

Elena Rudnitskaya, Moscow, IV RAN, erudnitskaya@gmail.com  
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## Postposition constructions in Korean: morphology and syntax\*

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

Main grammatical positions<sup>1</sup> 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<sub>CONTR.FOCUS</sub>” [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]

Case markers<sup>2</sup> as clitic-like phrasal affixes/ group flection (some essential properties): [Pullum, Zwicky 1983: 503-504], [Cho, Sells 1995]; [Yoon 1995]; [Lapointe 1996: 76], [Plungian 2000: 21, 33]:

- 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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<sup>1</sup> The Yale transliteration is used. Under the (Post) position, a position for an indirect/ oblique case clitic is meant. **Direct/ structural cases:** *-i/-ka* ‘NOM’, *-(l)ul* ‘ACC’, *-uy* ‘GEN’ – position [DELIM-2] in (1a); **Indirect/ oblique cases:** *-eykey* ‘DAT’, *-ey* ‘LOC/DIR’, *-(u)lo* ‘DIR/INSTR’, *-eyse* ‘LOC/ABL’, *-(k)wa* ‘COMMIT’, *-pota* ‘COMPAR’ – position [Post]; other *-(y)a/(i)ye* ‘VOC’.

**Delimiter particles:** *-to* ‘ALSO’, *-ccum* ‘APPROXIMATELY’, *-man* ‘ONLY’, *-cocha* ‘even’, etc. – position [DELIM-1]

<sup>2</sup> We consider only examples for direct/ structural case markers as having most clitic properties.



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) **таг** **путаптэ=ңа=Ø**                                    **шинкы=н**                                    **помна**  
       here            jump\_out=AOR-SUBJ/3Sg   holy\_place\_of\_a\_hut=GENsg<sup>4</sup>  
       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**<sup>5</sup>:

- (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).

<sup>4</sup> As [Koškareva 2005: 57-58] notes, plural nouns have no/ null GEN marker, or have an irregular/ idiomatic GEN form.

<sup>5</sup> Typological parallels: juxtaposition in a possessive construction with a relational noun/ with inalienable possession, and a more complicated construction otherwise: [Plungian 1997: 261] (African languages); [Osumi 1996: 439] (Austronesian), [Lander 2003] (West Indonesian), [Graščenkov 2006] (Turkic) [*Синтаксис и типология генитивной группы*. (Genitive NP syntax and typology), PhD., МГУ].

- [Hualde 2002: 326] – for location use of relational nouns, Step 2 is reformulated as “noun requires specialized idiomatic relational usage”.

- [Kholodovič 1954: 207] (for Korean); [Boldyrev 2007]<sup>6</sup> (for Evenki); [Trofimova 2007] (for Udehe) – grammatical meaning of the relational noun in a locative construction implies grammaticalization of such uses. [Trofimova 2007] calls the [POSTPOS + CASE] complex in Udehe “**analytic case**”.

### 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.      treanrü                      rri      hara      **nrùwù-mwâ**  
Tinrin  
          people              3pl   eat    inside-house  
          “People ate **inside the house**”  
      b.      u      jorri      **nrùwù-mwâ**   a      haru  
          1sg   see   inside-house   AT   good  
          “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                      Navajo  
      2sg-1sg-tickle                      2sg   2sg-1sg-tickle  
      “I tickle you”                      “I tickle YOU”                      [ni-, sh- -arguments]

- (12)a. **lééchaq̣’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. **lééchaq̣’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])

<sup>6</sup> Boldyrev, B.V. (2007). *Морфология эвенкийского языка* (Morphology of Evenki), СО РАН, Институт филологии, Новосибирск: «Наука».



– **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’.

**Sino-Korean** – [Kholodovich 1954: 216]: *nay* ‘in’, *cen* ‘before’, *hwu* ‘after’, *cwung* (1) ‘among’, (2) ‘during’; sometimes only non-spatial meaning.

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:**

**Relational nouns in spatio-temporal use** – nominal inflection (any case/ delimiter particle) – S.-K. Hwang.

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

- (14) a      **Wi-lul**                      *poa-la*                      b.      **Alay-uy**                      *kul*  
           top-ACC                      see-IMP                      lower\_region-GEN                      writing  
           “Look in an upside direction!”                      “Writing below”
- c.      **Aph-i** *khamkhamha-ta*  
           front-NOM                      be\_obscure\_DECL  
           “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).

[Martin 1992: 802]; [Mazur, Nikol'skij 1991: 393]<sup>8</sup> – N [DAT] + *tayha-ye/ tayha-n* – forms of *tayha-ta* ‘concern, be about’.

(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** b. \*kihan-ey-cen [postposition]  
 date/term **before-LOC** **date/term-DAT-before**  
 “before the (fixed) date/term” [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...?”

<sup>8</sup> Mazur, Yu.N., L.B. Niko'skij (1991). *Русско-корейский словарь*, (Russian-Korean dictionary), Изд. «Тона чхульпханса», Сеул, Корея, переиздание словаря 1988 г. (Изд. «Русский язык»).

- **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 nouns 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”
- c. [Ku-ka tochakha-ki/ \*tochakha-n] **cen** [Martin 1992:  
 443]  
 [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-** ʒu Xal ʒa-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-āṭ-arx!  
 I:O-**Super-El** Super-El-fall “Leave me alone!”

**3.2.2. Free or bound - only for denominative postpositions; see characteristic particle/ affix criteria in:** [Pullum, Zwicky 1983: 503-504]; [Cho, Sells 1995]; [Yoon 1995]; [Lapointe 1996: 76]; [Sohn 1999: 270-271]; [Plungian 2000: 21, 33].

- **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’ [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”

- c. (Ku) **ttaymwun-ey** cip-ey            iss-ess-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, Nikol'skij 1991], [Martin 1992]:

(III) **Free:** *twi-lo/ twi-ey* ‘behind-DIR/INSTR / behind-LOC/DIR’ “backwards”; *twi-eyse* ‘behind-LOC/ABL’ “behind”; *aph-ulo* ‘front-DIR/INSTR’ “forward”; *aph-ey (se)* ‘front-LOC’ “in front/ ahead”; *mith-ey* ‘bottom-LOC’ “at the bottom/ below”; *wi-lo* ‘top-DIR/INSTR’ “upward”; *wi-ey(se)* ‘top-LOC’ “at the top/ above”.

**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<sup>9</sup>:**

From [Mazur, Nikol'skij 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];

**BUT:** *ttang-sok-uy* ‘earth-inside-GEN’ “subterranean”, cf. \**ttang-nay-uy* ‘earth-in-GEN’ [*nay* is Sino-Korean and bound noun, *sok* is Native Korean and free noun]; *kenchwuk cwung<sub>2</sub>-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].

<sup>9</sup> Bound nouns are often Sino-Korean; complex words are more often formed with Sino-Korean rather than Native Korean morphemes.



<b>1. Degree of grammaticalization</b>	Homonymous non-relational noun	YES	YES/NO	x	X
	Inflection on postposition	YES	YES/NO	YES/NO	--
	Relative position to case inflection	before	before	x	After
	Only postnominal	YES	YES/NO	YES	YES
<b>2. Free or bound</b>	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	YES	NO/YES	x	X
	(GEN) modifier containing postposition	YES/NO	YES/NO	x	X
	Modifier (with *GEN (-s))	YES	YES/NO	x	X
<b>3. Subcategorizing properties</b>	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];

2. Juxtaposition with semantic or syntactic features similar to incorporation (Persian, West Indonesia, Korean) [Modaressi, Simonenko 2008]; [Lander 2003]; Korean: merge of a verbal noun and the auxiliary *ha-ta* ‘do’ [Park 1995: 321]; [Kim 1997] (Korean), (28a-b).

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

**Table 2**

	LI/ compounding	NI	PhNI	Juxtaposition - possessive/ genitive constructions	Free relational nouns case	Bound relational nouns case
Decrease of (clause) valence [W&Ch]	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Case stripping [W&Ch]	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
XP incorporation [W&Ch]	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Modifier stranding [W&Ch]	NO	YES / NO	NO	YES	YES (29a-b)	YES (31c)
Strict adjacency	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	NO (23a), (30a)	YES (23b)
Extraction of the IN	NO	NO	NO	YES (?)	NO (30a-b)	NO
Change of the referential properties of IN	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO (23a)	NO (31a-c)
Grammaticalization of the head (Y) into which IN incorporates	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO (Sec.3.2)	YES (Sec.3.2)
Possibility of changing the categorical status of [IN + Y]	YES	YES	YES	?	YES/NO (IV); Table 1, box 2	YES (IV); Table 1, box 2

(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(-**ul**)            hay]-ss-ta

John-MON this accident-ACC [investigation(-ACC) do]-PAST-DECL

“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

(31)a. **Seycong** ihwu [Martin 1992: 558]  
Sencong after “after [King] Seycong”/ “after K.S.’s **reign** [+definite]”

b. **Nay-tal** cwung<sub>2</sub>-ey [Martin 1992: 463]  
next-month during-LOC “Sometime during **next month** [+definite]”

c. **I** twul cwung<sub>1</sub>-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  
NP Post  
| 2  
t<sub>N</sub> N Post  
| |  
cip twi(-ey)

b. N  
N<sub>H</sub> N  
| |  
cangsi oy  
‘fixed\_time’ ‘besides’  
“off-hour” [+lexicalized]

c. Post  
3  
NP Post  
| 2

$t_N$	N	Post
	kenchwuk	cwung-uy
	‘construction’	‘under-GEN’
	“(building) under construction” [-lexicalized]	

**Caucasian languages:** [Lander, in print] – incorporation of nouns into inflected orientation markers (often derivationally related to postpositions) in Tantin Dargwa locative constructions, Lander’s exx. (16)-(17).

## 5. 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.**

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