Word order Correlation/ Constituent order Correlations
Source: Whaley, Comrie , Tallerman

- One of the greatest contributions of Greenberg in the field of areal linguistics is that he not only utilized the implicational universal proposed by the Prague School, but also paved the way for the notion of CORRELATION in order to state the universals of languages.

In the most simplest term, the notion of correlation means, if we know the relative ordering of S, O and V in a language, we could predict the ordering of other elements of the constituents in that language too.

- The idea of correlational value for the language universals was proposed by Greenberg (1963).

- Later, Lehmann (1973, 1978) developed it further in order to explain the predictability of the implicational universals in languages.

- With Greenberg's universals, it was very clear that the order of S, O and V is used as a pre-conditional tool for making the statements about the order of other constituents in the languages(Universals 3-5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15-17, and 21).

- Let us see these universals:

- *Universal 3*. Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional languages. Arabic, Welsh etc.

waDa'-a	al-mu'alimu	al-kitaaba	'ala	al-Taawilati
put-pst	the-teacher	the-table	on	the-table-GEN'
'The teacher put the book on the table'.				

waDa'-a	al-Talibu	al-kitaaba	'ala	al-Taawilati
put-pst	the-student	the-table	on	the-table-GEN
'The student put the book on the table'.				

- *Universal 4*. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.
- Hindi and all the languages of India (except Khasi), Turkish, Hungarian, Kazakh, Pasto, Latin, Burmish, Persian etc.

> **Hindi allows SOV**
> **larke-ne   kitab   mez-par   rakh-i**
> **boy-erg   book-f table-Loc put-pst-f**
> **The boy put the book on the table.**

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Universal 5. If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

Hindi allows SOV, however, one of the correlations is not attested

ram-ke   bhai-ne   ek   achha   makan   banaya
ram-Gen   brother-Erg   one   good   house   make-pst-3MS
'Ram's brother made a good house'.

Khasi is a verb media language i.e. SVO but
4. The adjectives follow the head noun.
Example: ka   kɔt   ba   bʰa
                        PNG book AdjMkr good
                        'A good book'

5. Genitive follows the governed noun.
Example: ka   kɔt   jɔŋ   ŋa
                           PNG book GEN   I
                           'My book'

Universal 7. If in a language with dominant SOV order, and there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb. Hindi is a SOV:

yɑtrɪyŏ-ne	kapʰi der	tək	intəjɑr	krɪyɑ
यात्रियों-ने	काफी देर	तक	इंतजार	किया
passenger-3Pl-Erg	enough late	till	wait	do-pst-3MS
'The passengers waited for a long time'				

Universal 10. Question particles or affixes, when specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VSO.

In Maybrat (West Papuan; Papua, Indonesia), the interrogative morpheme is a particle that is added to the end of the sentence, as in:
(1) Maybrat (Dol 1999: 200) **SVO**
ana   m-amo Kumurkek   a
3pl   3-go   Kumurkek   Qmk
'Are they going to Kumurkek?'

Universal 12. If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words first in interrogative or question sentences; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is no such inversion rule.

Welsh: a VSO language	
a. mae Aled yn siarad y cymraeg	b. mae y ddraig lladdodd y dyn
do-3S Aled V-N.speak Def Welsh	do-3S Def dragon kill-pst the man
Aux. Subject Verb-Noun Object	Aux. Subject Verb-Noun Object
'Does Aled speak Welsh?'	'Did the dragon kill the man?'

Since VSO and SVO languages share lots of correlational properties, we could also say in English:

What did you put on the oven for lunch ?

Wh-word aux Subj Verb Obj (oblique and other types)

Other relevant universals

- *Universal 13*. If the nominal object always precedes the verb, then verb forms that are subordinate to the main verb will also precede it.

SOV: मैं रोटी खाना चाहता हूँ |

mɛ̃	roʈɩ	kʰa-na	čahə-ta	hũ
I-Nom	bread-Acc	eat-inf	want-imp-1MS	be-pres-1MS

'I want to eat bread'.

SVO: I want to eat bread.

I-Nom want-imp-1S eat-inf bread-Acc

'I want to eat bread'.

Other relevant universals

- *Universal 13*. If the nominal object always precedes the verb, then verb forms that are subordinate to the main verb will also precede it.

- *Universal 15*. In expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal object always precedes the verb.

- *Universal 16*. In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

- *Universal 17*. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun.

- *Universal 21*. If some or all adverbs follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order.

The implicational predictability led Lehmann to conclude that the order of ***verb and object*** in languages is somewhat very basic to the ordering of other constituents for many given languages (Whaley 1997).

Therefore, if we know the relative ordering of V and O, we can predict the ordering of other pairs such as nouns and genitives, adjectives, ad-positions and so on.

Let us see Lehmann's correlation pairs are given in Table 1:

·ABLE (1) Lehmann's Constituent Order Correlations

Word order/constituent order   Correlation

VO

1. Preposition + noun
2. Noun + genitive
3. Noun + adjective
4. Noun + relative clause
5. Sentence-initial question word
6. Prefixes
7. Auxiliary verb + main verb
8. Comparative adjective + standard of comp
9. Verb + adverb
10. Negative + verb
11. Subordinator + clause

OV

1. Noun + preposition
2. Genitive + noun
3. Adjective + noun
4. Relative clause + noun
5. Non-initial question word
6. Suffixes
7. Main verb + auxiliary verb
8. Standard of comp + comparative adjective
9. Adverb + verb
10. Verb + negative
11. Clause + subordinator

- Source: Whaley 1997; Pp86
- PS: Please check these correlations in your mother tongue and see how far Lehmann's proposal is justified

Angika, a SOV language

1. The language has a SOV constituent order:

S		O	V	
tõhẽ	i̠	kɪtəbɑ	kʰərid-le	cʰe-l-h-o
You-hon-erg	this	book	buy-pst-3P	Perf-pst-hon-2P

'You had bought this book'.

2. It has postposition:

ṭebʊl   -ək upərɑ̃   bɛṭʰ

table   -Gen the top   sit-imp-2P

'(You) sit on the table'.

3. The genitive precedes the governing noun:

həm-ər   keniyɛ   -ək   bʰɛ

my-gen   wife   -gen   brother

'The brother of my wife'.

4. The adjective precedes the noun:

tõhẽ   **bʰị̃jələ**   **kəpəɽwɑ**   pinhle-cʰo-ho
you-hon-erg   **wet**   **Clothes-def**   wear-perf-hon-2P
'You have put on wet clothes'.

5. Relative clause precedes the noun it modifies:

je   **cittʰɪyɑ**   hamẽ   lɪkʰ-le   cʰe-li-ye   u-ṭɑ   vok-rɑ   nẽ   mɪl-le

Rel   letter-def   I-erg   write-pst   perf-pst-1P-3P   that-cl   him   not   get-pst-3P
'The letter that I wrote to him, it did not reach him'.

6. The question word is non-initial in the sentence:

həm-sɑb   **kəhɑ̃**   jɛ   rəhəl   cʰị-ye

we-all   where   go   Stay-pst   be-imp-1P
'Where are we going'?

7. The comparison adjective follows the standard of comparison:

niləma **gitwa-sẽ** bɔrɔ cʰ-e

Neelam Geeta-from old be-imp-pres

'Neelam is older than Geeta'.

8. The auxiliary verb follows the main verb:

babuji kəhã **jɛ rəhəl cʰ-e**

father where go Stay-pst be-imp-3P

'Where is father going'?

9. The adverb precedes the main verb:

kərima **bəhut tej dɔɽe** cʰ-e

Kareem very fast run be-imp-pres

'Kareem runs very fast'.

10. The negative particle comes before the main verb:

həmẽ kerwa **nɛ kʰa-bo**

I-erg banana not eat-fut-1P

'I will not eat the banana'.