

Postverbal elements in OV languages. An overview and a case study of South Sámi

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1 Introduction

Upon investigating differences between OV and VO languages, suddenly a wild problem appears:

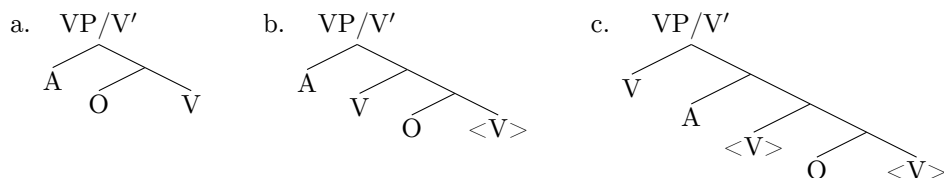
Can an OV language with postverbal objects still be considered an OV language?

Result 1: there are several kinds of postverbal elements (PVE), one of them is brought by *optional V-raising*

Result 2: there seem to be VO languages with OV order (here, South Sámi)

- analysis 1: rightward movement, analysis 2: stranding
- **Theory:** Neeleman (2015): capturing unmarked word order variability in and across languages
 - neutral order = base generation + leftward head-movement
 - ⇒ phrasal (A-bar-)movement = marked order
 - in VP: restrictions on case licensing ('first merge')
 - ⇒ in VO: 'rightward' licensing ⇒ obligatory V-raising (sometimes)
 - ⇒ in OV: 'leftward' licensing ⇒ no V-raising (also Haider 2010)
 - ⇒ **not considered: optional V-raising** (1)

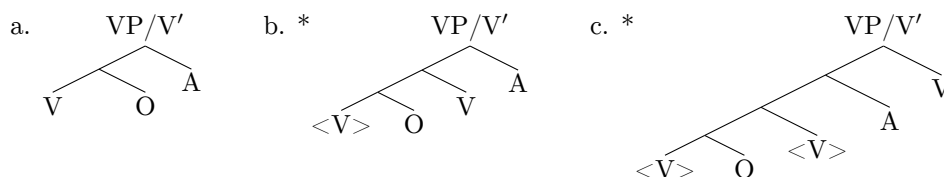
(1) predicted neutral word-orders of {V, O, A} with OV-base: /A O V/, /A V O/, /V A O/



Predictions:

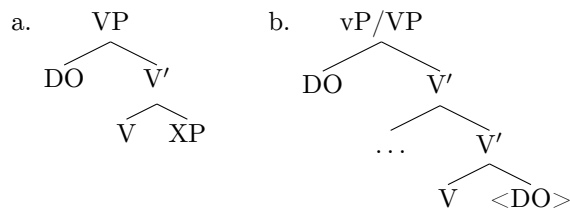
- postverbal domain = preverbal domain in V-raising, as in (1)
- displaced postverbal elements ⇒ information structural effects
- VO languages should not allow for IS-neutral OV-order, see (2)
- that's it for today (freezing effects, split NPs, ...)

(2) unpredicted neutral VO orders of {V, O, A}: /O V A/, /O A V/



- What if there is no reason for the verb to move in a Larsonian verb shell? $\Rightarrow$ (3a)
- What if the object moves for licensing, but the verb is too lazy to follow? (Gisbert Fanselow, p.c.) $\Rightarrow$ (3b)

(3) a. Lazy verb in a shell // b. Lazy verb



(3a) $\Rightarrow$ OVX order, (3b) $\Rightarrow$ OV order – $\Rightarrow$ OV order, but VO-like clause structure

Structure

1. Grammaticality of postverbal elements in OV
2. Free vs. marked postverbal elements
3. Scopal properties of postverbal elements
4. South Sámi as a SVO language in disguise
5. Summary

2 Grammaticality of postverbal elements in OV

Big groups: rigid OV: VO is strictly ungrammatical – flexible OV: VO is available

- what doesn't count: afterthoughts, enumerations, poems, suspense

Subcases of rigid OV:

- Nenets: only afterthoughts, no right dislocation, no extraposition (Nikolaeva, 2014)
- Japanese/Korean: also RD, no extraposition
- German: also extraposition
- Dutch: unmarked extraposition $\Rightarrow$ shifting point towards flexible OV?

Subcases of flexible OV:

- Estonian, Udmurt: differences not even commented on
- Georgian: PP-arguments obligatorily postverbal
- Hindi: fully grammatical, but marked
- South Sámi: 'I have no reason to say that it [VO] is wrong, but I wouldn't say it that way.'

3 ‘Free’ vs. marked postverbal elements

- V-raising $\Rightarrow$ semantically vacuous $\Rightarrow$ free variation
- displacement $\Rightarrow$ A-bar-movement $\Rightarrow$ IS markedness

3.1 Languages without IS-related pre-post distinction

- directly preverbal + postverbal focus = neutral information focus (Orsolya Tánczos p.c.)¹ (4)–(6)

(4) Udmurt

- Ко́чыш **карылоз** жы́тазе пы́ддэ ню́нь.
cat make:FUT.3SG evening.IN foot.PL:2SG warm
- Ко́чыш **карылоз** жы́тазе ню́нь пы́ддэ.
cat make:FUT.3SG evening.IN warm foot.PL:2SG
- Ко́чыш **карылоз** ню́нь жы́тазе пы́ддэ.
cat make:FUT.3SG warm evening.IN foot.PL:2SG

(5) C: What did Sasha watch in the cinema?

- Са́ша кинотеатры́н ТЕРМИНАТОРЕ́З **учки́з**.
Sasha:[NOM] cinema:IN Terminator:ACC see:PST.3SG
‘Sasha saw THE TERMINATOR in the cinema.’ (Tánczos 2010:225; bf by AS)
- Са́ша кинотеатры́н **учки́з** ТЕРМИНАТОРЕ́З.
Sasha:[NOM] cinema:IN see:PST.3SG Terminator:ACC
‘Sasha saw THE TERMINATOR in the cinema.’ (Tánczos 2010:225; bf by AS)

(6) C: Who saw the Terminator in the cinema?

- Термина́торез кинотеатры́н Са́ша **учки́з**.
Terminator:ACC cinema:IN Sasha:[NOM] see:PST.3SG
‘SASHA saw the Terminator in the cinema.’ (Tánczos 2010:224; bf by AS)
- %Термина́торез кинотеатры́н **учки́з** Са́ша.
Terminator:ACC cinema:IN see:PST.3SG Sasha:[NOM]
‘SASHA saw the Terminator in the cinema.’ (Tánczos 2010:224; bf by AS)

- **Estonian** shows the pre=post-effect as well (7) (contrary to Ehala 2006)

(7) Estonian: non-finite V + particle

- Ema on lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra **vṍtnud**.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL toy:ACC PRT take.PTCP
‘Mother has taken THE TOY away from the child.’
- Ema on lapselt **vṍtnud** mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL take.PTCP toy:ACC PRT
- Ema on **vṍtnud** lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG take.PTCP child:ABL toy:ACC PRT

(8) C: What happened earlier?/Mis on varem juhtunud?

- Ema on lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra **vṍtnud**.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL toy:ACC PRT take.PTCP
‘Mother has taken THE TOY away from the child.’
- Ema on lapselt **vṍtnud** mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL take.PTCP toy:ACC PRT
- Ema on **vṍtnud** lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG take.PTCP child:ABL toy:ACC PRT

(9) C: What did the mother take from the child earlier?/Mille on ema varem lapselt ä́ra vṍtnud?

- Ema on lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra **vṍtnud**.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL toy:ACC PRT take.PTCP
‘Mother has taken THE TOY away from the child.’
- Ema on lapselt **vṍtnud** mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL take.PTCP toy:ACC PRT
- Ema on **vṍtnud** lapselt mä́nguasja ä́ra.
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG take.PTCP child:ABL toy:ACC PRT

¹There is also Y-FOC-V-X order in Udmurt (Tánczos 2010) which is likely the outcome of V-raising and extraposition combined.

- d. Ema on **võtnud** ära lapselt mänguasja.
 mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG take.PTCP child:ABL toy:ACC PRT

• for Georgian, there is evidence for postverbal foci from elicitation data (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010)

(10) **Georgian:** Q: What is happening here?

- a. – Kali cxens **miač'enebs**.
 woman:NOM horse:DAT PR:PV:gallop:THM:PRS.S.3SG
 'A woman is riding a horse.' (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010: 1381)
 b. – Bič'i **čexavs** šesas.
 boy:NOM cut:THM:PRS.S.3SG firewood:DAT
 'A boy is cutting a tree.' (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010: 1381)

(11) **Georgian:** Q: In the scene, in front of the fence: what is a/the girl hitting?

- Gogo **urt'q'ams** mankanas.
 girl:NOM PV:hit:THM:PRS.S.3SG car:DAT
 'A/the girl is hitting a/the car.' (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010: 1381)

• analysis: sentence-final focus = stranded preverbal focus: (12a) » (12b) (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010: 1381)

(12) **This talk's preferred (a) and dispreferred (b) analysis of postverbal neutral information foci OV**



• difference between Georgian vs. Udmurt + Estonian:

- Udmurt + Estonian: sentence-final focus (unless extraposition is involved)
- Georgian: V-adjacent focus (Polinsky & Borise, 2016)

⇒ V-movement confined to single step? Afterwards only extraposition?

3.2 Languages with IS-related pre-post distinction

• A-bar-movement ⇒ semantic effects ⇒ no neutral information focus

⇒ **PVE not licit in every context as preverbal elements**

⇒ **PVE ≠ neutral, in-situ information focus**

• function: “backgrounding”: Hindi (Butt & King, 1996), Turkish (Ergunvali, 1984)

• also: Korean (Yun, to appear), Hocak (North-American, Rosen 2013), Amharic (Kramer & Eilam, 2012), various Turkic (Öztürk, 2013)

⇒ (Öztürk, 2013, 51): postverbal position = ‘mirror image of preverbal position’:

- marked
- no stress
- givenness
- relative backgrounding

• also possible: marked contrastive and exhaustive focus: Hindi (13), Dargwa (14) (also others e.g. Korean, Yun, to appear)

(13) **Hindi-Urdu**

Q: Who did Sita look at carefully?/Sitane d^hyanse kisko dek^ha t^ha?

- a. ?Sitane d^hyanse dek^ha t^ha RAMKO.
 Sita:ERG carefully look.at AUX Ram:DAT
 ‘It was Ram who Sita looked at carefully.’
 b. ?Sitane dek^ha t^ha d^hyanse RAMKO.
 Sita:ERG look.at AUX carefully Ram:DAT
 ‘It was Ram who Sita looked at carefully.’
 c. #Sitane dek^ha t^ha ramko d^hyanse.
 Sita:ERG look.at AUX Ram:DAT carefully
 ‘It was Ram who Sita looked at carefully.’

- e. Sitane d^hyanse ramko dek^ha t^ha.
Sita:ERG carefully Ram:DAT look.at AUX
'Sita looked carefully at Ram.'

(based on examples by Butt and King (1996), judgements by Shravan Vasishth and Umesh Patil)

(14) **Urakhi Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian)** (Dzhuma Abakarova, p.c.)

Q: What did the woman give to the man? / Си битхъиба даг хъунуйин муруйс?

- a. Хъунуйин муруйс даг савгъат битхъиб.
woman:ERG man:DAT yesterday present:ABS gave
'The woman gave A PRESENT to the man yesterday.'
- b. Хъунуйин муруйс даг битхъиб савгъат.
woman:ERG man:DAT yesterday gave present:ABS
'It was a present that the woman gave to the man yesterday.'
- c. #Хъунуйин муруйс битхъиб даг савгъат.
woman:ERG man:DAT yesterday gave present:ABS
'The woman gave to the man yesterday: – a present.'
- e. *Хъунуйин муруйс битхъиб савгъат даг.
woman:ERG man:DAT yesterday gave present:ABS
'The woman gave to the man yesterday: – a present.'

- contrastiveness includes givenness

⇒ givenness as the uniting property? (more languages!)

3.3 The IS of postverbal elements in South Sámi

- O. H. Magga and L. M. Magga (2012, 231): "Even if that [SXOV-order] is characteristic for Sout Sámi, it is not an absolute law. Especially adverbials can also follow the verb." (translation by AS)

- Kroik (2016, 25, fn. 17): postverbal adverbials: with intonational break, extraposition

- comments on postverbal adverbials by informants: 'now the object is emphasised' #however: SOXV is also 'emphasis on O'

- no clear IS-effect in South Sámi, some prefer (15a) and (16a), some prefer (15b) and (16b)

(15) **South Sámi C:** What happened? / Mij deahpadi??

- a. Gaahtoe maanam bearjadahken **gåaskoeji**.
cat:NOM child:ACC friday:GEN wake:PST:3SG
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'
- b. Gaahtoe maanam **gåaskoeji** bearjadahken.
cat:NOM child:ACC wake:PST:3SG friday:GEN
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'

(16) **South Sámi C:** When did the cat wake the child? / Gåessie gaahtoe maanam gåaskoeji?

- a. Gaahtoe maanam bearjadahken **gåaskoeji**.
cat:NOM child:ACC friday:GEN wake:PST:3SG
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'
- b. Gaahtoe maanam **gåaskoeji** bearjadahken.
cat:NOM child:ACC wake:PST:3SG friday:GEN
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'

(17) **South Sámi C:** What woke the child up on friday? / Mij bearjadahken maanam gåaskoeji?

- a. Gaahtoe bearjadahken maanam **gåaskoeji**.
cat:NOM child:ACC friday:GEN wake:PST:3SG
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'
- b. %Gaahtoe maanam **gåaskoeji** bearjadahken.
cat:NOM child:ACC wake:PST:3SG friday:GEN
'The cat woke the child up on friday.'

- postverbal O: same as with non-argument, but generally less acceptable
 - no effect + dispreferred
 - V-focus ⇒ V-raising, as in (18)
 - other marked functions

- (18) Gaahtoe GÅASKOEJI maanam bearjadahken!
 cat:NOM wake:PST:3SG child:ACC friday:GEN
 ‘The cat woke the child up on friday! (Normally, it never wakes people!)’

- generally: very inconsistent and contradictory judgements regarding IS (mostly: no influence)
 - prosodic stress » word order change
- ⇒ almost all word order changes are marked

3.4 Excursus: What distinguishes OV with PVE from VO with preverbal O?

- some Uralic VO languages allow OV order: Finnish (19), North Sámi (20)

- (19) **Finnish:** initial focus/emphasis

- *Jussi **romaanin** kirjoitti.
 Jussi novel wrote
 int. ‘Jussi wrote a novel.’ (Holmberg 2000:124)
- JUSSI **romaanin** kirjoitti.
 Jussi novel wrote
 ‘I was Jussi who wrote a novel.’ (Holmberg 2000:125)
- Milloin Jussi **romaanin** kirjoitti?
 when Jussi novel wrote
 ‘When did Jussi write a novel?’ (Holmberg 2000:125)
- Onpas Jussi **romaanin** kirjoittanut.
 has.FOC Jussi novel written
 ‘Jussi HAS written a novel.’ (Holmberg 2000:125)
- Miksi Jussi ei **romania** kirjoittaisi?
 why Jussi NEGV novel would.write
 ‘Why would Jussi not write a novel?’ (Holmberg 2000:130)

- (20) **North Sámi:** contrastive focus

- A: Oaččun go mun máistit **dan guoli**?
 get Q I.NOM taste that fish.ACC
 ‘May I try that fish?’ (Kristine Bentzen p.c.)
- B: Dieđusge! Mun aiggun **bierrgu** máistit.
 of-course I.NOM will meat.ACC taste
 ‘Of course! I will try the meat.’ (Kristine Bentzen p.c.)

- in contrast to Udmurt + Estonian: VO order = always acceptable; OV order = information-structurally marked (Vilkuna 1989, Holmberg 2000, Kristine Bentzen p.c.), conditions shown in (21)

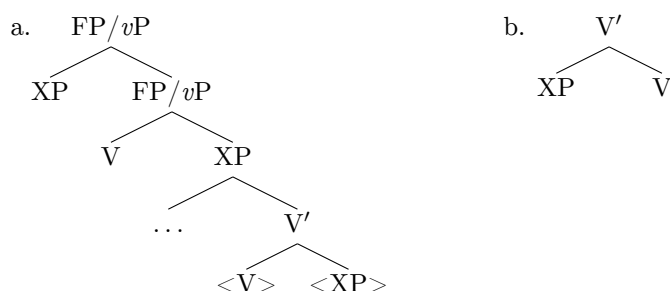
- (21) OV contexts in North Sámi and Finnish (following Kristine Bentzen p.c., Holmberg 2000):

- strongest: object = topic
- given >> new
- contrast
- clause-initial focus
- embedded > matrix-clause (= backgrounding)

⇒ claim: preverbal object ≠ neutral information focus BECAUSE preverbal object ≠ complement position of V (*ex situ* focus, Drubig 2003)

- analysis: **OV order in VO languages always involves movement of O**

- (22) This talk’s preferred (a) and dispreferred (b) analysis of OV order in VO



- How is this in Komi-Zyrjan and the Mordvin VO-languages?

- there are no VO languages with directly preverbal focus (Czypionka 2007)
- exceptions, e.g. Mócheno and Dinka (Cognola 2013, 2015), involve O-movement

3.5 Summary: postverbal elements and information structure

- stranding type: no difference between preverbal and postverbal IS-functions
- movement type: no postverbal neutral information focus, only marked IS-functions
- South Sámi: no discernable function $\Rightarrow$ stranding type?
- OV in VO-languages: no neutral information focus, only marked IS-functions

$\Rightarrow$ marked postverbal position in OV = marked preverbal position in VO?

- *also* in *wh*-in-situ languages (Hindi, Bangla, Georgian, Udmurt): postverbal *wh* = echo question

4 Scope

- stranding $\Rightarrow$ preverbal scope = postverbal scope (Mahajan, 1997)
- movement $\Rightarrow$ potential scope changes and ambiguities (Kural, 1997)
- base-generated right-adjunction $\Rightarrow$ English-like scope ambiguities

4.1 Scope-rigid postverbal elements

- OV languages = rigid scope / surface scope $\Rightarrow$ ‘A-scrambling’
- preverbal scope = postverbal scope
- two approaches:
 - stranding (Mahajan, 1997)
 - movement without scope changes: VP-remnants as scope islands (Bhatt & Dayal, 2007), obligatory reconstruction under movement (Manetta, 2012)
- no scope changes in Estonian (no data on Udmurt yet)

(23) Estonian: 2-DO Q-IO order

- Varem on Peeter kahte külalist igale külalisele **esitlenud**.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM two:PART guest:PART every:ALL guest:ALL introduce:PTCP
‘Earlier, Peter introduces two guests to every guest.’ (2 > $\forall$, * $\forall$ > 2)
- Varem on Peeter kahte külalist **esitlenud** igale külalisele.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM two:PART guest:PART introduce:PTCP every:ALL guest:ALL
- Varem on Peeter **esitlenud** kahte külalist igale külalisele.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM introduce:PTCP two:PART guest:PART every:ALL guest:ALL
- Varem on **esitlenud** Peeter kahte külalist igale külalisele.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG introduce:PTCP Peter:NOM two:PART guest:PART every:ALL guest:ALL

(24) 2-IO Q-DO order

- Varem on Peeter kahele külalisele iga külalist **esitlenud**.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM two:ALL guest:ALL every:PART guest:PART introduce:PTCP
‘Earlier, Peter introduces two guests to every guest.’ (2 > $\forall$, * $\forall$ > 2)
- Varem on Peeter kahele külalisele **esitlenud** iga külalist.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM two:ALL guest:ALL introduce:PTCP every:PART guest:PART
- Varem on Peeter **esitlenud** kahele külalisele iga külalist.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG Peter:NOM introduce:PTCP two:ALL guest:ALL every:PART guest:PART
- Varem on **esitlenud** Peeter kahele külalisele iga külalist.
earlier AUX.PRS.3SG introduce:PTCP Peter:NOM two:ALL guest:ALL every:PART guest:PART

- the interpretations in (23) and (24) are strong evidence against optional right-adjunction
- Georgian: focus always takes lowest scope, also postverbally (25)

(25) **Georgian** (Polinsky & Borise, 2016)

- a. Samze nak'leb bič'i Q'OVEL CHANTAS **caighebs**.
 three.on less boy:NOM all bag:DAT carry:PRS:3SG
 'No less than three boys will carry every bag.' $3 > \forall, * \forall > 3$
- b. Samze nak'leb bič'i **caighebs** Q'OVEL CHANTAS.
 three.on less boy:NOM carry:PRS:3SG all bag:DAT
 'No less than three boys will carry every bag.' $3 > \forall, * \forall > 3$

- Hindi: preverbal scope = postverbal scope ($\Rightarrow$ Mahajan's (1997) stranding analysis)

(26) **Hindi** (Mahajan, 1997, 189)

- a. *Uske_i bhaaine har ek aadmiiko_i **maaraa**.
 he:GEN.OBL brother:ERG every one man:ACC hit:PFV
 int. 'His_i brother hit every man_i.'
- b. *Uske_i bhaaine **maaraa** har ek aadmiiko_i.
 he:GEN.OBL brother:ERG every one man:ACC hit:PFV
 int. 'His_i brother hit every man_i.'
- c. Gar ek aadmiiko_i uske_i bhaaine **maaraa**.
 he:GEN.OBL brother:ERG every one man:ACC hit:PFV
 'His_i brother hit every man_i.'

- biggest criticism of Mahajan (1997): antisymmetry $\nrightarrow$ not here

4.2 Scope-changing postverbal elements

- movement to higher, right position $\Rightarrow$ new scope relations possible
- Turkish: postverbal elements scope over the rest of the clause (Kural, 1997)

(27) **Turkish** (Kural, 1997, 504)

- a. Herkes üç kişiyi dün **aramış**.
 everyone:NOM three person:ACC yesterday call:PST:3SG
 'Everyone called three people yesterday.' $(3 > \forall, * \forall > 3)$
- b. Üç kişiyi herkes dün **aramış**.
 three person:ACC everyone:NOM yesterday call:PST:3SG
 'Everyone called three people yesterday.' $(*3 > \forall, \forall > 3)$
- c. Herkes dün **aramış** üç kişiyi.
 everyone:NOM yesterday call:PST:3SG three person:ACC
 'Everyone called three people yesterday.' $(3 > \forall, * \forall > 3)$
- d. Üç kişiyi dün **aramış** herkes.
 three person:ACC yesterday call:PST:3SG everyone:NOM
 'Everyone called three people yesterday.' $(*3 > \forall, \forall > 3)$

- Öztürk (2013): Variation in scopal properties among Turkic languages
 - unfortunately: tested almost exclusively with respect to negation
 - Khalkha: almost like pronominal right dislocation, no PVE with parts of idioms (Öztürk's conclusion: no connection to the matrix clause)
 - Uyghur: PVE with parts of idioms possible

(28) **Uyghur** (Öztürk, 2013, 284)

- a. Her bala ikki kitapnu **oqudi**.
 every child two book:ACC read:PST
 'Every child read two books.' $(*2 > \forall, \forall > 2)$
- b. Ikki kitapnu her bala **oqudi**.
 two book:ACC every child read:PST
 'Every child read two books.' $(2 > \forall, * \forall > 2)$
- c. Her bala **oqudi** ikki kitapnu.
 every child read:PST two book:ACC
 'Every child read two books.' $(2 > \forall, \forall > 2)$
- d. Ikki kitapnu **oqudi** her bala.
 two book:ACC read:PST every child
 'Every child read two books.' $(2 > \forall, \forall > 2)$

- Öztürk's analysis: Uyghur and Turkish allow for right-adjoined SpecTP due to lack of obligatory EPP

- ⇒ SpecTP explains ‘background’-interpretation of postverbal elements
 ⇒ shouldn’t German behave like Turkish and Uyghur, then? (premise: German lacks obligatory EPP)
 • also: Turkic languages allow long-extracted PVEs (Öztürk, 2013; Kural, 1997)
 – underivable via stranding (‘remnant CP movement’)
 ⇒ scopal ambiguity in (28c,d) ⇒ two options: movement + Hindi-like structure

4.3 Scope in VO languages

- Janke & Neeleman (2012): structural ambiguity in prepositional datives

- (29) Double object in VO
 a. [V [IO [<V> DO]]] – shell-structure obligatory
 b. no other options
- (30) Prepositional dative in VO
 a. [V [DO [<V> PP]]] – shell structure, PP merged first
 b. [[V DO] PP] – right adjunction, PP merged second
 c. same rules for any AdvP
- (31) Adverbials
 a. [V [DO [<V> ADV]]] – shell structure, ADV merged first
 b. [[V DO] ADV] – right adjunction, ADV merged second

⇒ structural ambiguity in (30) and (31) ⇒ scope ambiguities (32) and (33) (Janke & Neeleman, 2012, 173)

- (32) (Bruening, 2010, 292)
 a. I gave a different candy bar to every child. $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$
 b. I gave a different child every candy bar. $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (33) a. John read the books quickly. collective » distributive
 (Janke & Neeleman, 2012, 173)
 b. During the trip, Jane read a newspaper twice. $2 > \forall, \forall > 2$
 (Ad Neeleman, p.c.)

- the same scope ambiguities occur in Finnish (judgements by Saara Huhmarniemi and Dara Jokilehto)
- (34) is equivalent to (30), (32a), and (33)

- (34) **Finnish: 2-DO Q-IO**
 Merja näyttää kaksi kuvaa jokaiselle vieraalle.
 Merja:NOM showed two:PAR picture:PAR every:ALL guest:ALL
 ‘Merja showed two pictures to every guest.’ $2 > \forall, \forall > 2$

- (35) can only be construed via a verb shell as in (29) and (32b)

- (35) **Finnish: 2-IO Q-DO**
 Merja näyttää kahdelle vieraalle jokaisen kuvan.
 Merja:NOM showed two:ALL guest:ALL every:PAR picture:PAR
 ‘Merja showed two guests every picture.’ $2 > \forall, * \forall > 2$

- other explanations: definiteness (Saara Huhmarniemi p.c.) or movement from DO-IO-base order (Kaiser, 2000, 2002)

- strong contrast between Finnish and Estonian

4.4 Scope relations in South Sámi

- compare to (34) with (36) and (35) with (37)

- (36) **South Sámi: Ditransitives, V-final, 2-DO Q-IO**
 a. Marja lea fierhtien guassan göökte guvvieh **vuesiehtamme.**
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG each.and.every:ILL guest:ILL two:NOM picture:PL:NOM show:PTCP
 ‘Marja showed two pictures to each and every guest.’ $2 > \forall, \forall > 2$
 b. Marja lea göökte guvvieh fierhtien guassan **vuesiehtamme.**
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG two:NOM picture:PL:NOM each.and.every:ILL guest:ILL show:PTCP

(37) **South Sámi:** Ditransitives, V-final, 2-IO Q-DO

- a. Marja lea gööktide guesside fierhtem guvviem
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG two:PL:ILL guest:PL:ILL each.and.every:ACC picture:ACC
vuesiehtamme.
 show:PTCP
 ‘Marja showed each and every pictures to two guests.’ $2 > \forall, ??\forall > 2$
- b. Marja lea fierhtem guvviem gööktide guesside
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG each.and.every:ACC picture:ACC two:PL:ILL guest:PL:ILL
vuesiehtamme.
 show:PTCP

- note: reordering is not neutral (= contrastive fronting) *but* this would not explain (36b) and (37a)
- interpretations do not change under verb fronting

(38) **South Sámi:** Ditransitives, V-medial, 2-DO Q-IO

- a. ?Marja lea fierhtien guassan **vuesiehtamme** göökte guvvielh.
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG each.and.every:ILL guest:ILL two:NOM picture:PL:NOM show:PTCP
 ‘Marja showed two pictures to each and every guest.’ $2 > \forall, \forall > 2$
- b. ??Marja lea GÖÖKTE GUVVIEH **vuesiehtamme** fierhtien guassan.
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG two:NOM picture:PL:NOM each.and.every:ILL guest:ILL show:PTCP

(39) **South Sámi:** Ditransitives, V-medial, 2-IO Q-DO

- a. ??Marja lea gööktide guesside **vuesiehtamme** fierhtem guvviem.
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG two:PL:ILL guest:PL:ILL show:PTCP each.and.every:ACC picture:ACC
 ‘Marja showed each and every pictures to two guests.’ $2 > \forall, ??\forall > 2$
- b. ?Marja lea FIERHTEM GUVVIEM **vuesiehtamme** gööktide guesside.
 Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG each.and.every:ACC picture:ACC show:PTCP two:PL:ILL guest:PL:ILL

- with adverbials: also no change in interpretation

(40) **South Sámi:** Adverbials

- a. (Manne) fierhtem bovtsem **varki tjuvlestem.**
 1SG:NOM each.and.every:ACC reindeer:ACC quickly kiss:PST:1SG
 ‘I kissed every reindeer quickly.’ or ‘... soon/early.’
- b. (Manne) **varki** fierhtem bovtsem TJUVLESTEM.
 1SG:NOM quickly each.and.every:ACC reindeer:ACC kiss:PST:1SG
- c. (Manne) Fierhtem bovtsem **tjuvlestem varki.**
 1SG:NOM each.and.every:ACC reindeer:ACC kiss:PST:1SG quickly

(41) **South Sámi:** Adverbials

- a. (Manne) aktem bovtsem **göökth/-ien aejkien tjuvlestem.**
 1SG:NOM one:ACC reindeer:ACC two:PL/:GEN time:GEN kiss:PST:1SG
 ‘I kissed a reindeer twice.’ $\exists > 2, *2 > \exists$
- b. (Manne) **göökth/-ien aejkien** aktem bovtsem **tjuvlestem.**
 1SG:NOM two:PL/:GEN time:GEN one:ACC reindeer:ACC kiss:PST:1SG
- c. (Manne) aktem bovtsem **tjuvlestem göökth/-ien aejkien.**
 1SG:NOM one:ACC reindeer:ACC kiss:PST:1SG two:PL/:GEN time:GEN

- also note: No scrambling, instead A-bar-movement (also cf. Kroik 2016)

4.5 Summary: postverbal elements and scope

- Estonian, Georgian, and Hindi: preverbal scope = postverbal scope, only surface scope
 - Turkish and Uyghur: PVE take wide scope or otherwise change scope
 - Sout Sámi: preverbal scope = postverbal scope, not only surface scope
 - Hindi compared to Turkic: scope $\nparallel$ IS-function
- ⇒ three modes of postverbal elements;

- stranded: Estonian, Georgian postverbal focus, (Udmurt with more data)
- ‘low’ displacement: Hindi, Georgian postverbal non-focus (= extraposition?)
- ‘high’ displacement: Turkish, Uyghur

5 South Sámi as a quirky SVO language

- preverbal elements = postverbal elements (PVEs = degraded)
- but: preverbal elements behave like in a VO language

⇒ South Sámi as VO-language in disguise

The question in South Sámi is not why there are postverbal elements – it's: *Why there are preverbal elements?*

- generally: no OV-like properties (Neeleman, 2015; Haider, 2010, 2013)

5.1 Missing OV-properties

(42) properties in which South Sámi is like Finnish and unlike Udmurt + Estonian

1. no A-scrambling
 - (a) no reordering via directly preverbal focus
 - (b) hardly achievable OS-orders
 - (c) no scope rigidity
 - (d) no nominal splits
2. neither full nor partial VP-fronting
3. mostly obligatory postverbal infinitives
4. strong SV-preference
5. superiority effects (though: problematic conclusion in Finnish)

⇒ South Sámi = agglutinating OV language with rigid word order

5.2 Example: no A-scrambling

- reorderings are IS-related A-bar-movements
- reordering of S and O is very marked (43a) up to fully uninterpretable (43b), and subject focus cannot lead to OXSV order (totally uninterpretable) (43c); likewise, postverbal subjects lead case-cue ignorance (44)

- (43) a. MAANAM gaahtoe BEARJADAHKEN gâaskoeji.
 child.ACC cat.NOM friday.GEN wake.PST.3SG
 '(On monday, the cat woke the mother, on wednesday the father, and) on friday, the cat woke the child.'
- b. *Maanam gaahtoe varki/soejmetje gâaskoeji.
 child.ACC cat.NOM fast/carefully wake.PST.3SG
- c. Q: What woke the child on friday?/Mij bearjadahken maanam gâaskoeji?
 *Maanam bearjadahken gaahtoe gâaskoeji.
 child.ACC friday.GEN cat.NOM wake.PST.3SG
- (44) *Giēm gâaskoeji gaahtoe bearjadahken?
 who.ACC wake.PST.3SG cat.NOM friday.GEN
 interpreted as 'Who woke the cat on friday?'

- note that South Sámi is agglutinating, and every role is morphologically disambiguated
- also note that OS-order is hardly permissible in Finnish without the use of functional peripheries
- furthermore: inverted scope possible, and even preferred

- (45) a. Daenbiejjien göökte kaarrh fierhten fievsiem sjeakoejin.
 today two:NOM man:PL:NOM each.and.every:ACC stable:ACC clean:PST:3PL
 'Today two men cleaned every stable.' ($\forall > 2 \gg 2 > \forall$)
- b. Daenbiejjien fierhtene kaarre göökte fievsieh sjeakoeji.
 today each.and.every:NOM:? man:PL:NOM two:NOM stable:PL:NOM clean:PST:3SG
 'Today each and every man cleaned two stables.' ($*\forall > 2, 2 > \forall$)

- many other languages seem to behave like South Sámi, and all of them seem to at least allow SOVX or are SAUXOV languages (Gisbert Fanselow, p.c.): Dutch, Afrikaans, Amharic, Tagbana

6 Summary

- optional V-raising = suitable analysis for some postverbal elements in OV
 - other options: low displacement, high displacement
 - these options can feature in the same clause, e.g. stranding + extraposition
 - **What determines which of these options are possible?**
 - South Sámi has OV order, but behaves like a VO language
- ⇒ raising is *possible* (as in other VO languages), but not obligatory?

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