

MANY SMALL CATASTROPHES: GRADUALISM IN A MICROPARAMETRIC PERSPECTIVE

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1. INTRODUCTION

- ✚ Based partly on findings from language acquisition, this paper argues for a micro-parametric approach to verb-second (V2), where gradual development in historical data is not seen as grammar competition, but as the result of many minor I-language changes.
- ✚ The data discussed are the loss of V2 in declaratives in the history of English and variability of word order in *wh*-questions in present-day Norwegian dialects:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | þa he onweg adrifen wæs, cwom he to Cent. <i>when he away driven was came he to Kent</i> 'When he was driven away, he came to Kent.' | V2 | (Early OE) |
| (2) | Soo the kyng returned hym to the toure ageyne. <i>so the king returned him(self) to the tower again</i> 'So the king returned to the tower again.' | Non-V2 | (Late ME) |
| | | | (from Bech 2001, pp. 53/56) |
| (3) | kor er mitt fly? (INV, file Ole.17) <i>where is my plane</i> 'Where is my plane?' | V2 | (Norwegian, Tromsø) |
| (4) | kor vi lande henne? (INV, file Ole.17) <i>where we land LOC</i> 'Where do we land?' | Non-V2 | |

2. V2 AND THE THEORY OF CUE-BASED ACQUISITION AND CHANGE

Cue for V2 syntax (from Lightfoot, 2006, p. 86):

- (5) $CP[XP_cV...]$

- Must be obligatory (UG requirement), for learnability reasons (no negative evidence).
- Must be robustly expressed in primary linguistic data (17-30%?, Lightfoot 1999).

- ✚ Both V2 and non-V2 attested in non-subject-initial declaratives in the history of English. Explained as **grammar competition** between a northern V2 dialect (influenced by Scandinavian) and a southern non-V2 dialect, e.g. Lightfoot (1999), Kroch&Taylor (1997). Some speakers used both – dependent on sociolinguistic/stylistic factors?

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|------|
| (6) | & of heom twam is eall manncynn cumen. <i>and of them two is all mankind come</i> | V2 | (OE) |
| (7) | Ælc yfel he mæg don. <i>each evil he can do</i> (from Kroch and Taylor 1997, p. 302, orig. from Pintzuk 1991) | Non-V2 | |

- ✚ Statistical shifts in input, caused by external or language-internal factors (ME: dialect contact) ⇒ cue may drop to critical level for language acquisition ⇒ children ignore it

and develop a grammar without V2, although the grammar of previous generation had it – to a certain extent.

- ✚ Lightfoot (1999, 2006): Language change is not gradual, but abrupt and ‘catastrophic’, reflecting a change in the I-language of individual speakers.

3. V2 IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Table 1: The percentage of V2 vs. non-V2 word order in non-subject-initial declaratives across OE and ME, based on 5000 main clauses from 19 text samples (raw data from Bech 2001).¹

| Word order | Old English | | Middle English | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Early (900-1000) | Late (1000-1150) | Early (1150-1350) | Late (1350-1480) |
| (X)XVS (V2) | 70.5% (426) | 73.3% (379) | 53.5% (294) | 31.1% (211) |
| (X)XSV (Non-V2) | 29.5% (178) | 26.7% (138) | 46.5% (256) | 68.9% (467) |

- ❖ Grammar competition between two ‘global’ systems – a non-V2 grammar gradually becoming stronger than the V2 grammar?
 - But word order not random: V2 preferred with full DP subjects, non-V2 with pronouns, e.g. (6) and (7). Pronouns are clitics? (e.g. Kroch&Taylor 1997)
 - Also considerable number of full DP subjects with non-V2 in historical data, Bech (2001), Haerberli (2002).

(8) For þrim þingum **Hælend eode** on westen. **Non-V2** (OE)
for three reasons Savior went into wilderness

- Pronominal subjects appear in V2 clauses, especially with initial *þa/þonne* (‘then’) or *ne*:

(9) þa **siglde he** þonan suðryhte be lande. **V2**
then sailed he from.there southwards along coast (from Bech 2001, pp. 3-4)

Table 2: The percentage of full DP/clausal vs. pronominal subjects in non-subject-initial declaratives across OE and ME (5000 main clauses/19 text samples, raw data from Bech 2001).²

| Word order | Early OE | | Late OE | | Early ME | | Late ME | |
|------------|----------|-------|---------|-------|----------|-------|---------|-------|
| | DP | Pron | DP | Pron | DP | Pron | DP | Pron |
| V2 | 57.6% | 42.4% | 78.8% | 21.2% | 72.1% | 27.9% | 75.1% | 24.9% |
| Non-V2 | 24.2% | 75.8% | 19% | 81% | 12.5% | 87.5% | 38.4% | 61.6% |

- ❖ Three different grammars?: A default V2 grammar (early OE), a default non-V2 grammar (late ME) and a truly mixed grammar (early ME, late OE?).

¹ The following texts have been used in Bech’s (2001) investigation. Early OE: *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, *King Alfred’s West-Saxon version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, *The Old English Orosius* and *King Alfred’s Old English version of Boethius*. Late OE: *The Blickling Homilies*, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, *The Old English Apollonius of Tyre*, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* and *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Early ME: *The Peterborough Chronicle*, *Old English Homilies*, *Vices and Virtues*, *Sawles Warde*, *Dan Michel’s Ayenbite of Inwyt*. Late ME: *The English works of Wyclif*, *Middle English Sermons*, *The Bodley version of Mandeville’s Travels*, *The works of Sir Thomas Malory: The tale of King Arthur* and *Caxton’s Mirrour of the World*.

² If one only considers non-conjoined main clauses, the development from early to late ME becomes even clearer, as the proportion of DP vs. pronominal subjects in non-V2 clauses is virtually equal in late ME, with 46.3% DPs and 53.7% pronouns.

- ❖ How was the word order of the various stages of English learnable, given the obligatory nature of the cue?

...speakers learn one or the other form in the course of basic language acquisition, but not both. Later in life, on exposure to a wider range of language, they may hear and come to recognize the competing form, which for them has the status of a foreign element. They may borrow this foreign form into their own speech and writing for its sociolinguistic value or even just because it is frequent in their language environment. (from Kroch 1994, p. 185)

- Frequency determines order of acquisition? (e.g. past tense morphology, Pinker 1999).

4. OTHER MIXED V2 SYSTEMS – ADULT AND CHILD DATA

- ❖ Present-day English: S-Aux inversion in questions ('Residual V2', Rizzi 1996); 'VP inversion' in declaratives with informationally light verbs, mainly *be* (Birner 1995).

(10) When **will you** be leaving for Italy?

(11) a. An excellent appetizer **is the squib ravioli with garlic sauce**.

b. From the lips of a cab driver **came an enlightened expression that I thought should be shared**.

c. ...inland from the small, pretty harbor town that's called a haven **squats the town of Heart's Rock**.

d. Second, to this rule **would apply**, optionally, **a rule we may call Verb Second**... (all examples from Birner, 1995, pp. 241-244)

- ❖ Mixed V2 also in typical present-day V2 languages (Westergaard 2006):

- 'Classical' examples of V2 in subject-initial declaratives (V-Neg/Adv), non-subject-initial declaratives, and *yes/no*-questions (V-S):

(12) Vi **drikker ikke** fransk vin/*vi ikke drikker fransk vin. V2

we drink not French wine

'We don't drink French wine.'

(13) Italiensk vin **drikker vi** ofte/*italiensk vin vi ofte drikker.

Italian wine drink we often

'Italian wine we often drink.'

(14) **Drikker han** mye vin?

drinks he much wine

'Does he drink much wine?'

- Non-V2 in embedded clauses (Neg/Adv-V), embedded questions (S-V), exclamatives:

(15) Det finnes noen studenter [som **aldri drikker** vin/*som drikker aldri vin]. **Non-V2**

it exist some students who never drink wine

'There are some students who never drink wine.'

(16) Jeg lurer på [hva **han drikker**]/[*hva drikker han].

I wonder on what he drinks

'I wonder what he drinks.'

(17) Kor stor **du er** blitt!/*Kor stor er du blitt!

how big you are become

'How big you have become!'

- No strict V2 requirement in *wh*-questions in many dialects (e.g. Vangsnes 2005), dependent on various microparameters.

Variation reflects development V2 \Rightarrow non-V2 (Vangsnes 2005, Westergaard 2005b).

Tromsø: Short *wh*-elements allow non-V2, subject questions require non-V2.

- (18) Ka slags vin **drakk du?**/*Ka slags vin du drakk? **V2** (Tromsø dialect)
which kind wine drank you
 ‘Which kind of wine did you drink?’
- (19) Ka **drakk ho?**/Ka **ho drakk?** **V2/Non-V2**
what drank she
 ‘What did she drink?’
- (20) Kem **som kommer?**/*Kem kommer? **Non-V2**
who SOM come.PRES
 ‘Who is coming?’

- ‘Pockets’ of non-V2 with specific adverbs, *kanskje* ‘maybe’ in non-subject-initial declaratives, or focus-sensitive adverbs in subject-initial declaratives, e.g. *bare* ‘just’, *nesten* ‘almost’, *simpelthen* ‘simply’, etc. (Nilsen 2003).

- (21) Kanskje **kongen kommer.**/Kanskje **kommer kongen.** **Non-V2/V2**
maybe king.DEF come.PRES
 ‘Maybe the king will come.’
- (22) Han **bare smilte.** /Han **smilte bare.** **Non-V2/V2**
he just smile.PAST

- Variation across present-day V2 languages \Rightarrow must be learned from input.

- (23) Ég velti því fyrir mér [hvort hún **sé ekki** lögð af stað] (Icelandic)
I wonder whether she is not gone away
 ‘I wonder if she hasn’t left.’
- (24) They asked me **was I** going to the party. (Belfast English, Henry 1994, p. 275)
- (25) Hvor **er han** sød! (Danish)
where/how is he sweet
 ‘How nice he is!’
- (26) *Vielleicht der König kommt. (German)
maybe the king come.PRES
- (27) *Er nur lächelte. (German)
he just smile.PAST

- ❖ Westergaard (forthcoming, 2006): Early and virtually error-free acquisition of word order in the different clause types, regardless of input frequencies, e.g. *yes/no*-questions (V2 – attested 30.8%) vs. exclamatives (non-V2 – attested 0.4%) – no overgeneralization.

- (28) **ser du** nokka? (Ann.07, age 2;1.7) **V2**
see.PRES you something
 ‘Do you see anything?’
- (29) kor store mage **han har.** (Ina.27, age 3;3.18) **Non-V2**
where/how big stomach he have.PRES
 ‘What a big stomach he has!’

- ❖ Westergaard (2006): Also ‘pockets of non-V2’ acquired early, e.g. declaratives with *kanskje* ‘maybe’ (attested in total input 1.9% - 12% of non-subject-initial declaratives). Preference for non-V2 (**96.4%**, 27 out of 28), as in adult data (**95.1%**, 39 out of 41).

(30) *kanskje han sitt og spise kaffe.* (Ann.15, age 2;6.21)
maybe he sit.PRES and eat.INF/PRES coffee
 ‘Maybe he is sitting there eating coffee.’

There does not seem to be any evidence in language acquisition for grammar competition with respect to V2: No delay or overgeneralization in the acquisition of V2/non-V2 word orders, although children do make word order mistakes in other areas (e.g. object shift).

5. CUE-BASED ACQUISITION AND CHANGE IN A SPLIT-CP MODEL

- ❖ Split-CP model: Illocutionary force reflected in different heads in the CP domain for different clause types (Westergaard&Vangsnes 2005, Westergaard forthcoming), e.g. a *wh*-question is an Int(errogative)P, a declarative a Top(ic)P, a *yes/no*-question a Pol(arity)P, embedded declarative a Fin(iteness)P, embedded question a WhP, etc.
- ❖ Lightfoot’s (2006) cue for V2 split into separate cues for each clause type ⇒ Many different V2 grammars (Norwegian dialects, Standard English, Danish, etc.)

(5’) $CP[XP_C V...]$ (from Lightfoot, 2006, p. 103)

Table 3: Examples of cues for V2 a split-CP model.

| Language/Cue | IntP[(<i>wh</i>) Int° V..] | TopP[XP Top° V..] | ExclP[XP Excl° V..] | WhP[(XP) Wh° V..] |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Stand. Norwegian | + | + | - | - |
| Certain N dialects | - | + | - | - |
| Danish | + | + | + | - |
| Standard English | + | - | - | - |
| Belfast English | + | - | - | + |
| etc. | | | | |

- Children search selectively for cues, scanning the relevant contexts only.
- ✚ Consequences for language development: Word order change should typically affect only one clause type, e.g.
 - Declaratives in the history of English, *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects.
 - Additional example: Loss of V2 in imperatives in present-day Belfast English – other V2 constructions unaffected (e.g. embedded questions), Henry (1994).

6. WH-QUESTIONS IN PRESENT-DAY NORWEGIAN DIALECTS

- ❖ Tromsø: long *wh*-elements require V2, short *wh*-elements allow non-V2:

(18’) *Ka slags vin drakk du?/*Ka slags vin du drakk?* **V2** (Tromsø dialect)
which kind wine drank you
 ‘Which kind of wine did you drink?’

(19’) *Ka drakk ho?/Ka ho drakk?* **V2/Non-V2**
what drank she
 ‘What did she drink?’

❖ Westergaard (2003): Sample of spontaneous speech, Tromsø dialect: **45.3%** V2.

- V2: Subject: DP/dem. pronoun *det* Verb: *be*
- Non-V2: Subject: pers. pronoun Verb: all other verbs

(3') kor **er mitt fly?** (INV, file Ole.17) **V2**
where is my plane
 'Where is my plane?'

(4') kor **vi lande** henne? (INV, file Ole.17) **Non-V2**
where we land LOC
 'Where do we land?'

- V2 when subject is discourse new (often a full DP)
- Non-V2 when subject is given/discourse old (often a personal pronoun)

(31) CHI: xx mjau mjau sir pusekattan.
meow meow say.PRES kitty.DEF/PL
 'xx meow meow say the kitties.'

INV: <ka sir> [/] **ka sir hunden da?** **V2**
what say.PRES/ what say.PRES dog.DEF then
 'What does the dog say then?'

CHI: voff voff.
 (Child imitates a dog.)

INV: **og eselet da # ka det sir?** **Non-V2**
and donkey.DEF then # what that say.PRES
 'And the donkey then – what does that say?'

A few lines later:

INV: hanen ja.
rooster.DEF yes
 'The rooster, yes.'

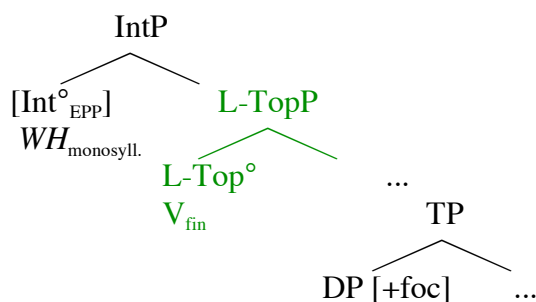
CHI: hanen # og den +/.
rooster.DEF # and that
 'The rooster – and that...'

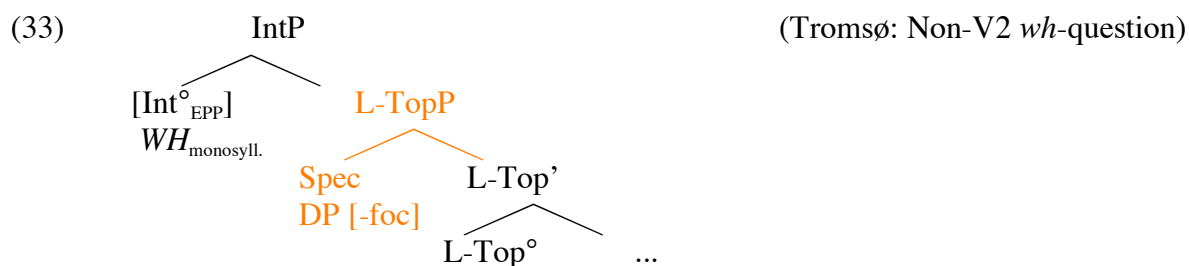
INV: **ka hanen sir?** **Non-V2**
what rooster.DEF say.PRES
 'What does the rooster say?'

❖ Westergaard (2005b):

- Monosyllabic *wh*-elements reanalyzed as heads (cf. van Gelderen's 2004 Head Preference Principle) – block verb movement to Int°.
- V2 in the mixed grammar is the result of verb movement to a lower CP head (L-Top°), which attracts informationally light elements (e.g. *be*, pronominal subjects).
- I-language change masked by verb movement (sometimes) applying to a lower CP head.

(32) (Tromsø: V2 *wh*-question)





❖ Westergaard (2003): Mixed word order in *wh*-questions attested early; subject/verb preferences as in adult data, cf. (18) and (19). Early sensitivity to information structure.

- (34) kor er Ann sin dukke hen? (Ann.04, age 1;11.0) V2
where is Ann POSS doll LOC
 ‘Where is Ann’s doll?’
- (35) ka du skal finne? (Ina.05, age 2:0.5) Non-V2
what you shall find
 ‘What do you want to find?’

❖ Westergaard (2004): Occasional non-target-consistent forms (non-V2) in non-subject-initial declaratives – displaying subject/verb patterns of the (grammatical) non-V2 *wh*-questions: pronominal subject+verbs other than *be*. Extremely early and frequent target forms with *be*+DP subjects (52-82%). Statistically significant error pattern ($p < 0.001$).

- (36) på øyan æ har solbrilla. (Ole.02, age 1;10.22) Non-V2
on eye.DEF/PL I have.PRES sunglasses
 ‘On my eyes I have sunglasses.’ (Target form: På øyan har æ solbrilla.)
- (37) her er sekken. (Ann.03, age 1;10.2) V2
here be.PRES backpack.DEF
 ‘Here is the backpack.’

- Early verb movement sensitive to information structure – even in the absence of input. Early grammar in non-subject-initial declaratives – verb/subject movement to low TopP?

Table 4: Word order in questions with monosyllabic *wh*-words, several adult speakers.

| Speakers | V2 | Non-V2 | Total |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| INV, Ole.13-22, F, b. 1956, Tromsø | 136 (45.3%) | 164 (54.7%) | 300 (100%) |
| INV, Ina.01-27, F, b. 1968, Senja | 34 (3.9%) | 839 (96.1%) | 873 (100%) |
| MOT, Ina.01-27, F, b. 1968, Lenvik | 147 (29.9%) | 344 (70.1%) | 491 (100%) |
| FAT, Ina.01-27, M, b. 1965, Målselv | 22 (10%) | 197 (90%) | 219 (100%) |
| MOT, Ann.01.21, F, b. 1957, Kåfjord | 114 (14.8%) | 657 (85.2%) | 771 (100%) |
| FAT, Ann.01.21, M, b. 1952, Kåfjord | 3 (2.5%) | 115 (97.5%) | 118 (100%) |
| MOT, Ole.01-22, F, b. 1967, Tromsø | 26 (16.5%) | 132 (83.5%) | 158 (100%) |
| FAT, Ole.01-22, M, b. 1966, Tromsø | 67 (68.4%) | 32 (31.6%) | 98 (100%) |

- Considerable variation among adult speakers, based on regional/sociolinguistic factors? Tromsø vs. rural areas, male vs. female, **age**?
 - K. Westergaard (2005): Small elicitation study on Tromsø teenagers – approx. 70% V2. Change in progress in Tromsø in the direction of the standard language, ⇒ V2?
- ❖ Grammar competition or systematically different grammars?
A mixed grammar, a default non-V2 grammar and a default V2 grammar (cp. OE/ME).

Table 5: Subjects and verbs in *wh*-questions in the mixed grammar, (female adult, Tromsø).

| Subject/Verb Types | V2 | | Non-V2 | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
| | <i>være</i> 'be' | Other V | <i>være</i> 'be' | Other V |
| Full DP/'det' | 128 | 5 | 27 | 19 |
| Pronoun | 1 | 2 | 4 | 114 |

Table 6: Subject and verbs in *wh*-questions in default non-V2 grammar, (female adult, Kåfjord).

| Subject/Verb Types | V2 | | Non-V2 | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | <i>være</i> | Other V | <i>være</i> | Other V |
| Full DP/'det' | 106 | 3 | 140 | 97 |
| Pronoun | 3 | 2 | 19 | 401 |

Table 7: Subject and verbs in *wh*-questions in default V2 grammar (female teenagers, Tromsø).

| Subject/Verb Types | V2 | | Non-V2 | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | <i>være</i> | Other V | <i>være</i> | Other V |
| Full DP/'det' | 12 | 8 | 0 | 2 |
| Pronoun | 6 | 22 | 2 | 23 |

- Syntactic difference: Verb movement to Int° (default V2 grammar), verb movement to low Top° (mixed grammar), generally no verb movement (default non-V2 grammar).
- V2 survives in special cases, mainly with *be* (as in English).
- Further differences: Spread of non-V2 to questions with longer *wh*-elements in Kåfjord (2 speakers in corpus) – due to language contact with Finnish/Saami (Sollid 2003) or acceleration of a natural process (Westergaard 2005b)?

- (38) korsn **pappa skal** gjøre? (FAT, file Ann.06) (Kåfjord dialect)
how daddy shall do
'How should daddy do (it)?'
- (39) kem hos **du har** vært? (MOT, file Ann.21)
who by you have been
'Whose house have you been at?'

Table 8: Four types of V2 grammars in *wh*-questions.

| 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predominantly V2 with short <i>wh</i> (approx. 70%) | | Mixed grammar with short <i>wh</i> (approx. 45% V2) | | Predominantly non-V2 with short <i>wh</i> (3-29% V2) | | Predominantly non-V2, spread to long <i>wh</i> |
| Young Tromsø speakers | | Adult speaker, Tromsø | ⇒ | NN speakers (incl. Tromsø?) | ⇒ | Kåfjord speakers |
| V2 w/all verbs and subjects, some non-V2 w/given subjects, verbs <i>-be</i> | ← | V2 w/ <i>be</i> + new subjects, non-V2 w/given subjects, verbs <i>-be</i> | | Non-V2 w/all verb and subject types, remnant cases of V2 with <i>be</i> | ← | Non-V2 w/all verb and subject types, remnant cases of V2 w/ <i>be</i> |
| Verb movement to Int° | | Verb movement to lower head (Top°) | | (Generally) no verb movement | | (Generally) no verb movement |

⇒ ‘Natural’ development, based on UG principles, factors in acquisition

← Development based on sociolinguistic factors

- ❖ Non-V2 most frequent in questions with the *wh*-element *ka* ‘what’, across the three grammars (Figure 1), and across all speakers, including the children (Table 11):

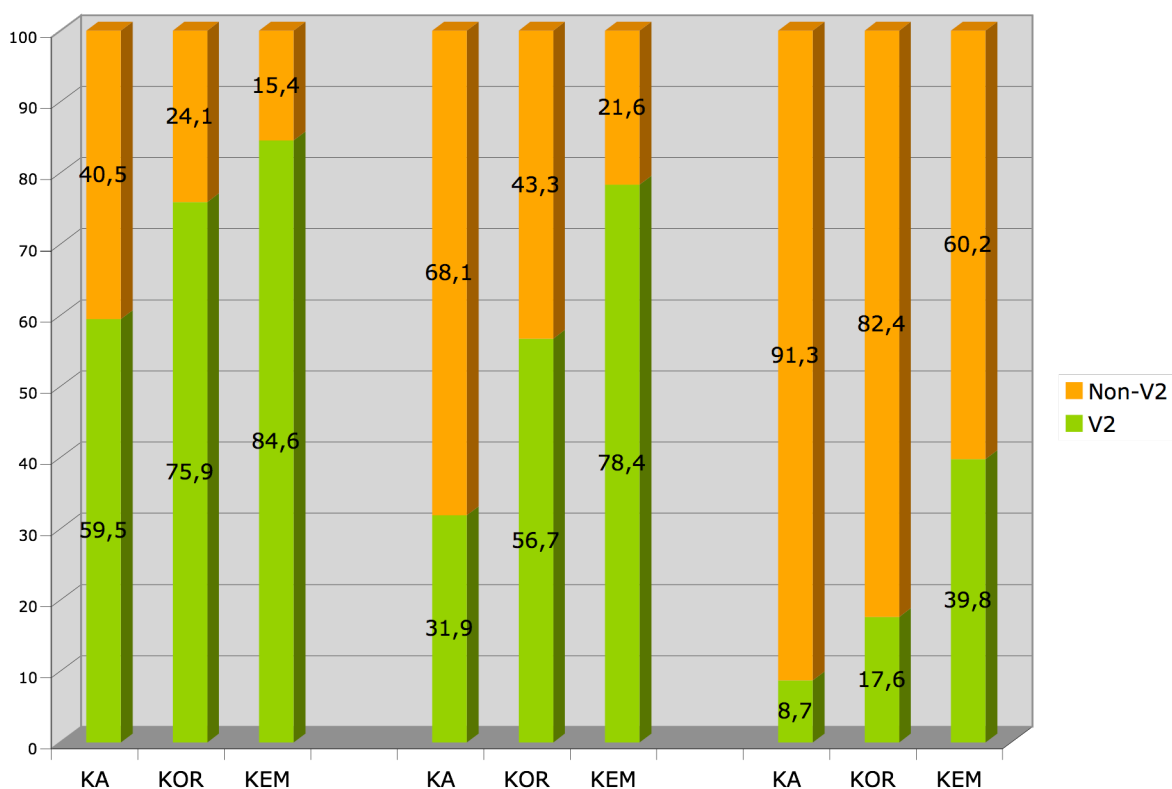


Figure 1: The proportion of V2 vs. non-V2 word order in questions with monosyllabic *wh*-elements in Grammar 1 (first set of columns), Grammar 2 (second set), and Grammars 3/4 (third set), based on the production of individual speakers.

Table 9: Percentage of non-V2 word order produced by different adult speakers and two children in *wh*-questions in Norwegian acquisition corpus.

| Speaker | <i>ka</i> 'what' | <i>kor</i> 'where' | <i>kem</i> 'who' |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| INV Ole.13-22 | 68.1% (124) | 43.3% (29) | 21.6% (11) |
| MOT Ina.01-27 | 79.8% (268) | 49.2% (29) | 49.0% (47) |
| FAT Ina.01-27 | 93.9% (155) | 63.6% (14) | 87.5% (28) |
| MOT Ann.01-21 | 91.3% (481) | 82.4% (108) | 60.2% (68) |
| FAT Ann.01-21 | 98.9% (87) | 100% (17) | 84.6% (11) |
| INV Ina.01-27 | 98.5% (589) | 83.3% (66) | 93.9% (184) |
| MOT Ole.01-22 | 87.5% (105) | 57.1% (12) | 88.2% (15) |
| FAT Ole.01-22 | 48.1% (25) | 18.2% (6) | 7.1% (1) |
| <i>INA 1;8.20-2;10.12</i> | 65% (89) | 10.5% (15) | 27.5% (8) |
| <i>ANN 1;8.20-3;0.1</i> | 73.6% (53) | 19% (15) | 25% (3) |

❖ Change starts with question word *ka* 'what' – the least complex *wh*-element first affected by Head Preference Principle (van Gelderen 2004).

(40) *ka* 'what'=WH *kor* 'where'=WH+r (place) *kem* 'who'=WH+m (person)

- One speaker (FAT Ole.01-22) seems to have a mixed grammar with *ka* 'what' (48.1%), default V2 with *kem* 'who' and *kor* 'where' (18.2% and 7.1%).
- One speaker (female Kåfjord dialect, MOT Ann.01-21) seems to have default non-V2 with monosyllabic *wh*, default V2 with longer *wh*-elements:

Table 10: The percentage of non-V2 across different *wh*-questions, MOT Ann.01-21, N=863.

| <i>Wh</i> -element: | <i>ka</i> 'what' | <i>kor/kem</i> 'where/who' | <i>korsen/korfor/katti</i> 'how, why, when' | Long <i>wh</i> -phrases |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| % of non-V2 | 91.3% (481) | 72.1% (176) | 20.5% (9) | 8.5% (4) |

Summary of possible word order development in *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects:

| | |
|----------|--|
| Stage 1: | Head Preference affects least complex <i>wh</i> -element <i>ka</i> 'what' ⇒ blocks verb movement to Int°. Movement to low TopP masks I-language change. |
| Stage 2: | Head status spreads to <i>kor</i> 'where' and <i>kem</i> 'who'. • Process reversed in Tromsø due to sociolinguistic pressure from standard Norwegian? |
| Stage 3: | Frequency of V2 input drops dramatically with monosyllabic <i>wh</i> ⇒ Loss of verb movement to low Top° ⇒ V2 survives in special cases (mainly with <i>be</i>). |
| Stage 4: | Head status spreads to disyllabic <i>wh</i> ⇒ verb movement to low Top°. • Process accelerated in Kåfjord due to language contact (early 20th century). |
| Stage 5: | Frequency of cue for V2 falls below critical level ⇒ Loss of verb movement to Int° ⇒ non-V2 also with long <i>wh</i> -phrases. • Process reversed in Kåfjord due to sociolinguistic pressure from standard Norwegian and other dialects in the area. |

7. DECLARATIVES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

- General decline of V2 (70% ⇒ 50% ⇒ 30%), cf. Table 1.
- Subject types: V2 with any type of subject in early OE, mainly with full DPs in later periods. Non-V2 with pronominal subjects early, with any type of subject in late ME.

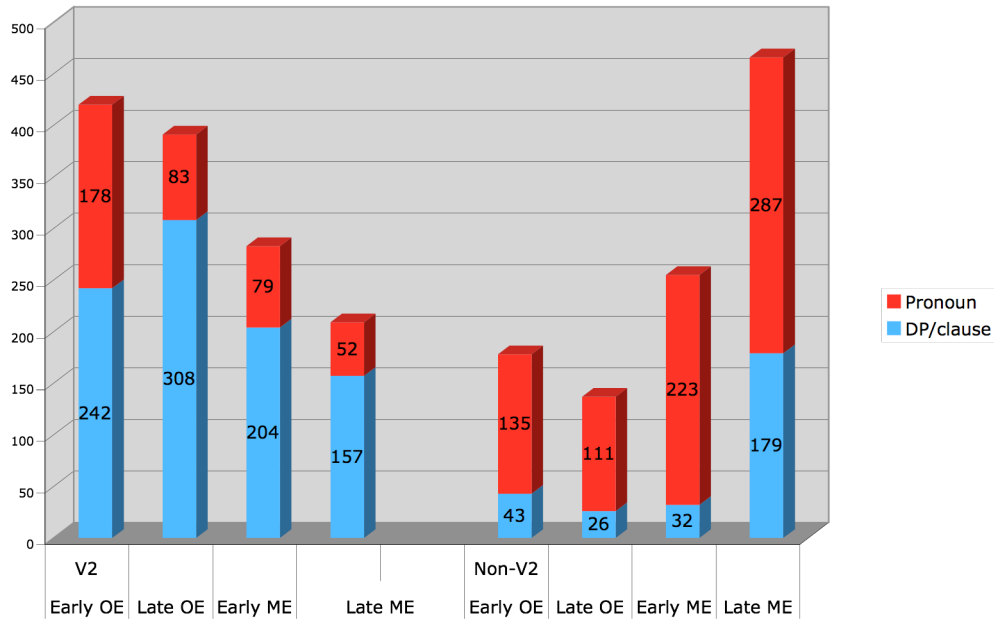


Figure 2: Overview of non-subject-initial clauses with V2 (first four columns) and non-V2 word order with full DP and pronominal subjects across the OE and ME periods.

- Mixed grammar (Early ME – approx. 50% V2) - movement of informationally light elements to low TopP (mainly pronominal subjects or informationally light verbs, *be*).
- Default non-V2 grammar (Late ME – approx. 30% V2) - generally no movement, except in remnant cases (mainly with *be*)
- Default V2 grammar (Early OE – approx. 70% V2) – verb movement to higher CP head? (probably only after certain initial elements...)
- Initial *þa/þonne* ('then') – responsible for 87.7% of V2 with pronominal subjects in OE.

(9') *þa siglde he þonan suðryhte be lande.*
then sailed he from.there southwards along coast (from Bech 2001, pp. 3-4)

- Initial *þa/þonne* ('then') require V2 in OE/early ME, also with pronominal subjects.
- Extremely frequent in early texts (spoken language?). High frequency ensures acquisition in OE (cp. Norwegian child data on exceptional elements, e.g. *kanskje* 'maybe').

Table 11: Development of initial *þa/þonne* ('then') across OE/ME (raw data from Bech 2001).

| | | Early OE | Late OE | Early ME | Late ME |
|---|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 | % <i>þa/þonne</i> w/V2 + pronominal subjects, of total X-initial decl. | 25.4% | 12.7% | 8.1% | 1.8% |
| 2 | % <i>þa/þonne</i> of total X-initial decl. | 36.7% | 36.1% | 15.4% | 11.3% |
| 3 | % <i>þa/þonne</i> w/V2 | 99% | 99.4% | 94.6% | 27.9% |

- Loss of frequency of *þa/þonne* with pronominal subjects in late OE (unambiguous expression of cue).
- Loss of overall frequency of *þa/þonne* between OE and ME.
- The expression of the cue for V2 falls below critical level for acquisition ⇒ dramatic change in I-language in late ME (*þa/þonne* no longer different from other initial elements (cf. Table 1, 31.1% V2) .

- Development of initial negative *ne* in OE and ME – loss of trigger for V2.

Table 12: Development of initial *ne* across the OE and ME periods (raw data from Bech 2001).

| | Early OE | Late OE | Early ME | Late ME |
|---------------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| DP/clausal subjects | 4 | 11 | 8 | 0 |
| Pronominal subjects | 19 | 13 | 12 | 0 |
| Total | 23 | 24 | 20 | 0 |

7. SOME REASONS FOR THE LOSS OF V2 IN ENGLISH AND NORWEGIAN

- ✚ Many small changes – caused by a variety of factors. Can be interrelated and work in the same direction, but not necessarily. Change may also be reversed (e.g. Tromsø, Kåfjord).

1. **Head Preference** (van Gelderen 2004) – affects Norwegian *wh*-elements according to complexity:

(41) *ka* ⇒ *kor/kem* ⇒ *korfor/korsen/katti*
 ‘what’ ‘where/who’ ‘why/how/when’

2. **Loss of triggers** for V2 (independent reasons?), e.g. English *ne* and *þal/þonne*.

3. **Information structure drift** (Westergaard 2005a, b): Non-V2 linked to informationally given subjects - subjects are generally given information (often pronouns), e.g. Haukenes (1998): approx. 90% in ME texts ⇒ natural development towards non-V2, especially in the input to children.

(Should be a factor also in mixed OV/VO systems, e.g. Icelandic (Hróarsdóttir 2004, 2006): Objects are generally new information (often DPs) ⇒ development towards VO.)

4. Factors in language acquisition/child-directed speech:

A. Frequency effects:

- ❖ *Wh*-word most frequently used with non-V2, *ka* ‘what’ (see Table 9), also by far the most frequent in child-directed speech (all speakers) ⇒ statistical shift towards more non-V2.

Table 13: Questions with monosyllabic *wh* produced by adult speakers (child-directed speech).

| Speaker | <i>ka</i> ‘what’ | <i>kor</i> ‘where’ | <i>kem</i> ‘who’ |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| INV Ole.13-22 | 182 | 67 | 51 |
| MOT Ina.01-27 | 336 | 59 | 96 |
| FAT Ina.01-27 | 165 | 22 | 32 |
| MOT Ann.01-21 | 527 | 131 | 113 |
| FAT Ann.01-21 | 88 | 17 | 13 |
| INV Ina.01-27 | 598 | 79 | 196 |
| MOT Ole.01-22 | 120 | 21 | 17 |
| FAT Ole.01-22 | 52 | 33 | 14 |
| Total | 2068 (68.3%) | 429 (14.2%) | 532 (17.6%) |

- ❖ Spread of non-V2 to questions with disyllabic *wh*-words and full *wh*-phrases (Grammar 4, e.g. Kåfjord/Nordmøre) caused by:

- Questions with monosyllabic *wh*-words much more frequent than questions with longer *wh*-phrases in typical child-directed speech: Input sample investigated in Westergaard (2006), only **3.8%** (7 out of 183) ‘long’ *wh*-elements.
- Questions with ‘long’ *wh*-elements appear much later in children’s speech (around age 2;9-3;1 – questions with short *wh*-words frequent from age 2;2).

B. Survival of V2 in specific cases, mainly with *be*, informationally light verbs (Birner 1995).

- Information structure pattern of the mixed grammar links *be* to V2 word order.
- V2 with *be* is a very early acquisition and also extremely frequent:

- (42) **wo is de Kugel?** (Simone, stage I) (German)
where be.PRES the marble
 ‘Where is the marble?’ (from Clahsen, Penke and Parodi (1993/94)
- (43) **what is that ?** (Eve.15, age 2;1)
- (44) **where de> [//] where is a man?** (Eve.16, age 2;1)
- (45) **der er mann.** (Ina.01, age 1;8.20) (Norwegian)
there be.PRES man
 ‘There is (a/the) man.’

Table 14: Frequency of *be* in non-subject-initial declaratives with V2 in the Norwegian corpus.

| Speaker | Files | Age | % of <i>be</i> |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Ina | Ina.01-09 | 1;8.20 - 2;2.12 | 59.2% (61 out of 103) |
| Ann | Ann.01-08 | 1;8.20 - 2;1.28 | 76.1% (108 out of 142) |
| Ole | Ole.01-08 | 1;9.10 – 2;2.12 | 85.5% (189 out of 221) |
| Investigator | <i>Ole.14</i> | <i>Adult</i> | 23.5% (28 out of 119) |

8. SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

- ✚ V2 word order is the result of many microparameters/clause-specific cues (‘microcues’, T. Lohndal, p.c.) – no grammar competition between two ‘global’ systems.
- ✚ ‘Optionality’ of V2 in the history of English and present-day Norwegian dialects represents different grammars – based on information structure (movement to lower TopP).
- ✚ Change caused by various factors: Head Preference, Information structure drift, frequency shifts, etc. – Survival of exceptional cases if frequent and early in acquisition.
- ✚ Language development occurs in small steps, reflecting minor I-language changes (affecting e.g. different *wh*-elements, *palponne*) – i.e. **many small catastrophes**.

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