Introduction: Verb-specific modifiers vs. noun-specific modifiers

Verb-specific modifiers:
- Adverbs / Adverb phrase / Adverbial clause
- Adpositional phrase
- Noun phrase (with semantic case)
- ...

Noun-specific modifiers:
- Adjective / Adjective phrase
- Participle / Participle phrase
- Relative clauses
- ...

‘An Adjectival predicate is a predicate which, without further measures being taken, can be used as a modifier of a nominal head. An Adverbial predicate is a predicate which, without further measures being taken, can be used as a modifier of a non-nominal head.’

(Hengeveld 1992: 37)

see also Croft (1991: Chap. 2): “typological markedness”
Introduction:
How to relate a verb-specific modifier to a nominal head?

- Juxtaposition
  *the talk yesterday*
- Embedding the verb-specific modifier within a noun-specific modifier (participial phrase, relative clause)
  *the talk given yesterday, der Vortrag, der gestern gehalten wurde*
- Using a relational marker (RM)
  *der gestrige Vortrag*
  - Preserving the semantic type of the modifier
  - Changing the semantic type of the modifier

Relational marker (RM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type preserving</th>
<th>type changing</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word, clitic, inflectional affix</td>
<td>derivational affix</td>
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</table>

Structure of the talk

4 languages to be investigated using RMs:
- Basque -*ko*
- Turkish -*ki*
- Hungarian -*i*
- Finnish -*i)nen*

- Syntactic constraints on RM-constructions: range of categories
- Syntactic scope of RM: clitic vs. affix
- Semantic constraints on RM-constructions: range of semantic relations
- Semantic type of (the denotation of) RM-constructions: location vs. quality

Conclusion

Syntactic categories: Basque

- Noun phrases (NPs)
  1. mendie-tan
     *mountains-LOC*  
     *‘in the mountains’*
  2. *mendie-tan haitzuloak
     *mountains-LOC caves.DEF*  
     *‘the caves in the mountains’*

- Postpositional phrases (PPs)
  2. bakea-ren alde-ko amak
     *peace-GEN for-RM mothers*  
     *‘mothers for peace’*

- Adverb phrases (AdvPs)
  3. atzo-ko egunkaria
     *yesterday-RM newspaper*  
     *‘yesterday’s newspaper’*

- Finite clauses
  4. a. usoak iragaiten direne-an
     *doves pass.IMPF AUX.COMP-LOC*  
     *‘when the doves pass over’*
  5. b. usoak iragaiten direne-ko haroa
     *doves pass.IMPF AUX.COMP-RM season*  
     *‘the season when doves pass over’*
Syntactic categories: **Turkish**

- **Locative NPs**
  1. *bahçe-de ağaçlar*
     
     garden-LOC trees
     
     'the trees in the garden'
  2. *bahçe-de-ki ağaçlar*
     
     garden-LOC-RM trees
     
     'the trees in the garden'

- **Locative PPs**
  1. Goethe hakk-in-da-ki eserler
     
     Goethe 
     
     hakk-POSS.3SG-LOC-RM works
     
     'works written about Goethe'
  2. hakkında, 'about', postposition

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Syntactic categories: **Hungarian**

- **Postnominal NPs / PPs (without RM)**
  1. a buli a vizsga után
     
     the party the exam after
     
     'the party after the exam'

- **Prenominal PPs**
  1. a vizsga után-i buli
     
     the exam after-RM party
     
     'the party after the exam'

- **Adverb phrases**
  1. ma-i találkozás
     
     the today-RM meeting
     
     'today’s meeting'

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Syntactic categories: **Finnish**

- **Postnominal NPs / PPs / AdvPs (without RM)**
  1. rautatie Helsinki ja Turun váli-lä
     
     railway Helsinki.GEN and Turku.GEN distance-ADE
     
     = between
     
     'the railway between Helsinki and Turku'

- **Prenominal PPs**
  1. Helsinki ja Turun váli-nen rautatie
     
     Helsinki.GEN and Turku.GEN distance-RM railway
     
     'the railway between Helsinki and Turku'

- **Prenominal AdvPs**
  1. eili-nen TV-ohjelma
     
     yesterday-RM TV programme
     
     'yesterday’s TV programme'
### Syntactic categories: Summary

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Basque</th>
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<tr>
<td>Postnominal (without RM)</td>
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<td>+*</td>
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*Case affix of the host being obligatorily omitted.

### Syntactic scope: clitic vs. affix

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<th>Wide scope / Clitic</th>
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<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>No “affix suspension”</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>No inflected host</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vowel harmony</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<td>Derivability</td>
<td>+</td>
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### Syntactic scope: Basque

- 2 possible analyses
- (1) Basque
  - a. [ bakea-ren alde-ko ] amak
    peace-GEN for-RM mothers
  - b. [ bakea-ren alde ]-ko amak
    ‘mothers for peace’
- (2) Hungarian
  - a. az [ Európa mellett-i ] döntés
    the Europe for-RM decision
  - b. az [ Európa mellett-i ] döntés
    ‘the decision in favour of Europe’
Syntactic scope: **Turkish**

- Limited range of host categories (noun, adverb, postposition)
- Inflected host (marked for locative)

(1) cam-ın kenar-in-da-ki yatak
glass-GEN side-Poss.3SG-LOC-RM bed
' the bed at the side of the window'

- “Affix suspension”

(2) Almanya('da-ki) ve Türkiye'de-ki eğitim
Germany and Turkey.LOC-RM education
'education in Germany and Turkey'

---

Mitglied der

Syntactic scope: **Hungarian**

- Limited range of host categories (noun, adverb, postposition)
- No inflected host

(1) a polc mögött-i könyv
the shelf behind-RM book
' the book behind the shelf'

- No “affix suspension”

(2) e gondolat mellett-i és ellen-i érvek
this thought for-RM and against-RM arguments
'arguments for and against this thought'

---

Mitglied der

Syntactic scope: **Finnish**

- No inflected host

a. keittiön [n viere]-inen huone
kitchen.GEN edge-RM room
' the room next to the kitchen'

b. kielten sisä-iset ja ulko-iset syyt
language.GEN within-RM.PL and outside-RM.PL reasons
'intralinguistic and extralinguistic reasons'

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Mitglied der

Syntactic scope: **Finnish**

- Limited range of host categories (noun stem)

(1) a. Helsingin ja Turun [n väli]-nen rautatie
Helsinki.GEN and Turku.GEN distance-RM railway
' the railway between Helsinki and Turku'

b. [n väli]-lä + -nen → [n väli] + -nen
Syntactic scope: Derivability

(1) Finnish
a. viere-is-yys
   next to-RM-SUF
   'adjacency'
   -jen \rightarrow -is-, when further derived
b. rautatieaseman viere-is-yys
   train station.GEN next to-RM-SUF
   'the being next-to-the-train station'

(2) Hungarian
a. egymás mellett-i-ség
   each other next to-RM-SUF
   'co-existence'
b. a víz mellett-i-ség
   the water next to-RM-SUF
   'the being next-to-the-water'

Syntactic scope: Summary

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>HUN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
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<tr>
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<td>No &quot;affix suspension&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Derivability</td>
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Vowel harmony
- + +

Range of host categories
- not limited
- N, Adv, P
- N, Adv, P
- N

Basque: wide scope, clitical RM
Finnish: narrow scope, affixal RM
Increasing affixality: Basque > Turkish > Hungarian > Finnish

Semantic relations: Basque

- Locative
  mendie-ta-ko haitzuloak
  mountains-LOC-RM caves.DEF
  'the caves in the mountains'

- Ablative
  Santurtzi-ti-ko trena
  Santurtzi-ABL-RM train.DET
  'the train (coming) from Santurtzi'

- Allative
  Bilbo-ra-ko bidea
  Bilbao-ALL-RM road
  'the road to Bilbao'

Semantic relations: Turkish

- Locative
  cam-in kenar-in-da-ki yatak
  glass-GEN side-POSS.3SG-LOC-RM bed
  'the bed at the side of the window'

- Ablative
  cahillik-ten *(gelen) bir şey
  silliness-ABL coming a thing
  'a thing (coming) out of silliness'

- Allative
  Goethe üzerinde *(yazılan) eserler
  Goethe about.DAT being written works
  'works written about Goethe'
Semantic relations: Hungarian

- **Locative**
  - a polc mögött-i könyv
  - the shelf behind-RM book
  - ‘the book behind the shelf’

- **Ablative**
  - az íróasztal mellől-i okoskodás
  - the desk from next to-RM know-all manner
  - ‘know-all manner from behind the desk’

- **Allative**
  - a Budapest mellé *(való) megérkezés
  - the Budapest (to) near being arrival
  - ‘the arrival near Budapest’

Semantic relations: Finnish

- **Locative**
  - hotellin taka-inen pysäköintialue
  - hotel.GEN behind-RM parking lot
  - ‘the parking lot behind the hotel’

- **Ablative**
  - maan alta *(tuleva) vesi
  - earth.GEN from under coming water
  - ‘water from under the earth’

- **Allative**
  - pääkaupungin lähelle *(suuntautunut) retki
  - capital.GEN (to) near to directed trip
  - ‘a trip near to the capital’

Semantic relations: Summary

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<th>NPs / PPs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Locative ‘in X’</td>
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<td>Ablative ‘from X’</td>
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<td>Allative ‘to X’</td>
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Semantic type: Quality?

- **Gradability**
- **Intensification**
- **Predicative use (attribution of a quality)**
Semantic type: Gradability

(1) Hungarian
El sem lehet isten háta mögött-i-bb helyet képzelni Afganisztánnál
PRV not can God back.his behind-RM-COMP place.ACC imagine Afghanistan.ALL
lit. ‘you cannot imagine a place more behind God’s back than Afghanistan’
(isten háta mögöttibb hely being more or less idiomatic)
*a konyha mellett-i-bb szoba
the kitchen next to-RM-COMP room
lit. ‘the room more next to the kitchen’

(2) Finnish
a. taka-i-se-mmat aivoalueet
behind-RM-COMP.PL brain regions.PL
lit. ‘more posterior brain regions’
b. tämä kaupunki on kansain-väli-se-mpi kuin …
this city is people.PL-between-RM-COMP more than …
‘this city is more international than …’

Semantic type: Intensification

(1) Finnish
*hyvin kirkon viere-inen liike
very church.GEN next to-RM shop
lit. ‘a shop very next to the church’

(2) Hungarian
elég történelem előtt-i körülmények
quite history before-RM conditions
‘quite prehistorical conditions’

Semantic type: Predicative use

(1) Turkish
*Kitap masa-nin üstün-de-ki.
book table-GEN top-POSS.3SG-LOC
intended meaning: ‘The book is on the table.’

(2) Hungarian
*Ez a döntés Európa mellett-i volt.
this the decision Europe for-RM was
intended meaning: ‘This decision was in favour of Europe.’
Semantic type: Predicative use

(3) Finnish

a. Tämä järjestö on [Unescon ala-inen].
   this organisation is Unesco.GEN under-RM
   ‘This organisation is subordinate to the Unesco.’

b. Tämä järjestö toimii [Unescon alla].
   this organisation works Unesco.GEN under
   ‘This organisation works under the auspices of the Unesco.’

Semantic type: Summary

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Conclusion: Affixality

- Finnish: -(i)nen as a derivational affix (→ adjectives)
- Hungarian: -i as a derivational affix (→ adjectives)
- Turkish: -ki as a clitic
- Basque: -ko as a clitic

Increasing affixality:

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<td>derivational affix</td>
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Conclusion: Adjectiveness

- RM-constructions denoting directions are strongly restricted, those denoting locations are hardly restricted.
- Prototypical adjectives denote states, persistent and gradable properties.
- Locations: persistent & non-gradable
- Directions: transitory & non-gradable
- Locations are closer to the prototype
- “Locational” adjectives are classifying adjectives
- Classifying adjectives: presidential election, departmental meeting
- Locations can be shifted into qualities only when assuming a metaphorical meaning.

Increasing ‘adjectiveness’:

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<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>quality</td>
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Conclusion: Affixality & Adjectiveness

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References


