded questions:**

(9) Æ spurte kor studentan *drakk* ofte øl hen  
I asked where students.the drank often beer LOC

**(iii) Independent V°-to-I° movement in relative clauses:**

(10)a. Folk som *får* ofte influensa bør spise mer vitamina.  
people who get often flu.the should eat more vitamins

b. Ungan som æ *kjøpe* ofte tran til blir ikke glad  
children.the who I buy often cod liver oil to become not happy

**(vi) Independent V°-to-I° movement in non-inverted *wh*-questions:**

- (11)a. Kem du *går* ofte på kino med?  
 who you go often on cinema with  
 b. Kor vi *møtte* sjelden nån folk hen?  
 where we met seldom any people LOC

**Northern Norwegian has (optional) independent V°-to-I° movement despite the lack of inflectional morphology.**

**3. ACQUISITION OF VERB MOVEMENT**

- Two approaches to the acquisition of verb movement:

**3.1 Morphology drives the acquisition of verb movement**

- A correlation between the acquisition of finiteness and V2 in German (Clahsen et al. 1993/94; Clahsen et al. 1996) and Swedish (Santelmann 1995; Platzack 1992, 1996):

- (12)a. jag inte trycka                                      b. dom äter inte  
 I not push [-fin]                                      they eat [+fin] not  
(Santelmann 1995:206)

- A correlation between the acquisition of agreement and V°-to-I° movement in French (Meisel 1994; Déprez & Pierce 1993):

- (13)a. Pas la poupée dormir                                      b. Ça tourne pas  
 not the doll sleep                                      this turns not  
(Déprez & Pierce 1993:40)

**→ Prediction:**

The acquisition of V°-to-I° movement should be late in NN children because the morphological cues are so scarce.

**3.2 Syntax drives the acquisition of verb movement**

- The *position* of the verb rather than its morphology functions as a cue for verb movement (e.g. Lightfoot 1999).

The cue for V2:  $_{\text{SpecCP}}[\text{XP}]$

The cue for V°-to-I° movement:  $_{\text{I}}[\text{V}]$

**→ Prediction:**

We would expect NN children to acquire V°-to-I° movement relatively early because they have several cue structures.

**4. DATA FROM A NORTHERN NORWEGIAN CHILD**

- The child exhibits acceptable V°-to-I° movement...

**(i) Embedded clause under a bridge verb:**

- (14) Æ vet at æ *har* ikke gjort det (4;8.13)  
 I know that I have not done that

... and overgeneralises it...

**(ii) Embedded clause under a non-bridge verb:**

- (15) Når han Iver *e* ikke her, så kan æ ta med den store skjeia (4;6.27)  
 when he Iver is not here, then can I take with the big spoon.the  
*Adult form* Når han Iver ikke *e* her, så kan æ ta med den store skjeia.  
 ‘When Iver is not here, I can use the big spoon’

**(iii) Relative clause:**

- (16) Vi har kjøpt nokka [som du *har* ikke sett før] (4;5.0)  
 we have bought something that you have not seen before  
*Adult form*: Vi har kjøpt nokka [som du ikke har sett før].

... but he also employs the option of leaving the verb in V:

- (17)a. [Det *e*] fordi at han ikke *har* sneplogen (4;10.7)  
 it is because that he not has snowplow.the  
 b. Det *e* nokka som du aldri *har* sett før (4;8.0)  
 it is something that you never have seen before

**The acquisition of independent V°-to-I° movement in Northern Norwegian is triggered by syntactic cues.**

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