The clause internal left edge: Exploring the preverbal position in Ossetian

Ekaterina Lyutikova & Sergei Tatevosov
Moscow State University

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The goal

Provide explanation for the peculiar clause structure in Ossetian, where functional projections normally conceived of as the left edge of the clause are located in the preverbal position, clause internally.

The problem

(1) æž žon-ın   madinæ   jæ   fırt-ı
    I know-PRS.1SG   M.   3SG.GEN son-ACC
kæj arvišt-a   goræt-mæ.
that send.PST-TR.3SG   city-LAT
'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'
...madinæ jæ fırtı kæj arvišta gorætmæ.
...madinæ jæ fırtı gorætmæ kæj arvišta.
...madinæ kæj arvišta jæ fırtı gorætmæ.
...kæj arvišta madinæ jæ fırtı gorætmæ.

The problem

(1) æž žon-ın   madinæ   jæ   fırt-ı
    I know-PRS.1SG   M.   3SG.GEN son-ACC
kæj arvišt-a   goræt-mæ.
that send.PST-TR.3SG   city-LAT
'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'
*... kæj madinæ jæ fırtı gorætmæ arvišta.
*...madinæ jæ fırtı kæj gorætmæ arvišta.
*... kæj madinæ arvišta jæ fırtı gorætmæ.
*... arvišta madinæ kæj jæ fırtı gorætmæ.

The problem

Preverbal complex:
- ☐ Negation
- ☐ Complementizers
- ☐ Wh-movement

→ Left edge phenomena

The problem

- ☐ PC + verb: rigid
- ☐ Order of other constituents: (superficially) free

XP YP ZP V	XP YP ZP PC V
XP YP V ZP	XP YP PC V ZP
XP V YP ZP	XP PC V YP ZP
V XP YP ZP	PC V XP YP ZP

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

(2) alan   zalinæj-mæ   **næ**   azırd-ta.
     A.   Z.-COM   **NEG** speak-PST.3SG
'Alan didn't speak to Zalina.'

(3) *alan **næ** zalinæj-mæ   azırd-ta.
     A.   **NEG** Z.-COM   speak-PST.3SG

(4) alan   aræx   **næ**   ærbasæu-ı.
     A.   often **NEG** come-PRS.3SG
'Alan doesn't come often.' / 'Often, Alan doesn't come.'

(5) *alan **næ**   aræx ærbasæu-ı.
     A.   **NEG** often come-PRS.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

(6) alan   **nikæj-mæ**   azırd-ta.
     A.   **nobody-COM** speak-PST.3SG
'Alan didn't speak to anybody (lit. spoke to nobody).'

(7) ***nikæj-mæ** alan azırd-ta.
    nobody-COM A.   speak-PST.3SG

(8) zalinæj-mæ   **niči**   azırd-ta.
    Z.-COM   **nobody**   speak-PST.3SG

'Nobody spoke to Zalina.'

(9) ***niči** zalinæj-mæ   azırd-ta.
    nobody Z.-COM   speak-PST.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

(10) ası zadačæ   **[nisavær**   **čıžg]** škodt-a.
     this problem   **noone**   **girl** do-PST.3SG
'No girl solved this problem.'

(11) * **[nisavær**   **čıžg]** ası zadačæ škodt-a.
     noone   **girl**   this problem do-PST.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

(12) *alan **nikæj-mæ**   **næ**   azırd-ta.
     A.   **nobody-COM NEG** speak-PST.3SG

(13) **niči** **nikæj-mæ**   azırd-ta.
    nobody nobody-COM speak-PST.3SG
'Nobody spoke to anybody (lit. nobody spoke to nobody).'

(14) ???**nikæj-mæ** **niči**   azırd-ta.
    nobody-COM **nobody**   speak-PST.3SG

(15) **nikæj-mæ**   **æmæ** **niči**   azırd-ta.
    nobody-COM **and** **nobody**   speak-PST.3SG
'Nobody spoke to anybody.'

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

Summary:

- ☐ The negative particle strictly in preverbal position
- ☐ Negative pronouns strictly in preverbal position
- ☐ Negative XPs (complex phrases containing negative pronouns) strictly in preverbal position
- ☐ No negative concord (the negative particle and negative XPs complementarily distributed)
- ☐ Superiority effects

Exploring preverbal position: Negation

Summary:

negative particle
negative pronouns
negative XPs
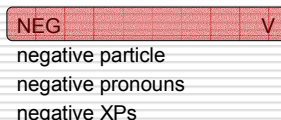
Exploring preverbal position: Complementizers

(16) æž   žon-ɪn
         I   know-PRS.1SG

alan   dzaudžiqau-ɪ   kæj   sær-ɪ.
A.   Vladikavkaz-LOC   that   live-PRS.3SG

'I know that Alan lives in Vladikavkaz.'

(17)...alan   dzaudžiqau-ɪ   kæj   næ   sær-ɪ.
         A.   Vladikavkaz-LOC   that   NEG   live-PRS.3SG

'... that Alan doesn't live in Vladikavkaz.'

(18)*...alan   dzaudžiqau-ɪ   næ   kæj   sær-ɪ.
          A.   Vladikavkaz-LOC   NEG   that   live-PRS.3SG
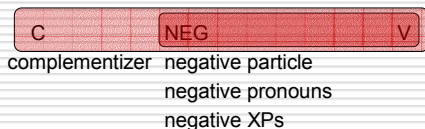
Exploring preverbal position: Complementizers

(19) æž   žon-ɪn
         I   know-PRS.1SG

alan   kæj   nikæj-mæ   azɪrd-ta.
A.   that   nobody-COM   speak-PST.3SG

'I know that Alan didn't speak to anybody'.

(20) *...alan   nikæj-mæ   kæj   azɪrd-ta.
           A.   nobody-COM   that   speak-PST.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: Complementizers

Summary:

☐ Complementizers in the preverbal position
☐ The negative particle and negative XPs (if any) between the verb and complementizer

C	NEG	V

complementizer   negative particle
                       negative pronouns
                       negative XPs

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

Clause types:

☐ Questions
☐ Indirect questions   in this talk
☐ Relative clauses
☐ Adverbial clauses

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

(21) zalinæj-mæ   či   azɪrd-ta?
         Z.-COM   who   speak-PST.3SG

'Who spoke to Zalina?'

(22) či   azɪrd-ta   zalinæj-mæ?
         who   speak-PST.3SG   Z.-COM

'Who spoke to Zalina?'

(23)*či   zalinæj-mæ   azɪrd-ta?
         who   Z.-COM   speak-PST.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

(24) æž   žon-ɪn
         I   know-PRS.1SG

dzaudžiqau-ɪ   či   (*kæj)   sær-ɪ.
Vladikavkaz-LOC   who   that   live-PRS.3SG

'I know who lives in Vladikavkaz.'

(25)...   či   kæm   sær-ɪ.
            who   where   live-PRS.3SG

'...who lives where.'

(26)...???kæm   či   sær-ɪ.
            where   who   live-PRS.3SG

(27)...kæm   æmæ   či   sær-ɪ.
         where   and   who   live-PRS.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

(28) zalinæj-mæ či   næ   azırd-ta?
     Z.-COM   who   NEG speak-PST.3SG
     'Who didn't speak to Zalina?'

(29) *zalinæj-mæ næ   či   azırd-ta?
      Z.-COM   NEG who speak-PST.3SG

(30) či   nikæj-mæ   azırd-ta?
     who nobody-COM   speak-PST.3SG
     'Who didn't speak to anybody?'

(31) *nikæj-mæ   či   azırd-ta?
      nobody-COM   who speak-PST.3SG

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

Summary:

- ☐ wh-pronouns and wh-XPs (complex phrases containing wh-pronouns) in the preverbal position
- ☐ The negative particle and negative XPs (if any) between the verb and wh
- ☐ Preverbal complementizers and wh-pronouns/XPs complementarily distributed
- ☐ Superiority effects

Exploring preverbal position: wh-movement

Summary:

C		NEG		V

complementizer   negative particle
wh-pronouns   negative pronouns
wh-XPs   negative XPs

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

- ☐ Ossetian is an SOV language (e.g., Gagkaev 1956, Abaev 1959)

SOV:

(32) næ sportsmentæ diššadži uælaxiztæ ævdišıns.
     our sportsmen   wonderful victories show
'Our sportsmen achieve wonderful victories.'

(33) xalon cıxtı   k'ærtt ššardta.
     crow of_cheese   piece   found
'The crow found a piece of cheese.'

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

- ☐ Ossetian is an SOV language?

SVO:

(34) šıvællættæ šk'olajı arvitıns bonı fıldær xaj.
     children   at_school spend of_day bigger part
'The children spend most of the day at school.'

VSO:

(35) bazıdta soslan, kæj fæsajdta čelæxsærtæg jæ zırd.
     understood S.   that broke   Ch.   his word
'Soslan understood that Chelaxshartag had broken his promise.'

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

- ☐ Ossetian is an SOV language?

OVS:

(36) de'fšurGıl   dın   idon aftauzæn mæjı   fırt...
     on_your_horse to_you bridle will_put of_moon son
'The son of the moon will bridle your horse, (and then the son of the sun will saddle it.)'

OSV:

(37) ... æmæ pitı jæ amerikag læpputæ fervæžın kodtoj.
         and Pete his American guys   rescued
'(Pete's plane fell into the sea) but Pete was rescued by his American friends.'

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

Lambrecht 1994:
- ☐ sentence focus   (thetic)

Q: What happened?
A: My car broke down.
- ☐ predicate focus   (categorical)

Q: What happened to your car?
A: My car/It broke down.
- ☐ argument focus   (categorical)

Q: I heard your motorcycle broke down?
A: My car broke down.

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

(38)   alan   nog   xæzar aražı.   predicate focus
        A.   new   house build.PRS.3SG
        'Alan is building a new house.'

(38)'   alan   NOG XÆZAR   aražı.   contrastive focus

(39)   alan   aražı   nog   xæzar.   narrow focus: O

(40)   nog   xæzar aražı   alan.   narrow focus: S

(41)   aražı   alan   nog   xæzar.   thetic

(42)   nog   xæzar   ALAN   aražı.   contrastive focus

(43)   ??? aražı   nog   xæzar   alan.

Around the preverbal position: word order variation

- ☐ Word order variation reflects various types of information structure of the sentence
- ☐ The verbal complex, whose internal structure is rigidly fixed, and the Top/Foc movement interact producing the effect of "floating" of the verbal complex within the clause

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Around the preverbal position: two types of complementizers

- ☐ preverbal complementizers:

kæj 'that', kuıd 'so that', kæd 'when'...
- ☐ clause-initial complementizers:

sæmæj 'so that', kæd 'if', sıma 'as if'...

Around the preverbal position: two types of complementizers

(44)   alan-ı   fænd-ı
     A.-GEN   want-PRS.3SG

sæmæj   zalinæ   makæj-mæ   zur-a.
so_that   Z.   nobody-COM   speak-COND.3SG

'Alan wants Zalina not to speak to anybody.'

(45) *...kuıd   zalinæ   makæj-mæ   zur-a.
      so_that   Z. nobody-COM   speak-COND.3SG

(46) ...zalinæ   kuıd   makæj-mæ   zur-a.
        Z.   so_that   nobody-COM speak-COND.3SG

'Alan wants Zalina not to speak to anybody.'

Around the preverbal position: two types of complementizers

(47)   d-ı   kæj-mæ   fænd-ı
       you-GEN   who-COM   want-PRS.3SG

zalinæ   kuıd   zur-a?
Z.   that   speak-COND.3SG

'Who do you want Zalina to speak to?'

(48) *d-ı   fænd-ı
       you-GEN   want-PRS.3SG

zalinæ   kæj-mæ   kuıd   zur-a?
Z.   who-COM   that   speak-COND.3SG

Around the preverbal position: two types of complementizers

(49) d-ɪ   kæj-mæ   fænd-ɪ
     you-GEN   who-COM   want-PRS.3SG
sæmæj   zalinæ   zur-a?
that   Z.   speak-COND.3SG
'Who do you want Zalina to speak to?'
(50) d-ɪ   fænd-ɪ
      you-GEN   want-PRS.3SG
sæmæj   zalinæ   kæj-mæ   zur-a?
that   Z.   who-COM speak-COND.3SG
'Who do you want Zalina to speak to?'

Interim summary

Phenomena we have to account for:
- preverbal position of Neg, *wh* and a number of C's
- complementary distribution of the negative particle and negative XPs, as well as of preverbal C's and *wh-XPs*
- impenetrability of the complex "preverbal position + verb"
- two positions for C
- floating of the complex "preverbal position + verb" with respect to argument XPs
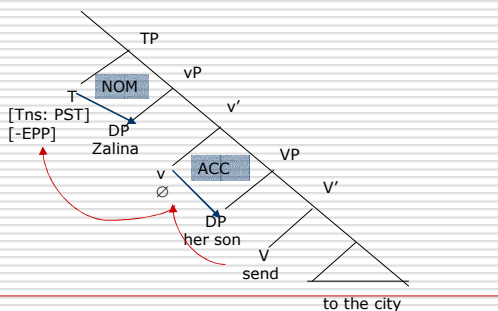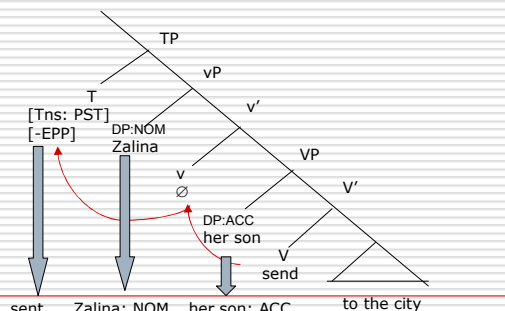
Proposal: An overview
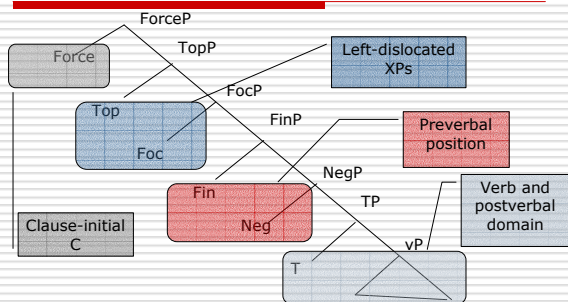
Proposal: Verbal domain

- Case assignment *in situ* under argeement between probe and goal (Chomsky 1998, 1999, 2001)
- V to v to T movement
- T [-EPP]; subject DP does not move to Spec, TP

(51) ...(kæj) arvišta zalinæ jæ fɪrt-ɪ   goræt-mæ.
            that sent   Z.NOM her son-ACC city-LAT
'...(that) Zalina sent her son to the city.'

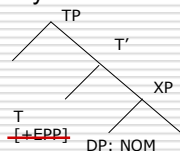## Proposal: Verbal domain

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Crucial assumption: T [± EPP]

T [+EPP]: DP that receives nominative (null, ...) case from agreeing T moves to its Spec to satisfy EPP.

TP
T′
XP
T [+EPP]
DP: NOM

Proposal: Verbal domain

T [+EPP]: English

☐ In the declarative clauses, the subject DP precedes T

☐ In the unaccusative and passive clauses, the subject DP precedes T

(52) John was arrested. / *Was arrested John.

☐ Raising structures

(53) John seems to sleep. / *Seems (to) John (to) sleep.
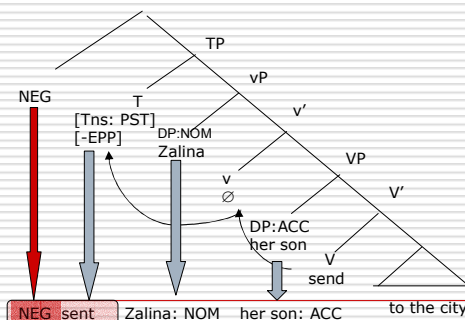

Proposal: Verbal domain

T [-EPP]: Ossetian

☐ In declarative clauses, the subject DP can follow (V+v+)T

☐ In thetic unaccusative clauses, the subject DP normally follows (V+v+)T

(54) ærsıd-i   ualzæg.
     come-PST.3SG   spring
     'The spring came.'

☐ No passive (contra Abaev 1959)

☐ No raising structures (Belyaev 2009)

Proposal: Verbal domain

TP
vP
NEG
T [Tns: PST] [-EPP]
v′
DP:NOM Zalina
VP
v ∅
V′
DP:ACC her son
V send
to the city
NEG sent   Zalina: NOM   her son: ACC

Proposal: Negation

☐ the negative particle is a Neg head

☐ negative pronouns/XPs move to Spec, NegP

☐ preverbal placement of negative pronouns/XPs is an instance of A'-movement (superiority effects, conjunction, island restrictions, pied-piping, crossover)

☐ "multiply filled Neg filter" (cf. Multiply Filled COMP Filter, Chomsky&Lasnik 1977), thus no Negative Concord

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Proposal: Negation

(55) nikæj-mæ   azırd-ta   alan.
     nobody-COM   speak-PST.3SG   A.

'Alan didn't speak to anybody (lit. spoke to nobody).'

Proposal: Negation

NegP
Neg'
TP
Nég
~~næ~~
V+v+T
azırdta
vP
v'
DP
Alan
v
VP
~~DP~~
~~nikæjmæ~~
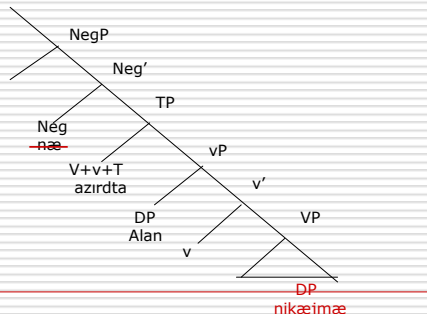
Proposal: Preverbal complementizers

Preverbal complementizers merge as a Fin head

Rizzi 1997:

(56) Gianni pensa, il tuo libro, di PRO conoserlo bene.
   G. thinks the your book Fin PRO know.it well
'Gianni thinks that your book, he knows well.'

Roehrs&Labelle 2001:

(57) Il s'est aperçu __ la porte QUE elle était ouverte.
   he noticed the door THAT it was open
'He noticed that the door was open.'
=(expected): Il s'est aperçu que la porte elle était ouverte.

Proposal: Preverbal complementizers

Roehrs&Labelle 2001

(57) Il s'est aperçu __ la porte QUE elle était ouverte.
   he noticed the door THAT it was open
'He noticed that the door was open.'

(58) Misplaced QUE: [$_{ForceP}$ ~~que$_i$~~ [$_{FinP}$ DP que$_i$ …]]
- improper Chain Reduction
- covert movement of the complementizer to Force

Proposal: Preverbal complementizers

Ossetian preverbal complementizers:
☐ merge as Fin
☐ no overt movement to Force

Evidence for the covert movement: complementary distribution of preverbal and clause initial complementizers:

(59) *alan-ı fænd-ı
   A.-GEN want-PRS.3SG
sæmæj zalinæ kuıd zur-a madinæj-mæ.
so_that Z. so_that speak-COND.3SG M.-COM

Proposal: Preverbal complementizers

(60) æž žon-ın
   I know-PRS.1SG
kæj niči azırd-ta zalinæj-mæ.
that nobody speak-PST.3SG Z.-COM
'I know that nobody spoke to Zalina'.

Proposal: Preverbal complementizers

FinP
Fin'
NegP
Fin
kæj
Neg'
DP
niči
TP
Neg
~~næ~~
vP
v+V+T
azırdta
kæj niči azırdta zalinæjmæ
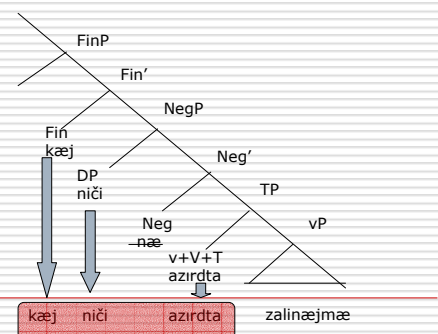
Proposal: *wh*-pronouns and XPs

Typological observations

Greenberg 1963, Universal 12:

If a language has dominated order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

Primus 2001: V-final languages have either sentence-initial *wh*-words or *wh*-words are placed in immediately preverbal position.

Proposal: *wh*-pronouns and XPs

Kim 1988: SOV languages with preverbal *wh*-words: Turkish, some Dravidian languages (Telugu, Tamil), some Indo-Aryan languages (Gudjarati, Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri), Korean, Japanese, Basque. Hungarian and Georgian: preverbal *wh*, SOV/SVO.

Why preverbal position?

Horvath 1986, Kiss 1988, Hungarian: *wh*-words move to the focus position

Shadi & Megerdoomian 2009, Persian: *wh*-words are left-adjoined to vP

Proposal: *wh*-pronouns and XPs

Ossetian *wh*:

☐ Adjunction to *v*P is not an option because of intervening negative XPs

☐ Movement to Spec, FocP is not an option because of complementary distribution with preverbal complementizers

(61) d-ı   fænd-ı...
       you-GEN   want-PRS.3SG

a. *...zalinæ kæj-mæ   kuıd   zur-a?
   Z.   who-COM   that   speak-COND.3SG

b. ...sæmæj zalinæ kæj-mæ   zur-a?
   that   Z.   who-COM   speak-COND.3SG

'Who do you want Zalina to speak to?'

Proposal: *wh*-pronouns and XPs

☐ *wh*- pronouns/XPs move to Spec, FinP

☐ *wh*-movement is an instance of A'-movement (superiority effects, conjunction, island restrictions, pied-piping, crossover)
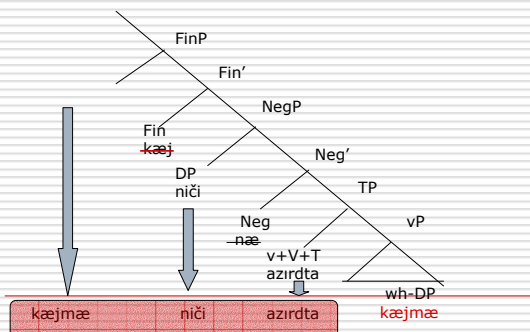
☐ Multiply Filled COMP Filter; thus no overt complementizer in Fin if *wh* is in Spec, FinP

(62) æž   žon-ın
       I   know-PRS.1SG

kæjmæ   niči   azırd-ta.
who-COM   nobody speak-PST.3SG

'I know whom nobody spoke to'.

Proposal: *wh*-pronouns and XPs

Proposal: Clause initial complementizers

Clause-initial C's end up as a Force head

2 options

☐ merge as Force head

☐ merge as Fin and then move overtly to Force

Literary Ossetian: only clause initial position

Colloquial Ossetian: also possible in any position between Force and Fin

Proposal: Clause initial complementizers

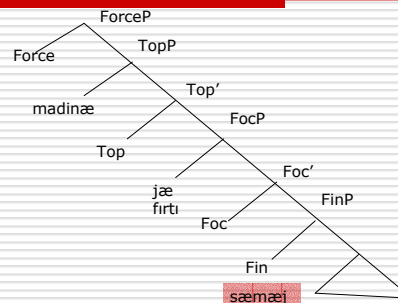(63) alanı fændı...
    A. wants

a. sæmæj madinæ jæ fırtı arvita gorætmæ.
   that M. her son sends to_city
b. madinæ sæmæj jæ fırtı arvita gorætmæ.
   M. that her son sends to_city
c. madinæ jæ fırtı sæmæj arvita gorætmæ.
   M. her son that sends to_city

'Alan wants Madina to send her son to the city.'

Proposal: Clause initial complementizers

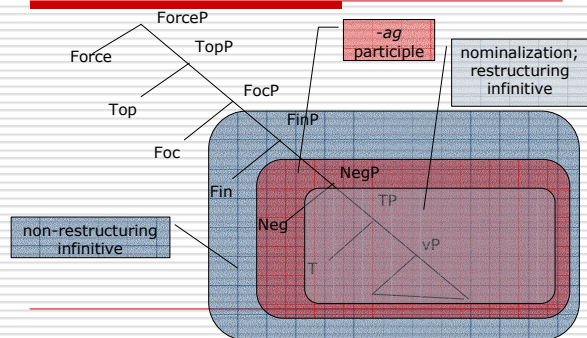## Proposal: Evidence from non-finite clauses

- ☐ Additional evidence supporting our analysis comes from different types of non-finite clauses
- ☐ Non-finite clauses differ as to the amount of functional structure they can project
- ☐ The amount of functional projections increases monotonically
- ☐ Hence the implicational chain
  Force $\Rightarrow \ldots \Rightarrow$ T $\Rightarrow v$, where "$F_i \Rightarrow F_{i-1}$" reads as "If a (non-finite) clause contains the projection of F_i, it also contains the projection of F_{i-1}"

Proposal: Evidence from non-finite clauses

Availability of functional projections forms an implicational chain:

- ☐ bare vP/TP: no negative particle/negative XPs, no *wh*, no complementizers: nominalization (-d/-t), restructuring infinitive
- ☐ NegP: negative particle/negative XPs, but no *wh* / complementizers: active participles (-ag)
- ☐ FinP: negative particle/negative XPs, *wh-XPs*, but no clause-initial complementizers: non-restructuring infinitive

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Proposal: Evidence from non-finite clauses

Proposal: Evidence from non-finite clauses

Thus the complexity of the structure increases monotonically

If a less-than-fully-projected clause contains NegP, it also contains TP

If a less-than-fully-projected clause contains NegP, it also contains both NegP and TP

A fully projected clause contains ForceP as well as the material all the way down the tree, including FinP, NegP, and TP

The hierarchy of functional heads "ForceP,…, FinP, NegP, TP" accounts for this pattern in a principled way

Interim summary

Phenomena we had to account for:

- [ ] preverbal position of Neg, *wh* and several C
- [ ] complementary distribution of negative particle and negative XPs, as well as preverbal C and *wh-XPs*
- [ ] impenetrability of the complex "preverbal position + verb"
- [ ] two positions for C
- [ ] floating of the complex "preverbal position + verb" with respect to argument XPs

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Deriving clause internal effect

ForceP
Force — TopP
Top — FocP
Foc — FinP
Fin — NegP
Neg — TP
T — vP
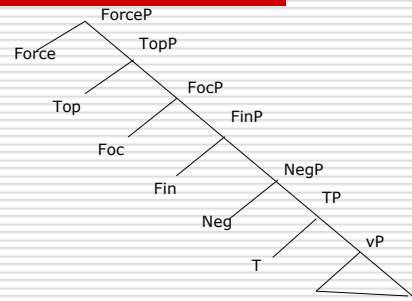
| C2 | | wh/C1 Neg V | XP YP ZP |

Deriving clause internal effect

Thetic sentences: involve no movement to Top/Foc

(64) aražı alan nog xæzar.   VSO
     builds Alan new house

'Alan is building a new house.'

C2	Top	Foc	wh/C1	NEG	V+v+T	XP	YP	ZP
					aražı	alan	xæzar	
				niči	aražı	niči	xæzar	
kæj			kæj		aražı	alan	xæzar	
sæmæj		sæmæj			araža	alan	xæzar	

Deriving clause internal effect

Categorical sentences: involve movement to Top/Foc

(65) alan aražı nog xæzar.   SVO
     Alan builds new house

'Alan is building a new house.'

C2	Top	Foc	wh/C1	NEG	V+v+T	XP	YP	ZP
	alan				aražı	alan	xæzar	
	alan			nısı	aražı	alan	nısı	
kæj	alan		kæj		aražı	alan	xæzar	
sæmæj alan		sæmæj			araža	alan	xæzar	

Deriving clause internal effect

Categorical sentences: involve movement to Top/Foc

(66) nog xæzar aražı alan.   OVS
     new house builds Alan

'Alan is building a new house.'

C2	Top	Foc	wh/C1	NEG	V+v+T	XP	YP	ZP
	xæzar				aražı	alan	xæzar	
	xæzar			niči	aražı	niči	xæzar	
kæj	xæzar	kæj			aražı	alan	xæzar	
sæmæj xæzar		sæmæj			araža	alan	xæzar	

Deriving clause internal effect

Categorical sentences: involve movement to Top/Foc

(67) nog xæzar ALAN aražı.   OSV
     new house Alan builds

'Alan is building a new house.'

C2	Top	Foc	wh/C1	NEG	V+v+T	XP	YP	ZP
	xæzar alan				aražı	alan	xæzar	
kæj	xæzar alan		kæj		aražı	alan	xæzar	
sæmæj	xæzar alan	sæmæj			araža	alan	xæzar	

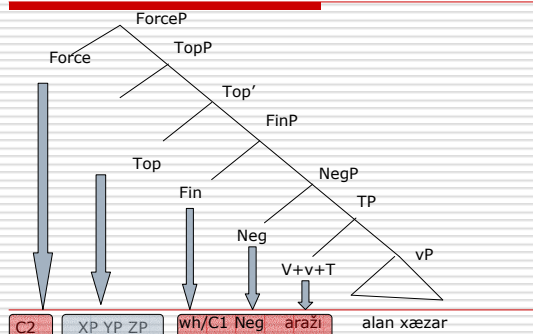## Deriving clause internal effect

Categorical sentences: involve movement to Top/Foc

(68) a. alan nog   xæzar aražı.   SOV
    b. alan NOG XÆZAR aražı.   SOV
       new   house Alan builds

'Alan is building a new house.'

C2	Top	Foc	wh/C1	NEG	V+v+T	XP	YP	ZP
	alan	xæzar			aražı	alan	xæzar	
kæj	alan	xæzar	kæj		aražı	alan	xæzar	
sæmæj	alan	xæzar	sæmæj		araža	alan	xæzar	

Deriving clause internal effect

Deriving clause internal effect

(69) ??? aražı nog   xæzar alan.   VOS
      builds new   house Alan

Postverbal XPs are in their base-generated positions, hence the OS order impossible

Deriving clause internal effect

Other phenomena related to the postverbal (=base) position:

☐ clitic doubling

(70) alan næm   ærbasıd   maxmæ.
    A.   ENCL.1PL.LAT come.PST.3SG we.LAT

'Alan came to us.'

☐ quantifier float

(71) adæmæj   ærbasıdıštı   birætæ.
    people.ABL   come.PST.3PL many

'Many people came.'

Conclusion

☐ The preverbal position in Ossetian is the left edge of the clause.
☐ The impenetrability of the verbal complex results from
    (1) V-to-T movement;
    (2) Neg over TP position;
    (3) [-EPP] feature of T;
    (4) spellout of the preverbal complementizers in Fin.
☐ Apparent "floating" of the verbal complex within the clause results from A'-movement of arguments from their (postverbal) base positions to TopP or FocP.