Adjectival Constructs in Hebrew
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The present paper offers a semantic analysis for a type of adjectival construct which has received a great deal of attention in the theoretical literature, and relates it to a particular phenomenon in the realm of nominal constructs. The adjectival construct is illustrated in (1):

(1) *yalda yefat   cavar*
     girl   beautiful-CS neck   'a girl with a beautiful neck'

This type of construct consists of an adjective in the construct state (CS) (*beautiful* in (1)) which forms a complex semantic relation with its annex *neck* on the one hand, and with its modifiee *girl* on the other hand (Siloni 2000, 2002; Hazout 2000 a.o.). In the spirit of Kim 2002 and Doron&Meir 2009, we make the following proposal for the interpretation of adjectival constructs:

(2)a Given $Adj_{<e,t>}$ and $P_{<e,et>}$, the interpretation of the construct $[Adj_{CS} \circ P]$ is as follows:

$$[Adj_{CS} \circ P]_{<e,t>} \rightsquigarrow \lambda x.\ Adj_{<e,t>}\ (\iota y\ P(x)(y))$$

According to this interpretation, Adj_{CS} *beautiful* in (1) in combination with the relational noun *neck* is interpreted as a property of individuals whose neck is beautiful. This mirrors the interpretation of the nominal construct proposed by Heller 2002:

(2)b Given $N_{<e,et>}$ and DP_e, the interpretation of the construct $N_{CS} \circ DP$ is as follows:

$$[N_{CS} \circ DP]_e \rightsquigarrow \iota y\ N(DP)(y)$$

Our proposal accounts for all the properties of Adj_{CS}:

-- The annex P cannot be modified by adjectives, prepositional phrases and quantifiers (Borer 1996, followed by Siloni, Hazout, Doron&Meir). Our account relies on the relational nature of the annex, whereas these modifiers cannot combine with relational nouns unless those are first shifted to the sortal type et by existentially quantifying one argument.

-- The annex can nevertheless be complex, e.g. the conjunction of two nouns, as noted by Hazout. Our account relies on the fact that conjunction does not change the type of the conjuncts. Moreover, modifiers which apply to the whole AP are possible.

-- We allow the attested lexical variety of relational nouns in the annex, such as body/ spatial parts, abstract attributes, transitive nominalizations, set members, unlike Rothstein 2012 whose account is limited to annexes denoting a mereological part of the modifiee:

(3)a *til   tlul   maslul*
      missile steep-CS trajectory
      'steep-trajectory missile'

b *sxirut qicrat   tvax*
   rental short-CS term
   'short-term rental'

c *motívim behirey céva*
   motifs   light-CS color
   'light-color motifs'

d *sixot   ramot déreg*
   discussions high-CS echelon
   'high-echelon discussions'

e *adam rax   dibur / qtan   emuna*
   person soft-CS speech/ little-CS faith
   'soft-spoken/ skeptical person'

f *masax ópti mehir tguva*
   screen optic fast-CS response
   'fast-response optical screen'

g *ravaqa   merubat mexazrim*
   single(f.) many-CS suitors
   'single woman with many suitors'

h *ra'ayonot qaley bicúa'*
   ideas   easy-CS implementation
   'ideas easy to implement'

-- We account for the lexical restrictions on the annex, which e.g. cannot be kinship terms (Glinert 1989): we rely on the distinction introduced by Doron&Meir (2013) between inter-individual and intra-individual relations. Inter-individual relations are: kinship (mother, uncle...), socially defined (teacher, student), institutionally defined (captain (of a ship), capital (of a country)), telic/agentive qualia based (car/owner, picture/author). Intra-individual relations include part-whole, membership, intrinsic properties, properties derived as nominalized transitive verbs. We argue that only intra-individual relations give rise to the adjectival construct, since only such relations break the symmetry between relata and can be used to form a property of an individual. This explains Siloni's (4), in contrast to (1):

(4) * *yalda yefat   axot*
         girl   beautiful-CS sister   'a girl whose sister is beautiful'

-- We relate the latter restriction on adjectival constructs to a phenomenon in the realm of the nominal construct observed by Borer 1984. In nominal constructs, the annex is required to denote an intra-individual relation in order for a possessive affix of the annex to be reinterpreted as the possessor of the construct as a whole:

(5)a   *[signon ktivat]-o šel agnon šone mi- ze šel mápu*
          style   writing-his of Agnon differs from that of Mapu
          'Agnon's style is different from Mapu's.' (though the suffix *-his* is attached to *writing*
and not to *style*)

  b   *[mivne guf]-o šel ha-dolfin   šone mi- ze   šel ha-livyatan*
          shape body-his of the dophin differs from that of   the whale
          'The dolphin's physique is different from the whale's.'

This is possible for all nominal constructs derived from adjectival constructs, since the relation denoted by the annex in adjectival constructs is required to be intra individual. We illustrate with the nominalization of (3f):

(6)   *[mehirut tguvat]-o ha-meravit šel ha-masax gdola mi- zo   šel ha-miqlédet*
           speed   reaction-its the maximal of the screen bigger than that of the keyboard
          'The maximal reaction speed of the screen is bigger than that of the keyboard.'

but not for nominal constructs in general:

(7) *   *[mehirut mexonit]-o   ha-meravit šel ha-šaxen*
           speed   car   -its the maximal of the neighbour
          'the maximal car speed of the neighbour'

References: **Borer**, H. 1984. *Parametric syntax: Case studies in Semitic and Romance languages*. **Borer**, H. 1996. "The construct in review". *Studies in Afroasiatic grammar*, ed. by J. Lecarme, J. Lowenstamm, and U. Shlonsky, 30–61. **Doron**, E. and I. Meir. 2009. "Definiteness in standard and colloquial Hebrew", talk at BAALL, University Paris7. **Doron**, E. and I. Meir. 2013. "Amount definites". *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes.* Glinert, L. 1989. *The grammar of Modern Hebrew*. **Hazout**, I. 2000. "Adjectival genitive constructions in Modern Hebrew". *The Linguistic Review* 17:29–52. **Heller**, D. 2002. "Possession as a lexical relation: Evidence from the Hebrew construct state. *WCCFL 21*. **Kim**, J. 2002. "Adjectives in construct". *Sinn und Bedeutung VI:* 185–200. **Rothstein**, S. 2012. "Adjectivally headed construct states". Lecture at TAU Linguistics Colloquium. **Siloni**, T. 2000. "Nonnominal constructs". *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar 2*, ed. by J. Lecarme, J. Lowenstamm, and U. Shlonsky, 301–323. **Siloni**, T. 2002. "Adjectival constructs and inalienable constructions". *Themes in Arabic and Hebrew syntax*, ed. by J. Ouhalla and U. Shlonsky, 161–187.