

# Morphological language classification

*Languages of the world*

*Gerhard Jäger*

- Different degrees of morphological complexity
- exs.: Yay (Southern China; (a)) vs. Oneida (North America; (b))

(1) a. mi<sup>4</sup> ran<sup>1</sup> tua<sup>4</sup> njwa<sup>1</sup> lew<sup>6</sup>  
not see CLASS snake CMPLT  
He did not see the snake.

(Example from Gedney 1991, xxx)

b. yo-nuhs-a-tho:lé:  
3NEUT.PAT-room-epenthetic-be.cold.STAT  
The room is cold.

(Example from Michelson 1991, 133)

# Morphological typology of the 19th century

- The – implicit – premise of the first language typology is that morphology, especially inflection, forms the core of the language system.
- Two parameters are in the center of interest:
  - 1) Expression of grammatical meaning, i.e. the degree of their grammaticalization:
    - concrete vs. Abstract
    - degree of binding and fusion of grammatical forms
  - 2) Degree of complexity of the word vs. Complexity of the sentence (degree of synthesis)

# Friedrich Schlegel's Types: inflecting vs. isolating

Entweder werden die Nebenbestimmungen der Bedeutung durch innre Veränderungen des Wurzellauts angezeigt, durch Flexion, oder aber jedesmal durch ein eignes hinzugefügtes Wort, was schon an und für sich Mehrheit, Vergangenheit, ein zukünftiges Sollen oder andre Verhältnisbegriffe der Art bedeutet; und diese beiden einfachsten Fälle bezeichnen auch die Hauptgattungen aller Sprache. Alle übrigen Fälle sind bei näherer Ansicht nur Modifikationen und Nebenarten jener beiden Gattungen; daher dieser Gegensatz auch das ganze in Rücksicht auf die Mannigfaltigkeit der Wurzeln unermeßliche Gebiet der Sprache umfaßt und völlig erschöpft. [Schlegel 1808: 45]

# August Wilhelm Schlegel's three classes: isolating – agglutinating - inflecting

- 1) Languages without any grammatical structure,
- 2) languages that use affixes,
- 3) languages with inflection.

Among inflecting languages, two kinds are distinguished,  
**synthetic** and **analytic**. The analytic languages have:

- articles preceding the noun,
- personal pronouns preceding the verb,
- auxiliary verbs in verbal inflection,
- prepositions instead of case,
- adverbs for comparative of adjective etc.

The synthetic languages do not have such paraphrases  
**(periphrases)**.

# Wilhelm von Humboldt's morphological typology as description of the language system („Sprachform“):

- "Die charakteristische Form der Sprachen hängt an jedem einzelnen ihrer kleinsten Elemente; jedes wird durch sie, wie unerklärlich es im einzelnen sei, auf irgendeine Weise bestimmt. Dagegen ist es kaum möglich, Punkte aufzufinden, von denen sich behaupten ließe, daß sie an ihnen, einzeln genommen, entscheidend haftete. [... H. fordert,] dass in den Begriff der Form der Sprache keine Einzelheit als isolierte Tatsache, sondern immer nur insofern aufgenommen werden darf, als sich eine Methode der Sprachbildung an ihr entdecken lässt. Man muss durch die Darstellung der Form den spezifischen Weg erkennen, welchen die Sprache und mit ihr die Nation, der sie angehört, zum Gedankenausdruck einschlägt.“  
[Humboldt 1836: §12, 420ss.]

# Edward Sapir's morphological Typology

Sapir (1921, esp. Kap. V) reduces morphological typology to two parameters:

- 1. Degree of **fusion** of the affixes with each other and with the root: (isolating -) agglutinative – fusional.
- 2. Degree of **synthesis** of the components of the sentence into more or less complex words: analytic – synthetic - polysynthetic

# Index of synthesis

- One extreme: no morphological synthesis
  - Completely isolating language
  - All morphemes are free morphemes
- Other extreme: all grammatical relations between morphemes are morphologically realized
  - Extreme polysynthesis; every sentence consists of a single (complex) word

# Index of synthesis

ISOLATING<-x---x->SYNTHETIC  
Yay English Oneida

- No language is entirely isolating
- Chinese comes close
- However, even Chinese has some inflection and derivation affixes
- Also, Chinese has composition

(2) a. tā zài túshūguǎn kàn bào  
he at library read newspaper  
He's at the library reading a newspaper.

b. Xiǎo Huáng kuài yào lái le  
Little Huang fast will come ASP  
Little Huang is coming!

c. tā chī le yi ge yóutiáo  
he ate PFV one CLASS fritter  
He ate one fritter.

(Data adapted from Li and Tsui 2004)

# Properties of isolating languages

- Isolating languages frequently have a complex **tonal system**
- For instance Yai (cf. ex (3))
- No obvious functional explanations
- Possibly just an accidental areal phenomenon
- Isolating languages frequently use **serial verbs**
- cf. ex (4) (also Yai)

(3)	yī (high tone)	"clothes"
	yí (rising tone)	"to suspect"
	yǐ (falling then rising tone)	"chair"
	yì (falling tone)	"meaning"

(4)	may <sup>6</sup>	faay <sup>4</sup>	kong <sup>2</sup>	ma <sup>1</sup>	rop <sup>1</sup>	caw <sup>3</sup>	hauq <sup>3</sup>	ku <sup>1</sup>
	bamboo	bend	come	stroke	head	give		I

The bamboo bends down to stroke my head for me.

# Properties of isolating languages

- Isolating languages usually have **fixed word order**
- Not surprising from a functional perspective, because in the absence of morphological marking, grammatical distinctions can only be expressed by word order

# Examples for isolating languages

- Chinese
- English
- Thai
- Vietnamese
- Bulgarian

# Properties of synthetic languages

- Robust usage of morphology; i.e.  
Complex words
- Example: Bare (Arawakan,  
Venezuela), cf. (5)

(5)	nu-khniñani	hme-muduka-na-ka	bî	babuka	Varela	abi	.
	1P-people	3P-kill-PFV-SEQ	you	around	Varela	with	
My people shot at you because of Varela						(Data from Aikhenwald 1995)	

- Extremely synthetic: polysynthetic
- For instance Tiwa (NA), cf. (6)

(6) a.	Ti-khwian-mu-ban	
	1S-dog-see-PST	
	I saw the dog.	
b.	Men-mukhin-tuwi-ban	
	2D-hat-buy-PST	
	You two bought a hat.	
c.	In-khwian-wia-che-ban	seuanide-ba
	AGR-dog-give-PASS-PST	man-INST
	The man gave me the dog.	

# Properties of synthetic languages

- In polysynthetic languages, a single word may contain more than one lexical root
- Process is called **incorporation**
- Despite superficial similarity there are crucial differences to word formation via composition
  - Most frequent case: incorporation of noun by verb
  - Results in complex verb
  - Incorporated noun remains referentially autonomous
  - Incorporated noun saturates argument position of the verb

# Properties of synthetic languages

- complex **agreement system**
- e.g. Tiwa (NA, cf. (7), (8)):
  - Verb agrees with subject, direct object and indirect object
- No language is entirely synthetic; even polysynthetic languages have syntactically complex sentences

(7) 'U-ide tow-keuap-wia-ban  
child-A 1S:C:A-shoe-give-PST  
*I gave the shoes to the child.*

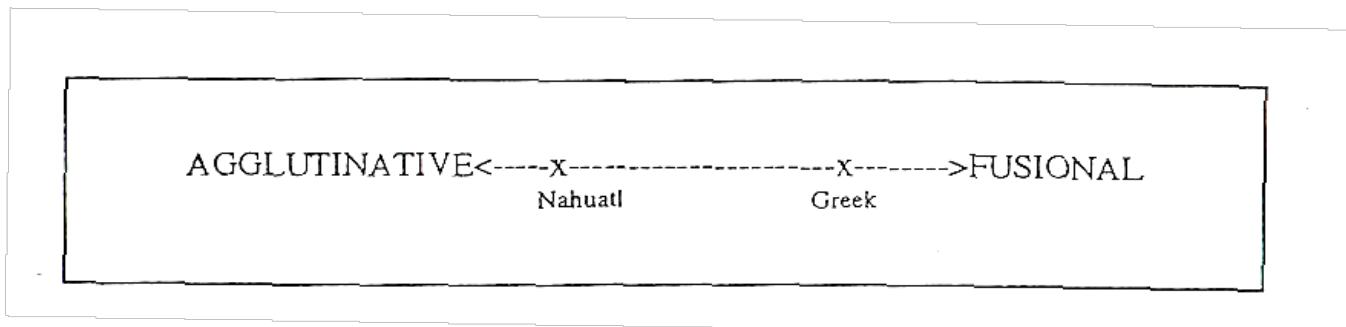
(8) 'U-ide tam-musa-wia-ban  
child-A 1S:B:A-cat-give-PST  
*I gave the cats to the child.*

# Examples for strongly synthetic languages

- Inuktitut
- Chukchi
- Ainu (Japan)
- Circassian (Northern Caucasus)
- Basque
- Maya
- Lakota
- Mohawk

# Fusion index

- One extreme: agglutinative languages
  - Morpheme boundaries are easy to identify
  - Every morpheme has a unique, clearly identifiable function
- Other extreme: fusional languages
  - No clear morpheme boundaries
  - Single grammatical morpheme frequently expresses different grammatical functions



# Properties of agglutinative languages

- Clearly identifiable morphemes
- E.g. Nahautl (Uto-Aztecán)

(9) no-kali	my house	no-pelo	my dog
no-kali-mes	my houses	mo-pelo	your dog
mo-kali	your house	mo-pelo-mes	your dogs
i-kali	his house	i-pelo	his dog

- No irregular allomorphy
- Morphemes are invariant between different contexts

# Examples for agglutinative languages

- Turkish
- Basque
- Chechen
- Finnish
- Hungarian
- Inuktitut
- Swahili

# Properties of fusional languages

- Morpheme boundaries are difficult to identify
- e.g. Ancient Greek

(10)	lu-ō	1S:PRES:ACT:IND (I am releasing)
	lu-ōmai	1S:PRES:ACT:SBJV (I should release)
	lu-omai	1S:PRES:PASS:IND (I am being released)
	lu-oimi	1S:PRES:ACT:OPT (I might release)
	lu-etai	3S:PRES:PASS:IND (He is being released)

- Every suffix has several grammatical functions
- Certain regularities suggest a particular segmentation
- Not possible to define this generally

- *There can't be purely fusional languages.*
- *Such a hypothetical language would be unlearnable because the number of morphemes would be huge and there would not be any systematicity within paradigms.*

# Examples for fusional languages

- Ancient Greek
- Latin
- Semitic languages (Arabic, Hebrew, ...)
- Slovenian
- Lithuanian
- Armenian

# Relation between the two indices

- Opposition between fusional and agglutinative would not be applicable to purely isolating languages (there are no purely isolating languages though)
- Correlation:
  - Strongly synthetic languages are usually agglutinative
  - Can be explained functionally via learnability considerations: polysynthetic fusional languages would have an extremely high number of morphemes and would therefore be unlearnable.

# Repetition: Examples of different morphological types

## 1) isolating type

Mandarin

ta	bu	hui	yong	dao	chi	fan
he	no	can	use	knife	eat	rice

„He cannot eat rice with a knife“

# Repetition: Examples of different morphological types

## 2) agglutinative type

### Turkish

ev	→	Haus (Nom. Sg.)
ev-ler	→	Häuser (Nom. Pl.)
ev-i	→	sein/ihr Haus (Sg.+Poss.)
ev-ler-i	→	seine/ihre Häuser (Pl.+Poss.)
ev-den	→	von dem Haus (Sg. Abl.)
ev-ler-den	→	von den Häusern (Pl.+Abl.)

### Aztec

nikita	„ich sehe es“	tikinita	„du siehst sie (Pl.)“
kita	„er sieht es“	nikitak	„ich sah es“
kinita	„er sieht sie (Pl.)“	kitakeh	„sie sahen es“
kitas	„er wird es sehen“	kinitakeh	„sie sahen sie (Pl.)“
kitak	„er sah es“		

# Repetition: Examples of different morphological types

## 3) fusional type

Latin: „am-o“

1. sg. ind. pres. active  
(„I love“)

# Repetition: Examples of different morphological types

## 4) polysynthetic type

Yup'ik (Alaska)

angya-li- ciq- sognar- quq- llu  
boat- make-FUT- PROB- 3sg.NOM-also  
`Also, he probably will make a boat`

# Repetition: Examples of different morphological types

## The three faces of English

Isolating:

*The boy will ask the girl*

Synthetic:

*The biggest boys have been asking*

Agglutinative:

*anti-dis-establish-ment-arian-ism*

# Position of German

- Synthesis index
  - Somewhere in the middle, but closer towards the synthetic languages
- Fusion index
  - Strong tendency to fusional language type
- **Exercises**
  - Name examples for agglutinative and for fusional aspects of your native language or some other language you know well.
  - English is largely, but not exclusively isolating. Where would you locate it on the fusion scale?
  - Classify further languages that you know.

# Morphological types and language change

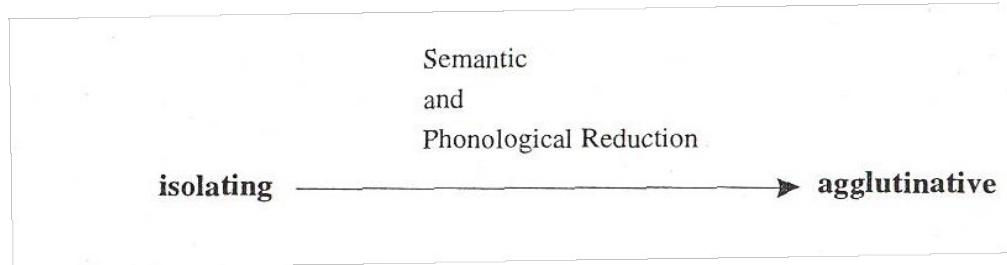
- Language change usually involves phonological reduction
- Effect is strongest for most frequent phoneme sequences
  - *zu dem* > *zum*
  - *hat er es* > *hat ers*
  - *laufen* > *lauf'n*
  - *let us* > *let's*
  - (*ahd*) *brenjan* > (*nhd*) *brennen*

# Morphological types and language change

- Phonological reduction results in
  - Reduction of independent words to affixes
  - Fusion of neighboring morphemes
  - Complete loss of morphemes

# Morphological types and language change

- Reduction of independent words to affixes



- Eg: Melanesian Pidgling

(12) a.	aus	bloŋmi	→	aus	blo-mi	"my house"
	house	of		me	house	of-me
b.	lonj	aus	→	l-aus		"at home"
	at	house		at-house		

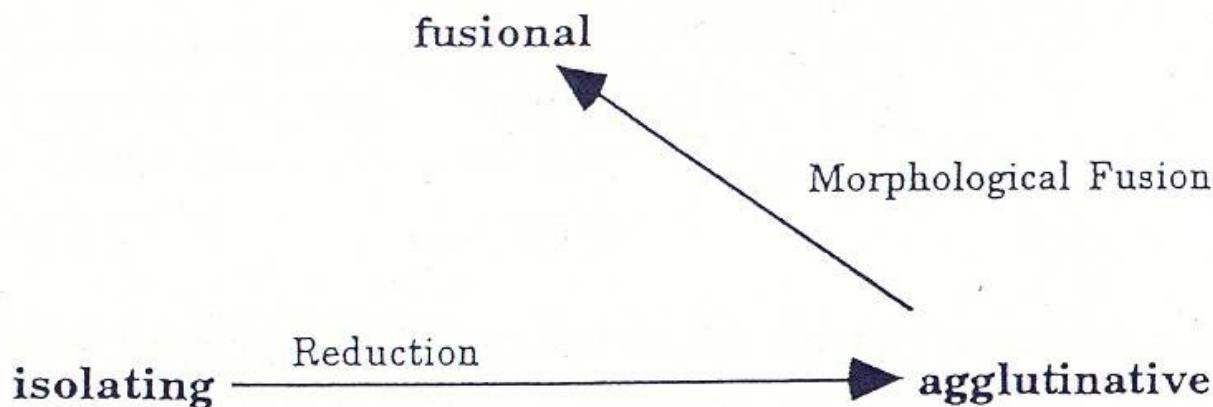
# Morphological types and language change

- Phonological reduction results in
  - Fusion of neighboring morphemes
  - eg. Paamese (Austronesian language)  
*(in historical linguistics, an asterisk does not denote „ungrammatical“, but „this form is not documented, but reconstructed“)*

(13) a.	*na-i-lesi-∅ → I-FUT-see-it	ni-lesi-∅ I:FUT-see-it	“I will see it.”
b.	*ko-i-lesi-nau → you-FUT-see-me	ki-lesi-nau you:FUT-see-me	“You will see me.”

# Morphological types and language change

- Phonological reduction results in
  - Fusion of neighboring morphemes



# Morphological types and language change

Phonological reduction results in

- Complete loss of morphemes
- eg. in modern German

am Tische > am Tisch

