If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional, if it is exclusively prefixing it is prepositional.
If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional, if it is exclusively prefixing it is prepositional

- Most languages do not ‘exclusively’ do either
- The majority both prefix and suffix
- Some languages neither prefix nor suffix
GREENBERG UNIVERSAL 27

- PROPOSED IN 1963
- GREENBERG WAS DELIBERATELY LOOKING FOR LINGUISTIC UNIVERSALS
- BASED ON DATA FROM 30 LANGUAGES
Greenberg took data from a sample of 30 languages:

- 1 exclusively prefixing language (Thai)
- 12 exclusively suffixing languages (Basque, Burmese, Japanese, Turkish, Finnish, Hindi, Kannada, Loritja, Nubian, Quechua, Songhai, Chibcha)
- 17 languages which both prefix and suffix
RESEARCH

- Wanted to find data about languages that **exclusively** prefix or suffix
- WALS had a large selection of data on affixation, but lacked detail on exclusivity
- AUTOTYP had a very small selection of data, but included details on exclusivity
- WALS data for Prepositionality/Postpositionality
DATA ON PREFIXING VS SUFFIXING

■ DATA SAMPLE FROM AUTOTYP OF 77 LANGUAGES
■ 57 BOTH PREFIXED AND SUFFIXED (74%)
■ 13 EXCLUSIVELY SUFFIXED (16.9%)
■ 7 EXCLUSIVELY PREFIXED (9.1%)
AND ADPOSITIONS?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXCLUSIVELY SUFFIX</th>
<th>EXCLUSIVELY PREFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSTPOSITIONS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREPOSITIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ADPOSITIONS/NO DOMINANT ORDER</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Diyari was removed because there was a lack of data on adpositions in the language
Exclusively suffixing languages

- Prepositional
- Postpositional
- N/A

Exclusively prefixing languages

- Prepositional
- Postpositional
- N/A
Languages that follow Universal 27

**Prepositional + prefixing**
- Mon
- Khmu
- Jahai
- Pacoh

**Postpositional + suffixing**
- Qiang
- Mongolian (Khalkha)
- Meithei
- Santali
- Hamer
- Udi
- Finnish
- Hayu
Languages that do not follow Universal 27

- Kasunda, Diegueño, Kharia
- 3 languages which contradict universal 27
- Exclusively prefixing but postpositional
- Need to be tested if we want to disprove the universal
Diegueño appears to prefix and suffix

Kharia

Kharia appears to also have suffixes

Intensive markers: -boʔ, -daʔ, -son (all suffixes, lexically determined,

Kusunda

- Kusunda- there are references to potential suffixes
- ‘the possessive suffix –yi’ ‘i is a plural suffix’

A TROUBLING NOTE

- Not clear if any of the three languages which contradict the theory are exclusively prefixing
- Demonstrates problems with the data, particularly issues with the classification of prefixing and suffixing
- Universal 27 could still be true
New statistics

- With the removal of Kusunda, Diegueño and Kharia from the data, the Universal looks much healthier
- 100% of exclusively prefixing languages are prepositional
- 67% of exclusively suffixing languages are postpositional, and the remaining 33% have no dominant order or no adpositions
Why is there a link between affixation and adpositions?

- Implication that affixes and adpositions are connected
- Some overlap between the function of adpositions and affixes, e.g., English preposition ‘to’ and the dative case— which is often marked by an affix.
- Perhaps a link to the assignment of theta roles in a sentence.
- Possible link to head directionality— if a language is head initial it is likely to have prefixes and prepositions, if it is head-final it is likely to have suffixes and postpositions
A note on Word Order

A note on Word Order

SVO and SOV structures

- Possibly also a link to head directionality
- Does the V head branch left or right?
- English: Verb head branches left, adposition also branches left (prepositional), prefixes present in the language
- Turkish: Verb head branches right, adposition branches right (postpositional), exclusively suffixing language.