

# 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> ŋwa<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)

# Edward Sapir's morphological Typology

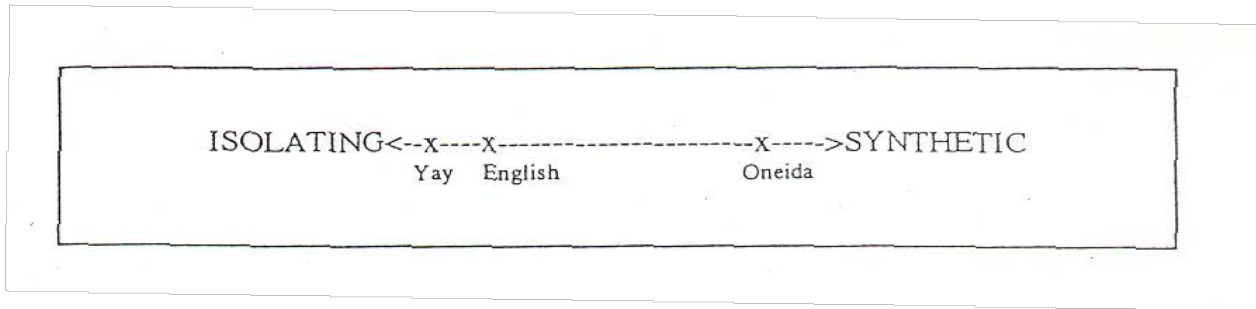
Sapir (1921, esp. Kap. V) reduces morphological typology to two parameters:

- 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



- 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 yī ge yóutiáo  
he ate PFV one CLASS fritter  
He ate one fritter.

(Data adapted from Li and Thompson 1981)

# Properties of isolating languages

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

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

- Isolating languages frequently use **serial verbs**
- cf. ex (4) (also Yai)

(4)	may <sup>6</sup> faay <sup>4</sup>	koŋ <sup>2</sup>	ma <sup>1</sup>	rop <sup>1</sup>	caw <sup>3</sup>	hau <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 bī 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.

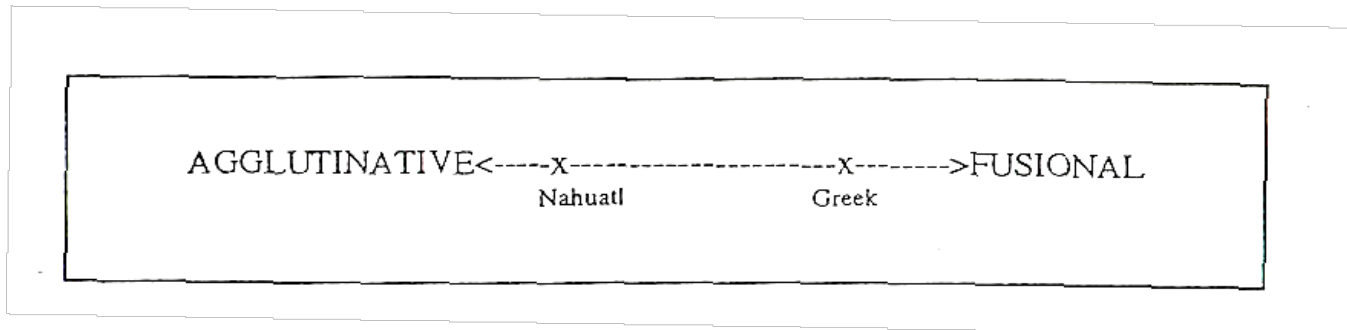
(8) 'U-ide    **tam**-musa-wia-ban  
child-A    1S:B:A-cat-give-PST  
I gave the cats to the child.

# 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. Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan)

(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	→ house (nom. sg.)
ev-ler	→ houses (nom. pl.)
ev-i	→ his/her house (sg.+poss.)
ev-ler-i	→ his/her houses (pl.+poss.)
ev-den	→ in front of the house (sg.+abl.)
ev-ler-den	→ in front of the houses (pl.+abl.)

### Aztecán

nikita	→ I see it
kita	→ he sees it
kinita	→ he sees them
kitas	→ he will see it
kitak	→ he saw it
tikinita	→ you(pl.) see them
nikitak	→ I saw it
kitakeh	→ they saw it
kinitakeh	→ they saw them

# 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-   sugnar-   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

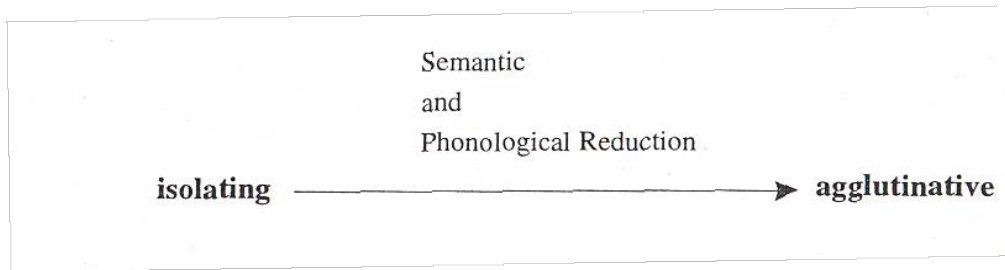
- Language change usually involves phonological reduction
- Effect is strongest for most frequent phoneme sequences
  - *zu dem* > *zum*
  - *hat er es* > *hat ers*
  - *laufen* > *lauf'n*
  - *let us* > *let's*
  - *(ahd) brenjan* > *(nhd) brennen*

# 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 Pidging

(12) a. aus      bloŋmi → aus      blo-mi      “my house”  
         house    of           me      house    of-me

         b. loŋ      aus →      l-aus      “at home”  
         at        house    at-house

# Morphological types and language change

- Phonological reduction results in

- Fusion of neighboring morphemes

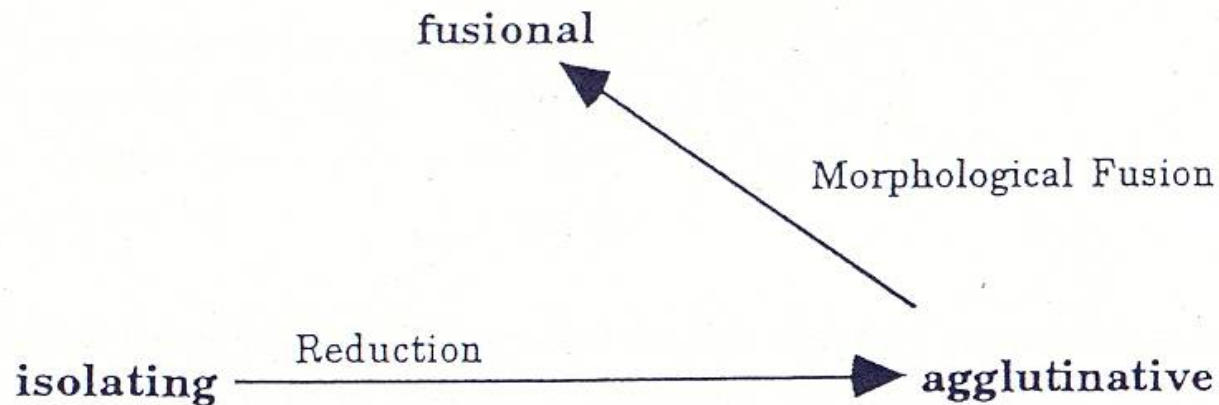
- eg. Paamese (Austronesian language)

*(in historical linguistics, an asterisk does not denote „ungrammatical“, but „this form is not documented, but reconstructed“)*

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

# Morphological types and language change

- Phonological reduction results in
  - Fusion of neighboring morphemes

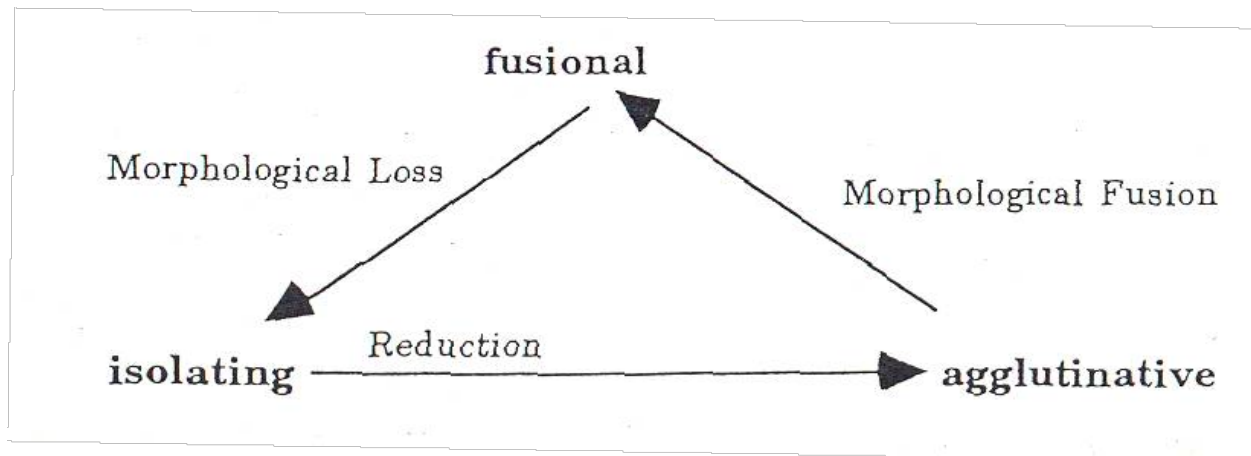


# Morphological types and language change

Phonological reduction results in

- Complete loss of morphemes
- eg. in modern German

am Tische > am Tisch



# Geographical distribution of morphological types

- Fusion of TAM/case:
  - [WALS feature description](#)
  - [WALS map](#)
- Inflectional synthesis of verb
  - [WALS feature description](#)
  - [WALS map](#)