

Suffixaufnahme: Dix-sept ans après

Frans Plank
frans.plank@uni-konstanz.de

1. Definition and issues

"In what can be recognised as the prototype of Suffixaufnahme there is a nominal consisting of (what there are reasons to believe is) a **noun** or a personal pronoun in a relationship of (what there are reasons to believe is) **attribution** to another nominal, in (what there are reasons to believe is) the **basic** form that attributive constructions take in the language concerned, with the head nominal **morphologically** marked by a case **suffix** for its external syntactic relation, with the (bona fide) attribute carrying (what there are reasons to believe is) the **inflectional** marking of **genitive case**, and – crucially – with the attribute **itself** in addition **obligatorily separately** marked for the **same** case, **plus** perhaps further categories expressed by suffixes, as the head."

(Plank 1995: 50)

Boldface identifies parameters for possible variation; parentheses forebode controversy.

SA to be distinguished from:

 Suffixhäufung (phrase-final phrase-marking),
 hypostasis (inflected genitives without overt head),
 other multiple case phenomena (case combination without agreement)

Main issues:

 nouns agreeing in case,
 but are they nouns? (noun – adjective continuum, inflection – derivation)
 are they in attributive construction? (vs. apposition, co-predication, other
 loose syntax, flat vs. configurational syntax)

Typological correlates / prerequisites?

 agglutinative morphology (with Aufnahme categories not cumulated);
 hypostasis construction (non-overt head of case-marked NP): '[that] of NP';
 "group-inflection"?

Diachrony

 SA exemplifying the origin of agreement in loose syntax,
 and eventually of non-agreeing dependent-marking

2. Comprehensive

"Known traditionally, if not widely nor entirely accurately, as *Suffixaufnahme*, such case (plus perhaps number) agreement of case-marked nouns is not widespread but is distributed in intriguing areal patterns across the Old World and southerly parts of the New, crying out for typological and/or genealogical explanation. Our collective ambition in this volume is to offer a **comprehensive** account of such double case marking due to agreement. We do not expect to be superseded in near future."

(Plank 1995: v)

3. Distribution of Aufnahme languages, as known 17 years ago

Map from Plank 1995: 96-97

4. Distribution of Aufnahme languages as checked against the WALS 200-language sample, 12 years ago

key:	0	not at all
	0*	could be mistaken for Suffixaufnahme; comment! (affix cumulation at end of whole phrase, aka Phrase-Marking, subtype Final-Marking, illustrate from Kanuri)
	1	in a distantly similar form
	2	in less than prototypical form
	3	in prototypical form
	?	no or insufficient information

Underlining of families means there is Aufnahme, but not in the languages representing the respective families in the WALS sample

KHOISAN

NORTHERN KHOISAN: !Xu	0
CENTRAL KHOISAN: Nama	0
NIGER-CONGO	
NW MANDE: Bambara	0

NORTHERN ATLANTIC: Diola-Fogny	0
KRU: Grebo	0
GUR: Supyire, Koromfe	0, 0
ADAMAWA-UBANGIAN: Sango	0
KWA: Ewe	0
DEFOID: Yoruba	0
IGBOID: Igbo	0
BANTOID: Swahili, Kongo, Nkore-Kiga, Luvale, Zulu	0, 2, 0, 0

NILO-SAHARAN

KADUGLI: Krongo	0
SONGHAY: Koyraboro Senni Songhay	0
SAHARAN: Kanuri	0*
MABAN: Maba	0
FUR: Fur	0
NUBIAN: Dongolese Nubian	0
SURMA: Murle	0
NILOTIC: Lango	0
BONGO-BAGIRMI: Bagirmi	0
BALENDRU: Ngiti	0
KUNAMA: Kunama	0

AFRO-ASIATIC

BERBER: Tamazight	0
EAST CHADIC: Kera	0
WEST CHADIC: Hausa	0
BEJA: Beja	0
EASTERN CUSHITIC: Harar Oromo	1/2?
SOUTHERN CUSHITIC: Iraqw	0
SEMITIC: Hebrew (Modern), Arabic (Egyptian)	0, 0

BASQUE: Basque

0

INDO-EUROPEAN:

ARMENIAN: Armenian (Western)	0
INDIC: Hindi	2

IRANIAN: Persian	0
GREEK: Greek (Modern)	0
ITALIC: French, Spanish	0, 0
CELTIC: Irish	0
GERMANIC: German, English	0, 0
BALTIC: Latvian	0
SLAVIC: Russian	1
URALIC	
SAMOYEDIC: Nenets	0
UGRIC: Hungarian	0
FINNIC: Finnish	0
YUKAGHIR: Yukaghir	0
ALTAIC	
MONGOLIAN: Khalkha	0
TUNGUS: Evenki	2
TURKIC: Turkish	0
KOREAN: Korean	0
AINU: Ainu	0
JAPANESE: Japanese	0
CHUKCHEE-KAMCHATKAN: Chukchi	2
NIVKH: Nivkh	0
KET: Ket	0
<u>KARTVELIAN</u> : Georgian	0 (< 3: Old Georgian)
NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN: Abkhaz	0
<u>NAX-DAGESTANIAN</u>	
NAX: Ingush	0
DAGESTANIAN	
AVARO-ANDI-DIDO: Hunzib	0
LAK-DARGWA: Lak	0
LEZGIC: Lezgian	0
BURUSHASKI: Burushaski	0
DRAVIDIAN:	
NORTHWEST DRAVIDIAN: Brahui	0
DRAVIDIAN PROPER: Kannada	0
AUSTRO-ASIATIC	
MUNDA: Mundari	0
MON-KHMER	
KHASI: Khasi	0
PALAUNG-KHMUIC: Khmu'	0
VIET-MUONG: Vietnamese	0
KHMER: Cambodian	0
ASLIAN: Semelai	0
SINO-TIBETAN	
CHINESE: Mandarin Chinese	0
TIBETO-BURMAN	
KAREN: Kayah Li	0
TIBETIC: Ladakhi	0
BARIC: Garo	0
KUKI-CHIN-NAGA: Meithei, Bawm	0, 0
BURMESE-LOLO: Burmese	0
LEPCHA: Lepcha	0
MIAO-YAO: Hmong Njua	0
KAM-TAI: Thai	0

AUSTRONESEAN	
PAIWANIC: Paiwan	0
CHAMORRO: Chamorro	0
PHILIPPINE AUSTRONESEAN: Tagalog, Tukang Besi, Malagasy	0, 0, 0
SUNDIC: Karo Batak, Indonesian	0, 0
S HALMAHERA-NW NEW GUINEA: Taba	0
OCEANIC: Kilivila, Drehu, Kiribatese, Paamese, Fijian, Rapanui, Maori	0, 0, 0, 0
	0, 0, 0
TRANS NEW GUINEA	
EAST NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS: Kobon, Kewa	0, 0
CENTRAL AND SOUTH NEW GUINEA: Asmat	0
ANGAN: Kapau	0
MARIND: Marind	0
SENTANI: Sentani	0
DANI-KWERBA: Lower Grand Valley Dani	0
WISSEL LAKES-KEMANDOGA: Ekari	0
BINANDEREAN: Suena	0
CENTRAL AND SE NEW GUINEA: Daga	0
MADANG: Amele	0
ADELBERT RANGE: Usan	0
MEK: Una	0
NORTHERN TRANS-NEW GUINEA: Imonda	0
WEST PAPUAN	
WEST BIRD'S HEAD: Maybrat	0
TORRICELLI: Bukiyp	0
SEPIK-RAMU	
SEPIK: Alambak	0
NOR-PONDO: Yimas	0
EAST PAPUAN	
SOLOMONS EAST PAPUAN: Lavukaleve	0
MANGARAYI: Mangarayi	0
NUNGGUBUYU: Nunggubuyu	3
TIWI: Tiwi	0
YIWAIDJAN: Maung	0
GUNWINYGUAN: Wardaman	0
WEST BARKLY: Wambaya	0
DALY: Maranungku	0
BUNABAN: Gooniyandi	0?
WORORAN: Ungarinjin	0
TANGKIC: Kayardild	3
PAMA-NYUNGAN: Yidiny, Ngiyambaa, Martuthunira, Pitjantjatjara	3, 3, 3, 0
ESKIMO-ALEUT: West Greenlandic, Yup'ik	0
NA-DENE	
HAIDA: Haida	0
TLINGIT: Tlingit	0
ATHAPASKAN-EYAK: Slave, Navajo	0, 0
KUTENAI: Kutenai	0
ALGIC	
YUROK: Yurok	0
ALGONQUIAN: Cree, Passamaquoddy	0, 0

WAKASHAN: Makah	0
SALISH	
COAST SALISH: Squamish	0
KERESAN: Acoma	0
MACRO-SIOUAN	
YUCHI: Yuchi	0
SIOUAN: Lakota	0
CADDANOAN: Wichita	0
IROQUOIAN: Oneida	0
PENUTIAN	
TSIMSHIAN: Coast Tsimshian	0
COOS: Hanis Coos	0
SAHAPTIAN: Nez Perce	0
MIWOK: Sierra Miwok	0
TUNICA: Tunica	0
MUSKOGEAN: Koasati	0
MIXE-ZOQUEAN: Copainala Zoque	0
MAYAN: Jakaltek	0
HOKAN	
KAROK: Karok	0
POMO: Southeastern Pomo	0
YUMAN: Maricopa	0
OTO-MANGUEAN	
OTOMIAN: Otomi	0
MIXTEC: Chalcatongo Mixtec	0
CHINANTECAN: Lealao Chinantec	0
AZTEC-TANOAN	
TANOAN: Kiowa	0
UTO-AZTECAN	
NUMIC: Comanche	0
TAKIC: Cahuilla	0
TARACAHITIC: Yaqui	0
AZTECAN: Tetelcingo Nahuatl	0
YANOMAM: Sanuma	0
CHIBCHAN	
MISUMALPAN: Rama	0
TALAMANCA: Bribri	0
ARUAK: Ika	0
WARAO: Warao	0
MURA: Piraha	0
PAEZAN	
CHOCO: Epena Pedee	0
BARBACOAN: Awa Pit	0
QUECHUA: Imbabura Quechua	0
AYMARA: Aymara	0
MAPUDUNGU: Mapuche	0
QAWESQAR: Kawesqar	0
PATAGONIAN: Selknam	0
TUCANOAN: Barasano	0
CAYUVAVA: Cayuvava	0
TRUMAI: Trumai	0
TUPI-GUARANI: Urubu-Kaapor, Guarani	0, 0
ARAUAN: Paumari	0

CHAPACURAN: Wari	0
MAIPUREAN: Apurina	0
PEBA-YAGUAN: Yagua	0
WITOTOAN: Witoto	0
CARIB: Carib, Hixkaryana	0, 0
GUAICURUAN: Abipon	0
MATACO: Mataco	0
PANOAN: Shipibo-Konibo	0
TACANAN: Araona	0
GE-KAINGANG: Canela-Krahó	0
CREOLE: Ndyuka	0

5. Where else?

5.1. Tariana (Arawakan), and all over the place

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1999. Review of *Double Case*. *Studies in Language* 23. 474-454

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1999. Double marking of syntactic function in Tariana. In E. V. Rakhilina & Y. G. Testelets (eds.), *Typology and linguistic theory: From description to explanation*, 114-122. Moskva: Languages of Russian Culture.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1999. Multiple marking of syntactic function and polysynthetic nouns in Tariana. *CLS* 35(2). 235-248.

Is this really (prototypical or marginal) Aufnahme???

5.2. Bodic (a Himalayan subgroup of Tibeto-Burman)

Noonan, Michael. 2008. Case compounding in Bodic languages. In Greville G. Corbett & Michael Noonan (eds.), *Case and grammatical relations*, 127-147. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

A lot of case combining of various kinds in Bodic, but specifically not the Suffixaufnahme kind!

5.3. English (Germanic, Indo-European)

Payne, John. 2009. The English genitive and double case. In Sylvia Adamson & Victorina González-Díaz (eds.), *The history and structure in the English noun phrase, = Transactions of the Philological Society* 107: 322-357.

phrasal genitives such as

[a friend of [mine's]] mother
[the girl who invited [me's]] best friend

are instances of *Suffixhäufung*:

"Double case is a widespread phenomenon in which a feature, typically a case feature which originates on a noun phrase A, is realised externally to a feature which originates on a noun phrase B which is a subconstituent of A. [In phrasal genitives like those above] [...] the genitive case marker is realised externally to a pronoun in the accusative or genitive case."

(Payne 2009: 322)

5.4. Zazaki (a.k.a. Dimili, Iranian, Indo-European, spoken in central Anatolia)

- Selcan, Zülfü. 1998. *Grammatik der Zaza-Sprache, Nord-Dialekt (Dersim-Dialekt)*. Berlin: Wissenschaft und Technik Verlag. [Reviewed: Geoffrey Haig, *Linguistics* 39. 181-188, 2001.]
 Paul, Ludwig. 1998. *Zazaki: Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
 Larson, Richard K. & Hiroki Yamakido. 2006. Zazaki "double ezafe" as double case-marking. Paper at LSA meeting, Albuquerque.

Ezafe particle indicating that Head N occurs with Dependent NP, or other modifiers (head-marking, hence state rather than case);
 in Persian, the Ezafe particle is invariant;
 in Kurmanji Kurdish, the Ezafe particle inflects for gender and number of the Head N itself;
 in Zazaki, the Ezafe particle inflects for (i) gender and number of the Head N, (ii) the category of the modifier (Noun/Pronoun vs. Adj), and (iii) **the syntactic function of the entire NP in the clause** (independent vs. dependent).

kutik-e amiryan-de ma (i)

dog-EZ:MASC neighbour.OBL-EZ:MASC us
 'our neighbour's dog'

ma-y mar-da ay (ii)

mother-EZ:FEM mother.OBL-EZ:FEM her
 'her mother's mother'

a'qil-e mardim-de pi-l (iii)

wisdom-EZ:MASC people-EZ:PL older-PL
 'the wisdom of older people'

5.5. Dravidian [more from Wolfgang Schellinger]

5.5.1. Brahui (North D. with Kurukh-Malto or separate branch of D.)

HYPOSTASIS = head of adnominal elided
 internal case: case of adnominal (= GEN etc.)
 external case: case of elided head

i:lum-na:-ti:
 brother-GEN-LOC
 'in that of the brother' (Andronov 1980: 42)

Similarly **Kurukh** (Kurukh-Malto = Northeast D.) and probably **Parji** (Kolami-Parji, Central Dravidian).

5.5.2. Malto (Kurukh-Malto = Northeast D.)

Area: mainly spoken in the Rajmahal Hills in the eastern part of the Indian state of Bihar
 Self-designation of speakers: Maler (lit. 'men')

Number of speakers: 94,614 (Singh 1994: 1063, census of 1981)
 125,000 (Breton 1997: 204, census of 1991)

Bilingualism: ca. 25% of Malto speakers are bilingual, with Santali (Munda), Hindi, or Bengali (Indo-Aryan) as second languages; a group of ethnic Maler, the Malpaharia or Marpaharia, have given up Malto and speak a form of Bengali

Major dialects: Sawriya (or Sauria Paharia),
Kumarbhag (or Kumar Paharia),
Malpaharia (☞ Suffixaufnahme, optional)

Grammars and dictionaries:

- Droese, Ernest. 1884. *Introduction to the Malto language*. Agra: Secundra Orphanage Press.
 Das, A. Sisir Kumar. 1973. *Structure of Malto*. (Annamalai University Department of Linguistics Publication, 32.) Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
 Mahapatra, B. P. 1979. *Malto, an ethnosemantic study*. (CIIL Occasional Monographs Series, 15.) Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
 Mahapatra, B. P. 1987. *Malto–Hindi–English dictionary*. (CIIL Dictionary Series, 5.) Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
 Andronov, Mixail S. 2009. *Malto*. München: Lincom Europa.

Table 1. *Noun inflection in Malto, oblique cases*

	SINGULAR and PLURAL, NON-HUMAN	PLURAL, HUMAN
ACCUSATIVE	-(i)n	-r-in
DATIVE	-(i)k	-r-ik
GENITIVE	-ki	-r-ki
INSTRUMENTAL	-(i)t	-r-it
ABLATIVE	-(i)nte	-r-inte
LOCATIVE	-(i)no	-r-ino

Basic word order: SOV

Agglutination:

- (1) *male-r-ik*
 man-PL-DAT
 'to the men' (Mahapatra 1979: 68)

Suffixaufnahme:

- (2) a. *tsari pesa-ki(-n) be:k-a qat-a*
 four paisa-GEN(-ACC) salt-ACC give-NONFUT.IMP
 'Give salt for four paise!' (Mahapatra 1979: 71)
- b. *e:m rama-ki(-n) taka-n pesa-n tundla-j-d-am*
 1PL.EXCL Rama-GEN(-ACC) rupee-ACC paisa-ACC see-NEG-PFV-PRES-1PL.EXCL
 'We have not seen Rama's money.' (Mahapatra 1979: 71)

Table 2. *Noun inflection in Malto, nominative case*

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
MASC	-h	
FEM	-ð	
NONHUM	-ð	-ð?

possible analyses

- -h and -ð as pure gender markers,
hence zero for the nominative (obvious in the plural anyway)
- -h and -ð as case markers
- -h and -ð as cumulative case and gender markers

- (3) a. *taj̪ade-ki-ð* *pel-ð* *bartsa-ð*
son-GEN-NONMASC.SG woman-NONMASC.SG come.PAST-NONMASC.SG
‘The son’s wife came.’ (Mahapatra 1979: 71)
- b. *o[ga]we-ki-h* *mäge-h* *eŋ-inte*
house.owner-GEN-MASC.SG boy-MASC.SG 1SG-ABL
‘The house owner’s son is elder to me.’ (Mahapatra 1979: 71)

Gender Aufnahme?

Compare: In **Gondi (Telugu-Kui, Central Dravidian)** attributive genitives agree in number and gender, but not case.

Table 3. *Inflection of “possessive pronouns”* (Droese 1884: 32)

<i>eŋg-ki</i> ‘mine’	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	MASC <i>eŋg-ki-h</i> NONMASC <i>eŋg-ki-ð</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r</i>
GENITIVE	<i>eŋg-ki-ki</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-ki</i>
DATIVE	<i>eŋg-ki-k</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-ik</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>eŋg-ki-n</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-in</i>
ABLATIVE	<i>eŋg-ki-nte</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-inte</i>
LOCATIVE	<i>eŋg-ki-no</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-ino</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>eŋg-ki-t</i>	<i>eŋg-ki-r-it</i>

“The declension of the rest of the possessive pronouns [i.e., *nijki* ‘thine’, *ahiki* ‘his’, *emki* ‘ours (exclusive)’, *namki* ‘ours (inclusive)’, *nimki* ‘yours’, and *ariki* ‘theirs’] follows the above example.” (Droese 1884: 32)

- (4) *ahi-ki* *kete-ð*
3SG.MASC.OBL.-GEN field-NONMASC.SG
‘his fields’ (Mahapatra 1979: 220)