Postposition constructions in Korean: morphology and syntax*

1. **Structure of a nominal in Korean – background**

Main grammatical positions¹ in a nominal [Chang 1996], [Cho, Sells 1995], [Yoon 1995]:

(1) a. (N-Stem) (Hon) (Plur) (Post) (Post) (Delim-1) (Delim-2)[(Cop)/(Mood/Quot)]
   (nim) (tul) (-ey) (-se) (-man/-to) (-n)un/-i/-ka...) [(-i) / (-ta).(-ko).]

b. sensayng-nim-tul-ey-se-man-un
   teacher-HON-PL-POST/DAT-POST/ABL-DELIM.1-DELIM.2/TOP
   “only from the teachers_CONTR.FOCUS” [I heard smth]

c. sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i …
   teacher-HON-PL-POST/NOM.HON-DELIM.1-DELIM.2/NOM
   “only teachers…” [do smth] [Cho & Sells 1995: 140]

d. mwul-sok-ul
   water-inside.POSTPOS-DELIM.2/ACC
   “inside the water” [Kholodovič 1954: 210]


- Intonationally bound but syntactically independent: can attach to a syntactic phrase/ constituent:

(2) [chayk-kwa capci]-lul ilk-ta
   [book-COMMIT magazine]-ACC read-INF
   “To read books and journals”

- Occur at the periphery of a (nominal) form and cannot be switched with more “internal” inflection. Cf. (3b-c) not fitting the template scheme (1a):

(3) a. sensayng-nim-tul-eyse-lul
   teacher-HON-PL-POST/DAT-DELIM.2/ACC

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¹ This talk was in part supported by the RGNF grant N 08-04-00208A.
³ We consider only examples for direct/structural case markers as having most clitic properties.
“only to the teachers CONTR.FOCUS” [I gave smth]

b. *sensayng-nim-tul-lul-eyse
teacher-HON-PL-DELIM.2-POST/DAT

c. *sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-ka-man … [cf. (1c)]
teacher-HON-PL-NOM.HON-NOM/DELIM.2-DELIM.1

- low degree of occurrence restrictions and idiomatic idiosyncratic occurrences, transcategorial properties:

(4) Yenghi-ka yeppu-ci-lul ani ha-ta [cf. (1d), (3a)]
Yenghi-NOM pretty-INF-DELIM.2/ACC NEG do-INF
“Yenghi IS NOT pretty” [Kang 1988: 33]

2. Postposition constructions cross-linguistically and in Korean

- Stages of grammaticalization:

  1. [Hopper, Traugott 1993: 7]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
<th>Step 3</th>
<th>Step 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Content word</td>
<td>grammatical word</td>
<td>clitic</td>
<td>inflectional affix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  >>

2. [Heine 1993: 106]: mechanisms of grammatical change

| 1. Desemantization/ “bleaching” |
| 2. Extension (context generalization) |
| 3. Decategorization (loss of morphosyntactic properties) |
| 4. Erosion (phonetic reduction) |

2.1. Spatial/ denominative postpositions – relational nouns, genitive construction vs. juxtaposition.


(I) N-Stem GEN + POSTPOS-LOC/ (II) N-Stem POSTPOS-LOC

(5) a. gure exte-aren aurre-an our house-GENsg front-LOCsg
    b. exte aurre-an house front-LOCsg
    “In front of our house” “In front of the house”

---

Structure (II) is not allowed with animate nouns (6a); if the noun is modified (6b-c):

(6) a. ama(-ren) ondo-tik Basque
mother(GENsg) side-ABLsg
“From next to the mother”

b. exte eder-raren aurre-an
house beautiful-GENsg front-LOCsg
“In front of the beautiful house”

c. *exte eder aurre-an
house beautiful front-LOCsg
“In front of the beautiful house”

- The compounding account: only compounds such as exte-aurre ‘house-front’ are possible, with non-animate first part and with no modifier as part *exte-eder-aurre ‘house-beautiful-front’

[Hualde 2002: 235] – relational nouns in (I) are Step 1; when parts of a compound in (II) – Step 2. Mechanism of desemantization.

- Siberian languages – GEN can be omitted (some dialects of Nenets), or there is no GEN (juxtapositive construction, Evenki) [Šamina 2002], [Koškareva 2005: 193], [Bulatova, Grenoble 1999: 13-14]:

Forest dialect of Nenets, Purow sub-dialect
(7)тат путаптэ=ңа=Ø шинкы=ң помна
here jump_out=AOR-SUBJ/3Sg holy_place_of_a_hut=GENsg
through
кан(=Ø) кэвхана ка=дя=Ø
sledge(=NOMsg) besides go-REFL-REFL/3Sg
“(Laha) jumped out through the holy place of the hut and was besides the sledge”

(8)a. u: amar-du:-n Evenki
house back-DAT-3SG.POSS "behind the house"

b. amut daga-la:-n
lake close-LOC-3SG.POSS "close to the lake"

Evenki: ALIENABLE possession marker -ŋi:5:
(9)a. dili(-ŋi)-v
head(-Alien.Poss)-1Sg.Poss “my head”

b. dili-ŋi-v
head(-Alien.Poss)-1Sg.Poss “the head [of an animal] I possess”

2.2. Lexical vs. grammatical meaning.

- Loss of lexical meaning – Step 2 of Grammaticalization (desemantization).

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4 As [Koškareva 2005: 57-58] notes, plural nouns have no/ null GEN marker, or have an irregular/ idiomatic GEN form.
- [Hualde 2002: 326] – for location use of relational nouns, Step 2 is reformulated as “noun requires specialized idiomatic relational usage”.


Formal features leading to grammaticalization:

(A) Steps 3-4/ Decategorization – see [Hopper, Traugott’s 1993] scale above;

(B) Free vs. bound (as an intermediate step towards becoming an affix) – [Martin 1992], [Chae 2004: 63] (for Korean).

According to [Osumi 1996: 441-443], all relational nouns in Tinrin are bound in either lexical or location uses (or are both cases juxtaposition?):

(10) a. treanrũ rri hara nrûwû-mwâ
   Tinrin
   “People ate inside the house”

   b. u jorri nrûwû-mwâ a harru
   “I saw the nice inside of the house”

2.3. Syntactic incorporation of nouns into postpositions in languages with pronominal argument incorporation (or head-marking) [Hale 2003: 13, 33]

(11)a. ni-sh-hozh  b. ni ni-sh-hozh
   2sg-1sg-tickle  2sg 2sg-1sg-tickle
   “I tickle you”  “I tickle YOU” [ni-, sh- -arguments]

(12)a. lééchâq’i [tó y-iih] yilwod  Navajo
dog [water 3o-into] run-PERF
   “The dog ran into the water” [y- ‘3o’ – argument of -iih ‘into’]

   b. lééchâq’i [taa-h] yilwod  Navajo
dog [water-into] run-PERF
   “The dog ran into the water” [taa- ‘water’ - argument of –h ‘into’]

3. Postpositions in Korean

3.1. Types of postpositions: (according to [Kholodovich 1954])

– denominative (inflected):

twi ‘behind’; aph ‘front’; mith ‘below’; wi ‘top’; cen ‘before’; hwu ‘after’; pakk ‘except’; oy ‘besides’.

(13) a. mwul-sok-ey “inside the water” Korean water-INSIDE.POSTPOS-LOC

– verbal (subcategorizing) ; [Nikol’skij 1962: 59]

b. ..caki pwuha-lul sikhy-ese [yucengswu
self subordinate-ACC force-POSTPOS [Ywu_Ceng_Swu
sikkwu-tul-ul samwusil-lo teylye o-la] ha-ko...
relative-PL-ACC office-DIR bring.INF come-IMPER] do/say-
CONV
“(He) said [to] his subordinates [to bring Ywu Ceng Swu’s relatives to the office]…”


c. Pwusan-eyse(-pwuthe) ewulkot twi-lul
Pusan-LOC/ABL(from.POSTPOS) continuously behind-ACC
ccocha-wa-ss-ta chase-come-PAST-DECL
“I chased him continuously from Pusan”

d. 10si-eyse/ 10si(-eyse)-pwuthe
10_hour-LOC/ABL/ 10_hour(-LOC/ABL)-from.POSTPOS
12si-kkaci kongpwu-ha-ca
12_hour-until.POSTPOS study-do-PROPOS12_hour-until.POSTPOS
study-do-PROPOS
“Let us study from 10 hour until 12 hours”

e. achim(-eyse)-pwuthe kitali-koiss-ess-ta
morning-LOC/ABL(-from.POSTPOS) work-PROGR-PAST-DECL
“I have been waiting from morning”

3.2. Grammatical features of Korean postpositions

3.2.1. Degree of grammaticalization:

– existence of an homonymous noun with a non-relational meaning:

Denominative postpositions – both options:

(I) Native Korean - sok ‘soul’ vs. sok ‘in’; aph ‘front/ South’ vs. aph ‘in front of’; twi ‘heir’ vs. twi ‘behind’; wi ‘place’ vs. wi ‘top’.


No 100% correlation between free vs. bound.

Bound relational noun derived from the verb [Choi-Jonin 2008: 159]; [Martin 1992: 711]: neme ‘over’ < nem-ta ‘go beyond’

Postpositions proper [Choi-Jonin 2008: 160] – grammaticalization as frozen postpositional particle derived from any non-related words:

pwuthe ‘from’ < puth-ta ‘adhere’; kkaci > s + *ko ‘brink’ [Martin 1992: 632].

- inflection on postpositions:


[Choi-Jonin 2008: 165-166]: ACC, GEN, NOM, LOC/ABL in (14a-d).

(14) a. Wi-lul poa-la kul top-ACC see-IMP lower_region-GEN writing “Look in an upside direction!” “Writing below”

c. Aph-i khamkhamha-ta front-NOM be_obscureDECL “It is obscure in the front”/ “The front is obscure”

d. Twi-eyse nwu-ka pwulu-n-ta back-LOC/ABL somebody-NOM call-PRES-DECL “Somebody calls (me) (from) behind”

Bound relational nouns - only with LOC, or without inflection (decategorization):

(II) - pakkey ‘outside/ besides’ < pakk ‘outside’ + LOC [Choi-Jonin 2008: 158];

cwung ‘during’ < cwung ‘midst/middle’ [Martin 1992: 465];

- ttaymwuney ‘because of’ < ttaymwun ‘(for) the sake of’ [DIAL] + LOC [Martin 1992: 828]

- nay ‘throughout’ [a period of time] – no inflection at all:
(15)a. Pom **nay** pi-ka o-n-ta [Martin 1992: 706]  
    spring throughout rain-NOM come-PRES-DECL  
    “It rains **throughout** the Spring”

b. **kihan** **nay-ey** [Kholodovich 1954: 216]  
    date/term throughout-LOC **“in time”**

**Verbal postpositions** – inflection –(e)ye (if they head a verb argument) and –(u)n (for a noun modifier), (16a-b). (Frozen) verbal forms (converb and participle).


(16)a. alh-nun salam-ey tayha-ye kunsimha-ta  
    sick-PART man-LOC concerning-INFIN worry-INFIN  
    “To worry **about** a sick man”

b. Chelswu-uy swuhak-ey tayha-n alm  
    Cholswu-GEN math-LOC concerning-MODIF knowledge  
    “Cholswu’s knowledge in math”

**Postpositions proper** – no case inflection (see (13c-e)).

- position with respect to other types of inflection:

- Nouns with a relational use and bound denominative postpositions with relational meaning – before any case particles:

(17)a. **kihan** cen-ey [postposition]  
    date/term before-LOC  
    “**before** the (fixed) date/term”

b. *kihan-ey-cen* [postposition]  
    date/term-DAT-before  
    [Kholodivich 1954: 216]

c. chaykpang-ey-cohca epsu-ni... [particle]  
    bookstore-LOC-EVEN be.NEG-CONV  
    “[This book] is not **even** in bookstores, so…”  
    [Martin 1992: 499]

d. myech-il cen-ccum-kkaci [noun + ‘POSTPOS’ +  
    particles]  
    how_many-day before-APPR-UNTIL  
    “Until which month…”

e. encey-kkaci/ -cen-ccum- kkaci [adverbial + particle/ ‘ + ‘POSTPOS’]  
    when-UNTIL/-before-APPR-UNTIL  
    “Until when…?”
- **Postpositions proper** – after case particles, before delimiters [2-nd (Post) in (1a)]:

(18) keki-eyse-pwuthe-man-un [(Post)(Delim-1)(Delim-2)] coyonghi hay-la there-LOC/ABL-from.POSTPOS-only-TOP quiet be-IMPER “Be quiet at least from here!” [Choi-Jonin 2008: 156]

- **used only in post-nominal or also in post-modifier constructions (extension):**

Nouns in relational use – post-nominal
Bound relational nouns – vary (Sino-Korean nuns allow post-modifier position more often):

(19)a. sip-chil-il **ihwu** [Martin 1992: 558]
    ten-seven-day after “after the seventeenth”

b. Ku i-nun [Sewul-ey o-n]-ihwu this man-TOP [Seoul-LOC/DIR come-PART]-after
wuli cip-eyse sal-ko iss-ta we house-LOC/ABL live-CONV exist-DECL
   “He has been living in our house since he came to Seoul”

   [he-NOM arrive-NOMIN/ * -PART] before “Before his arrival”

Postpositions proper – post-nominal

**Conclusion:** low degree of grammaticalization for denominative postpositions (Steps 1-2, bleaching and extension, no full decategorization or phonetic reduction) – cf. [Choi-Jonin’s 2008] conclusions.

Localization markers (‘In’, ‘Super’, ‘Post’, etc.) in Caucasian languages are grammaticalized inflection: they occur after certain inflection markers, e.g., Pl, and before direction case markers, such as El [Ganenkov, Merdanova 2002: 133, 135]:

(20)a. če **Xul-ar-i-** ū Xal ū-a-a [Agul]
   our:Excl house-PL-O-Inter two house.PL.Gen Inter:be_situated-Prs “Two houses are situated between our houses”

b. **za-l-as** al-āl-arx!
   I:O-Super-EL Super-El-fall “Leave me alone!”


- inflection (GEN) on the preceding noun:

Free relational nouns – GEN is possible only after ANIMATE nouns:
(21) a. Sensayng-nim(-uy)  twi-ey-nun  ku-uy
    teacher-HON(-GEN)  behind-LOC-TOP  he-GEN
    swuceyca-ka  ka-ko  iss-ta
    best_student-NOM  go-CONV  exist-DECL
    “The Teacher’s best student is going behind him”

    b. Cip(-uy)  twi
    house(-GEN)  behind
    “behind the house”

Bound relational nouns – GEN is impossible

(22)  kihan(-uy)  cen-ey
    date/term(-GEN)  before-LOC  “before the (fixed) date/term”  [cf.
    (17a)]

– adverb insertion:

Possible only with free relational nouns:

(23)a. Ku  namwu  palo  mith-ey-nun  khonkhulithu
    this  tree  just  under-LOC-TOP  concrete
    phan-tul-i  nohi-e  iss-ess-ta
    slab-PL-NOM  lie-INF  exist-PAST-DECL
    “Concrete slabs were lying just under the tree”  [also: namwu has the ku modifier]

b. (cenghwakhi) kihan  ('cenghakhi) cen-ey
    (exactly)  date/term  ('exactly)  before-LOC
    “exactly before the date/term”

- omission/ ellipsis of the preceding noun:

Free relational nouns – possible (24):

(24)Ku-ka  palo  ku/ i/ Ø  wi-lul  cinaka-l  kka  yo?
    he-NOM  just  this/ it/ Ø  on-ACC  pass-PRT.FT  Q  POL
    “Will he step directly on/ through this?”  [e.g., a pool of paint (mentioned earlier)]

Bound nouns – omission MUST be impossible. Cases without pronoun: only
sentence-initially; “Ku ‘this’ + reason.POSTPOS”: (ku) ttaymwun-ey ‘because of
’t [Martin 1992: 131]:

(25)a. Na/ 'Nay  ttaymwun-ey
    I.NOM/ I.GEN  reason-LOC  “because of me”

b. [Pi-ka  o-ki/ 'o-n]  ttaymwun-ey
    [rain-NOM  come-NOMIN/’come-PART]  reason-LOC
    “Because it is raining”
(Ku) ttaymwun-ey cip-ey isess-ta
(this) reason-LOC house-LOC exist-PAST-DECL
“Therefore, (he) was at home”

- ability to form adverbs with LOC/DIR, LOC/ABL, DIR/INSTR:

Mostly with free relational nouns, but also with bound nouns:

From [Mazur, Nikola’skin 1991], [Martin 1992]:


Bound: with i/ku ‘it/ this’: ku cen-ey ‘this before-LOC’ “before”; ku hwu-ey ‘this after-LOC’ “later”; ku pakk-ey ‘this exception-LOC’ “besides that”; i oy(-ey) ‘it besides(-LOC)’ “besides it”. Also see (25c).

- formation of modifier/ genitive nouns containing the postposition:

Free nouns – less often than bound nouns:

From [Mazur, Nikola’skin 1991], [Martin 1992]:

(VI) cangsi-oy ‘fixed_time-besides’ “off-hour”, cf. *cangsi-pakk-ey [oy is Sino-Korean, pakk is Native-Korean];

cen-hwu-uy ‘war.AFFIX-after-GEN’/ cencayng-hwu-uy ‘war-after-GEN’ “post-war”,
cf. *cen(cayng)-twi-uy [hwu is Sino-Korean, twi ‘back/ behind/ after’ (ku twi-ey ‘this after-LOC’ “after that”, cf. (21a-b)) is Native Korean];

kenchwuk cwung-uy cip ‘construction during-LOC house’ “house under construction”;

Free nouns as prefixes [Kholodovič 1954: 209]:

aph-i ‘front-tooth’ “front teeth”, twi-ssan ‘back-mountain’ “mountain behind [the house/ the village]”

The head in such modifiers (especially if they are lexicalized) is the N-argument rather than the relational (bound) morpheme (see (32b-c), [Stump 2001: 96-137].

[^9]: Bound nouns are often Sino-Korean; complex words are more often formed with Sino-Korean rather than Native Korean morphemes.
additional test: constructions (with ancient –s ‘GEN’) with the relational noun in the modifier position - [Choi-Jonin 2008: 166]:

(26)a. alay-s maul
    lower_region-’GEN village “The village below” [our village]

Bound nouns as modifier prefixes: cen ‘after’ ((17a), (19c)), ha ‘botom/under’

From [Martin 1992: 443, 514]:

(26)b. cen swusang c. ha(-uy) cito
    former Prime-Minister under(-GEN) direction
    “ex-Prime Minister” “under the direction” [cf. (27)]

(27) cito ha-ey
    direction under-LOC “under the direction” [Kholodovič 1954: 216]

3. Subcategorizing properties: relevant for verbal postpositions and (????) postpositions proper.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Denominative</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Proper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. **Degree of grammaticalization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homonymous non-relational noun</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>YES/NO</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inflection on postposition</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES/NO</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative position to case inflection</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>After</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only postnominal</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES/NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Free or bound**

| GEN on the preceding noun      | YES/NO | NO | x | X |
| Adverb insertion               | YES | NO | x | X |
| Ellipsis of the preceding noun | YES | NO | x | X |
| Adverb with LOC/DIR (GEN)      | YES | NO/YES | x | X |
| Modifier (with 'GEN (-s))      | YES/NO | YES/NO | x | X |

3. **Subcategorizing properties**

| x | + | X |

**Conclusion**: bound nouns are more grammaticalized than free nouns, but they cannot be considered particles because of their relative order with case markers (particles) and of their ability to form an adverb and to be a noun modifier/ component of a complex noun modifier. Degree of grammaticalization varies individually.

4. **Denominative postpositions – relational nouns, bound nouns, incorporation analysis**

Ban on GEN in case of non-animate noun with free denominative postposition (21a-b) implies the option of noun-into-postposition incorporation, as in [Hale 2003] (sec. 2.3), or compounding/ lexical incorporation, as in [Hualde 2002] (sec. 2.1).

Lexical incorporation (LI, compounding) vs. Syntactic incorporation (NI, [Baker 1988, 2009]) vs. Phrasal noun incorporation (PhNI).

- **LI, NI** – X (head) is incorporated

- **Only NI** – restrictions on the incorporated N’s referential status (indefinite, generic)
- **PhNI** — 1. The incorporated entity (IN) can be a constituent (Paiwan, Tongan) [Wu, H. Chang 2005]; [Ball 2005];


**Pros and contras of incorporation analysis for relational noun constructions above** (based on Table 1 from [Wu, H. Chang 2005]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decrease of (clause) valence [W&amp;Ch]</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>YES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case stripping [W&amp;Ch]</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP incorporation [W&amp;Ch]</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier stranding [W&amp;Ch]</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES (29a-b)</td>
<td>YES (31c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strict adjacency</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES (?)</td>
<td>NO (23a), (30a)</td>
<td>YES (23b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraction of the IN</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES (?)</td>
<td>NO (30a-b)</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of the referential properties of IN</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO (23a)</td>
<td>NO (31a-c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammaticalization of the head (Y) into which IN incorporates</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO (Sec.3.2)</td>
<td>YES (Sec.3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility of changing the categorical status of [IN + Y]</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>YES/NO (IV); Table 1, box 2</td>
<td>YES (IV); Table 1, box 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(28)a. John-i sey sikan [chwichim(-ul) hay]-ss-ta
   John-NOM three hour [sleep.NOUN(-ACC) do]-PAST-DECL
   “John slept for three hours” [Park 1995: 321]

b. John-i ku cosen-ul [cosa(-tul) hay]-ss-ta
“John investigated the accident”

(29)a. Na-nun [hoswu kakkai-ey cala-ko iss-nun]
I-TOP [pond close_to-LOC grow-CONV exist-PART]
namwu mith-ey anc-a iss-ess-ta
 tree under-LOC sit-INFIN exist-PAST-DECL
“I was sitting under a tree growing not far from the pond”

b. Khun hoswu twi-ey olaytoyn seng-i iss-ta
big pond behind-LOC ancient castle-NOM exist-DECL
“There is an old castle behind the big pond”

(30)a. Nwukwu(-uy) (palo) twi-ey Sensayng-nim-i seiss-ni?
who(-GEN) (just) behind-DAT teacher-HON-NOM stand-QUEST
“(Exactly) behind who(m) is standing the teacher?”

b. Nwukwu(-uy) Sensayng-nim-i seiss-ni ... (palo) twi-ey-nun?
who(-GEN) teacher-HON-NOM stand-QUEST (just) behind-DAT

Sencong after “after [King] Seycong”/ “after K.S.’s reign [+definite]”

next-month during-LOC “Sometime during next month [+definite]”

c. I twul cwung-eyse enu kes-i coh-un ya?
this two among-LOC/ABL any thing-NOM good-PART QUEST
“Which one of these two is better”

Conclusions: (i) constructions with relational nouns are similar to syntactic NI;
(ii) (GEN) modifier-formation ability (III) makes relational nouns similar to LI/compounding (32a-c).

Head in a construction with a relational noun – postposition (cf. P as head of PostP, (32a)); (GEN) modifier cases can be (a) considered derivational, then the N-“argument” is head, (32b); (b) the relational noun can be also considered head (32c).

(32)a. PostP [for (21b]
(3) N
| 2 | N
| tN | Post | cangsi oy
| | | ‘fixed_time’ ‘besides’
| | cip twi(-ey) | “off-hour” [+lexicalized]

b. N
| 3 | Post
| 2 |

(32)b. Post
| 1 | N
| 2 | N
| 3 | Post
| 1 | N
| 2 | N
Conclusions:

1. Nouns with locative meaning in their relational (relative location) use get partially grammaticalized in the construction with the ‘argument’ noun. They preserve basic grammatical nominal properties, but they can:

   - undergo shift to grammatical meaning (bleaching), and start being used in non-spatial relational meaning (temporal, abstract);
   - undergo inflection reduction - partial decategorization;
   - extend to post-modifier position (position after participle modifiers), besides post-nominal position - extension
   - lose free use and becomes bound, to an individual degree in each case.

2. Relational noun and its argument most often form a tight juxtaposition construction which has essential features of syntactic incorporation of the ‘argument’ noun into the relational (bound) noun.

References:


