

OV and VO ordering in Sauris German

Francesco Costantini
University of Udine

The present talk will focus on OV/VO alternation in Sauris German (henceforth, SG), a South Bavarian variety spoken in Sauris, a 400-inhabitant community in the Alps in Friuli Venezia Giulia (northeastern Italy). SG is basically a VO language (see (1) – notice that SG is a reduced V2 language, cfr. Costantini 2019a, b), yet OV appears to be attested (see (2); cfr. Bidese 2019, Madaro, Bidese in press), although restrictions on the choice of OV or VO orderings appear to be elusive, with both orderings being available apparently with no semantic or pragmatic difference.

The goal of the talk is assessing whether factors can be singled out which affect the relative ordering of object and verb or whether the alternation is due to the coexistence of competing grammars as emerging from bilingualism SG/Italian (and for some speakers, Friulian) characterizing the individual repertoire of all SG speakers. Following the first hypothesis, at least some of the restrictions singled out in the literature on OV/VO alternation (see Pintzuk 1999, Svenonius 2000, Grewendorf, Poletto 2005, Hinterhölzl 2009, Taylor, Pintzuk 2012, Cognola 2013, Hinterhölzl, Petrova 2018, Fuß 2018, Poletto, Tomaselli 2019, Haider 2020, a.m.o.) are expected to turn up, which seems to be the case in view of the fact that speakers unequivocally prefer the OV ordering when a bare quantifier object occurs (see (3)) and when the object is quantified or negative (see (4), (5)).

Beside data collected through interviews to 18 native speakers ranging from age 34-93, data related to the OV/VO alternance will be discussed with respect to the oldest texts in SG, dating back to the first half of 19th century, in order to compare today's state of affairs with past phases of the language.

Examples

- (1) *I on {*a puech} gelesn {a book}.*
I have {*a book} read {a book}.
- (2) *I on {s-do puech} gelesn {s-do puech}.*
I have {this book} read {this book}.
- (3) *I on {ois} gesn {^{??}ois}.*
I have {all} eaten {^{??}all}
- (4) *I on {khana milich} gekhafet {[?]khana milich}.*
I have {no milk} bought {[?]no milk}
- (5) *I on {oln in milich} getrunchn {[?]oln in milich}.*
I have {all the milk} drunk {[?]all the milk}

References

- Bidese, E. (2019), *Complementation in Cimbrian and in Saurian: some comparative notes*, in F. Costantini (ed.), *Syntactic Variation: The view from the German-language Islands in Northeastern Italy*, Udine, Forum, 61-80.
- Cognola, F. (2013), *The Mixed OV/VO Syntax of Mòcheno Main Clauses: On the Interaction between High and Low Left Periphery*, in T. Biberauer, M. Sheehan (eds.), *Theoretical Approaches to Disharmonic Word Order*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 106-135.
- Costantini, F. (2019a), *Verb Second in Saurian Main Clauses*, in F. Costantini (ed.), *Syntactic Variation: The view from the German-language Islands in Northeastern Italy*, Udine, Forum, 117-134.
- Costantini, F. (2019b), *Aspetti di linguistica saurana*, Roma, Il Calamo.

- Fuß, E. (2018), *The OV/VO alternation in early German: Diagnostics for basic word order*, in A. Jäger, G. Ferraresi, H. Weiß (eds.), *Clause Structure and Word Order in the History of German*, Oxford, OUP, 230-262.
- Grewendorf, G., C. Poletto (2005), *Von OV zu VO: ein Vergleich zwischen Zimbrisch und Plodarisch*, in E. Bidese, J.R. Dow, T. Stolz (Hrsgg.), *Das Zimbrische zwischen Germanisch und Romanisch*, Bochum, Brockmeyer, 114-128.
- Haider, H., 2020, *VO/OV-Base Ordering*, in M.T. Putnam, B.R. Page (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Germanic Linguistics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 339 - 364
- Hinterhölzl, R. (2009), *The role of information structure in word order variation and word order change*, in R. Hinterhölzl, S. Petrova (eds.), *Information Structure and Language Change. New Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic*, Berlin / New York, De Gruyter Mouton, 45-66.
- Hinterhölzl, Petrova 2018, *Prosodic and information-structural factors in word order variation*, in A. Jäger, G. Ferraresi, H. Weiß (eds.), *Clause structure and word order in the history of German*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 277-88.
- Madarò, R., Bidese, E. (in press), *Verb (projection) raising and its role in OV/VO alternation: an analysis of the German linguistic islands in the north-eastern alps*, in F. Costantini, E. Li Destri, D. Sidrachi, F. Zuin (a cura di), *Lingue minoritarie e ricerca linguistica*, Udine, Forum.
- Pintzuk, S. (1999), *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Word Order*, New York, Garland.
- Poletto, C., Tomaselli, A. (2019), *The Meandering Path of VO and OV up in the Alps*, in F. Costantini (ed.), *Syntactic Variation: The view from the German-language Islands in Northeastern Italy*, Udine, Forum, 105-115.
- Svenonius, P. (2000), *Quantifier Movement in Icelandic*, in P. Svenonius (ed.), *The Derivation of VO and OV*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 255-292.
- Taylor, A., Pintzuk, S. (2012), *Rethinking the OV/VO alternation in Old English: The effect of complexity, grammatical weight, and information status*, in T. Nevalainen, E. Closs Traugott (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, Oxford, OUP, 835-837.