Ethnic adjectives are proper adjectives[*]

Boban Arsenijević
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Gemma Boleda
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Berit Gehrke
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Louise McNally
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

1 Introduction

This paper addresses the semantics of ethnic adjectives (EAs), such as *French*, which are a subclass of the relational adjectives (RAs) (Bally (1944), Levi (1978) Bartning (1980), Bosque (1993), among others). EAs (and RAs in general) have been attributed two uses, the *thematic* and the *classificatory* use ((1)) (Kayne (1984), Bosque (1993), Bosque and Picallo (1996), Fábregas (2007), Alexiadou and Stavrou (to appear), among others).

(1)   a.   French agreement (to participate in the negotiations)   THEMATIC
      b.   French wine   CLASSIFICATORY

Under the thematic use, which is typical with nominalizations ((1a)), the adjective describes a participant in the situation described by the verb underlying the nominalization. Under the classificatory use ((1b)), which is found both with nonderived nominals and with nominalizations, the relation between the semantics of the adjective and that of the noun it modifies is less predictable, but in general the Adj+N describes a subtype of whatever type of thing the noun describes.

A prominent view, which we will discuss in more detail in section 2, holds that EAs, at least under the thematic use, are nouns at some level of representation, and are proper arguments of the noun they modify (or even the verb underlying the nominalization). One prediction that this account makes is that (1a) should be equivalent in a strict sense to (at least some of) the examples in (2).

(2)   a.   agreement of France (to participate in the negotiations)
      b.   France's agreement (to participate in the negotiations)
      c.   agreement by France (to participate in the negotiations)

However, the nominal account of EAs raises several questions. First, why do English and other languages (though we focus on English here) have these different constructions to express exactly the same semantic relation? Second, how can

EAs contribute arguments, given that adjectives in general do not function as arguments? Third, why do thematic EAs systematically have a homophonous classificatory counterpart? And, finally, what is the relationship between the two uses of EAs?

In this paper, we challenge the view that EAs are nouns in disguise. Instead, we propose a unified semantics of the thematic and classificatory uses of EAs that treats them as proper adjectives, but nonetheless accounts for the phenomena that led to their analysis as nouns. The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses nominal accounts of EAs and their problems. Section 3 outlines our own proposal and discusses data in support of it. Section 4 concludes.

2 Previous proposals

Recently, Fábregas (2007) and Alexiadou and Stavrou (to appear) have proposed analyses of EAs under the thematic use in terms of (hidden) nominals which express an argument of the noun they modify. For reasons of space, we will only discuss these two proposals - Alexiadou and Stavrou for EAs, and Fábregas for relational adjectives in general -, but our comments should apply to any analysis that treats EAs as nominals.

2.1 Alexiadou and Stavrou (to appear)

Alexiadou and Stavrou (to appear) (A&S), working in the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), treat thematically used EAs (thEAs) as hidden nominals, but classificatorily used EAs (clEAs) as proper, 'deep' adjectives which are merely homophonous to thEAs. Since their article focuses on the thematic use, no full account is provided for clEAs.

thEAs are claimed to have a nominal source visible at the level of interpretation. They bear the agent theta role assigned to them by the (deverbal) noun they modify, but they lack case. Since every noun needs to bear case, thEAs are deficient and become adjectives in the course of the syntactic derivation. The syntactic derivation with one of their examples from Greek is exemplified by the tree in (3).

In (3), *german-* starts out as a DP in the specifier of the noun phrase *epithesi* 'attack', represented in (3) via the root $\sqrt{\text{EPITH}}$[1]. In this position, *german-* is necessarily assigned the agent theta role by the underlying verb, in analogy to genitive DPs, which are also generated in this position. Since *german-* is not valued for case and since every noun needs to bear case, it is forced to move up and to adjoin as a head to a(sp), the head of an adjectival projection which generally occupies the specifier position of a functional category between D and N. In this position, *german-* is spelled out as an adjective.

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[1]Presumably, the nominalizing suffix *-esi* should sit in *n*; these details are left out in A&S.

(3) a. germaniki epithesi
         German   attack

  b. DP

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DP
├── ...
└── FP/AGRP
    ├── a(sp)P
    │   └── a(sp)′
    │       └── a(sp)ᵒ
    │           ├── german₁
    │           └── a(sp)ᵒ
    │               └── -ik
    └── F′
        ├── F
        └── nP
            ├── DP
            │   └── t₁
            └── n′
                ├── n
                └── vP
                    ├── v
                    └── √EPITH
```
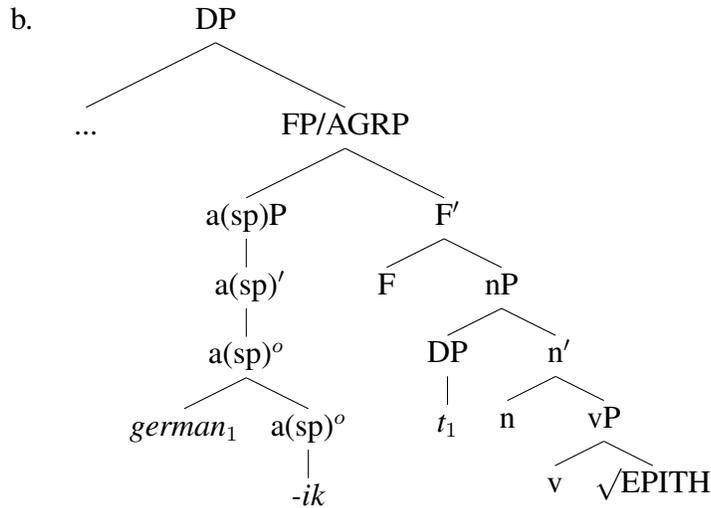
According to this account, the following relation holds between thEAs and genitive DPs or PPs of the type *the Germans' (attack)*, or *(the attack) of the Germans*: Both are base-generated in the same position, hence their relation to the event nominal they modify is the same, namely they express the possessor of that nominal and receive the agent theta role by the nominal. However, since genitive DPs do not lack case they are spelled out as nominals, whereas thEAs undergo the proposed movement to a(sp)P.

2.2 Fábregas (2007)

Like A&S, Fábregas (2007) holds that there is a semantic and formal relation between RAs, of which EAs are a subtype, and PPs (of the type in (2)), including *by*-phrases. The general structure he proposes for relational adjectives, illustrated with an example (from Spanish) and its semantic representation, are given in (4) and (5), respectively.

(4)

```
NP
├── n
│   └── n⁰  √⁰
└── a⁰[Attr^{def}]
```
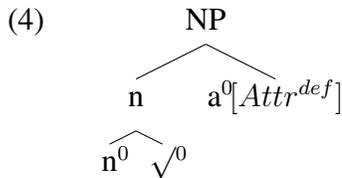
(5) a. la   producción pesquera china
         the production fish.ADJ Chinese
         'the Chinese fishing production'

  b. $\lambda y \lambda x [\textbf{producir'}(x,y) \wedge \textbf{pesca'}(y) \wedge \textbf{China'}(x)]$

Fábregas attributes the adjectival properties of RAs to the fact that they combine with a defective adjectival suffix, the head a^{def}, which is responsible for the adjectival morphology and the agreement facts. However, since it is defective, the RA itself is assumed to preserve its grammatical behavior as a noun. Unlike a complete adjectival feature matrix [Attr], which fully projects an adjective, the defective feature matrix [Attr^{def}] does not select the base of the word and does not project its defective semantic role, but is still recognizable.

In contrast to A&S, however, Fábregas provides a uniform account for both uses by also treating classificatory RAs as nominals. Furthermore, he proposes that RAs are not full DPs but nPs, and they stay nPs throughout. Whereas RAs under the thematic use express an argument of the head noun they modify, RAs under the classificatory use are claimed to saturate an argument of a contextually-supplied relation or an open position in the noun's qualia structure, in the sense of Pustejovsky (1995). A Spanish example of the classificatory use appears in (6).

(6)   a.   análisis microscópico
          analysis microscopic
          'microscopic analysis'

   b.
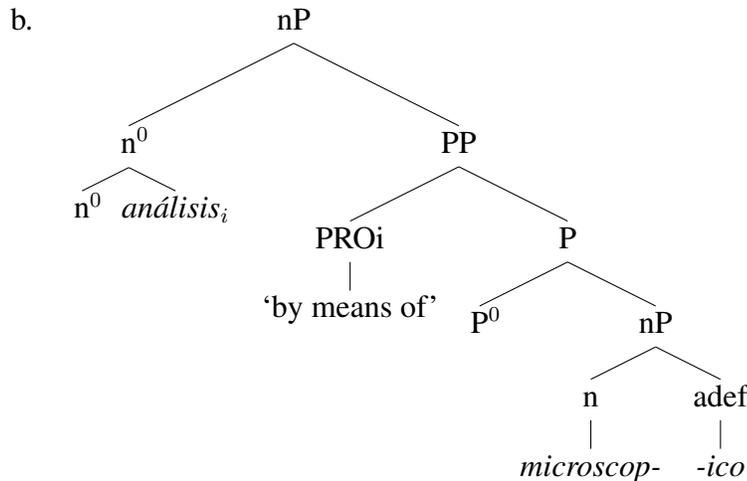
To motivate the existence of the deficient adjectival head a^{def}, Fábregas states that noun phrases in general are not arguments, but have to be selected by DPs to become arguments. RAs (nP) are not dominated by the functional projections that usually dominate a noun; if they were, they would spell out as full DPs, not as adjectives. a^{def} is an alternative means provided by the grammar to license an argument reading in the absence of a DP. An RA is always interpreted as an argument of the noun it establishes an agreement relation with, unlike full DPs, which may establish a formal relationship with verbs which do not directly select for them (e.g. in Exceptional Case Marking contexts).

2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of the nominal account

Most treatments of thEAs follow Kayne (1984) and others in assuming that thEAs always denote agents (but see section 2.3). This follows automatically under A&S's account, under which EAs are syntactically base-generated in the position where agents are base-generated. As further evidence, they claim that EAs are in complementary distribution with agent-denoting genitive noun phrases and *by*-phrases ((7)).[2]

(7)   a.   *the Persian application for membership by Iran
       b.   *Persia's Persian application for membership

A&S also support their analysis with the well-known fact that, unlike typical adjectives, EAs cannot be used predicatively ((8a)), are not gradable ((8b)) and cannot be coordinated with 'normal' adjectives ((8c)), but only with other EAs ((8d)); Fábregas discusses similar data from Spanish.

(8)   a.   *The intervention in Cyprus was American.
       b.   *the very / more American invasion
       c.   *the immediate / quick / possible and American intervention
       d.   the Italian and French intervention

However, nominal accounts in general, and the proposal of A&S in particular, face several problems. First, it has been noted in the literature that EAs are 'anaphoric islands' (Postal 1969); this is also acknowledged by A&S. Unlike proper nominals, the alleged nominal underlying the EA does not license anaphora ((9)).

(9)   a.   *The American$_i$ proposal to the UN reveals its$_i$/her$_i$ rigid position.
       b.   America$_i$'s proposal to the UN reveals its$_i$/her$_i$ rigid position.

This includes a failure to bind reflexives ((10a)), antecede personal pronouns ((10b)), or control a relative pronoun ((10c)) (examples from A&S).

(10)   a.   The Albanian destruction (*of itself) grieved the expatriot community.
       b. ??I   amerikaniki epemvasi   sto Kosovo tus
            the American   interference to   Kosovo them (the Americans)
            eksethese diethnos.
            exposed   internationally
            Intended reading: 'The American interference in Kosovo exposed them internationally.'
       c.   *Oli katadikasan tin Amerikaniki epithesi sti   Servia, i   opii
            all   condemned the American   attack   to-the Serbia the who

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[2]Since Fábregas analyzes RAs in general, which are not so restricted in the roles they bear, rather than EAs specifically, it is not clear what his analysis would predict about EAs in this respect.

> fisika   exun parelthon se tejes energies.
> of course have past   in such acts
> Intended reading: 'Everybody condemned the American attack to Serbia, who, of course, have a precedent of such activities.'

A&S hold that this is not an argument against the nominal account, but rather claim that it follows from the fact that the underlying noun is morphologically deficient and becomes an adjective in the course of the derivation. They stipulate that the resulting 'adjective' is deprived of typical nominal anaphoric properties, and that anaphoric rules are sensitive to surface structure configurations only, even though for argument-saturation purposes the nominal nature of thEAs is still visible. However, we consider this an inelegant solution at best; in fact, Espinal and McNally (2010) have recently argued on the basis of different data that the ability to saturate an argument and the ability to license discourse anaphora to token individuals are correlated phenomena, and not independent, as A&S's analysis would suggest.

A second problem is that EAs (under the thematic use) do not always describe agents; we have found counterexamples in corpora, such as (11) (see also Berndt *et al.* (2009)).

(11)   a.   the French arrival in Mexico
            b.   the French disappearance from Upper Louisiana
            c.   the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu

However, it is crucial for A&S's analysis that the nominal inside the adjective refers to an agent since it is always base-generated in a position that agents are base-generated in.[3]

Finally, under a nominal account, there is no motivation for the difference between deficient nouns (thEAs) and genitive DPs. It remains unclear what regulates the presence or absence of case (features) needed to account for the claim that some nouns (those underlying EAs) do not bear case whereas others (genitive noun phrases) do. Fábregas suggests a difference between the different kinds of nominals, as outlined in the previous section, but does not offer any specific details.

In fact, most of the arguments in favor of a nominal account do not necessitate such an account. For example, the complementary distribution of EAs, on the one hand, and genitive DPs and *by*-phrases, on the other, discussed by A&S for Greek (recall (7)), looks very similar to the restriction on repetition of manner adverbs ((12)) and may have a similar explanation.

(12)   ??They walked briskly quickly.

The facts in (8) also do not require a nominal account: There are clear cases of adjectives that cannot be used predicatively, are not gradable and do do not coordi-

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[3]Again, since this claim is not found in Fábregas, this argument does not extend to his proposal.

nate freely with other adjectives of different classes; see (13) and also Gehrke and McNally (to appear).

(13)   a. ??That reason for leaving is alleged.
          b. ??We have two main events scheduled, but the Tuesday event is (a more) main (event than the Wednesday one).
          c. ??a mere and happy child

Nor do general considerations about the syntax-semantics interface force the nominal analysis. There is no reason to assume that the only way to account for the entailment that the EA contributes information about a participant is by having the noun assign a role to the hidden nominal. In fact, according to A&S, the event nominals combining with thEAs (in Greek) do not have verb-like argument structures in the sense of Grimshaw (1990). But if this is the case, it is not clear that it makes sense to talk about theta role assignment in the syntax at all.

We now turn to an alternative proposal, which avoids these problems. It is similar to Fábregas' proposal in being unified, but it differs by treating the thematic use as a subcase of the classificatory use, rather than the other way around.

3   The analysis

Given that EAs are a subclass of the relational adjectives, our semantics builds on the analyses of the semantics of relational adjectives proposed in Mezhevich (2002) and McNally and Boleda (2004).

3.1   The basic semantics

The basic semantics we propose for EAs is given in (14). We assume that, as a rule, common nouns can range not only over token entities but also over kinds of entities. EAs combine with descriptions of kinds and function as intersective modifiers of the kind description, as the classificatory use suggests, thereby introducing a contextually-determined relation R between the kind described by the nominal property (P_k) and the nation associated with the EA. We assume here, following Espinal and McNally (2009), that Number will convert the resulting kind description into a description of the token individuals realizing the kind, with $\mathbf{R}$ being the realization relation, as in Carlson (1977). A derivation for *French wine* appears in (14); crucially, the representation for e.g. *French discovery* will be identical (see (15)), where we take *discovery* to describe an eventuality type, that is, a subkind of kind.

(14)   a. $[\![\text{wine}]\!]$: $\lambda x_k[\mathbf{wine}(x_k)]$
          b. $[\![\text{French}]\!]$: $\lambda P_k \lambda x_k[P_k(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \mathbf{France})]$
          c. $[\![[_{\text{NP}}\text{French wine}]]\!]$: $\lambda x_k[\mathbf{wine}(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \mathbf{France})]$
          d. $[\![\text{Num}^0]\!]$: $\lambda P_k \lambda y_o \exists x_k[P_k(x_k) \wedge \mathbf{R}(y_o, x_k)]$

e. $[[_{\text{NumP}}[_{\text{NP}}\text{French wine}]]]$:
$\lambda y_o \exists x_k[\mathbf{wine}(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \mathbf{France}) \wedge \mathbf{R}(y, x_k)]$

(15) $[\![\text{French discovery}]\!]$: $\lambda y_o \exists x_k[\mathbf{discovery}(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \mathbf{France}) \wedge \mathbf{R}(y, x_k)]$

An initial problem for the extension of this proposal to the thematic use is that there is no obvious account of why the EA under the thematic use can only pick out those subkinds of events in which the nation (or representative individuals of it, see below) bears an agent(-like) thematic role. For example, nothing in (15c) blocks France from being what is *discovered*. The solution we propose is that R generally expresses a relation of **Origin**.[4] In particular, then, we posit that origins can be attributed to kinds, including eventuality types, and more crucially, we consider the agent(-like) participant in an eventuality as the origin of that eventuality.

We propose **Origin** because EAs have an additional use as predicates of ordinary individuals on which precisely what they attribute is origin:[5]

(16)   Guillem is French.

Based on this observation, we adopt the semantics of EAs as (17); note that the **Origin** relation is specifically associated with EAs and not with other RAs like e.g. *molecular*.

(17)   a.   **French**(x) iff **Origin**$(x, \mathbf{France})$
       b.   **Origin**(x, y) iff x comes into existence within the spatial domain of y.

The semantics in (17) correctly predicts that e.g. (18a) is false despite the fact that Louise McNally has had a Spanish passport for many years.[6]

(18)   Louise McNally is Spanish.

A basic advantage of this general approach is that it treats EAs as proper adjectives and avoids the inelegant claim found in A&S, for instance, that they are lexically ambiguous. Furthermore, treating EAs as adjectives accounts for their failure to enter into binding/anaphora relations (recall (9) and (10)). Their nonpredicative behavior is predicted to be similar to that of relational adjectives in general. McNally and Boleda (2004) argue that RAs have predicative uses just in case the RA describes a kind; (19) is one such example with a thematically interpreted EA.

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[4]See 3.5 for exceptions to this generalization.

[5]They have yet another use denoting a set of properties typical of individuals of that origin, as in *a very French movie*, but this use will not concern us further here.

[6]However, it may need to be slightly weakened insofar as we have detected cases where the nationality predication is accepted even though the individual in question was not born in the nation in question, but may have moved there at an early age and thus is perceived as having come into existence in the nation in question.

(19)   A senior government official explained that because the military deployment was primarily American, "it should be paid for by one nation."
(*http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/experts/393/
kerry_abelson.html?groupby=1&page=1&hide=1&id=393&back_url=
%2Fexperts2F&;back_text=Back+to+list+of+experts*)

The apparent nongradability of EAs follows from the **Origin** relation not being gradable except to some extent on the dimension determined by the part structure of the argument. When the part structure does support gradability, the EA can be gradable; see e.g. (20).

(20)   a.   Jangle Pop was a mostly American post-punk movement of the mid-'80s...
(*http://blogcritics.org/music/article/ sunday-morning-playlist-jangle-pop/*)
        b.   Their agreement specified partially British and partially international control of Palestine...
(*http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/suicide/timeline2.html*)

Finally, the failure of EAs to coordinate freely is explained in part by sort-theoretic considerations.

It is important to note that our proposal is in many respects compatible with Fábregas' account. By making reference to nations in the semantic representation, we posit, in a sense, something nominal internal to EAs, and it could be argued that nominal phrases without a D layer, i.e. the nPs in Fábregas' account, could be treated as kind-describing. However, unlike Fábregas, we do not assume that there is any nominal structure in the syntax, and as mentioned above, while he assimilates the classificatory use to the thematic use by treating both as nominals, we take the opposite route and provide a uniform account of both as proper adjectives, with the classificatory use as a point of departure.

In the remainder of this section we address some additional details of the analysis, as well as some further predictions it makes and some examples it does not account for, despite the overall robustness of the **Origin** relation as a restriction on the interpretation of EAs.

3.2   Nations, representative individuals, and peoples

One thing that does not follow automatically from our proposal is the fact that EAs can refer either to nations themselves ((21a)) or to representative individuals from that nation ((21b)),

(21)   a.   (the) French flag/geography/wine [i.e., the country of France]
        b.   the French invasion/victory [i.e., by French representatives]

Note however, that in this respect, the EA behaves just like the corresponding name of the country:

(22)　　a.　We visited France. [i.e., the country of France]
　　　　b.　France signed the treaty. [i.e., representative individuals from France]
　　　　c.　France won the World Cup. [i.e., representative individuals from France]

On the basis of this we conclude that the nation is the entity introduced via the semantics of the EA. Whatever metonymic processes apply in the case of the corresponding noun (which largely depend on the predicate(s) with which the EA/nation noun co-occurs) should also apply in the case of the EA.

However, the EA sometimes seems to pick out the nation's people as a whole, rather than just representative individuals, something the name of the nation cannot easily do:

(23)　　a.　the Spanish mentality [i.e., of Spanish people in general]
　　　　b.　?Spain has that mentality.
　　　　c.　Spanish eyes [i.e., of Spanish people in general]
　　　　d.　??Spain has beautiful eyes.

We attribute this contrast to two factors. First, the nation name competes with the name for the people of the nation (e.g. *France/the French*); this promotes a division of labor between the two. Second, the **Origin** relation can be indirect – that is, we might be willing to accept that the origin of something is in a particular place as an extension of its origin being in individuals characteristic of that place. The oddness of (23b,d) could then be due to the fact that no element in those sentences contributes **Origin**.

3.3　More on the Origin relation

Since we do not know of a previous proposal for the **Origin**, we elaborate on it briefly in this section. As noted above, with EAs, we take the Origin relation to involve a kind; we take the origin of kinds to correspond to the origin of their first recognized instances. For example, the invention of a kind of object is supported by the invention of an instance of the kind. Since these instances have a specific origin, we can associate the kind with that origin as well.

In the case of the classificatory use, the kind in question must come into existence (or at least have been thought to come into existence) in the nation in question. For example, (24a) is not acceptable as a description of a style created by a random Italian individual or even by a community of Italians e.g. in the US (note also the existence of e.g. *Italian-American*). A similar point is made by (24b).

(24)　　a.　(painting/furniture/music in) the Italian style

b.   The French press (was probably invented in France in the 1850s, but first patented by Italian designer Attilio Calimani in 1929).

When the existence of the kind in question must be mediated by the existence of representative individuals or the nation in question's people, it is the origin of those individuals that matters. For instance, Spanish eyes are not eyes belonging to people that happen to be in Spain, but rather are eyes typical of individuals of Spanish origin.

Turning now to the thematic use, as noted, we assume that event nouns modified by EAs generally describe types of eventualities (see also the comments in Grimshaw (1990) and Van de Velde (2004)), so the semantics we have proposed can apply. We take eventualities to have as their origins the individuals who immediately cause, initiate or control them (compare (Pustejovsky 1995)'s interpretation of the Agentive quale). This correctly predicts the existence not only of the typical agentive interpretations of EAs ((25a)), but also certain nonagentive interpretations, such as (25b).

(25)   a.   the Italian attack on Ethiopia
            b.   the British arrival on the American continent in the 17th century

Furthermore, the analysis yields interesting minimal pairs such as in (26), which shows that while EAs cannot bear a typical theme role, exceptions are possible precisely when the eventuality can be understood as under the control of or as caused by the theme.

(26)   a. ??the French disappearance from the list of nations that haven't approved the treaty
            b.   the French disappearance from Upper Louisiana

In the case of nouns describing psychological states, the use of an EA to express an experiencer is possible when the state is not externally provoked, as happens with nouns that take "target of emotion" arguments ((27)).

(27)   a.   the Italian love for opera
            b.   the American admiration of the French

A similar observation accounts for the contrast in (28) vs. (29).

(28)   a.   American surprise at how close Saddam Hussein had gotten to the bomb before the first Gulf War
            b.   American irritation with British imperialism in the Middle East

(29)   a. ??the American surprise at Pearl Harbor/by the enemy army
            b. ??American irritation by the neighboring regime

The EAs in (28) are felicitous because the emotion experienced is not externally

provoked, as it is in (29). To express the intended meanings in (29), a DP referring to the nation in question in an *of*-phrase (or a genitive) has to be used ((30)).

(30)   a.   the surprise of the Americans at Pearl Harbor/by the Japanese
          b.   the irritation of the American government by the neighboring regime

Such non-agentive uses of thEAs are problematic for A&S's analysis. One way to account for them might be to project a vP on top of the unaccusative verb and move the EA to receive an agent role associated with the vP. However, there are several problems for this solution. A perhaps minor one is that it would require assigning more than one thematic role per argument. A more serious problem is that it remains unclear why vP would project if the structure is nominalized, but not if it is realized as a full-fledged verb phrase, projecting TP and CP. In particular, why is (31) grammatical, whereas (32) is not?[7]

(31)   a.   French disappearance from Upper Louisiana
          b.   [[French]$_i$ [$_{nP}$ -ance [$_{nP}$ [French]$_i$ disappear$_j$ [$_{VP}$ [French]$_i$ disappear$_j$ [$_{PP}$ from Upper Louisiana]]]]]

(32)   a.   *John disappeared Mary.
          b.   [$_{vP}$ John disappear$_i$ [$_{VP}$ Mary disappear$_i$]]

Hence, without further explanation, these data remain a serious problem for accounts on which EAs are argued to be restricted to agentive interpretations. In contrast, on the analysis defended here, these facts are not a problem, since we do not abandon the view that *disappear* assigns a theme role; it is simply the case that if the theme somehow controls or initiates the situation in question, the use of an EA will be possible.

    A final, important point to note is that **Origin** is not the same as Source. For example, (33) is difficult to interpret as e.g. individuals of possibly diverse nationalities who embarked on a plane in France.

(33)   the French passengers

3.4   An additional argument for the kind analysis

Our analysis, which is based on the notion of kinds, correctly predicts the contrast in (34) vs. (35), which is not accounted for by the previous analyses.

(34)   a.   George Washington was the father of America. $\neq$
          b.   George Washington was the American father.

(35)   a.   George Washington was a president of America. =
          b.   George Washington was an American president.

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[7]We set aside the following rather special agentive use of *disappear* in English: *The secret police disappeared the dissidents*.

The expression *American father* in (34b) requires a kind of fathers originating in America. Many such kinds can be defined, e.g. fathers living in America, fathers born in America, fathers that are being fathers in an American way, and all such interpretations are available for (34b). However, one relevant kind is not among them: the kind of fathers of America. It makes no sense for such a kind to exist because the father-offspring relation specifies a unique father for a specific offspring. Thus, the equivalence in (34) does not obtain.

Similarly, *American president* in (35b) requires a kind of president originating in America. Again, depending on the context, it is possible to define a number of such kinds, e.g. presidents of any organization in America, or presidents who act in a way that originates from America. In contrast to (34), however, one possible kind is also the kind of presidents of America, as this kind has multiple (if temporally distinct) instances. This difference between *father of America* and *president of America* is also at the base of the difference in the article use between (34b) and (35b).

3.5 Purely discourse-anaphoric uses of EAs

Finally, we have alluded to the fact that one can use an EA with a relatively free interpretation for the specific relation between the nation and referent of the head noun when prior text makes it clear what that specific relation is. If that condition is not met, the EA is difficult to accept, as in the oddness of (36a) out of context to describe a visit to Canada; compare (36b) and a PP is preferred:

(36)   a.   Yeltsin met the prospective Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton on June 18. His itinerary also included ??**an official Canadian visit**.
         b.   Yeltsin met the prospective Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton on June 18. His itinerary also included **an official visit to Canada**. *(BNC)*

Purely discourse-anaphoric uses of EAs are particularly acceptable when they help distinguish one particular referent from others in the context that could also be described by the same head noun, as in (37), which comes at the end of a long text that makes it clear that South Africa was defeated.

(37)   This is not the story of a South African defeat. It is the story of an Angolan defeat...
         (*http://www.rhodesia.nl/barber.htm*)

In principle, there are two possible approaches to such examples. One holds that the **Origin** here is the 'kind of N that was mentioned', with discourse as a spatial metaphor. Alternatively, the EA could be taken to be effectively equivalent to an anaphoric demonstrative and is not interpreted as a modifier. We will leave the

precise account of such data for future research.

4 Conclusion

We have proposed a uniform account of the thematic and the classificatory uses of ethnic adjectives, treating them as proper adjectives. We are now in a position to answer the challenges raised by a nominal analysis. The first was why two different constructions (EAs vs. genitive DPs / PPs) should express exactly the same semantic relation. Our answer is that EAs are in fact not semantically identical to their nominal counterparts (see also (Berndt *et al.* 2009)).

The second question was why EAs would be used to express arguments, given that adjectives in general do not function as arguments. Our answer is that EAs are not proper arguments: the argument-like interpretation arises when EAs modify event nominals as a result of the interaction between the semantics of the adjective and that of the noun.

The final challenge was to explain why thematic EAs systematically have a homophonous classificatory EA counterpart, and what is the relationship between the two. Under our proposal, the two uses derive from a single lexical entry. The common semantic analysis involving an **Origin** relation accounts for both readings.

More generally, the proposed analysis of EAs as a subclass of relational adjectives lends support to the analysis of relational adjectives defended in McNally and Boleda (2004), and raises the possibility that other interesting subclasses of relational adjectives might be identified, which would differ from EAs only in the specific sort of relation they encode as an alternative to **Origin**. By appealing to the **Origin** relation we have maintained a conservative view of the syntax-semantics interface and the inventory of thematic roles; nonetheless, the usefulness of this relation in the analysis suggests that we still have things to learn about the linguistically (and cognitively) salient aspects of eventualities and their participants.

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