

Differential Object Marking in South Saami

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Licentiate Thesis



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Aannese, Læjsese jñh Jåvnese

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Abstract

This licentiate thesis investigates the case and the syntactic position of the direct object in South Saami. The focus is on plural direct objects, which have Differential Object Marking, a phenomenon in which the case alternates between different types of direct objects. In South Saami, some direct objects carry the accusative case form in the plural, while others only carry the plural marker. This variation of suffix displayed on the direct object is contingent on definiteness; definite direct objects consistently display the accusative case form in the plural while indefinite direct objects, specific and nonspecific alike, lack accusative morphology. In addition to case marking, the study presents an analysis of the alternation of the syntactic position of some direct objects. Definite and indefinite specific direct objects can be realized in two positions: as the complement of the verb or in a position as specifier of the light verb projection. By contrast, indefinite nonspecific direct objects obligatorily surface in the complement position of the verb. This variability in syntactic position of some direct objects is analyzed by means of a Specificity Operator, adjoined to the DP-level of every specific NP, definite and indefinite. The operator moves as an instance of quantifier raising in order to take scope over Existential Closure (EC). EC binds NPs in its domain and give them an existential reading. Therefore, when the Specificity Operator raises, it anchors the DP it is adjoined to in a domain, which is unbound by EC and therefore facilitates a specific interpretation. The operator, void of phonological content, can raise alone to the specifier of *v*P as an instance of covert movement. The operator can also Pied-pipe the DP it is adjoined to, which results in overt movement of the DP. Indefinite nonspecific direct objects lack the Specificity Operator and therefore they remain in-situ in the VP, where they are bound by EC.

In addition to its theoretical value, the thesis will be of use for teachers, students and others with an interest in a better understanding of the case form and the position of the direct object in South Saami.

Abstract

I den här licentiatavhandling undersöks kasusformen hos de direkta objekten och deras syntaktiska position i sydsamiskan. Fokus ligger på direkta objekt i pluralis, vilka uppvisar fenomenet differentiell objektsmarkering, som innebär att vissa direkta objekt bär ackusativsuffixet i plural medan andra endast bär pluralsuffixet. Denna variation i objektsmarkering är känslig för definitet. Definita direkta objekt har accusativändelsen medan indefinita, både specifika och icke-specifika direkta objekt, saknar den. Utöver själva realiseringen av kasussuffix undersöks också de direkta objektens syntaktiska position. En analys presenteras som definierar olika typer av nominalfraser och skiljer definita och specifika direkta objekt från icke-specifika direkta objekt. Den första typen uppvisar variation i sin syntaktiska placering och har möjligheten att dyka upp både i komplementställning till verbet och i en den lilla verbfrasens specificerare, det vill säga vid gränsen för den lexikala fasen. Indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt, som utgör den andra typen, kan bara uppträda i en position som komplement till verbet. På basis av den analys som inkluderar min innovation Specifikhetsoperatoren, vilken är adjungerad till alla definita och specifika direkta objekts DP-nivå, kan de två positionerna förklaras. Specifikhetsoperatoren flyttar alltid till vP :s specificerare som en kvantifierarinteraktion, där Specifikhetsoperatoren får räckvidd över Existential Closure (EC) och förankrar sin DP i en domän där en specifik tolkning blir nödvändig. Detta är en typ av osynlig flytt. Flytten kan också vara synlig. I det fallet sker medfraktning (Pied-piping) när Specifikhetsoperatoren tar med sig den DP den är adjungerad till när den flyttar till vP s specificerare. Direkta objekt som saknar Specifikhetsoperatoren stannar i positionen som komplement till verbet och binds därför av EC, vilket leder till att de får en existentiell tolkning.

Bortom sitt värde för lingvistisk teoribildning kommer avhandlingen också att bli viktig för lärare, studenter och elever såväl som för andra med ett intresse av att bättre förstå vilket kasus som uppträder på sydsamiska direkta objekt och dessa objekts position i satsen.

Tjåanghkan tjaaleme

Daennie licentiaatetjaalegisnie giëhtjedem guktie Åarjelsamien direkte objeekth gelliengiernesne kaasushgiëtjeh åadtjoeh. Manne gelliengiertem veeljeme juktie åarjelaemien giële Differential Object Marking åtna. Naakenh direkte objeekth dam giëhtjiem *-idie* guedtieh, mij akusatijvem gelliengiernesne muana. Jeatjah direkte objeekth barre lãhkoegiehtjiem *-h* guedtieh, mij ajve gelliengiertem muana, menh ij kaasusem. Dan åvteste direkte objeekti kaasushaamoeh molsedieh. Mov giëhtjidimmie vuesehte ahte definijte direkteobjeekth gelliengiernesne dam akusatijvegëhtjiem. Eah indefinijte direkte objeekth dam giëthjiem utnieh, valla barre gelliengierehaamoem utnieh. Manne vielie giëhtjedem gusnie, dennie raajesisnie, leah dej direkte objeekti sijjeh. Gaavneme ahte joekehtsh leah aaj ovmesse direkte objeekti gaskoeh. Definijte jìh indefinijte specifijke direkte objeekth utnieh göökte sijjeh gusnie maehtieh jìjhtedh, valla indefinite ovspecifijke direkte objeekth utnieh ajve aktem sijjiem gusnie maehtieh årrodh. Gaajhkh dah golme ovmesse direkte objeekth maehtieh maadthsijjesne årrodh goh verben komplemeente, valla definijte jìh indefinijte specifijke direkte objeekth maehtieh aaj aktene $vP:n$ specificeerijisnie jìjhtedh. Manne daam joekehtetem jìh vuesehtem mannasinie naemhtie jis. Mov innovasjovne lea akte specifijkeoperatovre. Dìhte lea adjungeradamme fierhten $DP:se$ mij lea definijte jallh indefinijte specifijke. Dìhte operatovre iktesth bæjjanidh $DP:n$ sistie vP specificeerijen sījse, men dìhte maahta aaj dam $DP:m$ buektedh Pied-pipingen tjìrrh. Dìhte specifijkeoperatovre bæjjene juktie edtja baataridh Existential Closures (EC) jaksoste. Gosse operatovre bæjjene, dìhte dan sov $DP:m$ dībrehte akten domeenese, gusnie specifijke guarkoe daerpies sjædta. Dah direkte objeekt mah eah specifijkeoperatovrem utnieh tjoerieh baetsedh $VP:n$ sijse, jìh dannasinie EC dejtie veadta. Dannasinie existentielle guarkoem åadtjoeh.

Daate tjaalege vihkeles lingvistihke teorijese, valla aaj lohkehtæjjide, learoehkidie jìh jeatjide guhth sījth buerebe guarkedh mij kaasusidie lea direkte objeekten jìh gusnie, dennie raajesisnie, dìhte objeekte jæjhta.

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Abbreviations and formats used in examples and glosses

... (A)...	A is optional
... (#A)...	A is illogical
... {A/B}...	A and B are both possible variants
*... {A/B}...	Neither A nor B is acceptable
... <A>... <*B>...	A is an acceptable variant, B is not
CAPS	capitals indicate focus
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
AOR	aorist (Turkish)
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DAT	dative
DO	direct object
ELT	elative
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
INE	inessive
LOC	locative (Turkish)
P	plural
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
S	singular
TW	theme vowel

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study presents an investigation of Differential Object Marking (DOM) in South Saami, a Uralic language spoken in central Norway and Sweden with approximately 600 speakers (Lewis et al., 2015).

Differential Object Marking is a phenomenon in which a direct object (DO) exhibits variation in its overt case properties. DOM occurs in a wide range of languages, such as Spanish (von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005; Torrego, 1998), Hebrew (Danon, 2006), Turkish (Enç, 1991) and Persian (Bossong, 1985; Karimi, 2003b), to mention a few. To my knowledge, DOM in South Saami has received no attention in the theoretical literature, although it has been treated to some extent (but not in terms of DOM) in the descriptive literature (Magga and Mattsson Magga, 2012; Bergsland, 1994; Wickman, 1954). In South Saami, DOM is manifested by accusative case marking on definite plural DOs, as in (1a). Indefinite DOs in the plural surface only with plural morphology, as witnessed by the example in (1b):

- (1) a. Læjsa **aahkide** damta.
 Lisa grandmother:ACC P know:3s
 ‘Lisa knows the grandmothers (that we just mentioned)’
 b. Læjsa **aahkah** damta.
 Lisa grandmother:P know:3s
 ‘Lisa knows grandmothers.’

The study investigates the case alternation on the direct objects in (1a) and (1b). Drawing on work by Enç (1991), Karimi (2003b) and Diesing (1992) among others, I will argue that DOM is a phenomenon where the syntax and semantics interact,

since definite direct objects carry the accusative case suffix *-idie*, whereas indefinite DOs carry only the plural suffix *-h*. The study further presents an analysis of the position of these direct objects, as the examples in (2) show:

- (2) a. Manne <gærjide> sneehpeslaakan <gærjide> lohkem.
 I book:ACC P quickly book:ACC P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne <*gærjah> sneehpeslaakan <gærjah> lohkem.
 I book:P quickly book:P read:1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

Definite DOs can both follow or precede the VP-adverbial ‘sneehpeslaakan’, evident from example (2a). By contrast, indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ can only surface in a position immediately preceding the verb, following the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan*, which is illustrated in example (2b). I will further show that indefinite specific DOs exhibit the same pattern as definite DOs in this respect, rather than patterning with indefinite nonspecific DOs, despite the fact that all indefinite DOs exhibit the same morphological case properties.

I propose that the existence of an operator that undergoes movement anchors definite as well as indefinite specific direct objects in a domain that facilitates a specific interpretation.

This thesis is organized as follows. In chapter 2, I will present the sociolinguistic factors concerning South Saami. I discuss the speaker population, the use of South Saami in society etc. In this chapter, I will also present the aim and the methodological aspects of the study. Chapter 3 is concerned with the descriptive generalizations of DOM in South Saami. In this chapter, I will introduce the data forming the empirical ground of the study and delimit the study. I will show that factors that can interact with DOM in other languages do not in the case of South Saami. In chapter 4, I will introduce the theoretical concepts that I draw upon for the analysis presented in the study, namely Phase theory, definiteness and specificity, the Mapping Hypothesis and the structure of DP. Based on the word order alternation of definite DOs, I present a syntax driven analysis of DOM in chapter 5. However, I also show that indefinite specific NPs exhibit the same behavior as definite NPs and consequently, that specificity, rather than DOM itself, correlates with the word order alternation under discussion. Finally, in chapter 6,

the conclusions drawn from the study are presented as well as questions raised by the study for future research to address. Furthermore, implication of the study beyond the theoretical ones are also presented.

Chapter 2

Background of the Study

This chapter has two purposes: Firstly, I the sociolinguistic factors of South Saami will be covered. In section 2.1, I discuss the number of speakers of the language, where they are located and how, where and when the language is used. Secondly, the purpose of the study and the methods used for the study will be accounted for in section 2.2. In this section, I also introduce the theoretical framework forming the base of the study.

2.1 South Saami

South Saami is a Uralic language spoken in central Norway and Sweden (Lewis et al., 2015). The traditional territory of the language is located in the southern part of Saepmie, the land of the Saami, depicted in the map in figure 2.1. In the south, this area stretches from the lake Femunden in Hedmark in Norway and Idre in Dalarna in Sweden, northwards through Jämtland, Sør-Trøndelag and Nord-Trøndelag to the river Umeälven in Västerbotten in Sweden and to Vefsn in Norway. Most speakers of South Saami are found in this area, but there are speakers residing outside of this area as well. South Saami has three main dialects (Hasselbrink, 1981). The northernmost is spoken in the area of Tärnaby/Vilhelmina and Vefsn, including Dearnar/Tärnaby, Tjietele/Kittelfjäll, Vualtjere/Vilhelmina, Aarborte/Hattfjelldal and Maajhjaevrie/Majavatn.

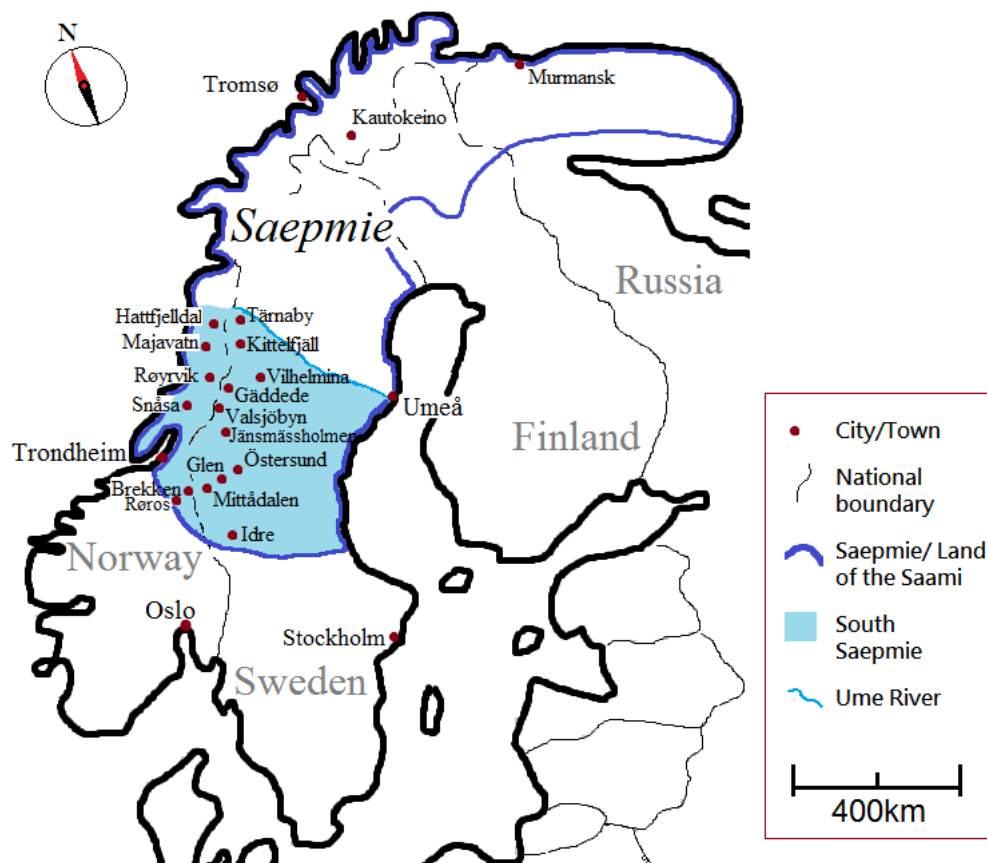


Figure 2.1: The area of Saepmie. The South Saami area is shaded.

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The central dialect is spoken in Frööstège/Frostviken around Tjeedtege/Gäddede and in the area from Valsjöbyn to Kliere/Glen and in Jämtland and in Norway in the area covering Snåase/Snåsa and Raarvihke/Røyrvik and south towards Traånte/Trondheim. The southernmost dialect, sometimes referred to as Røros Saami (Bergsland, 1946), is spoken in the area including Plassje/Røros, Praahke/Brekken in Norway and Mihte/Mittådalen and Eajra/Idre, in Sweden.

Over the past century, the use of South Saami has declined and diminished (Hyltenstam, 1999). When a language decreases in use, its speaker population as well as its domains decrease (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). The main language domain of South Saami is the home. Although we do know that the language has few speakers, there are no studies of the exact number (Todal, 2007a), but only rough estimations. Hasselbrink (1944, p.1) claims that in 1944, the number of speakers was around 300 only in Vilhelmina municipality, which only constitutes a small part of the South Saami area. According to a more recent estimation by the Ethnologue database, there are in total 600 speakers, 300 in Sweden and 300 in Norway. However, other estimation range between 300-500 (Sammallahti, 1998) and 600-800 (Svonni, 2008) speakers of South Saami in Sweden and Norway. Thus, estimations indicate that there are some 300-800 speakers of South Saami.

The decline in the use of South Saami has resulted in a language shift (Todal, 2007a). Consequently, almost all South Saamis acquire Swedish or Norwegian as their first language. However, as the language shift has progressed, a movement has emerged aiming to revitalize the language (Todal, 2007a; Huss, 1999). The language revitalization movement is primarily founded in families trying to pass on the language to the next generation (Todal, 2007b; Johansen, 2007) as well as in institutions and organizations like the youth organization Sáminuorra¹ that arrange e.g. informal language gatherings and the Sami Parliaments who initiate campaigns to increase language use.² Although South Saami has been a school subject since the 1960's (Lund et al., 2011), the implementation of the language education in school settings has not yet been successful (Committee of Experts on the Charter, 2015a, p.4). In Sweden, the teaching of South Saami usually amounts to 20-90 minutes a week (Committee of Experts on the Charter, 2015b).

¹<http://www.saminuorra.org/>

²Sweden: <http://www.sametinget.se/> Norway: <http://www.sametinget.no/>

Thus, the small speaker population and the educational situation combined put the language at great risk of becoming extinct in the near future (Pikkarainen and Brodin, 2008).

However, with the Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages (SFS, 2009:724) in Sweden, the language has gained legal recognition. The act defines an administrative area consisting of 19 of the municipalities in the Swedish part of Saepmie,³ where Saami has an increased legal protection. The municipalities are obligated by the act to offer pre-schooling and elderly care in the Saami languages. Following an expansion of the administrative area in 2010, most of them are found in the South Saami part of Saepmie. Although this law has been in effect since 2010, challenges still remain concerning its implementation in Sweden (Committee of Experts on the Charter, 2015b).

In Norway too the Saami languages have status as official languages by the Saami Act⁴ and an administrative area. Two municipalities the South Saami area are included: Snåase/Snåsa (since 2008) and Raarvihke/Røyrvik (since 2013) (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, 2014). Both municipalities have their own language and cultural centers, Gieleaernie in Raarvihke/Røyrvik and Gielem nastedh in Snåase/Snåsa. In Sweden, there is a Saami language center located in Östersund with a branch in Tärnaby. The center is part of the Saami Parliament and it is not directly associated with the municipalities. The language center has primarily a national responsibility for the Saami languages⁵ as opposed to its counterparts in the Norwegian part of Saepmie, which focus on South Saami.⁶ The municipalities in the Swedish part of Saepmie do not have language centers of their own.

Although the educational situation contributes to the language shift, some trends in other areas point to a more positive development. The domains in which South Saami is being used have slowly started expanding (Vinka and Scheller, in Press). For instance, South Saami is now used at conferences (Samiskt

³<https://www.sametinget.se/24399>

⁴Act of 12 June 1987 No. 56 concerning the Sameting (the Sami parliament) and other Sami legal matters (the Sami Act: <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/the-sami-act-/id449701/>)

⁵<https://sametinget.se/sprakcentrum>

⁶<http://tinyurl.com/hjsdw9d>

språkcentrum, 2014), in media (Committee of Experts on the Charter, 2015a, p.10) and in social media (Cocq, 2015).⁷

2.2 Purpose and Methods

The aim of this study is to investigate a limited phenomenon in South Saami: Differential Object Marking, and by doing so contribute to new insight on the structure of the South Saami language and further develop linguistic theory.

This section presents the methodology used in the study. I will start by discussing the framework this study is couched within, in order to clarify from which perspective I address the specific phenomena. I will then account for the approach of acceptability judgments as a way of studying language applied in this study. Finally, I will account for how I consulted the participants of the study, which are all native speakers of South Saami.

2.2.1 The Representation of Language

The study is couched within the framework of Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1965, 1975, 1981, 1995) and consequently I adopt certain claims about what language is and how it is structured. A cornerstone of the Generative Framework is the claim that the human mind is wired for acquiring language, a biological trait shared by all members of the human race (Chomsky, 1986), referred to as Innateness (Smith, 2004, p.167). The Faculty of Language (FL) is what gives rise to the possibility to use language as we know it (Chomsky, 2000). FL can be in different states. The initial state is the setting of FL of an infant, who has had relatively little exposure to any spoken language. When an infant is exposed to language, Primary Linguistic Data (Chomsky, 1965), FL develops into a new state, which constitutes a language like South Saami or English. However, let us first concentrate on Universal Grammar (UG), which is central to the study of language. Universal Grammar is the first state FL can be in (Chomsky, 2000, p.90). UG provides a finite set of rules, features and operations which are common to every language. The ways in which these rules, features and operation can be combined,

⁷For instance under #saemesthmunnjien

each forming a state of UG, are more commonly known as grammars of certain languages. Consequently, if FL can represent any particular language's grammar then UG must contain everything needed to account for the attested variation of the world's languages (Hornstein, 2013). The Innateness Hypothesis explains how children can acquire language to fluency, despite the imperfections of the input. The PLD is not sufficient to deduce the rules of a specific language, a problem often referred to as the Poverty of the Stimulus (Smith, 2004, p.167).⁸ Studies have shown that the child-directed speech does not contain all the necessary clues needed for children to construct the target grammar, but instead they use their innate knowledge about language structure to deduce the target grammar from the input. Evidence for the Poverty of the Stimulus has been put forth regarding for instance binding asymmetries of the double object constructions in Kannada (Viau and Lidz, 2011), how the Mapping Hypothesis (see section 4.4) facilitates and guides the acquisition of generics (German, 2008) and reconstruction effects, which four-year-olds have acquired despite lack of evidence in their input (Leddin and Lidz, 2006).

In the Principles and Parameter program (Chomsky, 1981), parametric variation was introduced as the core of the differences of the world's language. The leading idea was that the grammar of two different languages can be captured according to the setting of a finite number of parameters (Baker, 2001). An example is the *pro-drop*-parameter (Chomsky, 1981), which states that languages either obligatorily have their subjects phonologically realized or only optionally. English is an instance of a language lacking *pro-drop*, while South Saami is a *pro-drop* language. The English example (3) illustrates that the phonological realization of the subject is obligatory.

- (3) a. I read books.
 b. *Read books.⁹

In South Saami the corresponding examples to (3) are both grammatical, illustrated by example (4):

⁸See also Chomsky (1986)

⁹The intended reading is that of (3a), not the imperative form.

- (4) a. Manne gærjah lohkem
 I book:P read:1S
 'I read books'
- b. Gærjah lohkem
 book:P read:1S
 'I read books'

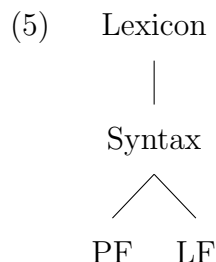
The example (4a) is similar to (3a), since its subject *manne* 'I' is overtly realized. However, in example (4b) *manne* 'I' is apparently missing. Nevertheless, the subject is recoverable from the inflectional morphology on the verb *lohkem* 'read:1S' as witnessed by the fact that the sentence is well-formed.

A particular language's grammar is an I-language, where *I* stands for *Intensional* and *Internal*. When a language is acquired, a human develops an I-language, his/her own language settings in his/her mind. To acquire a specific language means setting the parameters of UG to the settings representing the target grammar. This means that FL develops into a state other than the initial. The new state represents the grammar of a certain language (South Saami, English etc.). Once the parameters are fixed and a language specific vocabulary has been learnt, a human can utilize his/her I-language, using the principles of UG, to put lexical roots and affixes together and form words that are assembled into an infinite number of sentences. The upper limit of sentences is unbound (Smith, 2004, p.141). The output is referred to as E-language (see further Baker (2001, chap.5)), where *E* refers to *Extensional* and *External*. As I-language is the foundation of all of E-language, studying E-language can give insights into how its source, I-language, is structured. A particular line of inquiry that arose with the Minimalist Program is questions concerning the very nature of the language faculty (Hornstein, 2013), like how FL is structured and how to describe the optimal way of representing it.

A language like South Saami is a set of shared I-languages by the total group of speakers of the language. The object of my study is the I-language shared by native speakers of South Saami.

2.2.2 The Structure of the Faculty of Language

The Faculty of language is structured in a modular fashion including components like the narrow Syntax¹⁰ and the interfaces: Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF) (Chomsky, 2001). A commonly used way to illustrate the structure of FL is a Y-model, as depicted in (5):



PF and LF are internal to the mind, but serves as liaisons to language external systems: the sensorimotor system that produces language output in the form of sound waves and the conceptual-intensional system, which is the system of thought (Chomsky, 2000; Hauser et al., 2002; Chomsky, 2004). The sensorimotor system receives instructions from PF to generate language specific output. This is what has been referred to as E-language; the output of language as sound, the actual words we speak and clauses we use utilizing our I-language (naturally, E-language includes written language as well as sign language). This output is in one language or the other e.g. South Saami, English etc.

In Lexicalism (Chomsky, 1970), an internal process form words, consisting of phonological and semantic content (Marantz, 1997). Once this process has formed words, these are accessed by the syntactic module. Syntax then assembles words into sentences using a different process from that of word formation. After the syntax has been completed, additional phonological and semantic processes can apply to the output of syntax. The lexicon is where idiosyncratic processes take place, such as verbs' and nouns' conjugational classes and idiomatic interpretations of words or chunks of words, for instance idioms.

In section 4.5 I will introduce Distributed Morphology (DM), a framework that arose as an answer to Lexicalism. In a DM-model, the Y-model in (5) has to be

¹⁰The narrow syntax is argued to be what differs the human species from other species (Hauser et al., 2002)

revised, since there is no lexicon. Rather, morphosyntactic features instead of lexical items are inserted into the syntax. After the derivation splits into LF and PF, morphological operations take place in the PF module. Finally, the Encyclopedia contains items that are inserted thereafter, a principle called Late Insertion. I refer to section 4.5 for a more elaborate presentation of the DM framework.

2.2.3 Acceptability Judgements

The view upon the nature of language in the theoretical framework has consequences for the methods chosen for the study. If language is represented in the mind of the native speaker as I-language, then every native speaker can utilize this I-language when presented with a clause in his/her mother tongue. For this reason I chose an acceptability judgement task in which the native speaker judges whether a sentence presented to him/her is acceptable or not, drawing upon his/her native speaker intuition. The procedure consists of a *Yes/No-task* (Shütze and Sprouse, 2014, p.32f): a sentence is presented in speech or text, preferably both, to a native speaker of the language. The speaker can either accept or reject the sentence right away, or comment on it and further elaborate on the acceptability of the sentence. The judgement can also be that the sentence is marginal, neither grammatical nor ungrammatical. This procedure is repeated with multiple speakers in order to test the reproducibility of the acceptability judgement. The procedure of testing an example with more participants is repeated for every test sentence of the study.

2.2.4 Participants

This study is based on the analysis of the acceptability judgements of seven participants. Given the language situation of South Saami, in which a majority of strong L1 speakers are found in older age groups, it is natural to include participants from these age groups in the study, to ensure that the reliability of the judgements is high. All participants in the study are over the age of 60. They spoke South Saami in their childhood and they continue to speak South Saami in their adult life.

2.2.5 The Design of the Study

The empirical survey was crafted during the time of the study and data collection has been carried out on several occasions. Every test sentence consists of a subject, a verb and a direct object. In some cases an adverbial is included as well. Three types of DOs have been tested: definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific DOs. I have used two types of indefinite specific NPs: the overt partitive NP and the possessed NP, resulting in four entries for every combination of factors, for which test sentences were constructed. The presence or absence of accusative case marking on the DO was the core of the design of the test sentences. In addition, the test sentences were modified with reference to the order between the direct object and a VP-adverbial, and with reference to the presence or absence of a determiner. If a VP-adverbial is present, the DO can either precede or follow the adverb. The DO itself can either have or lack accusative plural morphology. Test sentences varying with reference to case marking and DO placement were constructed for each DO entry, resulting in a total of 16 test sentences. The same procedure was followed for test sentences based on a variation of presence or absence of a determiner in the NP. This resulted in another 16 example sentences. In total, 32 test sentences are the core of the study. However, twelve of the test sentences were excluded from the presentation, based on them being obviously ungrammatical or based on the fact that they are irrelevant to the current analysis. The acceptability judgements of the remaining 20 test sentences are used throughout the thesis to support the proposed analysis. The full set of examples are included in the appendix. The table in (6) illustrates how the data set has been designed.

- (6) Design of test sentences for definite DOs, indefinite specific DOs (partitive and possessed) and indefinite nonspecific DOs:

	Adv, DO	DO, Adv	+DET	−DET
+ACC	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.
−ACC	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.

I also tested the reproducibility of each sentence, by varying the lexical entries representing the DO or the subject, the VP-adverbial or the determiner. Subjects and direct objects were tested with pronouns, animate NPs, inanimate NPs etc.

Different VP-adverbials in addition to *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ were tested. The determiner *dih̄te* was switched to a demonstrative like *daate* ‘this’ or *doh̄te* ‘that’. None of these variations led to any change in the acceptability judgement of the test sentences. The indefinite specific partitive type of NP as direct object was tested further by varying an overt and a covert superset. I also varied the type of verb surfacing in the clause, in order to control for e.g. telicity and if the phenomenon DOM generalizes to a range of verb types, such as verbs of consumption, verbs of perception, verbs of construction etc. By putting these elements together into different clauses and varying factors such as tense, I verified that the data can be generalized upon, and covers a wide range of empirical ground.

2.2.6 Consultations

The acceptability of the 32 test sentences with lexical variation was tested during several consultations with each participant in the study. A set of test sentences was prepared in advance of the consultation. After each acceptability judgement task the sentence was discussed if needed. If so, the participant was asked to provide additional information relevant to the acceptability of the sentence. For example, the participant was asked to explain if he/she prefers to express a sentence in another way. Perhaps the sentence under discussion carries an ambiguous meaning.

For some of the sessions, I visited the participants in their homes. On other occasions, we met during South Saami language conferences or on other occasions. I did not have the chance to test every test sentence with every participant, but a minimum of two participants, most often more, have judged every test sentence and in addition to that, more participants may have judged similar test sentences with other lexical items included.

As it takes some time for a participant to get acquainted to the task at hand, I restricted the number of participants to seven. To ensure a high validity and reliability of the findings, it was important to work with every participant on more than one occasion. With some participants that I had already worked with face to face on several occasions during this study or previous studies, I carried out some of the judgement tasks on Skype or by e-mail.

During the sessions, South Saami was mainly used for communication, while

Scandinavian (Norwegian/Swedish) functioned as an auxiliary language to clarify details of the examples under discussion.

I took field notes during all the sessions, and also recorded some sessions. In some cases I needed to listen to the recording again in order to determine the judgement of a particular test sentence based on the participants reaction to hearing or reading the sentence. Whenever relevant for the analysis, I also used the recordings to determine whether a constituent in the clause is focussed or not. During the investigations of focussed constituents, I asked the participant to repeat a sentence after me. Then, I asked them to change the intonation to put another constituent under focus. Thereafter, I discussed with the participant which way of uttering the sentence is most natural under a certain reading. Naturally, I did not use the linguistic/technical terminology while discussing these matters with the participants.

2.2.7 A Note on the Example Glossing

Throughout the thesis I present test sentences and other examples in South Saami to support my analysis. In the examples, I do not gloss singular and nominative on nouns, since they do not have any phonological realization in South Saami. I gloss all other cases and plural number, meaning that lack of glossing regarding case/number on a noun means nominative singular. Verbs are consistently glossed for tense, person and number.

2.2.8 Ethics

This is a study in which the main data collection consisted of talking to people and asking questions about how they react to a certain sentences in their mother tongue. No data was collected that include civic registration numbers, sensitive data concerning the participants in the study or other information specified in the Act concerning the Ethical Review of Research Involving Humans (SFS, 2003:460).

However, I was careful to follow the guidelines of the Swedish Research Council (Hermerén, 2011) and informed the participants about the task at hand, that is, providing acceptability judgments of a given set of clauses. They were all informed that they represented only themselves when judging the acceptability of

test sentences in their mother tongue and that their participation in the study was voluntary. They were further informed that they were free to end their participation at any time during the study. The participants were also informed that the data collected during the consultations will only be used for research purposes and that no information about the participants will be published. The participants all gave their consent to perform this task. They have further been asked for consent to be named in the acknowledgment for their valuable contribution to the research.

Chapter 3

The Data of the Study

The previous chapter situated both the South Saami language and the methodology of the study in a context. This chapter will focus on the South Saami language from a grammatical point of view and on the one hand present the data of the study and delimit the scope of the study on the other. DOM is contingent on definiteness, realized as a case alternation of the direct object, as illustrated in (7):

- (7) a. Læjsa aahkide damta.
 Lisa grandmother:ACC P know:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa knows the grandmothers (that we just mentioned).’
 b. Læjsa aahkah damta.
 Lisa grandmother:P know:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa knows grandmothers.’

The definite DO *aahkide* ‘grandmother:ACC P’ of (7a) is in accusative plural and the indefinite DO *aahkah* ‘grandmother:P’ of (7b) is in nominative plural.

The chapter is structured as follows: In section 3.1, the primary data of this study will be introduced. The data is made up of South Saami DOs in the plural in settings where different diagnostics are used to distinguish between three types of NPs, i.e. definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific NPs. In section 3.2, the scope of the study will be delimited. Firstly, a certain peculiarity concerning number and Differential Object Marking in South Saami will be showcased. Note that in example (7), both DOs are in the plural. In fact, DOM does not apply to DOs in the singular; they are instead consistently surfacing in their accusative

case form. Secondly, it will be shown that DOM does not extend to the other grammatical functions of the clause, i.e. indirect objects and subjects.

3.1 The data

According to the existing literature on Differential Object Marking, which is based on observations of many languages, such as Persian (Karimi, 1999, 2003b), Turkish (Enç, 1991; Kornfilt, 1997, 2003), Sakha (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010) and Hebrew (Danon, 2006; Givón, 1978), definiteness or specificity distinguishes marked direct objects from unmarked direct objects with respect to DOM. Another factor that can come into play in some languages is animacy (Aissen, 2003), observed in e.g. Spanish (Torrego, 1998; von Stechow and Kaiser, 2005). The two factors can operate together, as in Hindi (Mohan, 1990; Mahajan, 1990). Number has also been observed as a conditioning property of DOM in Kannada (Lidz, 2006). DOM in South Saami is also sensitive to number. Direct objects in the singular are consistently signaled by accusative case morphology, which will be elaborated on in section 3.2.1. However, in the plural, only definite DOs carry accusative case morphology, such as the direct object *aahkide:ACC P* in (7a).¹¹ Indefinite NPs lack accusative case marking in the plural, as illustrated in (7b), where the nominative form *aahkah* ‘grandmother:P’ surfaces on the direct object.¹²

Although DOM in South Saami has received no previous attention in the generative literature, the descriptive literature on South Saami has brought to light

¹¹Kannada exhibits the opposite pattern, where singulars exhibit DOM but not plurals (Lidz, 2006).

¹²At this point, it is worth pointing out that telicity (Travis, 2010; Verkuyl, 1972) is not a condition on DOM. In example (7), the atelic verb *damta* ‘know:PRS 3S’ is used. However the effects of DOM remains the same for telic and atelic verbs alike, as is shown in (i) identical to (7) apart from the use of verb:

- (i) a. Læjsa **aahkide** veedtjie.
 Lisa grandmother:ACC P fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa fetches the grandmothers (that we just mentioned)’
 b. Læjsa aahkah veedtjie.
 Lisa grandmother:P know:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa fetches grandmothers.’

The DO of examples with telic verbs like fetch in example (i) are also marked under DOM. Therefore, I telicity will not be further discussed.

the fact that definite direct objects in the plural tend to be accusative marked whereas indefinite ones tend not to be (Bergsland, 1946, 1994; Lagercrantz, 1923; Magga and Mattsson Magga, 2012).

What follows in this chapter is an elaboration on this diagnostics which distinguish three categories of direct objects: definite NPs, indefinite specific NPs and indefinite nonspecific NPs, thereby showing that these categories differ in their behavior with respect to case marking and co-occurrence with a demonstrative or a determiner, in section 3.1.1, and with respect to placement of the direct object in relation to verbs and VP-adverbials, in section 3.1.2.

Differentiation will be made between the three categories of NPs based on definiteness and specificity. The proposed definitions of definiteness and specificity are based on Enç (1991) and will be further discussed in section 4.3. For present purposes, the following definitions will be used. A definite NP is typically referring to an entity or a group that can be sorted out uniquely from the discourse. An indefinite specific NP is referring to an entity or a group present in the discourse, but which can not be uniquely sorted out. An indefinite nonspecific NP is completely new information.

For clarity, illustrating examples are presented for each direct object entry identified in section 2.2.5, where the a-example contains a definite NP, the b-example an indefinite specific possessed NP, the c-example an indefinite specific partitive NP and the d-example an indefinite nonspecific NP.

3.1.1 Nominative and Accusative Case on the Direct Object

The first diagnostic concerns the case of the direct object. The case candidates for a direct object is nominative and accusative. In (8), the case of the direct object is accusative.

- (8) a. Manne gærjide lohkem.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)

- b. *Manne *mov gærjide lohkem*.
 I my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read (some of) my books.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. ??Manne *naakenidie dejstie lohkem*.
 I some:ACC P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne *gærjide lohkem*.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

As we can see, accusative case is grammatical on definite DOs, like *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (8a), ungrammatical on possessive indefinite specific NPs like *mov gærjide* ‘my book:ACC P’ in (8b), degraded on indefinite specific partitives, as *naakenidie dejstie* ‘some:ACC P they:ELT P’ in (8c),¹³ and ungrammatical on indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (8d).¹⁴ From the example in (8) we learn that *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ can only take a definite reading.

Nominative case on the direct object is another property that separates the three types of NPs from each other in the plural. If the DO is in the nominative, a definite reading is unavailable, as illustrated in (9):

- (9) a. *Manne *gærjah lohkem*.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne *mov gærjah lohkem*.
 I my book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne *naakenh dejstie lohkem*.
 I some:P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. Manne *gærjah lohkem*.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

¹³(8c) is accepted by some of the participants in the study, but never preferred in a forced choice task where the choices are between the nominative form *naakenh* some:P and the accusative form *naakenidie* some:ACC P as in this example.

¹⁴Both (8b) and (8d) are fully grammatical under a definite reading.

In example (9a), a definite reading of *gærjah* ‘book:P’ is not available and therefore the example is ungrammatical. On the other hand, indefinite specific DOs, such as *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (9b) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P 3P:ELT P’ in (9c) and indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (9d), are grammatical when the nominative case is in the plural. Thus, definite direct objects manifest as accusative in the plural while indefinite direct objects do not.

In addition to overt case realization, definiteness is also expressed on an NP by determiners and demonstratives. When a determiner like *dejtie* ‘DET:ACC P’ or a demonstrative like *dujtie* ‘DEM:ACC P’, inflected for accusative plural co-occurs with a noun agreeing in number and case, a definite reading is required, as illustrated by (10):

- (10) a. Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P / DEM:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the/those books.’ (Definite)
- b. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} mov gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P / DEM:ACC P my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some books of mine.’¹⁵ (Indefinite specific)
- c. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} naakenidie dejstie lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P / DEM:ACC P some:ACC P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading ‘I read some of them/those.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P / DEM:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

Definite DOs like *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (10a) can co-occur with a determiner like *dejtie* ‘DET:ACC P’ or a demonstrative like *dujtie* ‘DEM:ACC P’. However, indefinite specific DOs like *mov gærjide* ‘my book:ACC P’ in (10b) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (10c) and indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (10d) can not co-occur with determiners like *dejtie* ‘DET:ACC P’ or demonstratives like *dujtie* ‘DEM:ACC P’. The examples in (10) illustrate clear differences in acceptability between on the one hand the definite reading in (10a), in which a determiner or a demonstrative co-occurs with the DO, and on the other hand the indefinite

¹⁵This example is fully acceptable under a definite reading.

specific NPs in (10b) and (10c) and the indefinite nonspecific in (10d), in which these elements do not co-occur with the DO.

By contrast, a determiner or demonstrative can not co-occur with any type of DO in the nominative, not even a definite one, as illustrated in (11):

- (11) a. *Manne {dah/ doh} gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read the/those books.’¹⁶ (Definite)
- b. *Manne {dah/ doh} mov gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P my book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some books of mine.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. *Manne {dah/ doh} naakenh dejstie lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P some:P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne {dah/ doh} gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

From example (11), we learn that neither definite DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (11a), indefinite specific DOs like *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (11b), *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (11c) nor indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (11d) can co-occur with determiners like *dah* ‘DET:P’ or demonstratives like *doh* ‘DEM:P’, not even if their case properties match. Thus, the only type of DO that can co-occur with a demonstrative or a determiner is the definite NP, and when it does, it obligatorily carries accusative case morphology.

3.1.2 Adjacency to the Verb

Apart from case, the position of the DO with respect to verbs and adverbials can be used as a diagnostic of definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific NPs. A VP-adverbial is assumed to mark the border of the VP (Jackendoff, 1972; Holmberg, 1986; Webelhuth, 1992) and consequently material preceding the adverbial is located outside of the VP. In Jackendoff (1972) two groups of adverbs are discussed. The first group is represented by *quickly* (subject-oriented in Jackendoff’s words)

¹⁶Examples of this kind occur in Bergsland (1994); Magga and Mattsson Magga (2012); Wickman (1954). However, the participants of this study reject them in favor of examples like (11a).

and the second by *often* (speaker-oriented in Jackendoff’s words). Throughout this thesis I use the manner adverb *sneehpeslaakan*, i.e. the South Saami counterpart of English *quickly*¹⁷, will be used to illustrate if the DO is adjacent or separated from the verb (*daamtetje* ‘often’ or *iktesth* ‘always’ give rise to the same effect). These adverbs will henceforth be referred to as VP-adverbials. I will assume that an object surfacing in a position preceding *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ has moved out of its base-generated position¹⁸, whereas a DO following *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ is in its base-generated position. Consider (12), where the DO is adjacent to the verb and follows the VP-adverbial:

- (12) a. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)

¹⁷The South Saami adverbial can occur in the middle of a clause, as well as clause-initial and clause-final position, as shown in (i):

- (i) a. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’
 b. Manne gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’
 c. Sneehpeslaakan manne gærjide lohkem.
 quickly I book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘Quickly I read the books’
 d. Manne gærjide lohkem sneehpeslaakan.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S quickly
 ‘I read the books quickly.’

However, as a diagnostic of the DO moving out of the VP or remaining in-situ, only examples where the adverb precedes the verb but follows the subject and has a neutral intonation are used, as in examples (ia) and (ib). In contrast, in both (ic) and (id), where *sneehpeslaakan* is in a clause-initial or a clause-final position and must be preceded or followed by an intonational pause. In these cases the VP-adverbial is fronted or found in an extraposition.

¹⁸The element the object raises to precede differs, for instance Karimi (2003b), analyzing objects in Persian, utilizes an indirect object. Analyzing German, Diesing (1992) uses the adverb *immer* ‘always’ and Diesing and Jelinek (1995) use the sentential adverb *selten* ‘seldom’ as the element a specific direct object shifts over. In the vast literature on Object Shift (Holmberg, 1986; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995, and numerous others) in Scandinavian, the sentential adverb *inte/ikke* ‘not’ fills this function. However, it should be noted that the idea that the position of adverbs is fixed is not uncontroversial, see e.g. (Thráinsson, 2010), who argues that a VP-adverbial like *often* can be adjoined to a higher projection in Icelandic, resulting in string-vacuous Object Shift. Nevertheless, throughout this thesis it is assumed that a VP-adverbial with a neutral intonation profile is at the border of VP.

- b. Manne sneehpeslaakan mov gærjah lohkem.
I quickly my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne sneehpeslaakan naakenh dejstie lohkem.
I quickly some:P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
‘I read some of them quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
I quickly book:P read:PRS 1S
‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

The example (12) is grammatical with definite DOs like *gærjide* in (12a), indefinite specific DOs like *mov gærjah* in (12b) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (12c) as well as with indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (12d). Earlier research (Diesing, 1992; Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, and others) has shown that definite and indefinite specific NPs, as in (12a)-(12c), raise from their base-generated position to a position located higher in the clausal structure, above the position of VP-adverbials. Indefinite nonspecific NPs on the other hand, remain in-situ below VP-adverbials, as in (12d). Based on such observations, we would expect definite and indefinite specific DOs in South Saami to exhibit similar properties, i.e. to shift over a VP-adverbial like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, which functions as a fixed point. Nevertheless (12a)-(12c) are grammatical, contrary to the expectations that they would be grammatical only when the DO has moved out of the base-generated position, over *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, as in (13):

- (13) a. Manne gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne mov gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I my book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne naakenh dejstie sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I some:P they:ELT P quickly read:PRS 1S
‘I read some of them well quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
Intended reading: ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

In this example, the direct object and the verb are separated by the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, the result of the DO moving over the VP-adverbial. Grammaticality is retained when the direct object is definite, as *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (13a), indefinite specific, as *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (13b) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (13c), in which the direct objects share the property of specificity. Grammaticality is not retained in the example in (13d), where the verb and the indefinite nonspecific DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ are separated by the adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, is ungrammatical.¹⁹

3.1.3 Section Summary

In the section above, the diagnostics that separate the three types of DOs under focus in this study, i.e. definite, indefinite specific (possessed and partitive) and indefinite nonspecific NPs have been presented. The properties of the three different types of NPs as DOs, that the analysis presented in this thesis will capture, can be summarized as follows:

- (14) Properties of definite NPs as DOs in the plural:
 - i. A definite NP obligatorily carries accusative case.
 - ii. A definite NP can co-occur with a demonstrative or a determiner.
 - iii. A definite NP can be adjacent to the verb or separated from the verb by an adverbial.
- (15) Properties of indefinite specific NPs as DOs in the plural:
 - i. An indefinite specific NP does not carry accusative.
 - ii. An indefinite specific NP cannot co-occur with a demonstrative or a determiner.
 - iii. An indefinite specific NP can be adjacent to the verb or separated from the verb by an adverbial.
- (16) Properties of indefinite nonspecific NPs as DOs in the plural:
 - i. An indefinite nonspecific NP does not carry accusative.

¹⁹Examples like (13d) are grammatical if the DO carries focus intonation, which is discussed in section 5.1. See also Karimi (2003a,b, 2005) for a comparable observation in Persian.

- ii. An indefinite nonspecific NP cannot co-occur with a demonstrative or a determiner.
- iii. An indefinite nonspecific NP is obligatorily adjacent to the verb.

The properties of the different types of NPs are summarized in the table in (17):

(17) The properties of direct object NPs in the plural:

	Def.	Indef. spec.	Indef. nonspec.
Accusative case	✓	*	*
Nominative case	*	✓	✓
Co-occur with Dem or Det	✓	*	*
Adjacent to verb	✓	✓	✓
Separated from verb	✓	✓	*

3.2 Delimiting the Scope of the Study

This section will motivate the limitation of the scope of the study, firstly by showing that DOs in the singular are not subject to DOM, which is the aim of section 3.2.1. Secondly, the other primary grammatical functions, indirect objects and subjects, are shown not to be subject to variation in their case properties. Indirect objects are discussed in section 3.2.2 and subjects in section 3.2.3. A brief summary of the section is provided in 3.2.4.

3.2.1 Object Marking in the Singular in South Saami

I have earlier stated that the aim of this study is to provide an analysis of DOs in the plural, which are subject to DOM, as (18) illustrates:

- (18) a. Læjsa aahkide damta.
 Lisa grandmother:ACC P know:3S
 ‘Lisa knows the grandmothers (that we just mentioned)’
 b. Læjsa aahkah damta.
 Lisa grandmother:P know:3S
 ‘Lisa knows grandmothers.’

In (18), the definite DO *aahkide* ‘grandmother:ACC P’ in (18a) and the indefinite nonspecific DO *aahkah* ‘grandmother:P’ in (18b) exhibit the case variation that characterizes DOM. By contrast, DOs in the singular exhibit Object Marking across-the-board. The accusative suffix *-m* is found on each and every singular DO, not only definite ones. In this section, it will first be shown that definite DOs in the singular are consistently carrying the accusative suffix. Moreover it will be shown that this carries over to indefinite specific DOs as well, both overt partitive and possessed NPs. Finally it is shown that even nonspecific DOs carry the accusative suffix in the singular. The conclusion is that DOM does not occur on DOs in the singular in South Saami.

The exposition, where a definite NP is first being introduced, then an indefinite specific NP and finally an indefinite nonspecific NP is adopted from Aissen (2003), who shows that the following pattern recurs in DOM cross-linguistically; languages that display morphological case on their indefinite specific DOs under DOM also does so on their definite DOs. However, the opposite case never holds.

Furthermore, if a language exhibits morphological case marking on indefinite non-specific DOs, Object Marking is not differential, but applies across-the-board; this language then exhibit morphological case marking on every direct object. Finally, if definite DOs are not marked under DOM in a language, then this language does not mark any indefinite DOs either under DOM.²⁰ If South Saami would have DOM in the singular, it is expected, based on Aissen’s cross-linguistic observation of DOM, to find a contrast between two of the groups of NPs, which is not the case.

In the examples with singular DOs, the determiner *dih̄te* on definite DO will consistently be used, even though South Saami does not require a determiner for an NP to be definite (see further the discussion in section 3.1.1 on DOs ability to co-occur with determiners).

Definite DOs in the singular carry accusative case. Consider (19):

- (19) a. Maana dam gærjam veedtjie.
 child DET:ACC book:ACC fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches the book.’ (Definite)
- b. Maarja dam bovtsem vuajna.
 Maria DET:ACC reindeer:ACC see:PRS 3S
 ‘Maria saw the reindeer.’ (Definite)

In example (19), the definite DOs *dam gærjam* ‘DET:ACC book:ACC’, in (19a), and *dam bovtsem* ‘DET:ACC reindeer:ACC’, in (19b), carry the morphological accusative suffix *-m*. We also see accusative case surfacing on the determiner *dam* (the accusative form of the *dih̄te*), agreeing with its complement NP.

In fact, accusative case morphology is obligatory on definite direct objects in the singular, as the ungrammatical examples under (20) confirm:

- (20) a. *Maana dihte gærja veedtjie.
 child DET book fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches the book.’ (Definite)
- b. *Maarja dihte bovtse vuajna.
 Maria DET reindeer see:PRS 3S
 ‘Maria saw the reindeer.’ (Definite)

²⁰However, other definite categories of DOs like pronouns or proper names might be marked under DOM. See further the discussion in Aissen (2003) on the Definiteness Scale, used to capture the DOM patterns in languages in which DOM is contingent on definiteness.

The illicit direct objects *dihthe gærja* ‘DET book’ in (20a) and *dihthe bovtse* ‘DET reindeer’ in (20b) lack accusative case marking and these two examples differ minimally from their counterparts in (19). We can conclude that definite DOs in the singular are obligatorily marked with accusative case morphology.

Like definite direct objects, indefinite specific DOs carry the accusative singular suffix *-m*, as illustrated in example (21):

- (21) Hællösne luhkie gærjah.
 shelf:INE ten book:P
 ‘There are ten books in the shelf.’
- a. Maana aktem dejstie gærjijste veedtjie.
 child one:ACC DET:ELT P book:ELT P fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches one of the books.’ (Indefinite specific)
- b. *Maana akte dejstie gærjijste veedtjie.
 child one DET:ELT P book:ELT P fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches one of the books.’ (Indefinite specific)

In (21), the first clause introduces a set of books, containing ten entities *book*. In example (21a), we find the DO *aktem dejstie gærjijste* ‘one:ACC DET:ELT P’, as the indefinite specific DO. The DO is specific, since the referent of the DO *aktem* ‘one:ACC’ is one entity *book* included in the set, yet indefinite since we do not know which one of these ten books *aktem* ‘one:ACC’ refers to. In this example, the numeral *aktem* ‘one’ carries the accusative marking *-m* and is further modified by *dejstie gærjijste* ‘DET:ELT P book:ELT’, placing it within a given set of books. The DO exhibit accusative morphology as a specific indefinite. In fact, accusative case is obligatory on indefinite specific direct objects in the singular, illustrated by the ungrammatical example (21b), in which the DO *akte dejstie gærjijste* ‘one DET:ELT P book:ELT P’ lacks the accusative suffix *-m*. Apart from the lack of accusative case, (21a) and (21b) are identical.

The obligatory case marking of indefinite specific DOs applies to both types of NPs within this category. The example (21) showed that this holds for partitive NPs. Possessed NPs come with the same restriction, as illustrated in (22):

- (22) a. Maana mov gærjam veedtjie.
 child my book:ACC fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches a book of mine.’ (Indefinite specific)

- b. *Maana mov gærja veedtjie.
 child my book fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches a book of mine.’ (Indefinite specific)

In (22a), the possessed indefinite specific DO *mov gærjam* ‘book:ACC’ carries the accusative case suffix *-m* and thus contrasts minimally to the DO *mov gærja* ‘my book’ in (22b), which lacks the case suffix. The examples also differ in their grammaticality, where (22a) is grammatical and (22b) is ungrammatical.

By contrasting example (21a) to example (21b) and example (22a) to example (22b), it can be concluded that indefinite specific DOs are obligatorily marked accusative in the singular and therefore not subject to DOM.

Indefinite nonspecific NPs pattern with definite NPs and indefinite specific NPs in obligatorily carrying the accusative suffix *-m* in the singular. Consider example (23):

- (23) a. Maana gærjam veedtjie.
 child book:ACC fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches a book.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)
- b. Maarja bovtsem vuajna.
 Maria reindeer:ACC see:PRS 3S
 ‘Maria saw a reindeer.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

In this example, the indefinite nonspecific DOs *gærjam* ‘book:ACC’ in (23a) and *bovtsem* ‘reindeer:ACC’ in (23b) can refer to any book or any reindeer. The referent is not previously mentioned; the book/reindeer can be any book/reindeer in the world.²¹ We can observe that the accusative suffix *-m* is carried by the direct objects in both examples, in contrast to (24):

- (24) a. *Maana gærja veedtjie.
 child book fetch:PRS 3S
 ‘The child fetches a book.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)
- b. *Maarja bovtse vuajna.
 Maria reindeer see:PRS 3S
 ‘Maria saw a reindeer.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

Example (24) contrasts minimally to (23), in which the direct object *gærja* ‘book’, in (24a), and *bovtse* ‘reindeer’, in (24b) lack the accusative suffix. We can further

²¹The example could take an indefinite specific reading as well. It could even take a definite reading if there is a book/reindeer well established in the discourse.

observe the contrast in grammaticality of the examples (23) and (24). The examples with DOs that carry accusative case morphology are grammatical whereas the examples with DOs that lack accusative case are ungrammatical.

To summarize, every direct object in the singular carries accusative case morphology, realized as the suffix *-m*, regardless of the degree of definiteness. This means that South Saami show case marking on DOs is the singular across-the-board. A consequence of this is that DOM does not apply to South Saami DOs in the singular. For that reason, I will henceforth leave South Saami DOs in the singular out of the discussion.

3.2.2 Indirect Objects are not Subject to DOM

In section 3.1, where the data was covered, it was shown that definite direct objects carry the accusative suffix *-idie*.²² However, the illative plural suffix, surfacing on indirect objects, is identical to the accusative plural suffix.²³ Consider (25):

- (25) a. Læjsa dejtie aahkide vadtesem vadta.
 Lisa DET:ILL P grandmother:ILL P present:ACC give:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa gives the grandmothers a present.’
 b. Læjsa aahkide vadtesem vadta.
 Lisa grandmother:ILL P present:ACC give:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa gives grandmothers a present.’

In addition to the fact that the accusative and the illative suffixes are syncretic, the example (25) show that DOM does not apply to indirect objects in South Saami, given the fact that the indirect object *dejtie aahkide* ‘DET:ILL P grandmother:ILL P’ in (25a) is definite and the indirect object *aahkide* ‘grandmother:ILL P’ in (25b) is indefinite nonspecific. DOM does not apply to indirect object in the singular either. Definite and indefinite indirect objects in the singular illative both carry the suffix *-se*, illustrated in (26):

²²The South Saami orthography reflects allomorphy and as a result the suffix is written as *-idie* or *-jde* in certain contexts, in complementary distribution with *-ide*.

²³The form of a direct object, marked under DOM, and the form surfacing on indirect objects surface are syncretic in many languages, e.g. Spanish (Torrego, 1998). This thesis will not elaborate on the syncretic forms of accusative and illative in the plural, but cf. Manzini and Franco (2015) for an approach to a unified analysis of the cross-linguistic phenomenon of Goal and Recipient objects and DOM datives.

- (26) a. Læjsa don aahkese vadtesem vadta.
 Lisa DEM:GEN grandmother:ILL present:ACC give:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa gives a present to that grandmother.’
- b. Læjsa aahkese vadtesem vadta.
 Lisa grandmother:ILL present:ACC give:PRS 3S
 ‘Lisa gives a grandmother a present.’

Example (26) shows that there is no case variation on indirect objects in the singular, since the definite object *aahkese* ‘grandmother:ILL’ in (26a) and the indefinite nonspecific indirect object *aahkese* ‘grandmother:ILL’ in (26b) show no variation in their case properties. We can conclude that DOM does not extend to indirect objects. Therefore, indirect objects will henceforth be left out of the discussion.

3.2.3 Subjects do not Exhibit Differential Case Marking

It will now be shown that DOM is indeed a phenomenon restricted to direct objects and that the case properties of definite direct objects do not carry over to subjects like other ways of signaling definiteness, e.g. determiners. As shown above in section 3.1, definite direct objects in the plural are marked with accusative under DOM, while indefinite DOs are unmarked. Compare the two systems in which overt morphology that signals definiteness occurs on subjects and objects alike, as in English, illustrated by the example (27).

- (27) a. The grandmothers read books.
 b. Grandmothers read the books.

In the example (27), *The grandmothers*, the definite subject of (27a), and *the books*, the definite DO of (27b), both co-occur with the determiner *the*. However, determiners in English are not realizations of morphological case and neither are South Saami determiners. South Saami can use both a determiner and DOM to signal the definiteness of a DO. It has already been shown in section 3.1 that accusative case alone, but not a determiner or demonstrative alone, is sufficient for a definite reading of DOs to arise. However, the correlation of case and definiteness does not carry over to subjects. In contrast to DOs, subjects do not display case alternation, as illustrated in (28):

- (28) a. Aahkah gærjide luhkieh.
 grandmother:P book:ACC read:PRS 3P
 ‘Grandmothers read the books.’
- b. * Aahkide gærjah luhkieh.
 grandmother:ACC P book:P read:PRS 3P
 Intended reading: ‘The grandmothers read books.’²⁴

The examples in (28) mirror the English ones in (27). Example (28a) contains an indefinite nonspecific subject and a definite DO, while (28b) contains a definite subject and an indefinite nonspecific DO. In this example, only the nominative form *Aahkah* ‘grandmothers:P’, in (28a), can surface in a grammatical example. The form *Aahkide* ‘grandmothers:ACC P’ as the subject in (28b) renders the example ungrammatical. Instead, to obtain a grammatical definite reading of the subject, a determiner like *dah* ‘DET:P’ or a demonstrative like *doh* ‘DEM:P’ has to be used, as in (29):

- (29) Dah/ doh aahkah gærjah luhkieh.
 DET:P DEM:P grandmother:P book:P read:PRS 3P
 ‘The/those grandmothers read books.’

Consequently, a determiner or a demonstrative can provide definiteness to a subject. However, case can not and the case of a subject is always nominative.

It has now been shown that the case alternation between a nominative plural form and an accusative plural form is restricted to objects. It does not generalize to subjects. As a consequence, subjects will henceforth be left out of the discussion of Differential Case Marking.

3.2.4 Section Summary

The main aim of the section was to delimit the study. This has been done by showing that DOs in the singular as well as all subjects and indirect objects regardless of number are not subject to DOM. These categories show no variation in their case properties and will therefore not be further discussed in this thesis.

²⁴(28b) is grammatical under the reading ‘they read books to the grandmothers’. There is also a reading illicit on pragmatic grounds possible for (28b): ‘#As for the grandmothers, the books read them’.

3.3 Chapter Summary

The main focus of the chapter was to situate the study in a linguistic context, present the primary data and to delimit the scope of the study based on empirical finding. The remainder of the thesis will concentrate on the more technical details of the analysis of the data. The complexity of the machinery ultimately needed for explaining DOM in South Saami and in particular the positions where direct objects can surface will stepwise be increased. In the following section, the standard Phase Theory (Chomsky, 2000, 2001) will be accounted for, thereby investigating how it can capture the data of the study, and point out several drawbacks of solely relying on the Phase Theory.

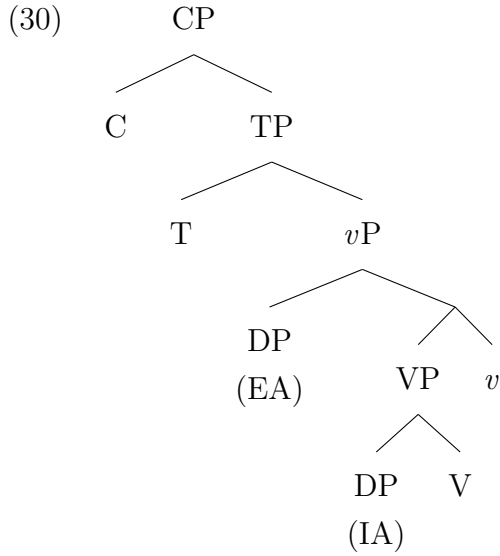
Chapter 4

Central Theoretical Concepts

In this chapter I will cover the theoretical approaches that my analysis is based on. The outline is as follows: Firstly, in section 4.1 the basic phrase structure of South Saami will be introduced. Secondly, in section 4.2, I will account for the architecture of the phase in a phase theoretic model and it will be shown that the standard Phase Theory in its simplest form cannot predict the word order patterns of South Saami direct objects accounted for in section 3.1.2. Thirdly, in section 4.3, the concepts of definiteness and specificity will be discussed, i.e. properties of NPs that are central to the understanding of the nature of Differential Object Marking and the position of the DO. Fourthly, in section 4.4, I present the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing, 1992), which provides an important foundation for my analysis since this theory seeks to explain the nature of NPs that can shift to a higher position in the clausal configuration in order to be interpreted as specific. Fifthly, in section 4.5, I will discuss the structure of DP, based on an adapted version of the analysis proposed by Julien (2005), in the framework of Distributed Morphology. Finally, 4.6 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

4.1 Phrase Structure

This section will provide an overview of the phrase structure in South Saami. The primary aim of the overview is to show the alignment of the heads of the four central projections of a clause, i.e. VP, *vP*, TP and CP, as illustrated in (30):



Chomsky (2000, p.102) argues that the heads of the structure have different functions. Three of them, v , T and C are *core functional categories*, which are the main functional building blocks of a clause; these heads carry certain properties that define every clausal structure. Semantically, the three domains defined by v P, TP and CP are of different types; the v P defines an event, the TP a situation and the CP a proposition (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2014).

VP contains the verb root and the internal argument: the direct object. I use the simplified exposition of the v P, derived only from VP and v , but see section 4.5 and the treatment of nominal phrases therein for an elaboration of an approach framed in Distributed Morphology, in which roots and affixes compose the items sometimes referred to as lexical categories.

Further, v selects for the external argument (EA), according to the Predicate-Internal-Subject-Hypothesis (Kuroda, 1988; Koopman and Sportiche, 1991; Kitagawa, 1994) originally proposed for the VP, but applied to v P in Chomsky (1995) and Kratzer (1996). The v P can also host a DP in an extra specifier. C can host a Wh-Phrase in an extra specifier and T can host the EA in a specifier. T hosts tense and agreement, while C expresses Force/Mood.

Next I will introduce the heads and their projections and how South Saami in particular is structured. Firstly, I will look into the internal order of the direct object and the verb. In the examples under (31), we find the two possible orders

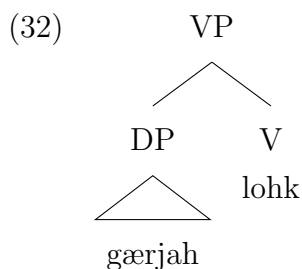
of the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ with respect to the verb *lohkem* ‘read:PRS 1S’.

- (31) a. Manne gærjah lohkem.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books.’
- b. ? Manne lohkem gærjah.
 I read:PRS 1S book:P
 ‘I read books.’

In (31a), the DO precedes the verb while the order is the opposite in (31b). Neither of them is clearly ruled out by grammar, but (31b) is less plausible in a neutral context without focussing on a particular constituent by making it contrastive or take on other pragmatic effects.

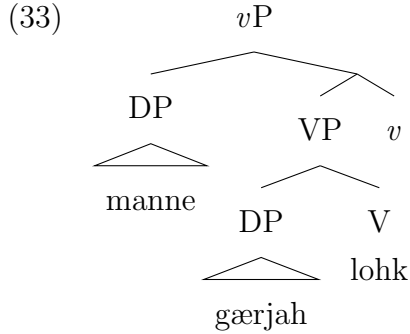
Declarative clauses such as (31a) with the word order SOV illustrates the most common and neutral word order in South Saami (Magga and Mattsson Magga, 2012, p.230). Therefore I will follow the descriptive literature on South Saami and analyze the SOV-order in (31a) as the basic word order.²⁵

The basic operation for deriving a syntactic structure is Merge, which takes two syntactic objects and forms a new complex syntactic object out of them. The Inclusiveness condition (Chomsky, 1995, p.225) states that the newly formed syntactic object consists of everything its subparts consisted of and nothing else. One of the two constituents merged together is the head of the new constituent. The head selects its complement and determines the label of the phrase which it projects (Chomsky, 2001). The first step in the derivation of (31a) is that V selects DP and forms VP, illustrated in (32):

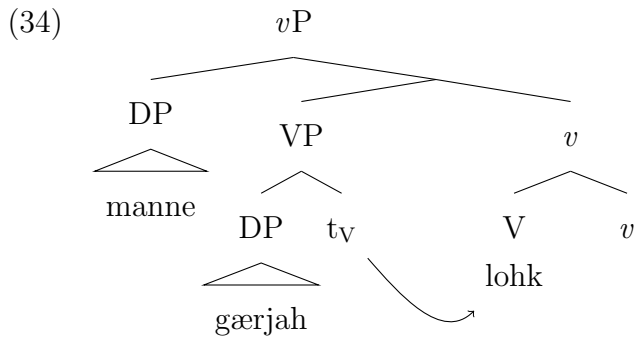


²⁵If South Saami is an SOV-language, then it has a head-final *vP*. From this follows that the VP is also head-final, which rhymes well with the Final-Over-Final-constraint (Biberauer et al., 2014).

The next step is to merge the light verb *v* into the structure, which completes the verbal complex. The participants of an event, the DO and the subject in this case, are in place when *v* projects *v*P, which introduces in its specifier the external argument (subject) of the clause, as illustrated in (33):



At this point of the derivation V raises to *v* and forms a complex verb head (Chomsky, 1995, chap.4, see also Kratzer (1996)). Note that I follow Chomsky (2000) and indicate the lower copy of a constituent as a trace *t* in the tree-structure.



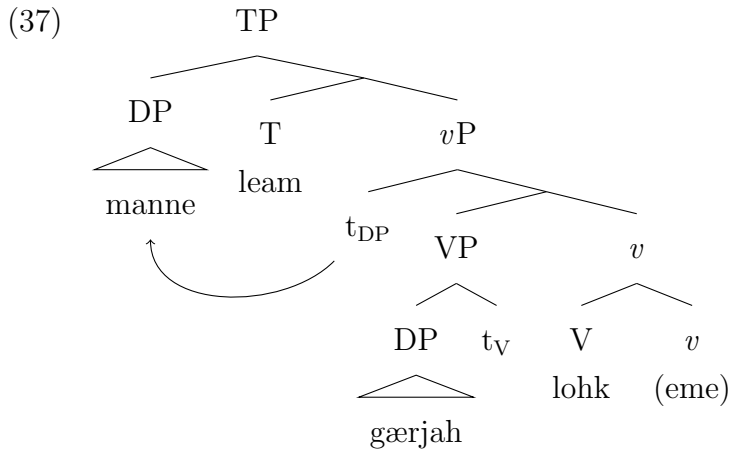
The next step is to merge T into the structure. After the subject moves from its base-generated position in the specifier of *v*, it is located in the specifier of TP, which is illustrated in (37) below. For the sake of present purposes, it suffices to assume that the head T can host an auxiliary, like *edtjem* ‘will:1S’, giving us the example (35), or the copula *leam* ‘be:1S’, as in (36):

- (35) a. Manne *edtjem* *gærjah* *lohkedh*.
 I will:1S book:P read:INF
 ‘I will read books.’
- b. * Manne *gærjah* *lohkedh* *edtjem*.
 I book:P read:INF will:1S
 ‘I will read books.’

In (35a), the auxiliary *edtjem* ‘will:1S’ precedes its complement *vP gærjah lohkedh* ‘book:P read:INF’, whereas in (35b) the auxiliary follows its complement *vP*. I analyze T as head-initial, based on the fact that (35a) is grammatical, whereas (35b) is ungrammatical. Another example that supports this analysis of T is (36):

- (36) a. Manne leam gærjah lohkeme.
 I is:1S book:P read:INF
 ‘I have read books.’
 b. ? Manne gærjah lohkeme leam.
 I book:P read:INF is:1S
 ‘I have read books.’

Although (36b) is not ruled out, it is more contextually specific than (36a). (36b) will under any possible reading carry a focus intonation or have a contrastive reading, which raises the possibility that the *vP* is not in-situ, but has moved over the auxiliary. I therefore analyze (36a), which can be pronounced without focus intonation on the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ and with a neutral sentence intonation, as representative of the basic order. The auxiliary or copula in T must precede the verb and therefore T is head-initial.²⁶



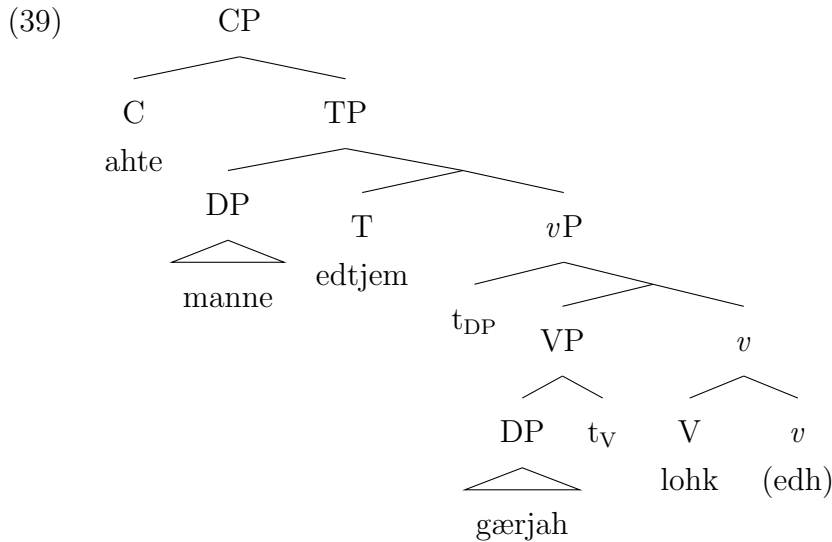
Finally, the head C is merged to the structure, completing it as a proposition, illustrated in (39). The domain of C defines the function of the clause (Chomsky, 2000, p.106ff), the properties of the structure that interacts with other domains of FL.

²⁶I abstract away from an outer AspP (Travis, 2010) between *vP* and TP. For expository reasons only, I put the aspectual suffices like *-eme* in (37) and the infinitival suffix *-edh* in (39) under *v*.

Complementizers like *ahte* ‘that’ are realized in C and precede their complement TP, as evident in example (38a). The complementizer *ahte* ‘that’ cannot follow its TP complement, which the ungrammatical example (38b) illustrates. Therefore C is head-initial.

- (38) a. ... *ahte* *manne* *edtjem* *gærjah* *lohkedh*.
 that I will:1S book:P read:INF
 ‘that I will read books.’
- b. * ... *manne* *edtjem* *gærjah* *lohkedh* *ahte*.
 I will:1S book:P read:INF that
 ‘that I will read books.’

With the projection CP introduced, we have the necessary building blocks in place for forming a full sentence. C is head-initial as illustrated in (39):



In sum, *v* is head-final, while T and C are head-initial. I will elaborate on the structure and the derivation of the structure in the next section where I introduce Phase Theory.

4.2 Phase Theory

Phases are central to the derivation of any structure (Chomsky, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008). Basic concepts in a phase-theoretic analysis are locality and cyclic Spell-Out. A standard representation of a clause was illustrated in (39). Two of the

heads have special status: *v* and C (Chomsky, 2000).²⁷ They stand out in that each of them defines a phase. The motivation behind C and *v* as phase-defining is their resemblance to a proposition, the core function of a clause.

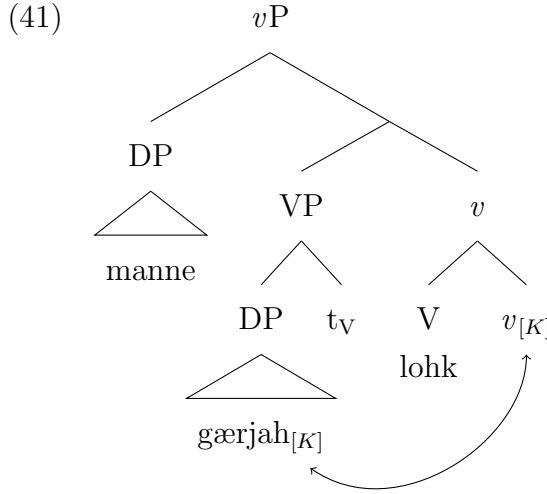
I will now illustrate the derivation of the clause in example (40) step-by-step. Concerning nominals, I refer to them as DPs when I discuss their position in the syntactic structure. In other contexts, I use the term NP, despite the assumption I make that all NPs project up to the DP level.

- (40) Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
 I quickly book:P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

The first steps of the derivation of (40) are already accounted for in the previous section. Therefore, we continue the derivation from (34) above.

In addition to introducing the external argument, the head *v* is also responsible for the licensing of Structural Case (Chomsky, 2001, p.5) on the direct object; in other words, *v* has a Case feature, call it [κ], that is matched with a Case Feature on the object DP. The Case Feature on *v* serves as a Probe, searching downwards in the structure obeying c-command, for a matching feature, the Goal (Chomsky, 2001, 2008). When the Probe finds a matching Goal, the relation is established, under Agree (Chomsky, 2000, 2001), which amounts to satisfying featural properties on the Probe as well as on the Goal. This is illustrated in (41):

²⁷I leave out the distinction between strong and weak phases, since my analysis does not include any passives or unaccusatives, but see Legate (2003) for an argument that the distinction between strong and weak is unwarranted.



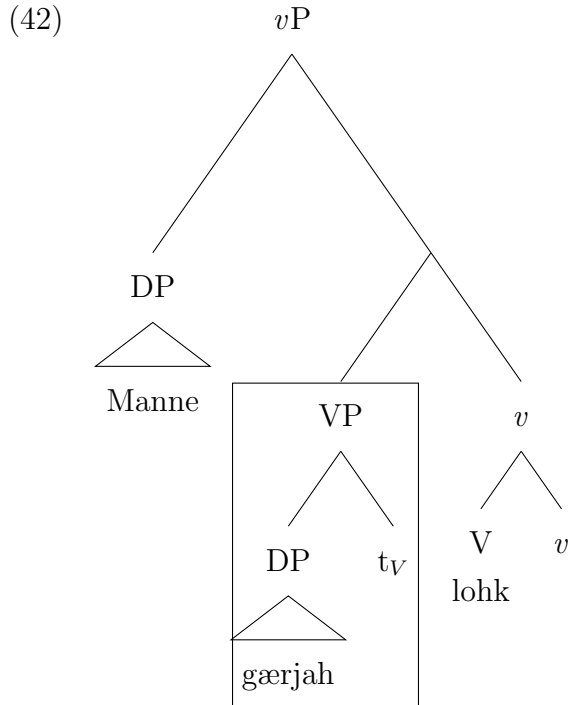
The establishment of Agree, provides the feature of the Goal with a value, and therefore it is excluded from entering further Case-related applications of Agree (Chomsky, 2004, p.115).

An important innovation in Chomsky (2000, 2001), is the idea that the syntactic derivation is transferred to the interfaces (Spell-Out) in a cyclical fashion. This idea contrasts sharply with earlier conceptions of the theory, where it was assumed that the transfer to PF and to LF happened once during the course of derivation.

A phase is a local domain and material within a completed phase is not available as a Goal of a scanning Probe of a higher phase, which follows from the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (Chomsky, 2001, p.14). However, there is one exemption: the edge of the phase (Rackowski and Richards, 2005). The edge of the phase includes all specifiers of the phase-defining head's maximal projection, as well as the phase-head itself.

In main-stream Minimalism, the framework assumed here, Spell-Out is triggered by the designated Phase Heads v and C (Chomsky, 2001). Once the featural properties of a Phase Head are satisfied, its complement is inaccessible to further computation and will be made accessible to the interfaces (PF and LF) through Spell-Out when the next phase head merges (Chomsky, 2001). Thus, once the featural properties of vP are satisfied, VP is no longer accessible. The complement of a phase head such as v is called a Spell-Out Domain (Kratzer and Selkirk, 2007).

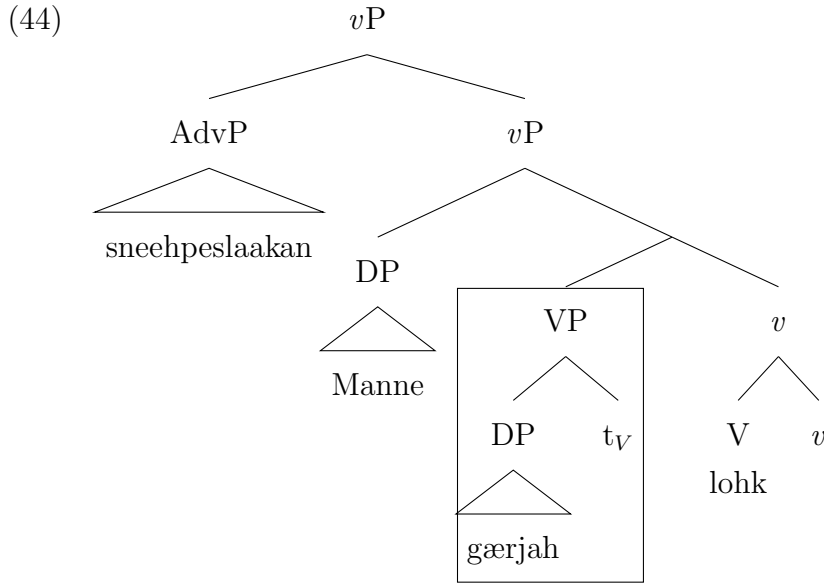
The Spell-Out Domain of example (42) is found inside the box covering the VP:



One of the consequences of cyclic Spell-Out is the fact that material that is contained in the Spell-Out Domain after the application of Spell-Out, is inaccessible to further syntactic computation. From this follows the PIC, which states that for a phase HP:

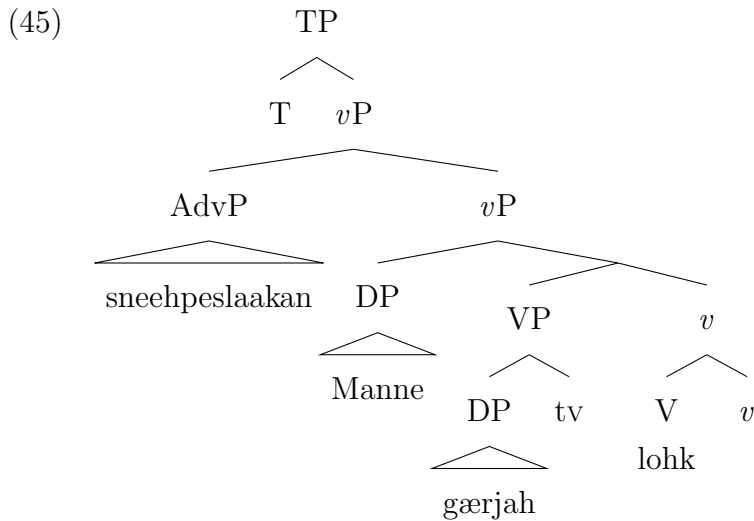
- (43) **Phase Impenetrability Condition:** The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations Chomsky (2001, p.14).

ZP is the complement of the next phase head. The specifiers of a phase head, as well any adjoined elements are at the phase edge. I will assume that a VP-adverbial adjoins to the *vP*, which is the next step of the derivation. The adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ is adjoined to the *vP*, illustrated in (44):



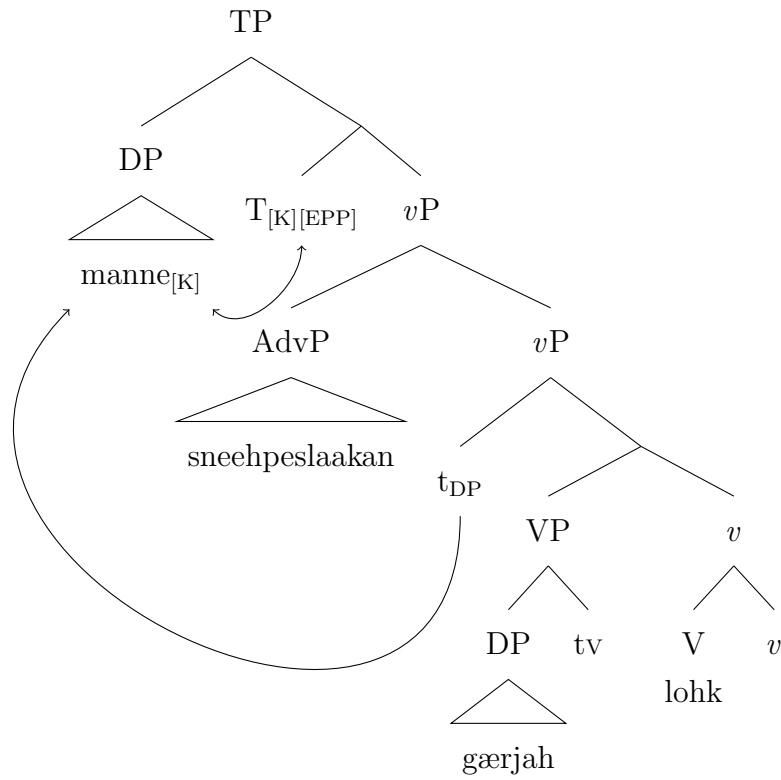
The phase edge is where constituents contained in the complement of the phrase, sister of the phase head, can move in order to escape Spell-Out. As soon as an Agree-relation has been established between the case feature [K] on the *v*-head and the matching case feature on the DP *gærjah* ‘book:P’, the featural properties of *v* are satisfied and consequently VP becomes inaccessible to further computation under the PIC (Chomsky, 2001). The possibilities for the DP *gærjah* ‘book:P’ to escape the VP are now exhausted, since the domain of the VP is now inaccessible and will undergo Spell-Out when the next phase head merges (Chomsky, 2001).

Next, the temporal head T merges with *vP*.

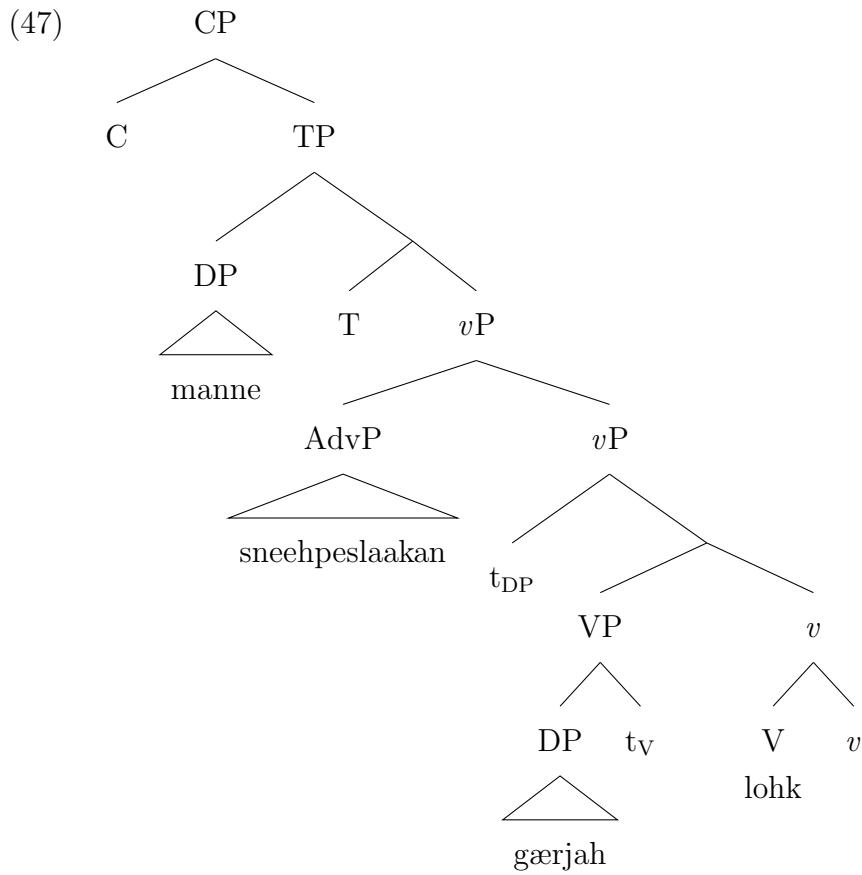


Aside from tense and the ϕ -features [1S], T hosts a case feature [K] and an EPP-feature (Chomsky, 2001). When the Case feature on T probes there is one potential Goal in its search domain: the DP *manne* ‘I’. Further, granted the presence of EPP on T, *Manne* ‘I’ raises into a specifier of T with the resulting Agree-relation between T and DP, satisfying both the Case and EPP properties of T. Since T is not a phase head, Spell-Out of VP is not triggered and material in the complement of T is still accessible to operations at the current phase.

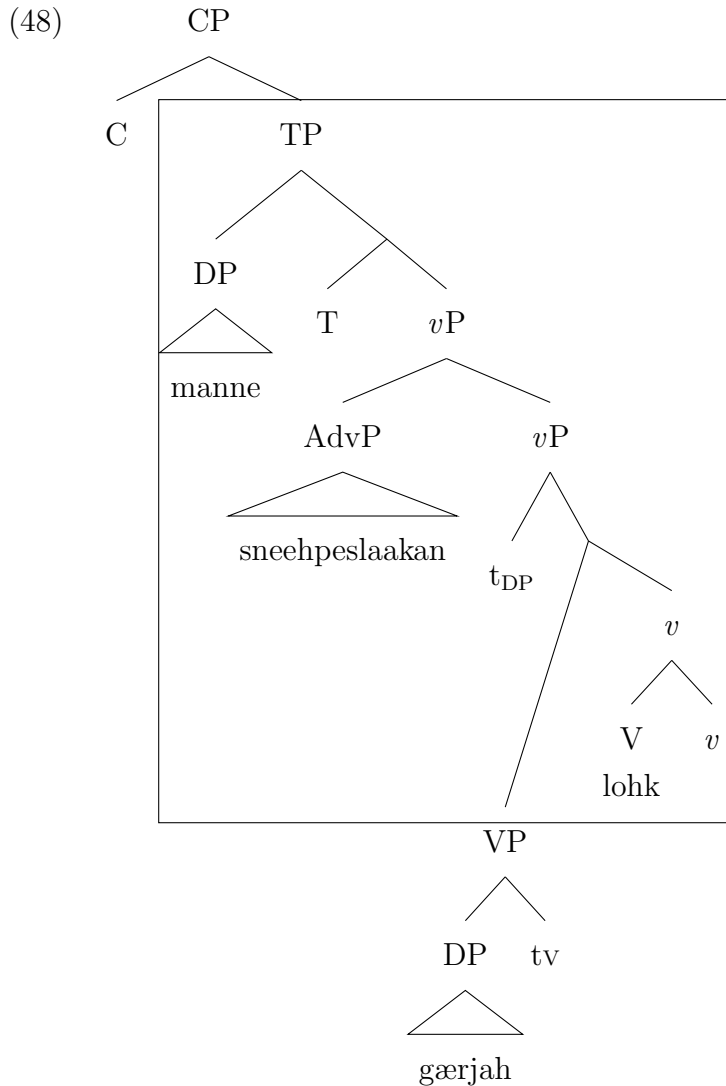
(46)



Next, the phase head C merges with TP resulting in Spell-Out of the first domain, the complement of *v*.



The example clause is of the declarative type and C does not hold any features leading to any more operations and thus C's Spell-Out Domain is made inaccessible. The Spell-Out Domain of C consists of TP and the left edge of *vP*, found inside the box in (48):



Finally, since the CP in our example defines a root clause, i.e. a clause not dominated by another CP, the computation in the narrow syntax is concluded and the phase is spelled out and made accessible to the interfaces at this point.

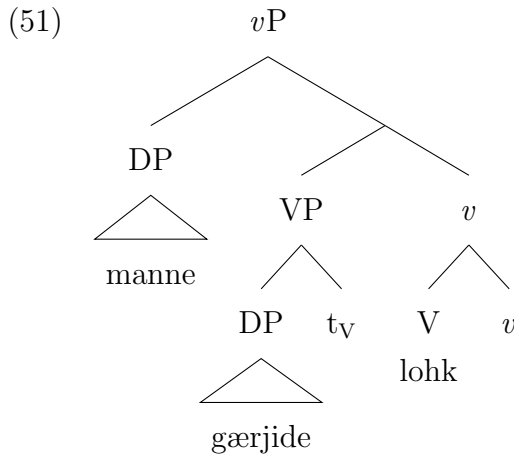
I will now evaluate how the Phase Theory can account for the data of the study, focussing on the respective order of VP-adverbial and different types of DOs. Firstly, we can conclude that the standard Phase Theory can accurately capture the word order of clauses with indefinite nonspecific DOs, such as (49) derived according to the steps described above in this section:

- (49) Manne <*gærjah> sneehpeslaakan <gærjah> lohkem.
 I book:P quickly book:P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

However, when we consider sentences where the verb takes a definite object, another picture emerges, in which the DO exhibits variation in its position. Consider (50):

- (50) Manne <gærjide> sneehpeslaakan <gærjide> lohkem.
 I book:ACC P quickly book:ACC P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)

Recall that the adverbial is a fixed position that can be used to detect dislocation of the DO. Example (50) shows that a definite DO has two potential positions where it can surface. It may either precede the adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ or it may follow the adverbial. The example (49) shows that an indefinite nonspecific DO lacks this option and can only surface in the position following the adverbial. Can these word order variations be captured by the standard phase theory presented above? I claim that they can not, which I will now show. We backtrack to the point of the derivation where the AdvP *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ has been adjoined to the structure. The steps of the derivation up to this point have been accounted for in section 4.1, with the exception that the DO is not indefinite but definite in (51):

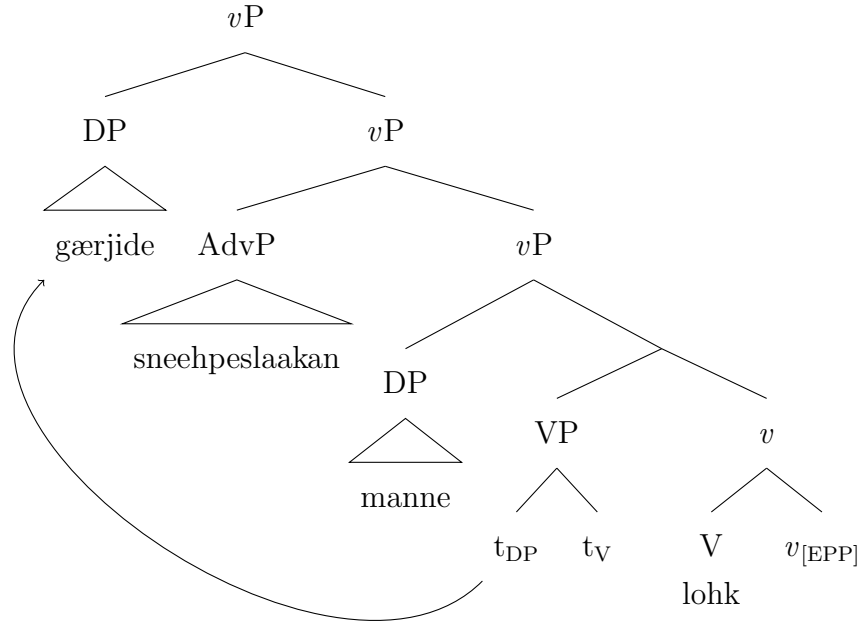


At this point, the definite DO needs to escape the VP before Spell-Out, in order to precede the adverbial linearly. An indefinite DP does not do so, but remains in-situ,

as illustrated above. How can a definite DP move out of the VP, where it was base-generated? Chomsky (2001) attempts to capture Object Shift in Scandinavian languages by resorting to an optional EPP-feature on the *v*. The EPP-feature targets the DP when *v* probes and makes the DP raise to a specifier of *v*P. Chomsky further argues that the EPP-feature is inserted in *v* if certain conditions hold. One condition regards the movement of *v* out of *v*P, since Object Shift takes place in verb-raising contexts in Scandinavian (Holmberg, 1999). Another condition concerns the effect the EPP-feature has on the outcome its insertion leads to; if the movement of the DP to the specifier of *v* has an effect on the outcome, then the insertion of the EPP-feature is motivated. An effect on the outcome is that the EPP-position of *v* obligatorily assigns a specific interpretation to the DP in the specifier of *v*P (Int, in Chomsky’s words) (Chomsky, 2001, p.35). Chomsky further argues that if the DP is in its base-generated position as the complement of V, it is nonspecific in a language allowing the insertion of the EPP-feature; in other words, a definite DP in the position as the complement of V yields “extreme deviance” (Chomsky, 2001, p.35). This means that the base-generated position as the complement of V only allows an indefinite nonspecific interpretation of the DP, while the position as specifier of *v*P only allows a definite or an indefinite specific interpretation of the DP. This analysis can possibly capture the South Saami data as well. Recall that a definite DO can precede or follow a VP-adverbial, which is argued to mean that a DO can either be found in its base-generated position as the complement of V or in a specifier of *v*P.

We pursue the possibility that *v* can optionally hold an EPP-feature in South Saami, which makes definite and indefinite specific DOs raise out of VP. This analysis comes to the following result. *v* holds an EPP-feature that makes *v* an active Probe, scanning down the structure for a matching Goal: the DP *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’. The EPP-feature on *v* makes the DP raise to a specifier of *v*, resulting in Agree being established between the DP and *v*, illustrated in (52):

(52)



The EPP-feature can explain why a DP moves out of the VP and into the vP , across the VP-adverbial, eventually resulting in a word order in which the DP precedes the adverbial. Another consequence is that only definite and indefinite specific DOs can surface in the position as specifier of v .

Nevertheless, pursuing this line of argument still faces a problem. If the effect on the outcome is that a definite or an indefinite specific DP consistently will be in a specifier position of vP , as a result of an *EPP*-feature on v , then we expect that every definite or indefinite specific DP will be targeted by this EPP-feature. The result would be that the DP moves in every case to a specifier of vP . Consequently, a definite or indefinite specific DP is predicted to obligatorily precede VP-adverbials like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, contrary to facts. Again, take example (50) above into consideration, which shows that a definite DP can either precede or follow a VP-adverbial. Therefore, an analysis including the EPP-feature on v will account for cases in which the DP moves across the VP-adverbial to a specifier of vP . However a problem arises, since the analysis over-generates. The DP *gærjide* will always raise to a specifier of vP and we know that a structure with a definite or indefinite specific DO in-situ, which follows the VP-adverbial,

can also converge at LF, given the grammaticality of example (50).

We can conclude that the syntactic distribution of South Saami direct objects calls for an analysis involving other components. Therefore, the approach including the EPP-feature on *v* will not be further pursued.²⁸ Instead a theory will be presented that incorporates DP-internal structure and its interaction with the clausal domain, in order to better capture the word order pattern of South Saami. For this reason, the semantic concepts of definiteness and specificity will be introduced properly in the next section.

4.3 Definiteness and Specificity

I have argued that DOM in South Saami is contingent on definiteness. Consequently, definiteness is central for the analysis of DOM proposed in this thesis. Therefore, a definition of definiteness is called for. Anticipating the discussion in chapter 5, in which I will make use of the Specificity Operator, which is introduced later in the current section, it is imperative to first introduce the concept of specificity, which has been shown to relate to DOM in e.g. Persian (Karimi, 2003b, 2005), Turkish (Enç, 1991; von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005) and Sakha (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010). Definiteness has only to a certain extent been discussed in relation to Differential Object Marking in South Saami, while the relation between specificity and DOM has been completely ignored.

The account of definiteness and specificity pursued in this thesis comes from Enç (1991) and will be introduced in this section,²⁹ in order to distinguish between definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific NPs.³⁰

²⁸For a more thorough discussion on the various problems associated with the insertion of an EPP-feature on *v*, see Biskup (2011, p.39ff).

²⁹However, I leave out the type of specificity discussed in Enç (1991) with *a certain* and its counterparts in Turkish. For a revision of Enç's proposal, aiming to unify the two types of specificity, see von Heusinger and Kornfilt (2005).

³⁰There are many other approaches to both what definiteness and specificity is (see e.g. Lyons (1999) and references therein on definiteness). Specificity too is a broad phenomenon, in fact there is no consensus that specificity is a single phenomenon, but rather several related phenomena (see von Heusinger (2011) for an overview of seven types of specificity).

4.3.1 An Introduction to the Concepts

According to Enç (1991) definiteness and specificity determines three types of NPs: definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific. Before I introduce Enç's formal approach, I will introduce the concepts by drawing on intuitions on them. Thereafter, I will introduce the formalism.

A central part of Enç's theory is an NP's relation to the discourse. A definite NP is known from before. An indefinite specific NP is related to known information, yet not possible to uniquely single out from the discourse. An indefinite nonspecific NP is novel and not known from before. When an NP is uttered, it is done so in relation to a discourse. In the discourse, there are referents representing old information. The relation between the NP(s) of a clause at the time of utterance and the referents present in the discourse determine the type of the NP; that is, an NP's relation to the discourse defines its definiteness and specificity.

In order to illustrate the relation between an NP and its discourse, let example (53) serve as the discourse for the examples in (54)-(57), which represent the grammatical DO categories of \pm ACC and \pm DET from section 3.1.1.³¹ I will then discuss the relation between the DOs in the examples and the discourse referent *luhkie gærjah* 'ten book:P', which is introduced in example (53):

- (53) Hællösne luhkie gærjah.
 shelf:INE ten book:P
 'There are ten books in the shelf.'

The example (53) introduces a set consisting of ten books into the discourse. With this example serving as the discourse, example (54) is now uttered:

- (54) a. Manne gærjide lohkem.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 'I read the books.' (Definite)
 b. Manne dejtje gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 'I read the/those books.' (Definite)

The examples in (54) can only be true if the same 10 books, denoted by the subject of (53), are referred to by the DO *gærjide* 'book:ACC P' in (54a) or by the DO *dejtje*

³¹The grammatical examples (8), (9) and (10).

gærjide ‘DET:ACC P book:ACC P’ in (54b). The DOs obligatorily denote the same ten books as their discourse referent, namely *luhkie gærjah* ‘ten book:P’ in (53). Definite DOs must have a discourse antecedent, with which they are co-referential. Enç (1991, p.9) refers to the antecedent of a definite NP as a *strong antecedent*. The DO (*dejtie*) *gærjide* ‘(DET:ACC P) book:ACC P’ qualifies as a definite NP, since the denotation of the books that the DO refers to are already established in the discourse. This is so because the denotation of the DOs in (54) is the same as the ten books in (53).

In contrast to a definite NP, an indefinite NPs lacks a matching discourse referent. This is true for both indefinite nonspecific and specific NPs. However, indefinite specific NP are not completely unrelated to a discourse referent. The denotation of an indefinite specific NP is in fact included in its discourse referent and constitutes a part of the discourse referent. Enç (1991, p.9) argues that an indefinite specific NP has a *weak antecedent* in the discourse. Consider a partitive NP, such as the DO of (55):

- (55) Manne naakenh dejstie lohkem.
 I some:P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)

We assume that the ten books from (53) are established in the discourse when (55) is uttered. The referent of the DO *naakenh dejstie* is not exactly the same as the one in (53), but is only a part of the total number of books established in the discourse. The link between the referent of the DO *naakenh dejstie* ‘3P:ELT P’ in (55) and the discourse referent *luhkie gærjah* ‘ten book:P’ is thus vaguer than that of the referent of the definite DO *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (54) and the discourse referent. Example (55) is true if it is intended to include any plural number of books that are established in the discourse. Any number from two to ten books is a possible denotation of the DO *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P 3P:ELT P’.³²

A possessed NP also takes a partitive interpretation, and is thus indefinite specific.³³ Once again, (53) serves as context when (56) is uttered:

³²However, the use of this particular construction is odd on pragmatic grounds if it is intended to denote all the ten books. In that case, a universal quantifier better suits the purpose.

³³A possessed NP can also take a definite reading (Karimi, 1999, p.132), as e.g. *John’s house* that can mean one of John’s houses if John has many, a partitive interpretation, but also the

- (56) Manne *mov* *gærjah* *lohkem*.
 I my book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books.’ (Indefinite specific)

For (56) to be licit in this context, we must make the assumption that the books in (53) have different owners. Under this assumption the possessive *mov* ‘my’, modifying the head noun of the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’, delimits the denotation of the head noun to only books with the property of being mine. Consequently, the reading activity denoted by the verb *lohkem* ‘read:PRS 1S’ will be aimed at a subset of the books denoted by discourse referent. Therefore, the DO in example (56) will have a partitive interpretation.

Finally, consider the DO in (57):

- (57) Manne *gærjah* *lohkem*.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

The DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (57) functions like a modifier of the verb, providing additional information about the reading activity of the verb *lohkem* ‘read:PRS 1S’ rather than introducing a set of books into the discourse. This type of NP is referred to as a weak indefinite (Diesing, 1992; Carlson, 2003), or a Kind-level (Karimi, 2003b), which receives a unified meaning with the verb. An indefinite nonspecific DO like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ involve no link to the discourse and can therefore not be related to the ten books in the discourse introduced in example (53), as opposed to definite and indefinite specific DOs.³⁴

one house that John owns, if John has only one house. See also Julien (2005) for an extensive discussion of possessed NPs and definiteness.

³⁴ An indefinite DO can also introduce referents into the discourse and get a reading referred to as Existential (Karimi, 2003b, p.95). In Persian, the Existential NP carries an article, in contrast to a Kind-level (corresponding to the indefinite nonspecific in (Enç, 1991)), which is a bare noun. A South Saami example is found in (i), where the DO *treavkah* ‘skis:P’ in (i) introduces a pair of skis into the discourse:

- (i) Laara *treavkah* *dorjeme*.
 Lars ski:P make:PTCP
 ‘Lars has made (a pair of) skis.’
 ‘Lars has made skis’ (Bergsland, 1994, p.60)

In example (i), the DO denotes an indefinite nonspecific pair of skis. From the example, we do not know what skis in particular that the speaker talks about. The difference from the DO *gærjah* books in (57) is that in (i) is an actual referent denoted. The referent is existential but not

I have now introduced the three types of NPs under discussion and described what characterizes them. For the remainder of this section I will introduce the formal approach to definiteness and specificity in Enç (1991).

4.3.2 The Reference Index and the Discourse index

Enç (1991) claims that definite and indefinite specific NPs involve a link to the discourse, a link that nonspecific NPs lack. In order to formalize the link, Enç assigns every NP a pair of indices, which I will refer to as the *reference index* and the *discourse index*. Both of the indices can be either definite or indefinite. The combinatorial properties of the indices determine the definiteness and the specificity of the NP.

I will now illustrate the possible settings together with the examples from the previous subsection. Once again, example (53), repeated as (58), is the example that the DOs of the following examples relate to.

- (58) Hællösne luhkie gærjah.
 shelf:INE ten book:P
 ‘There are ten books in the shelf.’

I will notate the referent of the *referential index* as x_i and the referent of the *discourse index* as x_j .

- (59) a. i = reference index
 b. j = discourse index

Firstly, if both the *reference index* and *discourse index* of an NP are definite,

specific. The pair of skis made could be any pair of skis in the world. They are not delimited in any way by a possessor like *mov* ‘my’ or modifier like *dejstie* ‘DET:ELT P’. The existential reading is most straightforwardly conveyed with a pair-denoting noun like skis, but is also possible for DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (57).

On the other hand, the DO *treavkah* ‘ski:P’ can take a reference as represented by the second translation line. This reading is similar to that of *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (57); the skis together with the verb denote an activity Lars has taken part in. No pair of skis in particular is introduced into the discourse under this reading. For the analysis of the structure of indefinite nonspecific NPs, the kind of reading is irrelevant, since both share the same structure. Therefore, I will mainly make use of the Kind-level reading in the examples discussed in the analysis section of 5.1. Karimi (2003b) points out that the existential type of nonspecific reading falls outside the definition of indefinite nonspecific NPs in Enç (1991) and hence I will not elaborate on this type NP, leaving the finer distinctions between the two types of indefinite nonspecific NPs in South Saami for future research.

the result is a definite NP, which has an antecedent in the discourse. A definite *reference index* indicates that the referent x_i is definite while the definiteness of the NP is completed by the linking to the same referent x_j of the *discourse index*, requiring that the identity of the referents of both indices are matching; the discourse referent and the referent of the NP are co-referential. This setting is represented by the DO *gærjide* in both examples in (60):

- (60) a. Manne gærjide lohkem.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne dejtie gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)

The DOs *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ in (60) and *dejtie gærjide* ‘DET:ACC P book:ACC P’ in (60b) have the same identity as the NP *luhkje gærjah* ‘ten book:P’ in (58), which antecede them; the NPs are co-referential.

Secondly, if the *reference index* is indefinite and the *discourse index* is definite, then the NP is indefinite specific. A new referent x_i is introduced into the discourse, which is linked to the previous discourse referent x_j by being included in it, i.e. x_i denotes a subset of x_j . This setting is represented by the DO *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P DET:ELT P’ in (61a):

- (61) a. Manne naakenh dejstie lohkem.
 I some:P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- b. Manne mov gærjah lohkem.
 I my book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books.’ (Indefinite specific)

The DO *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P 3P:ELT P’ in (61a) and the DO *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (61b) each denote some books part of the set of ten books introduced in (58). However, which of the ten books that are included in the denotation of the DO is not known, and therefore both DOs in (61) introduce a new referent x_i that each denote a subset of the ten books in (58).

Thirdly, if both indices are indefinite, then the NP is both indefinite and non-specific. The referent of x_i is not linked to any discourse referent x_j , but is unrelated

to the discourse. This setting is represented by the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ in (62):

- (62) Manne gærjah lohkem.
 I book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

The forth setting, a definite *reference index* and an indefinite *discourse index* is ruled out as nonexistent by Enç (1991), based on the argument that every definite expression must involve a link to the discourse. The value of the *discourse index* is therefore set to definite if the value of the *reference index* is set to definite. Therefore, I will not further discuss this setting, but see e.g. Lyons (1999, chap. 4) and references therein for examples argued to be definite and nonspecific.

The discussion can be summarized by the table in (63):

(63)

	Discourse index j_{DEF}	Discourse index j_{INDEF}
Reference index i_{DEF}	Definite NP	N/A
Reference index i_{INDEF}	Indefinite specific NP	Indefinite nonspecific NP

The categories with an indefinite *Referential Index* (i_{INDEF} in (63)) are new information; their referents are not known from before. An indefinite specific introduces a new referent, but this referent is included in a discourse referent, making it both new and given at the same time. The categories with a definite *Discourse Index* (j_{DEF} in (63)) are known from before, meaning that the NP must involve a link to a discourse referent. The strong link of a definite NP provides an identity relation; the identity of the discourse referent and the referential referent must be an exact match. In contrast, the match of referents of the *discourse index* and the *reference index* of an indefinite specific NP is only required to be partial; the referent x_i is required to be included in the discourse referent x_j . In Enç’s words, an indefinite specific NP needs to be “distinct from previously established discourse referents” while an indefinite nonspecific NP is required to be “unrelated to previously established discourse referents” (Enç, 1991, p.8).

The indices are notated as i and j , illustrated in (64) for an NP α :

- (64) $[_{\text{NP}} \alpha]_{\langle i j \rangle}$ is interpreted as $\alpha(x_i)$

Recall that I refer to i as the *reference index* and to j as the *discourse index*.

The *reference index* represents the referent of the NP x_i . The *discourse index* represents the discourse referent x_j , which can be linked to the NP.

As I have argued, following Enç (1991), the two indices each have a definiteness feature. Both of the features can be definite or indefinite, leading to four possible combinations. The combinations of the values defines an NP in terms of its definiteness and specificity. Three of the settings are illustrated in (65), the fourth is ruled out:

- (65) a. $[\text{NP } \alpha]_{\langle i j \rangle}$ is definite if $i=\text{def.} \quad \& \quad j=\text{def.}$
b. $[\text{NP } \alpha]_{\langle i j \rangle}$ is indefinite specific NP if $i=\text{indef.} \quad \& \quad j=\text{def.}$
c. $[\text{NP } \alpha]_{\langle i j \rangle}$ is indefinite nonspecific NP if $i=\text{indef.} \quad \& \quad j=\text{indef.}$

In example (65a), the *reference index* is definite as well as the *discourse index*. In example (65b) the *reference index* is indefinite and the *discourse index* is definite. Both of these types include a definite *discourse index*. By contrast, the *discourse index* in example (65c) is indefinite, as is its *reference index*.

To summarize, the *discourse index* determines specificity. If the *discourse index* is definite, the NP is specific. If the *discourse index* is indefinite, the NP is nonspecific. The definiteness of the *reference index* determines definiteness. If the index is definite, then the NP is definite and if the *reference index* is indefinite, then the NP is indefinite.

4.4 The Nuclear Scope and The Restrictive Clause

In this section, I will review Diesing's (1992) theory of NP interpretation and investigate its consequences for South Saami. In her work, Diesing introduces the Mapping Hypothesis, according to which definite and indefinite specific NPs are interpreted in one structural position, while indefinite nonspecific NPs are interpreted in another position. The Mapping Hypothesis is relevant for this study, because it gives rise to the prediction that indefinite definite and indefinite specific DOs move to a VP-external position, while indefinite nonspecific DOs remain in their base-generated position. I will show that Diesing's theory can account for

some of the South Saami facts that we have encountered, but not all. Nevertheless, I will incorporate an adapted version of the Mapping Hypothesis in the analysis of the South Saami data proposed in the next chapter.

Diesing (1992) argues that direct objects may be interpreted in two structurally distinct positions. DOs that are specific (i.e. definites and indefinite specifics) are restricted to a structurally high position. Indefinite nonspecific DOs are restricted to a structurally low position. Recall from the discussion in section 4.2 that the EPP-based approach to specificity (Chomsky, 2001) fails to account for the fact that South Saami definite and indefinite specific DOs can surface either in-situ as the complement of VP, following a VP-adverbial like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, or in a specifier of *v*P, preceding the VP-adverbial. The reason for the failure stems from the hypothesis that the specific interpretation of the DO is contingent on the presence of the [EPP]-feature. The problem with this idea lies in the assumption that if specificity is tied to an [EPP]-property of *v*, the absence of [EPP] on *v* precludes the option for a specific DO to remain in-situ. This is illustrated with a definite DO in example (66):

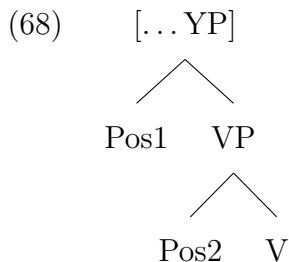
- (66) Manne <gærjide> sneehpeslaakan <gærjide> lohkem.
 I book:ACC P quickly book:ACC P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)

As (66) shows, the DO *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ can precede or follow the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. The theoretical implication of the fact that the definite DO can surface in the pre-adverbial position in (66) is that specificity is contingent on an EPP-feature on *v* in South Saami. However, the definite DO can also appear in its base-position, to the right of the adverbial. At first sight, it could be claimed that the EPP-feature that drives raising of the DO, is not of the variety that is responsible for specificity. Nevertheless, if that was the case, we would expect that a DO of any kind would be compatible with displacement to the left edge of the *v*P. This is not the case; an indefinite nonspecific NP can only surface adjacent to the verb, following a VP-adverbial, as illustrated in (67):

- (67) Manne <*gærjah> sneehpeslaakan <gærjah> lohkem.
 I book:P quickly book:P read:1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

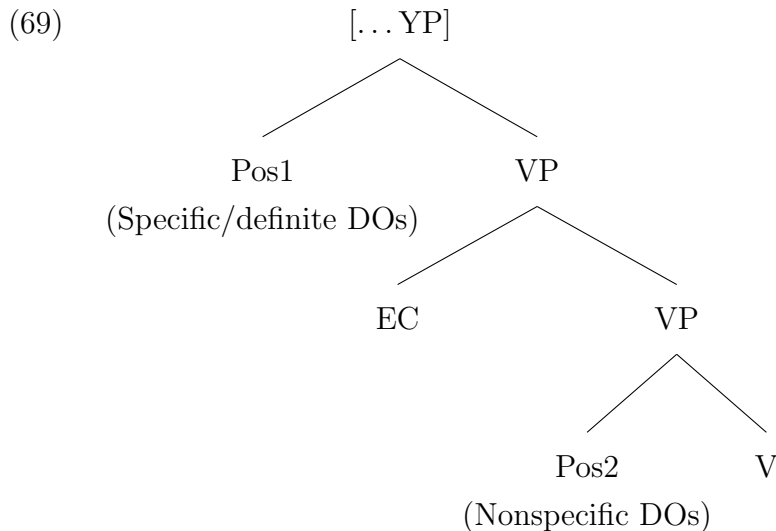
The fact that indefinite nonspecific DOs are precluded in the pre-adverbial position at the left edge of the *v*P suggests nonetheless that specificity is a necessary condition on displacement of the DO. However, since definite DOs can remain in-situ, the EPP-based approach seems unlikely.

I will now investigate if the analysis put forth in Diesing (1992) can account for the South Saami data. The argument is that DOs that are linked to the discourse, namely definite and indefinite DOs, are in a higher position (Pos 1) than indefinite nonspecific DOs, which are in the lower position (Pos2). In order to surface in the higher position, the DO moves, overtly or covertly. The landing site for the raised DO is the specifier of some projection higher than VP, call it YP. The lower position is the DO's base-generated position as the complement of V.



A core property in Diesing's analysis is that NPs do not have existential quantification in themselves. This is highly important, because it has direct bearing on definiteness and specificity. Rather NPs are variables that are assigned existential quantification through an operation called Existential Closure (EC). EC operates over a specific local domain, which in Diesing's theory is the VP (which would include both *v*P and VP in the framework of this thesis). An NP that is bound by EC has an existential interpretation, with the immediate consequence that it is indefinite and nonspecific. Consequently, every NP within this domain is existential and does not involve any kind of link to the discourse. By contrast, an NP external to the domain of EC is not existential; such an NP is not introduced into the domain of discourse, but already present there. Such an NP can either be definite or indefinite specific.³⁵ The situation is illustrated in (69):

³⁵Diesing (1992, p.91) refers to indefinite specific NPs as presuppositional.



Recall from the previous section that two types of the NPs involve a link to the discourse: definite NPs and indefinite specific NPs. The link from a definite NP to a discourse referent is that of the identity relation. Therefore both the *discourse index* and the *reference index* of a definite NP are definite. An indefinite specific also involve a link between the its referent and its discourse referent, but not that of the identity relation, only that of a subset relation. The *discourse index* of an indefinite specific NP is thus definite, while its *reference index* is indefinite. Diesing (1992) argues that NPs that involve a link to the discourse are outside of the domain of EC and therefore they must be in a position external to the VP, either by overt or covert movement. Consequently, definite and indefinite specific NPs, which have a definite *discourse index* are predicted to be displaced to a position outside of VP. Indefinite nonspecific NPs on the other hand have an indefinite *discourse index* (Enç, 1991). Diesing argues that indefinite nonspecific NPs are bound by Existential Closure and are therefore located in the domain internal to the VP. Therefore, NPs with an indefinite *discourse index* are predicted to remain in-situ as the complement of V. Thus, the prediction is that the value of an NPs *discourse index* determines its syntactic position:

- (70)
- a. NPs with a definite *discourse index* are unbound by Existential Closure.
 - b. NPs with an indefinite *discourse index* are bound by Existential Closure.

In which domain an NPs is interpreted in matters if the derivation is to converge at LF. An innovation in Diesing (1992) is to split the syntactic representation into two parts. The two parts of the syntactic structure have an impact on the interpretation of NPs at LF. The lower part of the syntactic structure is mapped into the semantic domain referred to as the Nuclear Scope and the higher part into the domain referred to as the Restrictive Clause. Existential Closure operates exclusively on the Nuclear Scope. This idea is similar to Chomsky (2000, 2001) arguing for cyclic Spell-Out (see further section 4). In Phase Theory, a clause is spelled out at two points: when the *v*-head is merged and when the C-head is merged. Spell-Out therefore makes the syntactic structure available to the semantic component at two stages. I argue that these two stages are the two parts of the syntactic structure that Diesing call the Nuclear Scope and the Restrictive Clause. From this follows the Mapping Hypothesis in (71):³⁶

(71) Mapping Hypothesis (adapted):³⁷

- a. Material from the first Spell-Out Domain is mapped into the Nuclear Scope.
- b. Material from the second Spell-Out Domain is mapped into the Restrictive Clause.

The Mapping Hypothesis interlinks the syntactic representation and the semantic representation of a clause and makes a clear distinction between how material located in different parts of the syntactic representation are interpreted by the semantic component. The two parts are distinguished as in example (72):

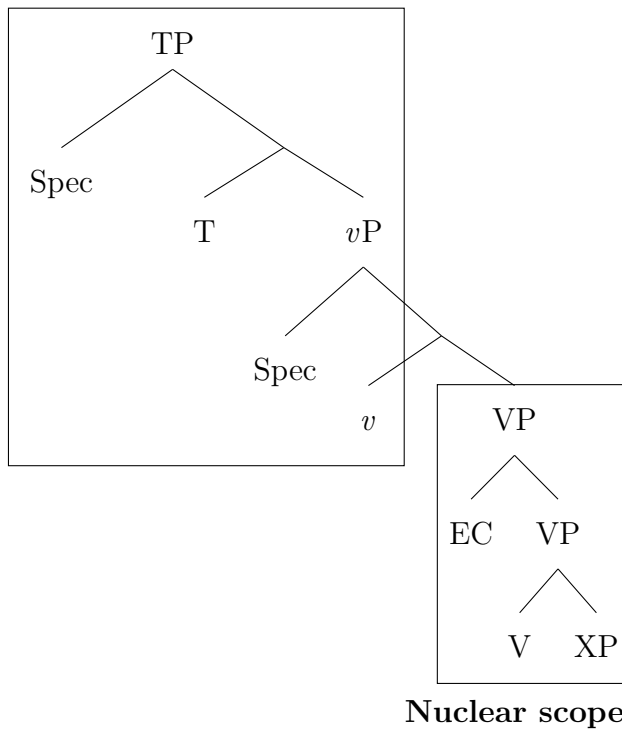
³⁶See Carnie and Barss (2006) and Biskup (2011) for slightly different approaches to accommodating Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis in Phase Theory.

³⁷Diesing formulates her theory within the GB-theory, and thus do not make use of an articulated VP with the light verb *v*. Therefore the original formulation of the Mapping Hypothesis is formulated as (i):

- (i) Mapping Hypothesis (original)
 - Material from VP is mapped into the Nuclear scope.
 - Material from IP is mapped into the Restrictive clause. (Diesing, 1992, p.10)

Also, the label IP has been replaced with TP, in work following Pollock (1989).

(72) **Restrictive clause**



In example (72), the VP is the domain of the Nuclear scope and TP is the domain of the Restrictive clause. Diesing (1992) argues that an indefinite nonspecific DP must be in the Nuclear scope, while a definite or indefinite specific DP must be in the Restrictive clause. If indefinite nonspecific NPs have an indefinite *discourse index*, it falls out that they are interpreted in the first Spell-Out Domain. It further falls out that if definite and indefinite specific have a definite *discourse index*, then they are interpreted in the second Spell-Out Domain.

- (73) a. NPs with an indefinite *discourse index* are interpreted in the first Spell-Out Domain.
- b. NPs with a definite *discourse index* are interpreted in the second Spell-Out Domain.

If the conditions in (73) hold, then we can make two predictions for South Saami direct objects. The first prediction is that indefinite nonspecific are in the domain of the Nuclear Scope, where they are bound by Existential Closure in order to become quantificational. How does this fall out in South Saami? As it turns

out, the indefinite nonspecific DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ can only be in the VP-internal position where it follows the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’:

- (74) Manne <*gærjah> sneehpeslaakan <gærjah> lohkem.
 I book:P quickly book:P read:1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

The second prediction is that a definite NP is expected to be in the higher, VP-external, position. According to this prediction, a definite DO is not expected to be found VP-internal, since it would then be bound by Existential Closure and thus its link to the discourse would be broken. This prediction is not fully borne out. A definite DO in South Saami can be found in any of the two positions, as illustrated in (75):

- (75) Manne <gærjide> sneehpeslaakan <gærjide> lohkem.
 I book:ACC P quickly book:ACC P read:1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)

As it turns out only one of the predictions are borne out. In fact, this is the same result that the EPP-based approach to specificity in Chomsky (2001)) gives us, namely that it correctly predicts the behavior of indefinite nonspecific NPs, which remain in-situ in the VP. However Diesing’s (1992) analysis, as well as the EPP-based approach, incorrectly predicts that definite and indefinite specific NPs are obligatorily displaced and surface in the structurally higher position, where they precede VP-adverbials.

A plausible explanation for how the data still could be consistent with the predictions would be to make a claim that definite and indefinite specific NPs can move covertly or overtly out of the domain of the Nuclear scope, and thus escape the first instance of Spell-Out. In the next chapter I will argue for an analysis incorporating a Specificity Operator, which adjoined to definite and indefinite specific DPs. The analysis can account for the facts that the DO can either move covertly or overtly, based on the argument that the Specificity Operator always moves in order to take Scope over Existential Closure. However, before going into the details of my proposal, I will first present an analysis of the South Saami DP, in the next subsection.

4.4.1 Section Summary

At this point, it is clear that the interaction of NPs and the clausal projections defines the configurational properties of the NP. The definition of definiteness and specificity provides the necessary properties of NPs to be related to the entire clausal projection, in order to capture the displacement process that definite or specific direct object NPs in South Saami can undergo. Diesing (1992) provides parts of the machinery behind the interaction of syntax and semantics: the Mapping Hypothesis, that predicts that the distribution of DOs are the following: definite and indefinite DOs are in the domain of the Restrictive Clause, while indefinite nonspecific DOs are located in the domain of the Nuclear Scope. Yet, the consequences of these predictions are in line with those of Chomsky (2001), namely that every definite or indefinite specific NP is predicted to be found in the higher of the two positions where direct objects can surface.

Does this mean back to square one? Not necessarily. In section 4.5, I present my main innovation: the Specificity Operator. As I will argue in chapter 5, this operator will allow both overt and covert movement to a specifier of *v*P. However, avoiding to forego this discussion, the structure of the DP in South Saami, with special focus on the hosts of the features [DEF] and [SPC] need to be introduced. To do so, parts of the proposal on the DP in Julien (2005) are incorporated in order to accommodate these two features into the analysis.

4.5 The structure of the DP

Since direct objects are DPs, it is imperative that we consider the internal organization of the DP. For present purposes, I will adapt the proposal in Julien (2005), making use of the components of the analysis necessary for deriving the South Saami DP. Julien develops a theory of the DP in Scandinavian, couched in the general framework of Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997, among several others).

DM denies the existence of a lexical module (Marantz, 1997); that is, DM denies the Lexicalist Hypothesis, which was developed in proposals following Chomsky (1970) e.g. Jackendoff (1972). Rather, word formation takes place in Syntax, us-

ing the operation Merge to build words out of atomic units, such as roots and category defining heads. Special meanings are connected to structures of differing complexity. For instance, idioms are special meanings related to a complex structure including most of the *vP* (Marantz, 1997). However, the idiom in (76) includes the *v* and its complement, but the specifier of *vP*, in which the subject is realized, is not part of the idiomatic reading:

(76) John took five. (Marantz, 1997, p.207):

The structure realized as *took five* carries a meaning, which is opaque from the combination of the individual words, that John took a short break.

In DM, category-neutral roots are listed in the Encyclopedia (Marantz, 1997), one of three lists of items that replaces the lexical module. In order to form e.g. a noun, a root such as $\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}$ combines with a category defining functional head. To build a syntactic structure, the derivation starts out from a Lexical Array (Chomsky, 2000), which consists of a selection of atomic units needed to build structure. In order to form the word *gærjah* ‘book:P’, the basic selection consists of the set in (77):

(77) $\{\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha}, \text{N}, \text{Num}[\text{P}]\}$

Note that α is a diacritic feature of the root, determining the declinational properties of the word that will be derived from it.

Thereafter, Merge combines the root $\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}$ and the head N into an NP.

(78)

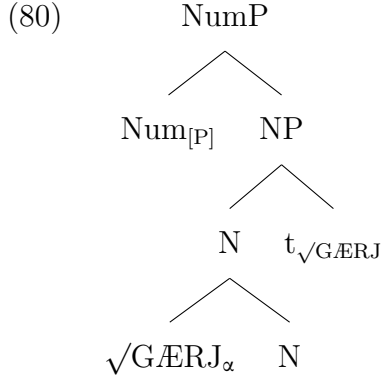
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{N} \quad \sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha} \end{array}$$

The next step of the derivation is that the root is incorporated into the head N and a complex head N is formed.

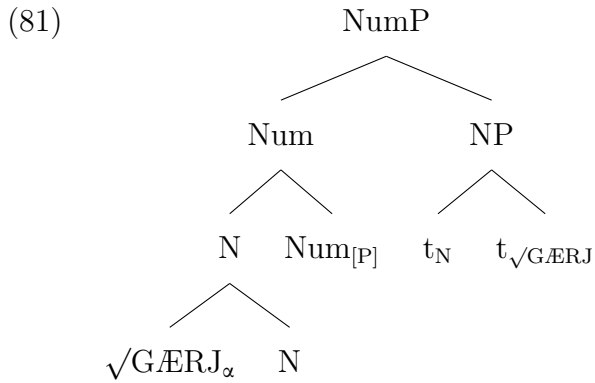
(79)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{N} \quad \text{t}_{\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha} \quad \text{N} \end{array}$$

Next, the head Num is merged to the structure and NumP is projected by Num. Num carries the feature [P].



Number is realized as a suffix in South Saami, meaning that the complex head consisting of the root $\sqrt{G\text{Æ}RJ}$ and N incorporates into the head Num.



Another core property of DM is the idea that morphological pieces are exponents of syntactic heads, known as Syntax All the Way Down (Bobaljik, 2015). Specifically, the plural suffix /h/ in /gærjah/ ‘book:P’ is interpreted as the morphophonological instantiation of the syntactic head Num that encodes Number. The root is realized as /gærj/ and the the head N is realized as the theme vowel /a/, which is the realization the idiosyncratic property of conjugational class (see Oltra-Massuet (1999) and Julien (2015) on theme vowels).

A third core property of DM is the idea of Late Insertion (Halle and Marantz, 1993). The syntax is understood as the manipulation of abstract nodes, void of phonological content. Once the derivation (or a chunk of a derivation) reaches PF, Vocabulary Items are inserted into fully specified syntactic heads, an operation

called Vocabulary Insertion. Consequently, an output like /gærjah/ derives from an abstract syntactic representation $[\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha} \text{ N NUM}]$. The idea is that, when Vocabulary Insertion takes place, the Vocabulary Item /gærj/ is inserted into where the root $[\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}]$ is located, the theme vowel /a/ into the node where N is and /h/ ‘plural’ is inserted into the head Num that provides the feature specification [P].

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 (82) & [\sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha}] & \longleftrightarrow \text{ /gærj/} \\
 & [\text{N}] & \longleftrightarrow \text{ /a/} \\
 & [\text{Num}_{[\text{P}]}] & \longleftrightarrow \text{ /h/}
 \end{array}$$

The output is illustrated in (83):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (83) \quad \text{gærj-a-h} \\
 \quad \text{book-TW-P} \\
 \quad \text{‘book’}
 \end{array}$$

I will now account for a more complex DP, involving a determiner and a possessor, such as the DP in (84):

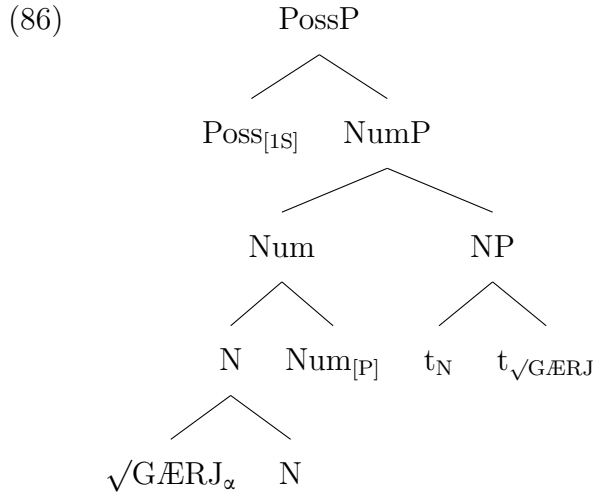
$$\begin{array}{l}
 (84) \quad \text{dah mov gærjah} \\
 \quad \text{DET:P my book:P} \\
 \quad \text{‘my books’}
 \end{array}$$

For this derivation more material needs to be selected into the Lexical Array. In addition to the items in (77) we also need the possessive head Poss and the head D, with which definiteness is associated. We also need the Specificity Operator $\text{OP}_{[\text{SPC}]}$, by which the *discourse index* is encoded into the syntax. The operator, which will be further introduced below, provides a DP with specificity. The Lexical Array thus has the following items:

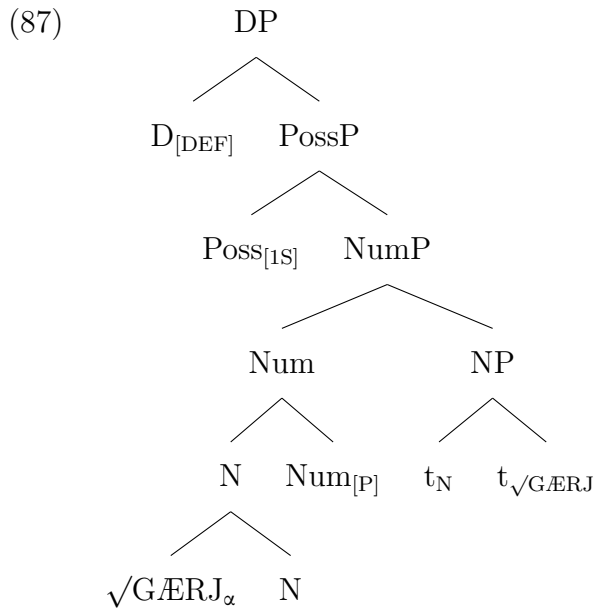
$$(85) \quad \{ \sqrt{\text{GÆRJ}}_{\alpha}, \text{ N}, \text{ Num}_{[\text{P}]}, \text{ Poss}_{[\text{IS}]}, \text{ D}_{[\text{DEF}]}, \text{ OP}_{[\text{SPC}]} \}$$

The function of these items will be presented as they are accessed by the derivation of the DP.

The first steps of this derivation are identical to those in (78)-(81). The next step in the derivation is to merge $\text{Poss}_{[\text{IS}]}$, which carries φ -features specifying it for first person and singular. $\text{Poss}_{[\text{IS}]}$ projects PossP.



Finally $D_{[DEF]}$, the last obligatory head of the derivation, is merged to the structure, projecting DP.



According to standard accounts, D is the locus of definiteness (Abney, 1987). This is where the determiner *dih̄te* ‘DET’ surfaces in the case of a definite DP, as an instance of Vocabulary Insertion. The determiner and the possessor are realized as in (88):

- (88)
- a. $[Poss_{[IS]}] \longleftrightarrow /mov/$
 - b. $[D_{[DEF]}] \longleftrightarrow /dih̄te/$

I have now given a brief analysis of the South Saami DP, which is in most part based on the account proposed in Julien (2005). However, at this point it is important to point out that there are differences between Julien’s analysis of the DP and my analysis.

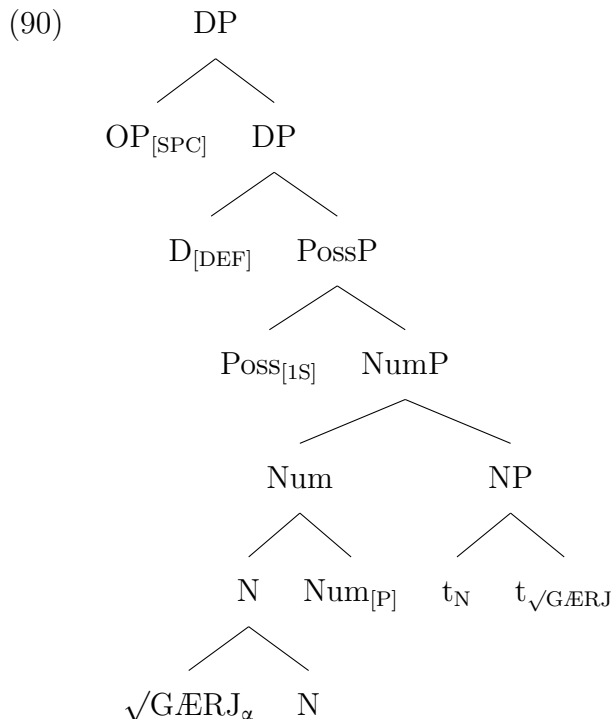
The first difference concerns the projection of Poss. In Julien (2005), possessors are generated in the specifier of NP. The motivation to generate possessors in this position is to account for possessors following the head noun. However, in South Saami, possessors are always prenominal, as illustrated in (89):

- (89) a. *mov gærjah*
 my book:P
 ‘my book’
- b. **gærjah mov*
 book:P my
 ‘my book’

Consequently they are always in PossP, so for present purposes I assume that they are base-generated as the head Poss.³⁸

Secondly, there is a difference between the necessary building blocks of the DP. Julien (2005) argues that DP, NumP, *n*P and NP are obligatory in every DP. In the current analysis, as well as in Julien (2005), PossP is only projected when a possessor is present. However, I dispose of the projection *n*P. According to Julien *n*P is the head hosting specificity; the head carries a feature [DEF], which is interpreted as specificity. The reason for Julien to propose two projections carrying this feature is that some varieties of Scandinavian, for instance in Swedish, exhibit Double Definiteness, where two definiteness morphemes are realized on definite DPs (Julien, 2005, p.27). In contrast to Scandinavian, specificity is not overtly realized as a morpheme in South Saami (recall that overt morphology under DOM is realized on definite but not indefinite specific DPs). For reasons that will be argued for in the following chapter, I will instead posit a Specificity Operator that carries the feature [SPC]. The operator is adjoined to every definite and indefinite specific DP.

³⁸For present purposes, possessors like *mov* are realized as the head of PossP. However, more complex possessors like full DPs must be in the specifier of of PossP.



Recall from section 4.3.2 that every DP come with two indices, i.e. the *referential index* and the *discourse index*. These indices can now be linked to syntactic features. The Specificity Operator is not adjoined to every DP, rather it is adjoined to DPs involving a link to the discourse: definite and indefinite specific DPs. I will assume for now that the Specificity Operator is what constitutes this link, but I will expand on the function of the operator in chapter 5. Consequently the operator is adjoined to every definite and indefinite specific DP, i.e. to every DP that has a definite *discourse index*. If the DP is definite, then [DEF] is present on the D head, indicating that the DP has a definite *reference index*.

Many of the details of the South Saami DP are left for future research. Furthermore, many of the details of the proposal of Julien (2005) are left out, since they are not necessary for the purposes of this study. The analysis outlined in this section accounts for how definiteness and specificity are encoded into the syntactic structure of the DP, which are central to my analysis of Differential Object Marking and the structural positions of DPs in the clausal projection. We are therefore in a position to start addressing the specific problems concerning the distributional properties of definite or indefinite specific NPs in the clausal domain. In

the previous sections 4.3 and 4.4, I have provided the definitions for definiteness and specificity, based on Enç (1991) and Diesing (1992). They argue that the two properties of specificity and definiteness have in common that they involve a link to the discourse. These properties are features that are encoded into material located within the projection of D, i.e. DP. If this is the case, it follows that the link to the discourse is determined by properties of the D-domain of the DP.

In summary, the two conditions, given in (91) explain the link between syntax and semantics, regarding specificity and definiteness.

- (91) a. The head D is where the *referential index* is encoded into syntax.
 b. The Specificity Operator is where the *discourse index* is encoded into syntax.

Specificity and definiteness are thus properties of the projection of D. With these conditions in place, we can account for the link between syntax and semantics, concerning the direct object and its position in the clausal domain.

4.5.1 Realization of Morphological Case

In this thesis, I mainly focus on the abstract Case of direct objects in South Saami. Along the lines of (92), I argue that the actual realizations of overt case comes to be spelled out on the DOs.

- (92) Realization of morphemes

$[-P]$	\longleftrightarrow	/m/
$[+P \ -DEF]$	\longleftrightarrow	/h/
$[+P \ +DEF]$	\longleftrightarrow	/idie/

I have argued that definiteness is not a condition on case realization on DOs in the singular, therefore both definite and indefinite DOs in the singular are realized as /m/; in other words /m/ is underspecified for definiteness and the feature specifications $[-P, +DEF]$ and $[-P, -DEF]$ will both have the same realization of morphological case. However, definiteness is a condition on morphological case realization in the plural, meaning that a definite and an indefinite DO will have suffices realized on them that are specified for definiteness. Definite DOs with the

features $[+P, +DEF]$ have added to their stem the suffix /*idie*/ at Vocabulary Insertion and DOs with the feature specification $[+P, -DEF]$ have the suffix /*h*/ added to their stem. This means that the suffix /*idie*/ is underspecified for the feature $[\pm SPC]$, since specificity follows from the value of $[+DEF]$; $[+DEF]$ entails $[+SPC]$. Indefinite specific DOs in the plural have the specification $[+P, -DEF, +SPC]$. Nevertheless as a result of underspecification this feature setting comes to be realized as /*h*/, as is the setting $[+P, -DEF, -SPC]$, which defines an indefinite nonspecific.

Along the lines of (92), we have an account for how Differential Object Marking in South Saami is distributed. Accusative case in the plural is realized as a suffix on DOs that have the feature specification $[+P, +DEF]$. To be definite is to involve a link to the discourse, an analysis developed in section 4.3.2; in other words, DOs with this feature specification have a definite *reference index*. The two other types of DOs discussed in this theses share the feature specification $[-DEF]$, meaning the they are realized by the plural suffix only, inserted in the $[+P, -DEF]$ -environment.

4.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the theoretical foundation of the study was presented. First I have provided an overview of the clausal structure in South Saami and analyzed the head alignment of the language, where VP and *v*P are head final whereas TP and CP are head initial. Thereafter, I have presented the architecture of a clause, illustrating how the Phase Theory of Chomsky (2000, 2001) works. I have argued that Phase Theory can account for the syntactic distribution of indefinite nonspecific DOs, but fails to fully capture the properties of definite and indefinite specific DOs, even when implementing the EPP-based approach to specificity in Chomsky (2001). For this reason, I have pursued another analysis. I have started out by presenting the definitions of definiteness and specificity by means of the *reference index* and the *discourse index* (Enç, 1991). Thereafter the link between syntax and semantics provided by the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing, 1992) was accounted for. However, a strict application of Diesing’s analysis runs into the same problems as the EPP-based approach to specificity, which is why some additional machinery is needed in order to fully account for the South Saami data. By showing how definiteness and specificity is encoded into the syntactic structure of the DP, I aim to achieve

this task by introducing the DP-analysis of Julien (2005), which I have adapted. The head D is the locus for Definiteness, whereas specificity is realized as the Specificity Operator, adjoined to the DP. With the definition of definiteness and an account for how it is encoded into the DP, I have accounted for the realization of the different suffices on DOs of different specification for definiteness. I argue that the [DEF] and [SPC] are features associated with DP, in line with the claim that every definite NP is also specific (Enç, 1991) and that definiteness and plurality are both needed in order for a DO to bear case morphology under DOM.

The Specificity Operator still needs to be motivated by illustrating how it can co-function with the Mapping Hypothesis to explain the syntactic properties of South Saami definite and indefinite specific DOs.

Chapter 5

Differential Object Marking, The Specificity Operator and Word Order

I have identified DOM as a plural phenomenon restricted to definiteness, since indefinite plurals are not marked accusative under DOM and DOs in the singular are consistently marked accusative, meaning that there is no DOM at all in the singular.

I have further argued that definite NPs and indefinite specific NPs are related by their shared feature [SPC], a feature that indefinite nonspecific NPs lack. This property allows the two former categories of DOs to appear in either of two positions in the clausal configuration, one low as the complement of V and one high in a specifier of *v*P. In this section, I will argue for an analysis based on incorporating the Specificity Operator, which obligatorily raises to take scope over Existential Closure. I will further argue that the operator may strand or Pied-pipe the DP it is adjoined to, an analysis which accounts for the structural position of DOs in South Saami. More specifically, definite and indefinite specific DOs have the option to surface in the higher position as a result of being Pied-piped to raise over Existential Closure. Indefinite nonspecific DOs lack the operator and therefore obligatorily remain in the lower position as the complement of the verb.

After the presentation of the proposed analysis, it will be compared to an anal-

ysis of Dependent Case in Sakha (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010). I will argue that the fact that DOs can surface in two different structural positions in South Saami, one VP-internal and one VP-external, cannot be explained with the analysis of the case system in Sakha proposed by Baker and Vinokurova (2010). However, my analysis, which incorporates the Specificity Operator, involve operator movement and Pied-piping of the DO to a VP-external position, and can accurately capture the South Saami data, as well as the corresponding Sakha data. Finally, I will argue that the current analysis can be extended to cover Turkish data.

The outline of the section is as follows: In section 5.1, I argue for the analysis with the Specificity Operator and illustrate how it succeeds in capturing the South Saami data. In section 5.2, I present the account of Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and discuss the analysis therein in the light of South Saami. In section 5.3, I argue that the analysis can be extended to capture some data from Turkish as well. Finally, In section 5.4, I summarize the discussions of this chapter.

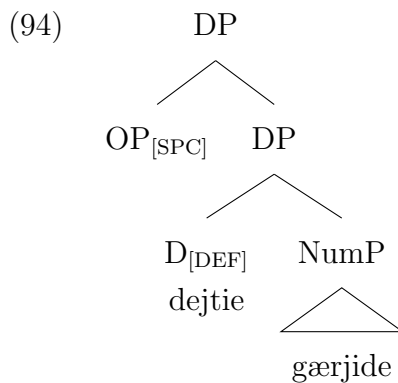
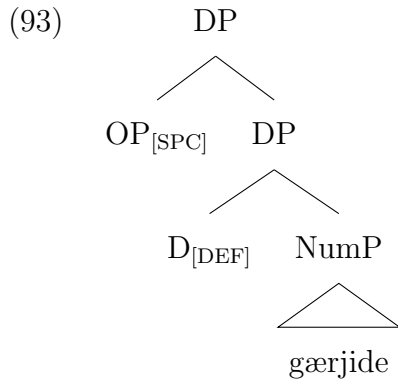
5.1 The Specificity Operator and Displacement

In this section, I introduce my analysis of the position of the DO in the clausal domain in South Saami, focussing on accounting for the syntactic behavior of definite and indefinite specific NPs, which may appear in the position as the complement of V or in a specifier of *v*P. The analysis will invoke the Specificity Operator, adjoined to the DP of every definite or indefinite specific DO. The operator carries the specificity feature [SPC]. Definite or indefinite specific DOs are therefore enabled to escape Existential Closure as the Specificity Operator moves out of the first Spell-Out Domain and anchors the DO in the domain of the Restrictive Clause.

In section 4.5 I introduced the Specificity Operator, which is adjoined to the structure of DP.³⁹ I will now motivate the operator and account for how an analysis incorporating it can explain the two positions in the syntactic configuration of South Saami a definite or an indefinite specific DO may be in. The definite direct objects included in the data of this study are exemplified by *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’,

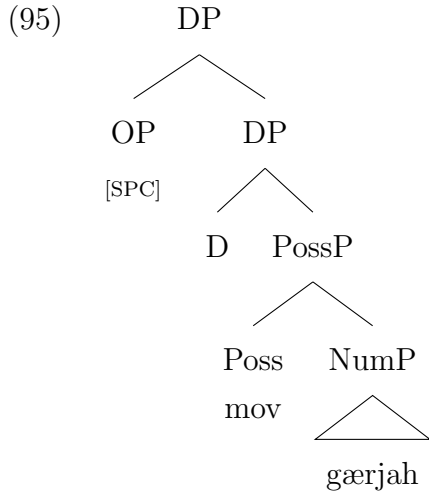
³⁹Operators encoded for specificity are not novel, see Campbell (1996) for argument of a Specificity Operator in the specifier of DP, on purely DP-internal grounds.

without the determiner, and *dejtie gærjide* ‘DET:ACC P book:ACC P’, with the determiner. The relevant parts of the structure of these DPs are represented in (93) and (94). For a fully articulated structure of DP, see example (90) in section 4.5.

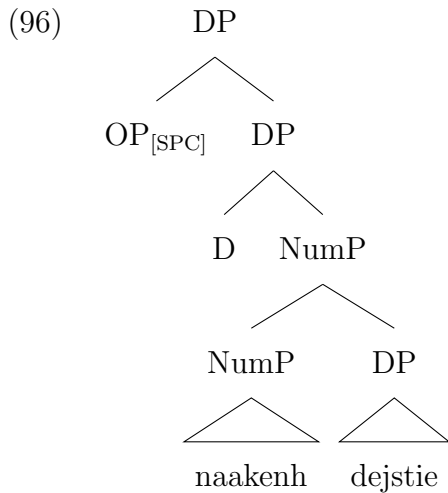


The projections included in the structures are present in every definite or indefinite specific DO; the Specificity Operator is adjoined to the DP in every definite or indefinite specific DO.⁴⁰ The Specificity Operator carries the specificity feature [SPC], while the head D carries [DEF]. According to Enç (1991), every definite DO is also specific (see further section 4.3.2), meaning that specificity is automatically licensed as a consequence of D being definite. The Specificity Operator can also be licensed when D is indefinite, which leads to an indefinite specific NP. The two types of indefinite specific NPs included in the data of the study are represented in (95) and (96). The structure of the possessed partitive *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ is given in (95).

⁴⁰For an analogy, see Sportiche (1988) on adjoined floating quantifiers.



The other type of indefinite specific DO is the overt partitive like for instance *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P 3P:ELT P’, which has a similar structure as in (95), but with no PossP and with the pronoun ‘*dejstie* ‘3P:ELT P’ right-adjoined to the structure.



I will now illustrate how movement of the Specificity Operator can account for the syntactic configurations of South Saami DOs. Recall that any of the four types of definite and indefinite DOs can remain in-situ in their base-generated positions as the complement of V, thus following a VP-adverbial. This order is illustrated in (97) with a definite DO:

- (97) Manne sneehpeslaakan (dejtie) gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly (DET:ACC P) book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)

In the example (97), the DO *gærjide* ‘book:ACC P’ remain in-situ and the base-generated word order where the adverbial precedes the DO is displayed. The DO in (97) is represented in (93) and (94). Indefinite specific DOs can behave like their definite counterparts, illustrated in (98):

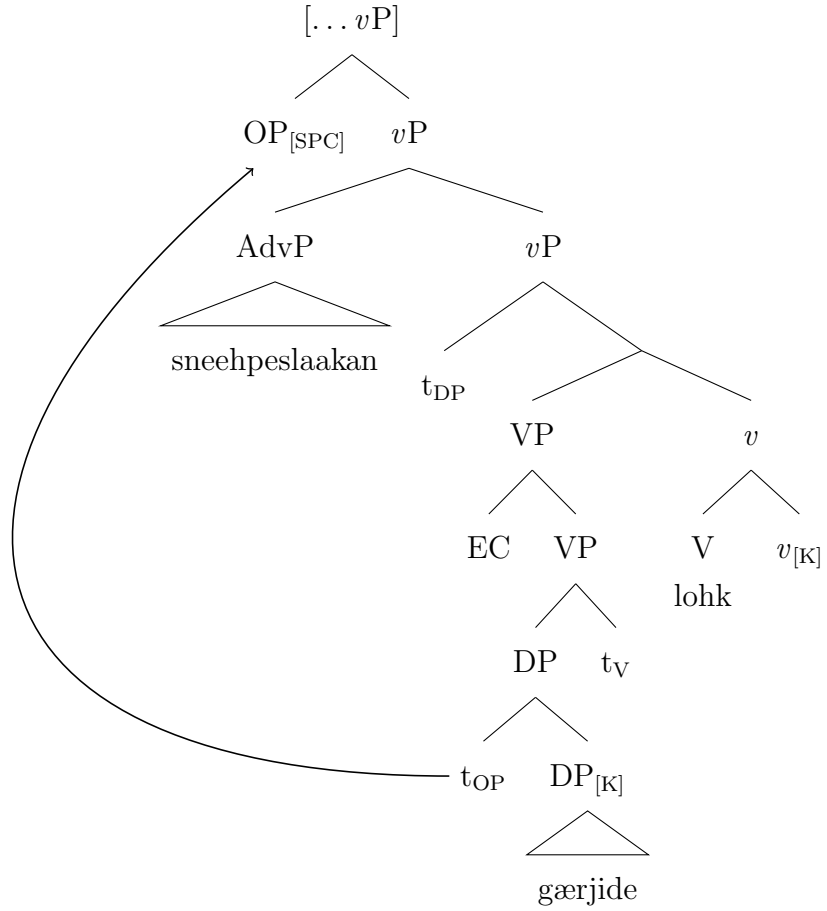
- (98) a. Manne sneehpeslaakan mov gærjah lohkem.
 I quickly my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- b. Manne sneehpeslaakan naakenh dejstie lohkem.
 I quickly some:P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them well.’ (Indefinite specific)

In example (98), the indefinite specific DOs *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (98a) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (98b) follow the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. Indefinite specific DOs thus pattern with their definite counterparts, represented in (97) above. They all may remain in-situ in the VP, as the complement of V.

The movement of the Specificity Operator out of a definite or indefinite specific DP is illustrated in the tree diagram in (99). The DO is specific, resulting in a need to escape Existential Closure, which will bind variables to give them existential quantification under the Mapping Hypothesis. According to the Mapping Hypothesis, specific DO, definite and indefinite alike, are expected to be in the Domain of the Restrictive Clause, unbound by EC. Yet the examples (97) and (98) have DOs that seem to be in the domain of EC.

I propose that an instance of covert movement has taken place. The movement is not feature-driven, but an instance of Quantifier Raising (Fox, 1995), which takes place when raising gives rise to a new scope reading. The Specificity Operator raises in order to take scope over another operator: Existential Closure. The operator moves and anchors the DO in the domain external to Nuclear Scope, into which material from the first Spell-Out Domain is mapped. Consequently, the DP can be interpreted as specific yet overtly follow VP-adverbials like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. This is illustrated in (99), where the DP (*gærjide* in the exposition) can represent any of the structures in examples (93)-(96), that is, definite and indefinite specific DOs:

(99)



EC is adjoined to the VP. Consequently it c-commands all material found in the VP, including the DO, which is therefore in its domain. If the DO is to be interpreted as specific, it needs to escape this domain. The need is satisfied when the Specificity Operator, adjoined to the DP, moves in order to escape the first Spell-Out Domain, where it cannot be interpreted as specific. The Specificity Operator moves to a specifier of vP , stranding the DO it is adjoined to in order to escape the lower Spell-Out Domain. This leads to a new scope reading, in which the Specificity Operator has scope over EC. When the Specificity Operator has moved to vP , the DO is anchored in the domain of the Restrictive Clause, the second Spell-Out Domain, and the derivation will converge at LF. Since the operator is not phonologically realized its displacement is not observable at PF⁴¹; in PF, the

⁴¹This resembles the wh-movement in languages with wh-in-situ, where a wh-operator moves covertly (Hsu, 2010), given that movement in LF (e.g. for quantifiers) can take place (May, 1985).

VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* will precede the DO.⁴² I have now argued that in order for definite or indefinite specific DOs to remain in-situ, yet to escape the first Spell-Out Domain, an instance of raising of the phonologically empty Specificity Operator take place.

However, a definite or an indefinite specific DO can also precede VP-adverbials like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, which indicates that the DO has raised overtly. One example is the direct object in example (100):

- (100) Manne (dejtie) gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I (DET:ACC P) book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I often read the books.’ (Definite)

In (100) the definite DO (*dejtie*) *gærjide* ‘(DET:ACC P) book:ACC P’ is in a position outside of the VP, evident from the fact that it precedes the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan*. An indefinite specific can also precede a VP-adverbial, like in example (101):

Furthermore, Wh-movement, in particular does take place in LF in Chinese (Huang, 1982) and Japanese (Lasnik and Saito, 1984). My analysis would invoke basically the same machinery as Wh-movement in these languages.

⁴²The Specificity Operator moving out of the DP is a violation of the Left Branch Condition Ross (1967, p.207), stating that the leftmost constituent of an NP cannot be extracted (reordered in Ross’s terms). Although I do not go further into the consequences of this, we can note that there are independent evidence of Left Branch Extractions in South Saami, for example (i):

- (i) Akte lij giefies karre, vaenie bovtsh utni.
 one be:3S PST poor man few reindeer:P have:PST 3S
 ‘There was a poor man, who had few reindeers.’ (Bull and Bergsland, 1993, p.9)

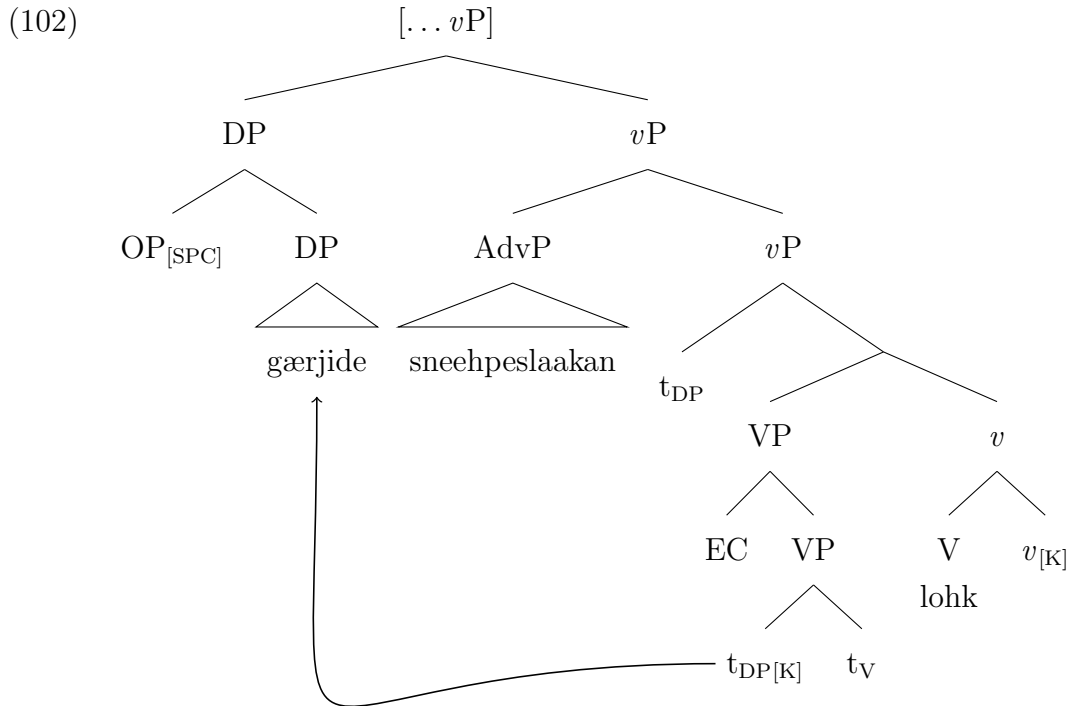
In this example, the numeral *akte* ‘one’ is separated from its nominal complement *giefies karre* ‘poor man’ by the copula verb *lij* ‘be:3S PST’. Another example is (ii):

- (ii) Akte lea vielie riepíe.
 one is:PRS 3S more fox
 ‘There is another (type of) fox.’ (Bull, 1995, p.75)

In this case too *Akte* ‘one’ is extracted to the clause initial position from its place as the leftmost constituent of the DP, stranding the remaining constituents of the DP *vielie riepíe* ‘one fox’. The two examples are instances of the Noteworthiness-type of specificity (Ionin, 2006). However, I do not elaborate on this type of specificity in this thesis. The overview on different types of specificity in von Heusinger (2011) includes the Noteworthiness-type.

- (101) a. Manne mov gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I my book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- b. Manne naakenh dejstie sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I some:P 3P:ELT P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)

In example (101), the indefinite specific DOs *mov gærjah* ‘my book:P’ in (101a) and *naakenh dejstie* ‘some:P they:ELT P’ in (101b) precede the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. The examples in (101), in which the DOs are indefinite specific and therefore have the Specificity Operator adjoined to them, are similar to example (100), in which the DO is definite. Consequently, the three examples can be treated uniformly under the same analysis. In fact, they can be analyzed in the same way as DOs in-situ, with one important difference: they are Pied-piped by the Specificity Operator when it moves to a specifier of *vP*, illustrated in (102):

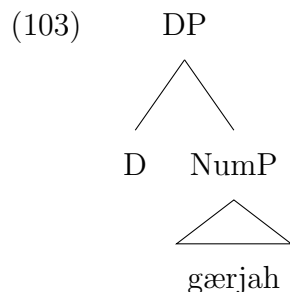


The Specificity Operator Pied-pipes the DP and moves it along to a position at

the edge of *vP*, a position accessible to the higher phase, which is mapped into the Restrictive Clause. The operator moves in order to take scope over Existential Closure and anchor the DO in the domain external to Nuclear Scope, into which material from the first Spell-Out Domain is mapped. Consequently, the DP can be interpreted as specific.

At this point, a recapitulation of the argumentation so far is required. The word order patterns of definite and indefinite specific DOs are identical to each other, taking their ability to precede or follow a VP-adverbial into account. I account for this fact by means of an analysis invoking the Specificity Operator, which is adjoined to every definite and indefinite specific DP. The operator is encoded for specificity and moves obligatorily from the position adjoined to DP to target the specifier of *vP*, Pied-piping or stranding the DP. The movement of the Specificity Operator is scope related; the Specificity Operator must move to take scope over Existential Closure in order for the derivation to converge at LF. When the operator moves alone and strands the DO in the VP the result is covert movement. When the operator Pied-pipes the DP, overt movement takes place.

In contrast to definite and indefinite specific DPs, indefinite nonspecific DPs, e.g. *gærjah* ‘book:P’, has the structure given in (103), where the Specificity Operator is absent, since the *discourse index* of such a DP is indefinite.

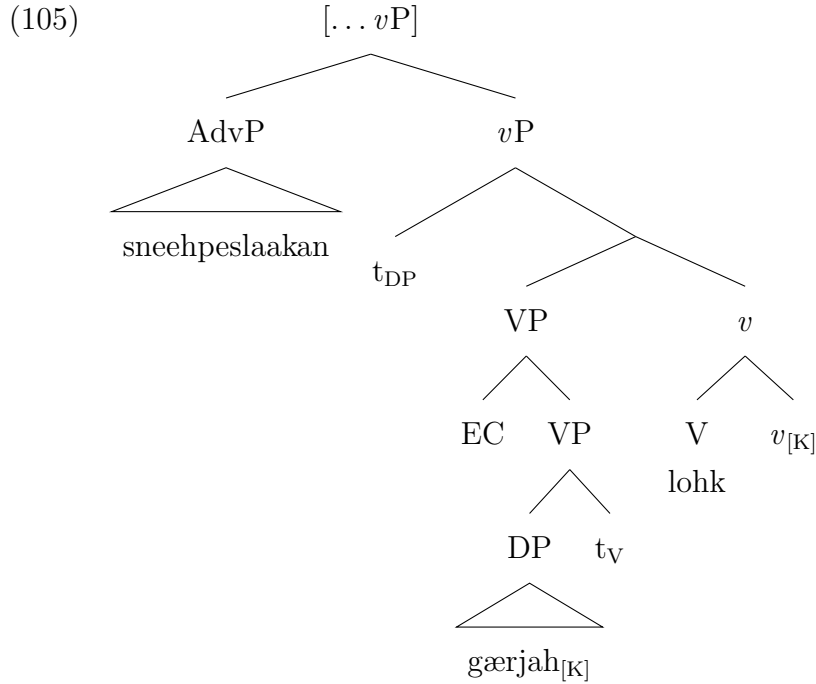


The absence of the operator has consequences for the distributional properties of indefinite nonspecific DOs. In contrast to definite and indefinite specific DOs, nonspecific DOs exhibit a more restrictive word order, obligatorily surfacing in a position adjacent to the verb, following VP-adverbials, like in (104):

- (104) a. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
 I quickly book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

- b. *Manne gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

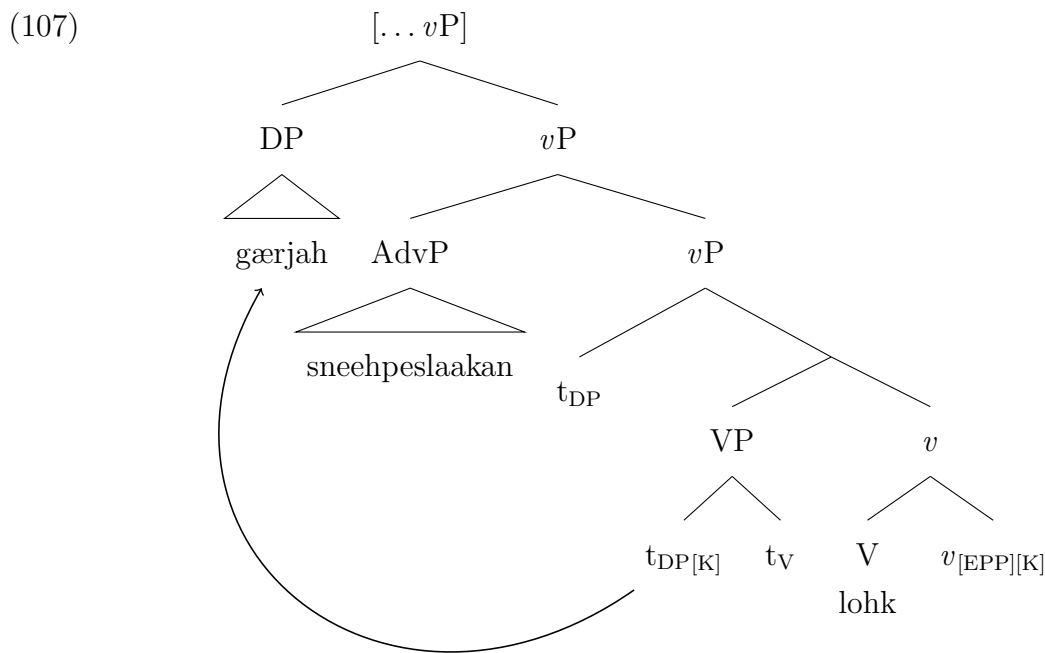
In example (104a), the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ carries only the plural suffix *-h* and is found in its base-generated position internal to the VP, as the complement of V, following the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. In a position where the indefinite nonspecific DO instead precedes the adverbial, like in example (104b), the example becomes ungrammatical. We can conclude that there is a difference between indefinite specific DOs and their nonspecific counterparts. A core feature of my analysis is the fact that the Specificity Operator is not adjoined to indefinite nonspecific DOs like *gærjah* ‘book:P’. In contrast to definite DOs and indefinite specific DOs, indefinite nonspecific DOs remain in-situ and are bound by Existential Closure, preventing them from taking a discourse referent; therefore, the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ is nonspecific and existential. The tree structure in (105) shows that the DO is in the domain of EC.



Now that I have presented my analysis of the crucial data of in the study, it is worth pointing out that under contrastive focus, the syntactic configuraton of the DO in (104b) can be grammatical. Consider (106):

- (106) Manne GÆRJAH sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
 ‘I often read BOOKS.’

In contrast to (104a), where the DO *gærjah* ‘book:P’ is in the VP-internal position as the complement of V, the DO has moved across the adverbial in (106), evident from the fact the adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’ follows the DO. Analyzing the intonation of the participants in the study, uttering examples like (104b), it turns out that the indefinite nonspecific DO under study always carries contrastive Focus in these examples.



Take again into account the proposal of Chomsky (2001). An EPP-feature may be inserted on the *v*-head only if a certain condition holds. The movement the EPP-feature will trigger must have an effect on the outcome. The outcome is that the DO will bear contrastive focus. The grammaticality of (106) can therefore be explained as a result of Focus-driven movement. The DO GÆRJAH ‘book:P’ moves across the adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’, driven by the EPP-feature on *v*, as illustrated in (107).

I will not investigate the reasons behind this movement further here, but see e.g. Miyagawa (1997) on the lack of optionality in the, at first glance, seemingly free word order in Japanese and Westergaard (2011) for an account of the subject’s position sensitive to Focus and Karimi (2003a, 2005) for an account on Focus-driven movement in Persian.

5.1.1 Section Summary

In this section, I have presented my analysis of definite, indefinite specific and indefinite nonspecific NPs as direct objects in South Saami. I have argued that definite and indefinite specific NPs have the Specificity Operator adjoined to their DP-level, which anchors them in the domain of the Restrictive Clause, allowing them to take a specific referent, drawn upon from the domain of discourse. The Specificity Operator moves out of the DP to the specifier of *v*P in order to take scope over Existential Closure. When the operator moves, it can Pied-pipe the whole DP, moving it along to a specifier of *v*P, indicated by the DO preceding VP-adverbials. The DP can also be stranded inside VP, as the complement of V and as a consequence it follows VP-adverbials. Indefinite nonspecific do not have the Specificity Operator adjoined to them, and are consequently unable to escape the VP, meaning that they will obligatorily surface adjacent to the verb, unless the DO moves out of the VP for independent reasons, e.g. Focus.

5.2 Dependent Case in Sakha

A recent analysis of DOM is presented in Baker and Vinokurova (2010), incorporating the theoretical insights of Diesing (1992). Baker and Vinokurova draw upon two mechanism of case assignment in their analysis of the case system of Sakha⁴³, *case-by-agree* (Chomsky, 2000, 2001) and a version of Dependent Case (Marantz, 1991). They propose that nominative and genitive in Sakha belong to the agree-type and that accusative and dative belong to the dependent-type. I will focus on accusative.

⁴³A Turkic language, also known as Yakut, spoken in the eastern part of the Russian Federation (Lewis et al., 2015).

In Sakha, a definite DO is marked with accusative morphology, whereas an indefinite nonspecific DO is not, as illustrated in (108):

- (108) a. Erel kinigeni atyylasta
 Erel book:ACC buy:PST 3S
 ‘Erel bought the book.’ (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.599)
- b. Erel kinige atyylasta
 Erel book buy:PST 3S
 ‘Erel bought a book/books.’ (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.601)

In (108a), the direct object *kinige-ni* ‘book-ACC’ has a definite reading, since it carries the accusative suffix. In contrast, the DO *kinige* ‘book’ in (108b) lacks the accusative suffix and takes an indefinite nonspecific reading. This is a typical instance of DOM.

In addition to definite direct objects, indefinite specific direct objects in Sakha carry accusative morphology under DOM, as illustrated in (109):

- (109) Min saharxaj sibekki(ni) ügreetim.
 I:NOM yellow flower:(ACC) buy:PST 1S
 ‘I picked (the/a certain) yellow flower(s).’ (Vinokurova, 2005, p.322)

In (109), the indefinite nonspecific DO *sibekki* ‘flower’ refers to any flower when lacking the accusative *-ni*, but is definite or indefinite specific when the accusative suffix is present.⁴⁴

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) show another difference between definite or indefinite specific DOs on the one hand and indefinite nonspecific DOs on the other, apart from the presence or absence of accusative morphology. The two types of DOs also differ in respect to word order, as illustrated in (110):

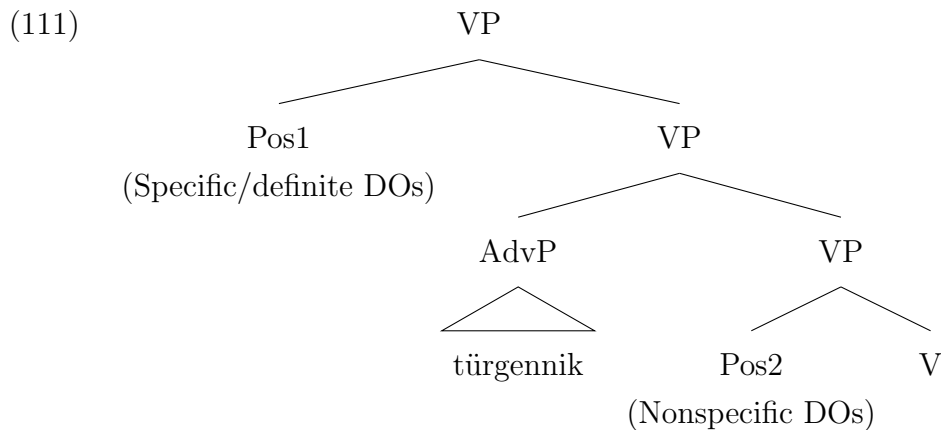
- (110) a. Masha salamaaty türgennik siete.
 Masha porridge:ACC quickly eat:PST.3S
 ‘Masha ate the porridge quickly.’
 (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.602)

⁴⁴See further the discussion in Eng (1991) on the specificity of examples with *a certain* and similar lexical items in Turkish. Hornstein (1984) has also discussed *a certain* and similar adjectives, although he does not mention specificity explicitly.

- b. *Masha *türgennik salamaaty* siete.
 Masha quickly porridge:ACC eat:PST.3S
 ‘Masha ate the porridge quickly.’ (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.602)

A definite DO, like *salamaaty* ‘porridge:ACC’ in example (110a), precedes the adverbial *türgennik* ‘quickly’ and is obligatorily marked with accusative morphology. An indefinite nonspecific DO, like *salamaat* ‘porridge’ in (110b), follows the adverbial and is obligatorily lacking accusative, unless focussed.

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue that a DO preceding the adverbial *türgennik* ‘quickly’, such as *salamaaty* ‘porridge:ACC’ in example (110a), is at the edge of VP or higher. In contrast, a DO following the adverbial *türgennik* ‘quickly’, such as *salamaat* ‘porridge’ in example (110b), remains in-situ in the VP, where the DO *salamaat* ‘porridge’ follows the adverbial *türgennik* ‘quickly’.⁴⁵ This is illustrated in (111)



The accusative suffix *-y* is obligatory for a DO preceding the adverbial, whereas a DO that follows the adverbial obligatorily lacks the accusative suffix. Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue this is a consequence of the fact that Sakha DOs can surface in two positions, one at the edge of VP and the other inside the VP, which brings us to the status of phases in the analysis. In Baker and Vinokurova (2010, p.601), it is stated that it is important for the analysis that the smaller phase be VP and not *v*P. It is claimed that there are controversies whether the smaller

⁴⁵See further section (3.1.2) and references therein.

phase of the clause is VP or *v*P and that they use VP, meaning that the structure in (111) represents the entire first phase.⁴⁶

The fact that argumental NPs can surface in different positions as a result of specificity and definiteness is not novel. A similar analysis of Turkish direct objects is proposed in Diesing (1992), drawing upon Enç (1991). However, Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue that case assignment of accusative is based on a dependency between two argumental NPs found in the same local domain, a case mechanism referred to as Dependent Case, which dates back to Marantz (1991).

5.2.1 Two Parallel Systems of Case Language Internally

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) refine Dependent Case of Marantz (1991) and define a local domain as a phase. Recall that the first phase is assumed to be VP, instead of *v*P as in Chomsky (2000, 2001)⁴⁷. The definition of how Dependent Case is assigned is given in (112).

- (112) a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same VP-phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP1 as dative unless NP2 has already been marked for case.
- b. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative unless NP1 has already been marked for case.

(112) states that only argumental NPs compete for Dependent Case. The local domain, defined as a phase, corresponds to Diesing's (1992) domains, where the Restrictive Clause corresponds to the CP-phase and the Nuclear Scope to the VP-phase.

The conditions on Dependent Case defined in (112) can explain why definite and indefinite specific DOs in Sakha obligatorily carry accusative morphology and precede VP-adverbials, as illustrated in (108a) (109) and (110a), and why indefinite

⁴⁶Baker and Vinokurova (2010) further claim that it would be possible to use the Spell-Out Domain instead of the phase as the local domain, like in my analysis presented in section 5.1, where the *v*P is the smaller phase.

⁴⁷The local domain was defined as the c-commanding domain of the V+I-head in Marantz (1991)

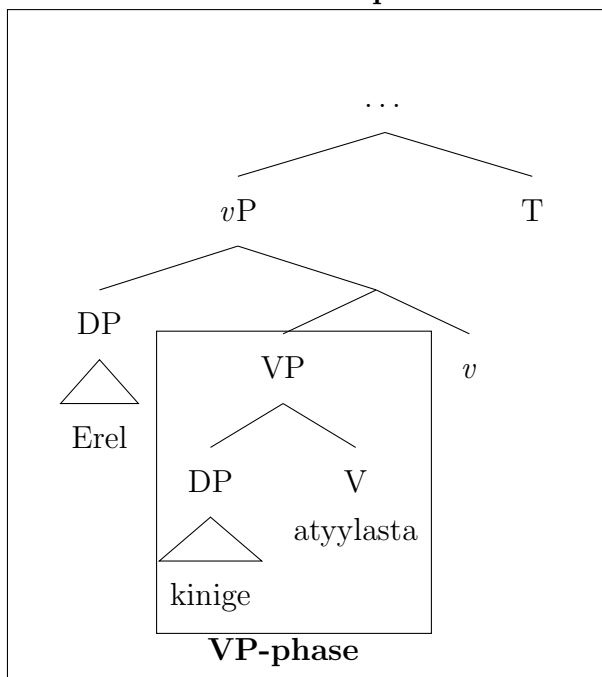
nonspecific DOs do not carry accusative morphology and follow the VP-adverbial, as shown in (108b), (109) and (110b).

The representation of (108a) is given in (114). The Spell-Out Domain of the VP-phase is marked by a box, as is the Spell-Out Domain of the CP-phase, covering the entire tree. After the Spell-Out of the VP-phase, the edge of VP is still accessible for the CP-phase. The NP *kinige* ‘book’ is located at the edge of the VP and consequently the local domain of the CP-phase contains two argumental NPs, the subject *Erel* and the DO *kinige* ‘book’. The higher of these two is the subject *Erel*, located in the specifier of *v*P. The lower is the DO *kinige* ‘book’. This calls (112b) into action, which applies to a phase (as opposed to (112a), that only applies to the VP-phase)). The condition in (112b) is set to assign the lower of the two NPs with accusative and consequently the DO surface as *kinige-ni* ‘book:ACC’.

In example (108b), the indefinite nonspecific DO *kinige* ‘book’ does not carry accusative. (108b) is illustrated by the tree in (113). In each of these two phases in (108b), there is only one argumental NP. In the CP-phase, the subject *Erel* is the only argumental NP and in the VP-phase, the DO *kinige* ‘book’ is the only argumental NP. None of these NPs bear any case marker, as both conditions in (112a) and (112b) require the two NPs to be in the same phase in order to assign Dependent Case. Since these conditions do not hold in this case, indefinite nonspecific DOs are not case-marked.

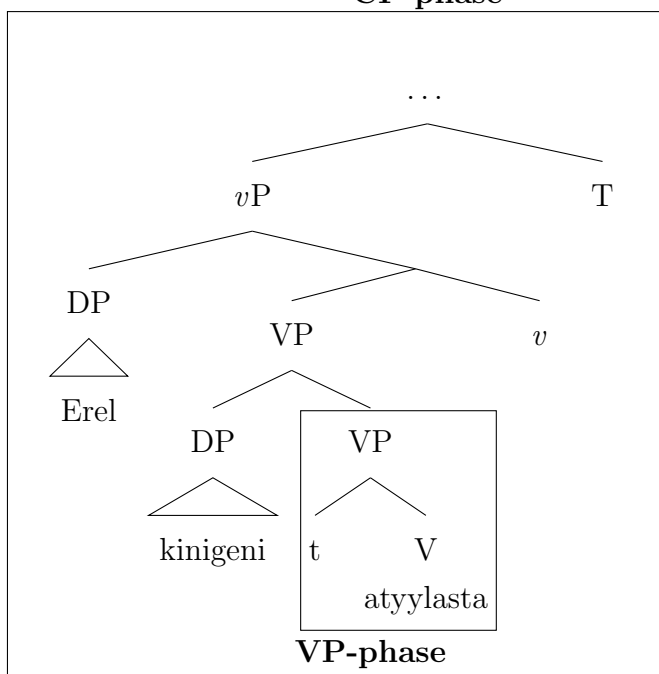
(113)

CP-phase



(114)

CP-phase



5.2.2 A Comparison of the Two Analyses

In both South Saami and Sakha, indefinite nonspecific DOs remain in a position adjacent to the verb. By contrast, definite DOs exhibit varying behavior in the two languages. Consider the South Saami definite DO in example (115):

- (115) a. Manne dejtjie gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 I DEM:ACC P book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
 'I often read the books.' (Definite)
- b. Manne sneehpeslaakan dejtjie gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly DET:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 'I read the books quickly.' (Definite)

In (115), the definite and accusative case marked DO *dejtie gærjide* ‘DET:ACC P book:ACC P’ may both precede and follow a VP-adverbial like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. However, this is not the case of definite DOs in Sakha. Compare (115) to (116), which illustrates a definite DO in Sakha:

- (116) a. Masha salamaaty türgennik siete.
Masha porridge:ACC quickly eat:PST.3S
'Masha ate the porridge quickly.'
(Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.602)
- b. *Masha türgennik salamaaty siete.
Masha quickly porridge:ACC eat:PST.3S
'Masha ate the porridge quickly.'
(Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.602)

In (116), the definite and accusative case marked DO *salamaaty* ‘porridge:ACC’ can precede but not follow the VP-adverbial *türgennik* ‘quickly’. The two examples (115) and (116) show that South Saami and Sakha accusative marked DOs differ in how they distribute. The South Saami DOs are free to appear in their base-generated position as well as in the VP-external position. In Sakha, accusative marked DOs obligatorily move from their base-generated position to a VP-external position, thus preceding VP-adverbials.

The South Saami facts pose a problem for the analysis invoking Dependent Case. In (115b), the accusative marked DO *dejtie gærjide* ‘DET:ACC P book:ACC P’ remains in-situ in the base-generated position as a the complement of V, evident

from the fact that it follows the VP-adverbial *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. It can thus not have entered the CP-phase and a dependency relation, based on locality, with the subject *Manne* ‘I’ cannot be established. Consequently, the subject and the DO are trapped in their respective phases, disallowing the conditions of Dependent Case. As the definite DO does not enter the same phase as the subject in (115b), the DO can not be assigned accusative case in accordance with the condition on Dependent Case in (112b).

By contrast, the Sakha case is unproblematic for the Specificity Operator analysis proposed in this thesis if one assumes that there is an instance of parametric variation between Sakha and South Saami. Assume that Sakha obeys Ross’s (1967) left Branch Condition, resulting in the Specificity Operator to consistently Pied-pipe its DP, meaning that every instance of operator movement results in the DO raising to the landing site of the Specificity Operator, the specifier of *vP*.

5.3 Extending the Analysis

This section is dedicated to extending the proposed analysis to cover data from languages other than South Saami. I will in particular focus on Turkish (Enç, 1991; von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005).

In contrast to South Saami, where definiteness is a condition on DOM, there are languages such as Turkish, which have DOM, but distribute object marking to include indefinite specific DOs as well as definite DOs. Consequently, only indefinite nonspecific DOs are unmarked under DOM in Turkish.

Definite direct objects in Turkish are illustrated by example (117):

- (117) a. Zeynep {*adami/o masayi*} gördü.
 Zeynep the-man:ACC/ that table:ACC saw
 ‘Zeynep saw the man/that table.’ (Enç, 1991, p.9)
- b. *Zeynep {*adam/o masa*} gördü.
 Zeynep the-man/that table saw
 ‘Zeynep saw the man/that table.’ (Enç, 1991, p.9)

In (117a), the definite DO *adami* ‘the-man:ACC’/ *o masayi* ‘that table:ACC’ carries accusative morphology, which the DO *adam* ‘the-man’/ *o masa* ‘that table’ in

the ungrammatical example (117b) lack. Comparing (117a) and (117b), we can conclude that definite NPs are obligatorily marked under DOM.

In addition to definite DOs, which are marked under DOM, indefinite specific DOs are marked under DOM as well, as illustrated by the partitive DO in (118). The context provided for the two examples in (118) consists of a set defined as *several children*. The two examples (118a) and (118b) differ minimally considering the presence of accusative morphology on the DO:

- (118) Odama birkaç çocuk girdi
 my-room:DAT several child entered.
 ‘Several children entered my room’
- a. Ik kizi tanıyordum.
 two girl:ACC know:1S
 ‘I know two girls.’
- b. Ik kız tanıyordum.
 two girl know:1S
 ‘I know two girls.’ (Enç, 1991, p.6)

In (118a) the DO *kizi* ‘girl:ACC’ has the accusative suffix *-i*. This causes the DO to be interpreted as an indefinite specific. The two girls are included in the set of children established in the context. In (118b), on the other hand, the denotation of *kız* ‘girl’ is two entities *girl* external to the set established in the context. The DO in (118a) is thus indefinite specific and the DO in (118b) is indefinite nonspecific.

We can conclude that Turkish has DOM, but that its nature differs from South Saami. In South Saami only definite DOs are marked under DOM, while in Turkish indefinite specific DOs are included in the categories that are marked under DOM. DOM in Turkish is further studied by von Heusinger and Kornfilt (2005), pointing out that accusative case marking is a reliable specificity marker when the DO immediately precedes the verb. Other positions of the clause are accessible to definite DOs, like *çay* ‘tea: ACC’ in (119a), and to indefinite specific DOs, but not (more than to a limited extent) to indefinite nonspecific DOs like *çay* ‘tea’ in (119b).

- (119) a. Bizim evde çayı her zaman Aytül yapar.
 our house: LOC tea: ACC always Aytül make:AOR
 ‘Aytül always makes the tea in our family.’

 (von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005, p.11)
- b. * Bizim evde çay her zaman Aytül yapar.
 our house: LOC tea always Aytül make:AOR
 Intended reading: ‘Aytül always makes the tea in our family.’

 (von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005, p.11)

structurally higher than that of indefinite NPs. Definite and indefinite specific NPs can raise into the second Spell-Out Domain (to the specifier of vP or higher). However, they can also remain in-situ as the complement of V . I argue that this ability is due to the Specificity Operator, adjoined to the DP of any definite and indefinite specific NP. The Specificity Operator will raise and target the specifier of vP in order to scope over Existential Closure, which is adjoined to VP. When the Specificity Operator takes scope over EC, the DO is anchored in the domain of the Restrictive Clause, the second phase. The Specificity Operator has the ability to either Pied-pipe or strand the DP it is adjoined to. If Pied-piping happens, an instance of overt movement takes place and the DO surfaces to the left of a VP-adverbial. If the DP is stranded, the DO will surface to the right of a VP-adverbial as an instance of covert movement.

Thereafter, I have accounted for indefinite nonspecific DOs. This type of DOs lack the Specificity Operator. Consequently indefinite nonspecific DOs cannot escape the first Spell-Out Domain and the variable they introduce is therefore bound by EC, which gives them an existential interpretation.

I have also discussed the Dependent Case theory proposed in Baker and Vinokurova (2010). I argue that this theory fails to capture the South Saami data, but that the analysis involving the Specificity Operator can capture DOM in Sakha. Finally, I have extended the analysis to a limited data set from Turkish. Based on this data, I argue that the analysis proposed in this thesis can capture DOM in Turkish as well.

Chapter 6

Concluding Remarks

This final chapter concludes the thesis and has the following outline: in section 6.1, I conclude the discussion of the topics discussed throughout the thesis as well as summarizes the findings of the study. In section 6.2, I present questions raised by the study that call for more research. Finally, in section 6.3, I present implications other than the purely theoretical.

6.1 Conclusions

In this thesis, a syntactic analysis of Differential Object Marking in South Saami was presented. The phenomenon was described in terms of definiteness and specificity and showed that definite DOs in the plural carry accusative morphology, which indefinites do not. I therefore argued that definiteness is a necessary condition on DOM. However, I also discussed a displacement process, in which specific DOs, both definite and indefinite, can move out of the VP and into the *v*P. The fact that indefinite specific DOs on the one hand pattern with their definite counterparts, by surfacing in the specifier of *v*P, but on the other hand pattern with indefinite nonspecific DO, by only carrying plural morphology, brings us to the conclusion that DOM and the displacement are not directly related. Based on the fact that there are languages in which DOM includes specific DOs, for example Turkish, Persian and Sakha, it might seem appealing to argue that DOM arises when the object moves from a position inside the VP, to a higher position, in

which its case features can be valued or for other reasons. Such an analysis involves the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing, 1992), which predicts that specific NPs obligatorily move out of the VP, which is mapped into the Nuclear Scope, the domain in which only an indefinite reading of the NP is possible, and into the *v*P, the domain of the Restrictive Clause, in which a specific reading is obligatory. In fact, such an analysis gives rise to a prediction that every specific NP will be found in a specifier of *v*P or possibly higher. The same prediction arises from the conditions on EPP-features in Chomsky (2001), arguing that *v* is equipped with such a feature when it has an effect on the outcome, such as making a specific interpretation obligatory in the EPP-position. This prediction is problematic when taking South Saami direct objects into account. I have showed that these DOs can surface in-situ in the VP as well as in a specifier of *v*P, based on the fact that they can both precede and follow VP-adverbials like *sneehpeslaakan* ‘quickly’. Therefore I have not pursued the argument of Chomsky (2001), but instead made use of the Mapping Hypothesis and proposed that an instance of covert movement takes place when a definite or indefinite specific NP seems to surface in-situ in the VP. The reason behind the possible displacement process of any specific NP, including both definite and indefinite specific NPs, but not indefinite nonspecific NPs, is that such NPs have a Specificity Operator adjoined to them. This operator carries the feature [SPC] and raises into *v*P to escape Existential Closure. I explain the fact that a definite or an indefinite specific DO does not obligatorily move out of VP as an instance of covert movement. The operator moves alone to *v*P, in order to take scope over Existential Closure and consequently anchor the DO in the domain of the Restrictive Clause. The operator movement is obligatorily, and when it moves it may Pied-pipe the DO it is adjoined to. I argue that languages with obligatory movement of the DO results from the fact that Pied-piping is obligatory. Sakha is such a language. However in languages such as South Saami, Pied-piping is not obligatory, resulting in a word order pattern in which the DO may both precede and follow VP-adverbials.

6.2 Future Research

The analysis has potential to unify at least two approaches to the phenomenon specificity, given that I incorporate the partitivity approach of Enç (1991) with that of Diesing (1992) invoking the operator Existential Closure (EC). My own innovation, the Specificity Operator takes part in a scopal interaction with EC. Enç explicitly claims that the aim of her study is to define specificity regardless of scope relation. Yet my analysis can possibly be the seed to a unification of Enç's proposal and the scopal specificity discussed in e.g. Abbott (1995).

A question not addressed in this thesis concerns the scopal interaction between a DP with the Specificity Operator adjoined to it and the VP-adverbial. My analysis predicts that the DO (or actually the operator) will have scope over the adverbial regardless of their linear order in PF. If the adverbial precedes the DO in PF, the Operator will nevertheless be able to take scope over the adverbial. If further research in South Saami, or other languages with similar properties regarding object positions, can show that this is indeed the case, this would support the analysis presented in this thesis.

A prediction rising from the analysis presented in this thesis concerns South Saami in particular. An argument put forth in the thisis is that DOM and the displacement process to *v*P are unrelated and simply happen to correlate to a great extent in certain languages, such as Turkish and Persian. The argument gives rise to the prediction that South Saami DOs in the singular will show the same behavior regarding their distribution in the clausal domain. The study has showed that DOs in the plural can surface both in the position as specifier of *v*P and as the complement of VP. This is expected to carry over to the singular, despite the fact that DOs in the singular do not exhibit DOM, but case marking across-the-board.

Chapter 5 briefly discussed how movement driven by Focus can explain the cases in which an indefinite nonspecific DO seems to move out of VP. The proposed analysis, following Chomsky (2001), in which an EPP-feature is inserted into *v* in order to let the DO move to the specifier of *v*P and possibly further to a focussed position. Further investigation into this type of movement can possibly shed more light on the relatively free word order of South Saami that I have only touched

upon in this thesis.

Another question only briefly touched upon in this thesis regards the realization of morphological case. An issue directly relating to the proposal herein concerns the nature of specific wh-questions, such as *which book*, argued to be D-linked (Pesetsky, 1987, 2000). Enç (1991) argues that D-linking and specificity are in fact different terms of the same concept. Given this line of argument, South Saami is an interesting case, in which the same case, accusative plural, which I argue is contingent on the definiteness of the DO, shows up on NPs of other grammatical functions, not only on direct objects. An example is given in (120), in which the accusative plural up on an adjunct that modifying the subject wh-phrase:

- (120) Mij gærjide daate?
what book:ACC P this
'Which book is this.'

The wh-phrase *Mij gærjide* 'which book:ACC P' resembles an overt partitive construction, as discussed in section 4.3. In example (120), *gærjide* book:ACC P constitutes the full set that the partitive *mij* 'what' is a subset of. This type of partitive wh-question raises further questions about the feature specification of the morpheme realized as /idie/.

6.3 Further Implications of the Study

In addition to theoretical linguists, the findings of the study can appeal to a broader audience as well. For instance, the theoretical findings can be applied within the field of language acquisition and form the base of a study of children acquiring South Saami as their first or second language.

The findings can also be of use in language education. The case form of the direct object in the plural every second language learner of the language, especially from the limited teaching material and grammar descriptions available for South Saami today. Given the fact the the empirical material of the study is based on native speakers' innate knowledge of their mother tongue, the insight of the study can represent a new way of thinking about their own language, based on their own intuitions. Furthermore, this thesis will be of great value for teachers, students

and others interesting in the South Saami language. The empirical findings can be included in teaching material aimed for students of all ages in order to give clearer picture of the syntactic structure of the language and base the education in South Saami. If the South Saami language is to survive and develop, revitalization is necessary and in a revitalization context, access to adequate grammar descriptions is crucial. The thesis will be useful for the development of such material as well.

Sammanfattning

Den här studien är en undersökning av differentiell objektsmarkering (DOM) i sydsamiska, ett fenomen där det direkta objektets (DO) kasus varierar mellan akkusativ och nominativ, som exempel (1) visar:

- (1) a. Manne gærjide lohkem.
jag bok:ACK P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser böckerna.' (Definit DO)
- b. Manne gærjah lohkem.
jag bok:P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser böcker.' (Indefinit icke-specifik DO)

Det direkt objektet *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' i (1a) bär akkusativ plural-suffixet *-idie*, medan det direkta objektet *aahkah* 'bok:P' i (1b) endast bär pluralsuffixet *-h*. Den här typen av kasusalternation är avhängig av definitthet, vilket undersöks närmare i den här avhandlingen. Differentiell objektsmarkering förekommer i en mängd språk, bl.a. turkiska (Enç, 1991), persiska (Bossong, 1985; Karimi, 2003b), spanska (von Heusinger och Kaiser, 2005; Torrego 1998) hebreiska (Danon, 2006), hindi (Mohan, 1990; Mahajan, 1990) och kannada (Lidz, 2006).

Differentiell objektsmarkering i sydsamiska har inte systematiskt undersökts tidigare, men den deskriptiva litteraturen har till viss del beskrivit kasusalternationen, t.ex. Bergsland (1946, 1994); Magga och Mattsson Magga (2012); Wickman (1954). Syftet med studien är att beskriva DOM i sydsamiska och presentera en syntaktisk analys av de dispositionella egenskaperna hos de direkta objekten i pluralis.

Sydsamiska är ett språk som talas till största del i den södra delen av Saepmie, det samiska området. Det sydsamiska områdets norra gräns utgörs av Umeälven i Västerbottens län. Området sträcker sig söderut till Dalarnas län i Sverige och

Hedmark fylke i Norge och vidare ut till både den svenska och den norska kusten. Talarna är relativt få och språkkunskaperna är högre hos den äldre delen av den sydsamiska befolkningen. Språket förs till viss del över från generation till generation, men hos många sydsamer har språkbytesprocessen gått så långt att språket inte längre kan traderas den naturliga vägen. Därför har en revitaliseringsrörelse uppstått, som är grundad hos samiska organisationer, hos Sametingen och framför allt hos en del samiska familjer som strävar efter att återta sitt förlorade språk.

Då språkkunskaperna är bättre hos den äldre delen av den sydsamiska befolkningen har det fallit sig naturligt att inkludera individer i den här gruppen i studien. Alla sju deltagare i studien är över 60 år gamla och har pratat sydsamiska som barn och i sitt vuxna liv. Deras språkkunskaper är således goda.

Studien är utförd inom det teoretiska ramverket generativ grammatik (Chomsky, 1965, 1975, 1981, 1995). Generativ grammatik är en nativistisk teori som utgår från att människan har en medfödd språkförmåga, som sedan utvecklas beroende på vilka språk en människa exponeras för under sina tidiga levnadsår. Eftersom deltagarna i studien har exponerats för sydsamiska från födseln och själva talat språket sedan barndomen har de en stark grammatisk kompetens inom sydsamiska, som kan bidra till värdefulla kunskaper om sydsamiskans syntaktiska struktur. Den föreliggande studien bygger därför metodologiskt på deltagarnas omdömen om olika syntaktiska strukturers acceptabilitet.

Studien omfattar 32 olika testmeningar, som sedan deltagarna har gett sina omdömen om. Meningarna presenterades för deltagarna i tal och ibland även i skrift. Deltagarna har också vid vissa tillfällen spelats in då de yttrat vissa av testmeningarna, t.ex. vid de tillfällen då det blev viktigt att kunna avgöra om någon och i så fall vilken konstituent som bär kontrastivt fokus. Deltagarna har genomgående fått ge sina omdömen individuellt.

Testmeningarna i studien har bildats med utgångspunkt i exempel (1). När testmeningarna har bildats har de de direkta objekten delats in efter specifikhet och definithet, vilket innebär att tre kategorier har definierats: definitiva direkta objekt, indefinita specifika direkta objekt samt indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt. Två typer av indefinita specifika nominalfraser har använts: possessiva och overta partitiver.

Det som kännetecknar definitiva nominalfraser är att de är känd information.

Indefinita specifika nominalfraser är delvis känd information eftersom de utgör en delmängd av en referent som är etablerad i diskursen. Indefinita icke-specifika nominalfraser utgör ny information, orelaterad till diskursen. De här tre kategorierna av nominalfraser har kombinerats med andra syntaktiska egenskaper hos satser vid bildandet av testmeningarna. En sådan egenskap är förekomst eller avsaknad av overt kasusmarkering, dvs. om ackusativ pluralsuffixet realiseras på det direkta objektet. Vidare har förekomst eller avsaknad av determinanter eller demonstrativer tagits hänsyn till vid bildandet av testmeningarna. Slutligen har ett direkt objekts syntaktiska placering med hänsyn till ett VP-adverbial också tagits i beaktning, vilket innebär att testmeningar har bildats där ett VP-adverbial som *sneehpeslaakan* 'snabbt' står före eller efter det direkta objektet. Samtliga testmeningar har bedömts av flera deltagare. Jag har även provat att byta ut verbet *lohkedh* 'läsa:INF' mot andra verb och det direkta objektet mot andra nominalfraser än *gærja* 'bok'. Övriga satsdelar i testmeningarna har också varierats för att säkerställa att den data som presenteras i studien går att generalisera till ett större empiriskt material.

Utfallet av acceptabilitetsomdömena visar att ett direkt objekt med suffixet *-idie* enbart kan tolkas definit, vilket illustreras i (2):

- (2) Manne {*gærjide*/**gærjah*} lohkem.
 jag bok:ACK P/bok:P läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser böckerna.' (Definit)

Det direkta objektet *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' utgör känd information, dvs. är nämnd tidigare eller på annat sätt etablerad i diskursen. Det direkta objektet i (2) kan inte ha någon annan tolkning än den definitiva om den definitiva tolkningen är avsedd.

Två typer av indefinita specifika objekt har använts. Den ena typen är en overt partitiv som i (3a) och den andra typen en possessiv partitiv, som i (3b):

- (3) a. Manne mov {*gærjah*/**gærjide*} lohkem.
 jag mina bok:P/bok:ACK P läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser mina böcker.' (Indefinit specifik)
- b. Manne {*naakenh*/?*naakenidie*} dejstie lohkem.
 jag några:P/några:ACK P 3P:ELT P läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser några av dem.' (Indefinit specifik)

Deltagarnas omdömen visar att indefinita specifika DO som *mov gærjah* 'mina

bok:P' och *naakenh dejstie* några:3P 3P:ELT P inte kan bära ackusativsuffixet *-idie*, utan bara pluralsuffixet *-h*. Detsamma gäller för indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt. De har också endast pluralsuffixet, vilket visas i (4):

- (4) Manne {gærjah/*gærjide} lohkem.
jag bok:P/bok:ACK P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser böcker.' (Indefinit icke-specifik)

I (4) visas att det direkta objektet utan ackusativsuffixet måste vara indefinit. Exemplet (4) tar därmed en icke-specifik tolkning där betydelsen av verbet och det direkta objektet innebär en aktivitet av läsning av böcker i allmänhet, som inte avser några specifika böcker. Den bild som framträder av dataframställningen i sin helhet visas i (5):

- (5) Egenskaper hos direkta objekt i plural:

	Def.	Indef. spec.	Indef. icke-spec.
Ackusativ	✓	*	*
Nominativ	*	✓	✓
Förekommer med Dem eller Det	✓	*	*
Står intill verbet	✓	✓	✓
Står separerad från verbet	✓	✓	*

Den teoretiska grunden som avhandlingen vilar på är fasteorin (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). Inom fasteorin där operationerna Merge och Agree används för att derivera satser. Fasteorin innebär också en cyklisk tillämpning av Spell-Out, vilket betyder att en struktur som deriveras överförs till den fonetiska komponenten (PF) och den semantiska komponenten (LF) när lokala domäner som kallas faser är kompletta. Fasernas komplement kallas Spell-Out-domäner (Kratzer och Selkirk, 2007) och blir efter Spell-Out ogenomträngliga och därmed otillgängliga för operationer som äger rum senare i den syntaktiska derivationen. I avhandlingen ges en utförlig presentation av hur exempelmeningen i (6) deriveras.

- (6) Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
jag snabbt bok:P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser böcker snabbt.'

I exempel (6) står det direkta objektet *gærjah* 'böcker:P' efter VP-adverbialet *sneehpeslaakan* 'snabbt'. Att tillämpa operationerna Merge och Agree för att derivera

exempelmeningen låter sig göras utan några problem. Det går också att redogöra det ogrammatiska exemplet (7), där det direkta objektet står före VP-adverbialen *sneehpeslaakan* ‘snabbt’.

- (7) * Manne gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 jag bok:P snabbt läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser böcker snabbt.'

För att ett direkt objekt ska kunna dyka upp i en position före VP-adverbial måste de flytt från sin basgenererade position till en VP-extern position, dvs. en specifierare till *vP*. För att en sådan flytt ska kunna ske måste *v*-huvudet ha ett EPP-särdrag som driver flytten. Om ett sådant särdrag saknas kan det direkta objektet inte stå i någon annan position än som komplement till verbet.

När man istället för indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt, som i (6) och (7), tar definitiva eller indefinita specifika DO i beaktande ser det initialt ut som att den mest grundläggande form av fasteorin kan redogöra även för den typen av DO, som t.ex. (8)

- (8) Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjide lohkem.
 jag snabbt bok:ACK P läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser böckerna.'

I exempel (8) står ett definit direkt objekt efter VP-adverbialet, en ordföljd som kan generaliseras till indefinita specifika direkta objekt med samma acceptabilitetsomdöme. Detsamma gäller exempel (9), där det definitiva direkta objektet står före VP-adverbialet. Dock uppstår ett problem med att bara tillämpa operationerna Merge och Agree när det kommer till exempel (9):

- (9) Manne gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
 jag bok:ACK P snabbt läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser böckerna snabbt.'

I exempel (9) står det definitiva direkta objektet *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' före VP-adverbialet *sneehpeslaakan* och i motsättning till det korresponderande indefinita icke-specifika direkta objektet i exempel (7) är exempel (9) grammatiskt. Definita och indefinita specifika direkta objekt kan alltså både stå före och efter ett VP-adverbial, vilket tyder på att de både kan flytta till *vPs* specifierare eller stå kvar i sin basgenererade position som komplement till verbet, eftersom VP-adverbialet

utgör en fast punkt vid gränsen till VP. För att lösa ett liknande problem med objektsskifte i skandinaviska språk föreslår Chomsky (2001) att ett EPP-särdrag kan läggas till på *v* under förutsättning att den flytt som kommer att drivas av särdraget ger upphov till en ny tolkning av strukturen. Chomsky argumenterar vidare att en sådan ny tolkning är att ett direkt objekt i *v*Ps specifierare måste ha en specifik eller definit tolkning, medan ett direkt objekt i sin basgenererade position måste ha en icke-specifik tolkning. Exempelen som angivits ovan stöder inte den typen av analys, eftersom definitiva och indefinita specifika direkta objekt kan återfinnas i båda positionerna och inte uteslutande måste återfinnas i den strukturellt sett högre positionen. Därför måste den sydsamiska datan förklaras med en annan analys.

Den analys som argumenteras för i den här avhandlingen inbegriper förutom fasteorin en annan viktig teoretisk byggsten, nämligen teorin om definithet och specifikhet i Enç (1991). Teorin bygger på en länk mellan en nominalfras och information som är etablerad i diskursen, dvs. ny och gammal information. Låt exempel (10) introducera en diskursreferent *luhkie gærjah* 'tio bok:P':

- (10) Hællösne luhkie gærjah.
hylla:INE tio bok:P
'Det finns tio böcker i hyllan.'

En definit nominalfras har en referent som finns etablerad i diskursen. För att en nominalfras ska vara definit måste diskursreferenten och nominalfrasens referent vara densamma, dvs. de måste vara koreferentiella och ha samma identitet. Det innebär att det finns en stark länk mellan dem (Enç, 1991). Som ett exempel på en sådan relation, låter vi först exempel (10) uttalas, för att sedan följas av exempel (9), som innefattar ett definit direkt objekt. De tio böckerna som etableras i diskursen i (10) måste vara desamma som refereras till i exempel (9), såvida ingen annan uppsättning av böcker finns i diskursen.

I likhet med definitiva nominalfraser innefattar även indefinita specifika nominalfraser en länk till diskursen, men den länken är svagare då det inte finns en exakt matchning mellan nominalfrasens referent och diskursreferenten. Istället innebär den svaga länken att nominalfrasens referent är inkluderad i diskursreferenten, vilket ger upphov till en partitiv tolkning. Nominalfrasens referent utgör ett undersett till det set som denoteras av diskursreferenten. Det här är fallet för det direkta

objektet i (11):

- (11) Manne naakenh dejstie lohkem.
I några:P 3P:ELT P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser några av dem.' (Indefinit specifik)

Återigen, låt de tio böcker som etableras i diskursen i (10) vara den diskursreferent som det direkta objektet *naakenh dejstie* 'några:P3P:ELT P' refererar till. Tolkningen av det direkta objektet blir då att mellan två och tio av de böcker som finns i hyllan är de som blir lästa. Det är alltså en delmängd av de tio böckerna som blir lästa, vilket innebär att det indefinita specifika direkta objektet i (11) får en partitiv tolkning.

Det som skiljer indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt från de två andra typerna, definitiva och indefinita specifika direkta objekt, är att de inte på något sätt är länkade till en diskursreferent. Istället utgör de en del av predikatet och säger därmed något om typen av aktivitet som verbet denoterar istället för att introducera nya referenter. Låt exempel (12) illustrera detta:

- (12) Manne gærjah lohkem.
jag bok:P läsa:PRS 1S
'Jag läser böcker snabbt.'

I exempel (12) säger det direkta objektet *gærjah* 'bok:P' något om vad läsning som denoteras av verbet *lohkem* 'läsa:PRS 1S' avser. Exemplet introducerar inte böcker i diskursen som kan relateras till en diskursreferent.¹

Enç (1991) formaliserar de här relationerna genom två index, som jag kallar för referensindex och diskursindex. Båda indexen kan ha ett definit eller indefinit värde, vilket ger upphov till fyra kombinationer, varav tre kopplas till var sin typ av nominalfras. Den fjärde kombinationen är omöjlig, eftersom ett definit referensindex automatiskt innebär att diskursindex också är definit. Ett definit värde på referensindex innebär att nominalfrasen är definit, som t.ex. *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' i (9) ovan. Eftersom värdet på diskursindexet för denna NP följer av ett definit värde på referensindexet så är diskursindexet definit. I exempel (11) är värdet på referensindex ett istället indefinit, medan diskursindexet fortfarande är definit

¹Exemplet kan också ta en existentiell tolkning och introducerar ett odefinierat antal böcker i diskursen, men det är då tal om en annan typ av indefinit icke-specifik nominalfras.

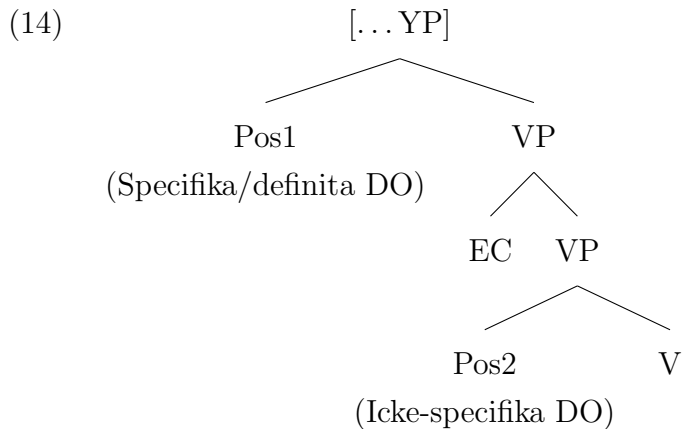
eftersom ett indefinit specifikt objekt som *naaken dejstie* ‘några:P 3P:ELT P’ involverar en länk till en diskursreferent genom ett delmängdsförhållande. Ett indefinit icke-specifikt direkt objekt däremot, som i exempel (12), har ett indefinit värde på både sitt referensindex och sitt diskursindex och är över huvudtaget inte länkat till någon diskursreferent, utan fungerar modifierande till sitt predikat. Relationerna kan sammanfattas i tabellen i (13):

(13)

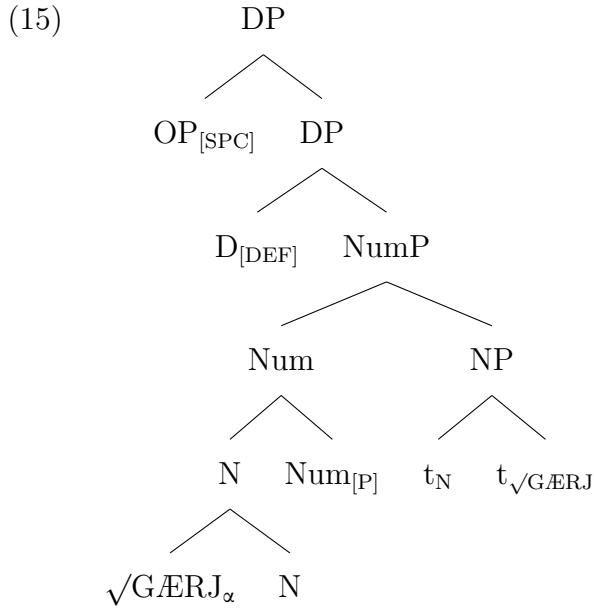
	Diskursindex j_{DEF}	Diskursindex j_{INDEF}
Referensindex i_{DEF}	Definit NP	N/A
Referensindex i_{INDEF}	Indefinit specifik NP	Indefinit icke-specifik NP

En ytterligare byggsten i min analys är mappningshypotesen (Diesing, 1992), som förklarar hur de olika typerna av direkta objekt kopplas till den syntaktiska strukturen. Mappningshypotesen säger att direkta objekt kan tolkas i två positioner. Antingen tolkas de i sin basposition som komplement till verbet, där de måste vara icke-specifika, eller så tolkas de i en högre position där de är specifika (vilket både definitiva och indefinita specifika DO är). Det här innebär att direkta objekt med ett definit diskursindex (definita och indefinita specifika DO) tolkas i den högre positionen medan direkta objekt med ett indefinit diskursindex (indefinita icke-specifika DO) tolkas i den lägre positionen. Var i den syntaktiska strukturen ett direkt objekt befinner sig kan avgöras av huruvida det står före eller efter ett VP-adverbial.

En viktig komponent i Diesings analys är operatoren Existential Closure (EC), som opererar över en domän som benämns som Nuclear Scope. Jag menar att den här domänen innefattar den första Spell-Out-domänen, dvs, VP. Den andra Spell-Out-domänen, som ligger utanför EC:s räckvidd kallas för Restrictive Clause. Grundtanken i Diesing (1992) är att nominalfraser inte är existentiellt kvantifierbara i sig själva utan blir det först när de binds av EC. Indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekt återfinns i VP, där de binds av EC och därigenom blir existentiellt kvantifierbara. Definita och indefinita specifika DO befinner sig utanför EC:s domän, i någon högre projektion vi kan kalla för YP, och uttrycker således specificitet. Det här illustreras i exempel (14):



Hur faller då mappningshypotesen ut i sydsamiska? Faktum är att förutsägelsen av Diesing (1992) är densamma som den EPP-drivna analys som återfinns i Chomsky (2001), nämligen att definitiva och indefinita specifika DO kommer att återfinnas i *v*Ps specifierare, medan indefinita icke-specifika DO kommer att vara i en VP-intern position. Den förutsägelsen är inte korrekt, eftersom definitiva och indefinita specifika DO kan dyka upp i båda positionerna. Därför behöver vi något mer för att förklara dessa DO:s syntaktiska beteende. Jag argumenterar därför för osynlig flytt av definitiva och indefinita specifika DO till *v*Ps specifierare i de fall där dessa DO verkar ligga kvar som komplement till V. För att göra det behöver vi ta hänsyn till DP:ns interna struktur, för att avgöra hur DP:n är konfigurerad för definithet och specifikhets. Därför ger jag i avhandlingen en analys av den sydsamiska DP:ns inre struktur, baserad på ramverket distribuerad morfologi (Marantz, 1997, och många andra). Jag använder en omarbetad version av den analys som presenteras i Julien (2005), vilket innebär att en DP som *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' har följande syntaktiska struktur. Min består av innovation specifikhetsoperatorn som finns adjungerad till DP:



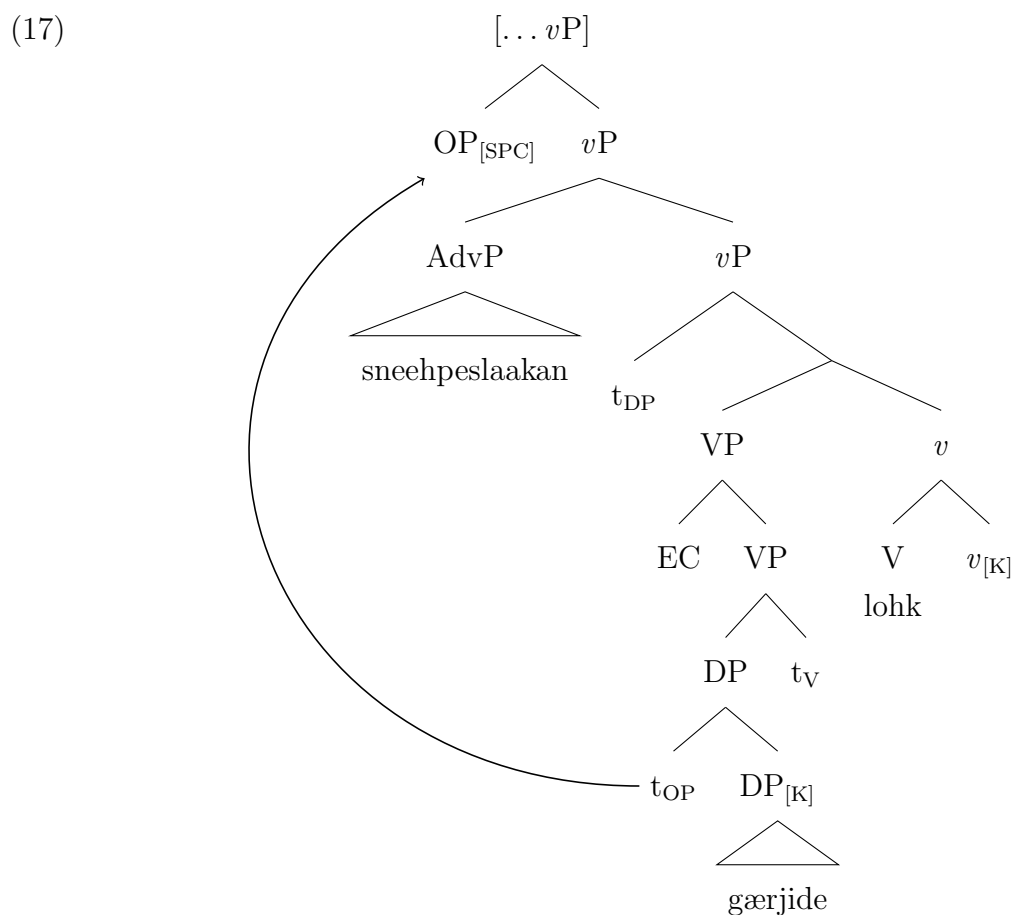
Specifikhetsoperatoren bär särdraget [SPC]. En DP som har det särdraget involverar en länk till en diskursreferent, dvs. dess diskursindex är definit. Konsekvensen blir att både definitiva och indefinita specifika DO har specifikhetsoperatoren adjungerad till sin DP-nivå. Särdraget [DEF] återfinns på D, vilket följer Abney (1987). Det är alltså till D-domänen som både referensindex och diskursindex är kopplade.

Med de komponenter jag nu introducerat är analysen av sydsamiska direkta objekt redo att presenteras. Det är två saker som behöver förklaras. Det första är varför definitiva och indefinita specifika DO kan förekomma i båda objektspositionerna, vilket illustreras med det definitiva DO:et *gærjide* 'bok:ACK P' i exempel (16):

- (16) Manne {gærjide} sneehpeslaakan {gærjide} lohkem.
 jag bok:ACK P snabbt bok:ACK P läsa:PRS 1S
 'Jag läser böckerna.'

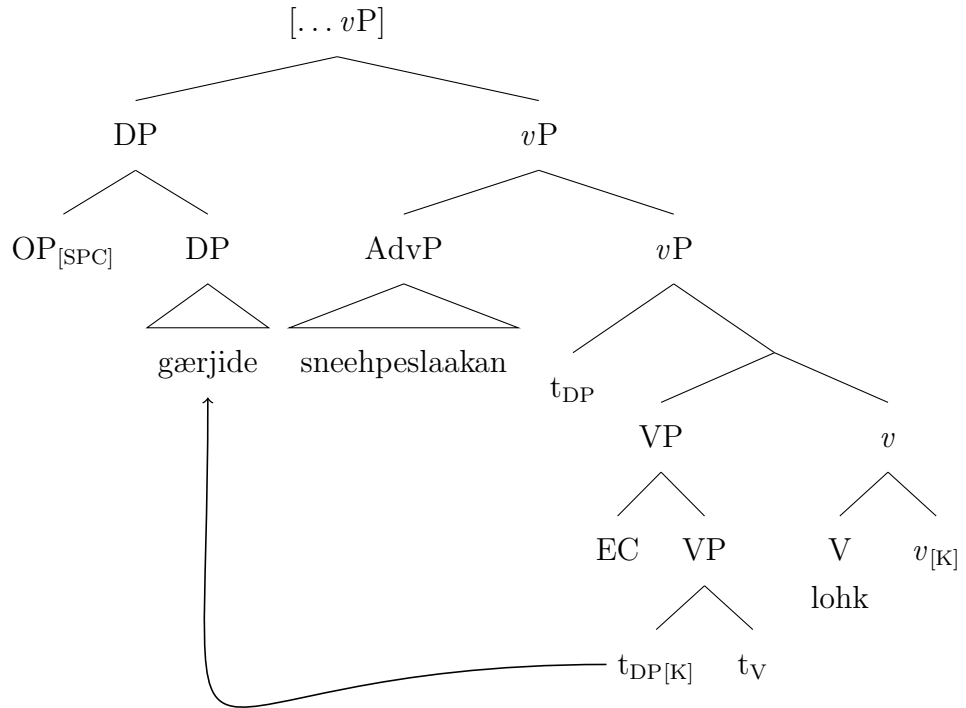
I de fall när det direkta objektet finns i den lägre positionen har specifikhetsoperatoren flyttat ut ur VP, eftersom den måste göra det för att kunna ta en tolkning som innefattar specifikhets. Det innebär att det direkta objektet *gærjide* bok:ACK P' förankras i den domän (Restrictive Clause) som tillåter en specifik tolkning eftersom den är utanför EC:s räckvidd. I PF ligger dock det direkta objektet kvar i en position efter VP-adverbialen *sneehpeslaakan* 'snabbt', vilket innebär att flytten

är osynlig. Detta illustreras i (17)



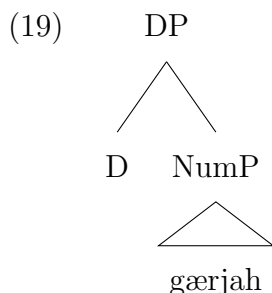
Flytten kan också vara synlig, med resultatet att det direkta objektet kommer att stå före VP-adverbialet *sneehpeslaakan* 'snabbt'. Det som då händer är att medfraktning (Pied-piping) sker då specifikhetsoperatoren drar med sig hela den DP den är adjungerad till vid flytten till *vP*:s specificerare, ut ur VP. Det resulterar i att flytten är synlig, vilket illustreras i (18):

(18)



Det är alltså en kvantifierarinteraktion mellan specifikhetsoperatoren och EC som driver analysen som förklarar varför definitiva och indefinita specifika DO kan förekomma både i den högre objektspositionen och i den lägre.

Det andra som analysen måste kunna förklara är varför indefinita icke-specifika DO inte kan förekomma i den högre objektspositionen, utan bara kan vara i den lägre positionen som komplement till verbet. Förklaringen är att indefinita icke-specifika NP:er inte har specifikhetsoperatoren adjungerade till sin DP-nivå, utan har istället strukturen i (19):



Då de indefinita icke-specifika direkta objekten saknar specifikhetsoperatoren, som genom medfraktning skulle kunna få dem att flytta till vP :s specifierare, kan de inte komma ut ur VP på något sätt. Kom ihåg att det inte heller finns något EPP-särdrag som kan driva den typen av flytt. Därför är definitiva icke-specifika DO fast i Nuclear Scope och den lägre Spell-Out domänen där de binds av EC och följaktligen endast kan ha en icke-specifik tolkning.

Slutligen ställs den föreslagna analysen mot Baker och Vinokurovas (2010) analys av DOM. De argumenterar för Dependent Case i språket Sakha, en analys som inte kan fånga det sydsamiska DO:ets syntaktiska beteende. Å andra sidan visar sig den föreslagna analysen ha potential att kunna fånga de fenomen som Sakha uppvisar. Slutligen utvidgas analysen till en begränsad mängd data från turkiska, som den också verkar kunna fånga. Dock behövs mer forskning om den föreslagna analysens förklaringsvärde vad gäller DOM i dessa och andra språk.

Avhandlings syfte är att ge en teoretisk analys av differentiell objektsmarkering i sydsamiska och de olika positioner olika direkta objekt kan förekomma i. Utöver detta har avhandlingen ett värde för andra fält, till exempel språkinlärning och i synnerhet språkdidaktik. De tillgängliga sydsamiska läromedlen och beskrivningarna behandlar i tämligen knappa ordalag de fenomen som behandlas i avhandlingen. Det är dock tydligt att de direkta objektens kasusform i pluralis är komplicerat för inlärare av språket. I och med att den empiriska grunden för studien bygger på de intuitioner modersmålstalare har av sitt modersmål kan avhandlingen användas för att mer tydligt förklara hur sydsamiska direkta objekt fungerar, vilket har ett värde för inlärare av sydsamiska såväl som modersmålstalarna själva.

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Appendix: Test Sentences

In this appendix I present the full range of test sentences used in the study, according to the categories presented in (20).

- (20) Design of test sentences for definite NPs, indefinite specific NPs and indefinite nonspecific NPs:

	Adv, DO	DO, Adv	+DET	−DET
+ACC	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.
−ACC	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.	4 test sent.

+Accusative and Adv-DO order

- (21) a. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne sneehpeslaakan mov gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne sneehpeslaakan naakenidie dejstie lohkem.
 I quickly some:ACC P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read some of them quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjide lohkem.
 I quickly book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read books quickly.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

−Accusative and Adv-DO order

- (22) a. *Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
 I quickly book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books quickly.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne sneehpeslaakan mov gærjah lohkem.
 I quickly my book:P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read my books quickly.’ (Indefinite specific)

- c. Manne sneehpeslaakan naakenh dejstie lohkem.
I quickly some:P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
'I read some of them quickly.' (Indefinite specific)
- d. Manne sneehpeslaakan gærjah lohkem.
I quickly book:P read:PRS 1S
'I read books quickly.' (Indefinite nonspecific)

+Accusative and DO-Adv order

- (23) a. Manne gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I quickly book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
'I read the books quickly.' (Definite)
- b. *Manne mov gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I my book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
'I read my books quickly.' (Indefinite specific)
- c. *Manne naakendie dejstie sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I some:ACC P they:ELT P quickly read:PRS 1S
'I read some of them well quickly.' (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne gærjide sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
Intended reading: 'I read books quickly.' (Indefinite nonspecific)

–Accusative and DO-Adv order

- (24) a. *Manne gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I book:P quickly read:PRS 1S
'I read the books quickly.' (Definite)
- b. Manne mov gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I my book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
'I read my books quickly.' (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne naakenh dejstie sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I some:ACC P they:ELT P quickly read:PRS 1S
'I read some of them well quickly.' (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne gærjah sneehpeslaakan lohkem.
I book:ACC P quickly read:PRS 1S
Intended reading: 'I read books quickly.' (Indefinite nonspecific)

+Accusative and +Determiner

- (25) a. Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} gærjide lohkem.
I DET:ACC P/ DEM:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
'I read the/those books.' (Definite)

- b. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} mov gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P/ DEM:ACC P my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some books of mine.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} naakenidie dejstie lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P/ DEM:ACC P some:ACC P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading ‘I read some of them/those.’
 (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne {dejtie/ dujtie} gærjide lohkem.
 I DET:ACC P/ DEM:ACC P book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

–Accusative and +Determiner

- (26) a. *Manne {dah/ doh} gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read the/those books.’ (Definite)
- b. *Manne {dah/ doh} mov gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P my book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some books of mine.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. *Manne {dah/ doh} naakenh dejstie lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P some:P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne {dah/ doh} gærjah lohkem.
 I DET:P/ DEM:P book:P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

+Accusative and –Determiner

- (27) a. Manne gærjide lohkem.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)
- b. *Manne mov gærjide lohkem.
 I my book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read (some of) my books.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. ??Manne naakenidie dejstie lohkem.
 I some:ACC P they:ELT P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. *Manne gærjide lohkem.
 I book:ACC P read:PRS 1S
 Intended reading: ‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)

–Accusative and –Determiner

- (28) a. *Manne gærjah lohkem.
I book:P read:PRS 1S
Intended reading: ‘I read the books.’ (Definite)
- b. Manne mov gærjah lohkem.
I my book:P read:PRS 1S
‘I read my books.’ (Indefinite specific)
- c. Manne naakenh dejstie lohkem.
I some:P 3P:ELT P read:PRS 1S
‘I read some of them.’ (Indefinite specific)
- d. Manne gærjah lohkem.
I book:P read:PRS 1S
‘I read books.’ (Indefinite nonspecific)