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Section II
The structures of meaning

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GREENBERG'S UNIVERSAL 23 AND SVO LANGUAGES

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That the order of proper noun and common noun, when co-occurring, (partially) correlates with the order of the genitive with respect to the N (hence with the VO/OV order) is recognized in Greenberg (1966: 88). See his Universal 23, given in (1):

(1)
If in apposition the proper noun usually precedes the common noun, then the language is one in which the governing noun precedes its dependent genitive. With much better than chance frequency, if the common noun usually precedes the proper noun, the dependent genitive precedes its governing noun.

In other terms, proper noun > common noun implies N > Gen and (with much better than chance frequency) common noun > proper noun implies Gen > N.

Curiously, the correlation appears to be just the opposite. In his note 19, Greenberg gives the list of languages for which he has some data on common noun/proper noun orders: "Languages with common noun-proper noun are Greek, Guarani, Italian, Malay, Serbian, Swahili, Thai, Welsh, Zapotec. Those with proper noun-common noun are Basque, Burmese, Burushaski, Finnish, Norwegian, Nubian and Turkish". The former are largely N > Gen (VO) languages and the latter Gen > N (mostly OV) languages.

The inadvertent reversal of the correlation on Greenberg's part was observed in Bennett (1979) (also see Elisa Roma's comment in the Konstanz Universals Archive, n. 9 http://typo.uni-konstanz.de/archive/). It is in fact the case that many head-initial languages and head-final languages display a mirror-image order of the two. I only consider here a subset of the different kinds of proper noun/common noun pairs (titles of address, names of places, calendar time appellations, and a few others), but this suffices to make the point. See the case of Hebrew (VSO) and that of Japanese (SOV) in (2) below:

(2)

	Hebrew (VSO, NGen) (Tal Siloni, p.c.)	Japanese (SOV, GenN) (Yoshio Endo, p.c.)
a. year/number	*be-šnat 1950* [lit.: in-year 1950]	*1950 nen* [lit.: 1950 year]
b. hour/number	*be-ša'a 8* [lit.: at-hour 8]	*hati zi* [lit.: 8 hour]
c. month/name	*be-xodeš may* [lit.: in-month May]	*zyuu gatu* [lit.: ten month' (October)]
d. title/name	*profesor xomski*	*Chomsky kyoozyu*
e. street/name	*rexov Gordon* [lit.: street Gordon]	*Asakusa doori* [lit.: Asakusa street]
f. city/name	*ba-ir xeyfa* [lit.: in.the-city Haifa]	*Chiba si* [lit.: Chiba city]
g. mountain/name	*har miron* [lit.: mount Miron]	*Fuji yama* [lit.: Fuji mountain]
h. island/name	*iyey fokland* [lit.: islands Falkland]	*Tori sima* [lit.: Tori island]
i. river/name	*nehar ha-yarden* [lit.: river the-Jordan]	*Edo gawa* [lit.: Edo river]
l. colour/name	*mexonit be-ceva adom* [lit.: car in-colour red]	*Ki iroi kuruma* [lit.: yellow colour car]
m. letter/name	*ha-ot kaf* [lit.: the-letter "k"]	*"k" to yuu roomazi* [lit.: "k" called letter]

Consideration of the relative order of common noun and proper noun in SVO languages shows that they are not as homogeneous a group as one might think. I illustrate it here with the following SVO languages: Chinese, Norwegian, Bulgarian, English, Greek, and Italian (also indicating the relative position of the Genitive and Noun, which, as already noted in Greenberg's (1966: 89), appears to be related to some extent). Each of these languages happens to behave differently from the others.[1]

(3)

	Chinese[2] (GenN)	Norwegian (GenN/NGen)[3] (Øystein Nilsen p.c.)
a. year/number	*yi-jiu-wu-ling nian* [lit.: 1-9-5-0 year]	*år 1950*
b. hour/number	*ba dian (zhong)* [lit.: 8 point (clock)]	*klokken ate* [lit.: clock.the 8]
c. month/name	*wu yue* [lit.: five month (May)]	*Mai måned* [lit.: May month]
d. title/name	*Qiaomusiji jiaoshou*	*Professor Chomsky*
e. street/name	*Huaer jie* 'Wall street'	*Lovisenberggata* 'Lovisenberg street'
f. city/name	*Beijing shi* [lit.: Bejing city]	*Oslo by / byen Oslo*
g. mountain/name	*Zhumu Langma feng* [lit.: Zhumu Langma mountain]	*Galdhøpiggen* [lit.: Galdhø (pointed) mountain]
h. island/name	*Huaite dao* [lit.: White Island]	*Senjaøya/ øya Senja*
i. river/name	*Yangzi jiang*	*Viggaelva / elva Vigga*
l. colour/name	*hong (yan)se* [lit.: red colour]	*en rødfarget bil* [lit.: a red-coloured car]
m. letter/name	"k" *zi*	*"k" bokstaven / bokstaven "k"* [lit.: "k" letter.DEF]

(4)

	Bulgarian (GenN/NGen) (Iliyana Krapova p.c.)	English (GenN/NGen) (cf. Irwin 2007)
a. year/number	*v 1950 godina* [lit.: in 1950 year]	*(in the) year 1950*
b. hour/number	*v osem časa* [lit.: at 8 hour]	*(at) 8 o'clock*
c. month/name	*v mai mesets / mesets mai*	*(in the) month of May*
d. title/name	*profesor Čomski*	*Professor Chomsky*
e. street/name	*ulitsa Rakovski*	*Wall street*
f. city/name	*grad Sofia/Sofia-grad*	*(the) city of Boston/New York city*
g. mountain/name	*Pirin planina/ planinata Pirin*	*Mount Auburn/ Auburn Mountain*
h. island/name	*ostrov Corsica*	*isle of Wight/Ellis island*
i. river/name	*reka Maritsa*	*(the) river Mississippi/ Mississippi river*
l. colour/name	*kola tsvjat červen/červen tsvjat*	*a red color car* (Kayne 2005: 289)
m. letter/name	*bukva "k"*	*the letter "k"*

(5)

	Greek (GenN/NGen) (Arhonto Terzi, p.c.)	Italian (NGen)
a. year/number	*to (etos) 1950*	*l'anno 1950* [lit.: the year 1950]
b. hour/number	***okto (i ora)***	*le ore 8* [lit.: the hours 8 (8 o'clock)]
c. month/name	*o minas Maios / o **Maios minas***	*il mese di maggio* [lit.: the month of May]
d. title/name	*(o) kathigitis Chomsky*	*(il) professor Chomsky*
e. street/name	*i odos Kolokotroni*	*via Garibaldi*
f. city/name	*i poli tu Londinu*	*la città del Cairo* [lit.: the city of.the Cairo]
g. mountain/name	*to oros Olibos*	*(il) monte Grappa* [lit.: (the) Mount Grappa]
h. island/name	*to nisi ti Mitilinis*	*l'isola di Wight* [lit.: the isle of Wight]
i. river/name	*o **Ilisos** potamos / o potamos Ilisos*	*(il) fiume Po* [lit.: the river Po]
l. colour/name	*Ena aftokinito **kokinu** xromatos*	*una macchina (di) color rosso* [lit.: a car (of) color red]
m. letter/name	*to grama "k"*	*(la) lettera "k"*

Incidentally, proper nouns are possibly always specifiers of a common noun, whether overt or silent (cf. Kayne 2007: Appendix). Confirming evidence comes from certain agreement facts, which become understandable if a silent head is postulated that controls the agreement: *città* 'city (FEM.SG.)' in (6a) (cf. Cinque 2008: fn.11); *lettera* 'letter (FEM.SG.)' in (6b); and *ore* (FEM.PL.) and *ora* 'hour (FEM. SING.)' in (6c):

(6)
a. *Il Cairo* (CITTÀ) *è stata,* *e*
the (MASC.SG.) Cairo (MASC.SG.) ('city FEM.SG.') has been (FEM.SG.), and
resta, il centro più importante del mondo arabo.
remains, the most important center of the Arab world.
b. *la* *"o", la* *"k",* etc. (scil. LETTERA 'letter FEM.SG.')
the (FEM.SG.) "o", the (FEM.SG.) "k"
c. *Sono* *le una* (i.e., 'sono le ORE una ORA')[4]
[lit.: are the (FEM.PL.) one (FEM.SG.)]
'it is one o'clock'

The moral we can draw even from this minute correlation pair (the order proper noun/common noun and the head-initial-

ity vs. the head-finality of a certain language) is that reference to SVO languages as if they made up a consistent word order type may be seriously misguided (as evidenced by other facts as well – cf. Cinque in press).

Notes

[1] Here and below the proper noun > common noun orders typical of OV languages are given in bold.
Interestingly, VO Chinese, Norwegian, Bulgarian and English display more head-final pairs in the proper noun/common noun order than OV German. Cf. (3) and (4) with *Im Jahre 1950, Um 8 Uhr, Im Mai Monat)/Im Monat Mai, Maximilianstrasse, In der Stadt Berlin, Der Cervino Berg /der Berg Cervino, Die Insel Rügen, Der Fluss Rhein, Ein rot farbiges Auto, Buchstabe "k"*.
[2] For the Chinese data I am indebted to Candice Chi Hang Cheung, Francesca del Gobbo and Chi Fung Lam.
[3] To judge from Tsunoda (1992), closely related Swedish may conform more to the common noun > proper noun order of head-initial languages.
[4] See Kayne (2003). Also see the perfectly corresponding case in Modern Greek (Arhonto Terzi, p.c.), where the first plural article becomes understandable if there is a silent ORES 'hours':

s-tis *[okto i* *ora]* ORES
at-the (FEM.PL.ACC.) [eight the (FEM.SING.NOM) hour (FEM.SING.NOM)] HOURS (FEM.PL.ACC.)

When 'street' is missing, Bulgarian has the name of the street in the feminine, presumably agreeing with *ulitsa* (fem.): *v ulitsa Rakovski* ('in Rakovski street') vs. *v Rakovska* (Iliyana Krapova, p.c.).

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HOW PROSODY RESTRICTS THE SYNTAX

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss central structural properties that distinguish German, English and Italian and show that these are largely reducible to differences in the syntax–phonology interface.

English and Italian are VO-languages, while German is an OV-language, as is illustrated in (1). This difference is standardly relegated to a major syntactic parameter, namely the head complement parameter.

(1)
a. *John has met his neighbour*
b. *Gianni ha incontrato il suo vicino*
c. *Hans hat seinen Nachbarn getroffen*

While in all three languages main stress falls on the rightmost phonological phrase within the sentence, German and English can freely remove nuclear stress to achieve, for example, focalization of the subject. In Italian, stress remains right-peripheral and instead of moving stress, the focused constituent seems to be moved syntactically into a right-peripheral position, as is illustrated in (2b). One way to account for this difference is to assume that Italian has a specific focus position which is located at the right periphery of vP, while German and English - due to free stress assignment – arguably are not in need of a specific syntactic position for focus.

(2)
a. *JOHN has met his neighbour*
b. *Ha incontrato il suo vicino GIANNI*
c. *HANS hat seinen Nachbarn getroffen*