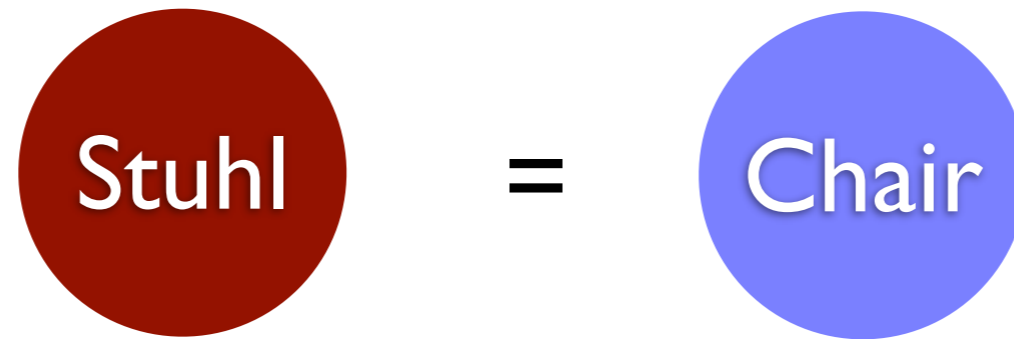


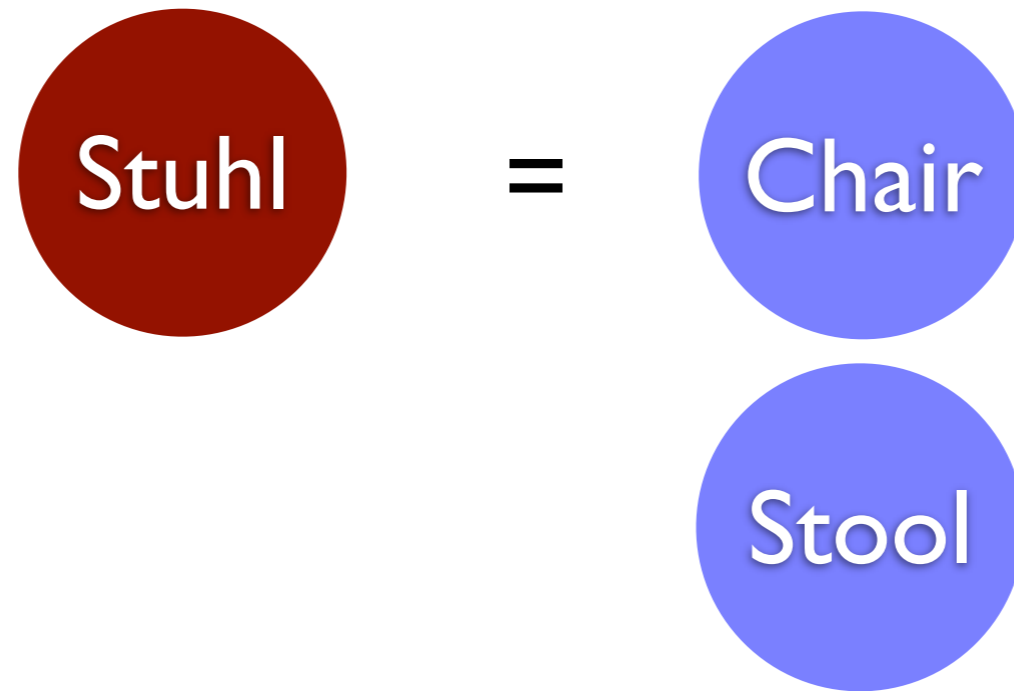
The background is a light blue gradient with various abstract shapes and clusters of colored dots in yellow, purple, pink, and green. The text is centered in the upper half of the image.

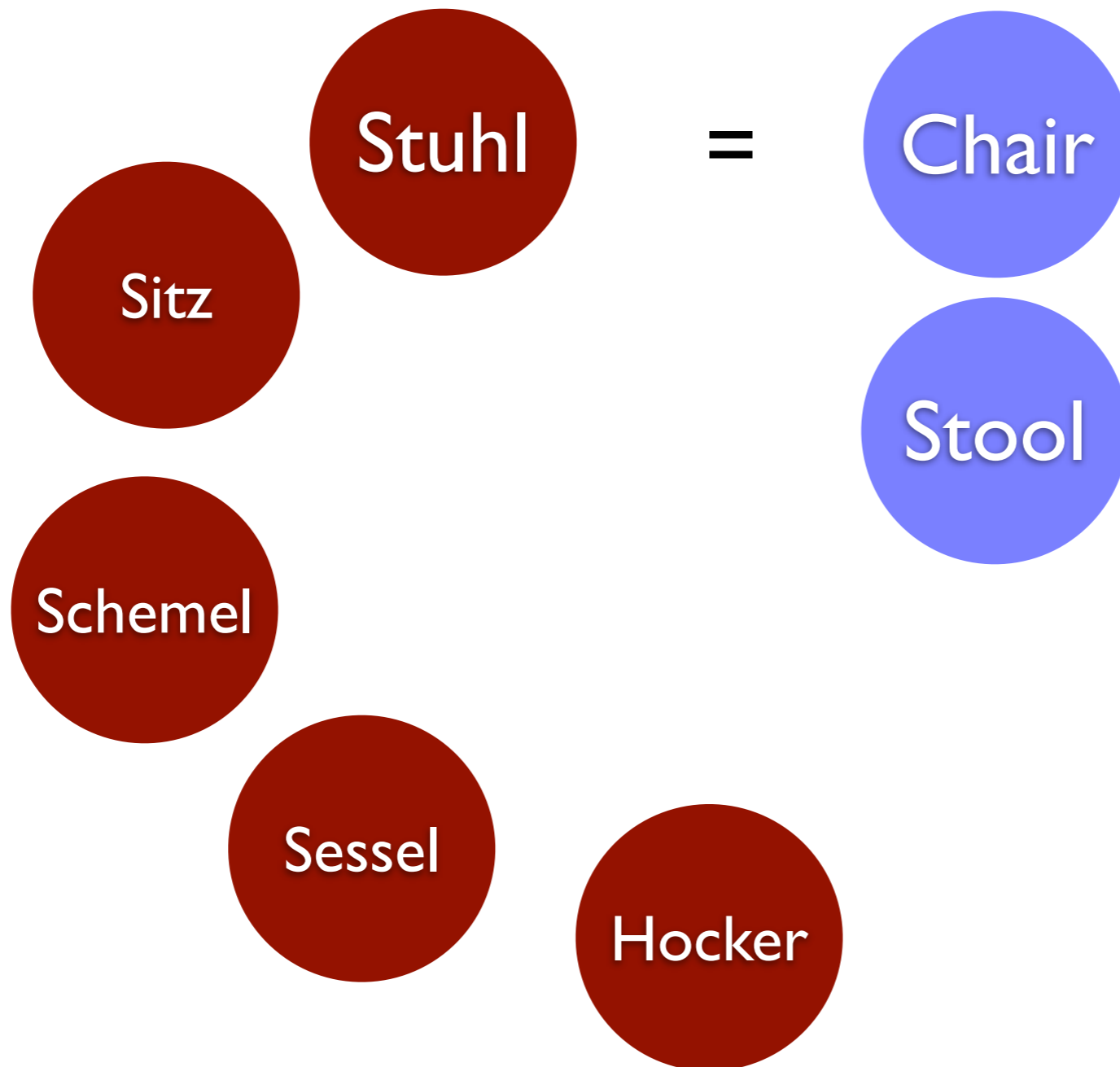
# **On the principle problem of comparing languages**

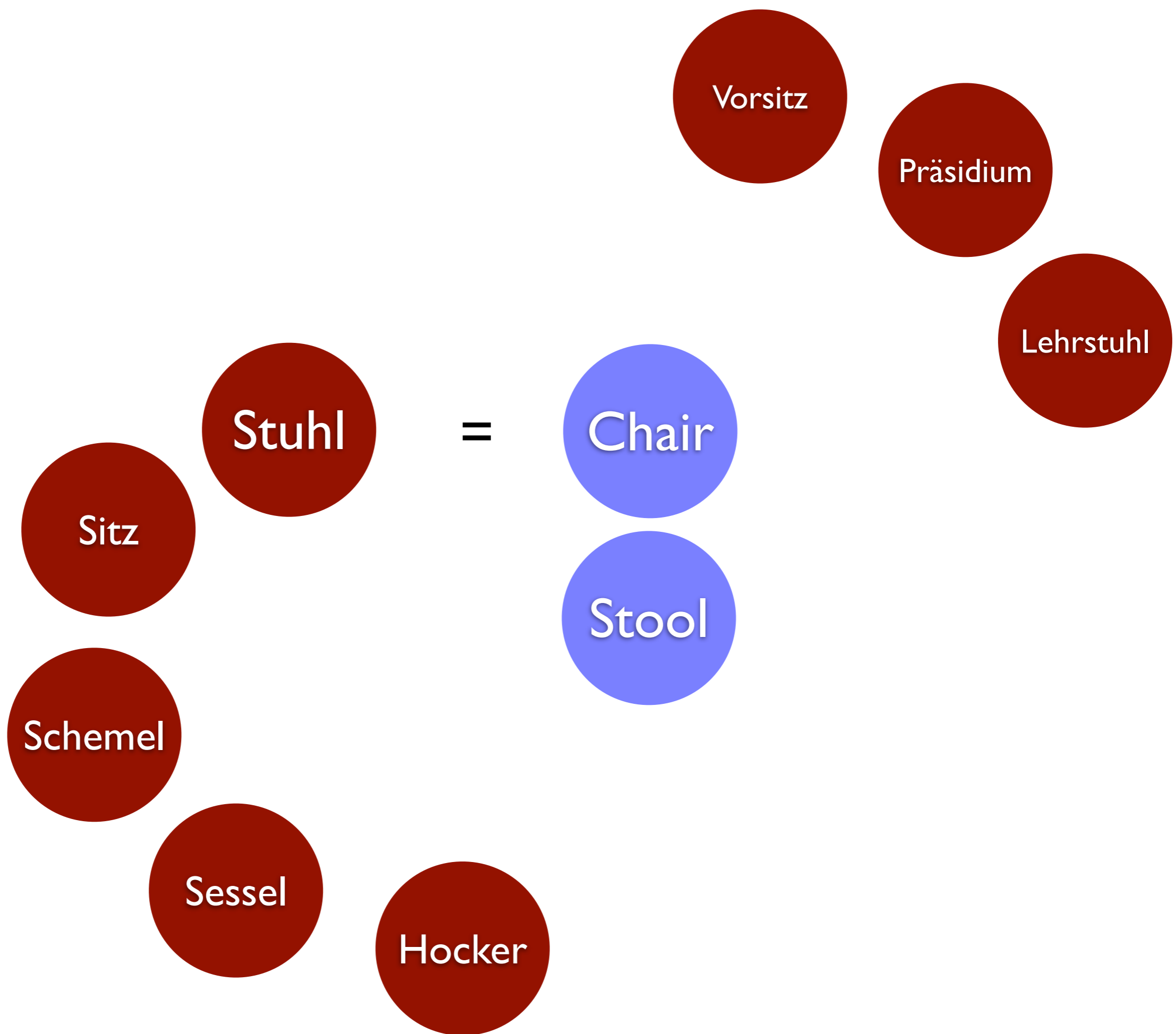
*Michael Cysouw*  
**MPI-EVA Leipzig**

Stuhl



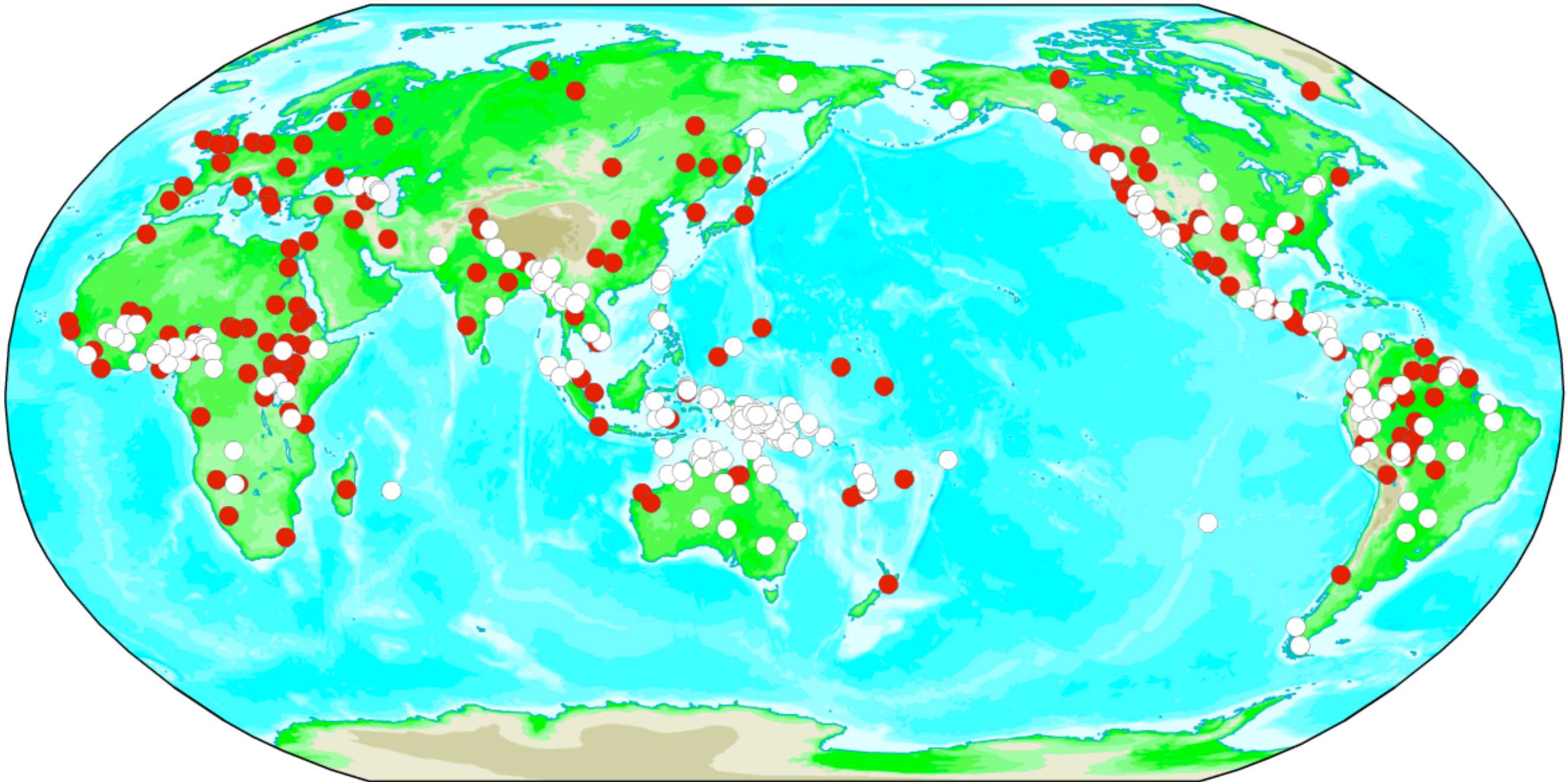






# Passive Constructions

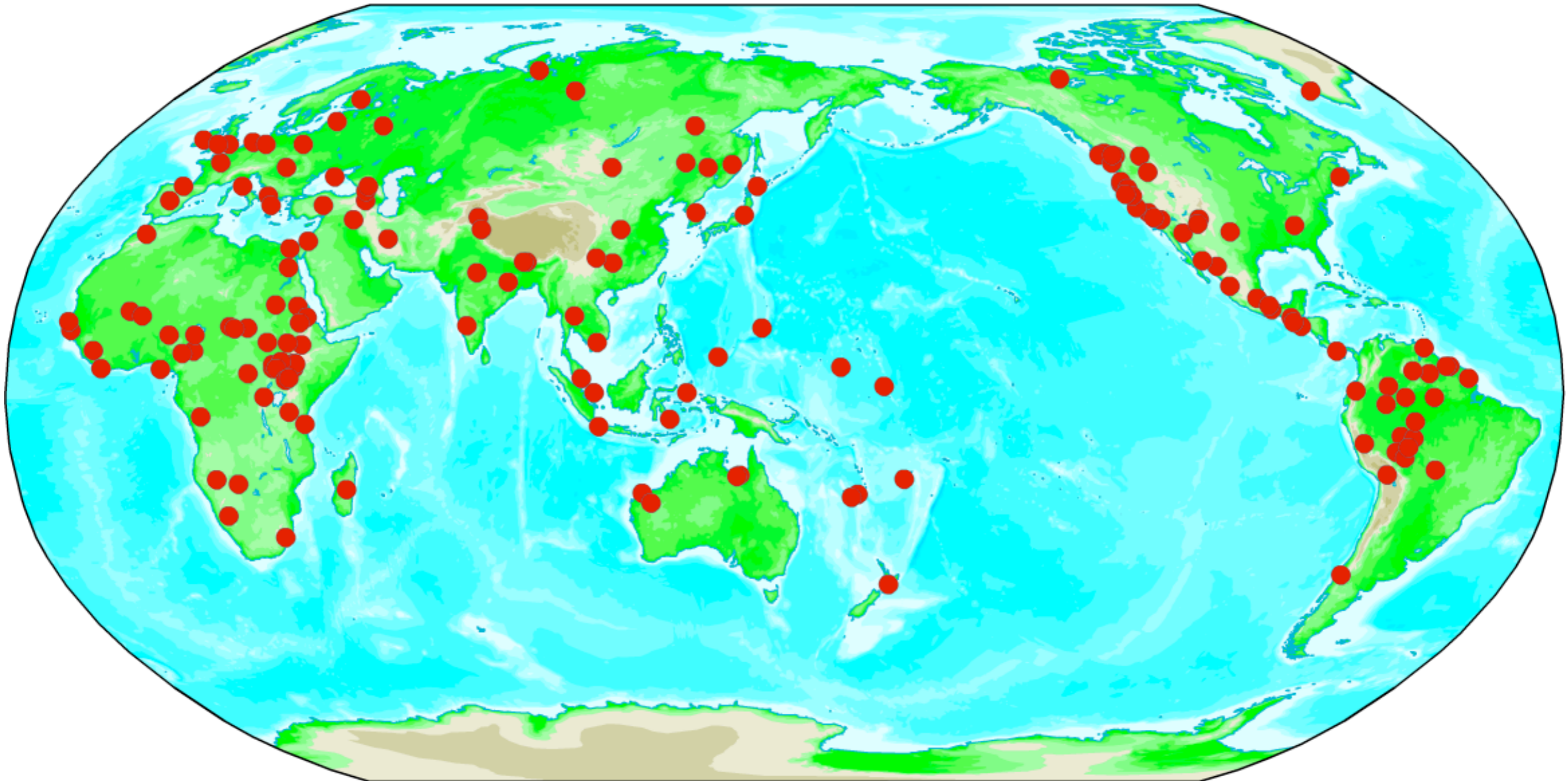
# Passive Constructions



Siewierska, Anna. "Passive Constructions." World Atlas of Language Structures. Eds. Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. 434-37.



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# Radical Relativism

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# Radical Relativism

- Constructions (including lexicon) are always language-specific
- In principle, each construction in each language should be uniquely named
- In practice, the same names are used again and again for reasons of readability
- This is currently confusing most readers (and authors!)

2.1.1. Emic independent clause classes

		Tr	Intr	Eq	Quot	
					Tr	Intr
		10	20	30	40	50
Decl	01	11	21	31	41	51
Ex	02	12	22	32	42	52
Q	03	13	23		43	53
Q	04	14	24	34	44	54
Impv	05	15	25		45	55
Impv	06	16	26		46	56

Chart II. Emic independent clause classes

2.1.2. Tagmemic independent clause formula

$$Cl = \{ +Mar: Cl \text{ mar} \quad +Nuc: Cl \text{ nuc } 10-50 \}$$

The independent clause is subdivided into emic distribution classes 11-56 on the basis of the filler of the nucleus slot and of the distribution. Since the distribution classes do not otherwise differ in composition, they are not shown in separate formulas.

2.1.3. Independent clause citation

Ind cl = noy teč in neríyow--noropików to neč ka?ánoneb  
 'there that water they-drink-where--they-just-  
 now-come the those animals' (those animals were  
 just now going there where they drink that water).  
 kopi ikomórikon to mónči 'why-you killer the child'  
 (why did you kill the child?).  
 ne soratíye--ónka to ka kí?inon 'here town-in--  
 not the that-which caring-person' (here in the  
 town there is no one who cares).  
 nihín--ónka ímokon 'my-daughter--not sleeper'  
 (my daughter, don't sleep).

**How to compare unique  
constructions across languages?**



# How to compare unique constructions across languages?

- Similarity Semantics: no identity, only similarity

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- The meaning-space can be sampled

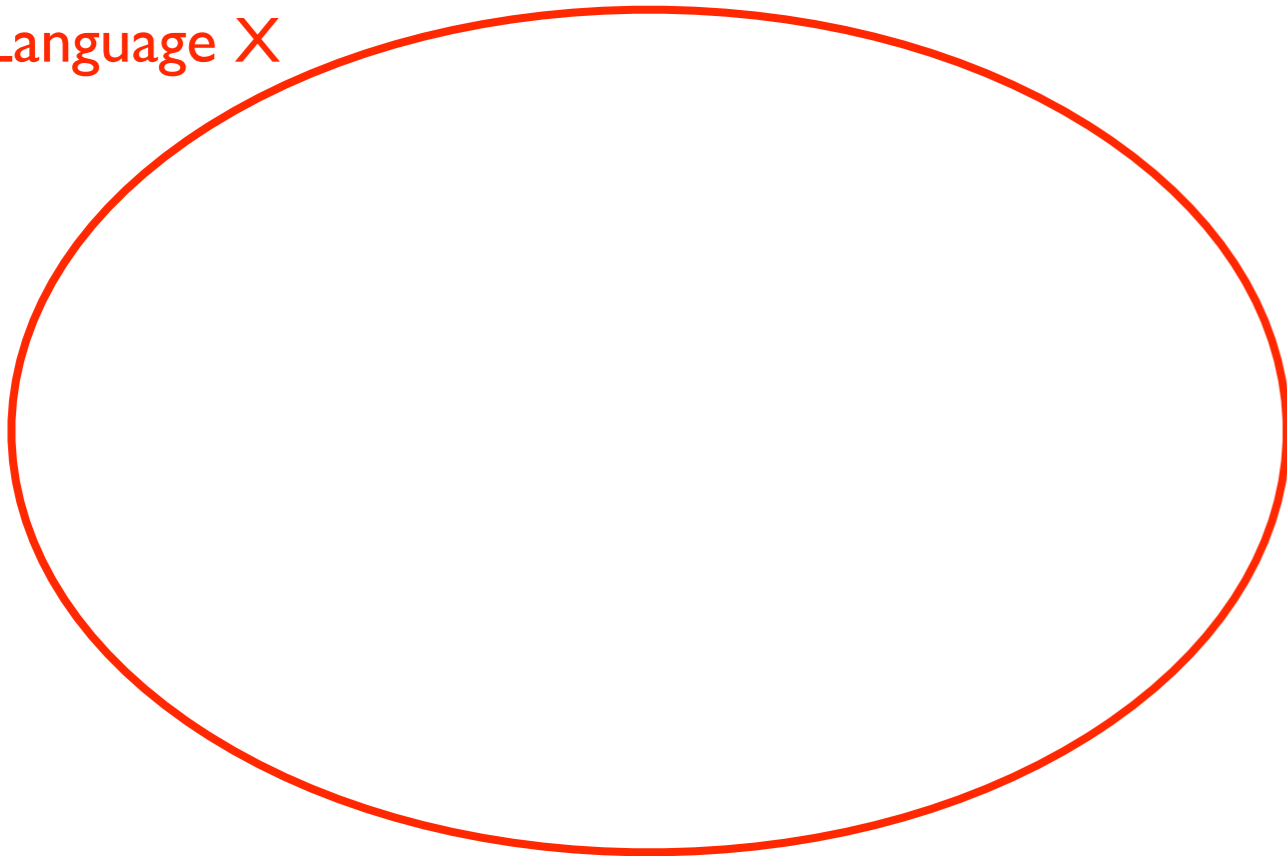
# How to compare unique constructions across languages?

- Similarity Semantics: no identity, only similarity
- Meaning is a continuous space, without universal semantic meta-language
- The meaning-space can be sampled
- Similarity of constructions can be established based on this sample

# Meaning-space

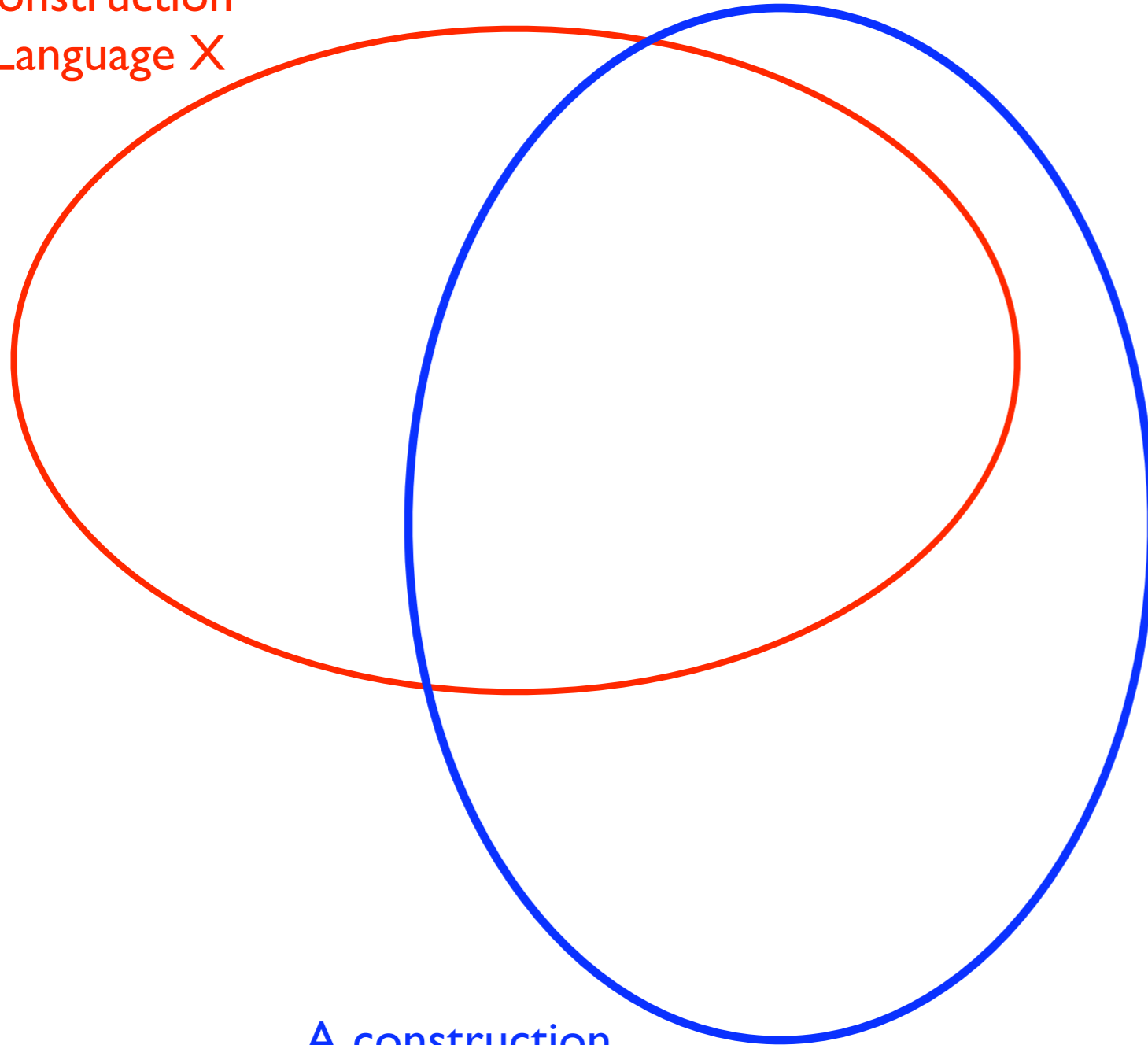
# Meaning-space

A construction  
of Language X



# Meaning-space

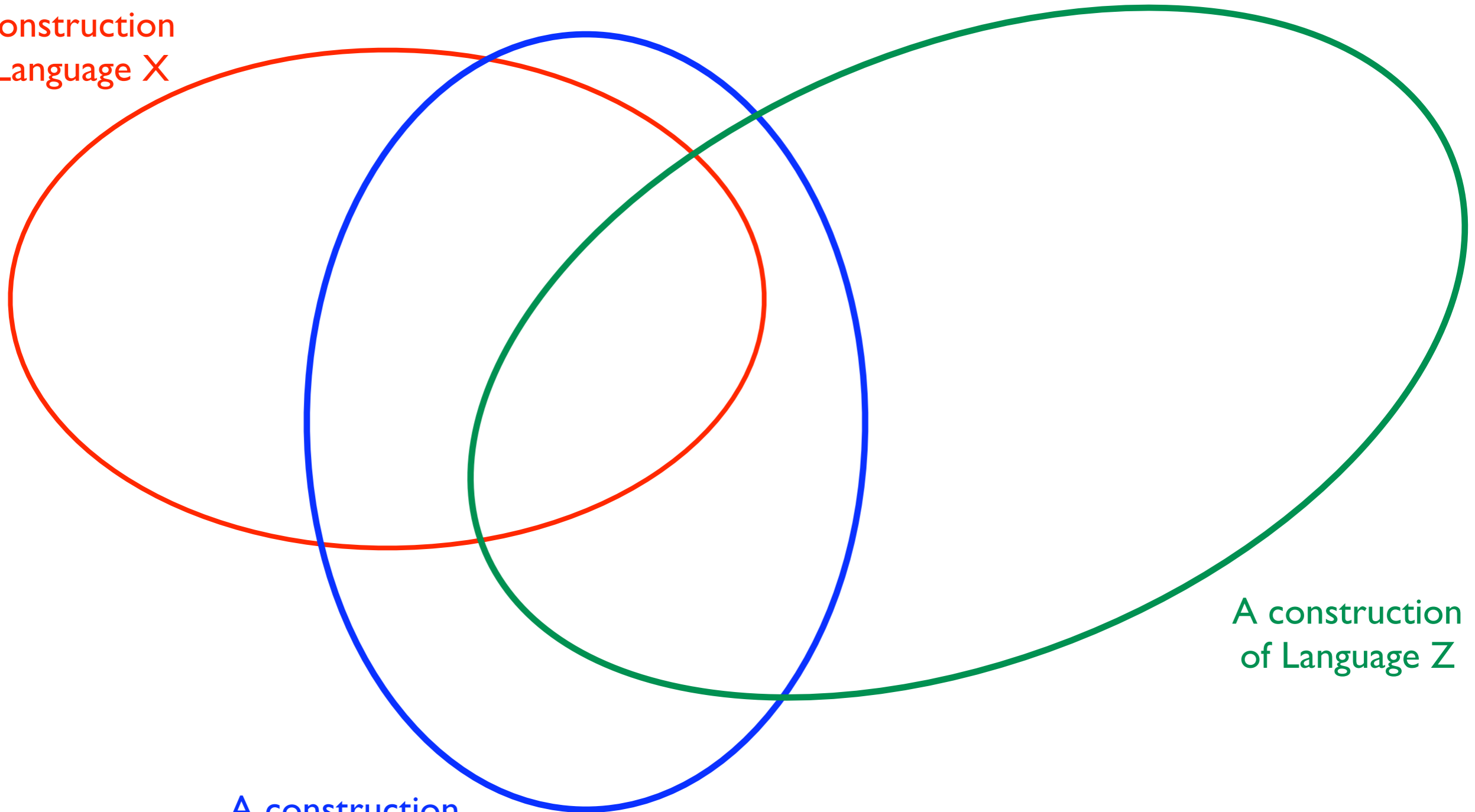
A construction  
of Language X



A construction  
of Language Y

# Meaning-space

A construction  
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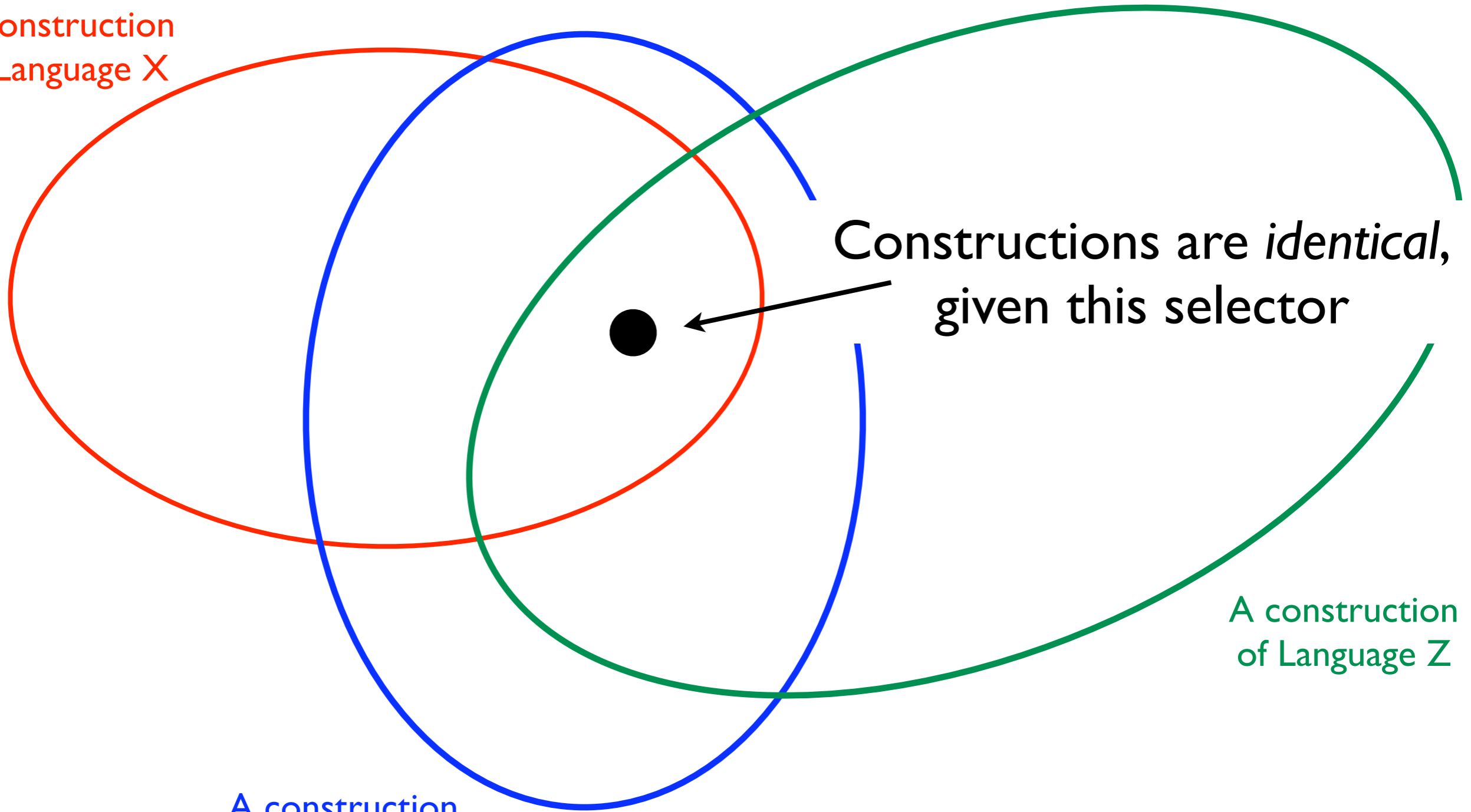
A construction  
of Language Y

A construction  
of Language Z



# Meaning-space

A construction  
of Language X



Constructions are *identical*,  
given this selector

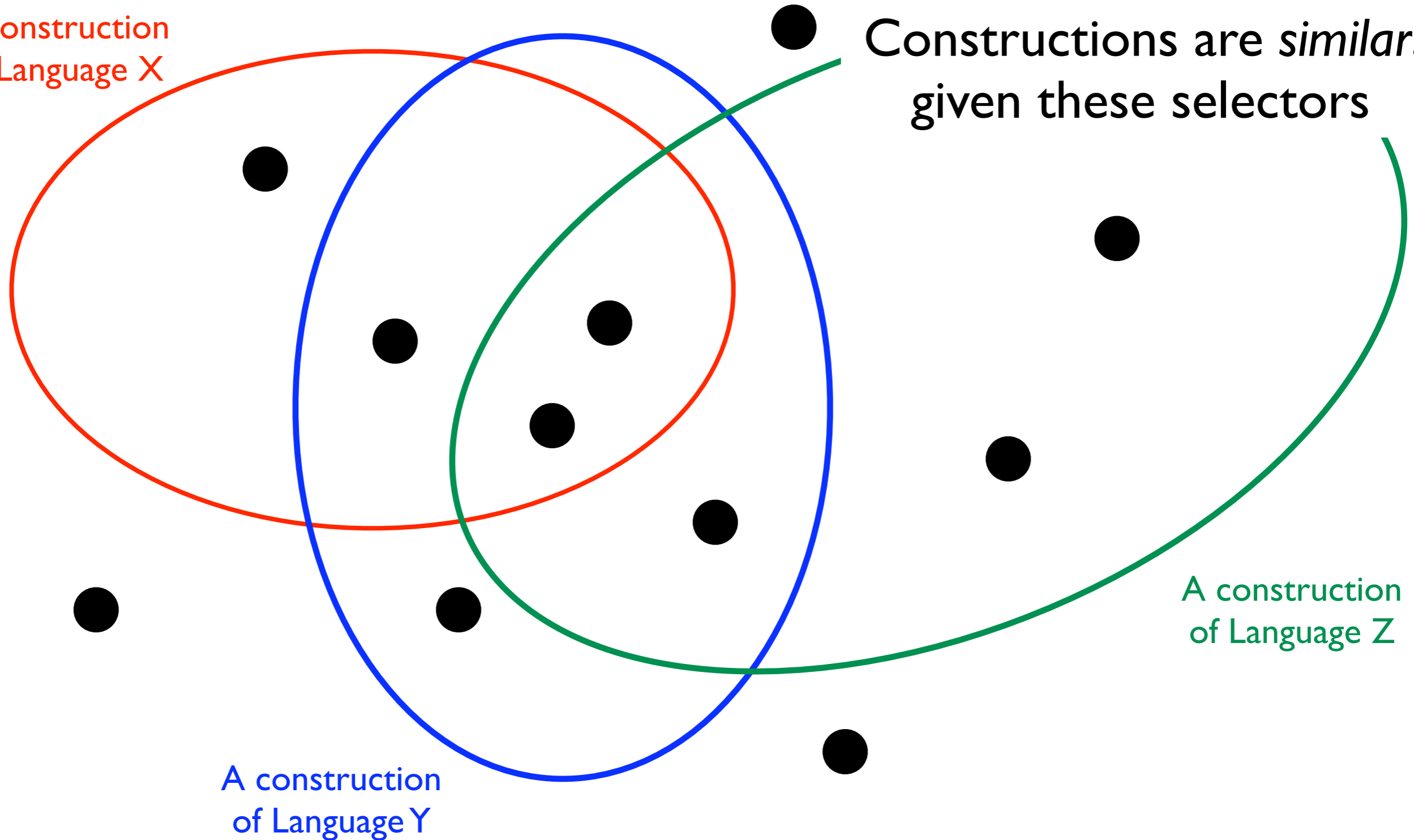
A construction  
of Language Y

A construction  
of Language Z

# Meaning-space

A construction  
of Language X

Constructions are *similar*,  
given these selectors



# Selectors

# Selectors

- The meaning-space can be sampled by choosing (arbitrary) ‘selectors’
  - ▶ items in parallel texts
  - ▶ pictures, videos, translational questionnaires
  - ▶ (more abstract) functions
  - ▶ formal restrictions

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# Selectors

- The meaning-space can be sampled by choosing (arbitrary) ‘selectors’
  - ▶ items in parallel texts
  - ▶ pictures, videos, translational questionnaires
  - ▶ (more abstract) functions
  - ▶ formal restrictions
- The selectors ‘select’ the relevant constructions for the comparison
- Language comparison has to sum up over all relevant constructions

# Verbs of motion in parallel texts

(data from Bernhard Wälchli)

# Verbs of motion in parallel texts

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Selectors	Acholi	Ainu	Albanian	Armenian	Avar	Aymara	Bambara	Basque
1.05.0	bino	paye	shkoj	erTam	baC'ine	mistu	taa	etorri
1.07.0	bino	ek	vij	gam	baC'ine	juta	na	etorri
1.09.0	bino	ek	vij	gam	baC'ine	juta	na	etorri
1.10.4	a	yan	dal	veranam	Lug'ine	mistu	bO	atera
1.10.5	pye	ran	zbres	ijanem	reSt'ine	jala	jigin	jaitsi
1.11.4	a	–	–	linim	bag'ize	juta	bOra	–
1.12.0	ryamo	omande	shtrEngoj	hanem	ine	nuct'i	ye	bultzatu
1.14.0	bino	ek	shkoj	gam	ine	juta	taa	etorri
1.16.0	kato	shirikush	kaloj	anCanem	ine	sara	taama	joan
1.17.0	bino	araki	vij	gam	biLLine	juta	tugu	etorri
1.18.4	lobo	paye	shkoj	gnam	ine	arka	tugu	jarrai
1.20.0	cito	paye	shkoj	gnam	ine	arka	tugu	abiatu
1.21.0	donyo	paye	arrij	mtanem	Sweze	ma	taa	sar
1.21.1	donyo	ahun	hyj	mtanem	baC'ine	ma	don	joan



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1.07.0	bino	ek	vij	gam	baC'ine	juta	na	etorri
1.09.0	bino	ek	vij	gam	baC'ine	juta	na	etorri
1.10.4	a	yan	dal	veranam	Lug'ine	mistu	bO	atera
1.10.5	pye	ran	zbres	ijanem	reSt'ine	jala	jigin	jaitsi
1.11.4	a	–	–	linim	bag'ize	juta	bOra	–
1.12.0	ryamo	omande	shtrEngoj	hanem	ine	nuct'i	ye	bultzatu
1.14.0	bino	ek	shkoj	gam	ine	juta	taa	etorri
1.16.0	kato	shirikush	kaloj	anCanem	ine	sara	taama	joan
1.17.0	bino	araki	vij	gam	biLLine	juta	tugu	etorri
1.18.4	lobo	paye	shkoj	gnam	ine	arka	tugu	jarrai
1.20.0	cito	paye	shkoj	gnam	ine	arka	tugu	abiatu
1.21.0	donyo	paye	arrij	mtanem	Sweze	ma	taa	sar
1.21.1	donyo	ahun	hyj	mtanem	baC'ine	ma	don	joan

# Verbs of motion in parallel texts

(data from Bernhard Wälchli)

Selectors	Acholi
1.05.0	bino
1.07.0	bino
1.09.0	bino
1.10.4	a
1.10.5	pye
1.11.4	a
1.12.0	ryamo
1.14.0	bino
1.16.0	kato
1.17.0	bino
1.18.4	lobo
1.20.0	cito
1.21.0	donyo
1.21.1	donyo

---





---

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+	+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+	+		
<b>Construction 3</b>					+	+

---

---

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+	+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+	+		
<b>Construction 3</b>					+	+

---

<b>Construction 1</b>	+		+	+	+	
<b>Construction 2</b>		+				+

---

---

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+	+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+	+		
<b>Construction 3</b>					+	+

---

<b>Construction 1</b>	+		+	+	+	
<b>Construction 2</b>		+				+

---

<b>Construction 1</b>	+					
<b>Construction 2</b>		+				
<b>Construction 3</b>			+			
<b>Construction 4</b>				+	+	+

---

---

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+	+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+	+		
<b>Construction 3</b>	+				+	+

---

<b>Construction 1</b>	+		+	+	+	
<b>Construction 2</b>		+	+	+		+

---

<b>Construction 1</b>	+					
<b>Construction 2</b>		+			+	
<b>Construction 3</b>	+		+			
<b>Construction 4</b>	+			+	+	+

---



# Method of Language Comparison, version A

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---

---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2		+	+	+		+

---

# Method of Language Comparison, version A

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---

---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2		+	+	+		+

---

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

# Method of Language Comparison, version A

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---

---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2			+	+	+	+

---

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	1	3	3	1	1
2	1	0	2	2	2	2
3	3	2	0	0	2	2
4	3	2	0	0	2	2
5	1	2	2	2	0	0
6	1	2	2	2	0	0

# Method of Language Comparison, version A

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---



---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2			+	+	+	+

---

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	1	3	3	1	1
2	1	0	2	2	2	2
3	3	2	0	0	2	2
4	3	2	0	0	2	2
5	1	2	2	2	0	0
6	1	2	2	2	0	0

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	2	1	1	0	2
2	2	0	1	1	2	0
3	1	1	0	0	1	1
4	1	1	0	0	1	1
5	0	2	1	1	0	2
6	2	0	1	1	2	0

# Method of Language Comparison, version A

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---



---

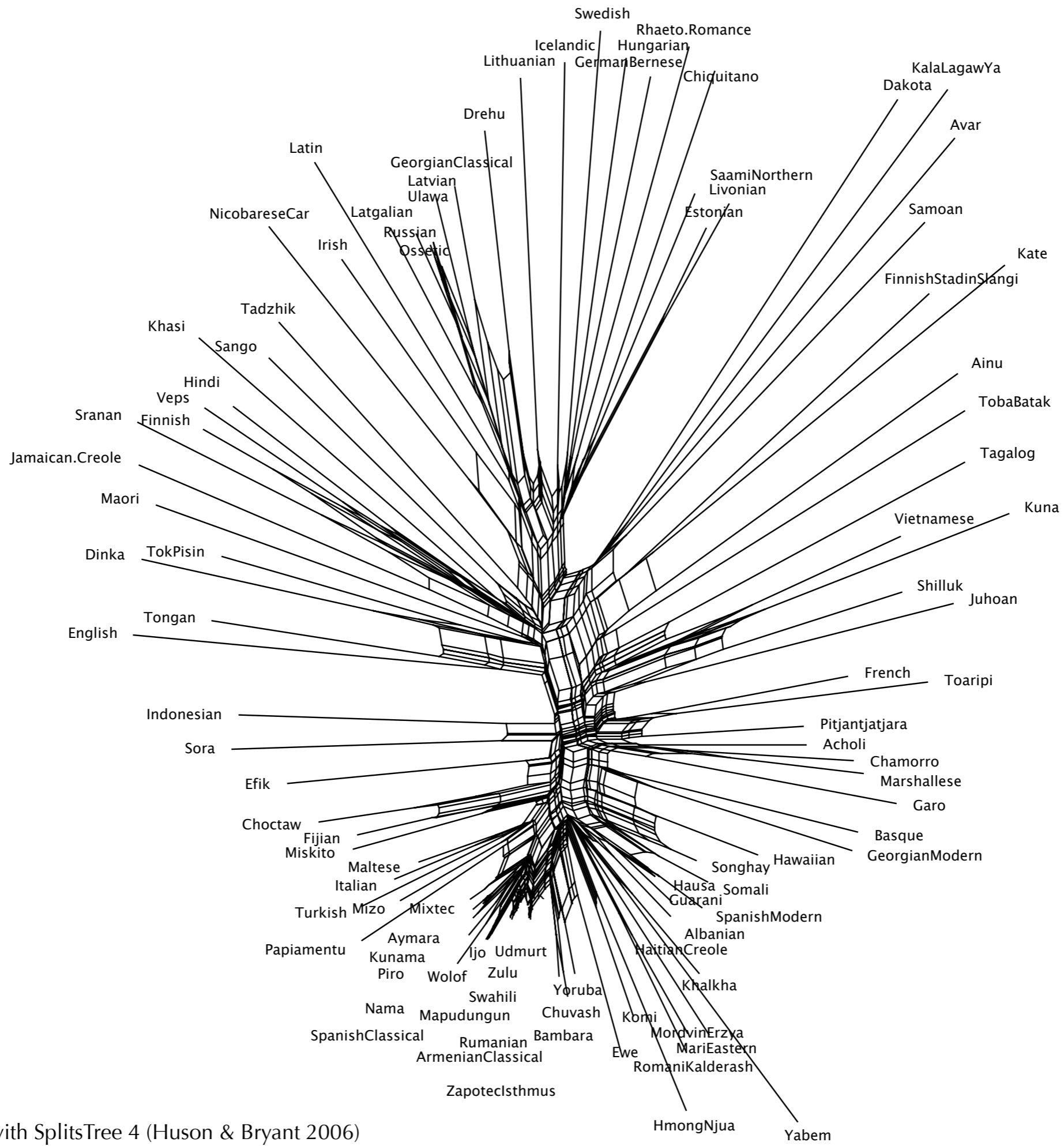
Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2			+	+	+	+

---

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	1	3	3	1	1
2	1	0	2	2	2	2
3	3	2	0	0	2	2
4	3	2	0	0	2	2
5	1	2	2	2	0	0
6	1	2	2	2	0	0

↔  
 How similar  
 are they ?  
 (Matrix  
 Correlation)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0	2	1	1	0	2
2	2	0	1	1	2	0
3	1	1	0	0	1	1
4	1	1	0	0	1	1
5	0	2	1	1	0	2
6	2	0	1	1	2	0



NeighborNet, made with SplitsTree 4 (Huson & Bryant 2006)

# From construction-types to construction-tokens

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+	+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+	+		
<b>Construction 3</b>	+				+	+

# From construction-types to construction-tokens

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+					
<b>Construction 4</b>		+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+			
<b>Construction 5</b>				+		
<b>Construction 3</b>					+	
<b>Construction 6</b>						+
<b>Construction 7</b>	+					



# From construction-types to construction-tokens

Selectors	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Construction 1</b>	+					
<b>Construction 4</b>		+				
<b>Construction 2</b>			+			
<b>Construction 5</b>				+		
<b>Construction 3</b>					+	
<b>Construction 6</b>						+
<b>Construction 7</b>	+					

Similarity between constructions is language-specific!

**Comparative notions ?**

# Comparative notions ?

- Constructions are language specific

# Comparative notions ?

- Constructions are language specific
- However, some (limited) options exist to analyse constructions typologically
  - ▶ morphological structure
  - ▶ order of elements
  - ▶ length
  - ▶ ...

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---

---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2		+	+	+		+

---

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

---

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

---

---

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2			+	+	+	+

---

Differences	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1		
Construction 2		
Construction 3		

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

Construction 1	+	+				
Construction 2			+	+		
Construction 3	+				+	+

Construction 1	+		+	+	+	
Construction 2			+	+	+	+

Differences	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	4	4
Construction 2	2	2
Construction 3	3	5

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

	Length
Construction 1	7
Construction 2	3
Construction 3	4
Construction 1	5
Construction 2	2



# Method of Language Comparison, version B

	Length
Construction 1	7
Construction 2	3
Construction 3	4
Construction 1	5
Construction 2	2

Differences	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	$ 7 - 5  = 2$	$ 7 - 2  = 5$
Construction 2	$ 3 - 5  = 2$	$ 3 - 2  = 1$
Construction 3	$ 4 - 5  = 1$	$ 4 - 2  = 2$

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

Functions	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	4	4
Construction 2	2	2
Construction 3	3	5

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

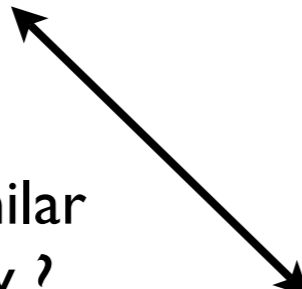
Functions	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	4	4
Construction 2	2	2
Construction 3	3	5

Length	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	2	5
Construction 2	2	1
Construction 3	1	2

# Method of Language Comparison, version B

Functions	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	4	4
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Construction 3	3	5

How similar  
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(Matrix  
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Length	Construction 1	Construction 2
Construction 1	2	5
Construction 2	2	1
Construction 3	1	2

**case study:**  
**Inchoative - causative**  
**verb pairs**

case study:  
Inchoative - causative  
verb pairs

- Inchoative  
*“The stick broke.”*

case study:  
Inchoative - causative  
verb pairs

- Inchoative  
*“The stick broke.”*
- Causative  
*“The girl broke the stick.”*



# case study:

## Inchoative - causative verb pairs

- Inchoative  
*“The stick broke.”*
- Causative  
*“The girl broke the stick.”*

Based on data from: Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. "More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations." In: Comrie, B. & Polinsky, M. (eds.) *Causatives and transitivity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 87-120.

# Some non-identical verb pairs in English

# Some non-identical verb pairs in English

- ▶ *die - kill*
- ▶ *learn - teach*
- ▶ *rise - raise*
- ▶ *get lost - lose*
- ▶ *go out - put out*

# Verb pairs investigated

# Verb pairs investigated

begin	dry	melt
boil	fill	open
break	finish	rise/raise
burn	freeze	rock
change	gather	roll
close	get lost/	sink
connect	lose	split
destroy	go out/put	spread
develop	out	stop
die/kill	improve	turn
dissolve	learn/teach	wake up

# Strategies for encoding inchoative-causative relation

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**Suppletive** strategy (e.g. *die* - *kill*)

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**Labile** strategy (e.g. *break*)
- Causative derived from Inchoative:  
**Causative** strategy (e.g. German *enden* - *beenden*)

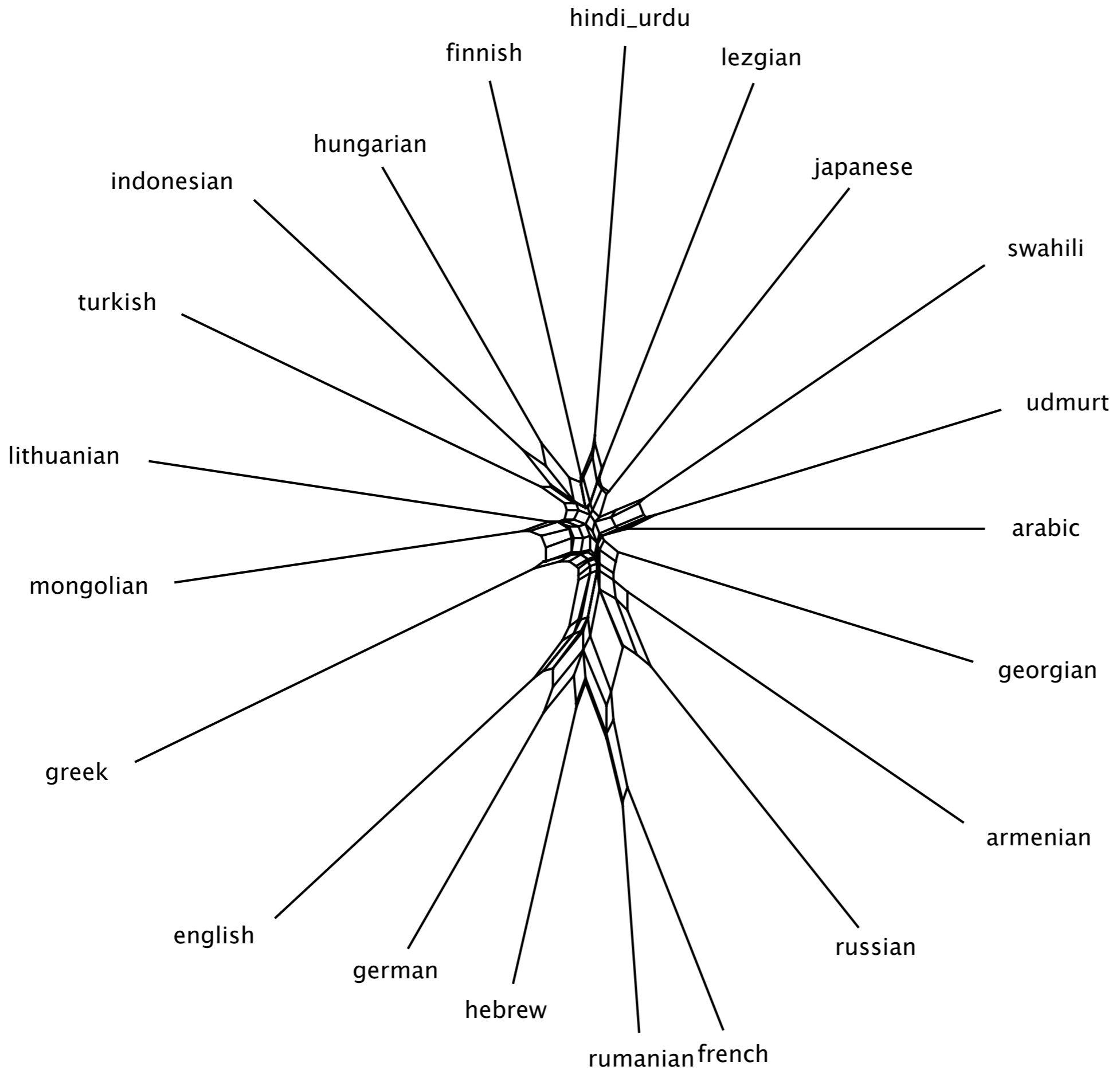
# Strategies for encoding inchoative-causative relation

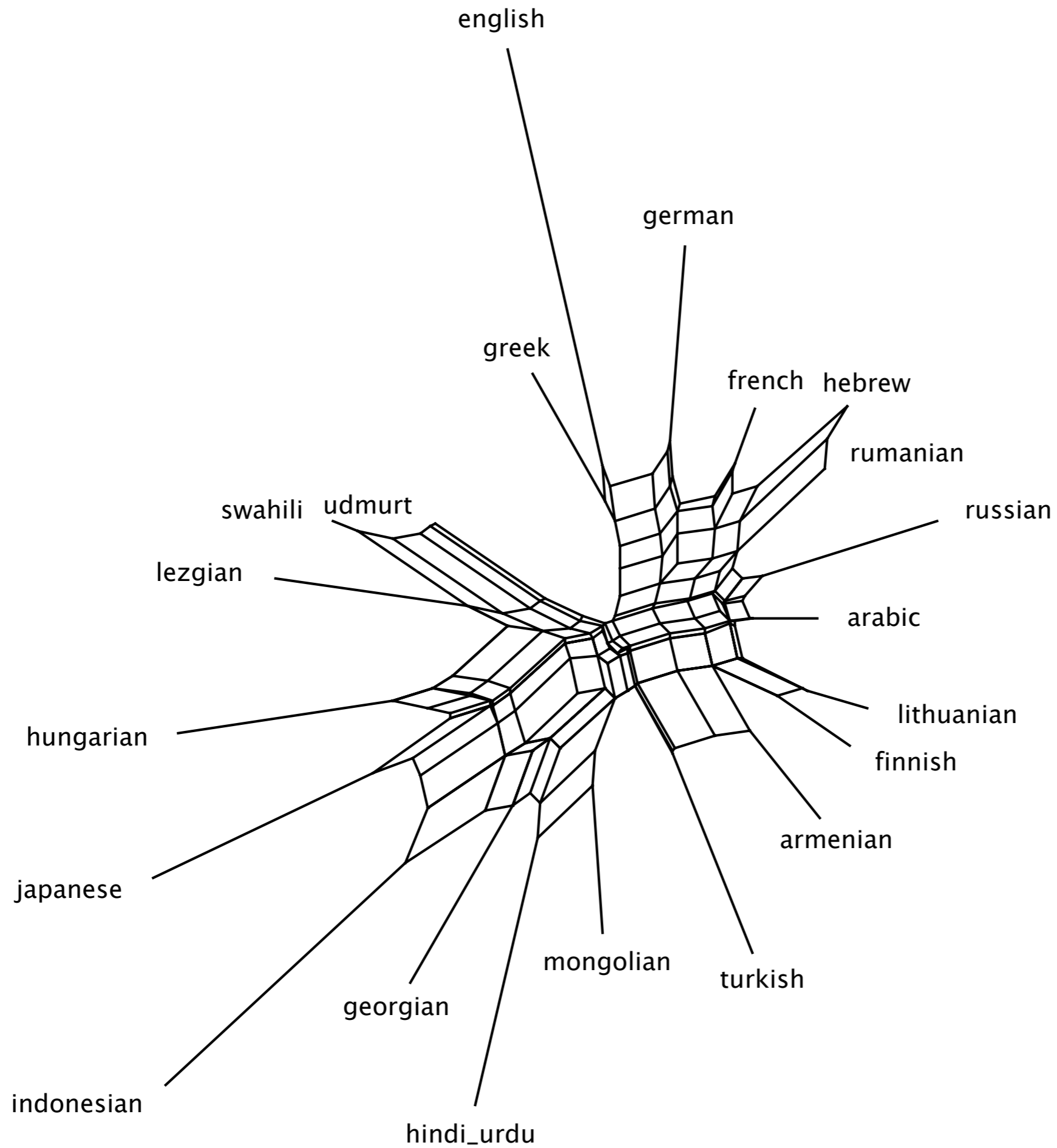
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**Causative** strategy (e.g. German *enden* - *beenden*)
- Inchoative derived from Causative:  
**Anticausative** strategy (e.g. *be destroyed* - *destroy*)
- No (synchronic) primacy for one or the other:  
**Equipollent** strategy (e.g. German *versinken* - *versenken*)

Arabic	English	Finnish	French
<b>Class A: C / CC</b>	<b>Class A: Identical</b>	<b>Class A: ø / ttA</b>	<b>Class A: se / ø</b>
1. saḥaa / saḥḥaa	1. wake up	1. herätä / herättää	1. se réveiller / réveiller
8. darasa / darrasa	2. break	3. palaa / polttaa	2. se briser / briser
14. damara / dammara	3. burn	8. oppia / opettaa	5. s'ouvrir / ouvrir
31. waqafa / waqqafa	5. open	10. levitä / levittää	6. se fermer / fermer
<b>Class B: in / ø</b>	6. close	13. sulaa / sulattaa	9. s'assembler / assembler
2. inkasara / kasara	7. begin	18. kiehua / kiehutaa	10. s'étendre / étendre
5. infataḥa / fataḥa	9. gather	19. kiikkua / kiikuttaa	11. s'enfoncer / enfoncer
6. inqafala / qafala	10. spread	20. sammua / sammuttaa	15. se perdre / perdre
13. inṣahara / ṣahara	11. sink	21. kohota / kohottaa	16. se développer / développer
30. inṣaqqa / ṣaqqa	12. change	22. loppua / lopettaa	17. se lier / lier
<b>Class C: t / ?</b>	13. melt	24. vierä / vierittää	19. se balancer / balancer
3. iḥtaraqa / ?aḥraqa	16. develop	25. jäätyä / jäädyttää	20. s'éteindre / éteindre
22. intahaa / ?anhaa	17. connect	26. liueta / liuottaa	21. se lever / lever
<b>Class D: t / ø</b>	18. boil	31. pysähtyä / pysähdyttää	23. se tourner / tourner
9. iltamma / lamma	19. rock	<b>Class B: U / A</b>	26. se dissoudre / dissoudre
10. intaṣara / naṣara	22. finish	2. murtua / murtaa	27. se remplir / remplir
17. irtabaṭa / rabaṭa	23. turn	12. muuttua / muuttaa	28. s'améliorer / améliorer
21. irtafaṭa / rafaṭa	24. roll	16. kehittyä / kehittää	30. se fendre / fendre
27. imtalaṭa / malaṭa	25. freeze	23. vääntyä / vääntää	31. s'arrêter / arrêter
<b>Class E: ø / ?</b>	26. dissolve	27. täytyä / täyttää	<b>Class B: Identical</b>
11. ḡariqa / ?aḡraqa	27. fill	28. parantua / parantaa	3. brûler
18. ḡalaa / ?aḡlaa	28. improve	<b>Class C: UtU / ø</b>	7. commencer
23. daara / ?adaara	29. dry	5. avautua / avata	8. apprendre
26. ḏaaba / ?aḏaaba	30. split	6. sulkeutua / sulkea	12. changer
<b>Class F: ta / ø</b>	31. stop	14. tuhoutua / tuhota	22. finir
12. tabaddala / baddala	<b>Singular cases:</b>	<b>Singular cases:</b>	24. rouler
16. taṭawwara / ṭawwara	4. die / kill	4. kuolla / tappa	25. geler
19. taṭarjaḥa / ṭarjaḥa	8. learn / teach	7. alkaa / aloittaa	29. sécher
24. tadaḥraja / daḥraja	14. be destroyed / destroy	9. kokoontua / koota	<b>Class C: ø / faire</b>
25. tajammada / jammada	15. get lost / lose	11. laskea	13. fondre / faire fondre
28. taḥassana / ḥassana	20. go out / put out	15. hukkaantua / hukata	18. bouillir / faire bouillir
<b>Singular cases:</b>	21. rise / raise	17. yhtyä / yhdistää	<b>Singular cases:</b>
4. maata / qatala		29. kuivaa / kuivata	4. mourir / tuer
7. badaṭa		30. haljeta / halkaista	14. être détruit / détruire
15. daaṭa / xasira			
20. inṭafaṭa / ?aṭfaṭa			
29. jaffa / jaffafa			





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