# Correlations between typological features predict their geo-spatial patterning

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### Roadmap

### Background

Distance & distribution

The geo-spatial properties of linguistic features

### Modelling distributions of individual features

Rates of change & stability

Our model (2021)

#### Correlations between features

Typological observations & word-order features

**Hypotheses** 

**Empirical testing** 

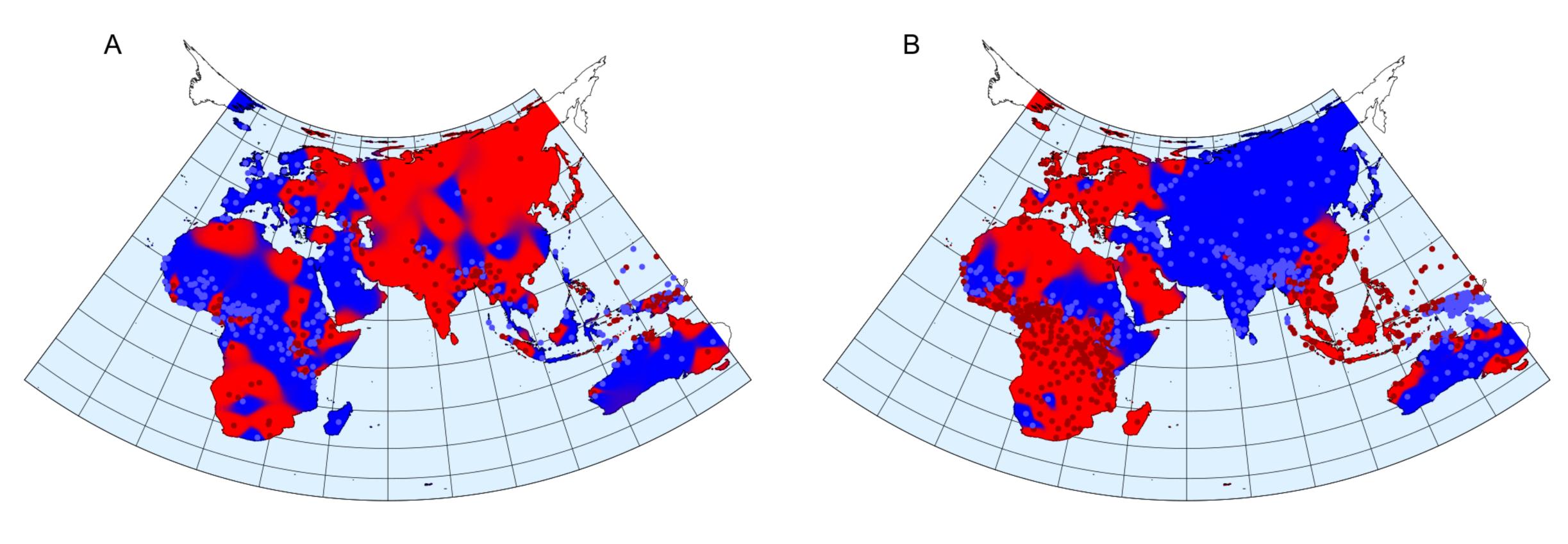
**Our model (2022)** 

Outlook, etc.

#### **Distance & distribution**

- Question. Does the linguistic distance between A and B depend on the geographical distance between them?
  - There exists an *intuition* that neighbours are likely to be similar, languages that are very far apart less so.
  - This intuition has two major underliers:
    - Phylogeny neighbours are more likely than non-neighbours to share a common origin;
    - Contact neighbours are more likely to converge to one another over time than non-neighbours.
    - Not trivial to separate out real-world results of one or the other.
  - If true, then true with respect to both individual properties and sets of properties.
    - Any distance metric we define requires the latter (is defined over some set of features ...)
- Assume (!) that there is some kind of licit decomposition of *linguistic distance* into *features*. **Question.** *Does the proposed geographical dependence of ling. dist. care which features we're talking about?* 
  - viz. how different are different features in susceptibility to [change]?

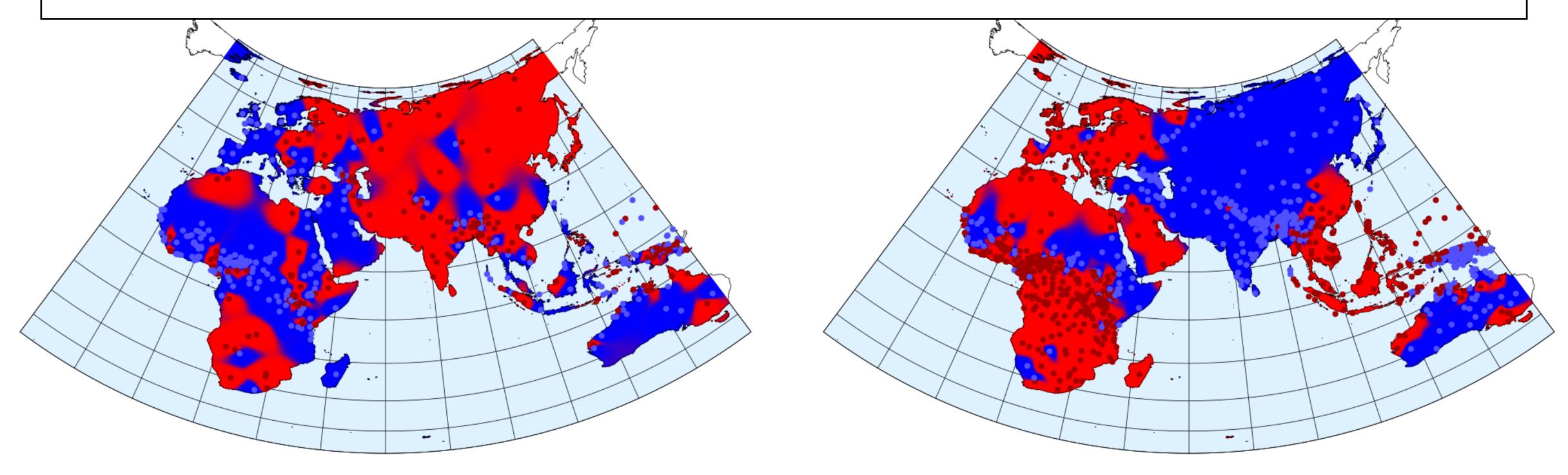
### The geo-spatial properties of linguistic features



definite article (yes no), WALS 37A

#### The geo-spatial properties of linguistic features

Individual features show different kinds of spatial patterns. Question. Why?

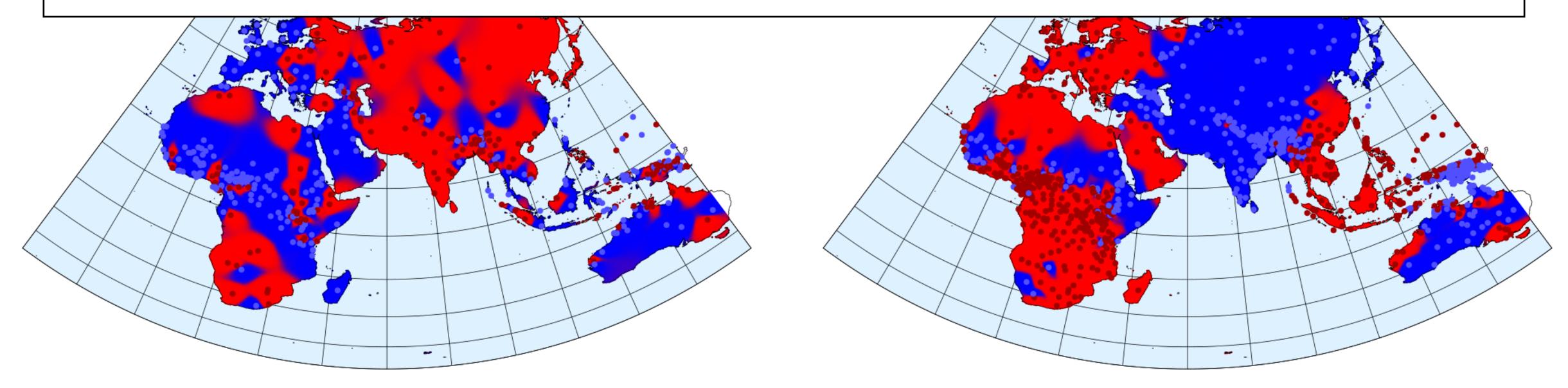


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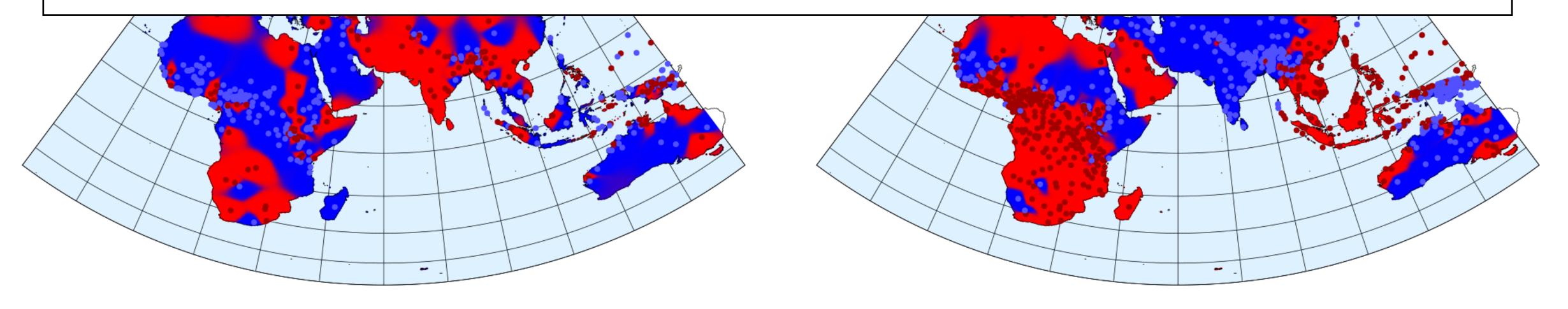
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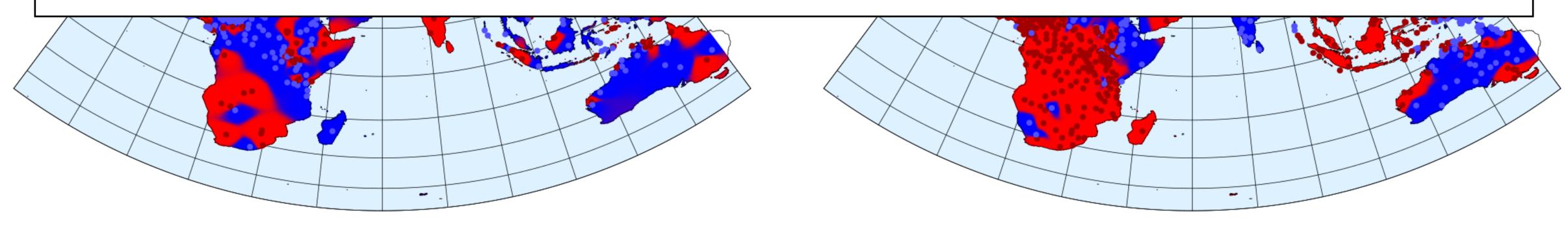
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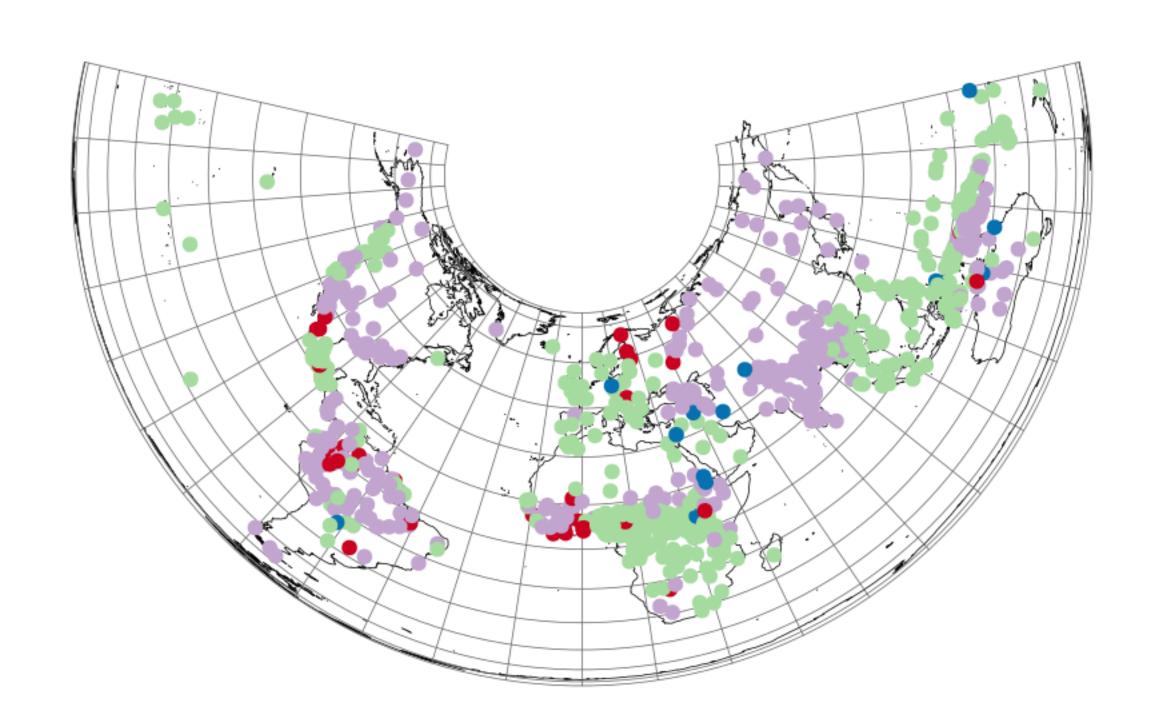
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Question. Do combinations of features show predictable spatial distributions, too?

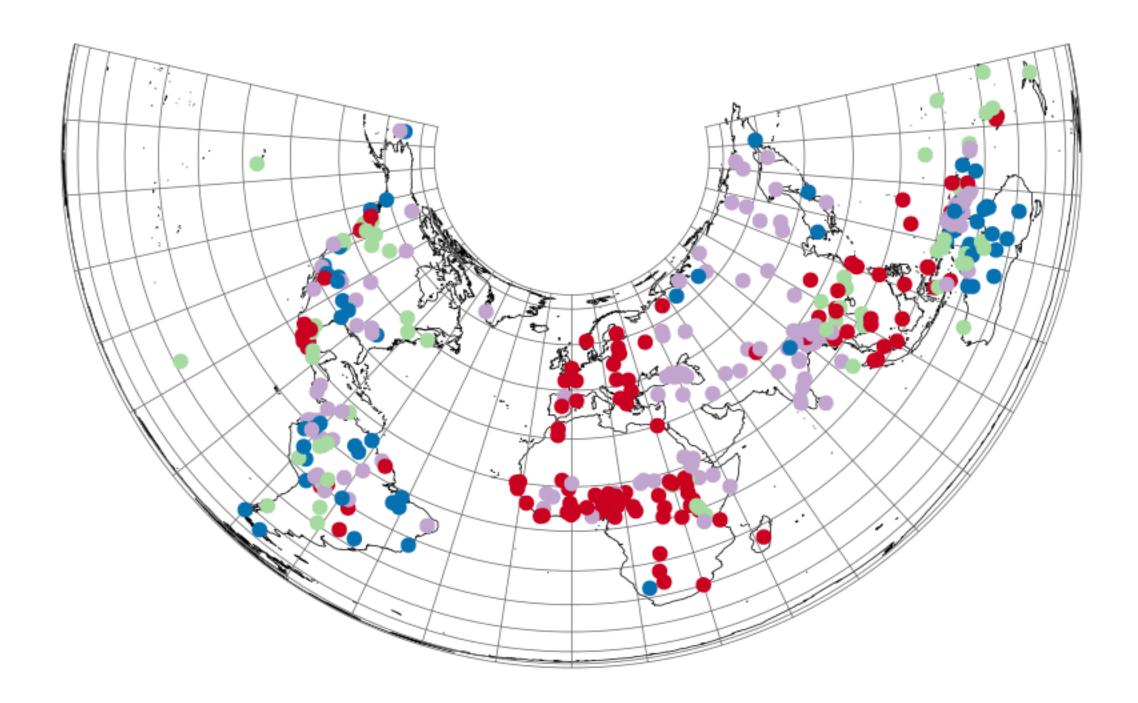


#### The geo-spatial properties of linguistic features



basic word order (WALS 83A) x adposition order (WALS 85A)

VO, postpositions VO, prepositions OV, postpositions OV, prepositions

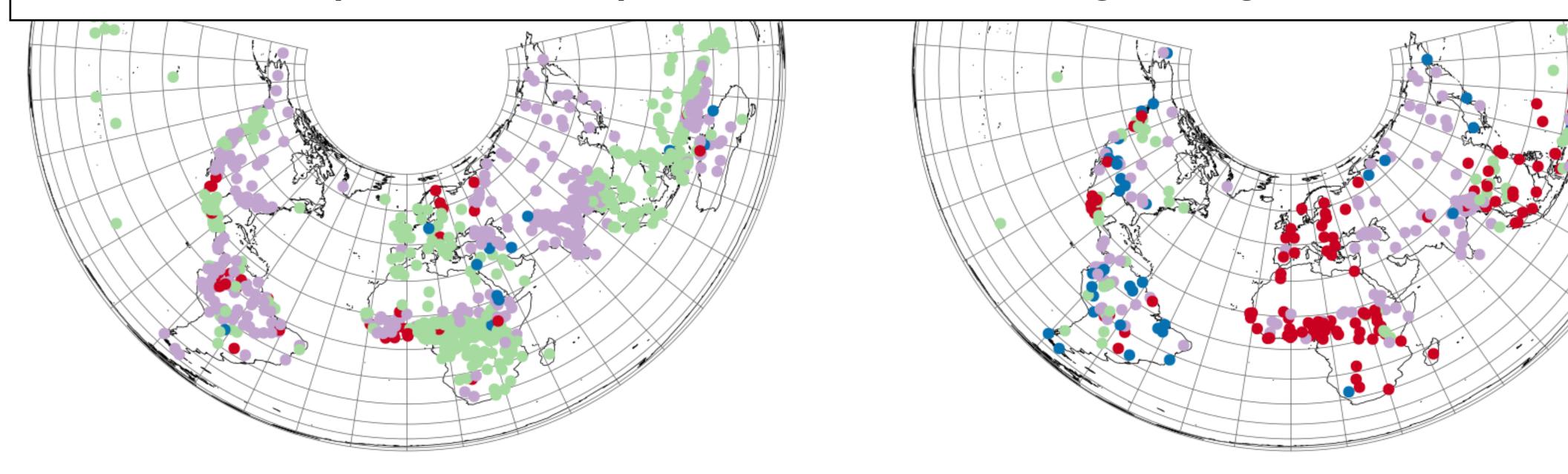


basic word order (WALS 83A) x stop voicing (WALS 04A)

VO, voicing
VO, no voicing
OV, voicing
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#### The geo-spatial properties of linguistic features

Harder to interpret than the simple case (therefore motivating defining some kind of metric ...)



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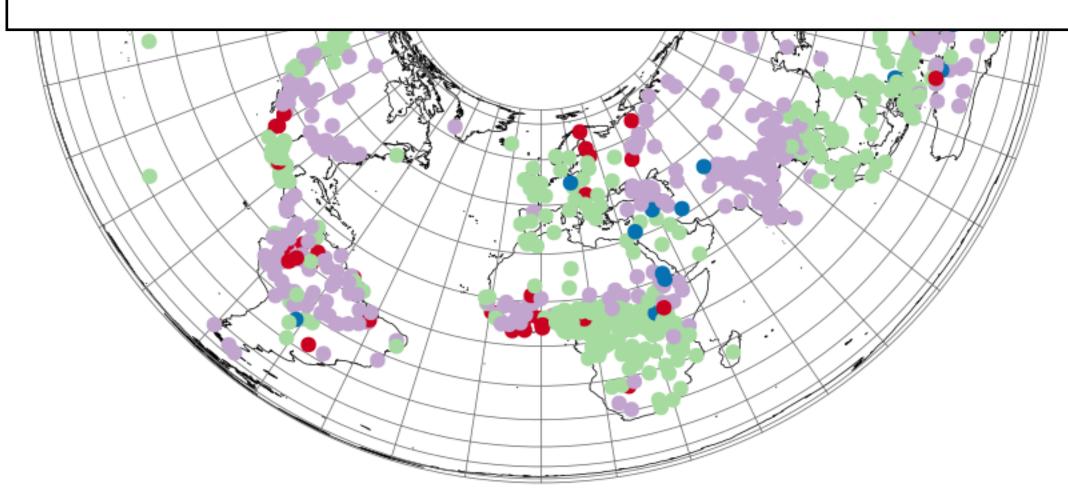
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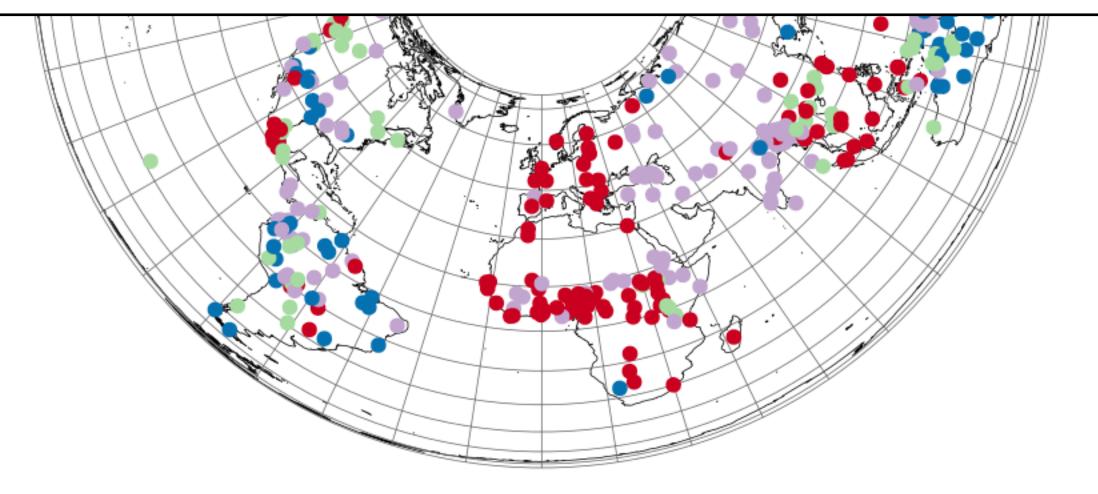
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Some incentive to claim that distribution of underlyingly-related features ≠ distribution of underlyingly-independent features.





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VO, postpositions VO, prepositions OV, postpositions OV, prepositions VO, voicing
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Heuristic: unstable features scatter, stable features cluster. Question. Can stability be measured?

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- Beginning with the **one-feature** case: considered individually, different typological features change on different timescales.
  - This has given rise to quite a bit of work on rate-of-change estimation, mostly in the typological tradition.
    - E.g. Maslova (2004), Wichmann and Holman (2009), Greenhill, Atkinson, Meade, and Gray (2010), Dediu (2011), Dediu and Cysouw (2013), Greenhill et al. (2017).
      - Also our own work: Kauhanen et al. (2021), on which more shortly.
    - Most of these: discard spatial interactions between contiguous lgs.
      - Heuristic of this kind of work: stable features are conserved within language families. For unstable features, there is within-family variation.

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'Stability estimation': usually, discard spatial interactions between contiguous lgs.

- Is this a good model of reality? **Problem(s, of which we are most concerned with this one). Perhaps some features are more prone to spatial interactions than others?** (and so discarding spatial info. distorts data).
  - Susceptibility to (phylogenetic) change by descent mostly about L1; to change by contact mostly about L2. Question then becomes whether we think these are homogeneous across features ...
    - Eg. uninterpretable (syntactic!) features systematically L2-difficult, irrespective of L1 content? (Hawkins & Hatori 2006; Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007)
    - Work arguing that 'simplifying' change emerges from wholesale L2 learning (Trudgill 2001, Walkden & Breitbarth 2019) vulnerability to simplifying change = vulnerability to spatial interactions?
- Broader explicit point: if we think that the cognitive abilities involved in contact situations/L2 learning are a proper <u>subset</u> of those involved in child language acquisition, then we should be suspicious of the idea that spatial interactions aren't variable.

Our model (so far)

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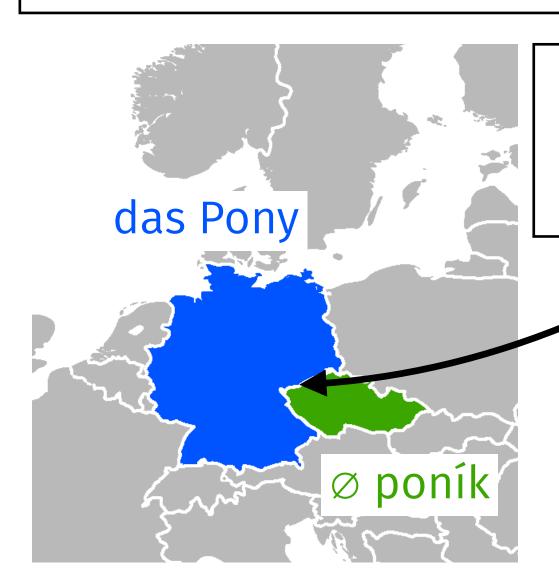
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Quantify this? **Isogloss density**  $\sigma$  (probability that two neighbours disagree).



A trivial isogloss — boundary between opposing values of this binary feature, ± def. art.

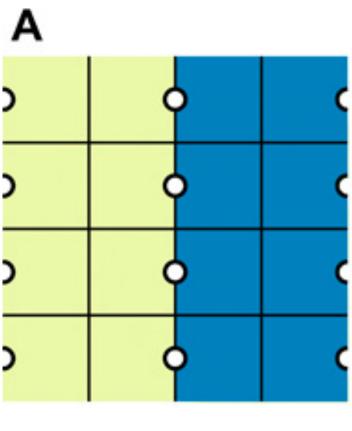
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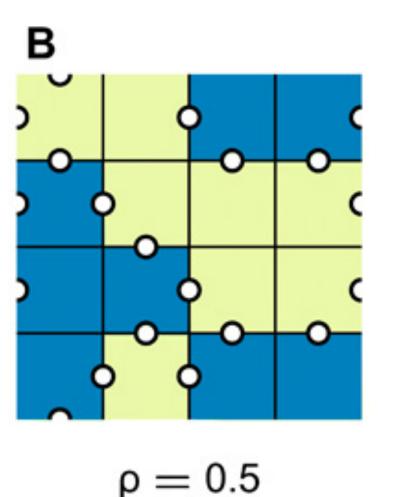
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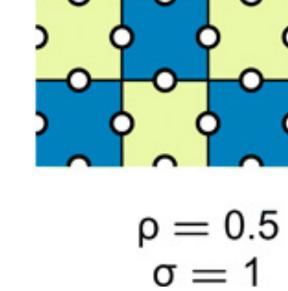


 $\rho = 0.5$ 

 $\sigma = 0.25$ 



 $\sigma = 0.5$ 



For constant feature frequency  $\varrho = 0.5$  (half the sites are blue, half are yellow), 3 different values of  $\sigma$  isogloss density — low when opposing values sort into extended domains, intermediate 'random', high when values are *preferentially* scattered.

#### Our model (so far)

Isogloss density σ (probability that two neighbours disagree) for a subset of the WALS data (35 features).

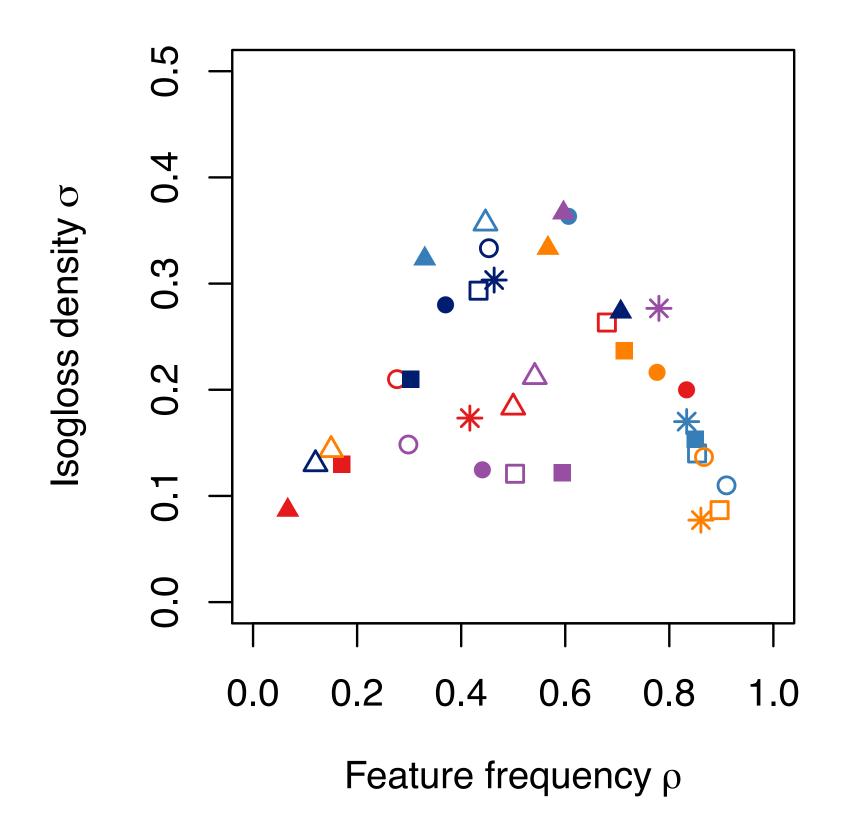
- 1 voicing contrast
- 2 uvular consonants
- 3 glottalized consonants
- 4 lateral consonants
- 5 velar nasal
- 6 front rounded vowels
- 7 tone
- 8 inflectional morphology
- 9 productive reduplication
- 10 plural
- 11 definite article
- 12 indefinite article
- gender distinctions in independent personal pronouns

- 14 adpositions
- 15 ordinal numerals
- 16 possessive affixes
- 17 tense-aspect inflection
- morphological second-person imperative
- 19 inflectional optative
- 20 grammatical evidentials
- 21 question particle
- verbal person marking
- order of subject and verb is SV
- order of object and verb is OV
- order of genitive and noun is GenN

- order of adjective and noun is AdjN
- order of numeral and noun is NumN
- order of degree word and adjective is DegAdj
- preverbal negative morpheme
- postverbal negative morpheme
- 31 passive construction
- 32 shared encoding of nominal and locational predication
- zero copula for predicate nominals
- 34 hand and arm identical
- 35 hand and finger(s) identical

#### Our model (so far)

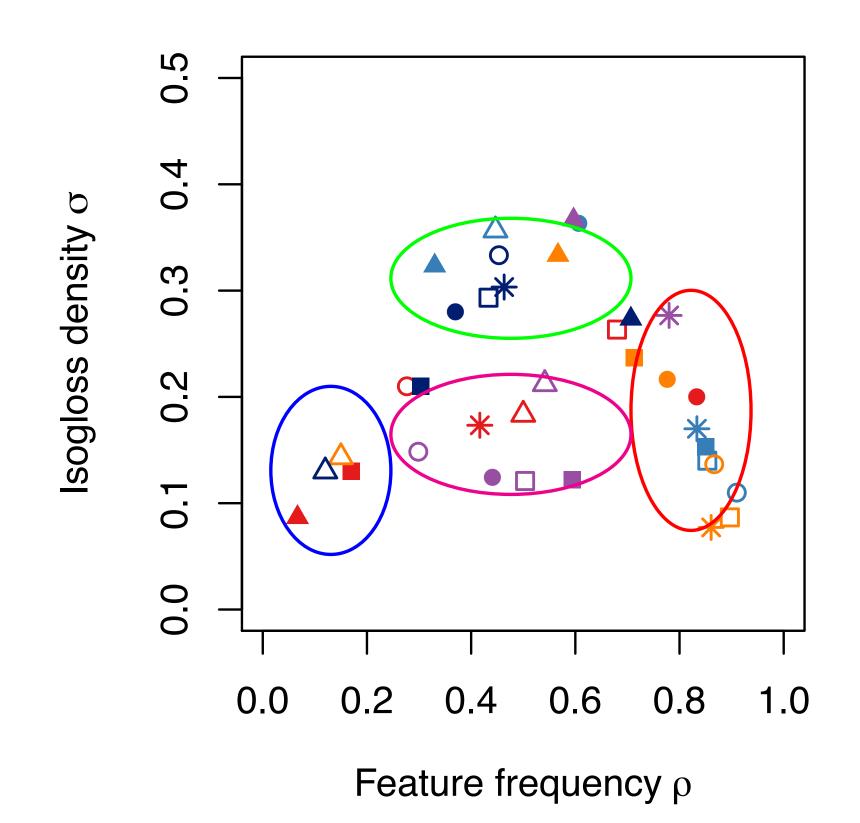
**Isogloss density** σ (probability that two neighbours disagree) for a subset of the WALS data (35 features).



- Greenberg (1978): we should be able to capture this variability entirely in terms of **ingress** and **egress** probabilities,
  - **ingress:** p. of a language acquiring feature *f*
  - **egress**: p. of a language losing feature *f*
- low ingress, low egress low ingress, high egress high ingress, low egress high ingress, high egress high ingress, high egress
- 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1.0 Old and previously untested intuition ...

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  - **ingress:** p. of a language acquiring feature *f*
  - **egress**: p. of a language losing feature *f*
- *low ingress, low egress* **low-scattering** (not very susceptible to change) *low ingress, high egress* **rare**, low scattering (universally absent) *high ingress, low egress* **common**, low scattering (universal) *high ingress, high egress* **high-scattering** (susceptible to all change)
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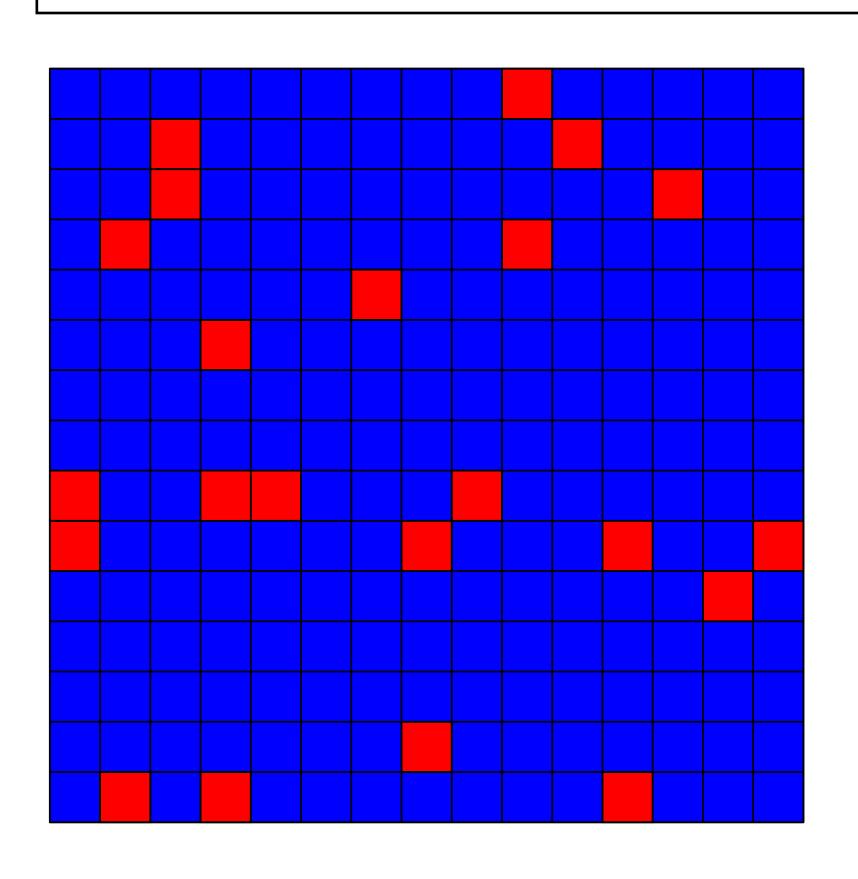
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Density of reactive interfaces of (probability that two neighbours disagree) for a subset of the WALS data (35 features).

- Kauhanen et al. (2021): **formalise Greenberg**, adding an explicit **spatial dynamic** into the picture ...
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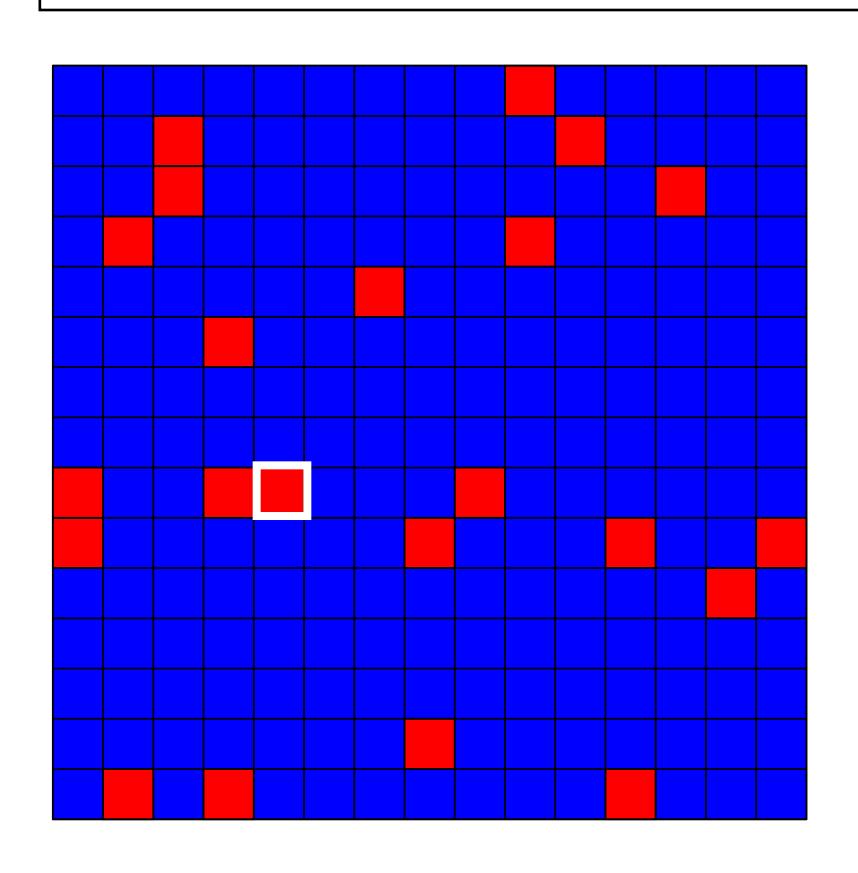


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Think about a grid of cells — a regular lattice with periodic boundary conditions. Each cell has one of two feature values — blue, red.

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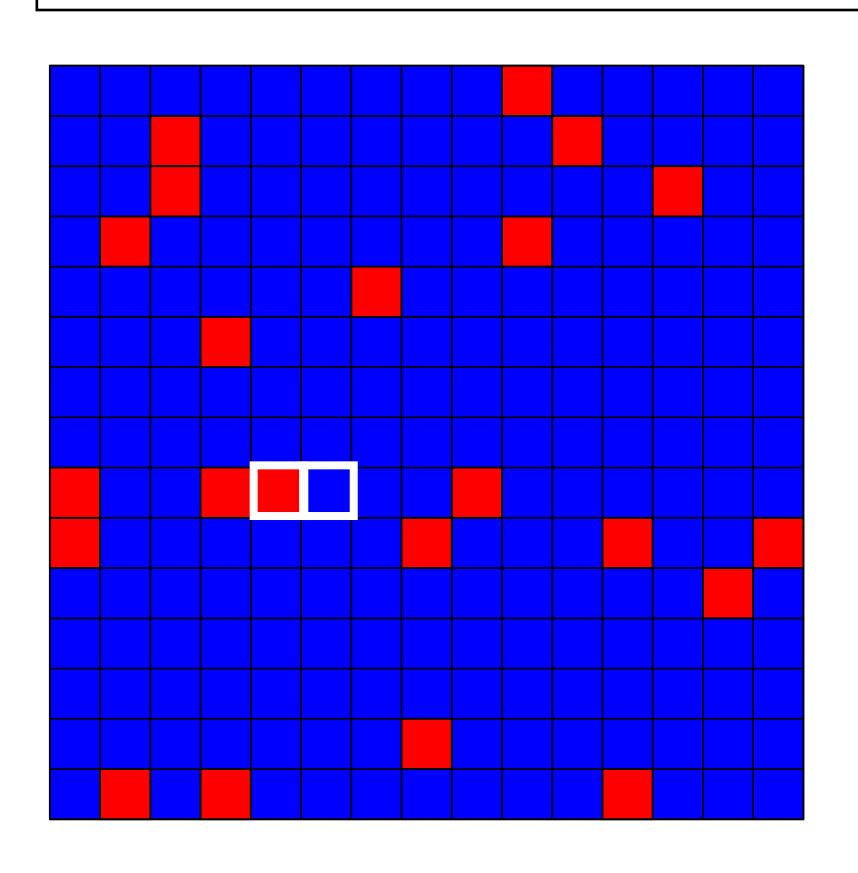


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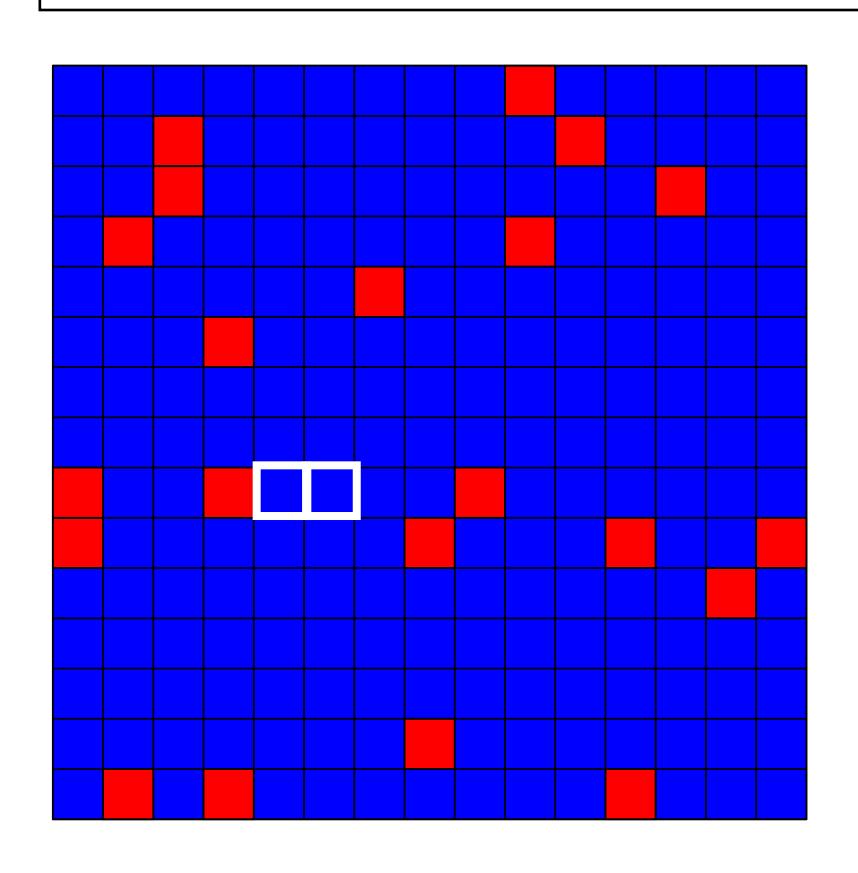


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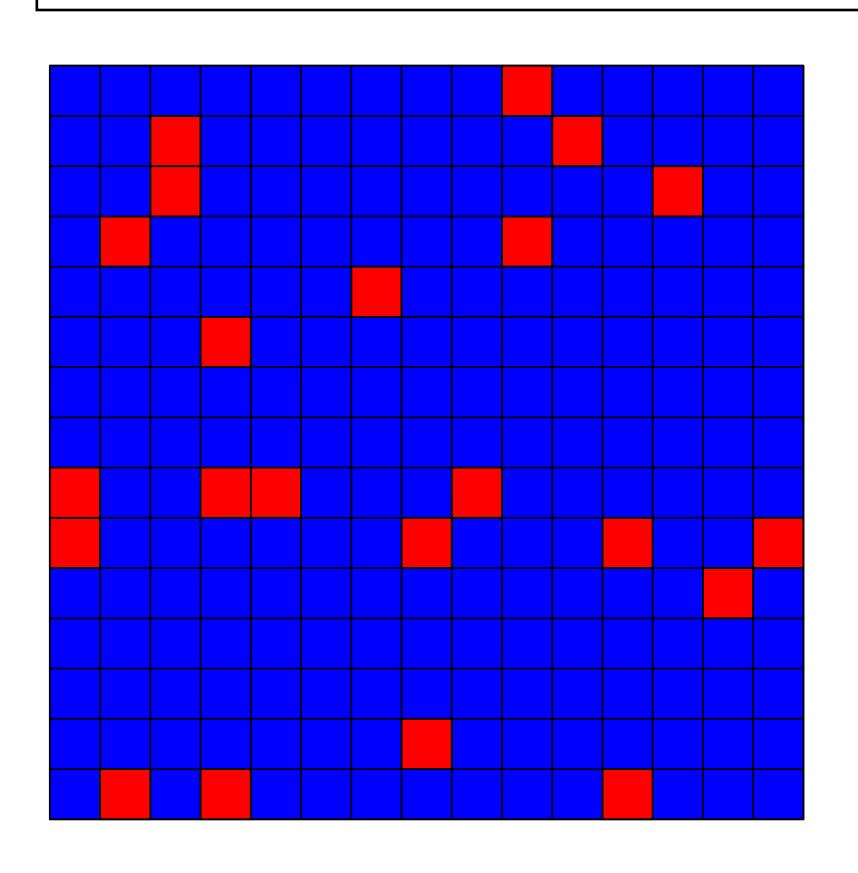


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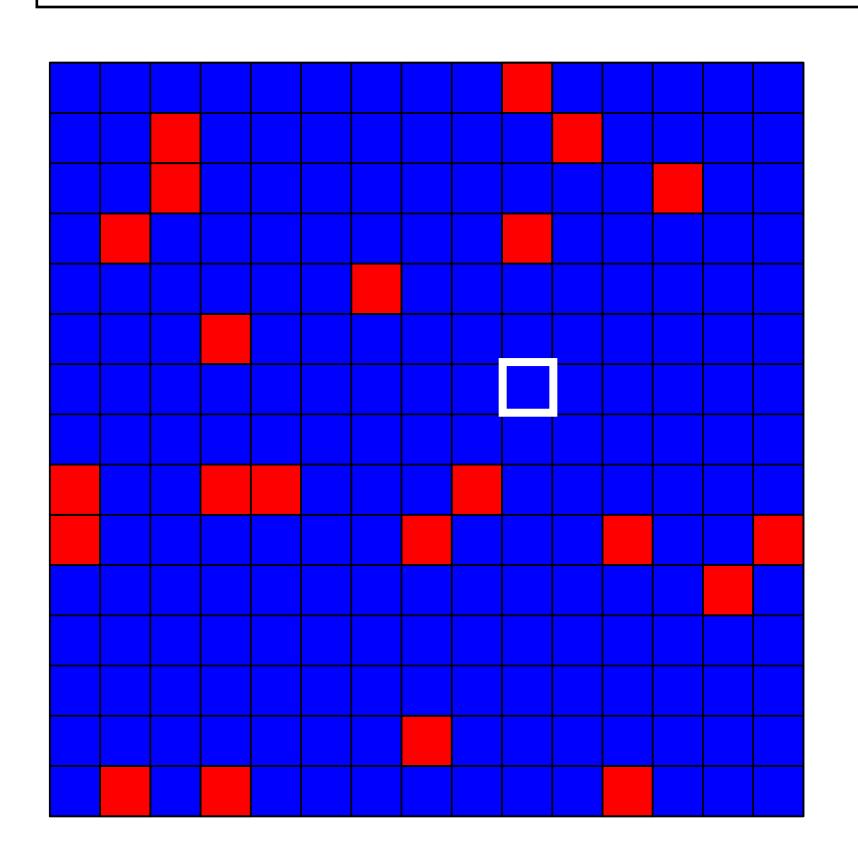


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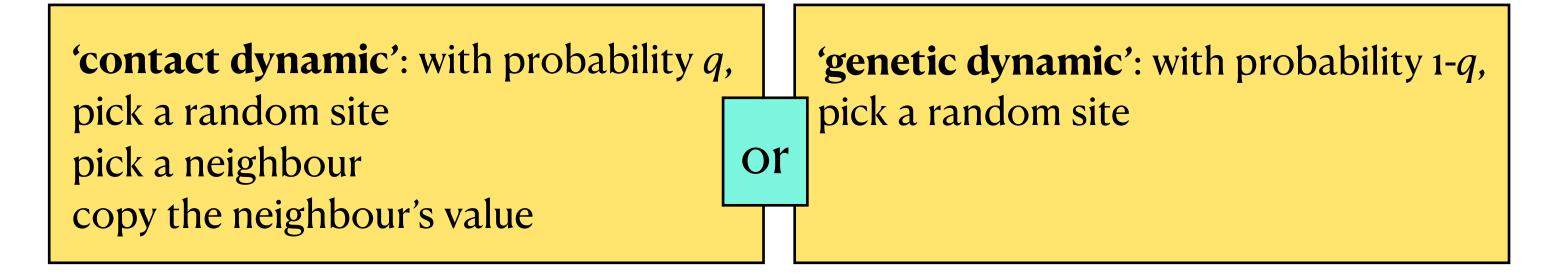
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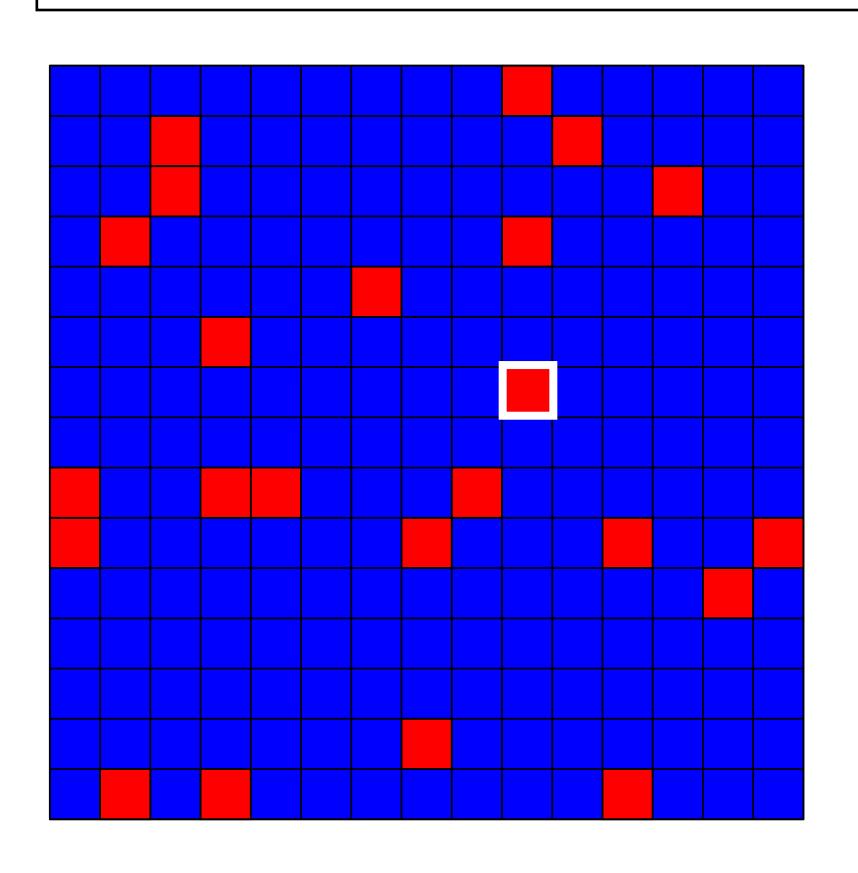


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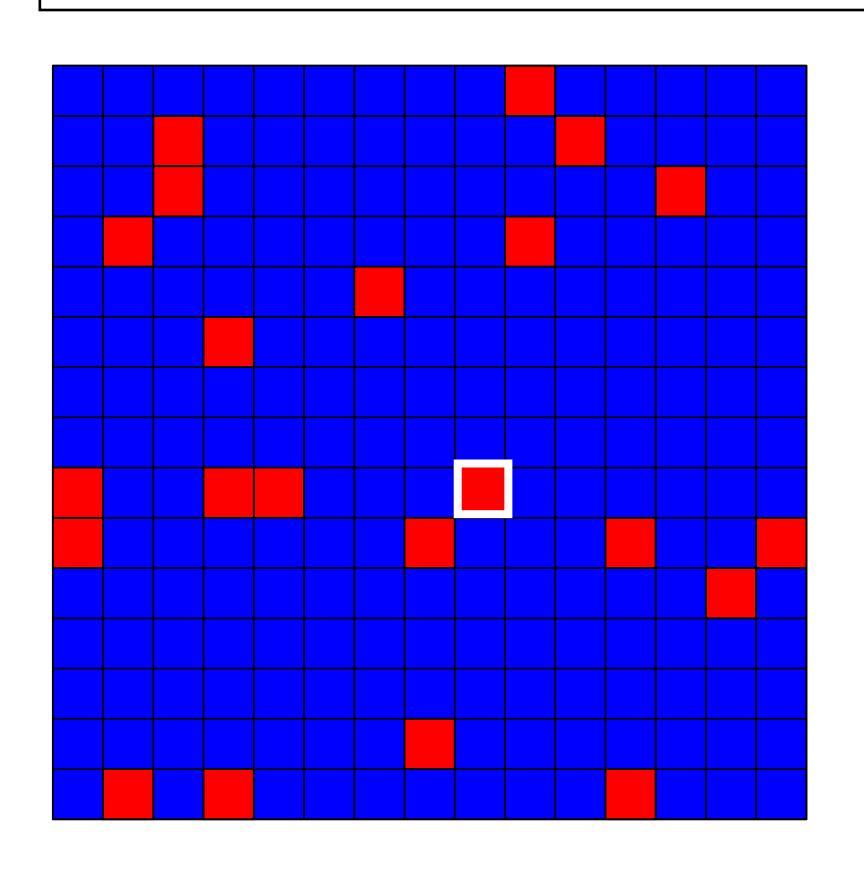


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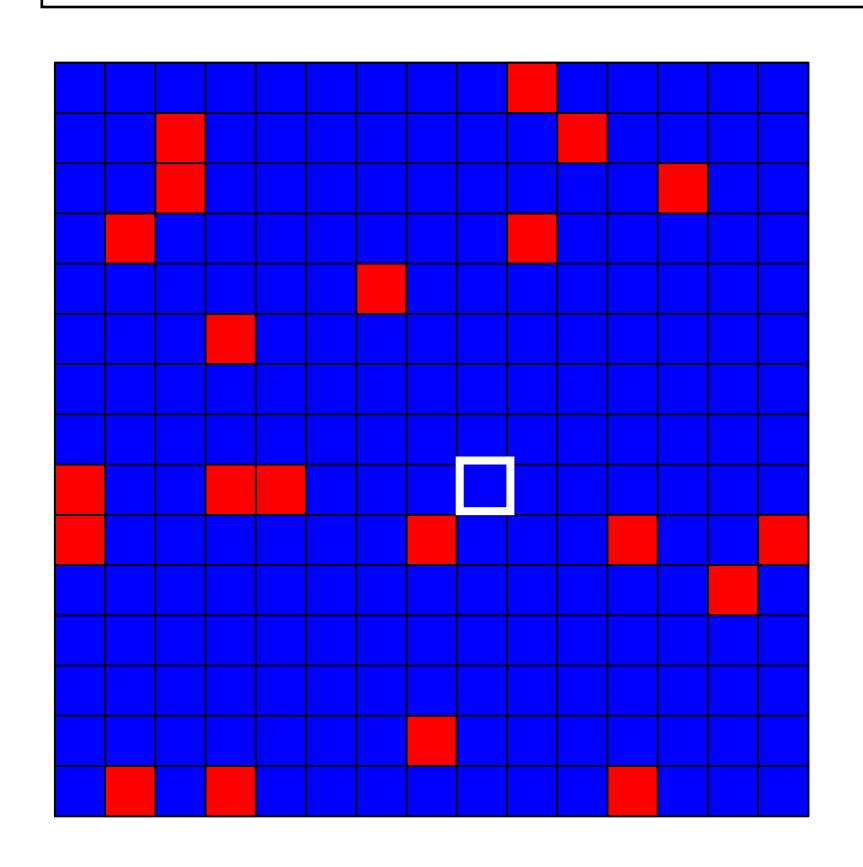


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Steady-state feature frequency (probability of feature) is

$$\rho = \frac{p_i}{p_i + p_e} = \frac{1}{1 + p_e/p_i}$$

Steady-state isogloss density is

$$\sigma = h(\tau)\rho(1-\rho)$$

with

$$h(\tau) = \frac{(1+\tau)\pi}{K\left(\frac{1}{1+\tau}\right)} - 2\tau,$$

where  $K(\cdot)$  is the complete elliptic integral of the first kind and

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Solution is a function of [something]  $\tau$ , which gives us an single overall parameter we can use to talk about the stability of a feature.

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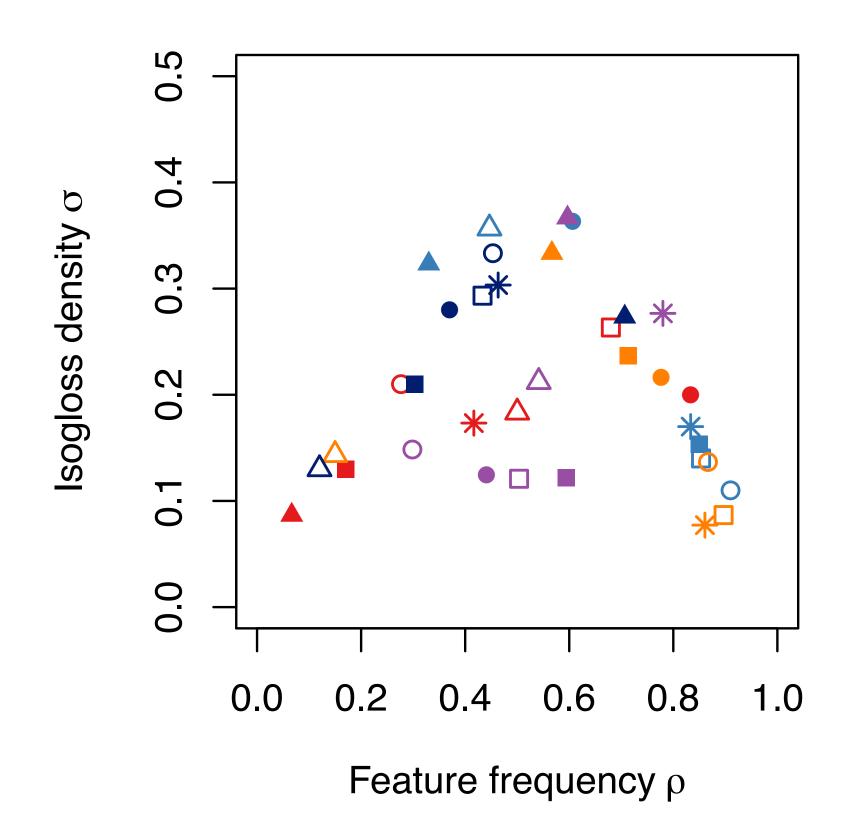
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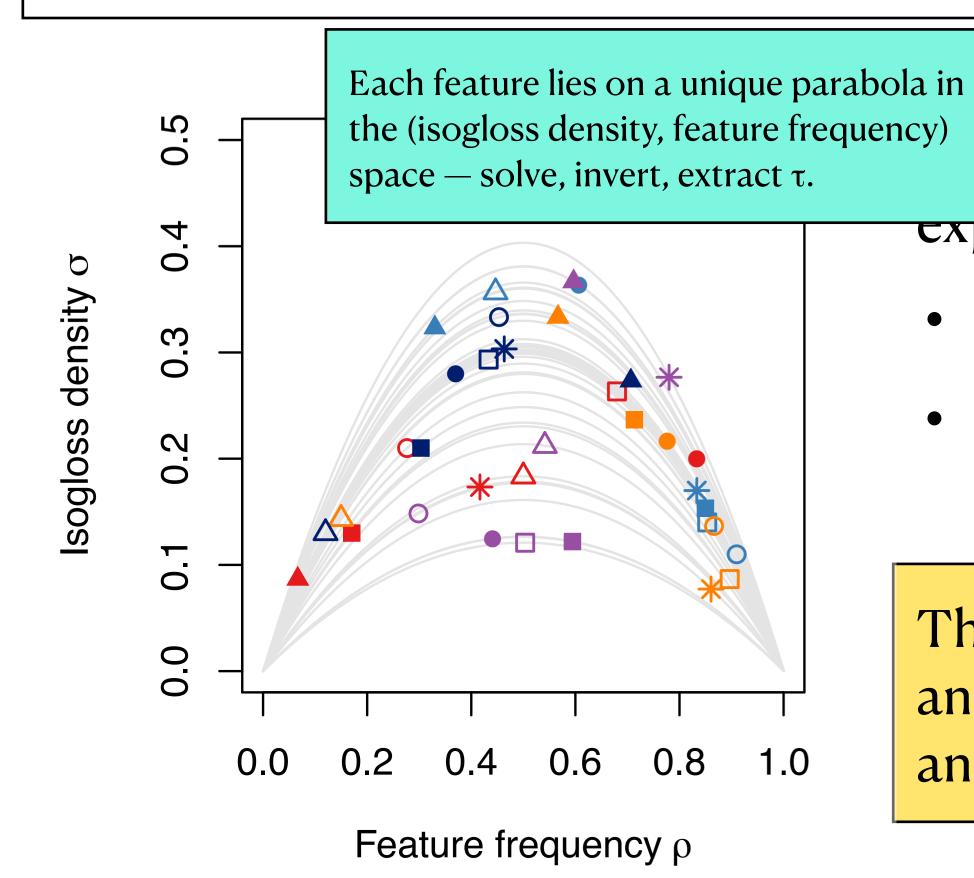


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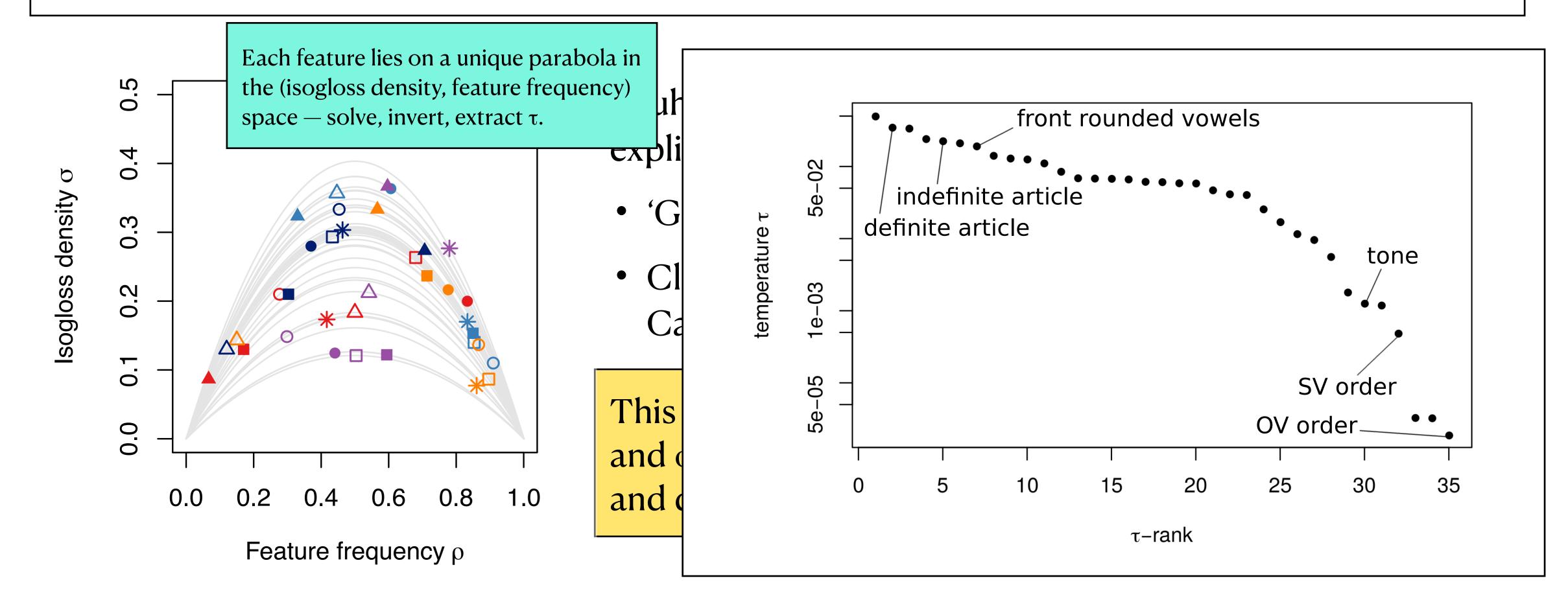
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This turns out to have an analytic solution — the values of  $\varrho$  and  $\sigma$  at the stationary state can be solved as soon as  $p_i$ ,  $p_e$  and q are known.

# Modelling distributions of individual features

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#### **Typological observations**

**The story so far.** (We think) spatial distributions of individual features emerge from properties that we can treat as inherent to each feature — probabilities of *egress* and *ingress*  $\subseteq$  parameter denoting overall feature stability.

- But, we have talked about 'features' as though they operate independently.
  - Not very plausible for a number of reasons long history of implicational universals that involve multiple typological features of the type discussed here, tendency of syntactic properties to cluster in a 'macroparameterish' way ...
  - Recent work in parametric comparison eg. Guardiano & Longobardi 2016, Ceolin et al. 2020: goes beyond much prev. literature in discarding *redundant* values where there are obvious interdependencies between parameters, but not always clear\* how we capture *non-redundant* statistical correlations, hierarchical structure, etc.
    - \* to me
- From our point of view, to really capture this (and in order to make predictions about *distance*, implicitly involving more than 1 feature) there are two key tasks.
  - empirically test whether 'preferred' and 'dispreferred' combinations of features have predictable geographies.
  - extend the preceding model to the case of non-independent features.

#### **Word-order features**

Do combinations of features have associated geo-spatial patterning?

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### Do combinations of features have associated geo-spatial patterning?

- Proof of concept for this talk: word order features as in WALS, Dryer (2013), etc.
  - Well-known and well-established as a paradigmatic example of *typologists*' features of this type that are strongly interdependent certain combinations of features are disproportionately likely to be over- or under-represented.
    - As, of course, in various of the Greenberg (1968) universals ...
      - 1. "In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object."
      - 2. "In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes."
      - 3. "Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional."
      - 4. "With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional."
      - 5. "If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun."
      - 6. "All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order."
  - And in the long history of both typological work on word-order & syntactic work on head-directionality, harmony ...

#### **Word-order features**

### Do combinations of features have associated geo-spatial patterning?

- Proof of concept for this talk: word order features as in WALS, Dryer (2013), etc.
  - Well-known and well-established as a paradigmatic example of *typologists*' feature interdependent certain combinations of features are disproportionately likely t
    - As, of course, in various of the Greenberg (1968) universals ...
      - 1. "In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is the object."
      - 2. "In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing almost always precedes."
      - 3. "Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional."
      - 4. "With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOY
      - 5. "If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun."
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81 Order of Subject, Object and Verb

82 Order of Subject and Verb

83 Order of Object and Verb

84 Order of Object, Oblique, and Verb

85 Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase

86 Order of Genitive and Noun

87 Order of Adjective and Noun

88 Order of Demonstrative and Noun

89 Order of Numeral and Noun

90 Order of Relative Clause and Noun

#### **Hypothesis testing**

### Do combinations of features have associated geo-spatial patterning?

Intuition: the stability of a dispreferred type can be enhanced in certain configurations of contact.

Dispreferred 'types' should tend to be surrounded by a greater variety of types than preferred 'types'. (Sandwich Conjecture)

- Head-directionality (taken as a composite property) is fairly *phylogenetically* stable. It is also a canonical example of typologists' harmony (Dryer 1992): all head-complement order tends to match the order of V and O within a given language.
  - Cases in which headedness-related properties **don't match phylogenetic predictions** tend to be attributed in the literature to **contact effects**: **Indic**, which is more rigidly OV than predicted due to Dravidian contact (Ledgeway & Roberts 2017); **Iranian**, where Persian is prepositional, Adj-N, and has head-initial relative clauses, but retains OV order and pre-head quantifiers (...etc...) plausibly due to Turkic (Harris & Campbell 1995).
    - Obvious idea: can we claim that Persian headedness is messy because it can 'see' lots of OV? (Not new.)
- Prediction. The environments of 'dispreferred types' (messy macroparameters ...) are more varied than 'default'.

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• Is all this testable? **Question.** How do we measure 'diversity of geographical environment'? **Further question.** Is there a measure of the inherent correlatedness of individual features that it's worth thinking about (data-up, rather than theorydown)?

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• Measure of correlation between variables:  $\phi$  (see eg. Jäger & Wahle 2021 for more on this in a linguistic context), which for two features  $f_1$ ,  $f_2$ :

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	$f_1 = O$	f <sub>1</sub> = 1
$f_2 = O$	?	?
f <sub>2</sub> = 1	?	?

count observations, highest if most of the observations fall along the diagonal (feature values match often).

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- Measure of the 'amount of stuff' in the geographical environment. Slightly more challenging!
  - **Intuition.** What we are searching for is a measure of *neighbourhood variability* = *entropy*: for a selected language (individual cell), we want to know whether its nearest neighbours are relatively **homogeneous** (low-entropy), or relatively **heterogeneous** (high-entropy).
    - For each language *v*, we can use the information-theoretic (Shannon) entropy

$$H_v(i) = -\sum_{j \in I} p_v(j) \log (p_v(j)),$$

where *p* gives the probability of the *j*th type in the neighbourhood of *v*.

• But we're really looking for a property of a 'type' (combination of features) — the *mean* entropy averaged over all languages of that type.

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- **Issue.** What if one type is vastly overrepresented? If the frequencies of the different types are very dissimilar, then even a random distribution of types over languages is not guaranteed to give D = o (more frequent types are more likely to be surrounded by themselves, so their neighbourhood entropies can be expected to be slightly lower).
- One brute-force solution: carry out a permutation test by repeatedly recalculating D over randomly-generated sets of languages. This gives us an idea of what kinds of values of D to expect under the assumption that *types* are just randomly "thrown" onto the set of languages (and then something against which to compare our empirical D).

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- 1. Calculate D from the original dataset.
- 2. Permute s, the function that assigns 'types' to languages.
- 3. Calculate D from the permuted dataset.
- 4. Repeat 2 and 3 many times.

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Assuming that for each combination of features we then have a quantity *sandwichness* D = entropy of dispreferred types - entropy of preferred types, D > o supports the Sandwich Conjecture ...

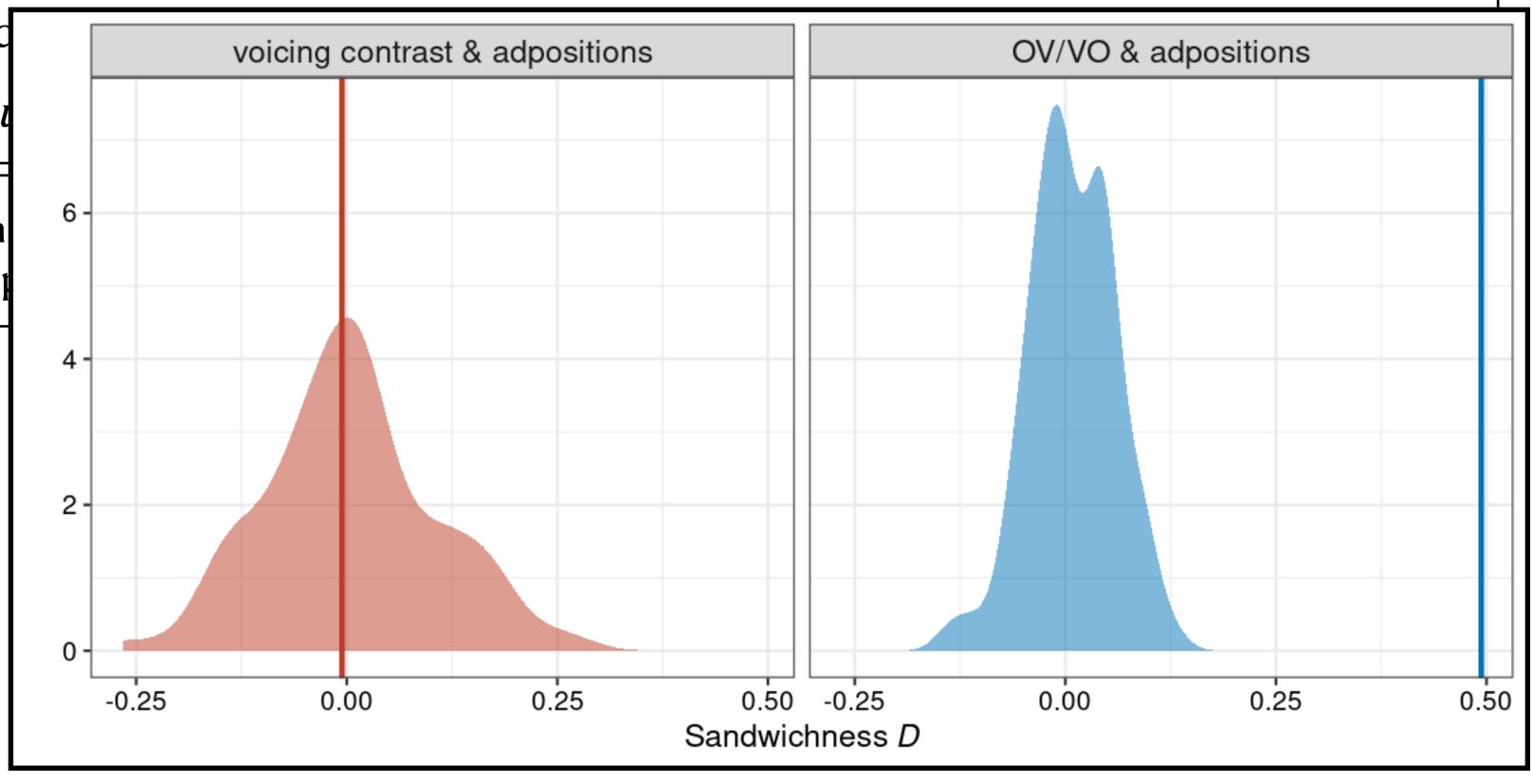
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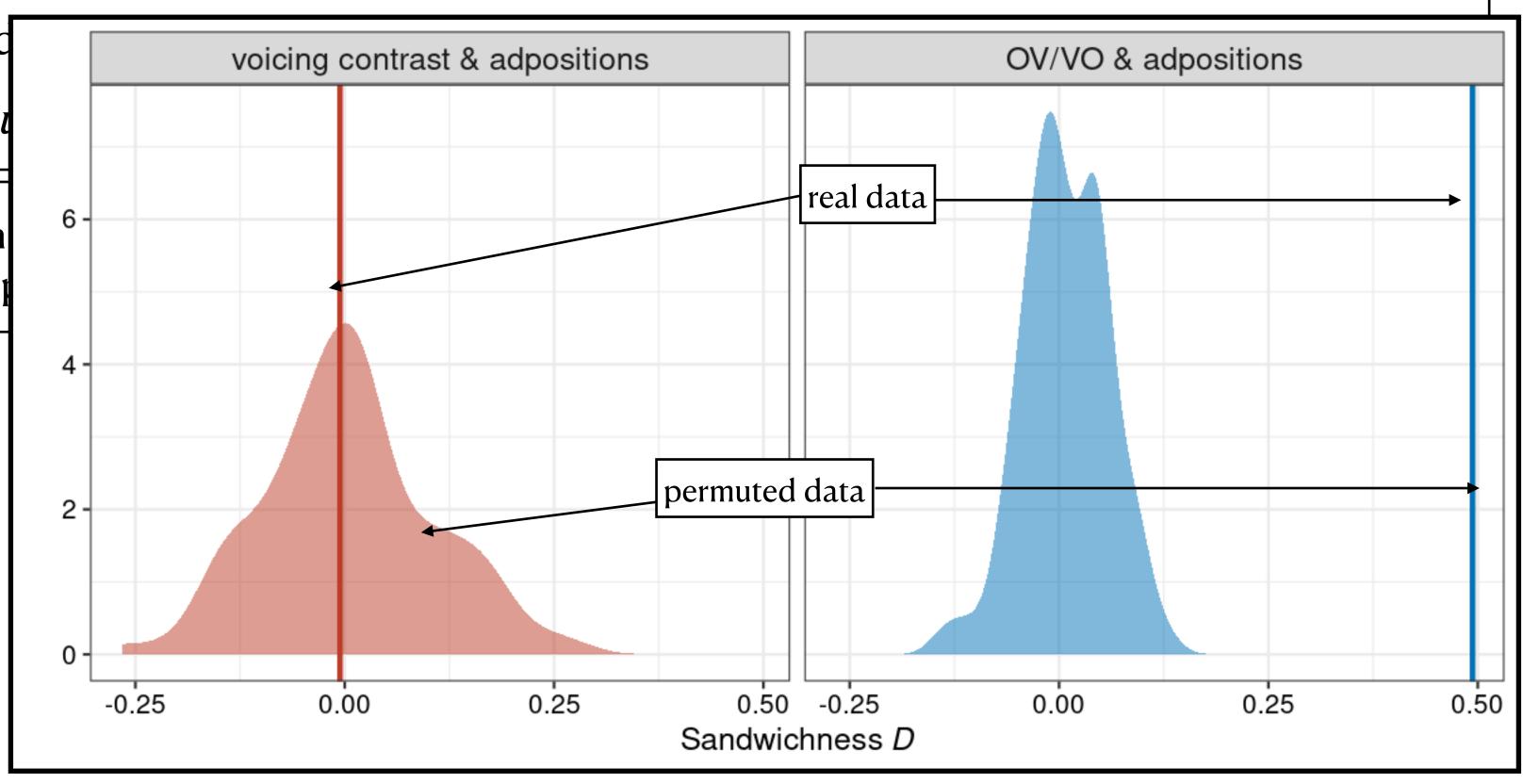
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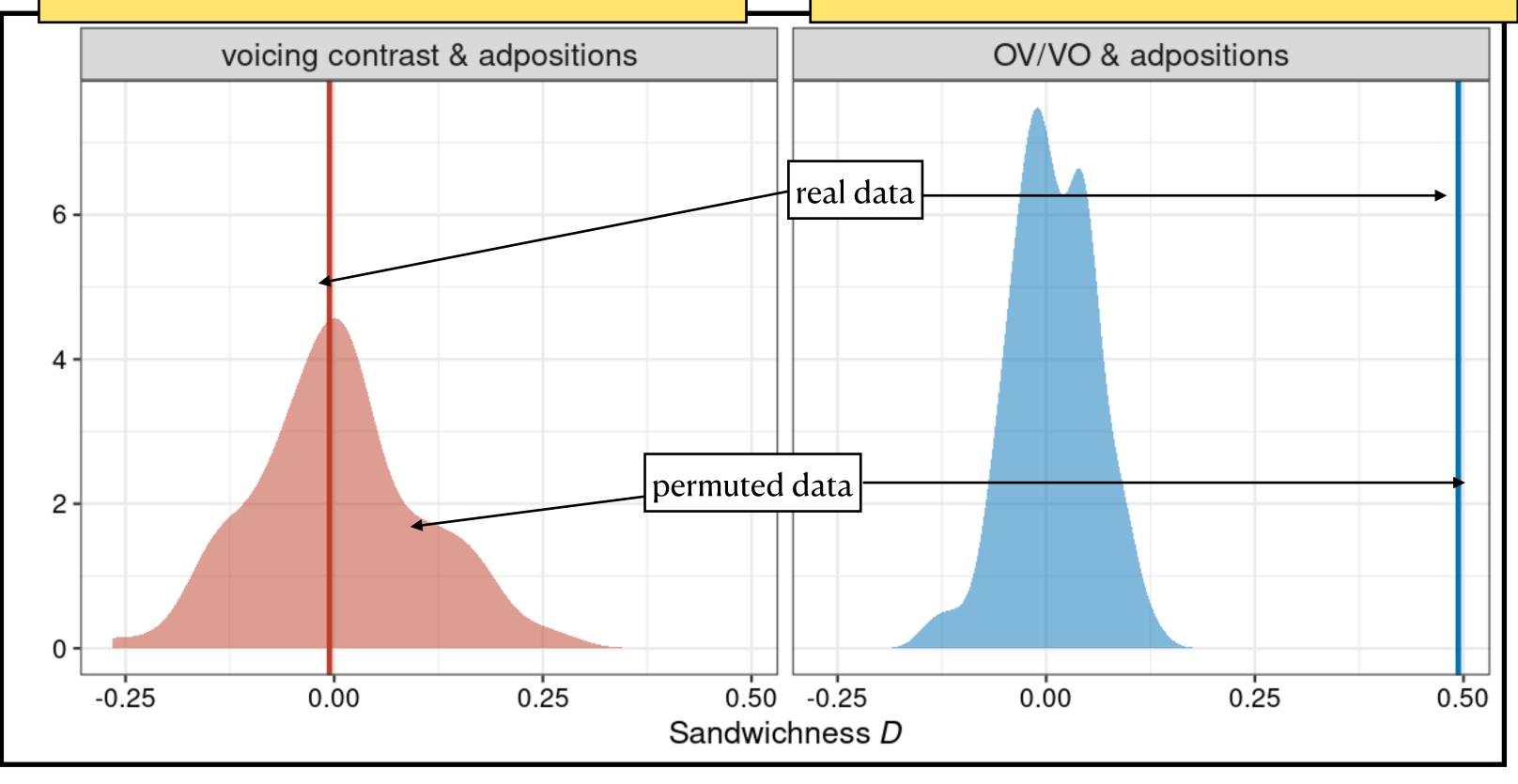
#### Do combinations of f

empirical line looks exactly like the median of the randomised distribution — these 'types' can't be distinguished from the 'random universe'.

empirical line several standard deviations away from the random distribution — these 'types' can be distinguished from the 'random universe'.

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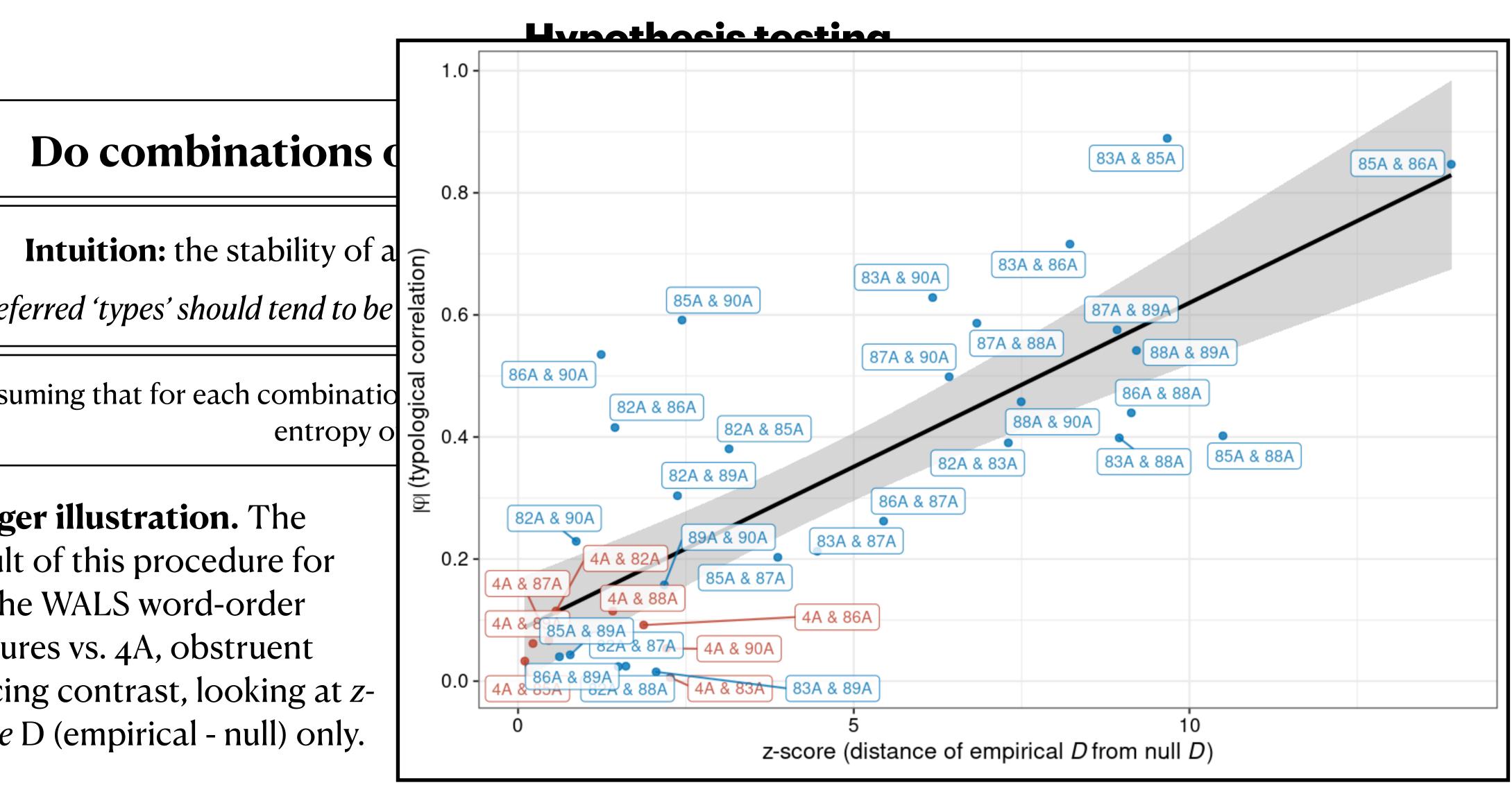
• Larger illustration. The result of this procedure for all the WALS word-order features vs. 4A, obstruent voicing contrast, looking at *z-score* D (empirical - null) only.

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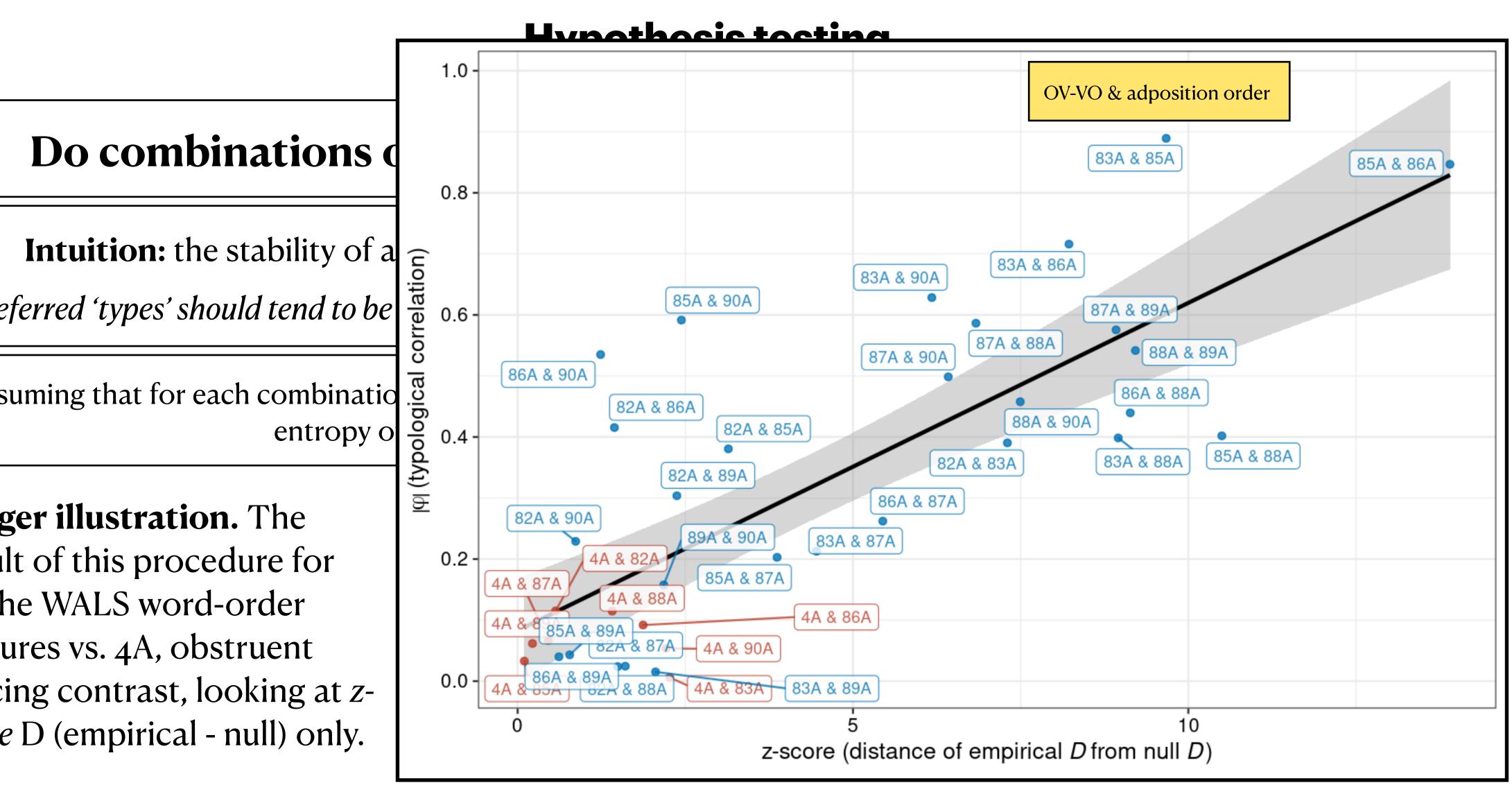


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### Conclusions & outlook

#### The dynamics of multiple-feature interactions

- Essential point of this talk. It's nice to be able to frame typological facts that 'everyone knows' in ways that allow us to think about the emergent properties of simpler dynamics.
  - Empirical spatial distributions have surprisingly predictable relationships to intuitions about actual linguistic properties.
  - 'Horizontal' dynamics really matter ...

# Conclusions & outlook

#### **Next steps**

- This is a work in progress
  - More data, better-quality data ...
  - Analytic solution for the model with feature interactions at the moment we can extend the simulation to the case in which features interact, but not generate a nice-looking tau.

### Conclusions & outlook

• For Kauhanen, Gopal, Galla, & Bermúdez-Otero (2021, Science Advances):



- For technical details, refs., etc. email me deepthi.gopal@lingfil.uu.se
- Thanks!