Orsolya Tánczos & *Balázs Surányi*   **Iterated syntax and focus in Udmurt**

1. Objectives   It is fair to say that apart from a few extended remarks, the syntax of Udmurt is under-studied, and its syntax–information structure mapping, in particular, is even more so (Suihkonen 1990, Vilkuna 1998, Winkler 2001). In this presentation we undertake an exploration of the role of focus in shaping the word order of the Udmurt sentence. The results of a targeted empirical investigation are presented first. We then show how a model of clause structure based on iterated sequences of discourse-related functional projections can capture the empirical generalizations.

2. Background   Within the Finno-Ugric family, Udmurt has a relatively strict basic SOV word order (Vilkuna 1998), e.g., (1), (2a,b), as an answer to 'What happened?'). Within the region between S and V the relative position of O and some adjuncts exhibits a considerable degree of freedom, the details of which are not yet explored (Winkler 2001.) Udmurt is both subject prominent and topic-prominent. The subject functions as a default topic in neutral sentences in much the same way as in English.

3. Empirical testing   To investigate the role of topic and focus in Udmurt syntax, we tested 7 informants, all adult native speakers of Udmurt, aged between 19 and 55, all living in Udmurtia. Context questions were used to manipulate the focus of the target sentence. Two tests were carried out. In one of them, speakers had to judge several word orders presented to them (in writing), but they could also provide word orders they would use that were not among those presented. In another test they had to formulate a(n answer) sentence of their own, using a given set of words in each case presented in random orders (typically, two nouns, a verb and an adverbial).

4. Results   Here we report results with definite NPs functioning as S and O. In a neutral sentence containing a place adverbial, the SOV order is retained and the adverbial (=Adv) can be positioned either to the left or to the right of O (2c–d). A sentence with an object NP in focus also retains an SOV order (3). A place adjunct, if present, can precede but cannot follow the focused object (4a–b). A sentence with a subject NP in focus is realized with one of two possible word orders: OSV (5a) or SVO (5b). SOV (5c), or orders with a post-verbal S, e.g., (5d), are not permitted. A place adjunct, if present, cannot intervene between the focused S and V independently of the position of O (6a–b). The adjunct can follow V, where it can either precede or follow a post-verbal O (6c–d). If a place adjunct is focused, it precedes V and neither S nor O can intervene between it and V, e.g. (7a–b). Although an OSV order is out in a neutral sentence, it is possible if the place adverbial is in focus (7c).

5. The approach   (i) We adopt a cartographic approach to syntax that incorporates different functional projections each dedicated to some discourse status (Rizzi 1997, a.m.o.). This includes FocP, housing foci (Brody 1990, Rizzi 1997, etc). Foc selects for a special category, which corresponds to the background of the focus sitting in FocP and is labeled N(on)N(eutral)P (Olsvay 2000, É. Kiss 2010). The functional projection hosting (unfocused) definite (referential) NPs is Beghelli's (1993, 1995), Beghelli and Stowell's (1997) and Szabolcsi's (1997) RefP, a recursive projection. Topichood is not associated with a dedicated projection: instead, the inhabitant of a RefP above (the highest) FocP is interpreted as a topic (compare Szabolcsi 1997, and Brody & Szabolcsi 2003). (ii) Each inflectional head is dominated by a sequence of discourse-related functional projections (and, irrelevantly here, to some types of 'quantification') (see Hallman 1998 for the conception of such a reiterative syntax; for applications to Hungarian, see É. Kiss 1998, Brody and Szabolcsi 2003), see (9) (AgrS may be replaced by T, and AgrO by *v*). Call such sequences of projections discourse functional series. As commonly assumed, such phrases are projected only when they are filled. NNP is a phrase selected by Foc, hence it is obligatory if Foc is present. (iii) There is no improper movement from an A- to an A-bar position. FocP and RefP are A-bar positions. (iv) In line with Szabolcsi (1997), É. Kiss (1998), Brody & Szabolcsi (2003), within any given discourse functional series RefP dominates FocP. (v) Reference-set economy of movement (Fox 2000, Reinhart 2006) rules out unnecessarily long discourse related movements. In particular, a displacement to some discourse-related position D of type δ is ruled out if it involves movement beyond the closest available discourse functional position of the same type δ, unless the interpretation that the displacement beyond D achieves cannot be achieved by movement to D.

6. The analysis   As adjuncts can occur both below S and below O (cf. (2c,d)), we assume that the movement of S and O to their respective Case-licensing VP-external positions is overt, and that place adjuncts can be adjoined relatively freely, both in the region below and above AgrOP. In neutral sentences with definite S and O, S and O are each in a RefP located in the discourse-functional series

immediately above AgrSP and AgrOP, respectively (resulting in strict SOV). S cannot be in a lower RefP because of the ban on improper movement. O cannot be in a higher RefP due to reference-set economy of movement: movement to a RefP above AgrSP is longer than necessary, given the availability of a RefP position in the series immediately above AgrOP. By the same reasoning, O-foc must be in the FocP immediately above AgrOP (cf. (3a,b)). The NN head selected by Foc attracts the (lowest) VP, which has been vacated by O, and hence contains only V. The verb is therefore to the right of O-foc (3c). As NNP is a selected phrase, it is not a target of adjunction: O-foc and the verb in the VP raised to NNP cannot be separated by intervening material, e.g., (4). By parity of reasoning, S-foc must be located in a FocP above ArgSP, with the verb in the raised VP right-adjacent to it in NNP (5b,c,d, 6a,b). The movement of O above S-foc, yielding OSV, is possible (=5a), since O is interpreted in that position as a topic (see (i) and (vi) in §5). O can also remain post-verbal, staying in the RefP immediately above AgrOP, where it can be either preceded or followed by Adv (6c,d). If an adverbial is focused, the verb will be right-adjacent to it in the NNP selected by the FocP that it is housed by (7a,b). As before, O can raise to a RefP above AgrSP (=7c), where it is interpreted as topic. Indirect evidence that when O precedes S before an Adv-foc or an S-foc, O is interpreted as topic comes from examples in which O is indefinite: an indefinite object cannot appear to the left of a focused S or Adv (8a). Indefinites do not raise to a RefP. We assume that in Udmurt, indefinite O does not even raise to AgrOP overtly, but remains inside VP (cf. Diesing 1992 and much subsequent work). This can explain an important exception to the adjacency requirement between a focused S and V: O-indef can intervene (8b). This is because O-indef is inside the VP that is raised to [Spec,NNP] (10). The same assumption explains why a place Adv cannot intervene between O-indef and V (8b): Adv cannot be generated within VP, its lowest adjunction site is higher than that.

7. Variation   We conclude by highlighting some aspects of inter-speaker variation that has been found. This concerns the position of the verb in sentences containing a focus, as well as the availability of a special sentence-final focus position.

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(1) S O V: Саша книгаез лыдӟиз.
PN-Nom book-Acc read-Past.Sg3

(2) a. *O S V: *Книгаез Саша лыдӟиз. b. *S V O: *Саша лыдӟиз книгаез.
c. S O Adv V: Саша лыдӟиз библиотекаын книгаез.
PN-Nom read-Past.Sg3 library-Iness book-Acc
d. S Adv O V: Саша библиотекаын лыдӟиз книгаез.

(3) a. S O-foc V: Саша **терминаторез** учкиз
PN-Nom PN-Acc watch-past.Sg3
b. *O-foc S V: ***Терминаторез** Саша учкиз c. *S V O-foc: *Саша учкиз **Терминаторез**

(4) *S O-foc Adv V: *Саша **Терминаторез** кинотеатрын учкиз

(5) a. O S-foc V: *Терминаторез **Саша** учкиз b. S-foc V O: ***Саша** учкиз Терминаторез
c. *S-foc O V: ***Саша** Терминаторез учкиз d. *O V S-foc: * Терминаторез учкиз **Саша**

(6) a. *S-foc Adv V O: ***Саша** кинотеатрын терминаторез учкиз
b. *O S-foc Adv V: *Терминаторез **Саша** кинотеатрын учкиз
c. S-foc V Adv O: **Саша** учкиз кинотеатрын терминаторез
d. S-foc V O Adv: **Саша** учкиз терминаторез кинотеатрын

(7) a. S O Adv-foc V: Саша та книгаез **туннэ** басьтӥз.
PN-Nom this book-Acc today buy-Past.Sg3
b. *S Adv-foc O V: *Саша **туннэ** та книгаез басьтӥз
c. O S Adv-foc V: Та книгаез Саша **туннэ** басьтӥз

(8) a. *O-indef S-foc V: *Романъёс Ольга лыдӟиз.
Novel-Pl PN-Nom read-Past.Sg3 'Olga is reading a novel.'
b. S-foc (Adv) O-indef (*Adv) V: Ольга (кылем гужэм) романъёс (*кылем гужэм) лыдӟиз.
PN-Nom (last summer) novel-Pl (last summer) read-Past.Sg3

(9) [RefP [FocP [NNP [AgrSP ... [RefP [FocP [NNP [AgrOP ...]]]]]]]

(10) [FocP S-foc Foc [NNP [VP O-indef V] NN [AgrSP ...]]]