

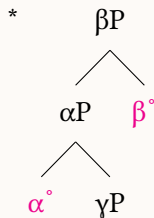


Observations:

- Head-Final VP: V Aux, Lt. Verbs
- but flexible order: OV~VO

Questions:

- Descriptive: what conditions OV~VO?
- Analytical: Consistent V-headedness?
- Theoretical: FOFC? (Biberauer et al., 2014)



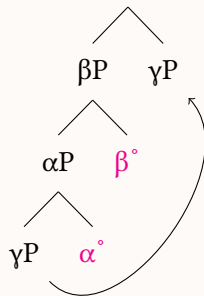


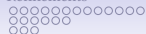
The proposal:

- Basic OV
- VO is derived: extraposition of O_{OLD}

Rabbit holes:

- Clausal complements and LDA
- Passive/impersonal and IS
- Noisy channel: a non-alternative

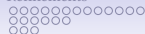




Itelmen [itl]

- Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Kamchatka peninsula, Russia
- 1990s ~ 80 speakers
- now handful of varying proficiency:
 - 1 completely fluid, native
- all speakers bilingual, Russian-dominant

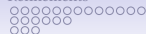




Complex verbal inflection, pro-drop (S,O optional):

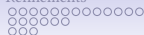
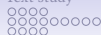
- (1) kma miɫ knin iʔ t'-il-aɫ-čen.
 1SG all 2SG.POSS water 1SG-drink-FUT-1>3SG
 'I will drink up all your water.' [AS (37)]
- (2) k'-il-ʔin=(n)en miɫ kəɫx^w-čax
 PRT-drink-TRANS.PRT=3CL all lake-DIM
 'She drank up all the little lake.' [AS (38)]





OV~VO:

- (1) kma miɬ knin iʔ t'-il-aɬ-čen. OV
 1SG all 2SG.POSS water 1SG-drink-FUT-1>3SG
 'I will drink up all your water.' [AS (37)]
- (2) k'-il-ʔin=(n)en miɬ kəɬx^w-čax. VO
 PRT-drink-TRANS.PRT=3CL all lake-DIM
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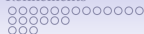


No direct case-marking (Subj, Obj)
vs. oblique cases (dative, ablative, locative, comitative, etc)

- (1) **kma** mił knin i? t'-il-ał-čen.
1SG all 2SG.POSS water 1SG-drink-FUT-1>3SG
'I will drink up all your water.' [AS (37)]
- (3) mejeŋ n-intimne-βum **kma**.
well 3PL-deceive-1SG.OBJ 1SG
'They really fooled me.' [KL (140)]

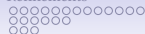
Exception: Agent is oblique in passive/impersonal N-construction

A set of small navigation icons typically found in Beamer presentations, including symbols for back, forward, search, and other slide controls.



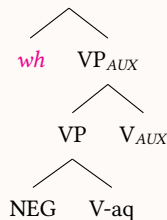
Pieces need not be adjacent:

- (6) kma qaʔm enu βimsx əʔčku-q t'-iʔ-čen
 1SG NEG that woman see-NEG 1SG-AUX-1>3SG
 'I didn't see that woman.' [S3:11]
- (7) a. qaʔm k'oʔ-kaq zin-x'al ʔ-iʔn
 NEG come-NEG woods-ABL AUX-3PL
 b. qaʔm k'oʔ-kaq ʔ-iʔn zin-x'al
 NEG come-NEG AUX-3PL woods-ABL
 'They didn't come from the woods.' [S3:12]

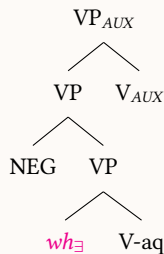


(aside) *wh-in-situ*, but ...

- (8) a. **k'e** qaʔm k'oɬ-kaq ɬ-in
 who NEG come-NEG AUX-3SG
 Who didn't come? [S3:23]



- b. qaʔm **k'e** k'oɬ-kaq ɬ-in
 NEG who come-NEG AUX-3SG
 Noone came. [S3:23]



Evidence for head-final V/vP (II)

Aux as Light-verbs:

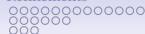
root[?] + ... AUX

- (9) a. **xaq** tʃi-ʔn k-**təl**-knen
 know 3PL-PL PRT-AUX-PRT
 ‘They recognized (lit: knew) him.’ [TN (63)]
- b. jurte-čχ **ənluʃi-ʃ** k’-**ite**-ʔin
 yurt-DIM enflame-INST PRT-AUX-PRT
 ‘(They) burned the little yurt.’ [KL (118)']
- c. noz-əʔn knank **napravit** t’-**ʃ**-če-ʔn
 dried.fish-PL 2SG.DAT prepare(<Russ.) 1SG-AUX-1>3-PL
 ‘I’ve prepared jukola (dried fish) for you.’ [KL:15]

Evidence for head-final V/vP (III)

Predicate complements to *le-* ‘become’
(including predicate nominals (b)):

- (10) a. qat **laq-aq** k-le-qzu-knen.
 already cold-ADV PRT-become-ASP-PRT
 ‘Already it was becoming cold.’ [AS (5)]
- b. qat A.S. **li** **p-lax** **qsas** k’-le-knen
 ALREADY A.S. very big-ADJ goose PRT-become-PRT
 ‘A.S. had already become a very big goose, ...’ [AS (94)]



Observations:

- Head-Final VP: V Aux, Lt Verbs
- but flexible order: OV~VO

Questions:

- Analytical: VO in a V-final language?
- Descriptive: what conditions OV~VO?
- Theoretical: FOFC?

h/t Abramovitz (2019) on Koryak for FOFC-framing

Four Texts

	Title	Stroytellet	Genre
1.	Wingless Gosling	Tatiana N. Bragina	Myth/Tale
2.	Old Man	Lyudmila E. Pravdoshina	Event
3.	Kutxh and the Mice	Ekaterina E. Silina	Myth/Tale
4.	Tilval	Agrafena D. Ivashova	Legend

- ~900 clauses
- Sedanka-Tigil (Northern) dialect
- recorded 1994, transcr. & edited with speakers
- Speaker 1 *1906, Speakers 2-4 *1934-1942.

Four Texts

Table 1: Constituent Order (Summary)

Intransitive	V	SV	VS		Total
	289	234	34		557
Transitive					308
0 NP	V				
	55				55
1 NP	SV	VS	OV	VO	
	15	6	102	60	183
2 NP, S>O	SOV	VSO		SVO	
	33	5		21	59
2 NP, O>S	OSV	OVS		VOS	
	6	4		1	11

Transitive: S: 91/308 (30%); O: 232/308 (75%)

Counting clauses:

- (11) aŋaqa-čχ k-φti-knen k-ŋrep-qzu-knen
Angaqa-DIM PRT-remain-PRT PRT-sing-ASP-PRT
‘Angaqe remained and (he) sang’ [AS (25)]
- a. [_{CP} Angake remained] & [_{CP} pro sang]
SV & V
- b. [_{CP} Angake [_{VP} remained] & [_{VP} sang]]
SV & SV



Coding for IS

- O_{new} referent not previously introduced in discourse
- O_{contr} explicitly contrastive ($n=6$), merged with O_{new} cf. *focus*
- O_{old} referent previously mentioned in discourse (=given)
1st and 2nd person always given

- dialogues within a story are new discourses
- Unresolved:
 - finer-grained: salience, accessibility, etc
 - part-whole: X's hand, door of house, etc.
 - common ground via world knowledge (chapel in village, etc)

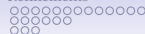


Table 2: Aggregated OV/VO $\times$ old/new (raw) ($\chi^2=18.54$, $p=.000017$)

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	89	28	117
O_{old}	56	59	115
Totals	145	87	132

- O_{new} includes $O_{contrastive}$
- O is nominal objects only
 - clausal complements always? post-verbal



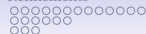


Table 3: Text 1 (raw) (Fisher's Exact $p=0.0092$)

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	12	4	16
O_{old}	3	10	13
Totals	15	14	29

- O_{new} includes $O_{contrastive}$
- O is nominal objects only
 - clausal complements always? post-verbal



Broadly consistent with OV languages, opposite of VO

- Turkish (OV) (Kornfilt, 2005; Şener, 2010):
 - preverbal focus, *O_{old}* scrambled (L or R)
 - postverbal constituents must be background (given, non-topic)
- Russian (VO) (Neeleman & Titov, 2009; Bailyn, 2012; Titov, 2012):
 - Right Focus: new information focus occurs clause-finally (IK1)
 - *O_{old}* may but need not front (also contrastive focus)

Turkish: SOV

- (12) I know that my wife asked Pelin, Pinar, and Can each to read a famous book by Orhan Pamuk titled “White Castle” in her class last week. I ask her today:

A: What happened with that reading assignment of yours from last week?

- (13) B:
- a. # Yalnizca Pelin **kitab-1** oku-muş. SOV
only Pelin book-ACC read-PAST
 - b. **kitab-1** Yalnizca Pelin oku-muş. OVS
book-ACC only Pelin read-PAST
 - c. Yalnizca Pelin oku-muş **kitab-1**. VSO
only Pelin read-PAST book-ACC
- ‘Only Pelin read the book.’

(Şener (2010), see also Kural (1997); Kornfilt (2005))

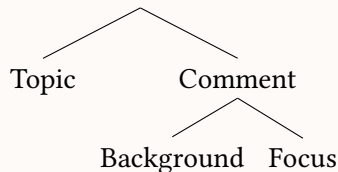
VO: given - [V - new]

OV: [new - V] - background

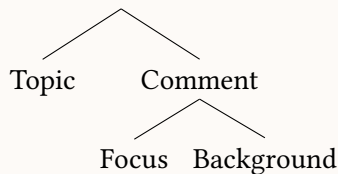
- O in its canonical position (complement of V) as most deeply embedded element:
- convergence of sentential stress and focus prominence
Jackendoff (1972)
- OV/VO variation: Schmerling (1976); Gussenhoven (1983);
Selkirk (1984); Arregi (2016)
- *O_{old}* is in a derived / high position (whether L or R)
(also necessary under FOFC)

(14) SVO

Given > New



(15) SOVx

Given_{Top} > New > Given_{Bkgd}

Itelmen patterns with OV

- Basic order: OV
- New information: pre-verbal

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	89	28	117
O_{old}	56	59	115
Totals	145	87	132

For O_{new} : convergence

For O_{old} : conflicting constraints:

OV > VO

optionality

cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2012)

aside: Word Order Freezing?

Why does Itelmen use more R-movement than Turkish?

Speculation:

(Almost) no scrambling across the subject.

Only 1 (non-wh, non N-construction) example of OSV in texts:

- (16) tnaqol tʃi-ʔn k-tzəl-knen
old.man 3PL-PL PRT-catch.up-PRT-PL
‘They caught up to the old man.’ [TN (63)]

(O here is topic of story, but not of sentence)

caveat: short L-scrambling not investigated

aside: Word Order Freezing?

- (17) a. otc-a ljubit syn OSV
father-ACC loves son.NOM
‘The son loves the father.’
b. mat’ ljubit doč’ SVO #OVS
mother.NM=AC loves daughter.NM=AC
‘The mother loves the daughter.’
(Jakobson, 1936[1971] vs. King, 1995)

Where case marking doesn't distinguish actants, S>O preferred

- (18) Doch die Sowjetunion konnte M. Gorbatschow nicht retten.
 yet the Soviet.Union could M. G. not save.
 (*Der Standard* 31.08.22, h/t Susi Wurmbrand)

An indirect argument for high VO_{Old}

FOFC: In many V-final languages, CP complements follow V

Headedness parameters (hypothetical):

VP-AUX head-final AuxP

DP-V head-final VP

V-CP but CP complement to right

Predicts [[V O_{CP}]_{VP} AUX]

False! Unattested. ∴ [V CP] order involves extraposition, not complement on right

An indirect argument for high VO_{Old}

Elicitation:

(19) βeqaʔnʲɩ ‘bear’:

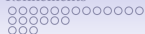
<1> qaʔm <2> ɬəm-aq <3> tʰ-iɬ-čen <4>
NEG kill-NEG 1SG.-AUX-1>3SG

‘I didn’t kill (the/a) bear.’ [S3:9-10]

<2> preferred

<1,4> acceptable

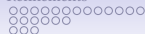
<3> very hesitantly acquiesced but in ‘repeating’ switched to <2>



An indirect argument for high VO_{Old}

Texts:

- one occurrence of [V O Aux] in recordings (Lt. Vb)
- but auxiliary omitted in edited version V O



Tentative conclusion: * V O Aux

Unexpected, if O in [VO] within VP

prima facie case that VO is (high) extraposition of O.

- Itelmen is an OV language, OV is derived

Perception (and similar) verbs:

- (20) k'-əłčku-in=(n)in tsxal-astas k-k'oł-knen
 PRT-see-TRANS.PRT=3CL fox-AUGM PRT-come-PRT

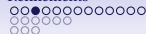
‘He saw a fox coming.’ [AS (28)]

- a. [saw fox_i] [(it_i) came] NP-complement
 b. [saw [fox come]] clausal-complement

Perception (and similar) verbs:

- (21) k'-joβa-ʔa-ʔn-(n)in qsə-ʔn k'oł-kil-at
 PRT-meet-TR.PRT-PL-3CL goose-PL come-NOM-PL
 'He met geese coming.' [AS (76)]
- (22) t'-əłčku-at-ał-čen k'e-ze enu ł-qzu-in
 1SG-see-GO-FUT-3SG.OBJ who-PTCL DEM BE-ASP-3SG
 'I'll go see who was there.' [TN (101)]

Meaning alone doesn't preclude RtO/ECM (Lohninger et al., 2022)



Perception (and similar) verbs:

- (20) k'-əłčku-in=(n)in tsxal-astas k-k'oł-knen
 PRT-see-TRANS.PRT=3CL fox-AUGM PRT-come-PRT

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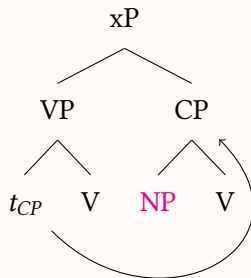
- a. [saw fox_i] [(it_i) came] NP-complement
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- All perception verb complements post-verbal, regardless of IS
- 3/4 VO_{new} in Text 1 (15/28 in aggregate)

Perception (and similar) verbs:

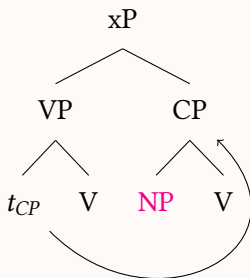
- (21) k'-joβa-ʔa-ʔn-(n)in [qsa-ʔn k'oɬ-kil-at]
 PRT-meet-TR.PRT-PL-3CL goose-PL come-NOM-PL
 'He met geese coming.' [AS (76)]

Even with matrix agreement,
 no movement to (matrix)
 pre-verbal focus position.



V [O V] order also for modal/restructuring:

(23) da-vot muza-ʔn nt'-utu-z-in [βitβit txuŋe-s.]
 INTRJ 1PL-PL 1PL-unable-PRES-3.OBJ seal drag.out-INF
 'Well, see, we can't drag the seal out.' [KL (18)]



Two potential issues:

- Scope in restructuring (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2005)
- FOFC - extraposition of CP vs. infinitive

Restructuring, Order, Scope

LDA is (descriptively) optional

- (24) a. na əntxa-βum=nin [kma jeβna-s.]
 3SG forget.TR-1.OBJ=3CL 1SG meet-INF
 ‘He forgot to meet me.’ [S6:8]
- b. na netxa-in [kma jeβna-s.]
 3SG forget.INTR-3SG 1SG meet-INF
 ‘He forgot to meet me.’ [S6:9]

Restructuring, Order, Scope

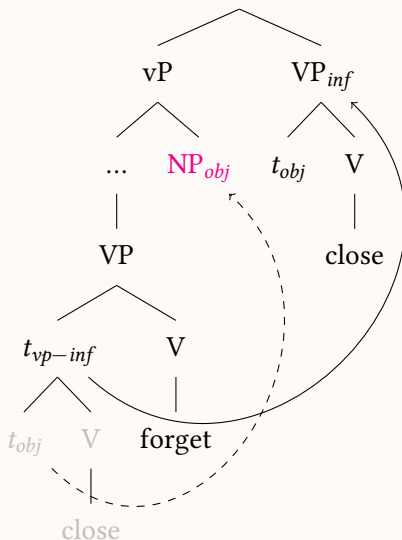
But LDA → object scope over matrix verb:

- (25) t'-əntxa-čē-ʔn [miɬ okno-ʔn sop-es.]
 1SG-forget.TR-3.OBJ-PL all window-PL close-INF
 'I forgot to close all the windows.' [S6:6-7]

∀ > forget no window closed

NOT: forget > ∀ some, not all windows closed

Restructuring, Order, Scope



- Object extraposition precedes (remnant) clausal extraposition
- Same derivation with AUX, possibly more complex under FOFC/LCA

FOFC and extraposition

Biberauer et al, citing Kotejevskaja-Tamm:

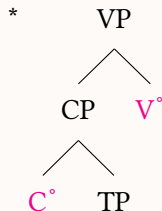
Even in OV languages, obligatory extraposition of C-initial CP:

- (26) a. * ...dass sie [CP dass es regnet] behaupten.
 ...that they that it rains claim
 ‘...that they claim that it is raining.’
- b. ...dass sie behaupten, [CP dass es regnet].
 ...that they claim that it rains
 ‘...that they claim that it is raining.’

FOFC and extraposition

Biberauer et al, citing Kotejevskaja-Tamm:

Even in OV languages, obligatory extraposition of **C-initial** CP:



- DP need not extrapose (not “verbal”)
- C-final CP need not extrapose
- nominalized clauses need not extrapose
- infinitives need not extrapose (infinitives are ‘nominal’)

FOFC and extraposition

But Itelmen:

- (23) da-vot muza-ʔn nt'-utu-z-**in** [**βitβit** txuŋe-s.]
INTRJ 1PL-PL 1PL-unable-PRES-3.OBJ seal drag.out-INF
'Well, see, we can't drag the seal out.' [KL (18)]
- (21) k'-joβa-ʔa-**ʔn**-(n)in [**qsə-ʔn** k'oɬ-kil-at]
PRT-meet-TR.PRT-**PL**-3CL goose-PL come-NOM-PL
'He met geese coming.' [AS (76)]

- all clausal complements extrapose,
- restructuring complements might be small, e.g., vP/VP (Wurmbrand 2001)
- FOFC account of extraposition doesn't extend to these

Interim Summary: Text 1

Table 4: Text 1 (raw) (Fisher's Exact $p=0.001$)

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	12	1	13
O_{old}	3	10	13
Totals	15	11	26

- O is nominal objects only, excluding perception/restructuring
 - clausal complements always? post-verbal

N-construction: passive/impersonal

- (27) a. **Mit-enk** n-qzu-z-um
 Miti-LOC N-wait-PRES-1s.OBJ
 ‘Miti (is) waiting for me.’ [KL (17)']
- b. **tsxal-enk** mił i? n-yil-čen
 fox-LOC all water N-drink-3sg.OBJ
 ‘All the water was drunk by the fox.’ [AS (47)']

S: oblique (LOC/INSTR), fixed prefix *n-* [=3PL]

O: unmarked, triggers object agreement

Source of Ergativity in Chuktokan? (Bobaljik, 2019)

Passive/Impersonal

- (28) a. **kma** n-oms-qzu-βum
 1SG N-leave-ASP-3>1SG
 ‘I was left behind.’ [AS (46)]
- b. tsxal-enk **mił i?** n-γil-čen
 fox-LOC all water N-drink-3SG.OBJ
 ‘All the water was drunk by the fox.’ [AS (47)']
- c. sinaneβt-enk **kma** n-txunł-qzu-βum anle
 Sinangewt-LOC 1SG N-raise-ASP-1SG.OBJ winter
 ‘I was raised by Sinangewt in the winter.’ [AS (85)]

Subject: oblique, optional

No subject agreement

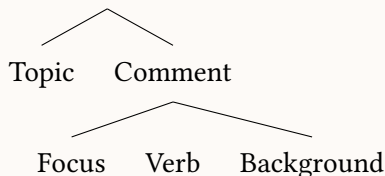
n=6 (Text1), n≥27 (aggregate)

Passive/Impersonal

- (29) a. **kma** n-oms-qzu-βum
 1SG N-leave-ASP-3>1SG
 ‘I was left behind.’ [AS (46)]
- b. sinangewt-enk **kma** n-txun†-qzu-βum anqle
 Sinangewt-LOC 1SG N-raise-ASP-1SG.OBJ winter
 ‘I was raised by Sinangewt in the winter.’ [AS (85)]

Not only is O old and preverbal,
 it is also the **topic** in many such examples.

(30)



$$\text{Given}_{Top} > \text{New} > \text{Given}_{Bkgd}$$

- 2 NPs: S = Topic, O can be O_{new} or O_{old}
- 1 NP: O follows pattern for Topic, not $O_{background}$

Georg & Volodin (1999) N-construction as “Agensausblendung”
(backgrounding of Agent)

Oblique demoted actor may follow undergoer:
(no Word Order Freezing effect)

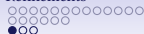
- (31) a. a bol^ʃše **na** qaʔm **k'e-nk** əłčku-q k'-ił-ʔin
CNJ more 3SG NEG who-LOC see-NEG PRT-AUX-PRT.TRNS
'And nobody saw him any more.' [TL:38]
- b. **mił** **l'el'ku-ʔn-k** k'-əntxla-kne-ʔn
all mouse-PL-LOC PRT-carry.away-PRT-PL
'The mice carried it all away.' [KL:20]

Table 5: Text 1 (final) (Fisher's Exact $p=0.0003$)

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	10	1	11
O_{old}	1	10	11
Totals	11	11	22

Table 6: Aggregated OV/VO $\times$ old/new (fin) ($\chi^2=39.9008$, $p<.00001$)

	OV	VO	Total
O_{new}	85	13	98
O_{old}	45	57	102
Totals	130	70	200



But wait! There's more...

VO_{new} in Text 1:

- (32) a. k-zun^ɬ-qzu-kne-ʔn **qsə-ʔn**
 PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL goose-PL
 ‘There lived some geese.’ [AS (1)]
- b. **qsə-ʔn** k'-ənsxt-ʔeʔn **tɰi-ʔn p'e-ʔn**
 goose-PL PRT-give.birth-TRANS.PRT.PL 3PL-PL child-PL
 ‘The geese gave birth to children.’ [AS (2)]

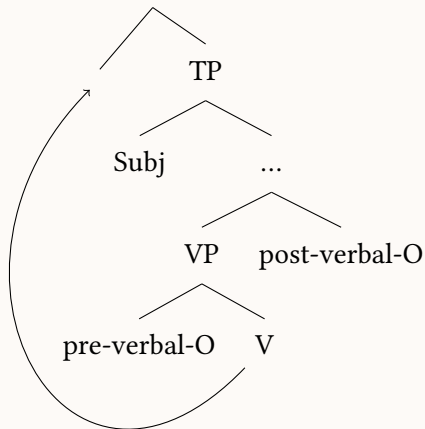
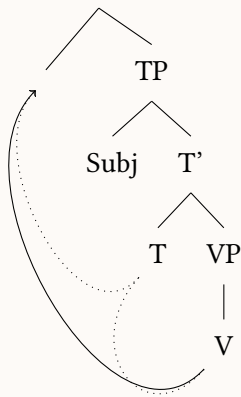
Narrative Inversion

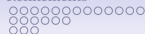
(Once upon a time, Жил был)

- (33) it'e k-zun^{jɬ}-qu-knen li staroj tnaqol.
 when PRT-live-ASP-PRT very old old.man
 'Once there lived a very old man.' [TN (2)]
- (34) it-qat k-zun^{jɬ}-qu-kne-ʔn Kusx^ɬnequ i Miti,
 when-already PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL Kutkh and Miti
 'Once there lived Kutkh and Miti,' [KL (1)]
- (35) it-qata zin-k k-zun^{jɬ}-qzu-kne-ʔn č'amza-ʔl.
 when-already woods-LOC PRT-live-ASP-PRT-PL person-PL
 'Once in the woods there lived some people.' [TL]

Narrative Inversion

Bailyn (2012, 337)
(Russian)

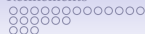




A Noisy Channel Alternative?

Gibson et al. (2013):

- S-initial (Universal strong trend), or $S > O$
- SOV, **SVO**, VSO
- no case $\rightarrow$ word order signals GF
- efficient communication in a “Noisy channel”
semantically reversible (animate), 1 NP “missing”
 - SOV language: **NP** **V**_{trans} is NP S or O?
 - SVO language: **NP** **V** vs. **V** **NP**
- no need for “sophisticated [grammatical] machinery.”
(NB: Gibson et al. (2013) consider only gesture, no actual language data)



A Noisy Channel?

Itelmen:

- No case marking S/O
- OV, VO alternate
- usually only one overt NP

V	55	
V,NP	183	(S: 21, O:162)
V,NP,NP	70	
Total	308	(raw)

A Noisy Channel?

- binary logistic regression model

glmer(*ORDER* ~ *INFSTR* + *ANIMACY* + (1/*TEXT*))

- Holding other predictor variables constant:
 - odds ratio VO_{anim} vs O_{inan} : 2.2 (95% CI [1.1, 4.8]).
 - odds ratio VO_{old} vs. O_{new} : 7.7 (95% CI [3.7, 16.9]).

- If $NP_{new} \rightarrow O$, then predict interaction:

glmer(*ORDER* ~ *INFSTR* * *ANIMACY* + (1/*TEXT*))

- none found: only *INFSTR* as a significant factor ($p < .001$)

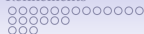
A different animacy factor?

Small effect of animacy independent of IS, but $O_{inan}V$ or VO_{anim} ?

- (36) esx-ank-əŋ li plex-aʔn txuʔ-iʔn_{new} q-la-qzu-čx-eʔn
father-DAT-DAT very big-PL greeting-PL IMP-tell-ASP-II-PL
‘Give (tell) your father big greetings!’ [TN (110)]
- (37) muza-ʔn mił esx-aʔn-k-əŋ txuʔ-iʔn_{old} nt'-la-ał-xŋ-eʔn
1PL-PL all father-PL-DT-DT greeting-PL 1PL-tell-FUT-II-PL
‘We will all give (tell) our fathers greetings!’ [TN (112)]

Non-referential O? (Pseudo-incorporation?)

Default OV, typically inanimate?



Noisy Channel?

- Main driver of $OV \sim VO$ is IS, not animacy
- small effect of animacy, many potential sources
- since $S \rightleftharpoons$ topic, IS alone enough to resolve GF
- missing/dropped NP most likely topic
- S can be post-verbal
- Noisy channel effect not a contender for explanation of alternation

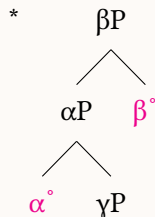
Conclusions

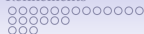
Observations:

- Head-Final VP: V Aux, Lt. Verbs
- but flexible order: OV~VO

Questions:

- Descriptive: what conditions $OV \sim VO$?
- Analytical: Head-final VP or not?
- Theoretical: FOFC?





Conclusions

Questions:

- Descriptive: what conditions $OV \sim VO$?
 - IS: $O_{New} V O_{Old}$
 - obscured by: perception complements, N-construction
- Analytical: Head-final VP or not?
 - Itelmen is an OV language
 - optional extraposition of O_{old}
- Theoretical: FOFC?
 - How characterize OS-driven movement?
 - extraposition of all clauses, not FOFC-driven

Acknowledgments



T. N. Bragina



L. E. Pravdoshina



Susi Wurmbrand

Stats help: Kate Davidson,
Steven Worthington
(Institute for Quantitative
Social Science, Harvard)



E. E. Silina



A. D. Ivashova

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