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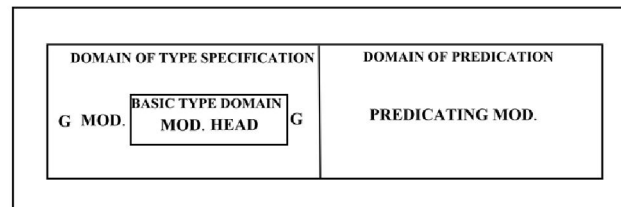
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Type specification and predication in NPs:
A Cognitive Grammar analysis



This talk will be concerned with noun phrases in Norwegian, and particularly with modifiers of the head noun within the noun phrase. Although the data will mainly be drawn from Norwegian, the account may be applicable also to some other languages, like English.

The Norwegian NP



ei	rød	bøtte	full av vann
a	red	bucket	full of water
den	fine	koppen	på bordet
the	nice	cup.DEF	on table.DEF

The idea that will be explored is that there are two domains of modification in the noun phrase, namely what I call the domain of type specification and what I call the domain of predication. The domain of type specification includes the head noun and pre-head modifiers, for example *red bucket* in the first example. This domain is so to speak surrounded by grounding elements like determiners, possessives and the definiteness suffix; in Norwegian, nouns are inflected for definiteness, as you can see in the second example. These grounding elements are indicated by the Gs in the figure. Within the domain of type specification, there seems to be a smaller domain which I refer to as the basic type domain. The basic type includes only the head and the modifier closest to the head in pre-head position.

Post-head modifiers are in the domain of predication; in this domain, I will argue that the modifiers predicate properties about the profile of the instantiated noun type. For example, the adjective phrase *full of water* predicates something about *red bucket*, which is the instantiated noun type in this case. The main evidence for these two domains in the noun phrase come from the different behaviours of adjectives in the different positions. To sum up, the main point of this illustration is that there are systematic

differences between pre-head modifiers and post-head modifiers.

Outline:

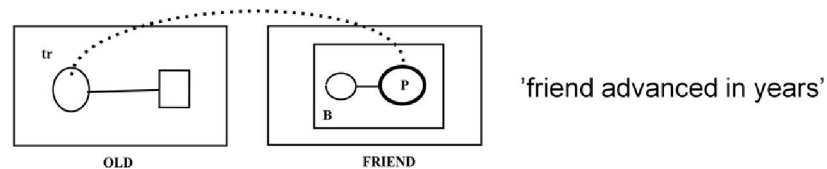
- Systematic differences between pre-head- and post-head modifiers
 - Different combinations of noun + adj, «the *old friend* problem» (Taylor 1992)
 - The common features of post-head attributives and predicatives
 - Combinations of adjectives
 - Agreement features
 - Different possibilities of valency realisation
 - The No Complement Restriction on pre-head attributives as a restriction in the basic type domain

The outline of the talk is as follows. We will start with the “*old friend* problem” discussed for example by Taylor (1992), which is an important basis for my analysis. I will also show that post-head attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives have several common features that set them apart from pre-head attributives, both when it comes to combinations of adjectives and when it comes to agreement features. Finally, we shall see that there are systematic differences in the possibilities of valency realisation between pre-head adjectives and adjectives in post-head position. I will also argue that the No Complement Restriction on pre-head attributives is a restriction in the basic type domain.

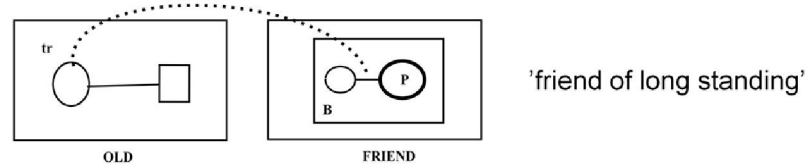
The *old friend* problem (Taylor 1992)

(1) old friend

a.



b.



The combination *old friend* can, among other possible meanings denote 'friend advanced in years' or a 'friend of long standing'. In the first case, the adjective combines exclusively with the profile of the noun, as illustrated in figure (a). In the second case, the adjective combines with a part of the noun's semantic base, which we can refer to as INTERPERSONAL RELATION, as we see in figure (b), where the adjective combines with this part of the noun's semantic structure.

(2) My friend is old

"A nominal ('noun phrase') is a semantic island in the sense that non-profiled entities in its semantic structure are insulated from any kind of interaction with the semantic structure of expressions with which the nominal enters into a valence relation" (Taylor 1992: 30)

When the adjective is predicative, on the other hand, only a reading where the adjective combines with the profile of the noun is possible. *My friend is old* can only mean 'my friend is advanced in years'. Taylor argues that "A nominal ('noun phrase') is a semantic island in the sense that non-profiled entities in its semantic structure are insulated from any kind of interaction with the semantic structure of expressions with which the nominal enters into a valence relation" (Taylor 1992: 30). Hence, predicatives can only combine with the profile of the noun.

Now, my claim will be that we can observe systematic differences between pre-head and post-head modifiers also within the noun phrase and that post-head modifiers behave much in the same way as do predicatives like *old* in (2).

- (3) a. økonomisk politikk
economic policy
'economic policy'
- b. Politikken er økonomisk
Policy.DEF is economic
'The policy is economical'

We can observe the same differences between pre-head attributives and predicatives in Norwegian, and the following examples are taken from my dissertation (Haugen 2012). When the adjective is a pre-head attributive as in (3a), the combination *økonomisk politikk* 'economic policy' is ambiguous in that it can both mean 'a policy regarding economy' and 'a policy which is thrifty'. Only the latter reading is possible when the adjective is predicative as in (3b).

- (4) *økonomisk økonomisk politikk*
 economic economic policy
 ‘economical economic policy’

The combination *økonomisk politikk* can also be used to show that the pre-head modifier position closest to the noun is a privileged position. The combination, *økonomisk politikk*, which constitutes a more specific noun type than the noun *politikk* can even be modified by the same adjective, and we get the reading ‘a policy regarding economy and which is thrifty’. This indicates that the noun and the modifier closest to the noun in pre-head position form a constituent. This constituent is further modified by the outer modifier. This distinction is referred to as a distinction between inner and outer modification by Larson (2000). The head noun and the closest modifier in pre-head position constitute what I refer to as the basic type domain.

The common features of post-head attributives and predicatives

- (5) ein lang raud penn
 a long red pen
 ‘a long red pen’

Different possibilities for combinations of adjectives are also important evidence for the common features of post-head attributives and predicatives. In pre-head attributive position, adjectives can be combined in different ways without the use of an explicit conjunction, as we see in the example in (5).

- (6)
- a. *Pennene er lang raud
Pen.DEF is long red
 - b. Pennene er lang og raud
Pen.DEF is long and red
'The pen is long and red'
 - c. *ein penn lang raud
a pen long red
 - d. ?ein penn lang og raud
a pen long and red

In predicative function, on the other hand, two adjectives cannot be coordinated without an explicit conjunction, as we see in (6a), whereas the example with the conjunction *og* in (b) is fine. This feature of predicative adjectives has also been pointed out by Ferris (1993), who discusses English. In (c) and (d) we see that the same is valid for post-head attributives; the example in (d) is much more acceptable than the example in (c). The reason why the example in (d) is not fully acceptable, is that a post-head attributive needs to take some kind of complementation in Norwegian.

(7)

- a. ein gut lik far sin og avhengig av mor si
a boy like his father and dependent of mother his
'A boy who is similar to his father and dependent upon his mother'
- b. *ein gut lik far sin avhengig av mor si
a boy like father his dependent of mother his

In (7a) we see that post-head attributives can be coordinated when they take a complementation, but that coordination is not possible without an explicit conjunction, as we see in (7b). Hence, post-head attributives behave like predicatives.

(8)

- c. et rådhus likt det ordføreren i Vefsn har som tilholdssted
a city.hall.N.SG like.N.SG that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as habitat
'A city hall like the one the mayor of Vefsn has as his habitat'
- d. et rådhus lik det ordføreren i Vefsn har som tilholdssted
a city.hall.N.SG like.M/F.SG that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as habitat
(LNC)

'A city hall like the one the mayor of Vefsn has as his habitat'
- e. et rådhus som er likt det ordføreren i Vefsn har som tilholdssted
a city.hall.N.SG which is like.N.SG that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as habitat
'A city hall which is like the one the mayor of Vefsn has as his habitat'
- f. et rådhus som er lik det ordføreren i Vefsn har som
a city.hall.N.SG which is like.M/F.SG that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as
tilholdssted
habitat
'A city hall which is like the one the mayor of Vefsn has as his habitat'

This is also the case when it comes to agreement between the adjective and the noun. In Norwegian, adjectives normally agree with nouns in gender and number, both in attributive and in predicative function, but some adjectives tend to lack agreement with the noun when they occur with a complement. In (8) we have the adjective *lik* meaning 'similar', which is used in post-head attributive position in (c) and (d). In this case the adjective can agree with the noun in gender and number, as we see in (c), but it is also fully acceptable for the adjective to lack agreement as we see in (d). In (e) and (f) we see that the same is valid when the adjective has a predicative function in a relative clause. Hence, also when it comes to agreement features, post-head attributives and predicatives behave in the same way.

(9)

- a. et likt rådhus som det ordføreren i Vefsn har som tilholdssted
a like.N.SG city.hall.N.SG as that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as habitat
'A city hall like the one the mayor of Vefsn has as his habitat'
- b. *et lik rådhus som det ordføreren i Vefsn har som tilholdssted
a like.M/F.SG city.hall.N.SG as that mayor.DEF in Vefsn has as habitat

If we look at pre-head attributives, on the other hand, agreement between the adjective and the noun is obligatory as we see in (9).

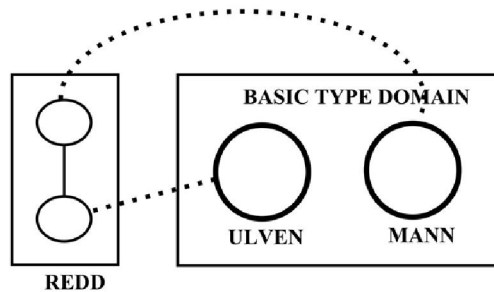
The valency of adjectives

- (10)
- a. Tønna er full av vann
Barrel.DEF is full of water
'The barrel is full of water'
- b. Mannen er redd ulven
Man.DEF is afraid wolf.DEF
'The man is afraid of the wolf'

We will now move on to the valency of adjectives. There are also systematic differences between pre-head and post-head adjectives when it comes to the possibilities of valency realisation. As we see in (10), predicative adjectives can take complements, in (a) the adjective *full* 'full' takes a prepositional complement, and in (b), the adjective *redd* 'afraid' takes a noun phrase complement.

- (11)
- a. en full tønne
a full barrel
'a full barrel'
 - b. *en full av vann tønne
a full of water barrel
 - c. *en av vann full tønne
an of water full barrel
 - d. en redd mann
an afraid man
'a scared man'
 - e. *en redd ulven mann
an afraid wolf.DEF man
 - f. *en ulven redd mann
a wolf.DEF afraid man

When these adjectives occur as pre-head modifiers, on the other hand, they cannot take complements; we see that the prepositional complement can neither follow the adjective as in (11b) nor precede the adjective as in (c), and we see that the same goes for the noun phrase complement in (e) and (f). This is the No Complement Restriction, discussed for example by Bouchard (2002) and Cabredo Hofherr (2010) for French and English.



In the model I propose, this restriction is found in the basic type domain, where it seems like only one thing, in the technical sense of Cognitive Grammar, can occur. This figure shows a violation of this constraint, where a noun phrase complement follows the adjective in pre-head position so that two nouns are found in this domain. Hence, the constraint may be accounted for by the claim that a noun only profiles a thing, not a relation.

- (12) a. eit lønnsoppgjør *likt/likt alle andre (LNC)
a wage.settlement like/like all others
'a wage settlement similar to all others'
- b. ein selskapsdel *avhengig/avhengig av prestasjon i høve til
a company.part dependent/dependent of performance in relation to
budsjettet (LNC)
budget.DEF
'a part of the company dependent on performance in relation to the budget'
- c. ein fest *full/full av humor (LNC)
a party full/full of humour
'a party full of humour'
- d. ein kropp *fri/fri for eleganse (LNC)
a body free/free for elegance
'a body without elegance'

We have seen that pre-head attributives do not take complements and that predicative adjectives do take complements. The latter is true also for post-head attributives, which need to take complements in Norwegian, as we see in (12). Hence, we have further evidence that post-head modifiers behave differently from pre-head modifiers.

(13)

- a. ei kasse full av epler – ei kasse som er full av epler
a box full of apples – a box which is full of apples
'a box full of apples' – 'a box which is full of apples'
- b. en mann i sin beste alder – en mann som er i sin beste alder
a man in his best age – a man who is in his best age
'a man in his best age' – 'a man who is in his best age'
- c. oppstyret neste dag – oppstyret som var neste dag
fuss.DEF next day – fuss.DEF which was next day
'The fuss the next day' – 'The fuss that occurred the next day'

The final evidence I will show you is the simple fact that most kinds of post-head modifiers can be paraphrased as relative clauses with a copula, equivalent to English *be*. This does of course fit well with the claim that post-head modifiers are all in the domain of predication. In (13a) and (b) we have prepositional phrases, and we have a noun phrase in (c).

(14)

- a. et moderne hus – *et som er moderne hus
a modern house – a which is modern house
- b. den gamle mannen – *den som er gamle mannen
the old man.DEF – the who is old man.DEF
- c. et i sin tid svært moderne hus – *et som i sin tid var svært moderne
an in its time very modern house – a which in its time was very modern
hus
house

Pre-head modifiers, on the other hand, can never be paraphrased as relative clauses as we see in (14).

Conclusions

Pre-head and post-head modifying adjectives behave differently when it comes to:

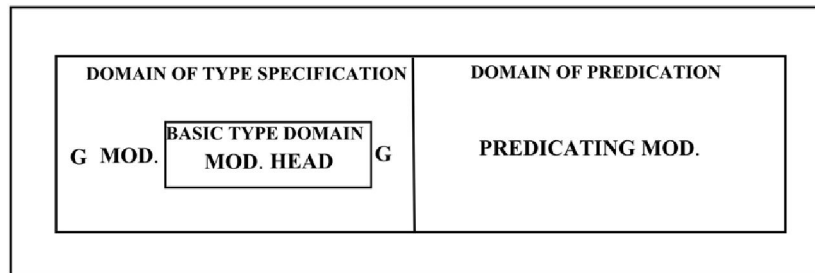
- Combinations of adjectives
- Agreement features
- Valency

Proposal: There are two domains of modification internal to NPs

- The No Complement Restriction on pre-head attributives can be located in the basic type domain

In conclusion, pre-head and post-head modifying adjectives behave systematically different when it comes to combinations of adjectives, when it comes to agreement features, and when it comes to the possibilities of valency realisation. I therefore propose that there are two domains of modification internal to noun phrases, a domain of type specification preceding and including the head and a domain of predication following the head. In this model, the No Complement Restriction on prenominal attributives can be restated as follows: There can only be one THING in the basic type domain.

The Norwegian NP



This is the model once more, with pre-head modifiers in the domain of type specification, and post-head modifiers that predicate something about the instantiated noun type.

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