

# TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF WORD ORDER VARIATION IN THE URALIC LANGUAGES

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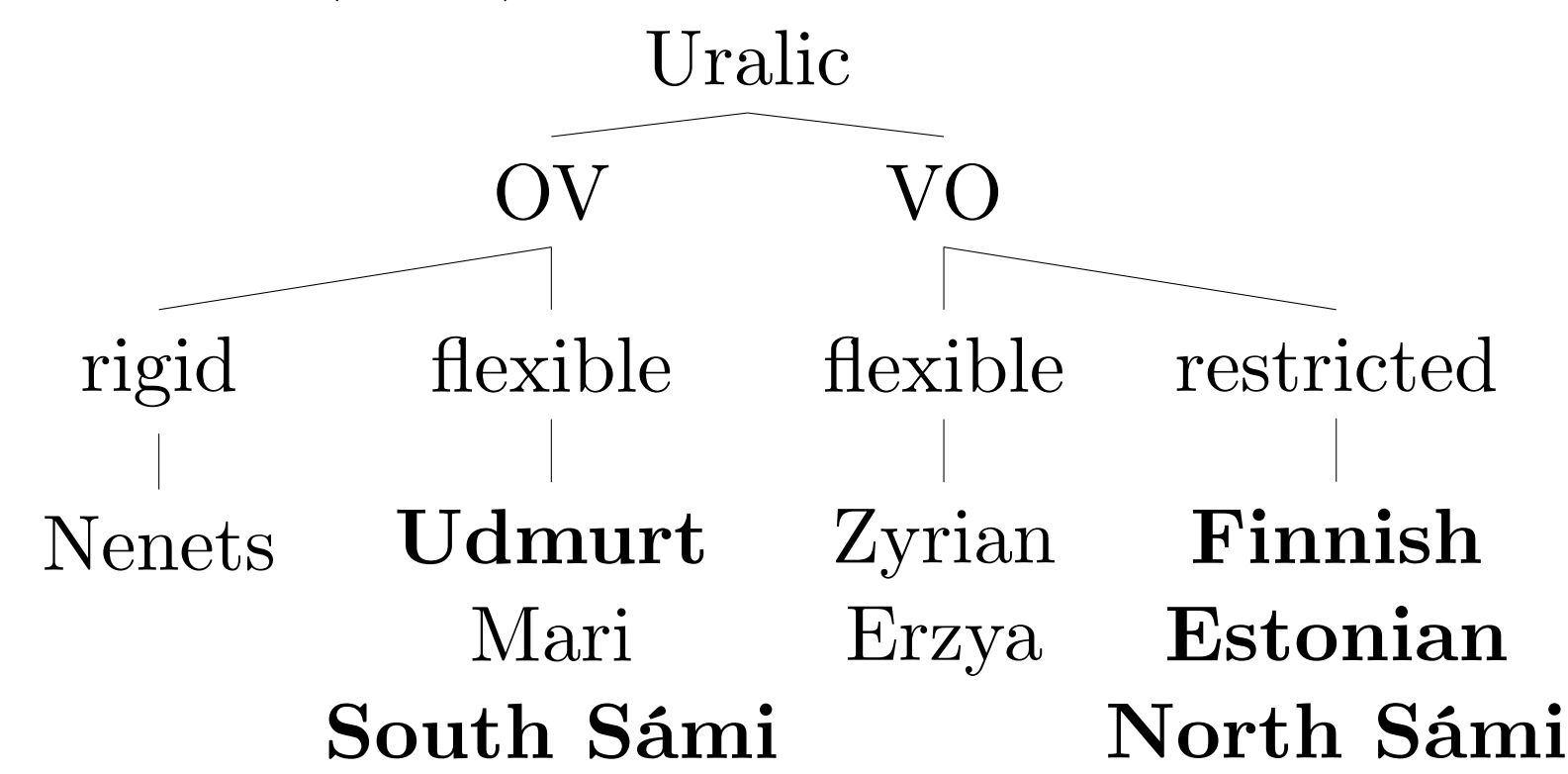


## Highlights

1. two types of word order (WO) variation  
OV type: A-scrambling  
VO type: no A-scrambling
2. source: variable merge order + movement
3. Estonian ≠ Finnish at a basic level
4. South Sámi = VO-language in disguise

## Background

Vilkuna (1998):



All Uralic langs: WO variation

**BUT different types of WO variation**

- ▷  $\bar{A}$ -movement vs. A-movement
- ▷ restricted vs. free
- ▷ OV: ‘Focus Constraint’ (Nikolaeva, 1999)  
⇒ scrambling due to preverbal focus
- ▷ VO: clause-final contrastive focus  
⇒ **Typology of WO variation**

## Free variation in OV

▷ postverbal neutral information focus in OV

- (1) **Udmurt**, C: What did Sasha see at the cinema?  
a. Саша кинотеатрын терминаторез  
Sasha:[NOM] cinema:IN Terminator:ACC  
**учкиз.** (Tánczos 2010:225)  
see:PST.3SG  
‘Sasha saw the Terminator in the cinema.’  
b. Саша кинотеатрын **учкиз** терминаторез.
- (2) **Estonian**,  
C: What did the mother take from the child earlier?  
a. Ema on lapselt mänguasja ära  
mother:[NOM] AUX.PRS.3SG child:ABL toy:ACC PRT  
**võtnud.**  
take.PTCP  
‘Mother has taken THE TOY away from the child.’  
b. Ema on lapselt **võtnud** mänguasja ära.  
c. Ema on **võtnud** lapselt mänguasja ära.  
d. Ema on **võtnud** ära lapselt mänguasja.

≠ Slavic clause-final focus: Slavic OV = V-focus

## Scope in Estonian

▷ surface scope (3a,c) + scope enhancement (3b)  
▷ no VO-like structure (7) in VO-order (3d)

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

## South Sámi as VO

▷ most WO variation = strongly marked + degraded

- (4) properties in which South Sámi is more 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

2. neither full nor partial VP-fronting

3. mostly obligatory postverbal infinitives

4. strong SV-preference

5. superiority effects

⇒ agglutinating OV language with rigid word order

## Free variation

Neeleman (2015):

- ▷ free order of merge
- ▷ restrictions due to linearity
- ▷ neutral order = base generation + H-mov  
⇒ phrasal movement = marked order

**Predictions:**

▷ IS-neutral V-raising in OV (5)

(5)  $[_{VP/V} V [ A [ <V> [ O <V> ] ] ] ] ]$

⇒ free OV/VO-variation in OV

▷ no preverbal in-situ focus in VO

⇒ OV-order in VO = marked

## Word order & scope

### Scope in VO

Janke & Neeleman (2012):

(6) unambiguous V-IO-DO order

a.  $[ V [ IO [ <V> DO ] ] ] ]$

b. \* $[ [ V IO ] DO ]$

(7) ambiguous V-DO-IO order

a.  $[ V [ DO [ <V> IO ] ] ] ]$

b.  $[ [ V DO ] IO ]$

(8) a. I gave a different child every candy

bar.  $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

b. I gave a different candy bar to every

child.  $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$

(Bruening, 2010, 292)

### Scope in OV

▷ OV → rigid scope + A-scrambling:  
Japanese, German, Hindi, Bangla, Turkish,  
Georgian, Dargwa

▷ ‘A-scrambling’: fronting ⇒ scope enhancement + no emphasis on fronted XP

▷ under V-raising: preverbal scope = postverbal scope, cf. (5)

## References

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## Marked variation in VO

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

- a. strongest: object = topic
- b. given >> new
- c. contrast
- d. clause-initial focus
- e. embedded > matrix-clause (= backgrounding)

(10) **North Sámi**, A: May I try that fish?

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.)

(11) **Finnish**, Holmberg (2000)

- a. \*Jussi **romaanin** kirjoitti.  
Jussi novel wrote
- b. Miksi Jussi ei **romaanin** kirjoittaisi?  
why Jussi NEGV novel would.write  
‘Why would Jussi not write a novel?’

⇒ O in OV-order ≠ in-situ

▷ Cypionka (2007): no VO lang with preverbal focus

▷ **OV order in VO → movement of O**

## Scope in Finnish

▷ VO scope pattern (6) and (7) in Finnish (12)

(12)a. Merja näyttää kaksi kuvaa jokaiselle  
Merja:NOM showed two:PAR picture:PAR every:ALL  
vieraalle. 2 > ∀, ∀ > 2  
guest:ALL  
‘Merja showed two pictures to every guest.’

b. Merja näyttää kahdelle vieraalle jokaisen  
Merja:NOM showed two:ALL guest:ALL every:PAR  
kuvan. 2 > ∀, \*∀ > 2  
picture:PAR

▷ MannerAdv-O order only with contrast on O

(13) Sirkku tappoi nopeasti ETANAT.  
Sirkku killed.3SG fast slugs.ACC  
‘Sirkku killed the SLUGS fast.’ (Manninen 2003:20)

## Scope in South Sámi

▷ VO-scope pattern + only contrastive fronting (≠ OV)

(14)a. Marja lea fierhtien guassan göökte  
Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG every:ILL guest:ILL two:NOM  
guvvieh viesiehtamme. 2 > ∀, ∀ > 2  
picture:PL:NOM show:PTCP  
‘Marja showed two pictures to each and every guest.’

b. Marja lea göökte guvvieh fierhtien guassan viesiehtamme.  
2 > ∀, ∀ > 2

c. Marja lea gööktide guesside  
Marja:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG two:PL:ILL guest:PL:ILL  
fierhtem guvviem viesiehtamme. 2 > ∀, ?? > 2  
every:ACC picture:ACC show:PTCP  
‘Marja showed each and every picture to two guests.’