

The licensing of adnominal PPs: The case of Basque -ko

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Like a number of other languages, Basque displays an attributive linker morpheme, connecting a modifying phrase to a head noun. While the morpheme *-ko* associates with some other categories, this talk focuses on PPs. For a PP to be used as a modifier of a noun the linker morpheme needs to appear at the right edge – note that Basque is head-final – of the phrase, otherwise ungrammaticality ensues, cf. (1) and (2).

According to a class of recent proposals on the structure of attributes, they are headed by a functional category that links the attributive phrase to a head noun. Therefore, either a new functional category Mod is put forward to accomodate the facts of attributive linkers (Rubin 2002), or the category under consideration is identified as a C-like item (cf. Struckmeier 2009 on DP internal Case-Number-Gender agreement in German, von Prince 2008 on attributive linkers in Mandarin Chinese, Hindi and Swahili). On the other hand, den Dikken & Singhapreecha (2004) suggest that these linkers mark inversion of the attributive predicate around its subject, which corresponds to the head noun (Predicate Inversion).

Furthermore, recent approaches to the internal structure of PPs argue for a rich structure in the extended projection of P, parallelling in a way the extended projections of the nominal and sentential domains. In particular, den Dikken (2006) has a C projection closing off the projection of P.

I argue for a functional category at the higher end of the projection of attributive PPs, linking them to the head noun. I suggest that it parallels Struckmeier's (2009) referential type of subordinate/restrictive reference to sets of individuals (3), introduced on the basis on NP-internal agreement in German. The obligatoriness of the linker can be accounted for if this category needs to be realized by the morpheme *-ko*.

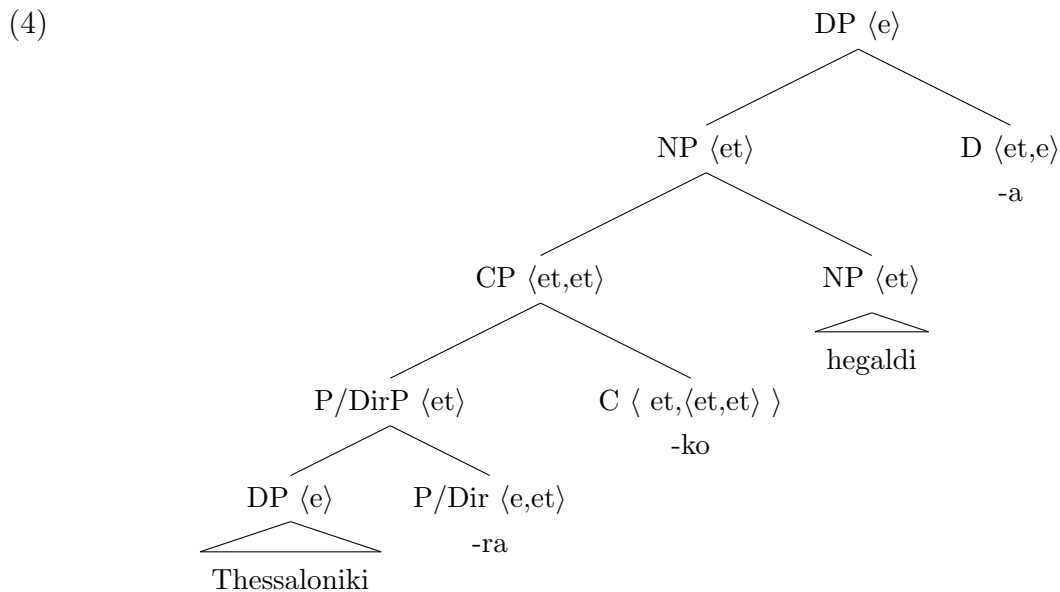
On a semantic note, a simplification of the interpretive component can be achieved by analyzing the morpheme in question as an operator of type $\langle\langle e,t \rangle, \langle\langle e,t \rangle, \langle e,t \rangle\rangle\rangle$ that allows for the composition of the adnominal PP with its head noun in a way that dispenses with Predicate Modification and makes use of only one semantic operation: Functional Application (Heim & Kratzer 1998). The assumption that Predicate Modification is not a viable semantic operation in Basque also adds a semantic aspect to the explanation for the obligatoriness of the linker morpheme: We need to get a constituent of a semantic type capable to compose with the head noun via Functional Application, cf. the tree in (4). If this "type-adjustment" fails to take place, the composition of the head noun and its attribute will not be possible.

- (1) [_{DP} euskara-z-*(ko) hitzaldi-a]
 Basque-INSTR-KO lecture-DET
 “a lecture (given) in Basque”

- (2) Thessaloniki-ra-ko hegaldi-a
 Thessaloniki-ALL-KO flight-DET
 “the flight to Thessaloniki”

- (3) Struckmeier’s (2009) R heads

	<u>Reference to sets of indices</u>	<u>Reference to sets of individuals</u>
<u>Matrix</u>	CP (head = V_{fin} in German)	DP (head = D in German)
<u>Subordinate</u>	CP (head = complementizer)	Attribute (head = attributizing morphology in German)



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