Word Order and Prosody

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Description.
Human languages display non-trivial variation in word order patterns. There are nonetheless many ways in which linguistic variation appears to be limited, and one of the great achievements of linguistics have been the documentation and systematization of such limits, for instance in the form of Greenbergian typological generalizations. Linguists from different traditions have been exploring these questions, seeking to refine and explain such observations.

In the generative tradition, universal architectural constraints have been proposed which limit the types of processes and operations that are available across languages. Thus, aspects of syntax such as e.g. locality and c-command (hierarchical relations) have been shown to play a fundamental role in the computation of syntactic dependencies, and in determining in part what possible languages are, and the patterns of word orders they can or cannot display (cf. Newmeyer 2005 for discussion). In this tradition, the ‘classical’ models of the architecture of language assume that the syntactic component is autonomous regarding phonology and semantics. They also conceive prosody as a component which merely interprets the output of syntax. Under this view, thus, PF is a level of phonological representation which cannot directly affect the syntactic structure of sentences (cf. Chomsky 1957; Chomsky & Lasnik 1977; Pierrehumbert 1980; Selkirk 1981, 1984; Chomsky 1995).

However, recent proposals are assuming a more active role of PF in the structure of language. In many recent approaches, the externalization component is no longer conceived as a mere interpreter of its input, but as an active component affecting aspects of the grammar that were traditionally attributed to the syntactic component in previous analyses (cf. Anttila 2016 for an overview).

In particular, a range of word order-affecting phenomena have been claimed to be rooted in the PF component. Recently, the Final-Over-Final Condition (FOFC) has been linked to the PF branch of derivations, arguing that it is sensitive among other things to copy-deletion, or more generally to the phonological content of the exponents (Sheehan 2013; Etxepare & Haddican 2017; Duguine 2020). Likewise, focus and nuclear stress are characterized as triggers for scrambling and different word orders in ‘discourse configurational languages’ (Zubizarreta 1998; Reinhart 2006). Prosodic phrasing restrictions are also analyzed as driving the choice of interrogative strategies across languages (Richards 2010; Kandybowicz & Torrence 2015; Mathieu 2016), and prosodic optimality restrictions could also be affecting the position an element will be spelled out in, explaining elitic-placement, verb-second effects, Heavy NP Shift and a range of other phenomena (see Zec & Inkelas 1990, Bošković 2001, 2018; Nunes 2004; Speyer 2010; Sabbagh 2013; Bennett, Elfner & McCloskey 2016;
Holmberg, Sakhai & Tamm 2020, among others). In parallel, the literature on early processing and language acquisition has uncovered that prosodic patterns could play an important role in linguistic development, biasing the choices of word order, as in the prosodic bootstrapping hypothesis (Mehler et al. 1988; Christophe et al. 2003; Bernard & Gervain 2012). Last, some theoretical works have even proposed radically new architectures such as the ‘parallel architecture’ of language proposed by Jackendoff (1997, 2002), according to which all modules of grammar (phonology, syntax and conceptual structure) create their own derivations in a parallel fashion, with correspondence rules linking the different derivations (some rules linking phonological structures and syntactic structures, some rules linking syntactic structures and conceptual structures and others linking phonological structures and conceptual structures).

We invite abstracts that explore the role and function of prosody and PF processes within the general architecture of language, from theoretical and experimental angles, addressing especially the issue of word order in any relevant language. In particular, questions that the workshop seeks to address include – but are not limited to – the following:

- What are the domains of phonology that can condition word order effects? The metrical prominence of prosodic constituents in terms of word-level or phrasal stress, their size and prosodic category, their ‘weight’, the rhythm, and/or phonotactics?
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- What ordering phenomena can prosody and PF processes explain (wholly or partially)? Focus-movement, wh-movement vs. wh-in-situ, verb-fronting strategies such as V2, verb-object/object-verb alternations, clitic-placement, compounding, incorporation, rightward movement, the Final-Over-Final Condition (FOFC)?

- Are there universal trends in how prosody influences syntax and patterns of word order across languages? What correlations can be observed across languages between prosodic structure and word order?

- Are the effects of prosody on word order gradient or categorical?

- Can syntactic constraints be violated for the good of prosodic constraints?

- Does prosody act as a filter on different outputs of syntax, as a component where syntactic structures can be ‘repaired’, and/or as a component with a primary algorithm that linearizes syntactic structures?

- What role does prosody play in the acquisition of word order (cf. the prosodic bootstrapping hypothesis)? Which aspects of prosody are the crucial ones for biasing parametric choices?

- What role does prosody play in language change and linguistic variation? Does it trigger cascade effects and macro-parametric changes?

- How does the prosodic conditioning of word order manifest itself in sign languages?
What are the consequences for the architecture of the grammar? Does prosody affecting word order imply that the relationship between phonology and syntax must be re-evaluated in the architecture of grammar, that they in fact mutually interact? Or inversely, does it strengthen the ‘radical externalization’ approach, word order being at the hands of externalization-based algorithms?

References
Duguine, M. 2020. FOFC as a PF phenomenon: Evidence from Basque clausal embedding. Ms. CNRS-IKER.


