In Defense of the Saussurean View of Grammar
Frederick J. Newmeyer

in Possible and Probable Languages: A Generative Perspective on Linguistic Typology
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This chapter argues in favor of the classical Saussurean position with respect to the relationship between knowledge of language and use of language, providing evidence in support of the idea that the mental grammar contributes to language use, but that usage, frequency, and so on are not represented in the grammar itself. The first two sections describe current ‘usage-based models’ and attempt to account for their popularity. The following three sections defend the classical position with arguments based on the compatibility of formal grammar and functional explanation, the failure of connectionism to provide an alternative to formal grammar, and the fact that speakers mentally represent full argument structure. The final sections argue against stochastic grammars and propose an evolutionary scenario that makes sense of the grammar-use distinction.

The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese
Kristján Árnason

Published in print: 2011 Published Online: January 2012
Item type: book

The book presents a detailed comparative description of the phonological structure of Icelandic and Faroese and discusses problems in their analysis from a fairly broad theoretical perspective. The first part (Chapters 1–3) describes the historical relation between the languages and introduces some issues regarding their phonological analysis. Part II (Chapters 4–7) gives an overview of the segmental inventory of the two sound systems. Part III (Chapters 8–10) presents analyses of the
syrable structure of the two languages and systemic relations between subsystems defined for different phonotactic positions. It also treats the rules for the distribution of long and short vowel nuclei. Part IV (Chapters 11–12) describes vocalic and consonantal morphophonemics, discussing the status, in inflectional paradigms and word formation, of umlaut and ablaut alternations and patterns such as those responsible for the distribution of preaspiration. Part V gives an overview of rhythmic relations in words and phrases in the two languages, ending with descriptions of intonational patterns in the two languages.

From Latin to Romance: a configurational approach
Adam Ledgeway

in From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change
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In contrast to Chapters 3 and 4, which considered an approach to the changes in word order and sentence structure from Latin to Romance in terms of the progressive rise of configurationality and concomitant functional structure, this chapter attempts to demonstrate how the same empirical generalizations can be captured within an approach that assumes the presence of both configurational and functional structure already in Latin. In essence, the perceived non-configurationality of Latin is broken down into two main ingredients: grammatically free word order resulting from an ongoing change in the head directionality parameter (ultimately interpreted as the progressive loss of roll-up), which a priori allows dependents/complements to occur on either side of their head; and pragmatically driven word order, often producing discontinuous structures, resulting from the greater accessibility of topic- and focus-fronting to positions situated in the left edge of individual (phasal) functional projections.

Theoretical preliminaries to the synchronic analysis
Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese
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Among the problems addressed in this chapter is the question of phonological (lexical and postlexical) levels of representation, and alphabets for denoting segmental and subsegmental distinctions. The phonological primes or features adopted are ‘phonological elements’ of the type applied in frameworks like dependency phonology and government phonology. These primes turn out to be useful in accounting for the extensive diphthongization which takes place, particularly in Faroese. There is a discussion of the problem of representing time and precedence in phonology, shedding light on the relation between diphthongization and quantity structure. The chapter concludes with a proposal for a framework to describe the modern diphthongal systems.

**Length and quantity in accentuation and phonotactics**

Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese

The chapter tries to clarify some notions relevant to the understanding of the relation between length and accentuation in Icelandic, pointing out that an analysis in terms of commonly used theoretical tools is problematic. It is shown that the shortness of the short vowels makes them in some sense ‘prosodically inactive’, since in postlexical accentuation, the lengthening which accompanies stress is realized on the following consonant. The facts can only clumsily be captured with the help of theoretical machinery like skeletal or moraic representation of length and rhythm. The prosodic characteristics of Faroese pose similar problems. There is a discussion of the character of vowel shortness as a segmental property on the scale of sonority, and its relation to syllabification and harmonic alignment between segments and positions in phonological constituents like syllables.

**Aspiration in syllabic and segmental structure**

Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese
This chapter starts by discussing aspiration in relation to the character of the fortis vs. lenis opposition, asking how the opposition can be represented and whether or how it is neutralized in certain environments. A phonological analysis is proposed relating preaspiration to other phenomena occurring in the same environments. It is shown that in some respects Icelandic preaspiration looks like being a separate segment, whereas the phonotactic distribution is restricted in that it only occurs before plosives. Preaspiration in Faroese shows similarities, but also differences from Icelandic. There is less reason to analyse Faroese preaspiration as a segment, rather it should be seen as a subsegmental property of the fortis plosives. The chapter ends with a discussion of the way preaspiration shows up in morphophonemics in both languages.

The two languages and their historical relation
Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese
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Chapter 1 describes the demography of the two languages and their historical relation, tracing them back to ‘Proto-West-Nordic’, the phonological characterization of which is based on evidence from Old Icelandic texts and partly on reconstruction. The West Nordic obstruents are often assumed to have had an opposition based on voicing, different from the modern languages. The West Nordic vowel system was rich in having nine vowel qualities, which in principle could take part in a length correlation and a relation of nasality. Old West Nordic had a number of diphthongs, as combinations of full vowel colours and semi-vowels. The prosodic structure was of the type characterized as ‘moraic trochee’.

Faroese vowels and diphthongs
Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese
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The chapter starts with an overview of Faroese vowels and diphthongs, describing the correlation between the ‘long’ and ‘short’ systems. An element theoretic analysis of monophthongs and diphthongs is
presented. The diphthongal system of Faroese is considerably richer than the Icelandic one, and the relation between the systems of open syllable vowels and closed syllable vowels more complex; there is greater dialect variation in Faroese. Hiatus forms raise interesting questions of analysis and in addition to the historical skerpingin (Verschärfung), diphthongization and vowel raising (not properly described before) cause variation in the modern usage. The unstressed vowels of Faroese tend to be reduced, even syncopated. There are thus three types of environment for vocalic nuclei in Modern Faroese: full syllables (open or closed), and restricted syllables. Each of these environments has its own (sub)system, and the number of vocalic oppositions allowed in each environment is different.

Syllable structure and phonotactics
Kristján Árnason

in The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese

The chapter focuses on syllable structure and phonotactics, starting with Icelandic and discussing the motivation for assuming the syllable and subsyllabic constituents as structural entities. Among phenomena relevant in these considerations are the Icelandic length rule and the so-called half length and overlength, both relevant to the way stress is realized. Faroese syllable structure is then discussed from the same point of view, and a template for the length rule in Faroese as it functions in full syllables is presented. Half length and overlength are also shown to occur in Faroese. There is a special discussion of the status of full syllables and restricted syllables in the phonological hierarchy. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to consonantal phonotactics, giving an overview of the permissible onsets and codas in each language. There is a special section on the analysis of gemination of glides and consonants.

Head-marking and dependent-marking
Adam Ledgeway

in From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change
This chapter highlights some of the advantages that can be gained from adopting the head-/dependent-marking distinction in understanding a number of the fundamental changes in the morphosyntax of Latin and Romance. It notes how this typological distinction can be profitably married together with the results of the previous chapters. In particular, the claim regarding the emergence of functional structure in the passage from Latin to Romance developed in Chapter 4 provides a principled explanation for the gradual rise of head-marking in Romance, since it is precisely the availability of these functional head positions in the grammar which enables the Romance languages to spell out overtly and index the formal properties of their associated dependents. By the same token, the gradual demise of a Latin XPSpecifier-syntax, manifested in the movement operations of phrasal dependents to argument (roll-up) and left-peripheral positions (edge-movement), in favour of a Romance XHead-syntax, manifested in the gradual rise of head-movement operations and the direct lexicalization of different functional head positions, developed in Chapter 5, provides the necessary analytic tools to interpret the gradual shift away from dependent-marking (specifier-syntax) to head-marking (head-syntax).

From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic
Don Ringe

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Item type: book

This book describes the earliest reconstrucatable stages of the prehistory of English, focusing specifically on linguistic structure. It outlines the grammar of Proto-Indo-European, considers the changes by which one dialect of that prehistoric language developed into Proto-Germanic, and provides a detailed account of the grammar of Proto-Germanic. In the course of his exposition Don Ringe draws on a long tradition of work on many languages, including Hittite, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic, and Old Norse. This second edition has been significantly revised to provide a more in-depth account of Proto-Indo-European, with further exploration of disputed points; it has also been updated to include new developments in the field, particularly in the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European verb and nominal inflection. The author also reconsiders some of his original approaches to specific linguistic changes and their relative chronology based on his recent research.
This chapter examines the introduction and incorporation of Latinisms in Spanish that resulted from contact between Spanish and Classical Latin. This contact occurred predominantly at the level of the written language. The borrowing of a lexical item from Classical Latin is a deliberate purposeful act on the part of an individual writer. Often the Latinism ousted a signifier for the given concept already present in the lexicon. The selection of the Latinate variant in such cases may form part of the process of the standardization of written Spanish in the late medieval and early modern periods. Latinisms played an important role in greatly increasing the number of adjectival neologisms in Spanish, many of which are first documented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Latinisms had an effect on the phonotactic structures of Spanish and led to an increase of its repertory of derivational suffixes.

Imagine how the discipline of linguistics would be if expert practitioners of different theories met in a collaborative setting to tackle the same challenging data—to test the limits of their model’s infrastructure and examine how the concrete predictions of their theories differ about the same data. This book represents the result of attempting to achieve this for syntactic theory, using data from Archi (Nakh–Daghestanian, Lezgic), an endangered language with an extremely complex agreement system. We undertake a controlled evaluation of three widely practised syntactic theories, through detailed examination of the theoretical principles underlying the mechanisms that model agreement. Our objective is to assess the tractability and predictive power of these leading models of syntax—Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), and Minimalism—using a complete set of data on an agreement system from a language that has not hitherto been analysed in these frameworks.
In Archi, verbs and other clausal constituents agree with an absolutive argument. Attributive adjectives, demonstratives, and possessive pronouns agree with the head noun in the nominal domain. In Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) the former can be analysed as INDEX agreement and the latter as CONCORD agreement. However, data from Archi pose a variety of questions about how exactly they should be analysed. While any agreeing element must agree with an absolutive argument in the clausal domain, neither a constraint on ARG–ST lists nor a constraint on the features SUBJ (SUBJECT) and COMPS (COMPLEMENTS) can provide a satisfactory account of this agreement. This suggests that a constraint on syntactic structures is required. Data from Archi demonstrate that unexpressed absolutes must be represented at the relevant level of structure, contrary to much work in HPSG.

The main goal of this chapter is to provide a comparative overview of some of the principal aspects of information and discourse structure in Romance, covering such areas as the packaging of information structure according to the encoding of oppositions such as Topic-Comment, Topic-Focus, Given-New; the role and effects of illocutionary force (e.g., declarative, interrogative, exclamative), different clause types (thetic vs non-thetic predications), and the root vs embedded distinction in discourse organization; the encoding of the subject of predication; thematic progression in the realization of arguments; modal subordination and anaphora. Specific topics dealt with include: topic, focus, and sentence types; sentence-focus structures (unmarked word order; verb-subject inversion); predicate-focus structures and topicalization constructions (clitic left dislocation, hanging topic, clitic right dislocation); argument-focus structures and focalization.
constructions (postverbal focalization and cleft sentences, contrastive focus fronting, information focus fronting, mirative fronting, verum focus fronting, QP-fronting).

Welsh Phonological Structures
S. J. Hannahs

in The Phonology of Welsh

This chapter presents the fundamental information concerning Welsh phonological structures, i.e. the organization of segments into syllables, feet, and prosodic words. The characteristics of Welsh syllabification, syllabicity and phonotactics are also dealt with. The question of syllable structure is also related to the Welsh minimal word – bisyllabic or bimoraic trochee. The regular positional stress pattern of Welsh – on the penultimate syllable – is also discussed, as well as the characteristics and restrictions on irregular stress.

Remaining Issues and Further Directions
S. J. Hannahs

in The Phonology of Welsh

This chapter focusses on two different directions: phonological remnants, i.e. phenomena of phonological origin which are no longer phonologically productive, but which are still visible in the language, e.g. ‘provection’, a type of voicing assimilation. There are also various aspects of morphophonology that are remnants rather than being productive in the modern language. The other focus of the chapter is to indicate further directions in in the study of Welsh phonology, that is, further phonological research leading to a more comprehensive understanding of Welsh. These issues include phrasal phonology, in particular, and questions of prosodic structure above the word.
Multifunctionality of deictic classifiers in the Toba language (Guaycuruan)

Cristina Messineo and Paola Cúneo

in Genders and Classifiers: A Cross-Linguistic Typology

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This chapter presents the multiple functions of deictic classifier (DCs)—a cross-linguistically less frequently attested type—in the Toba language (Guaycuruan, Gran Chaco region). The system of six DCs encodes position of the human body (standing, sitting, lying down), distance (proximal and distal) and visual evidentiality (in sight / out of sight). Since DCs in Toba form a rather complex and multifunctional system, in which they carry functions in the areas of semantics (as classifiers), morphosyntax (as determiners), pragmatics (in the signalling of time and evidentiality), syntax and discourse (in the information structure), and style (as elements in the performance of certain text genres), the chapter proposes to illustrate the interplay between these functions in order to provide a more complete picture of the role of DCs in Toba.

The Romance languages and the Romance verb

Martin Maiden

in The Romance Verb: Morphomic Structure and Diachrony

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In the first part of the chapter the Romance languages are defined, and the (largely negative) significance of the distinction between a language and a dialect for the morphological data is discussed. The sources for the data on verb morphology are reviewed, and some criteria for assessing the validity of these data are examined. Finally, a comparative–historical structural sketch of the morphology of the Latin and Romance verb is given.
This chapter provides an overview of the role of typology in phonological theory. Implicational scales governing the range of cross-linguistic variation are introduced using the sonority hierarchy as a representative scalar property. The current work is situated relative to the linguistic typology research program as it relates to phonology. The book’s contribution to the study of frequency, an important component in typology, is discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary of the methodologies employed by the book to evaluate cross-linguistic and language-internal frequency: evaluation of patterns in existing databases, a survey of various phonological properties in the 100-language World Atlas of Language Structures sample, and studies of intralanguage frequency in 34 languages.