Empirical Approaches
to Language Typology

EUROTYP 20-1

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Constituent Order
in the Languages of Europe

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Appendix – 12 word order variables in the languages of Europe

The following appendix lists the values for twelve word order variables in the languages of Europe as defined by the EUROTYP project. The data comprising the appendix have been collected over the duration of the EUROTYP project on the basis of a questionnaire, direct consultation with language experts and native speakers and an examination of the existing literature. The rather elaborate word order questionnaire, devised by members of the constituent order group, was filled out by native speaker linguists or linguists working in consultation with native speakers for 56 languages. The languages in question are marked in the appendix by the letter *Q* next to the language name. We are greatly indebted to the many scholars who have shared their expertise with us and particularly to those who spared the time to complete the questionnaire. Our chief consultants together with the names of the languages on which they were consulted are listed at the end of the appendix. Needless to say, while we have relied on the knowledge of these scholars, the ultimate responsibility for how we have interpreted the answers to our queries rests with us.

Though we have gone to great lengths to check the accuracy of the data contained in the appendix, confirming the data provided by one source with that of several other sources, for some of the languages we have had to rely solely on grammatical sketches and/or comparative remarks in surveys of groups of languages. Most of the Turkic languages fall into this category, quite a few of the indigenous languages of the Caucasus (e.g. Abaza, Bats, Hinukh, Lak, Tindi, Khvarshi, Udi, Ubykh), three of the Finnic (Karelian, Livonian, Votic), several of the Romance (e.g. Aragonese, Asturian, Corsican, Dalmatian, Franco-Provençal), three of the Balto-Slavic (Old Prussian, Polabian and Lower Sorbian), two of the Iranian (Talysh and Tati) as well as Oscan and Umbrian. We cannot vouch for the correctness of the data for these languages. For Pontic and Tsakonian we have been unable to collect any data at all. And for Etruscan we have simply reiterated the current conjectures.

The twelve word order variables presented in the appendix are those that have featured prominently in typological discussions of word order initiated by Greenberg's (1963) seminal work on word order universals. With the exception

of the first variable which represents the basic order of the subject, object and verb in a language, all the variables reflect the order between pairs of constituents where one of the two constituents is the head and the other the modifier. Unlike in most listings of the order of such head/modifier pairs which provide only the basic order of the two relative to each other, this appendix also specifies alternative orders and the morphological status, free, clitic affix or compound, of the forms involved.

Of the twelve word order variables, four relate to the order of what may be characterized as clause-level constituents. These are: the previously mentioned basic order of the subject, object and verb (BWO), the order of the adposition relative to the noun, i.e. whether a language has prepositions or postpositions (Adpos), the order of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb (Aux/V), and the order of the recipient in a ditransitive clause relative to the verb (V/R). This last variable is essentially of relevance only for SOV languages. It is intended to capture whether the language in question is or is not strictly verb final. The remaining eight variables all pertain to the order of the constituents of the NP. The variables in question are: the order of the definite article and the noun (Def/N), the order of the indefinite article and noun (Indef/N), the order of the demonstrative and noun (Dem/N), the order of the cardinal numeral and the noun (Num/N), the order of the adjective and noun (Adj/N), the order of the nominal possessor and possessed noun (G/N), the order of the pronominal possessor and the possessed noun (Pro/N) and the order of the restrictive relative clause and noun (Rel/N).

The identification of most of the categories comprising the twelve variables in the languages of Europe is relatively straightforward. The determination of the presence of definite and/or indefinite articles in a language constitutes the major exception. Many languages may express definiteness or indefiniteness by means of possessive affixes or clitics (e.g. as in Turkic or Finnic), demonstratives (e.g. as in Sorbian and spoken Finnish), the numeral *one* (e.g. as in Classical Armenian, Assyrian, Estonian, Finnish, Nenets, Turkish and Bashkir), case endings (e.g. as in Adyge or Kabardian) or different series of adjectival endings (e.g. as in Latvian, Lithuanian and to some extent in Germanic). The use of these means of definiteness and/or indefiniteness marking, particularly via possessives, demonstratives and the numeral *one*, may be common enough in a language for some linguists to consider the forms in question as articles. Therefore in the case of some languages there is considerable disagreement in the literature in regard to whether they do or do not possess articles. We have adopted a rather conservative position on this issue and treated as articles only morphemes (words, clitics or affixes) used solely (or primarily) to indicate definiteness or indefiniteness. Accordingly none of the Turkic or Finnic languages, with the exception of Mordvin, are indicated in the appendix as having

a definite article. Nor are Classical Armenian, Assyrian, Estonian, Finnish, Nenets, Turkish or Bashkir treated as possessing an indefinite article. And of the Slavic languages only Bulgarian and Macedonian are considered as having a definite article.

In determining the basic order of the twelve variables we have applied somewhat different criteria at the clause and NP levels. For the clause-level constituents we have considered the order obtaining in main, positive, declarative, indicative clauses with nominal as opposed to pronominal or clausal arguments. We took the basic order to be the statistically dominant order. In the case of the basic transitive order, we adopted the Greenbergian typology of S, O and V, where S stands for the agentive argument of a transitive clause and O for the patient-like argument. It must be mentioned that this characterization is not intended to carry any implications as to the syntactic as opposed to pragmatic underpinnings of the basic transitive order. Since we do not assume that the dominant configuration of the S, O and V is necessarily the product of syntactic rules, we have not made use of the labels 'free' or 'no basic order' which are two of the solutions frequently adopted for languages whose order is considered to be pragmatically determined. The vast majority of the languages of Europe have been given a basic transitive order classification of SVO, SOV or VSO. Some, however, have been assigned a dual classification. For several languages, namely Classical Greek, Classical Armenian, Upper and Lower Sorbian, Georgian and Hungarian opinions differ as to whether the dominant order is SOV or SVO. Since there are arguments for and against either of these classifications, we have opted to remain agnostic on this issue. The second group of languages which have been given a double basic transitive order classification are Dutch, Frisian, German and Luxembourgish all of which have SVO order in nonperiphrastic tenses and SAuxOV in periphrastic tenses. Given that in the former the object occurs after and in the latter before the lexical verb, a straightforward SVO or SOV classification of these languages could be considered as misleading. Two further languages with double basic transitive order are Breton and Cornish both of which are labelled VSO/VSO. For Breton the statistics are again not clear. Moreover, the verb in VSO clauses cannot usually occur in absolute initial position, while the subject in SVO clauses takes a special particle which is distinct from that found in XVSO order. In Cornish VSO order is claimed to be dominant in verbal clauses and SVO order in nominalized clauses. The latter, however, are said to be more frequent than the former.

In view of the heterogeneous nature of some of the modifiers of the noun, in determining the basic order of head/modifier pairs within the NP, in addition to the dominance criterion, we took into account certain semantic, structural

and distributional aspects of the modifiers. On the whole we took the basic order to be the dominant order displayed by the biggest class of a given modifier. Accordingly, for Pro/N order the order occurring with first and second person pronouns was treated as basic. And for Adj/N order the dominant order found with the biggest class of adjectives was taken as basic. For G/N order, however, we took the basic order to be that occurring with human possessors even if in the majority of the genitive phrases in the language the genitive occupied a different position, as is the case in English and other Germanic languages. Thus English, for example, is classified as having basic GN order as in *the boy's jacket* rather than basic NG order as in *the car of the woman next door* or *the engine of the car*, though the latter occurs with a bigger class of genitives than the former. In determining the basic order of cardinal numerals, was assigned priority to the order exhibited by lower ranking numerals rather than higher ranking ones, unless the former consisted of only one or two members. This latter situation occurs in Basque in which the numeral *one* and in some dialects *two* is prenominal while all the others are postnominal. In the case of relative constructions we took into account only the order of identifying as opposed to qualifying constructions. This means that we disregarded constructions such as the Dutch *de in de tuin zittende man* lit. 'the in the garden sitting man' where the prenominal participial phrase '*in de tuin zittende*' typically serves to qualify the noun and not like the finite relative clause *de man die net nog in de tuin zat* 'the man who was sitting in the garden just a moment ago' to help identify the noun. In languages which have both participial and clausal relatives both of which regularly may fulfil an identifying function, as in some of the Finnic languages, we took the order of the clausal relative as basic. Our motivation for doing so was the fact that the participial relatives tend not to display the same range of arguments and adjuncts as the clausal. For the languages for which we lack detailed data, we opted to assign no basic order if two orders were attested.

The alternative orders of head/modifier pairs specified in the appendix do not include orders which occur only if the modifier is itself modified. For example, though in English an adjective with a prepositional complement is obligatorily postnominal as in *a man proud of his son* rather than prenominal as in *a proud man*, English is not classified in the appendix as exhibiting NAdj in addition to AdjN order. Another type of alternative order which is not included in the appendix is that due solely to the attachment of a given modifier to another modifier. A case in point is that of DefN order in languages in which definite articles are enclitic to the first modifier of the NP. In languages which have such articles, for instance, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian the order of the article and noun is obligatorily N#Def as in the Rumanian *om-ul*

'the man'. The order DefN occurs only if the definite article is enclitic to a preceding adjective, numeral or in Macedonian and Bulgarian also possessive pronoun as in the Rumanian *bun-ul om* 'the good man'. A similar situation is found in Modern Greek in which the definite article can occur here post rather than prenominally only if it is repeated with a postnominal modifier as in *i jineka i omorfi* lit. 'the woman the beautiful' as compared to *i omorfi jineka* or *i omorfi i jineka*. The alternative orders that we have taken into account include:

- a) orders that involve the same class of modifiers as those in the basic order used under different, structural, semantic or pragmatic conditions than those typical of the basic order;
- b) orders that involve a distinct class of modifiers to those found in the basic order;
- c) orders that may be used with a sub-class of the modifiers found in the basic order;
- d) combinations of the above.

An example of an alternative order used under different structural conditions to that of the basic order is that of DefN as compared to NDef order in the North Germanic languages which use the former in conjunction or instead of the latter in the presence of a prenominal adjective; cf. the Swedish *stad-en* 'the city' with *den stora stad-en* 'the big city'. An instance of an alternative order involving a semantic difference is that of NNum as compared to NumN order in Latvian and East Slavic which is associated with an approximate interpretation of the numeral. An essentially pragmatic difference, contrast or emphasis, underlies the NAdj as opposed to AdjN order in most Slavic languages. An alternative order found with a complementary class of modifiers to that in the basic order is the previously mentioned NumN order with the numeral *bat* 'one' in Basque. The same phenomenon may be observed in Maltese and Classical Armenian. An alternative order displayed only by a subclass of the modifiers that occur in the basic order is the AdjN order in Celtic favoured by a small class of adjectives such as the Scots Gaelic *deagh* 'good', *droch* 'bad', *fior* 'real' which form quasi compounds with the noun. Another case in point is that of gentilitial adjectives in Basque which, unlike other adjectives which occur postnominally, may be placed both before and after the noun: *amerikar hiria/hiri amerikarra* 'American city'. A combination of the above underlies AdjN as compared to NAdj order in the Romance languages. In most of the Romance languages AdjN order is found only with a small class of adjectives such as the Catalan *vell* 'longstanding old', *pobre* 'pitiable/poor' and *pur* 'sheer/pure'. The majority of this small class of adjectives also display NAdj order but with a

change of meaning. And just a few adjectives such as *mer* 'mere' can only occur prenominally.

The data in the appendix are organized as follows. The languages are grouped according to their standardly recognized genetic affiliation into phyla, families and major branches and sub-branches. Within each genetic sub-grouping the languages are listed alphabetically. Under each language name the values for the twelve word order variables are specified in linear sequence beginning with BWO and ending with V/R. For languages which have more than one value for variables other than BWO, the basic order of the variable in question is accompanied by the letter (*b*) and the alternative order is given underneath the basic order. We have not attempted to indicate the conditions under which the alternative orders occur by means of notational conventions, since too many such conventions would be necessary to capture the diverse range of alternative orders that have been taken into account. Instead we provide relevant information, if available, in notes. In view of the fact that a given order even in closely related languages need not occur under the same set of conditions, the reader is advised to consult the notes before drawing any hasty generalizations solely on the basis of the ordering patterns indicated in the main body of the appendix. Alternative orders which are not commented upon in notes may be assumed to involve essentially the same classes of modifiers as those featuring in the basic order. If neither of the values for a given variable is indicated by a (*b*), this means that we did not have sufficient information to determine which order is basic, or, possibly, that none of the orders should be considered as basic. Blanks for the variables Def/N and Indef/N indicate that the specific variable is irrelevant for the language in question. A '?' underneath a variable means that we lack the relevant information.

The information on the order of head/modifier pairs is accompanied by a specification of the morphological status: free, clitic, affix or quasi compound of the forms involved. Orders involving free forms are indicated by the abbreviations of the forms in question beginning in upper case, (e.g. NAdj or AdjN) while affixes are presented in lower case and indicated by '·' (e.g. N-def or Pro#N or N#Def). And the few instances of semi-compounds are indicated by the symbol '=' (e.g. Adj=N). If the free form of a modifier requires the concomitant presence of an affixal or clitic form of the same modifier or vice versa under some set of circumstances, both of these forms are specified (e.g. Pro#NPro or ProN-pro). Needless to say, since the distinction between free forms, clitics and affixes is notoriously difficult to draw and the same forms are often referred to in the literature by different labels, the distinctions that we have made in this regard may not always be correct. In distinguishing clitics

from free forms, unless we had information to the contrary, we took as a diagnostic of a free form independent word status in the writing system. Our basic criterion for distinguishing affixes from clitics was whether the article, demonstrative or possessive pronoun (the only three categories in the appendix for which we attempted to make this distinction) is necessarily attached to the noun or whether in the presence of other modifiers it attaches to one of these other modifiers. The former were classified as affixes, the latter as clitics. If we did not have enough information at our disposal to establish the distribution properties of an apparent bound form, it was assigned affixal status.

The notional conventions for depicting free, clitic and affixal status that we adopted were difficult to apply in the case of pronominal possessive constructions in Celtic involving a postnominal personal form of a preposition as in the Manx *y thie aym* lit 'the house at:1sg' meaning 'my house'. Since in such constructions the pronominal form is bound to the preposition rather than directly to the noun, either a NPro or a N-pro representation of the status of this pronominal form is misleading. Nonetheless, we have opted not to introduce further notational conventions and have represented this construction as NPro thus signalling that the pronoun is not bound to the noun.

Consultants

Tor A. Afarli – Norwegian	Toomas Help – Estonian
Jurji Anduganov – Mari	Titi Hennoste – Estonian
G. M. Awbery – Welsh	Mateja Hočevár – Slovene
Emanuel Banfi – Albanian, Slovene	Anders Holmberg – Swedish
Peter Bakker – Romani	Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen – Danish
Giovanni M. G. Belluscio – Albanian	Jan de Jong – Latin
Giuliano Bernini – Italian	Jóhannes Gisli Jónsson – Icelandic
Vit Bubenik – Czech	Birute Klass – Estonian
Alain Christol – Ossetic	Paula Kokkonen – Komi Zyrian
Bernard Comrie – Maltese	Katalin Kiss – Hungarian
Ines Loi Corvetto – Sardinian	Chrysoula Lascaritou – Greek
Helma Dik – Ancient Greek	Ruta Marcinkeviciene – Lithuanian
Margreet Dorleijn – Kurdish, Turkish	Yaron Matras – Kirmanji, Romani
Karen Ebert – Frisian (North)	Belén López Meirama – Galician
Jack Feuillet – Bulgarian, Macedonian	Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera – Spanish
Anna Gavarró – Catalan	Igor Nedjalkov – Ossetic, Karachay
Inge Genee – Irish	Christian T. Petersen – Gothic
Jadranka Gvozdanović – Serbian/Croatian	Beatrice Primus – High German, Rumanian
Riho Grünthal – Mordvin (Erzya)	Dónall P. O Baoill – Irish
Ian Hancock – Romani	Eusebio Osa – Basque
Martin Haspelmath – Lezgian	Bernard Oyharçabal – Basque

- Estiphan Panoussi – Modern Eastern Armenian, Assyrian
 Jan Rijkhoff – Dutch
 Sirkka Saarinen – Mari
 Tapani Salminen – Nenets (Tundra)
 Merja Salo – Mordvin (Erzya)
 Pekka Sammallahti – Sami
 Gerjan van Schaik – Turkish
 Suzanne Schlyter – French
 Irja Seurujärvi-Kari – Sami
 Anna Siewierska – Polish
 H. A. Sigurðsson – Icelandic
 Riëks Smeets – Circassian
 Swillen Stanchev – Bulgarian
 Janig Stephens – Breton
 Pirkko Suhkonen – Udmurt
 Jan-Olof Svantesson – Kalmyk
 Maggie Tallerman – Welsh
 Yakov G. Testelec – Russian, Kartvelian, Daghestanian
 Ingrid Thelin – Spanish
 Jasmine Tragut – Armenian
 Ludmila Uhlířová – Czech, Slovak, Polish, Bulgarian
 Enric Vallduví – Catalan
 Martina Vanhove – Maltese
 Maria Viikuna – Finnish and Finnic
 Jos Weitenberg – Classical and East Armenian
 Bibinur Zaguljajeva – Udmurt
 Tomaso Zorzutti – Sardinian
 Boštjan Zupaničič – Slovene

Word Order in the Languages of Europe
 (b) = basic order
 (Q) = questionnaire available

PHYLUM: AFRO-ASIATIC

GROUP: Semitic/West/Central Arabic

Maltese (Q)

SVO prep

Def#N

DemN

NumN (b)

NAdj (b) NG (b)

NPro

NRel

AuxV

VR

GROUP: Semitic/West/Central/Aramaic

Assyrian

SVO prep

DemN

NumN

NAdj

NG

N-prob (b) N-proPro

NRel

AuxV (b) Aux

VR

PHYLUM: ALTAIC_{2,3}

GROUP: Mongolian-Tungus/Mongolian/Oirat-Khalika

Kalmyk

SOV post

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro ProN-pro ProN

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Bolgar

Chuvash

SOV post

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro ProN-pro ProN

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Central

Nogai

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Southern

Gagauz

SVO⁴ post

DemN NumN

AdjN (b)
GN (b)

NG

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

VR (b)

Turkish (Q)

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV (b)

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Southern/Azerbaijani

Azerbaijani

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Western

Bashkir

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Western/Kumyk-Karachay

Karachay-Balkar

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

Karam⁵

SVO post

DemN NumN

AdjN

NG

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

Kumyk

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

GROUP: Turkic/Common-Turkic/Western/Tatar

Crimmean-Tatar

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV (b)

Tatar

SOV post

DemN NumN

AdjN

GN

N-pro
Pron-pro
Pron

RelN

Vaux

RV

PHYLUM: BASQUE

Basque (Q)

SOV post

N#Def

NDem

NumN (b)
NNum⁶NAdj (b)
AdjN⁷

GN

Pron

RelN (b)
NRelAuxV
VauxRV (b)
VR

Akhvakh	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	VAux	RV
	Andi (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV (b)
	Bagvalal (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NNum	NAdj	NG	NRel		VR
	Bagvalal (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV (b)
	Borlikh (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV
		SOV	post	DemN	NNum	NAdj	NG	NRel		VR
	Chamalal (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	RelN (b)	RV
	Godoberi (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	NPro	RelN (b)	RV
		SOV	post	DemN	NNum	NAdj	NG	NRel		VR
	Karata (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV
		SOV	post	DemN	NNum	NAdj	NG	NRel		VR
	Tindi	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV (b)
		VR			NNum	NAdj	NG			
	Avar (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	RelN (b)	RV
	GROUP: NorthEast/Daghestanian/Avaro-Andi-Dido/Avar ⁸									
	Bezhta (Q)	SOV	post	DemN (b)	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	RelN (b)	RV (b)
	GROUP: NorthEast/Daghestanian/Avaro-Andi-Dido/Dido ⁸									
		SOV	post	NDeM	NNum	NAdj	NG	NPro	NRel	
	Hinukh	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	RelN	RV
	Hunzib	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	RelN	RV
	Khvarshi	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	RelN	RV
	Tsez (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	?	RelN	?
		SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	RelN	RV
	Lak	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	RelN	RV
	GROUP: NorthEast/Daghestanian/Lak-Dargwa									
	Dargwa (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron	RelN (b)	RV (b)
		VR				NAdj	NG		NRel	
		SOV	post	DemN		AdjN	GN		RelN	RV

GROUP: NorthEast/Daghestanian/Lezgian

Archil (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
Khinalug	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
GROUP: NorthEast/Daghestanian/Lezgian/Lezgian-Propet										
Agul	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
Budukh	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV	VR
Kryz	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	?	RelN	Vaux	RV
Lezgi (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN		RelN	Vaux	RV
Rutul (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	VR	
Tabasaran (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	ProN (b)	RelN (b)	Vaux	RV
Tsakhur (Q)	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	NG	NPro	NRel		
SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN	ProN	NRel			
UD!	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	VR
SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	VR	

GROUP: NorthEast/Nakh

Tsova-Tush	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	?	VR
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GROUP: NorthEast/Nakh/Chechen-Ingush

Chechen	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV
Ingush	SOV	post	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	ProN	RelN	Vaux	RV

PHYLUM: NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN

GROUP: Ubykh	Ubykh									
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SOV	post	Def#N	indef-N	dem-N	Num=N	N=Adj (b) GN	Propro-N (b)	RelN (b)	Vaux	RV
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GROUP: NorthWest/Abkhaz-Abaza

Abaza	SOV	post	def-N	DemN	NumN	N#Adj (b) GN	Propro-N (b)	RelN	Vaux	RV (b)
Abkhaz (Q)	SOV	post	Def#N	DemN	N-num=N	N=Adj (b) GN	Propro-N (b)	RelN (b)	Vaux	VR

[illegible]

Belorussian	SVO	prep	DemN (b)	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
	Russian (Q)			NDem	NNum ¹⁷	NAdj	GN	NPro			
Ukrainian	SVO	prep	DemN (b)	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem	NNum ¹⁷	NAdj	GN	NPro			
GROUP: Balto-Slavic/Slavic/East/South ¹⁸			DemN (b)	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem	NNum ¹⁷	NAdj	GN	NPro			
Old-Church-Slavonic	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG (b)	NPro	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		AdjN	GN				
GROUP: Balto-Slavic/Slavic/South ¹⁸			DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem	NNum ¹⁷	NAdj	GN	NPro			
GROUP: Balto-Slavic/Slavic/South/East ¹⁸			DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		AdjN	GN				
Bulgarian (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Macedonian	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Serbo-Croatian (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Slovene (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b) ¹⁹	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
GROUP: Balto-Slavic/Slavic/West/Central ^{18,20}	SOV/ prep		DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	RV (b)	VR
	SOV			NDem		NAdj	NG	NPro			
Lower Sorbian	SOV/ prep		DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	RV (b)	VR
	SOV			NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Upper Sorbian	SOV/ prep		DemN (b)	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	RV (b)	VR
	SVO			NDem		NAdj	NG	NPro			
Kashubian	SVO	prep	DemN (b)	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Polabian	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	Pron	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro		non-cnt	
Polish (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN (b)	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
GROUP: Balto-Slavic/Slavic/West/South ¹⁸			DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Czech (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			
Slovak (Q)	SVO	prep	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	Pron (b)	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
				NDem		NAdj	GN	NPro			

GROUP: Celtic/Insular/Brythonic^{21,22}

Breton (Q)

VSO/ prep

DefN

IndefN

N#Dem

NumN(b)

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR

Cornish

VSO/ prep

DefN

IndefN

N-dem

NumN

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N

NRel

AuxV

VR

Welsh (Q)

VSO prep

DefN

NDem

NumN(b)

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N-pro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR

GROUP: Celtic/Insular/Goidelic^{21,22}

Irish (Q)

VSO prep

DefN

N#Dem

NumN(b)

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR

Manx

VSO prep

DefN

NDem

NumN

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR

Scottish Gaelic

VSO prep

DefN

N#Dem

NumN(b)

NAdj(b)

NG

Pro#N(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR

GROUP: Germanic/East

Gothic (Q)

SOV prep

DemN

NumN

NAdj(b)

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel(b)

Vaux

RV(b)

Danish (Q)

VSO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Swedish (Q)

VSO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Faroesic

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Icelandic (Q)

SVO prep

N-def(b)

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Norwegian (Q)

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

German (Q)

SVO/ prep(b)

DefN

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

SauxOV post

prePNpost

GROUP: Germanic/West/Continental/East²⁴

German (Q)

SVO/ prep(b)

DefN

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

DefN

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

DefN

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

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DefN

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NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

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NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Faroesic

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

GROUP: Germanic/North/West²³

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

NPro(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

DefN

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron(b)

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

DefN

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

GROUP: Germanic/North/East²³

SVO prep

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

DefN

N-def(b)

IndefN

DemN

NumN

AdjN

GN(b)

Pron

NRel

AuxV

VR(b)

Luxembourgish	SVO/	prep (b)	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
Yiddish	prepNpost													
SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN (b)	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
GROUP: Germanic/West/Continental/West ²⁴														
Dutch (Q)	prep (b)	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
SVO/	prep (b)	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
SauxOV	post													
GROUP: Germanic/West/North-Sea ²⁴														
English (Q)	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
Frisian (Q)														
SVO/	prep (b)	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN (b)	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
SauxOV	post													
GROUP: Greek														
Classical Greek (Q)	prep (b)	DefN												
SVO/	prep (b)	DefN												
SVO	post													

Greek (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN (b)	AdjN (b)	NG (b)	N#Pro	NRel	AuxV	VR (b)	RV
Pontic		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsakonian		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

GROUP: Indo-Iranian/Iranian/Western/NorthWest														
Kirmanji	SVO	prep (b)	NIndef	DemN	NumN	NAdj	NG	NP _{pro}		NRel	AuxV	RV		
Talysh	prepNpost													
SVO	post			DemN	NumN	AdjN	GN	?		NRel	?			
GROUP: Indo-Iranian/Iranian/Western/SouthWest														
Tati	SVO	post			DemN	NumN	AdjN	NG	?	NRel	?			

<p> <i>GROUP: Italic/Latino-Faliscan/Romance/Continental</i>²⁵ </p>									
Aragonese	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Asturian	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Catalan (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	NDem ²⁶	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Coriscan	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Dalmatian	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	N-pro
Franco-Provençal	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
French (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Friulian	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Galician (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	NDem ²⁶	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Italian (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Ladin	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Occitan	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Portuguese	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Romansh	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Rumanian (Q)	SVO	prep	N#Def	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
	SVO	prep	N#Def	IndefN	NDem ²⁷	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron
Spanish (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN (b)	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
Sardinian (Q)	SVO	prep	DefN	IndefN	DemN	NumN	NAdj (b)	NG	Pron (b)
<p> <i>GROUP: Italic/Latino-Faliscan/Romance/Sardinian</i>²⁵ </p>									
NRel	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NPro	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NumN	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
DemN	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
IndefN	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NAdj (b)	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NG	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NPro	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
NRel	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
AuxV	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
VR	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR
	VR	AuxV	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR	VR

relatives and persons consisting of a single word. The use of the possessive adjective construction is relatively uncommon in East Slavic and rare in Polish, but considered as basic in the Sorbian languages. GN order may also involve the possessor (G) in the genitive case or in Bulgarian and Macedonian an unmarked possessor. This latter type of GN order occurs if the construction expresses not ownership, but rather, shape, colour, size, material and other qualities.

19. Though all the Slavic languages have marked NPro order with possessive pronouns and Serbo-Croatian and Slovene also with a dative clitic, in Slovene the preferred means of expressing pronominal possession appears to be via an adpositional construction, i.e. N prep Pro.
20. In both of the Sorbian languages pronominal possessive adjectives appear to be the basic means of expressing possession with human possessors.
21. In all the Celtic languages the circumposition of the numeral occurs with numerals higher than ten.
22. The Adj=N order in the Celtic languages occurs only with a small set of adjectives.
23. In the Scandinavian languages DefN order (with or without an accompanying post-nominal definite article) occurs only if the noun is modified, e.g. by an adjective, in the case of Faroese typically only if the adjective is an absolute superlative.
24. The NPro order in the West-Germanic languages requires a pronominal determiner, e.g. *that book of mine*.
25. The conditions under which AdjN order is used in the various Romance languages appear to differ from language to language. For instance in Catalan such order is claimed to be restricted to only a few adjectives, in Sardinian to some affective adjectives, in Galician to adjectives expressing an immaterial or intrinsic quality, in Italian to descriptive adjectives and in French to evaluative adjectives. In French, and presumably also in most of the other Romance languages, AdjN order may also be used for highlighting.
26. In Catalan and also Galician and Spanish in NDem order the noun must be preceded by the definite article.
27. In Rumanian in NDem order both the noun and the demonstrative must be accompanied by the cliticized definite article.
28. In the Uralic languages, preposed relative constructions are participial and postposed are finite.
29. The possessive suffix is becoming obsolete in colloquial Finnish and also the other Finnic languages. In Livonian it appears to have already disappeared.
30. In Finnish the adjective in NAdj order is typically considered to be appositional.
31. The relative freedom of order in the NP in Vepsian is attributed to Russian influence.
32. Though the Permic languages, like the other Uralic languages but for Mordvin and Hungarian, lack a definite article, the possessive suffixes are used to convey definiteness. The same may be observed in Mari and Nenets.
33. In Komi-Zyrian and also Mordvin the postposed as opposed to preposed adjective agrees with the noun in number.
34. The variety of Mordvin considered here is Erzya.

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