

The *-ki* suffix annotation in Turkic languages

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- The suffix *-ki-* has been examined in various Turkic languages from multiple perspectives, often yielding divergent results.
- Its interpretation and annotation are **inconsistent** across existing Turkic UD treebanks.
- In this talk, I summarize the outcomes of recent online discussions within the **UD Turkic group**.
- The focus is on **new aspects** of the phenomenon, primarily based on Turkish and Kyrgyz data.

- Our discussions indicate that **two distinct constructions** involve the suffix *-ki-*.
- In the first construction, *-ki-* functions as the **head of a ModP**, licensing locative PPs as nominal modifiers.

(1) [_{ModP} [_{PP} *-loc*] *-ki-* [_N]]

- The second construction is an **anaphoric possessive structure**, specialized for contexts lacking an overt possesum. In this case, *-ki* itself serves as the **pro-form**, i.e. the anaphoric element.

(2) [_{PossP} *N-gen* [*-ki*]]

- From the perspective of the UD framework, three issues are central:
 - Whether the suffix *-ki-*, realized as a bound morpheme, should be **segmented**.
 - Which **POS** tag should be assigned to the construction.
 - How the **syntactic relation** is established within, and outside of, the phrase containing *-ki-*.

- At first sight, three constructions containing the suffix *-ki* can be distinguished:

(3) *oda-da-ki* *çocuk(-lar-ım)*
room-loc-κI child-pl-1sg
N-loc-*ki* N(+Infl)

(4) *oda-da-ki(-ler-im-i)*
room-loc-κI-pl-1sg-acc
N-loc-*ki*(+Infl)

(5) *Ivan'-ın-ki(-nde)*
Ivan-gen-κI-loc
N-gen-*ki*(+Infl)

- First, let us compare the two structures in (3) and (4):

(3) N-loc-*ki* N(+Infl)

(4) N-loc-*ki*(+Infl)

- Structure (3) represents the **regular construction**, where the suffix *-ki-* attaches to a locative-marked noun modifying an overt noun.
- Structure (4), by contrast, lacks an overt noun. This pattern is interpreted as an instance of **regular noun ellipsis**.

(3) N-loc-*ki* N(+Infl)

- Two pieces of evidence support the ellipsis analysis of (4):
 - **Evidence 1:** Lack of concord within the NP when the noun is overt. → If the noun is elided, one of the **modifiers** must take over its **inflection**.

(6) *masa-da-ki kitap-lar-ım-da*
 table-loc-KI book-pl-poss.1sg-loc
 ‘in my books that are on the table’

(7) *masa-da-ki-ler-im-de* N
 table-loc-KI-pl-poss.1sg-loc
 ‘in my ~~books~~ that are on the table’

- **Evidence 2:** The modifier that is **linearly closest** to the elided noun carries the remnant inflection.

(8) *oda-da-ki* *zeki-ler-im* N
 room-loc-KI smart-pl-1sg
 ‘my smart ones in the room’

(9) #*oda-da-ki-ler-im* *zeki* N
 room-loc-KI-pl-1sg smart
 (intended: ‘my smart ones in the room’)

⇒ The resulting construction can be represented as:

(10) N-loc-*ki* (N)

- At first sight, it appears that a noun inflected for locative case takes the suffix *-ki*.
- Beyond nouns, *-ki* can also attach to **PPs** expressing location:

(11) *masa-nın alt-ın-da-ki* *çocuk*
 table-gen under-poss.3sg-loc-ki child
 ‘the child under the table’

- Likewise, *-ki-* can attach to **adverbs** expressing spatial and temporal location:

(12) *Dün-kü* *yemeğ-i yi-yor-um*
yesterday-KI food-acc eat-prog-1sg
‘I am eating the food from yesterday.’ (lit. ‘the
yesterday’s food’)

- Apart from these contexts, the suffix *-ki-* does not appear to be productive.

- As a result, three main constructions with the suffix *-ki-* can be distinguished:

(13) N-loc-*ki* (N)

(14) Adv-*ki* (N)

(15) Postp-loc-*ki* (N)

- We assume that cases and adverbs can be analyzed as postpositions, leading to the generalization (see e.g. Johanson (2021) for adverbs):

(16) PP-*ki* (N)

- Regarding the **function** of *-ki*: it is traditionally assumed to modify a noun and to serve as a derivational suffix forming an adjective (i.e., an adjectivalizer).

Property	Adjective	PP- <i>ki</i>
Position w.r.t. the modified noun	only precedes	only precedes
Intensifier	yes	no/?
Comparative degree	yes	no/?
Predicate complement	yes	no/?
Base for adverb derivation	?	?

Table 1: Comparison of adjectives and PP-*ki* constructions

- As evidenced, [PP-*ki*] does not exhibit adjective-like properties; rather, it behaves as **nominal**.
- Following Kenesei (2014) on the Hungarian *-i-* suffix, we adopted the analysis that *-ki* in Turkic languages functions as the **licensor of locative PPs modifying nouns**. That is, it projects a functional layer, i.e. it is a “function suffix”.

(17) [_{ModP} [_{PP} -loc] -*ki-* [(N)]]

- **Segmentation:** According to UD, “The lemma does not remove derivational morphology.” However, in the case of *-ki*, it is not a derivational suffix but a syntactic operation.
- **UPOS:** Treat the PP as ADP, and *-ki* itself as N.
- **Syntactic relation:** Assign *amod* or *nmod* as appropriate. In cases of ellipsis, apply the “promotion” analysis.

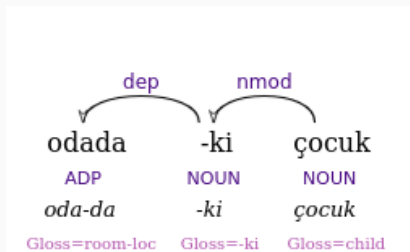


Figure 1: Illustration of the PP-*ki* (N) construction.

- Now, let us turn to the N-gen-*ki* construction.
- The [N-gen-*ki*] construction does **not** involve **noun ellipsis**: inserting a noun is ungrammatical.

(18) *Ivan'-in-ki* **ev-in-de*
 Ivan-gen-KI house-poss.3sg-loc
 intended: 'in Ivan's house'

- The N-gen-*ki* construction can take inflection, and its syntactic behavior resembles that of **ordinary nouns**.

(19) *Bu kitap-lar Ivan'-ın-ki-ler.*
this book-pl Ivan-gen-KI-pl
'These books are Ivan's.'

- In other words, it functions as a noun in its own right and can only serve as a **noun** or a **predicate**.

- Semantically, the N-gen-*ki* construction expresses **anaphoric possession**: expressing belonging and highlighting (and possibly emphasizing) the possessor.
- The construction lacks an overt nominal possessum, with the suffix *-ki* itself serving as the possessum pro-form, i.e., the anaphoric element.

(20) [PossP N-gen [-ki]]

→ The N-gen-*ki* construction is to be analyzed as a regular PossP.

- **Segmentation:** According to UD, “The lemma does not remove derivational morphology.” In the case of *-ki*, however, it is not a derivational suffix but a pro-form.
- **UPOS:** Treat the N-gen construction as NOUN, and *-ki* itself also as NOUN.
- **Syntactic relation:** Assign `nmod : poss`.

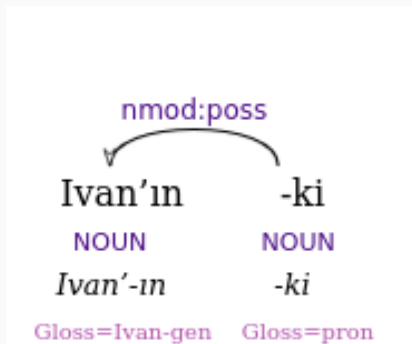


Figure 2: Illustration of the N-gen-*ki* construction.

Thank you!