

Word Order Universals

WORD ORDER HARMONIES AND WORD ORDER CHANGE IN GEORGIAN¹

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1. Introduction

The word order universals discovered by Greenberg in 1963 and further studied and refined by many others, especially Hawkins (1983) and Dryer (1992), present a special challenge to linguistics. There is said to be a high degree of correlation among the orders listed in Table 1. Here O is (direct) object, V verb, Po postposition, Pr preposition, A adjective, N noun, G genitive, Rel relative clause, Aux auxiliary, St standard of comparison, and Adj comparative adjective.²

OV	VO
Po	Pr
AN	NA
GN	NG
RelN	NRel
VAux	AuxV
StAdj	AdjSt

Table 1. Some commonly recognized word order correlations.

A number of linguists have shown that word order harmonies can be both established and maintained through a process referred to here as *construction reanalysis* (Greenberg 1963:99, Givón 1971, 1974-90, Mallinson and Blake 1981:395, Heine and Reh 1984:242, Aristar 1991 and others). According to this view, a particular dyadic configuration, such as GN (genitive--noun), may be reanalyzed, for example as NPo (noun--postposition) constructions. Specifically, it has been proposed that the relative order of an innovative construction may result from construction reanalysis of a source construction involving the following dyads: relative order of noun and adposition from that of the genitive and noun (e.g. Greenberg 1963:99) or from that of object and verb (e.g. Andersen 1979, Lord 1973, 1993); relative order of object and verb from that of genitive and noun (Heine and Reh 1984:103-104, 240-244); relative order of genitive and noun, as well as that of adjective and noun, from that of relative clause and noun (e.g. Haider and Zwanziger 1984, Aristar 1991). This scenario thus elegantly explains the existence of at least some word order harmonies. Harris and Campbell (1995, Chapter 8) agree that this is an important way of both initiating new harmonies and preserving old ones, but they show that extension also provides a way of establishing and maintaining such harmonies.

The purpose of the present paper is twofold. (i) It provides a general account of a thoroughgoing change of word order in the transition from Old to Modern Georgian, a language of the Kartvelian family attested for a millennium and a half. Only changes in the historical period are considered. (ii) It proposes that construction reanalysis may be responsible for the relative orders of verb and auxiliary, and for that of comparative adjective and the standard of comparison. As far as I am aware, neither of these has been proposed before. The latter is argued on the basis of facts in Georgian, and the former on data from Laz, a sister of Georgian.

Word Order Universals is a detailed account of word order universals and their role in theories of historical change. The starting point is the Greenberg data set. The American linguist Joseph Greenberg () proposed a set of linguistic universals "If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, "Inversion of statement order so that verb precedes subject occurs only in languages where the question word or phrase is normally initial. Toward a Theory of Word Order Universals. 1. Implicational Universals in Greenbergs Data Title, Word Order Universals Volume 3 of Quantitative analyses of. HARMONY OR CONSISTENCY? Review of John A. Hawkins, Word Order Universals *. Hawkins' book is concerned with regularities of word order and word. that it was not until the nineteen sixties that word order patterns languages he proposed 45 universals of language, about half of which related to syntax. Download Citation on ResearchGate Toward a Theory of Word Order Universals This chapter discusses word order variation across languages. Languages. John A. Hawkins A Parsing Theory of Word. Order Universals. 1. Introduction. To what extent does performance shape the competence grammar? There has. Sofia, Bulgaria, August c Association for Computational Linguistics. Exploring Word Order Universals: a Probabilistic Graphical Model. Approach. This contradicts the common understanding that word-order develops in accordance with a set of universal rules, applicable to all languages. According to Dryer's reformulation of the word-order universals, We focused our analyses on the 'word-order universals' because these are. (3) Although UG itself is universal, it has some free parameters that are set by learning. Word-order (subject-object vs. object-subject) is one of. In his pioneering study of word order universals, Greenberg. () claimed that of the six logically possible orders of major constituents (SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS. I was able to get word order data from languages. For 82 lgs there is . Are the universal tendencies of word order linguistic preferences. Implicational typological universals (e.g., Greenberg) represent a class of connection between two Greenbergian word order universals and. This paper shows a computational learning paradigm to compare and test theories about language universals. Its main contribution lies in the illustration of the trends in word-order universals. Michael Dunn^{1,2}, Simon J. Greenhill^{3,4}, Stephen C. Levinson^{1,2} & Russell D. Gray³. Languages vary widely. [\[PDF\] Algorithms For Synthetic Aperture Radar Imagery III: 10-12 April 1996, Orlando, Florida](#) [\[PDF\] The Age Of The Dream Palace: Cinema And Society In Britain, 1930-1939](#) [\[PDF\] What Causes Acid Rain](#) [\[PDF\] Reconstructing Literature In An Ideological Age: A Biblical Poetics And Literary Studies From Milton](#) [\[PDF\] Lion And Kangaroo: The Initiation Of Australia, 1901-1919](#) [\[PDF\] PowerSpeak](#) [\[PDF\] Where Are The Customers Yachts Or, A Good Hard Look At Wall Street](#)