

1 Introduction

This book is a study of a special case of morpho-syntactic derivation which represents a puzzle for morphological theories, namely the case of words which have the semantic interpretation of one category while exhibiting the formal properties of another. These structures are regarded as transpositions by Kuryłowicz (1936) and Spencer (1999). A first important step in dealing with transposition was Kuryłowicz's (1936) distinction between *dérivation lexicale* and *dérivation syntaxique*. *Dérivation syntaxique* is a change in the primary syntactic function, which is, according to Kuryłowicz, part of the meaning of any content word. This change can be realized not only by derivational suffixes, but also by inflection (e.g. case endings) or context (e.g. word order), the lexical meaning (*valeur lexicale*) remaining unaffected. With *dérivation lexicale* additional semantic components come into play, changing the lexical meaning of a content word. It often presupposes *dérivation syntaxique*:

Quand on dit: la hauteur de cette montagne, il ne s'agit pas de la qualité d'être haut, mais de ladimension verticale, et nous nous trouvons [...] en face d'une dérivation à deux étapes:

1 être haut → hauteur (= qualité d'être haut) représente la dérivation syntaxique; 2 hauteur (= qualité d'être haut) → hauteur (= dimension verticale) représente la dérivation lexicale

When you say: the height of this mountain, it is not about the quality to be high, but about the vertical dimension, and we are ... confronted with a derivation in two steps: 1 to be high → height (= the quality of being high) represents the syntactic derivation, 2 height (= the quality of being high) → height (= vertical dimension) is the lexical derivation. (Kuryłowicz 1936: 86)

Kuryłowicz's concern was with the syntax of parts of speech and, hence, his theory regards the ways in which languages change the syntactical and lexical functions of content words. Hence it is a crucial step to a theory of derivation that comprises word-formation, too.

Some years later, Bally (1944) recognizes that relational adjectives are indeed instances of such transpositions as they have the morphological shape of an adjective but behave in many respects like nouns. According to Bally (1944: 97),

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a relational adjective “transpose des substantifs sans rien changer à leur valeur de substantifs” (‘substitutes nouns without changing any aspect of their value as nouns’). Both Kuryłowicz and Bally share the intuition that relational adjectives are semantically “covert nouns” and syntactically adjectives as the result of *dérivation syntaxique*.

In both the Romance and English literature relational adjectives have received special attention from the very beginning, due to their apparently idiosyncratic behavior.

Following Bally (1944), Bosque & Picallo (1996), Giorgi & Longobardi (1991), McNally & Boleda (2004), Demonte (2008) we refer to this class as relational adjectives.

Another term is classificatory adjectives (Cinque 2010, Lin 2008, Morzycki 2004, 2005, Rutkowski & Progovac 2005), though some authors reserve this term for a subclass of relational adjectives (Bosque & Picallo 1996, Arsenijević et al. (2014)). Other terms used in the literature are “associative adjectives” (Giegerich 2005) and “pseudo-adjectives” (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2011). In spite of their ambiguous behavior as both nouns and adjectives, various linguists such as Postal (1969), Levi (1978), Bartning (1980), Bosque & Picallo (1996), Fábregas (2007) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (2011), among others, have all shared the opinion that from a semantic and syntactic point of view, relational adjectives are nouns. In this book, I argue that relational adjectives are underlyingly nouns, but I present evidence that they do not exhibit a homogeneous syntactic behavior. Building on Bosque & Picallo (1996), I divide relational adjectives into two major subclasses: thematic versus classificatory adjectives, and show that this distinction is visible at the semantico-syntactic interpretation: thematic adjectives are arguments of the deverbal noun (either subjects, like ethnic adjectives, or objects) whereas classificatory adjectives do not absorb a theta role – they only introduce a domain in relation to which the object is classified (Bosque & Picallo 1996: 369).

1.1	a. <i>producción</i>	b. <i>excursión</i>	Spanish
	<i>automovilística</i>	<i>automovilística</i>	
	Thematic Adj.	Classificatory Adj.	
	‘car production’	‘car tour’	

Note that the adjective *automovilística* can appear as either a Th(ematic) adjective or a Cl(assificatory) adjective. The thematic status of the adjective in (1.1a) is triggered by the deverbal nature of the noun. *Producción* is a deverbal transitive noun phrase (NP) which lexically licenses a theta role, namely the theme, as the argument of *producción*. The same adjective *automovilística* in (1.1b) appears this time as a classificatory adjective because *excursión* is not a deverbal noun, so it cannot license theta roles.

The aim of this book is to provide a deep understanding of the phenomenon of relational adjectives, not only by presenting in detail the most important literature on the topic but also by offering a fine-grained analysis of the different subclasses of relational adjectives at the morphology–syntax interface. Based on Postal (1969), Levi (1978), Fábregas (2007), Marchis (2010), Marchis Moreno (2015) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (2011), among others, I present several tests that demonstrate the nouniness of relational adjectives. However, this book shows that their number underspecification, their lack of anaphoric binding properties, and their ungrammaticality with complex event nominals may represent counterarguments to their denominal nature. In this connection, I account for the number deficiency of relational adjectives by analyzing them as underspecified nouns with a minimal syntactic structure on a par with that of mass/default nouns proposed by Borer (2005). The novelty of my analysis within the Distributed Morphology Framework is that the number underspecification of relational adjectives is responsible for their idiosyncratic non-nominal properties such as their lack of anaphoric properties and their ungrammaticality with complex event nominals. Specifically, I present a novel study on the parallel between relational adjectives and genitives by regarding their syntactic compatibility with different types of deverbal nominalizations in Romanian. We learn from this that the countability realizes aspect and case in the nominal domain and, since, relational adjectives are number underspecified, they cannot realize the telic aspect of complex event nominals and they cannot count as event identifiers for anaphoric purposes. Moreover, my proposal shows that not all relational adjectives are incompatible with complex event nominals, and, hence, it aims at offering a fine-grained analysis of all subclasses of relational adjectives: thematic, classificatory and ethnic adjectives. As seen in (1.1) relational adjectives do not represent a syntactically homogeneous class. Therefore, Bosque & Picallo (1996) classify them into Th-adjectives, which are arguments of the noun, and Cl-adjectives, which are restrictive modifiers. The analysis I propose goes one step further than the classification of relational adjectives as thematic and classificatory proposed in Bosque & Picallo (1996), namely it accounts for their dual behavior by showing that they correspond to two types of bare plural/mass nouns in Romance languages, i.e., thematic adjectives correspond to argument bare nouns, which are determiner phrases (DPs) while classificatory adjectives correspond to nonargument bare nouns, which act as restrictive modifiers and are nominal phrases in the Distributed Morphology (nPs). This book proposes two hypotheses as diagnostics to distinguish between the two types of relational adjectives:

Hypothesis 1: Thematic Adjectives as Analytic Genitives

The more perceivable the grammatical relations between the relational adjective and the head noun are, the more possible the reconstruction of relational adjectives as **prepositional *de* genitive phrases (de DPs)** is.

Hypothesis 2: The Predicativity of Classificatory Adjectives

If there is a grammatical relation between the relational adjective and the noun head, the relational adjective cannot occur with *cel* in Romanian in nominal ellipses.

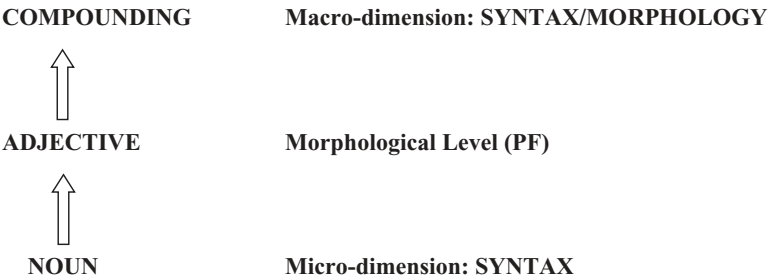
The first hypothesis regards the analysis of thematic adjectives as genitive phrases in Romance languages. The parallels between thematic adjectives and genitives provide a theoretical answer to the syntax/morphology mismatch in the status of thematic adjectives as nouns in the syntax and adjectives in the morphological structure (PF). Specifically, I show that there is a connection between number, which is interpretable and realizes aspect in the nominal domain and case, which is uninterpretable and, hence, relevant only at phonological form (PF). In the spirit of Embick & Noyer (2005) and Embick & Marantz (2008), I argue that the case features of the nouns underlying in the structure of thematic adjectives are relevant only at PF and their countability or their lack thereof conditions the choice of vocabulary items expressing case. That is, their number underspecification triggers deficient case features on thematic adjectives that are valued only at PF, determining the introduction of the agreement node (AGR) which turns the noun into an adjective through suffixation instead of introducing the case feature genitive, spelled out as the preposition *de* in Romance languages.

The second hypothesis examines CI-adjectives in contrast to Th-adjectives. Unlike Th-adjectives, CI-adjectives are not arguments of the noun but rather they relate the noun to a domain according to which the NP is classified. Hence, they are restrictive modifiers of the noun. This is highlighted on the basis of several tests, i.e., CI-adjectives do not correspond to genitives, they are predicative, they can occur with *cel* and they correspond to *de* modifier phrases in Romance languages. In the light of all this, I propose that a CI-adjective stands for a restrictive relative clause that is the right-hand sister of a nominal head (NP) with which it forms a complex lexical unit. This is proven by the fact that CI-adjectives can occur with *cel* in Romanian, which is argued to introduce a reduced relative clause with a specifying function, rendered in English, for example, by the adverb *namely* (see Cornilescu 2005, Marchis & Alexiadou 2009). On the basis of the interpretation of CI-adjectives with deverbal nouns, I argue that they modify the event underlying the nominalization. Therefore, they involve an adverbial layer before turning into adjectives. Essentially, the two layers within the structure of CI-adjectives with event nominals capture both their dimensions: as adjectives that agree with the nominal and as adverbs that modify the event underlying the deverbal noun.

The last part of the book provides support for the idea that derivation and compounding represent cases of morphology-as-syntax. The central idea is that, on the basis of Bisetto & Scalise's (2005) classification of compounds, relational adjectives in Romance languages correspond crosslinguistically to two types of compounding, i.e., thematic adjectives to subordinate compounds and classificatory adjectives to attributive ones. Moreover, this last part provides

additional support for the syntactic analysis of relational adjectives proposed in previous chapters. Regarding first subordinate compounding across languages, I show that languages employ different mechanisms to build compounds that express a complement relation. More specifically, I discuss the variation between English, on the one hand, and Romanian and Spanish, on the other, in endocentric subordinate compounds, showing that the different strategies employed by languages in this type of compounding are only case-related, i.e., the case of the complement can be checked by incorporation in English, *de*-insertion in Romance languages, or thematic adjectives in Romance languages and English. Importantly, this approach to subordinate compounding provides more evidence in favor of the hypothesis according to which thematic adjectives correspond to *de* genitive phrases in Romance languages. Unlike subordinate compounding, attributive compounds express a modification relation, building either endocentric or exocentric compounds. I argue that both CI-adjectives and *de* modifier phrases modifying common nouns are instances of attributive compounds on a par with primary or root compounds in English but with different morpho-syntactic analyses. In the second context of CI-adjectives with complex event nominals, they act as modifiers of the underlying event in the e-nominal. I draw a parallel between CI-adjectives and modificational synthetic compounds in English of the type *fast-falling*.

By virtue of the fact that relational adjectives have a large number of syntactic properties that set them apart from standard compounds, it is justified to address the legitimacy of considering relational adjectives as instances of compounding on a par with incorporation in English. I present positive evidence for such an approach and, thereby, provide more support for the hypotheses put forward in the previous chapters, according to which relational adjectives correspond to *de* phrases in Romance languages, which can be either modifiers or arguments. Hence, in this book relational adjectives (both Th- and CI-adjectives) and *de* phrases in Romance languages are syntactically explored on a micro-dimension as being underlyingly nouns as well as on a macro-dimension as compounding within the Distributed Morphology Framework, as the scheme below illustrates:



Scheme 1.1 The Hybrid Nature of Relational Adjectives

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The scheme in 1.1 actually depicts the structure of the entire book. Chapter 2 presents the framework of Distributed Morphology and introduces its mechanism for dealing with the phenomenon of transpositions. In Chapter 3 adjectives are semantically classified into two main groups, qualifying and relational, and the differences between prototypical adjectives and relational adjectives are summarized. In addition, I provide a brief overview of the interpretive effects of relational adjectives. Chapter 4 discusses the split classification of relational adjectives into thematic and classificatory adjectives and the major approaches to relational adjectives in the literature, such as Postal (1969), Levi (1978), Bartning (1980), Bosque & Picallo (1996), McNally & Boleda (2004), Fábregas (2007) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (2011). A morpho-syntactic analysis of relational adjectives is provided in Chapter 5, where I present evidence for the denominal nature of relational adjectives (see Fábregas 2007 and Alexiadou & Stavrou 2011). However, due to the different syntactic behavior of Th- and Cl-adjectives, I argue that they are amenable to different morpho-syntactic structures, i.e., Th-adjectives correspond to bare noun arguments, which are DPs in Romance languages, while Cl-adjectives correspond to bare nouns which act as restrictive modifiers. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the syntax of Th-adjectives. Owing to the fact that Th-adjectives and *de* prepositional genitives in Romanian and Spanish show syntactic and semantic similarities, I argue that they should be analyzed equivalently. Chapter 7 regards in detail different types of deverbal nominalizations in Romanian that provide the reader a hint why Th-adjectives are banned from occurring with complex event nominals. The ungrammaticality of Th-adjectives with complex event nominals will be syntactically accounted for in Chapter 8. Cl-adjectives, the other subclass of relational adjectives are discussed in Chapter 9 where they are analyzed as either nominal restrictive modifiers or as verbal modifiers. Chapter 10 provides a parallel account within the framework of Distributed Morphology of relational adjectives and different types of compounding. Building on the novel classification of compounds proposed by Bisetto & Scalise (2005), I argue that relational adjectives correspond to two different types of endocentric compounds – subordinate compounds in case of Th-adjectives and *de* prepositional genitives and modificational compounds in case of Cl-adjectives and *de* modifier phrases. The last chapter summarizes the results of the proposed approach to relational adjectives in Romanian and Spanish and offers new insights for further research.