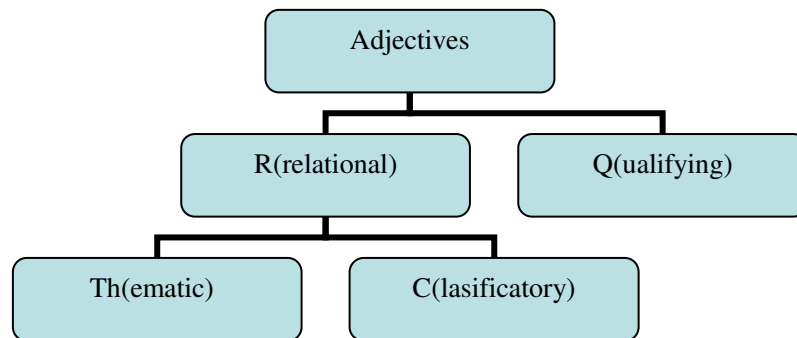


On the properties of Relational Adjectives in Romanian and Spanish

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1. Introduction

The traditional semantic classification of adjectives (Bosque & Picallo (1996)):



1.2 Thematic adjectives vs. Classificatory adjectives: Bosque & Picallo (1996)

1.2.1 Thematic Adjectives:

- absorb a thematic role, are in specifier position (according to Bosque & Picallo 1996)

(1) *producción petrolera*
producția petrolieră
oil production

The adjectives *petrolera* and *petrolifera* **absorb the thematic role** that the verb related to the nominal head would assign to its complement; therefore Th(adjectives) are incompatible with DP arguments with the same thematic role:

(2) **producción petrolera de sondas*
**producția petrolieră de sonde*
oil production of drills

1.2.2 Classificatory adjectives

- do not saturate semantic roles licensed by the head
- have different semantic functions to the head
- are **restrictive modifiers**, relate the noun to a domain according to which the NP is classified (see the appendix)

- (3) *análisis sintáctico/ estilístico / periódico*
 syntactic/ stylistic/ peridiocal análisis

However, in spite of the fact that thematic and classificatory adjectives are distinct in their ability to absorb thematic roles, they are similar in that they are derived from nouns.

1.3 The aim of the paper

Based on the traditional semantic distinction of Relational adjectives I put forth the following hypothesis:

- Th-adjectives are arguments of the deverbal noun, therefore they correspond to prepositional Genitive DPs in Romanian and Spanish and are analysed accordingly

2. The denominal nature of Thematic and Classificatory adjectives

Th-adjectives and Cl-adjectives are denominal. This is revealed by the following tests provided by Fábregas (2007) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) which I work also for Romanian:

1. Relational adjectives that occupy thematic roles do not appear in the predicative position

- (4) a. **La producción es automovilística / china. (S)*
 **Producția este automobilistică/ chinezească (R)*
 The production is fishing/ Chinese.
- b. *La mesa es ronda.*
Masa este rotundă.
 The table is round.

2. Relational adjective have noun-like number properties as they can be combined with quantifier prefixes such as multi-, bi- or mono-.

- (5) a. **mono-alto* b. *bi-rojo* (S)
Mono-inalt *bi-rosu* (R)
 Mono-tall bi-red
- (6) a. *Mono-cromático* b. *Poli-silábico*
Mono-cromatic *poli-silabic*
 Mono-chromatic poly-syllabic

3. The coordination of two relational adjectives in singular can modify a plural noun

- (7) a. **los embajadores [alto y bajo]*
 **ambasadorii [inalt y scund]*
 The ambassadors.pl tall.sg and short.sg
- b. *los embajadores [de Méjico y de Argentina].*
Ambasadorii Mexicului si Argentinei
 The ambassadors from Mexico and Argentina
- c. *Los embajadores mejicano y argentino.*

¿Ambasadorii mexican si argentinian.

The ambassadors.pl Mexican.sg and Argentinian.sg

In the light of these tests I conclude that both thematic and classificatory adjectives are denominal. In the next section I discuss some differences between the two.

3. The morpho-syntactic structure of relational adjectives

In spite of the fact that both Th-adjectives and Cl-adjectives are denominal, I show that they have a different syntactic behaviour. Therefore, I argue that they must have distinct morpho-syntactic structures.

- Specifically, unlike Cl-adjectives, Th-adjectives are DPs with an empty D.

3.1 Arguments for the DP in the structure of Th-relational adjectives

1. Th-adjectives are arguments of the deverbal noun

- They are either the complement or the agent of the verb (Levi (1978), Bartning (1980), Bosque & Picallo (1996))

Object

(8)	a.	<i>alegere (*este) prezidențială</i>	→	<i>X alege președintele.</i>
		<i>Eleccion (*es) presidencial</i>	→	<i>X elige el presidente</i>
		Presidential election	→	X elects the president

Subject

b.	<i>decizie (*este) guvernamentală</i>	→	<i>guvernul decide</i>
	<i>decision (*es) gubernamental</i>	→	<i>el gobierno decide</i>
	decision (*is) governmental	→	the government decides

- Essentially, the word order of Th-adjectives obeys the thematic hierarchy, having the internal argument closer to the head than the external argument:

(9)	a.	<i>producția automobilistică germană.</i>
		production car German
		German car production
	b.	<i>*producția germană automobilistică.</i>
		production German car.

2. Th-adjectives correspond to Gen¹ DP (cf. Marchis 2009)

- For Spanish, Bosque & Picallo (1996), Fábregas (2007) claim that Thematic adjectives are paraphrased with the preposition *de* which has a very weak meaning to the extent that it is used to denote the patient and the agent (Fábregas 2007:142):

(10)	a.	<i>La producción pesquera</i>	≈	<i>La producción de pesca.</i>
		The fishing production	≈	The production of fish
	b.	<i>La importación sedera</i>	≈	<i>La importación de seda</i>
		The French silk import	≈	The import of silk

¹ Like other Romance languages, Spanish has lost the inflectional genitive (cf. Cornilescu & Nicolae 2009)

1. First, like Th-adjectives, genitives in Romanian fulfil a variety of theta-roles in addition to its specific Possessor role:

- (11) a. *trădarea cauzei* (Theme)
The betrayal of the cause
b. *trădarea lui Iuda* (Agent)
Juda's betrayal
c. *cartea lui Ion* (alienable possession)
John's book
d. *surâsul Giocondei* (inalienable possession)
Gioconda's smile
(Cornilescu 1995: 7)

2. Second, like Th-adjectives, argumental Genitives² cannot occur across copula, while possessor or modifier Genitives can be predicative like Cl-adjectives:

- (12) a. **Sosirea este a invitațiilor.* (Agent)
The arrival is of guests.
b. **Trădarea este a cauzei.* (Theme)
The betrayal is of the cause.
c. *Cartea este a lui Ion.* (Possessor)
The book is John's

3. Bosque & Picallo's (1996) observation represents strong evidence for the proposal that Th-adjectives correspond to GenDPs also in Spanish. Importantly, Th- and Cl-adjectives behave differently with respect to possessive pronominalization of genitive arguments:

- (13) a. *La organización papal de la Curia.*
organizarea papală a Curiei.
The Pope's organization of the Curia
b. *la producción manual de camisas.*
producerea manuală de cămăși.
the manual production of shirts.

² The similarity between relational adjectives and genitives in Romanian can also be observed in their paraphrases:

a.	<i>alegera prezidențială</i>	≈	<i>alegera președintelui</i>	Theme
	<i>eleccion presidencial</i>	≈	<i>la eleccion del presidente</i>	
	presidential election	≈	the election of the president	
b.	<i>decizie guvernamentală</i>	≈	<i>decizia guvernului</i>	Agent
	<i>la decision gubernamental</i>	≈	<i>la decision del gobierno</i>	
	governamental decision	≈	the decision of the government	
c.	<i>revendicările sindicale</i>	≈	<i>revendicările sindicatelor</i>	Possessor
	<i>las reivindicaciones sindicales</i>	≈	<i>reivindicaciones de los sindicatos</i>	
	the union demands	≈	the demands of union	
d.	<i>analiză microscopică</i>	≈	* <i>analiza microscopului</i>	non-grammatical relat
	<i>análisis microscópico</i>	≈	* <i>análisis del microscópo</i>	
	microscopic analysis	≈	* the analysis of the microscop	

In (13a) the Th-adjective *papal* has the Agent role while the genitive DP ‘de la Curia’ has the role of the Theme. In (13b), the CI-adjective ‘manual’ modifies the Noun and the genitive DP *de camisas* has the Theme role.

Below one can observe that possessive pronominalization of the Theme is ungrammatical with the Th-adjective in (14a) and grammatical with the CI-adjective in (14b):

- (14) a. **su₁ organizacion papal t₁*
 its organization popist
 its organization by the Pope
 b. *su₁ producción manual t₁*
 its production manual
 its manual production

(Bosque & Picallo (1996))

Clearly, the ungrammaticality in (14a) is linked to the restriction imposed by Spanish of only one Genitive per DP, as the Th-adjective “papal” corresponds to GenDP, the genitive pronominalization of the Theme is banned:

- (15) **la producción de camisas de Alemania*
 **producerea cămășilor a Germaniei*
 The production of shirts of Germany

Analogically, Postal (1969) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) show the distributional and the interpretational parallelism between Ethnic adjectives³ and subjects, for English and Greek, respectively i.e., ethnic adjectives and genitives have the same selection restrictions and both can control the empty subject of a complement clause:

- (16) a. *The Persian application for membership by Iran
 b. **i eliniki apantisi stis proklisis ton Elinon, apo tus Elines*
 the Greek reply to the provocation the Greeks-gen, by the Greeks
 (17) a. America’s attempt to attack Cuba at night
 b. the American attempt to attack Cuba at night

3.2 The morpho-syntactic analysis of Th-adjectives

In the light of the examples above I formulate a first hypothesis for Romanian and Spanish⁴:

Hypothesis 1:

The more perceivable the grammatical relations between the relational adjective and the head noun are, the more possible the reconstruction of relational adjectives is as inflectional Genitive for Romanian and *de phrase* for Spanish.

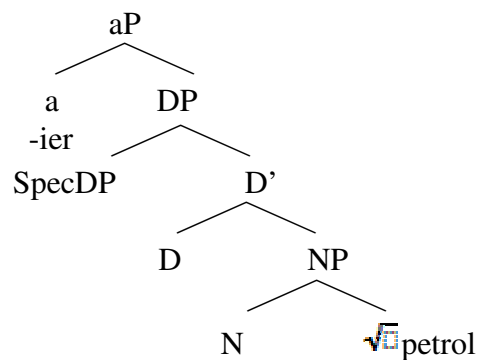
For these reasons I propose the following structure for Th-adjectives adjectives:

³ Ethnic adjectives in Alexiadou & Stavrou (1998, to appear) correspond to external/ agent Th-adjectives in this analysis

⁴ Like Fabregas (2007) for Spanish, Bartning (1980) demonstrated the same hypothesis for French: *Plus la relation grammaticale du syntagme N-PA est perceptible, plus celui-ci est susceptible d’admettre la reconstitution par N-de-Det-D (Bartning 1980 :136)*

In line with the Distributed Morphology framework (Marantz 2001), I claim that the adjectival suffixes such as –al, -il, -ar, etc., are the overt exponents of the category a/ASP which create an adjective out of a noun (cf. Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear)).

(18)



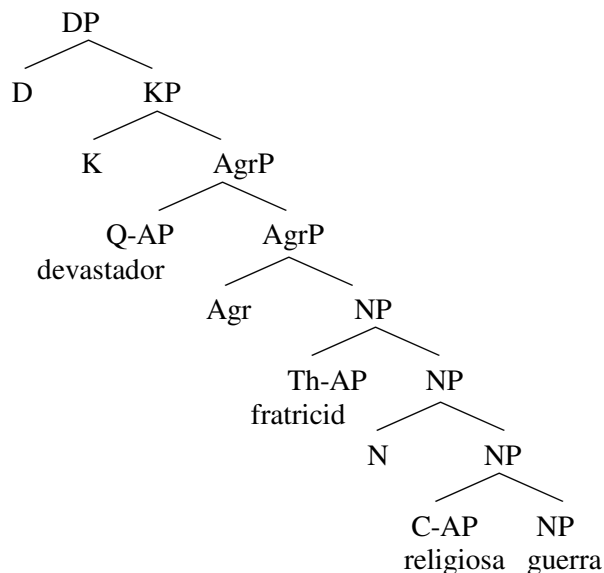
Note that the root PETROL⁵ becomes a noun via zero affixation and, then, late in derivation it is turned into an adjective through suffixation with –er.

Regarding Romanian, I argue that D⁶ in the structure of Th-adjectives is specified only with the Genitive (which is a structural case in Romanian) which is used to express the grammatical relations (Theme /Agent) between relational adjectives and their head noun.

4. The syntactic analysis of relational adjectives

4.1. **Bosque & Picallo (1996):** Basic configuration of indef. DPs (containing a N modified by a Cl-adjective, a Th-adjective and a Q-adjective:

(19) *Un devastador fratricid religios guerra*
A devastating fratricidal religious war



⁵ Th-adjectives morpho-syntactically correspond to plural definites and mass nouns in Romance (and to bare nouns in English) as they have mass/plural reading (cf. Marchis 2009). Following Borer (2005), their structure is of a minimal DP, i.e., it simply contains a D head and the root.

⁶ A nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a Determiner, that is, only if it is a DP (Longobardi 1994:620)

4.2 Problems for Bosque & Picallo's (1996) analysis:

1. Bosque & Picallo (1996) assume the N-movement of the noun in order to account for the word order of postnominal adjectives. The relative order of postnominal Romance adjectives with respect to the N is the mirror image of the English order. However, this configuration cannot be derived via N-movement, as assumed in Bosque & Picallo (1996) (cf. Lamarche (1991), Alexiadou (2001) and Giurgea (2005) among others)

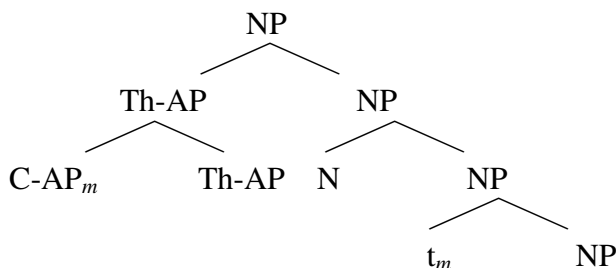
(20) un coche **blanco oxidado** vs. **a rusty white** car

2. Postnominal adjectives in Spanish do not appear preceding the complement of the N (cf. Ticio (2003)). This point is also valid in Romanian as the following examples show:

- (21) a. *Los productores de petroleo independientes*
Producătorii de petrol independenți
 The independent oil producers
- b. **Los productores independientes de petroleo*
 **Producătorii independenți de petrol.*
 The producers independent of oil

3. This approach does not make the distinction between the two types of thematic adjectives: the theme vs. the agent as both are base-generated in the Spec NP⁷.

(22)



Recall that in Spanish, Th- and Cl-adjectives behave differently with respect to possessive pronominalization of genitive arguments (see 14). Bosque & Picallo's (1996) analysis cannot explain why Th-adjectives block the genitive pronominalization.

4. It does not explain the different distribution of Th-adjectives vs. Cl-adjectives, i.e., the intersective nature of Cl-adjectives vs. the non-intersective nature of Th-adjectives and the possibility of gapping with CEL in Romanian:

- (23) a. **Producția petrolieră și cea cerealică*
 production oil and CEL cereals
- b. *analiza sintactică și cea morfologică*
 analysis syntactic and CEL morphological

⁷ According to Bosque & Picallo (1996) minimality conditions and the Strict Cycle are satisfied if the Th- and the C-adjectives raise, as a cluster, to AgrP for the purpose of gender and number feature checking. So C-AP adjoined to the Th-AP can c-command its trace under Kayne's (1994) system.

Note that the *cel* pattern in Romanian is generally argued to introduce a predicative clause (see Cornilescu (2005), Cinque (2004) and Marchis & Alexiadou (to appear)).

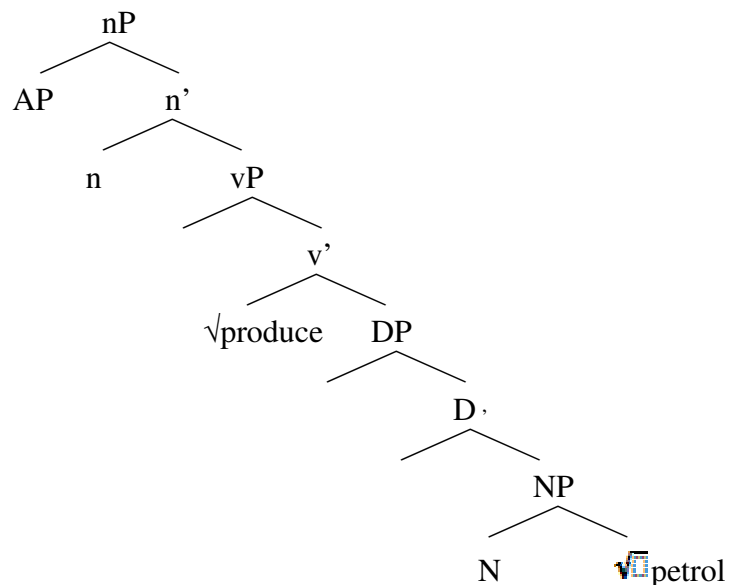
5. A proposal for the syntactic analysis of Th-adjectives

I claim that the syntactic analysis of Th-adjectives corresponds to that of argumental genitives.

Cornilescu (1995): - an internal object Gen DP is based under N',

I provide a parallel analysis for Th-adjectives is provided within the Distributed Morphology Framework (Marantz (2001))

(24) *producția petrolieră*
 production oil
 oil production



The root PETROL becomes a noun through null affixation and represents the internal argument of the verb *produce* which turns into a noun through head movement to n. The noun *oil* turns into an adjective through movement to spec nP and affixation. Importantly, after the noun moves to check phi-features and definiteness, the adjective raises to the Spec FP in order to agree with the features of the noun.

5.1 Towards an analysis of Th-adjectives

In previous section several tests were presented, showing that the behavior of Th-adjectives corresponds to those of Genitives in Romance.

However, as shown above there are several properties of Th-adjectives which set them apart from Genitives and must be accounted for:

- i. First, Inflectional genitives and prepositional genitives can occur in complex event nominals while Th-adjectives cannot.

- (25) *citirea de romane/ romanelor de catre studenti.*
Reading DE novels/ novels.Gen by students
- (26) a. ** la pesca ballenera por parte de los japonenes*
whale fishing by the Japanese
b. ** producerea automobilistică de către japonezi.*
The car production by the Japanese
- ii. Second, another related problem is that Romanian has the restriction of one Genitive per DP. But, unlike Genitives, two Th-adjectives can apparently occur together. (cf. Cornilescu 1995, Cornilescu & Nicolae (2009)):
- (27) ** portretul lui Aristotel al lui Rembrandt.*
The portray of Aristotel of Rembrandt.
Aristotel's portray by Rembrandt.
- (28) *producția cerealiară germană.*
production cereal German
German cereal production
- iii. Third, unlike Genitives, Th-adjectives cannot control purpose clauses.
- (29) a. *Invazia americanilor pentru a apara drepturile irachienilor.*
The invasion of Americans.the.GEN to defend the rights of Iraqis.
b. **Invazia americana pentru a apara drepturile irachienilor.*
The invasión american to defend the rights of Iraqis.

My proposal:

1. In line with Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) and Fábregas (2007), I claim that Th-adjectives cannot occur with nominals of argument supporting type (ASN) but rather with R(eferential) nouns or simple event nominals under Grimshaw's (1990) terminology. Essentially, these two classes are ambiguous between an ASN reading and an R- interpretation:
- (30) a. the decoration of the Christmas tree took a long time (ASN-reading)
b. the decoration was expensive (R-reading)
(Alexiadou&Stavrou (to appear))

Essentially, Grimshaw (1990) shows that simple event nominals are ambiguous between event reading and non-event reading. I claim that Th-adjectives can occur with both types of readings.

- (31) a. *producția petrolieră.* b. *producția americană*
Production oil production american
Oil production American production

e-reading:

- (32) a. *Producția petrolieră a fost suspendată in lunile decembrie si ianuarie.*
Production oil was suspended in December and January.
The production of oil was suspended in December and January.

- b. *?Producția americană a fost suspendată în lunile decembrie și ianuarie.*
American production was suspended in December and January.
- (33) a. *Producția petrolieră frecventă distruge mediul ambient.*
The frequent oil production destroys the environment.
- b. *? Producția americană frecventă distruge mediul ambient.*
The frequent American production destroys the environment.

non-e-reading

- (34) a. *Producția petrolieră a crescut anul acesta cu 10 la sută.*
Oil production increased 10 percent this year.
- b. *Producția americană a crescut anul acesta cu 10 la sută*
American production increased 10 percent this year.

The above examples clearly show that simple event nominals are ambiguous between having a a-structure and not having one. Moreover, they are also homophonous with result nouns (according to Grimshaw's 1990 terminology) that do not have e-reading at all.

In the spirit of Grimshaw (1990) a hierarchy must be provided for the obligatoriness of argument structure for nominals⁸.

Complex event nominals > simple event nominals > result nouns.

2. Building on Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) who argue that Ethnic adjectives have clitic-like properties, I claim that Th-adjectives in Romanian behave like bare pronouns/possessives which are weak pronouns, XP

Evidence:

- Like Th-adjectives, bare Gen pronouns and Gen clitics freely alternate with nominal Gen phrases:
- (35) a. *interpretarea actorului*
the actor's performance
- b. *interpretarea lui*
his performance
- c. *interpretarea-i*
interpretation-his.cl
- According to Cornilescu (1995) Romanian shows an exception with pronominal Gens⁹ which obligatory occur in the double Gen construction available in

⁸ In addition, Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Marchis (2009) show that the supine, a nominal that can have both the simple event reading and the complex event reading, can be modified by Th-adjectives:

impărțitul frătesc al banilor.

Sharing-the brotherly of money.

⁹ Unlike Romanian, Spanish presumably does not have weak possessives, therefore Spanish does not allow constructions corresponding to (50). Moreover, note that the co-occurrence of genitive pronominals with Th-adjectives is illicit in Spanish:

**su₁ organizacion papal t₁*

its organization popist

Romanian - the structure with obligatorily topicalized adjectives, and the pronoun in post-adjectival position:

- (36) *celebra lui interpretare a rolului.*
Famous-the his interpretation AL of the part

In the spirit of Cardinaletti (1993), Cornilescu (1995) notices that both bare possessive adjectives and personal pronouns in Gen, partly share the distribution and properties of clitics¹, i.e., they function like weak pronouns (Cardinaletti 1993).

Analogically, I make the following claims for the assignment of Genitive case in Romanian and Spanish.

- the distinction between Complex Event Nominals and Simple Event Nominals is the realization of the external argument, i.e., genitive vs. agent PP

- (37) a. *citirea de romane de către studenți.*
Reading DE novels by students
b. **citirea de romane a studenților.*
Redding DE novels GEN students.

I claim that the derivation crashes in (38b) due to the fact that the agent is not realized as an agent PP. To support that, note that already Grimshaw (1990) pointed out that genitives surfacing with simple event nominals (non-ASN) are ambiguous between – possessors – “argument adjuncts”.

Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear):

- possessors are introduced by a semi-functional projection; similar to the light v/Voice, which introduces the external argument¹⁰ in the verbal domain, and is labeled PossP or nP (cf. Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou (2007)). In this locus the ethnic adjective is argued to receive the role of Agent.
- In Greek the ethnic adjective is argued to receive the role of Agent in the nP

Problem

- unlike Greek, Romanian allows the co-occurrence of two Th-adjectives despite the fact that neither of these languages allows two Genitives per DP.

- (38) a. *producția petrolieră americană*
production oil american
b. **producția petrolului Americii*
production oil.Gen American.Gen

¹⁰ Both in the nominal and in the verbal structure agents are not directly theta-marked, therefore they must be introduced by an extra head (cf. Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear)).

Possible solutions:

- i. In the first case, the agent Th-adjective is generated in the Spec.nP while the object Th-adjective is generated as the complement of the deverbal noun. They are deficient DPs which have to move to Asp(ect) in order to turn into adjectives and agree. Under this account, both Th-adjectives undergo movement from a low position to the higher Asp. According to Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) under this movement account Th-adjectives behave like Cardinaletti's (1993) weak pronouns

Shortcomings:

- It cannot account for the strict word order of Th-adjectives, i.e., it cannot account why the agent Th-adjective is not higher than the internal Th-adjective.
- ii. Another way to go is to claim that *americana* is actually not an Ethnic Thematic adjective, and consequently is not an argument of the deverbal noun but rather a homophonous adjective interpreted as a Possessor under Alexiadou & Stavrou's (to appear) approach. This implies that this adjective corresponds to CI-adjectives and it modifies not only noun but the entire cluster of Noun + Th-adjective.

Pro-arguments:

- the co-occurrence of inflectional Genitive and prepositional Genitive is licit in Romanian (Giurgea 2005):

- (39) *producția de cereale a Germaniei.*
Production DE cereals of Germany.
Germany's production of cereals.

In (39), only the prepositional genitive represents an argument for the deverbal noun, while the inflectional genitive is only a Genitive modifier, a Possessor.

- the relational adjective *americana* can occur in the predicative position and can pattern with *cel*:

- (40) a. *?Această producție petrolieră este americană, nu japoneză*
This oil production is American, not Japanese
b. *producția automobilistică germană și cea japoneză*
the production car German and the Japanese one

Under this approach, there is only a GenDP in the phrase, namely the internal Th-adjective and it is explained why Th-adjectives cannot occur in complex event nominals, i.e., the agent is not realized as a PP in SpecVoice as it is disguised as a CI-adjective either generated in the FP (cf. Cinque 1994) or in a small relative clause, like predicative adjectives (Kayne (1994)). Regarding the external adjective as a CI-adjective with non-AS, an explanation is provided for the reason why external adjectives cannot control

3. Regarding control in purpose clauses, in the spirit of Baker (2003) and Alexiadou & Stavrou (to appear) I propose that Th-adjectives cannot bind due to the fact that they lack referential index.

Evidence:

- Marchis (2009) explains the lack of referentiality of Th-adjectives by claiming that Th-adjectives correspond to mass/plural definites in Romance and have mass or kind/group interpretation. Note that the same interpretation is provided by the prepositional genitive in Romanian “de DP”:

- (41) a. *citirea romanelor*
Reading-the novels.Gen
b. *citirea de romane*
Reading.the DE novels.

(41a) receives the bound interpretation, it refers to specific novels while in (41b) the prepositional genitive is unbounded just like Th-adjectives corresponding to mass nouns and plural definites:

- (42) a. *producția petrolieră / automobilistică* ≈ *producția de petrol/ de mașini*
production oil/ car ≈ production of oil/ of cars
oil / car production ≈ production of oil/ of cars

Essentially, according to Cornilescu & Nicolae (2009) and Niculescu (2009), there are two types of *de phrases* in Romanian, *de NP* which acts as a modifier (like CI-adjectives cf. Marchis (2009)) and *de DP* which represents the internal argument of the deverbal noun. The latter corresponds semantically and syntactically to internal Th-adjectives. The discussion regarding the distinction between the two types of *de phrases* goes beyond the scope of this paper (see Niculescu (2009) for further discussion)

The final hypothesis for Th-adjectives is the following:

Hypothesis 2

The more perceivable the grammatical relations between the relational adjective and the head noun are, the more possible the reconstruction of relational adjectives is as **de DP** for Romanian and Spanish.

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Appendix

6. Classificatory relational adjectives

I assume that classificatory adjectives are also denominal BUT

- do not have thematic roles,
- do not have case distinctions (case defective),
- are predicatives (pattern with *cel* in nominal ellipses) in Romanian

I show that C-Relational adjectives fulfill none of these conditions and, consequently they do not represent arguments of the head noun.

6.1 Evidence against a DP in the structure of Cl-adjectives

1. First test:

Fábregas (2007) showed that unlike Th-adjectives:

- Classificatory adjectives (non-argumental) → with lexical prepositions with strong semantics

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|--------|--|
| (43) | a. | <i>análisis microscópico</i>
Analysis microscopic | ≈
≈ | <i>análisis mediante microscopio</i>
analysis done using a microscope |
| | b. | <i>tren pendular</i>
train pendular | ≈
≈ | <i>tren con péndulo</i>
train with a pendulum |

In Romanian, non-argumental relational adjectives (apart from the Possessor) cannot be paraphrased with GenDP (see 23d repeated below)

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|-------------|--|
| (44) | d. | <i>analiză microscopică</i>
<i>análisis microscópico</i>
microscopic analysis | ≈
≈
≈ | * <i>analiza microscopului</i>
* <i>análisis del microscopio</i>
* the analysis of the microscop |
|------|----|---|-------------|--|

2. Second test:

Unlike Th-adjectives, Cl-adjectives can occur in the predicative position (cf. Cornilescu (2009), McNally & Boleda (2004))

- (45) a. **Restructurarea este urbana.* b. *Concursul este international.*
 **La estructura es urbana.* *La competencia es internacional*
 The structuring is urban The contest is international.

Note that the noun in (27a) is regarded as a deverbal nominalisation (see Bartning (1980)). This leads us to the nature of the head noun.

I argue that CI-adjectives cannot modify deverbal nominalisation as in this case the relational adjective either receives a thematic role and turns into a Th-adjective or turns into an adverbial denominal adjective. This split of CI-adjectives is not pursued in this paper.

3. Third test:

Unlike Th-adjectives, CI-adjectives correspond to bare plurals and bare singular in Romance (cf. Marchis 2009). I show that CI-adjectives can be substituted with DE+bare nouns as Cornilescu & Nicolae (2009), Niculescu (2009) showed that DE can also introduce a bare noun as a modifier. Hence, CI-adjectives are either NumPs or simple NPs:

- (46) *Amor de madre ~ amor maternal*
dragoste de mamă ~ dragoste maternă
 Love of mother ~ maternal love

Due to the distinct syntactic behaviour of CI-adjectives I propose the following structure:

- (47) *vestimenta real* ≈ *vestimenta de reye/reyes*
 royal garments ≈ garments of king/kings



I claim that they act as restrictive clauses which build a complex unit with the noun they specify. Below I bring evidence for the relative clause origin of CI-adjectives.

6.2 Evidence: The predicative nature of classificatory adjectives: CEL

A further test from Romanian may cast light on the properties and the origin of classificatory adjectives, namely *cel* in case of nominal ellipsis. With adjectives *cel* can occur in two main contexts: in case of a lexically expressed N with postnominal predicative adjectives and in case of nominal ellipsis only with predicative adjectives. So in both contexts *cel* can occur only with predicative adjectives which have a contrastive or a partitive meaning.

According to Cornilescu (2005), Marchis&Alexiadou (to appear) *cel* introduces a reduced relative clause which has a specifying function, rendered in English via the use of e.g. the adverb *namely*:

In conclusion *cel* clauses are considered to be appositive specification relative clauses. Importantly, de Vries (2002: 211ff.) claims that restrictive appositions do not only involve adjectives, but can also include PPs. In the light of this argument, we can expect that classificatory adjectives should also be able to occur with *cel* as they are also argued to be

restrictive modifiers (Bosque & Picallo 1996) and can be paraphrased as prepositional phrases:

- (48) a. *analiza morfologică si cea sintactică*
 The analisis morphological and CEL syntactic
 The morphological analysis and the syntactic one
- b. ** producția petrolieră si cea cerealică.*
 production oil and CEL cereal
 the oil production and the cereal one
- c. *decizia guvernamentală si *cea prezidențială*
 decision-the governmental si CEL presidential
 the governmental decision and the presidential one

Observation:

- classificatory adjectives which behave like modifiers appear in nominal ellipses with *cel*
- thematic adjectives (thema or agent) are ungrammatical in contexts of nominal ellipses.

From here one can deduce that the two subclasses of relational adjectives should have a different syntactic structure: I argue that classificatory adjectives are derived from small relative clauses.

6.3 The syntactic analysis of classificatory adjectives

Sleeman (1996):

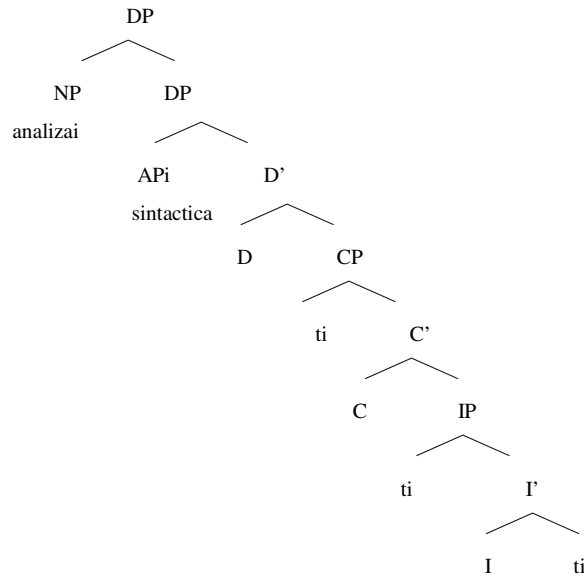
- classificatory adjectives have an inherent partitive meaning which licenses nominal ellipsis.

My proposal:

- The relative clause which stands for the relational adjective is the right sister of nominal head¹¹ (NP) with which it forms a complex lexical unit.
- When the first NP is lexically expressed the relational adjective moves up to the specifier DP in order to agree in phi features with the head noun (through a c-command relation) and the syntactic relation looks like a noun to noun conjunction (NP & DP) as the set of the noun intersects with the set of elements expressed by the denominal adjective:

- (49) *analiza sintactică*
 Syntactic analysis
 [DP [&:P [NP analizal] ; &: [DP sintactică; [CP [C'
 [IP Ø AP_i]]]]]

¹¹ The distinction between predicative adjectives and CI-adjectives (which are also intersective) is that the former are DP modifiers while the latter are NP modifiers (cf. Cornilescu 2009)



Note: - the adjective is generated in the predicative position within the relative clause.
 - the second conjunct is co-indexed with the first one, hence they both agree in all features and have unique reference.

In the second context of nominal ellipses with *cel*, when the first conjunct has previously been mentioned in the discourse it can be elided; ellipsis is licensed as the remaining part is partitive /contrastive (Marchis&Alexiadou to appear). In this case the relational adjective cannot move to the SpecDP due to its case defective¹² feature so *cel* must be spelled out in order to check case.

(50) [$\&$:P [NP *analiza*]_i &: [DP *cea*_i [CP [C' [IP \emptyset _i *sintactică*]]]]]

The occurrence of *cel* with Cl-adjectives and its ungrammaticality with Th-adjectives lead us to the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3

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.

¹² Note that Cl-adjective is defective for case, unlike Th-adjectives: Levi (1974) provides examples of nonpredicating adjectives expressing agentive, objective, locative, dative and instrumental case relations.