

**Balthasar Bickel** 

University of Leipzig

http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~bickel

AUTOTYP

- The research group
  - Johanna Nichols (Co-Director, Berkeley)
  - Balthasar Bickel (Co-Director, Leipzig)
  - Fernando Zúñiga (Post-Doc, Leipzig)
  - Sandra Biewald (RA, Leipzig)
  - Aimee Lahaussois-Bartosik (RA, Berkeley, until 2002)
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- www.uni-leipzig.de/~autotyp

1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:

- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
  - field linguistics

- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
  - field linguistics
  - theoretical linguistics

- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
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- 2. detect and explain distributional patterns:

- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
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  - geographical patterns

- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
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  - geographical patterns
  - structural relationships and discourse effects

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- 1. develop cross-linguistically viable analytical terms as input to:
  - field linguistics
  - theoretical linguistics
- 2. detect and explain distributional patterns:
  - geographical patterns
  - structural relationships and discourse effects
- 3. produce statistical estimates on:
  - genetic inheritance potentials
  - areal diffusion potentials
  - independent development potentials (universal preferences)

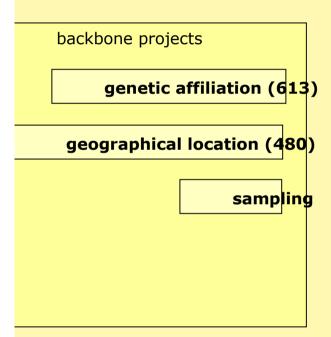
backbone projects

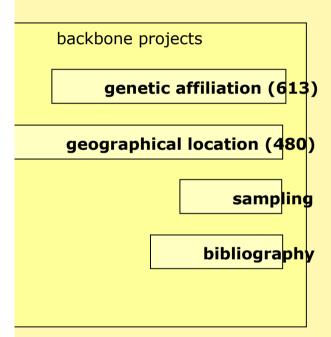
backbone projects

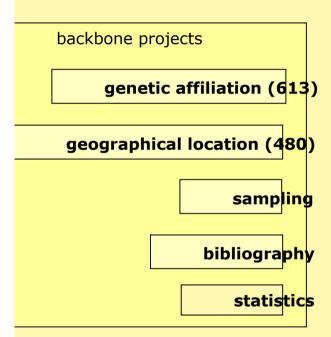
genetic affiliation (613)

genetic affiliation (613)

geographical location (480)







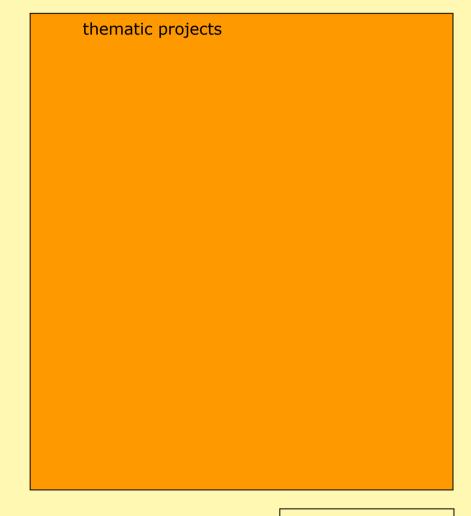
genetic affiliation (613)

geographical location (480)

sampling

bibliography

statistics



genetic affiliation (613)

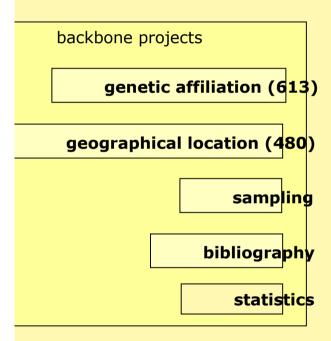
geographical location (480)

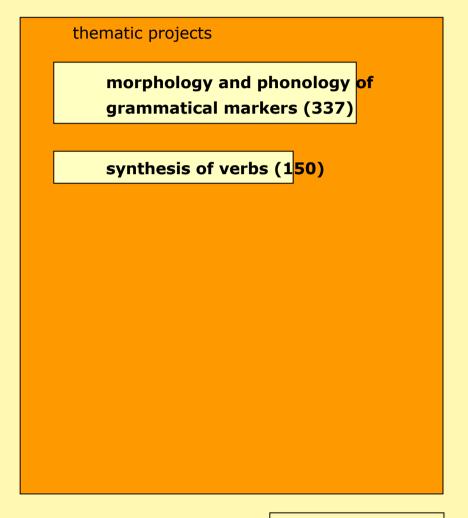
sampling

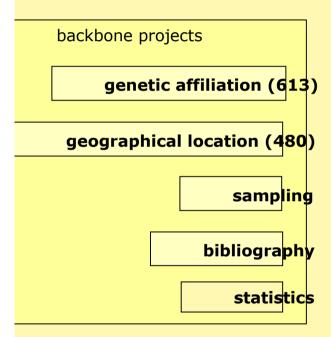
bibliography

statistics

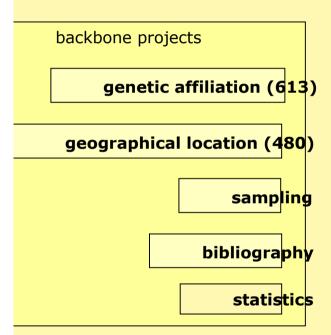
thematic projects morphology and phonology of grammatical markers (337)



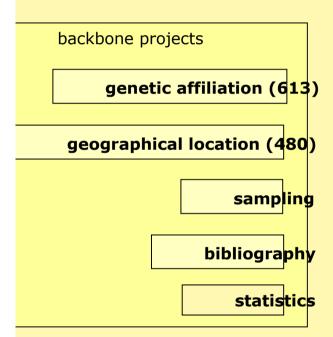




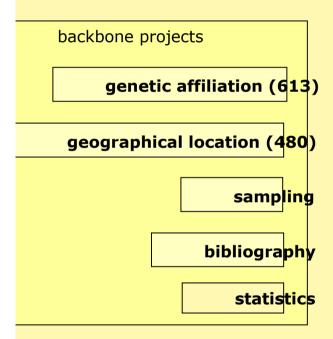
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thematic projects
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    grammatical markers (337)
    synthesis of verbs (1<mark>50)</mark>
    NP structures (4<mark>01)</mark>
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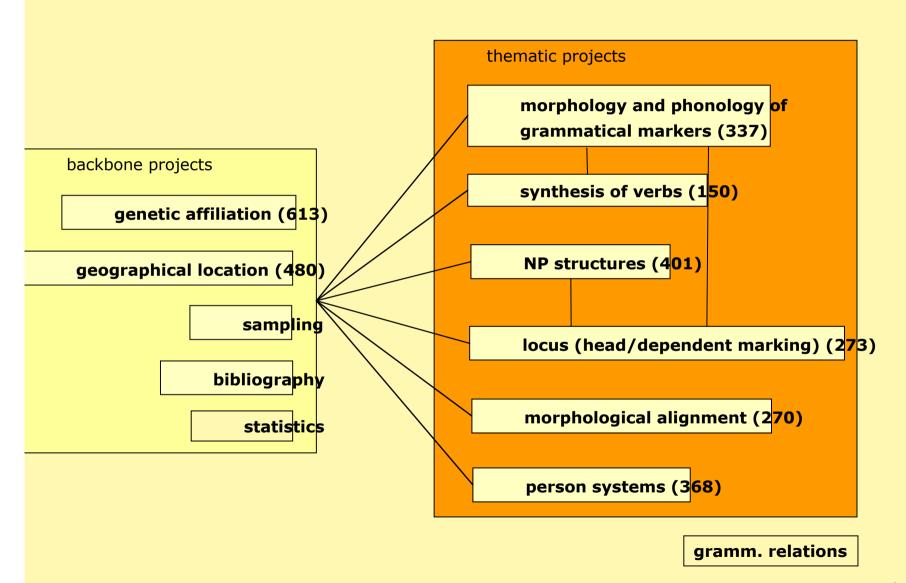
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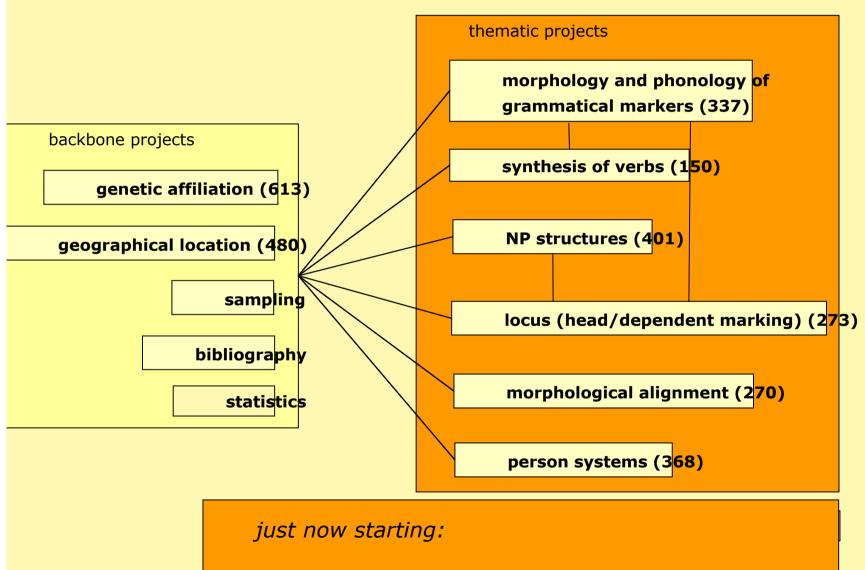


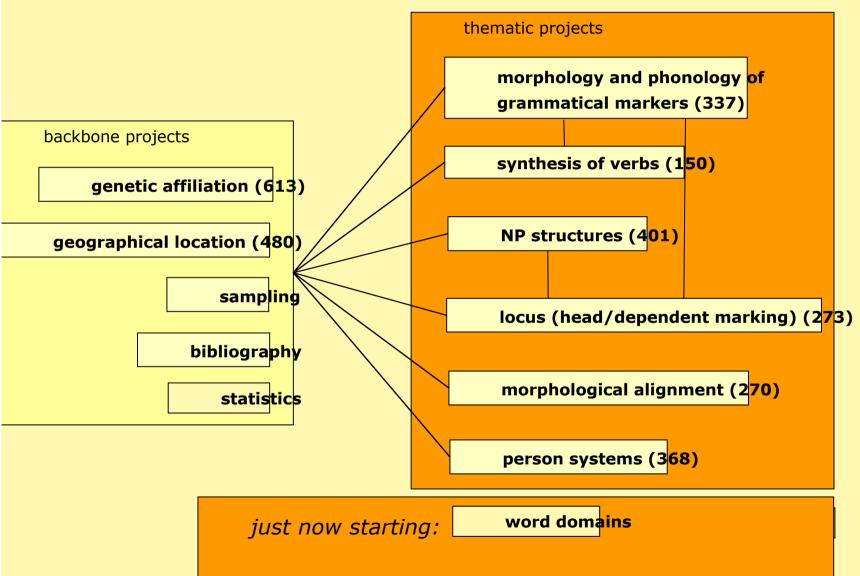
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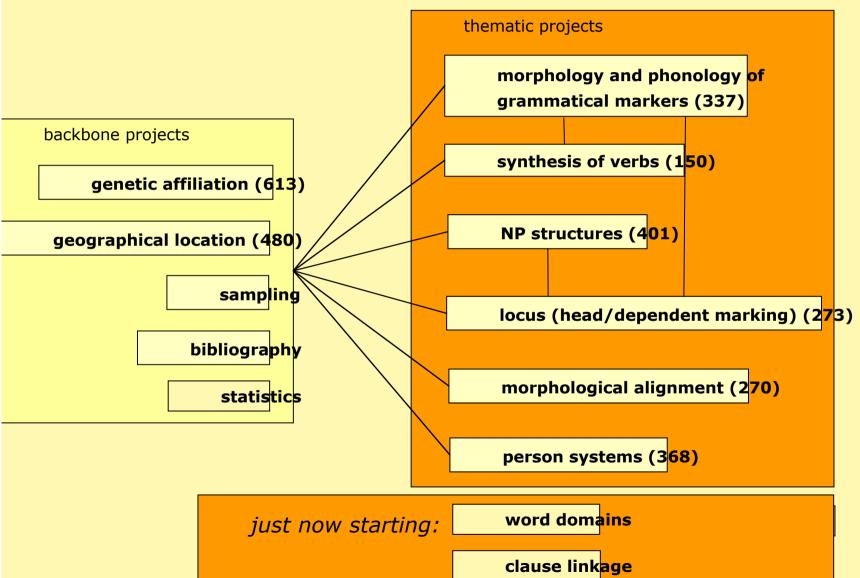


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    morphological alignment (270)
     person systems (368)
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# **AUTOTYP Principles**

 Autotypology: Inventory of elements, types, etc. grows out of inputting and definitions. No predefined categories (no etic grids, no conceptual spaces, etc.)

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- High resolution: Breakdown of descriptive notions into smallest units.
- Modularity: Separate thematically defined files linked relationally (via language ID code)
- Connectivity: Compatible with any database using some language ID codes (e.g., SIL codes)

backbone module

- backbone module
  - genetic affiliation (available on-line)

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  - genetic affiliation (available on-line)
  - geographical location (coordinates, zones of various sizes)

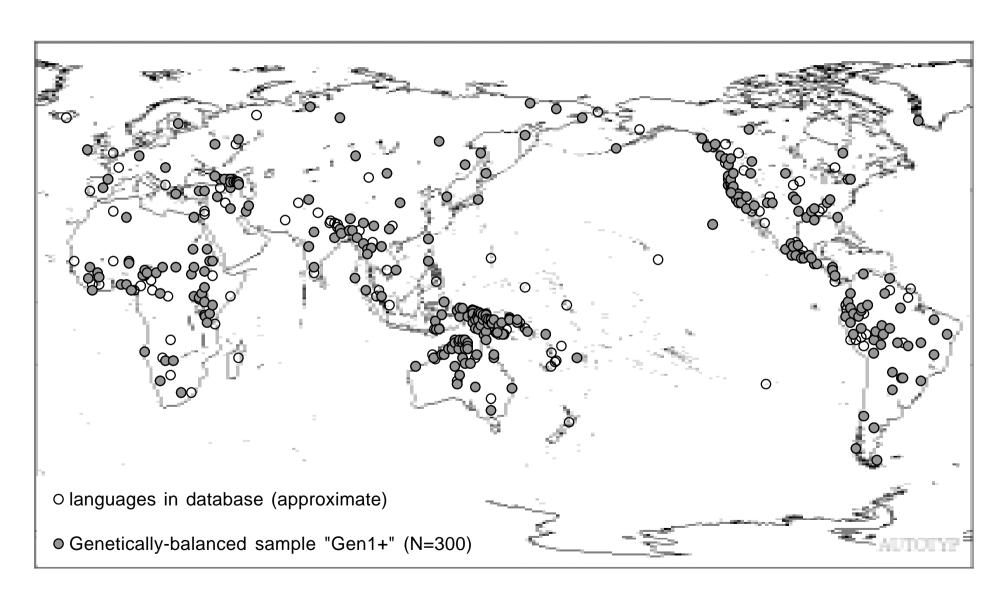
- backbone module
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  - geographical location (coordinates, zones of various sizes)
  - samples

 open-ended data collection for qualitative typology — goal: all possible types or within types, all tokens

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- various samples for quantitative typology goal: detect and explain distributions in the world, in an area, in a stock, etc.

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- various samples for quantitative typology goal: detect and explain distributions in the world, in an area, in a stock, etc.
- Most commonly used sample for exploratory research on world-wide distributions is a genetically-balanced sample:

# Sampling (cont'd)



- backbone module
  - genetic affiliation (available on-line)
  - geographical location(coordinates, zones)
  - samples (allowing multiple sampling)

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  - geographical location(coordinates, zones)
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  - bibliography (currently in EndNote™ format)

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  - language logs (.doc, .pdf)
  - database log

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  - input monitor

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  - input monitor
  - survey monitor

map-making and analysis tools

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- data files

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- data files
- definition files

# How does autotypologizing work?

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Data files assign types to data

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- Data files assign types to data
  - alienability (261 languages)
  - covert categories (23 languages)
  - inclusive/exclusive (368 languages)
  - grammatical markers (337 languages)
  - locus per role (273 languages)
  - morphological alignment (270 languages)
  - NP structure (401 languages)
  - grammatical relations (22 languages)
  - synthesis (150 languages)

Under development: clause linkage, experiencer downgrading, agreement types, etc.

## How does autotypologizing work? (cont'd)

Data files assign types to data

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- Data files assign types to data
- **Definition files** define these types

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- Data files assign types to data
- Definition files define these types
  - **alignment**
  - classification\_type
  - **cryptotypes**
  - **exemplars**
  - exp\_coding\_type
  - flexivity
  - **fusion**
  - locus
  - morph\_behavior
  - morph\_source

- np\_patterns
- parts\_of\_speech
- **position**
- poss\_distinctions
- sem\_class
- syn\_constraints
- **syn\_patterns**
- syn\_roles
- word\_order

np\_structure: what formatives establish complex NPs?

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Relationally linked to:

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#### Relationally linked to:

definition files

np\_structure: what formatives establish complex NPs?

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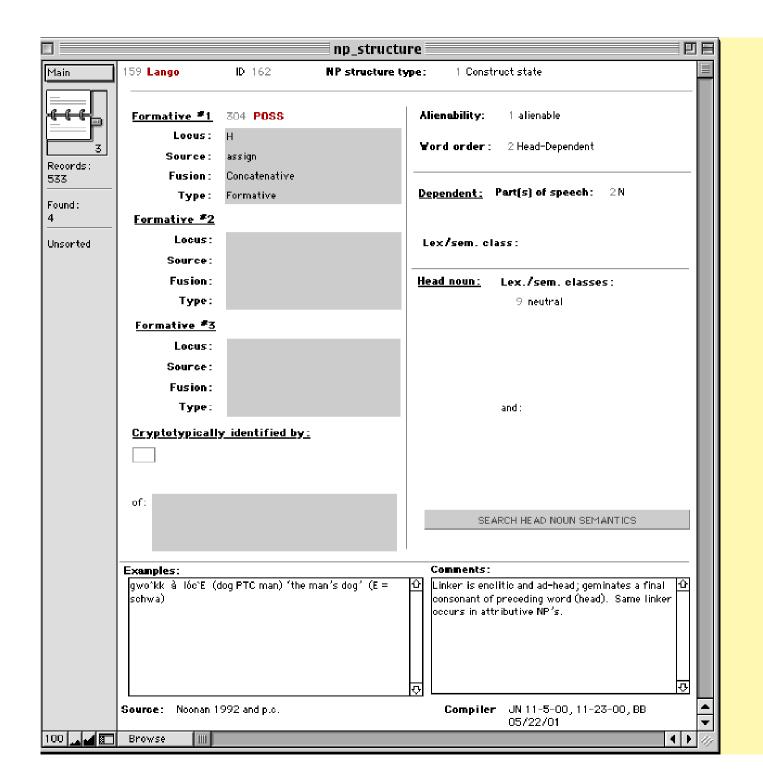
- definition files
- other data files

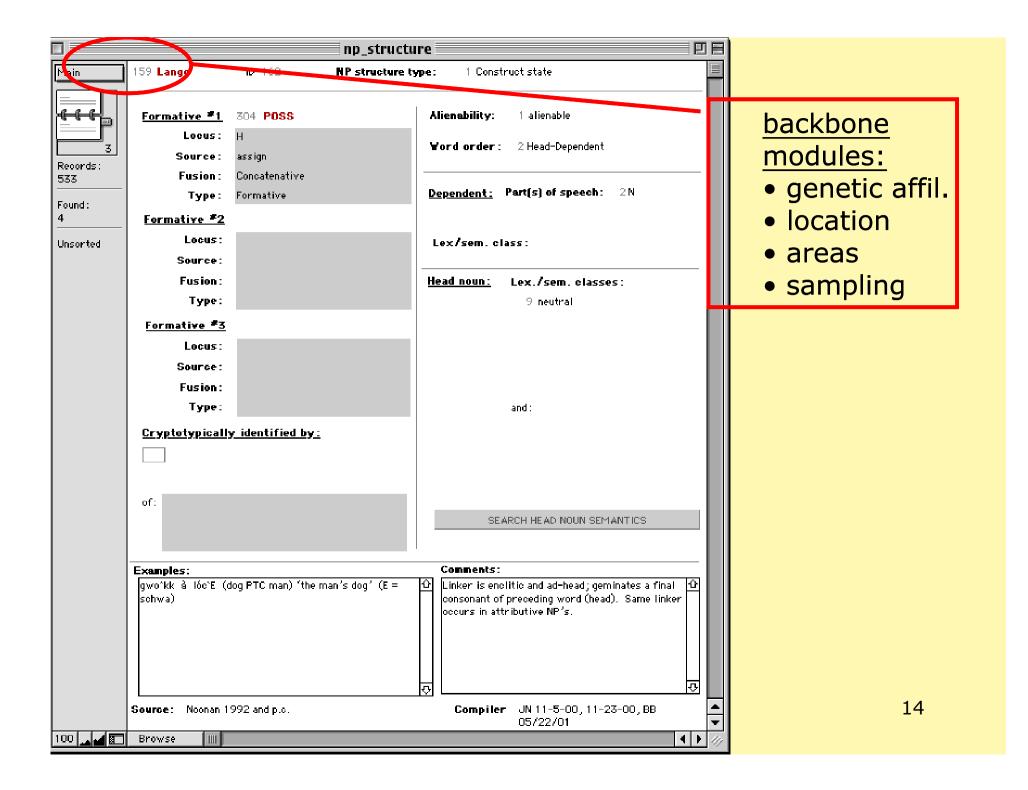
### Example 1: NP structure files

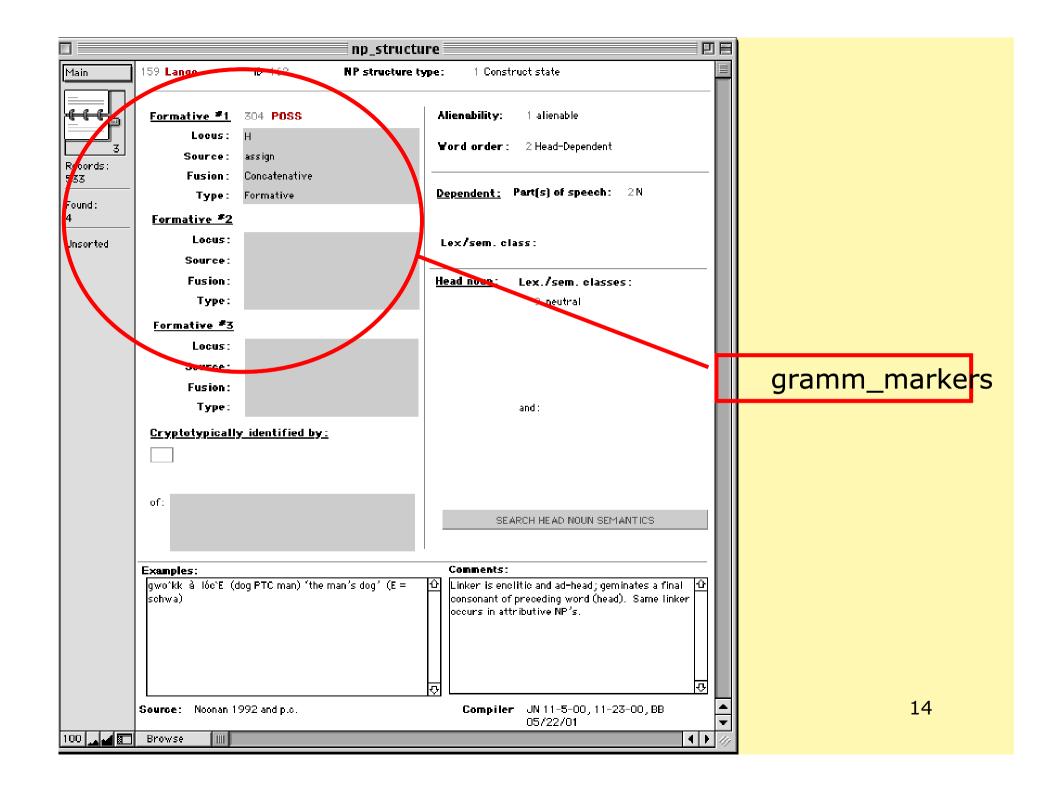
np\_structure: what formatives establish complex NPs?

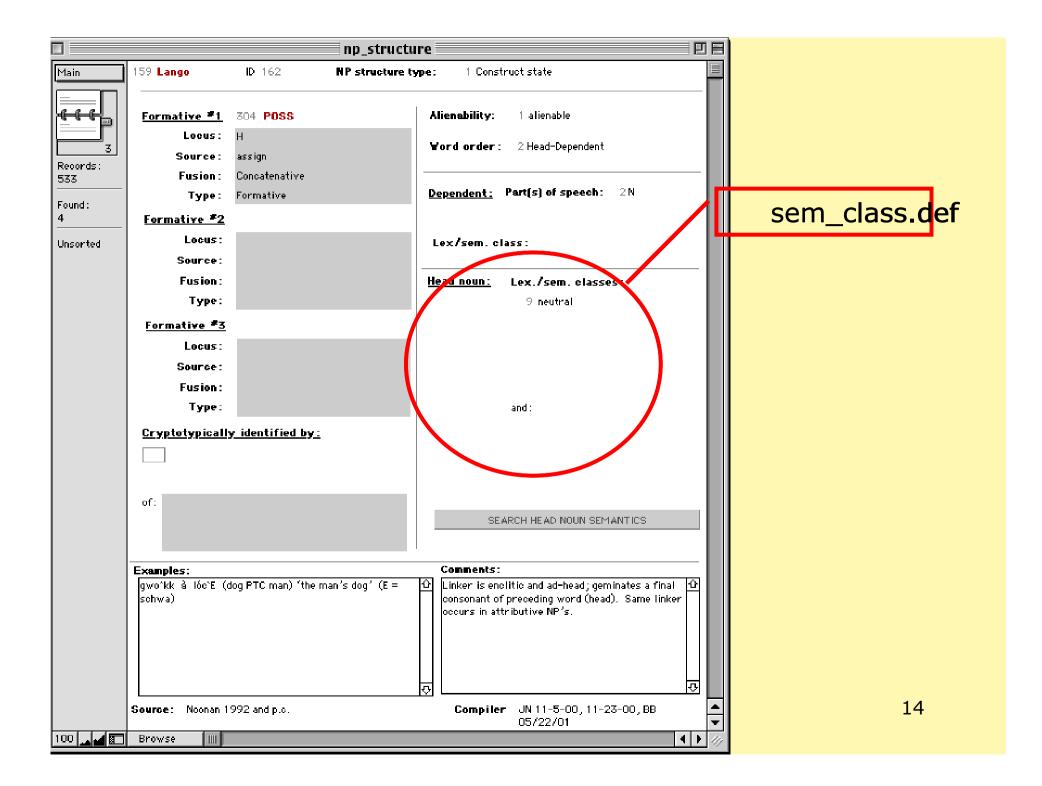
### Relationally linked to:

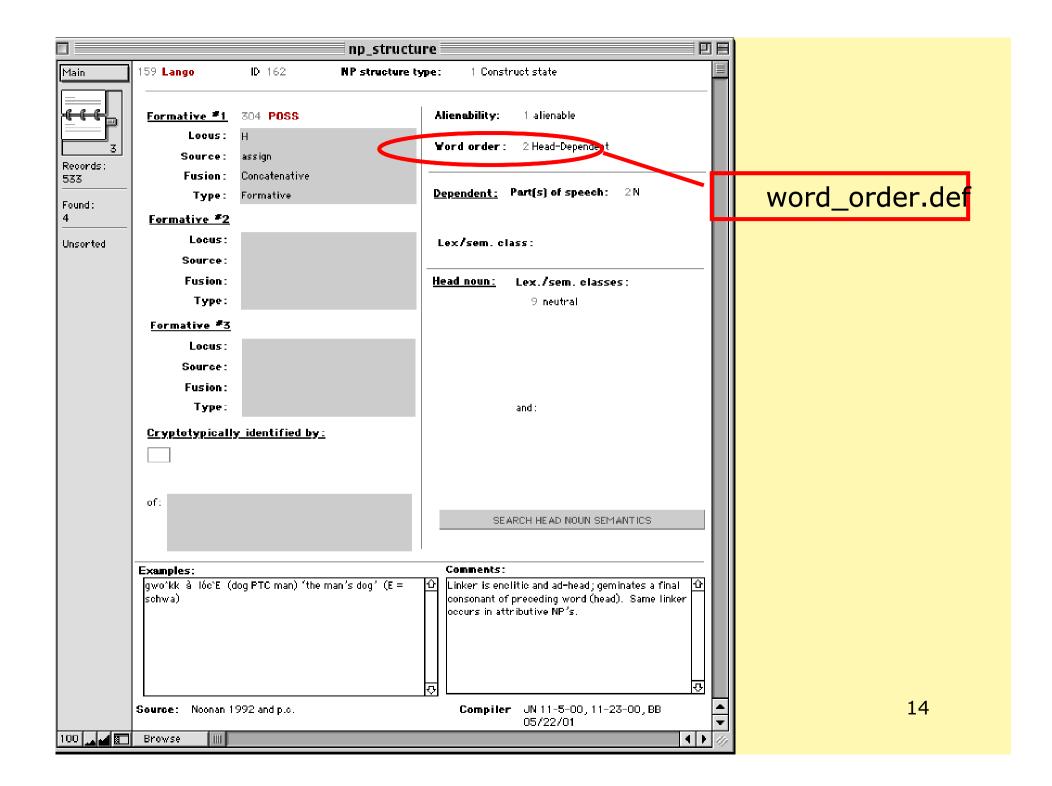
- definition files
- other data files
- backbone modules on the language

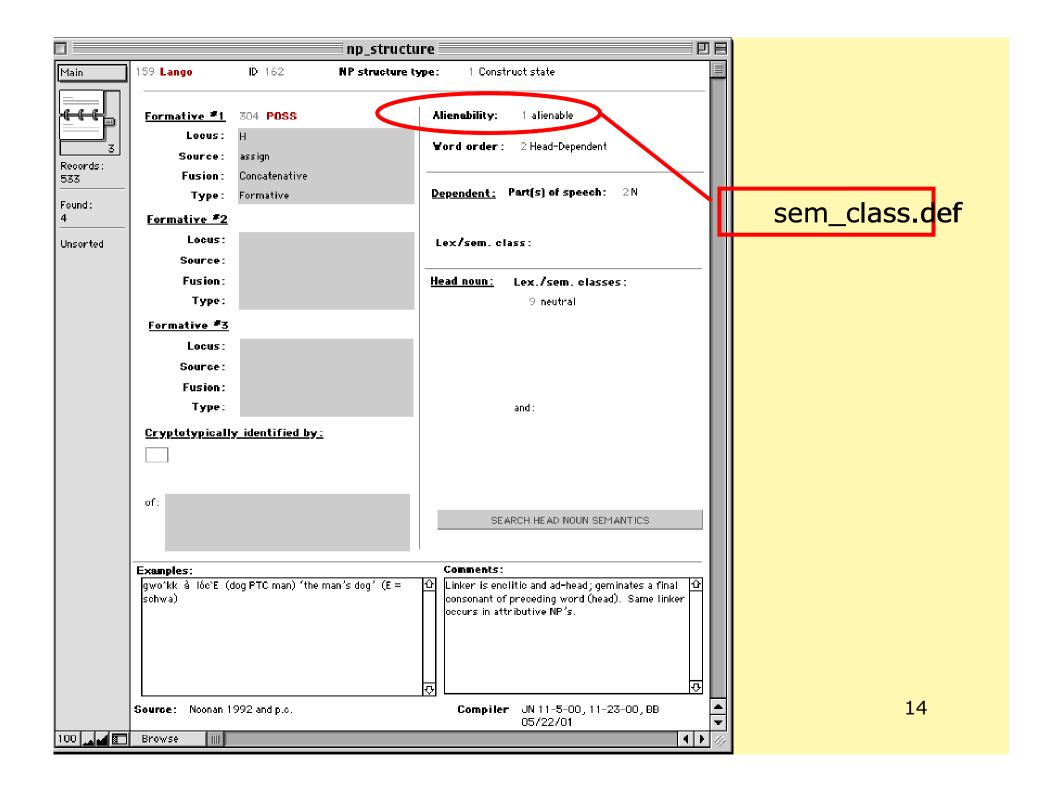


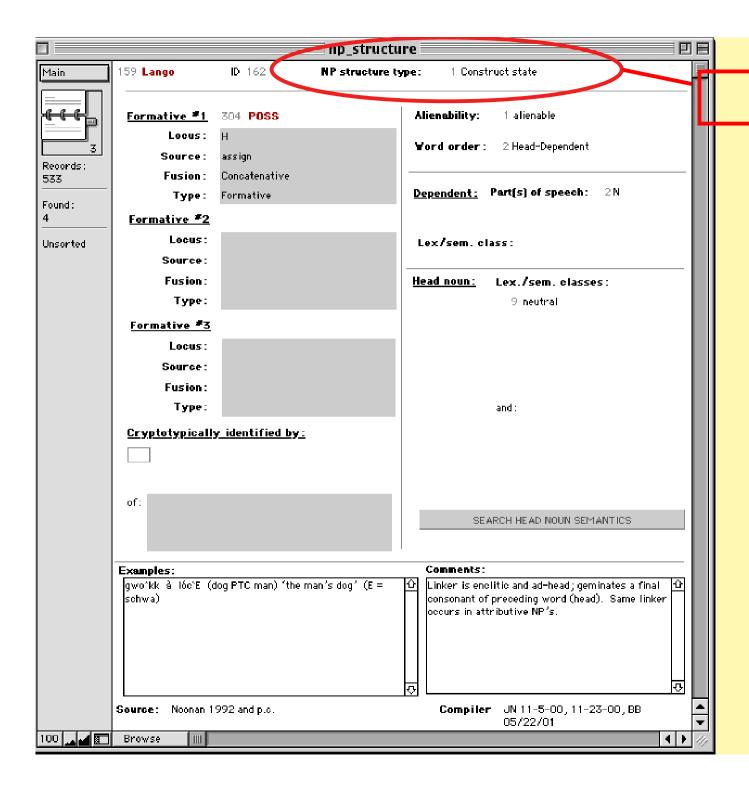




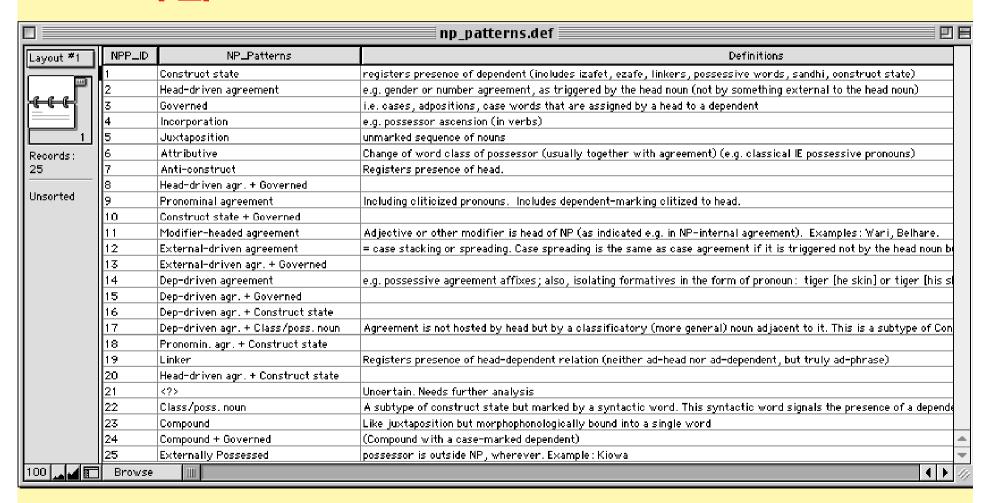


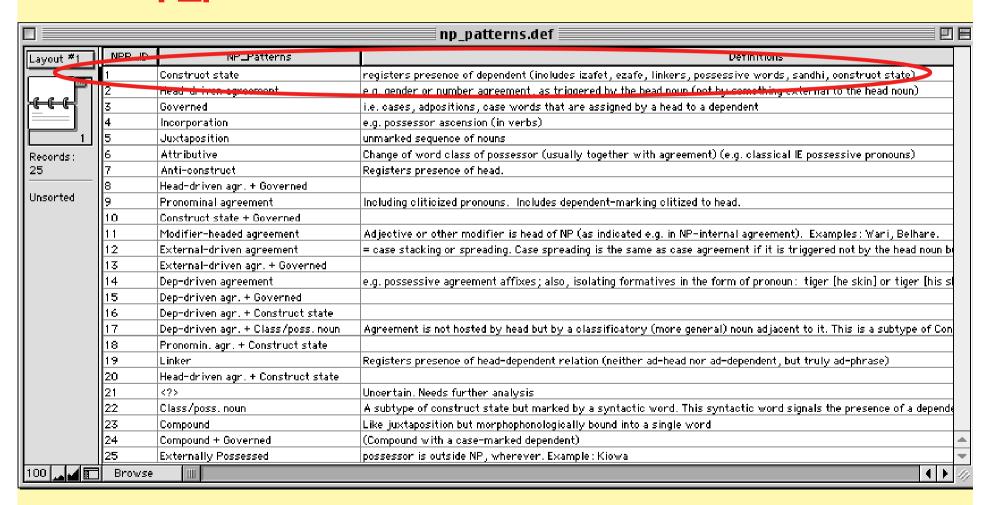


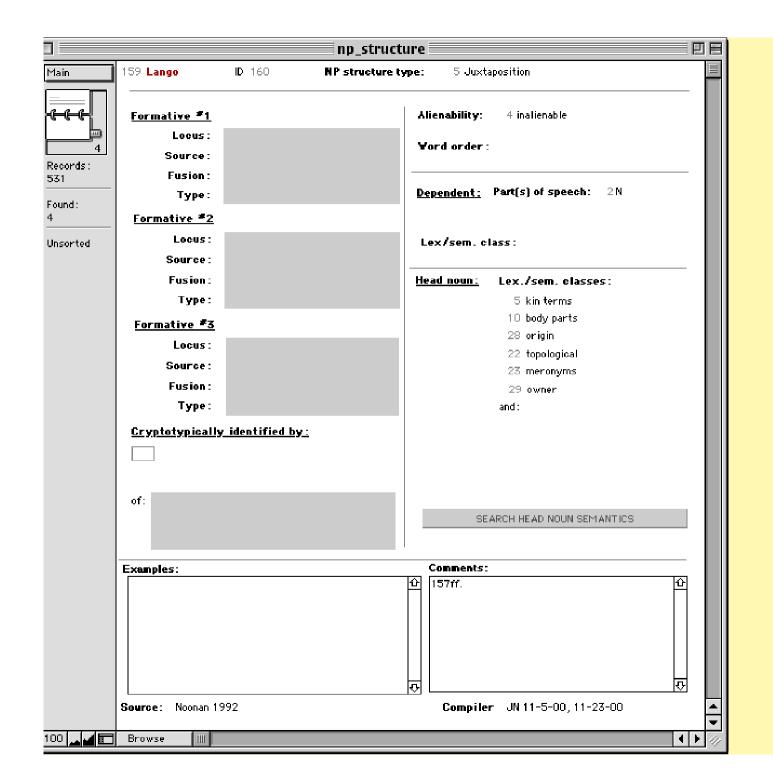


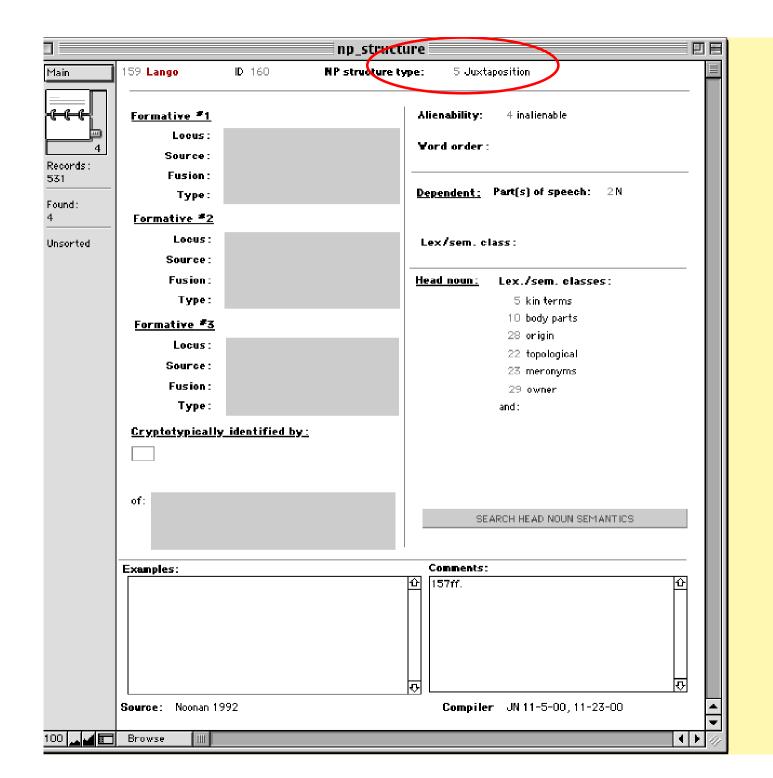


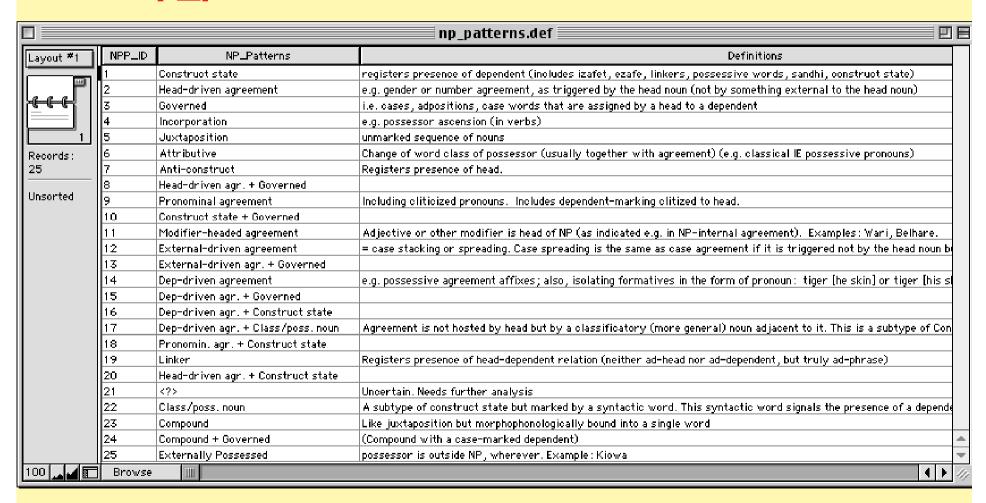
np\_patterns.def

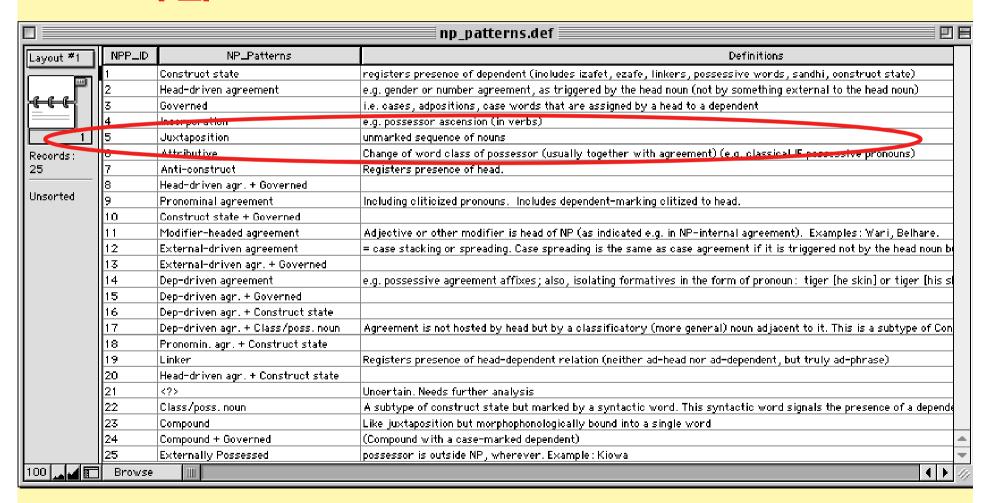


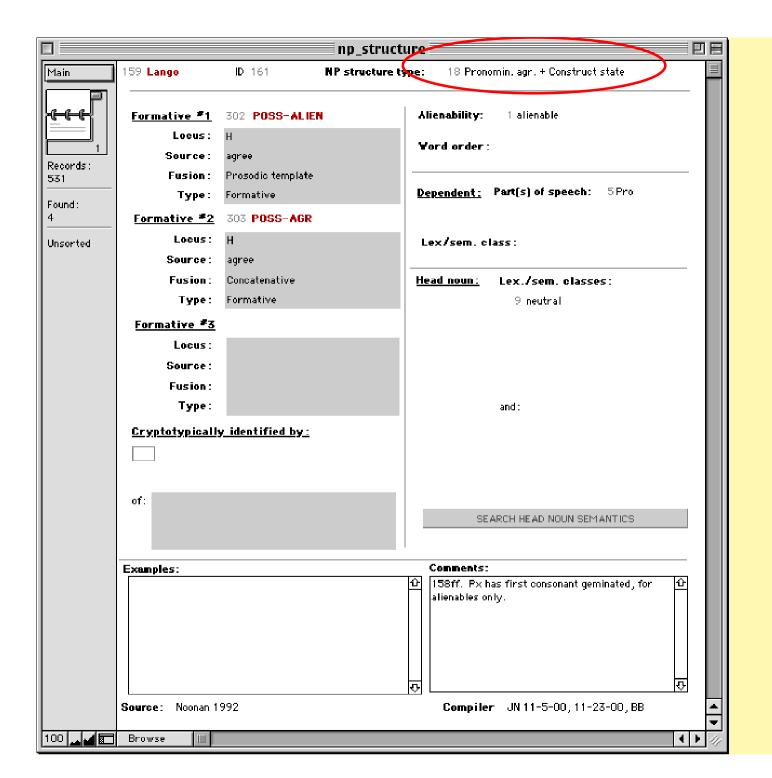


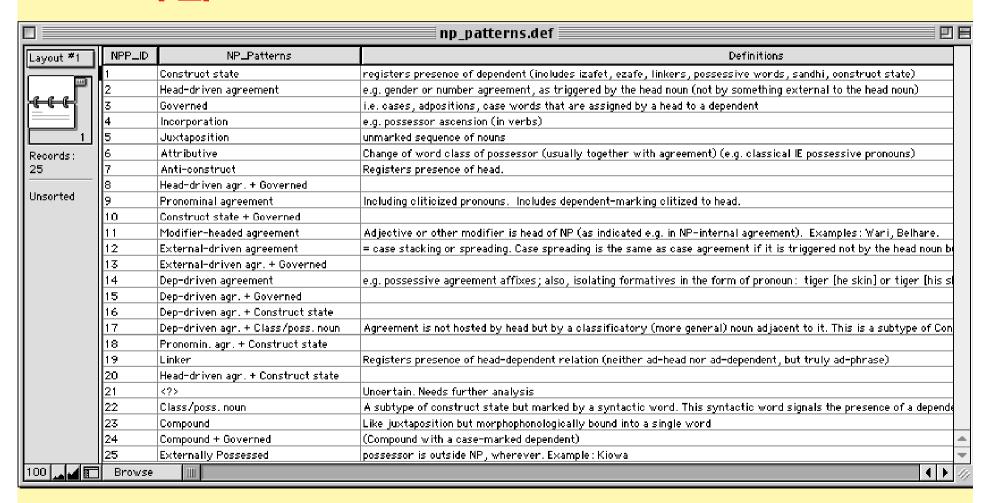


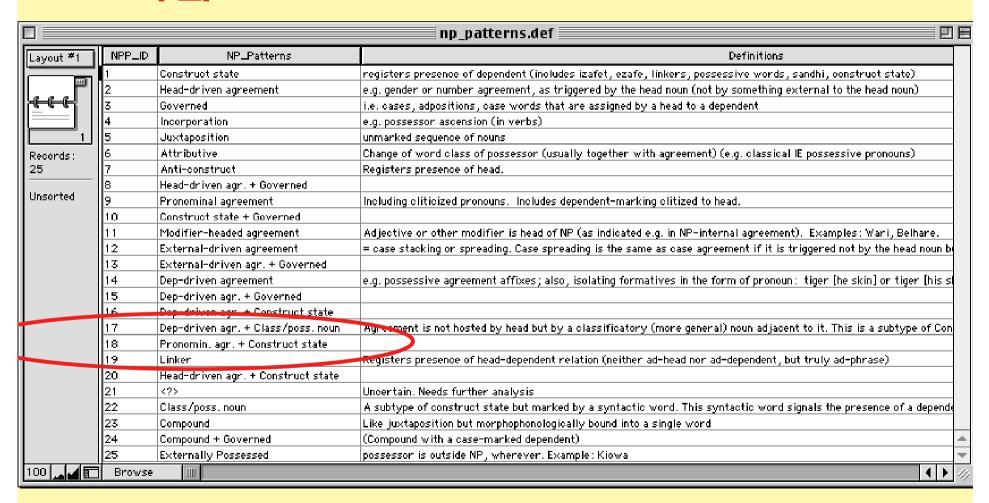


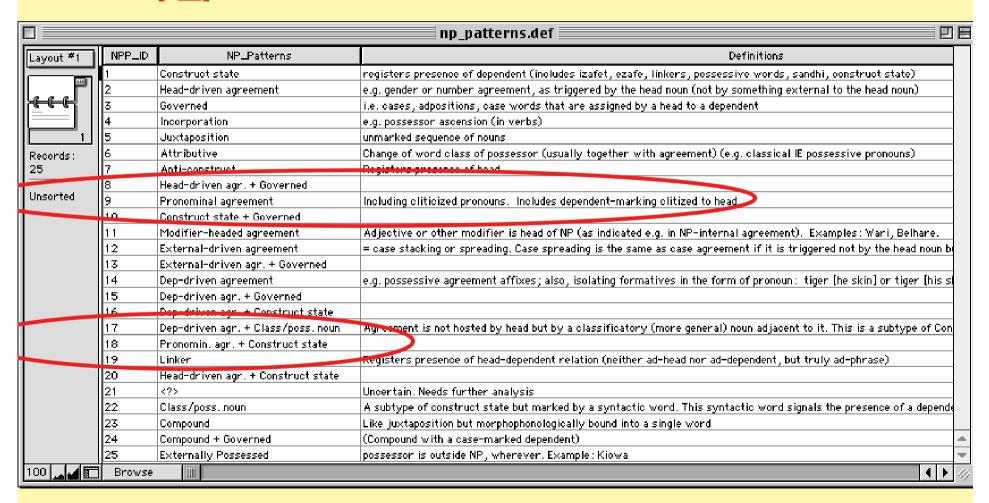












Discovery of new combinations of types as a side-effect of data collection

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  - = Autotypology

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Example: Modifier-headed agreement (#11)

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Example: Modifier-headed agreement (#11)

Wari' (Everett & Kern 1997)

mixem nucun wom black poss:3sm cotton

'dirty clothes'
(lit. 'the cotton's blackness')

Discovery of new combinations of types, but also discovery of new types as side-effect of data collection

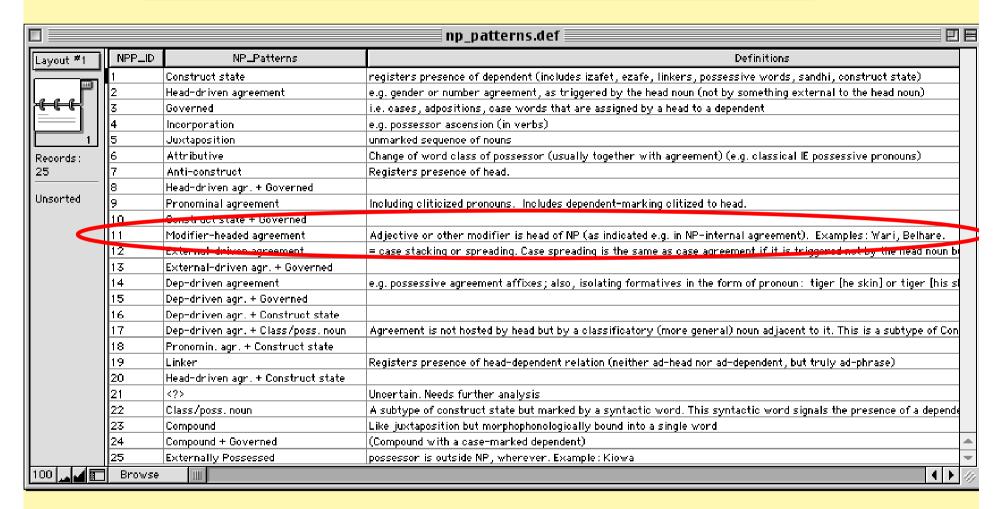
### = Autotypology

Example: Modifier-headed agreement (#11)

Wari' (Everett & Kern 1997)

Mam mao 'in-on ca mixem nucun wom-u with go:s 1s:REALIS-3sm REALIS black poss:3sm cotton-1s 'I went with my dirty clothes' (lit. 'with my cotton's blackness')

			np_patterns.def 📗 🗉 🗏
Layout #1	NPP_ID	NP_Patterns	Definitions
	1	Construct state	registers presence of dependent (includes izafet, ezafe, linkers, possessive words, sandhi, construct state)
	2	Head-driven agreement	e.g. gender or number agreement, as triggered by the head noun (not by something external to the head noun)
	3	Governed	i.e. cases, adpositions, case words that are assigned by a head to a dependent
	4	Incorporation	e.g. possessor ascension (in verbs)
1	5	Juxtaposition	unmarked sequence of nouns
Records:	6	Attributive	Change of word class of possessor (usually together with agreement) (e.g. classical IE possessive pronouns)
25	7	Anti-construct	Registers presence of head.
II	8	Head-driven agr. + Governed	
Unsorted	9	Pronominal agreement	Including cliticized pronouns. Includes dependent-marking clitized to head.
	10	Construct state + Governed	
	11	Modifier-headed agreement	Adjective or other modifier is head of NP (as indicated e.g. in NP-internal agreement). Examples: Wari, Belhare.
	12	external drives agreement	= case stacking or spreading. Case spreading is the same as case agreement if it is triggered not by the nead noun b
	13	External-driven agr. + Governed	
	14	Dep-driven agreement	e.g. possessive agreement affixes; also, isolating formatives in the form of pronoun: tiger [he skin] or tiger [his s
	15	Dep-driven agr. + Governed	
	<u>  16                                   </u>	Dep-driven agr. + Construct state	
	<u>  17                                   </u>	Dep-driven agr. + Class/poss.noun	Agreement is not hosted by head but by a classificatory (more general) noun adjacent to it. This is a subtype of Con
	18	Pronomin. agr. + Construct state	
	19	Linker	Registers presence of head-dependent relation (neither ad-head nor ad-dependent, but truly ad-phrase)
	<u>  20                                   </u>	Head-driven agr. + Construct state	
	21		Uncertain. Needs further analysis
	22	Class/poss. noun	A subtype of construct state but marked by a syntactic word. This syntactic word signals the presence of a dependent
	23	Compound	Like juxtaposition but morphophonologically bound into a single word
	24	Compound + Governed	(Compound with a case-marked dependent)
	25	Externally Possessed	possessor is outside NP, wherever. Example: Kiowa
100 📠 🚾 🖫	Browse	III	



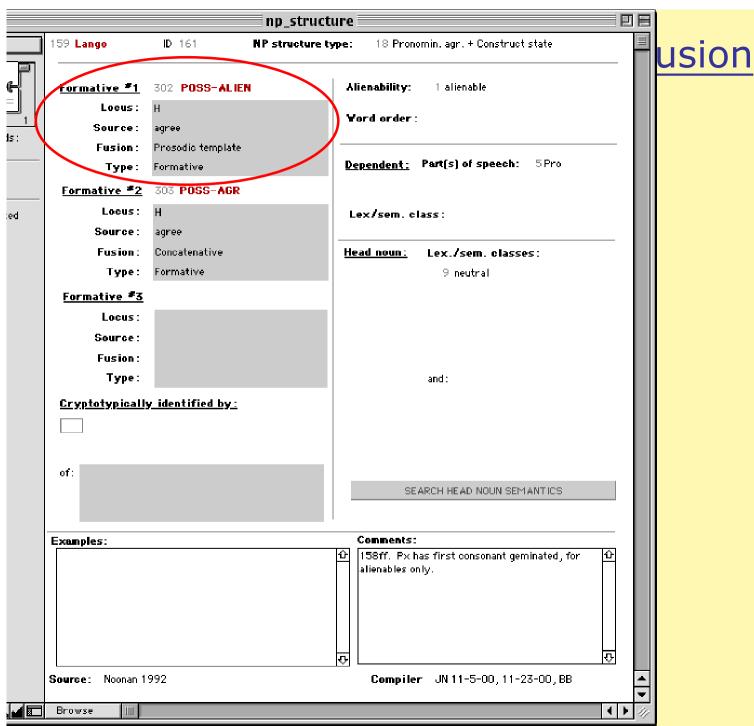
### Also necessitates new type in locus.def

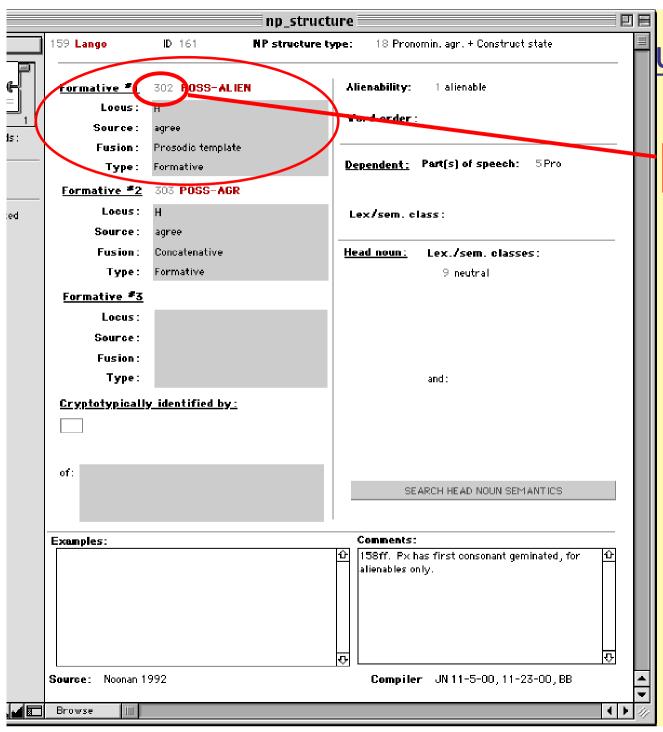
I				locus.def 📗	J
put	LocID	Locus	BasicLo	Definition	
	1	Н	Н	on head	╛
	2	D	D	on dependent. For zero formative as D, see 10 below.	
	3	H+D	2	simultaneously, or mostly simultaneously on head and dependent	
	4	F	F	free or floating, including Wackernagel 'linkers'	
18	5	F+D	2	simultaneously, or mostly simultaneously detached and on dependent (e.g. Wackernagel agreement	t
ecords:	6	Р	n/a	the relation is marked by position	
1	0	n/a	n/a	not applicable	
	7	h+D	2	Dependent marking is dominant. Additional head marking with some verbs only or under specific	
nsorted	8	H+d	2	Head marking is dominant. Additional dependent marking with some NPs or under specific	
	9	d	D	Dependent marking that is available only on a limited set of NPs or under specific morphosyntaction	С
	10	Ø	Ø	no marking. Criterion for determining whether a zero case allomorph is zero marking or D: If	
	13	DD	D	on dependent, with more than one formative or more than one category. Typical case: genitive (or	r
	14	Dd	D	same as DD but with the additional formative or category restricted to some possessors only (e.g.	<b>J</b> .
	15	h	Н	Head marking that is available only on a limited set of NPs or under specific morphosyntactic	
	16	Hh	Н	on head, with more than one formative or more than one category. Typical case: construct state	
	17	hh	Н	on head, with more than one formative or more than one category, but both formatives have	_
	10	n - u	2		
	19	H'	H	NP-internal head in a modifier-headed agreement pattern	
	20	D on H	D on H	Headward-migrated dependent marking. Typical case: Arabic or Irish proporties! agreement,	
	21	d on h	D on H	Headward-migrated dependent marking, restricted in some way. Typical cases: Bagirmi or	_
	22	h+d on h	D on H	Head-marking (construct state type) plus headward-migrated dependent-marked pronouns	
	23	Hh+D	2		
	25	H+d on h	D on H	Head-marking (construct state type) plus headward-migrated dependent-marked pronouns	_
	26		n/a	uncertain data (usually with possessive relators that could be F [=linker], D [=case] or H	
	27	hh+d	2		
	28	<n.d.></n.d.>	n.d.	No information available.	_
	29	H/D/DH		E.g. inalienables take H or D+H; alienables take only D.	_
	30	H/D		Split, either H or D.	
	32	D + D on I	1		
	34	f	F	floating, under limited circumstances (e.g. Yagua DOM by floating agreement with definite noun)	
	35	H+F	Н	Head plus floating	_
)O   _   _	Brow	se		[4]	

### Other instances of type #11 modifier-headed NPs:

- Amharic
- Komi (and other Uralic languages)
- Japanese (?)
- Limbu (frozen forms, non-productive)

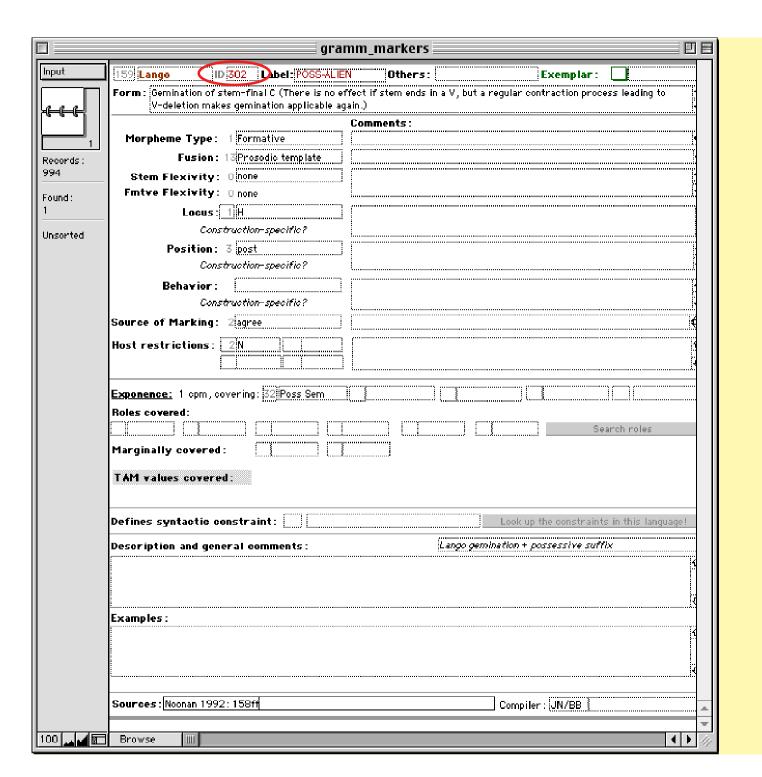
# Example 2: Formative fusion

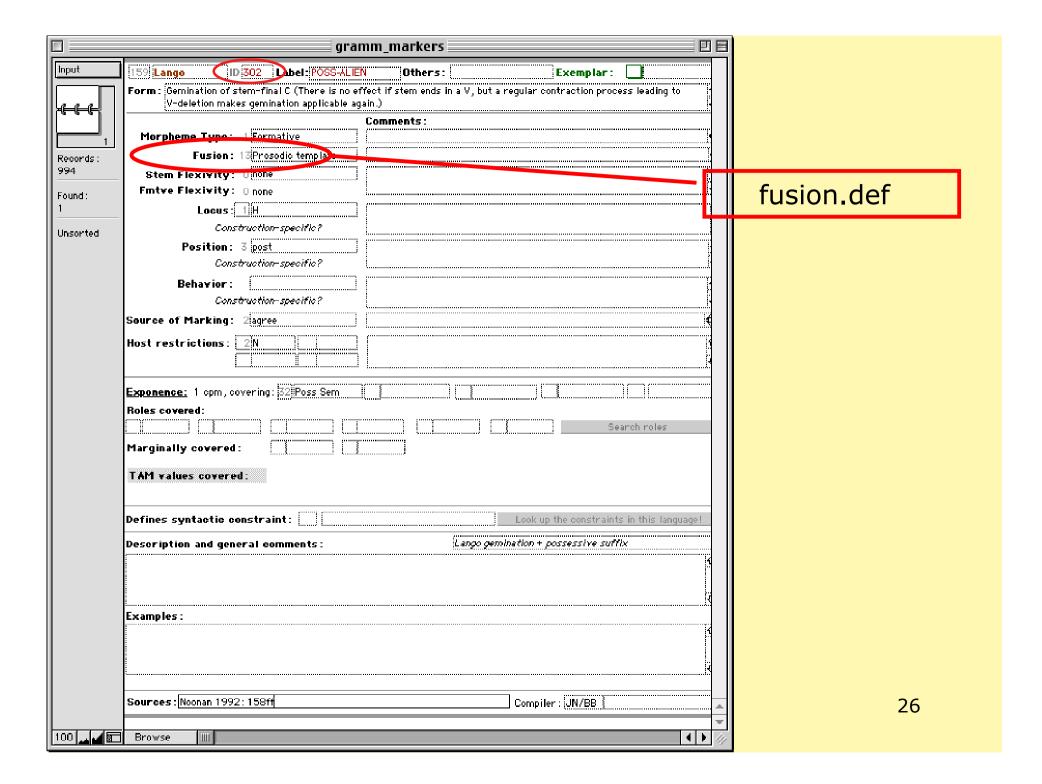




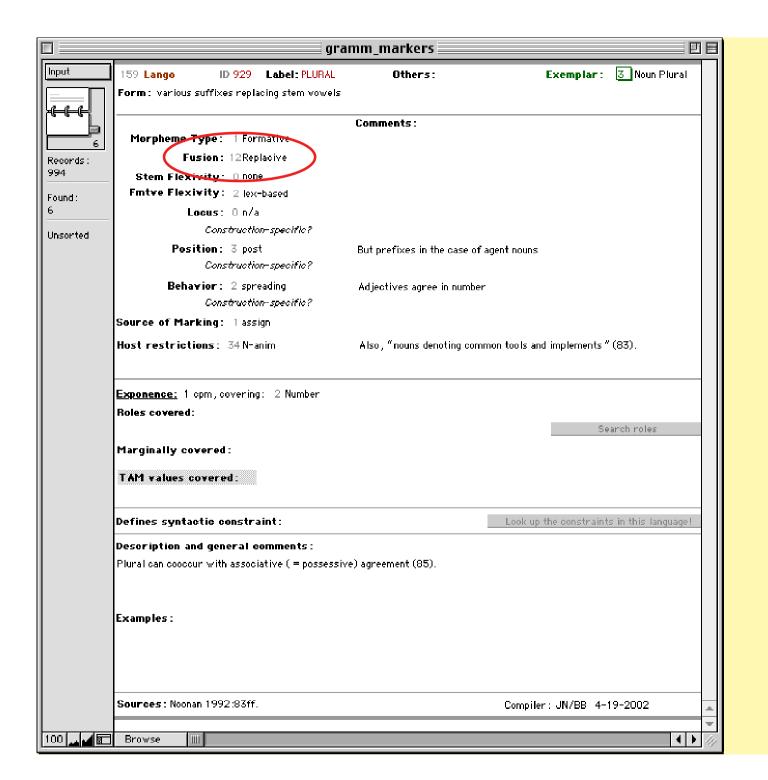
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gramm\_markers





		fusion.def 🖳 🖳	
ID	Fusion Type	Definition	
	Isolating	The formative is a free phonological word. If it is, it is likely to be written as a separate word, though this is not always true: non-isolating formatives like clitics are often written as separat words, and isolating formatives are written with hyphens or clitic boundary markers. Therefor	4
2	Concatenative	The formative is a clitic or segmentable affix. Word-level phonological processes (such as vowe harmony), word-internal kinds of sandhi, prosodic phenomena (such as word stress) or general inability to stand alone, identify a formative as concatenative.	3
3	Nonconcatenative	No longer used. Instead, use the more specific type of nonconcatenative marking (Fusion ID #s 5ft See $\log \#40$	E
0	n/a		
4		don't know	
5	Isol/concat	Isolating wrt stress, concatenative wrt segmental rules or vice versa	
6	Reduplication		
7	Tone changes	Not sandhi but true internal tone changes.	
8	Concat + redupl	Concatenative formative plus reduplication (usually reduplication of stem). If some nouns take just the affix and others take the affix plus the reduplication, choose this entry (#8) from this menu and code for lexeme-based formative flexivity. (The flexivity lies in whether they do or	
9	Concat + ablaut	Concatenative formative plus ablaut (usually stem ablaut).	
11	Concat / ablaut	Concatenative formative or ablaut, neither one clearly primary (or both equally primary).	
12	Replacive	The formative replaces a stem (or theme or base) segment. This is different from regularly concatenative formatives which alternate with other formatives, and not with stem segments.	
13	Prosodic template	Example: Ingush agreement prefixes replace stem consonants (which are not themselves  Superimposition of a syllable or foot template onto the stem, resulting in such processes as lengthening, gemination etc. Example: Lango alienable possesse marking, Semitic voice marking, etc.	
Brov	vse IIII	(I)	1/1



			fusion.def 🔛
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	Bros	w/se	<u> </u>

# Example 3: inflectional categories

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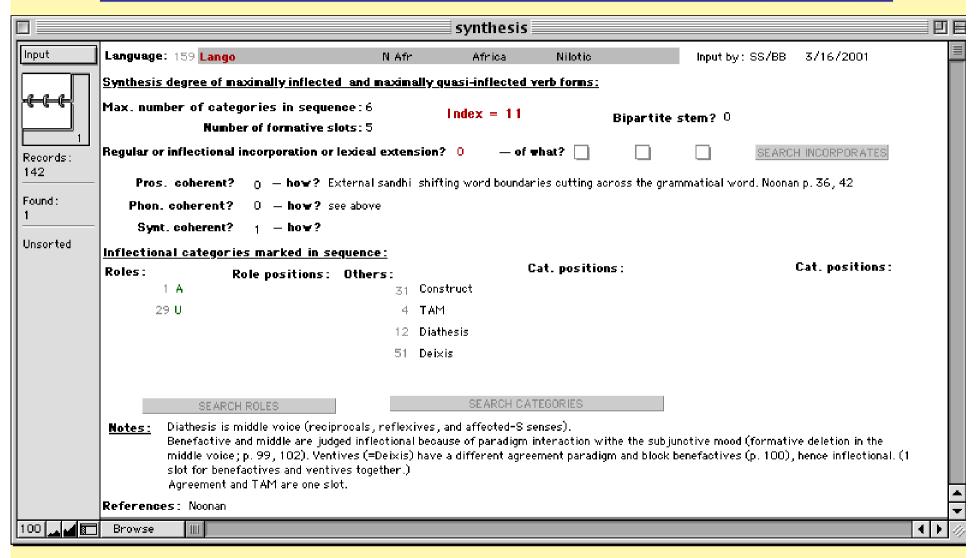
Surveyed for formative exponence and synthesis

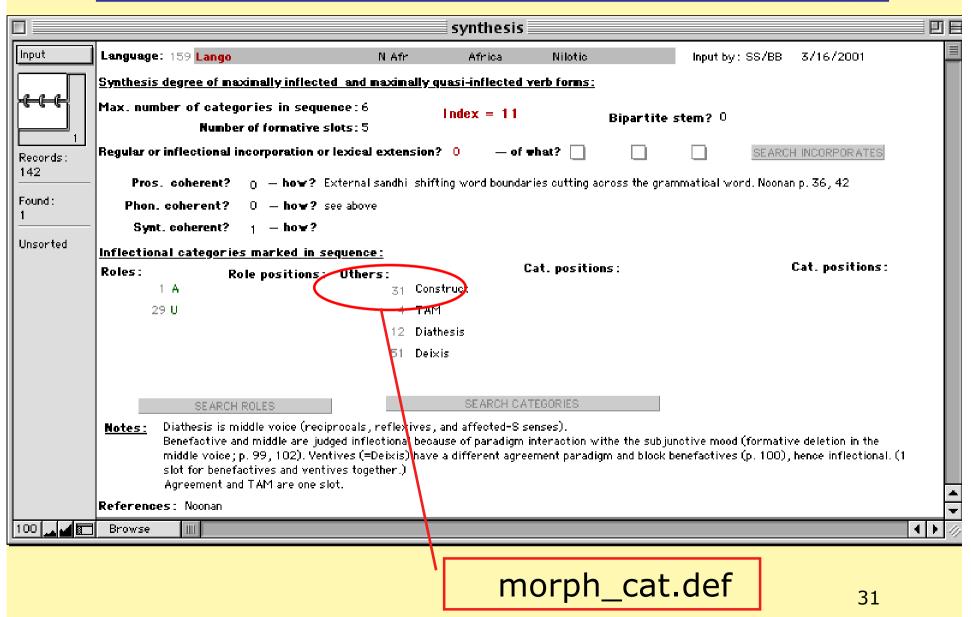
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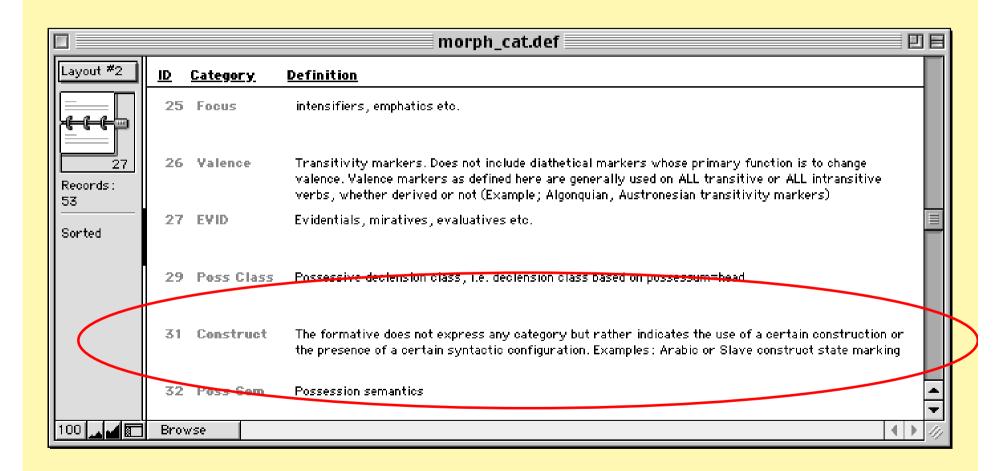
- Surveyed for formative exponence and synthesis
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### Example 3: inflectional categories

- Surveyed for formative exponence and synthesis
- No predefined list of what can show up
- Again, it is possible to discover new categories







<u>Lango:</u> type #31 verbal construct forms with overt pronominal or relativized subject NPs

```
a. én òcámò.
s/he 3SG.eat.PFV.CONSTRUCT
'He ate it.'
b. òcàmò.
3SG.eat.PFV
'He ate it.'
c. ácàmmò.
3SG.eat.PROGR
'He is eating it.'

(examples from Noonan 1992:137)
```

another example of a type #31 verbal construct form

<u>Supyire (Gur):</u> intransitive prefix on verbs after tense/aspect formatives iff these formatives immediately precede the verb.

```
a. mìì ná mpà ta.

I PAST sheep get
'I got a sheep'

b. mpà mìì ná ń-tá

sheep I PAST CONSTR-get
'It's a sheep I got.'

(examples from Carlson 1994: 127)
```

#31 verbal construct forms also found in:

• Hausa (Chadic: Afroasiatic)

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- Fiji (Central-Eastern Malay-Polynesian: Austronesian)

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only 7 out of 141 languages surveyed for synthesis

#### Autotypologizing databases

• systematically provide for the discovery of new types

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- contain crosslinguistically viable and precise definitions

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#### Disadvantage of autotypologizing databases:

they slow down data collection (in the beginning)

Common problem: heterogenous paradigms

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Example: Survey of TAM coexponents

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Lango: verbal construct marking only with the perfective, not with other TAM forms

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Lango: verbal construct marking only with the perfective, not with other TAM forms

	Perfective	Progressive	Imperfective
3SG	òcàmò	àcàmmò	cámô
3SG.CONS	TR <i>òcámò</i>		camo

(Noonan 1992: 136)

### Using AUTOTYP modules in surveys (cont'd)

Solution: Exemplar-based Method

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Exemplar definition of TAM:

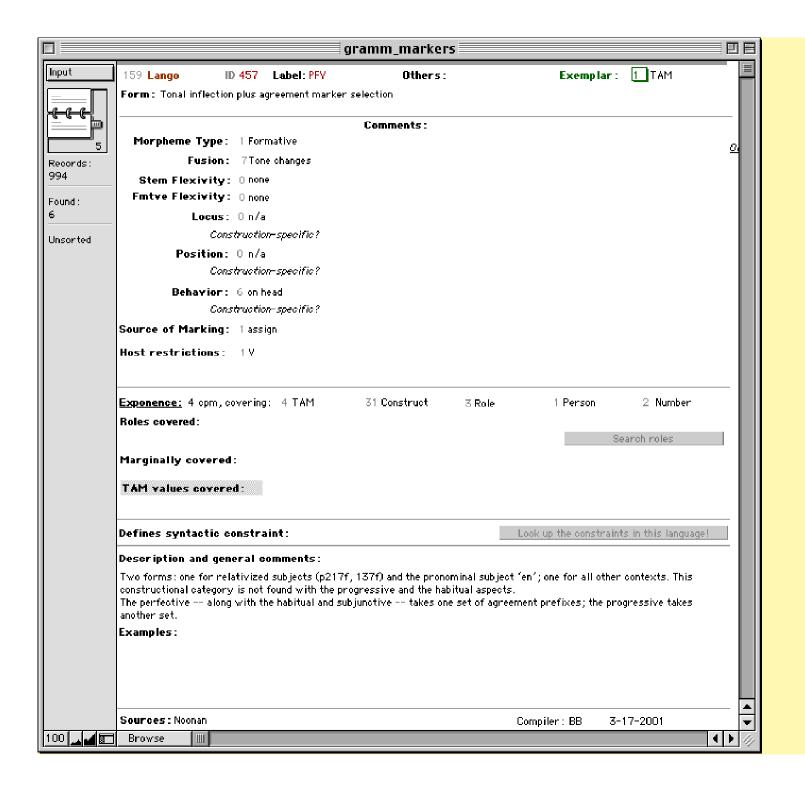
"If any of the TAM markers differs from others in their morphological behavior (here: exponence), pick TENSE; within TENSES, pick PAST (or whatever is chiefly used for simple, independent, past time reference); if there is none, pick FUTURE. If there is no TENSE, pick the closest ASPECT equivalent of past tense (e.g. perfective aspect). If there is no ASPECT, pick that MOOD, STATUS, or EVIDENTIALITY marker that is mostly used for past time reference (e.g. realis status)."

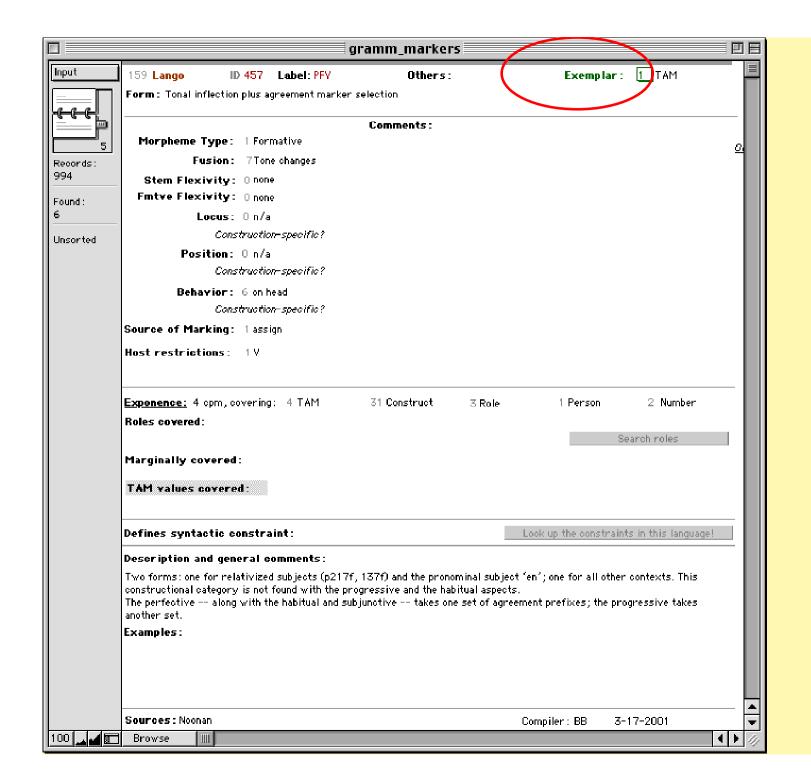
### Using AUTOTYP modules in surveys (cont'd)

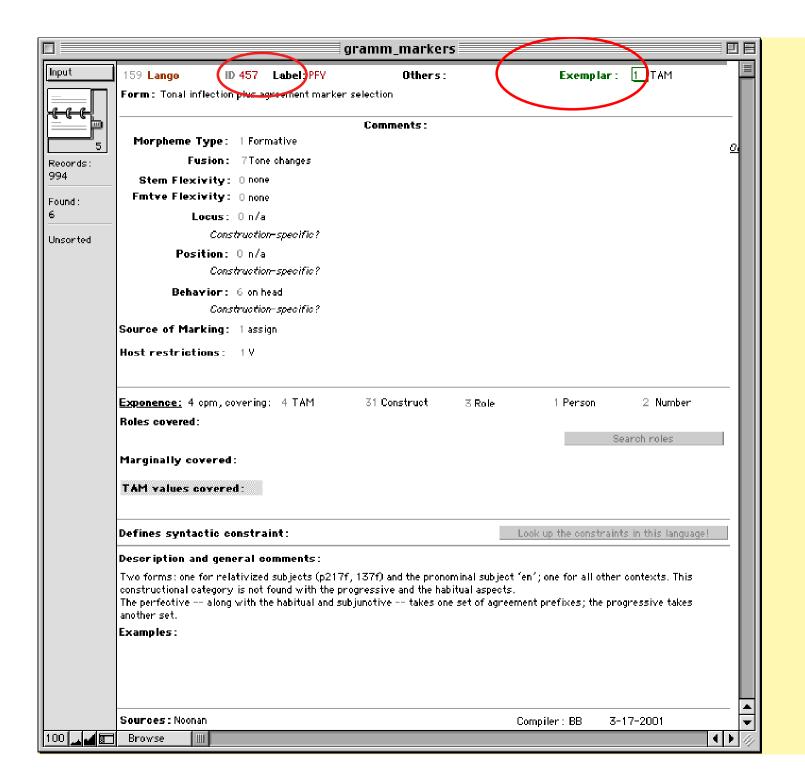
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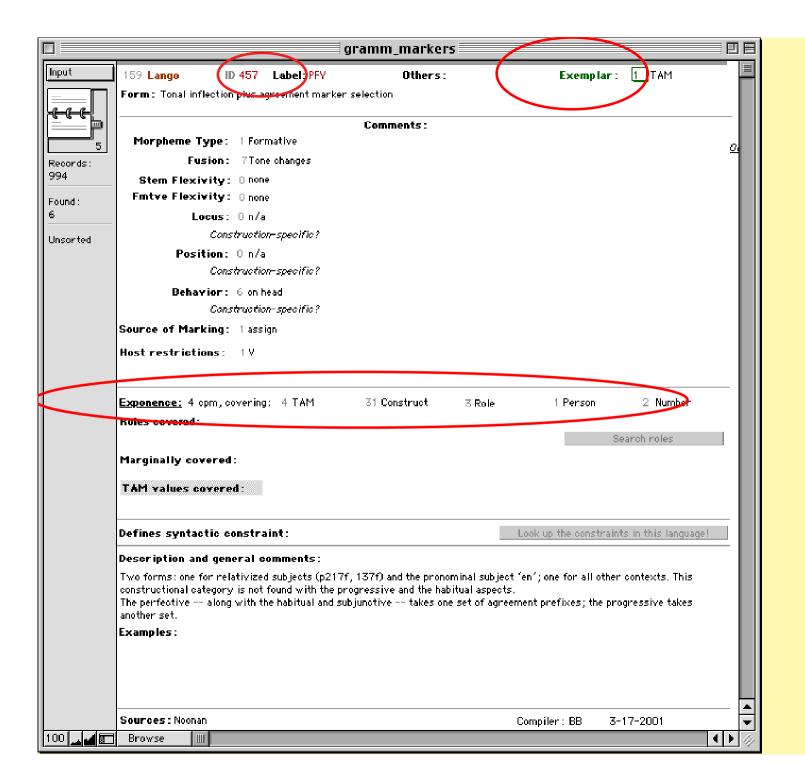
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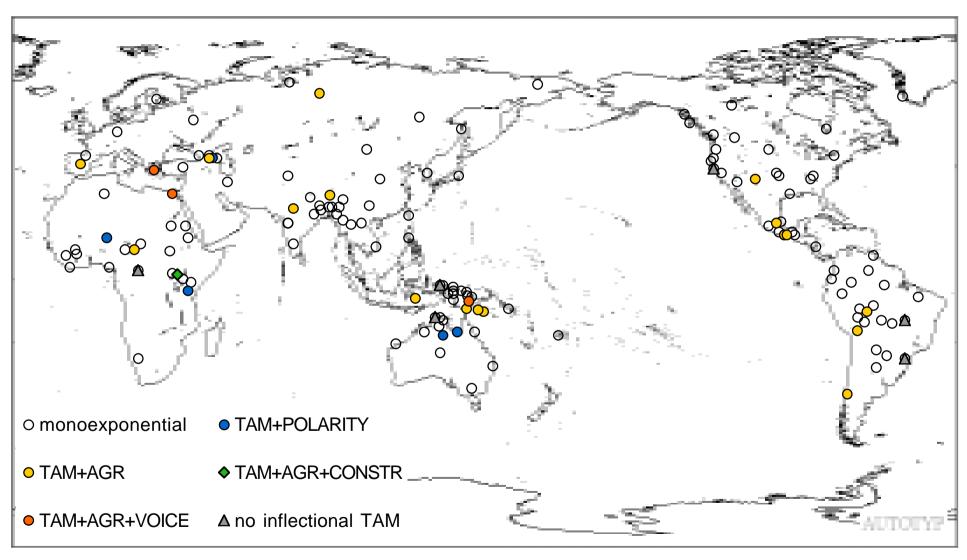








# Survey Example 1: TAM exponence



(N = 149 from Gen1 sample)

#### Results:

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  - > H: Songhai and Nilotic? (Nilosaharan?)

#### Exemplar definition:

• maximum N (categories) on verb

- maximum *N* (categories) on verb
- inflectional categories only (i.e., sensitive to the syntactic environment or interacting with morphological paradigm and allomorphy choices, such as negation interacting with tense or agreement)

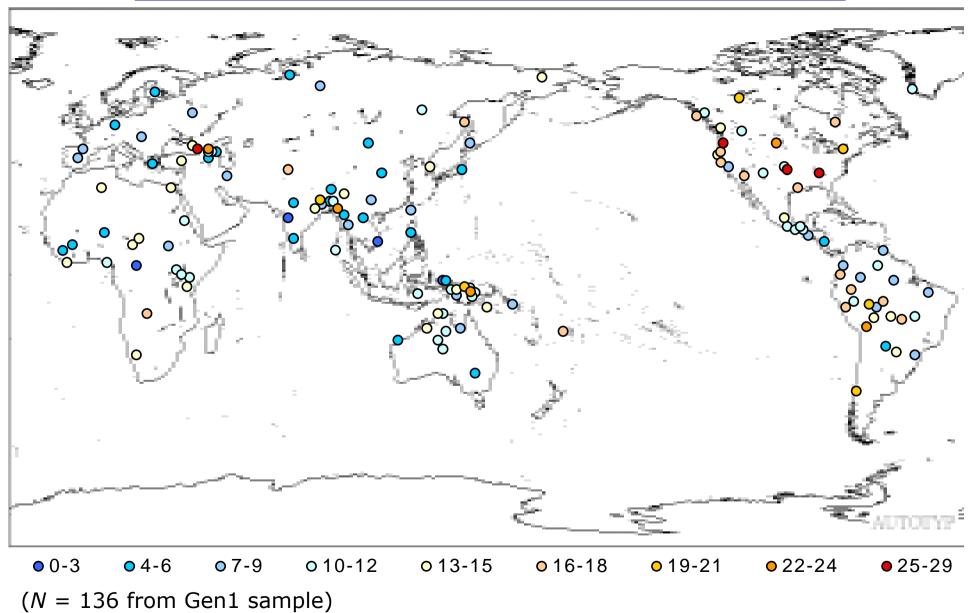
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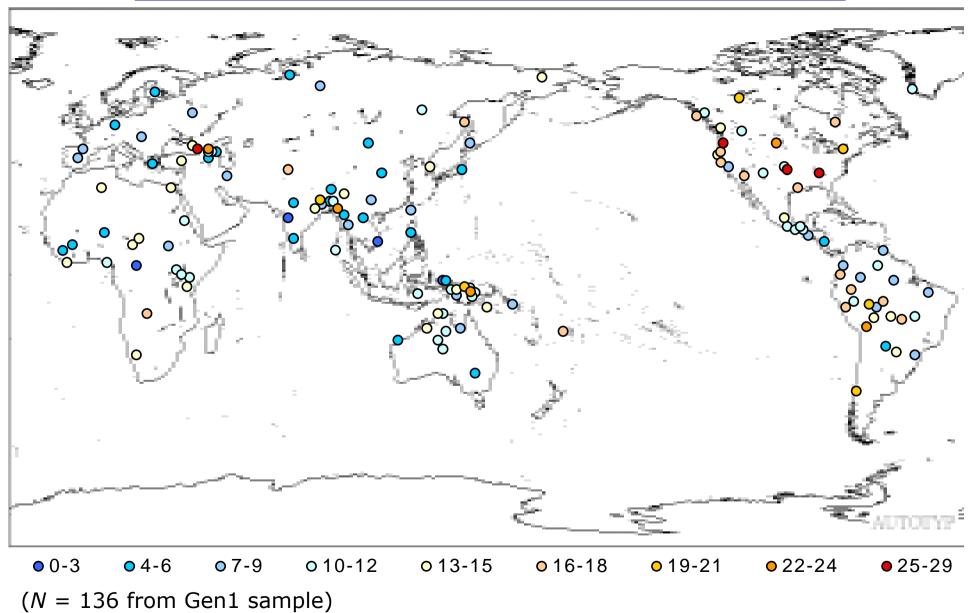
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- synthetic categories only (i.e., no auxiliaries like Finnish negation markers)
- phonologically bound (negation in Turkish) or free (negation in Hmong)

#### Synthesis Index:

$$SYN = N_{max}$$
 (categories) +  $N_{max}$  (formatives)



- Subcontinent-sized areality. (Kruskal-Wallis  $\chi^2$  (9, 136) = 29.80, p < .001)
- Himalayan and Caucasian enclaves in Eurasia. (Mann-Whitney U(1, 42) = 89.00, p = .036)
- Enclaves have the same profile as Circum-Pacific populations ("Ancient Sunda" population).
   (Mann-Whitney U (1, 99) = 402.50, p = .621)



➤ Hypothesis: Enclaves preserve the typological profile of Eurasia at the time of early American colonialization(s), i.e., before the great spreads in Eurasia (SEA, Silk Road) changed this profile.

# Conclusions

- The Autotypologizing Method develops analytical notions that are guaranteed to be crosslinguistically viable and that directly feed into field research, quantitative typology, and theoretical linguistics.
- The Exemplar-Based Method allows for systematic assessment and statistical analysis of typological profiles.

# Credits

- The research group
  - Johanna Nichols (Co-Director, Berkeley)
  - Balthasar Bickel (Co-Director, Leipzig)
  - Fernando Zúñiga (Post-Doc, Leipzig)
  - Sandra Biewald (RA, Leipzig)
  - Aimee Lahaussois-Bartosik (RA, Berkeley, until Spring 2002)
  - Michael Riessler (RA, Leipzig)
  - Suzanne Wilhite (RA, Berkeley)
  - Alena Witzlack-Makerevich (RA, Leipzig)
- Swiss NSF Grant Nos. 08210-053455 and 610-0627 (Bickel);
   US NSF Grant No. 96-16448 (Nichols)