

Some notes on Italian ethnic adjectives

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Abstract:

In this paper, we deal with ethnic adjectives in Italian, arguing against the dichotomy between ‘thematic’ and ‘classificatory’ ethnic adjectives, recently assumed by Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011). Building on Manzini and Savoia (2011), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Savoia *et al.* (2017, forthcoming), we provide a unified characterization of Italian ethnic adjectives and we take the derivational morphemes shaping this kind of items to be a derivational counterpart of the genitive adposition *di* (of) (and other kinds of obliques), sharing with the latter a common predicational core and a common signature. The proposal advanced for ethnic adjectives can be broadly extended to relational adjectives in general.

Keywords: DP, Elementary Predicates, Ethnic Adjectives, Genitives/Obliques, Italian

1. *Introduction**

Ethnic adjectives of the type illustrated in (1) have attracted some interest in the recent theoretical literature.

- (1) a. The **Persian** invasion of Greece
b. The **Persian** carpet

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From the one hand, Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011) assumed that ethnic adjectives of the type represented in (1a) are ‘nouns in disguise’, having a nominal source visible at the level of interpretation, while items of the type in (1b) are proper ‘classificatory’ adjectives, which happen to be ‘homophonous’ to the thematic items employed in contexts where a deverbal noun is present, as for instance ‘invasion’ in (1a). From the other hand, Arsenijevic et al. (2011) (cf. Boleda *et al.* 2012) have proposed a unified treatment of ethnic adjectives, assuming that the two uses (thematic vs classificatory) in (1a) and (1b) derive from a single lexical entry (a proper adjective). Indeed, they assume that a common semantic analysis involving an *Origin* relation accounts for both readings.

In this paper, focussing on Italian ethnic adjectives, we will provide a unified characterization of this kind of items, enhancing the role of derivational morphology. Building on Borer (2003, 2014), we will assume that inflection and derivation can convey the same morpho-syntactic relation/content. We will extend this idea to stand-alone morphemes (i.e. adpositions). Building on Manzini and Savoia (2011a, b), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Savoia *et al.* (2017, forthcoming), we will take the derivational morphemes shaping Italian ethnic adjective to be a derivational counterpart of genitive/obliques adpositions, sharing with the latter a common predicational core and a common signature. The proposal advance for ethnic adjectives can be broadly extended to relational adjectives in general. The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 we will briefly sketch in some more details the competing proposals on ethnic adjectives advanced in the recent generative literature. In Section 3 we will empirically describe how Italian ethnic adjectives are shaped in the lexicon. Section 4 advances an analysis, that rejects Alexiadou and Stavrou’s idea that thematic and classificatory ethnic adjectives have different class labels in our lexicon (reflecting different syntaxes), and assumes that the derivational suffixes recruited to introduce these nominal modifiers are elementary relational predicates, signalling a broad part-whole relation, based on a series of morpho-syntactic evidence. The conclusions follow.

2. *The background*

Alexiadou and Stavrou, taking Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Marantz 1997) as a framework, assume that the thematic ethnic adjectives of the type depicted in (1a) are nominal items, while classificatory ethnic adjectives, as in (1b), are real adjectives, which just happens to be homophonous to thematic ethnic adjectives. Since the present work is couched in a framework which takes the lexicon as the locus of externalization in the sense of Berwick and Chomsky (2011), pairing syntactico-semantic content with phonological content, we are aprioristically unsatisfied with a charac-

terization of the items in (1a) and (1b) as merely homophonous.¹ Actually, as will see below, there are some empirical flaws in the approach of Alexidou and Stavrou which theoretically substantiate a *sensu lato* lexicalist approach to the problem (Chomsky 1995, cf. also Stump 2001).

Alexidou and Stavrou mainly focus on the syntax of thematic ethnic adjectives, somewhat stipulating a different syntactic encoding of ‘classificatory’ ethnic items (for which they do not provide a detailed syntactic representation). Thematic items are claimed to carry “a nominal source visible at the interpretation level” (Alexidou and Stavrou 2011: 120; cf. also Fabregas 2007; Marchis Moreno 2010, 2015), consistently bearing an agent theta-role assigned by a deverbal noun (*invasion* in (1a)) in a nominalization grid. The minimal pair in (2) serves as illustrating the issue with Italian examples.

- (2) a. L’invasione italiana dell’Albania
 ‘The Italian invasion of Albania’
 b. L’invasione dell’Albania dell’/da parte dell’Italia.
 ‘The invasion of Albania of/by (from part of) Italy’

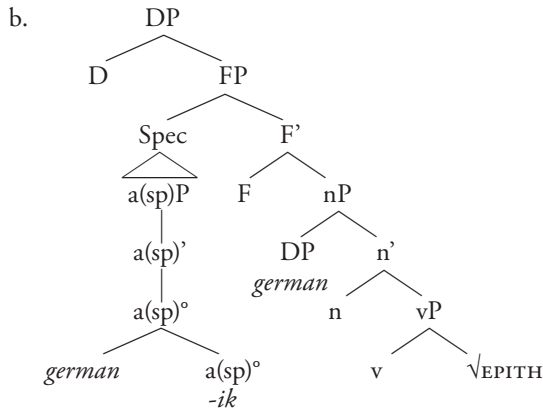
(2a) and (2b) essentially mean the same. The agent of the construction in (2b), namely Italy, is introduced by the genitive preposition *of* or by the complex prepositional string *da parte di* (lit. ‘from part of’). That an agent is involved when introduced by such complex preposition phrase is ensured by the fact that the same strategy may be employed in Italian for introducing demoted agents, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) Il pacco bomba fu spedito da (parte di) un poliziotto infiltrato.
 ‘The parcel bomb has been sent by (from part of) an infiltrator’

Thus, arguably, the adjective *italiana* in (2a) expresses the same agent theta role. For Alexidou and Stavrou, the difference in the syntax between (2a) and (2b) is given broadly assuming the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981), namely the principle by which every noun needs to bear case. The thematic ethnic adjective in (2b) is a deficient (caseless) noun, which becomes an adjective during the derivation. The syntactic derivation of Alexidou and Stavrou (2011: 136) is sketched in (4b), for the Greek example in (4a).

- (4) a. germaniki epithesi
 German attack

¹ As in standard minimalism (Chomsky 1995), we assume that syntax does not exist but as the product of the merger of lexical items. In what follows we consistently use the expression ‘*x* lexicalizes *y*’. What we mean is that lexical item *x* lexicalizes concept *y*, by pairing *y* with a phonological form *z* (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2011).



Alexiadou and Stavrou take the suffix *-ik* to be the overt exponent of a category that they label a/ASP, which is assumed to act as an adjectivizer, building an adjective out of a noun. Such suffix selects for a particular set of nouns and the spell-out of this combination is interpreted as an adjective. In (4b), *german-* starts out as a DP in the specifier of the noun phrase *epithesi* ‘attack’, represented in (4a) via the root EPITH (matching the syntax of the verb for ‘attack’). In this position, the item *german-* is necessarily assigned the agent theta role by the underlying verb, in analogy to genitive DPs (cf. 2b), which are also assumed to be generated in this position (cf. Marchis Moreno 2010). 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, in line with Cinque 1994, 2010, Alexiadou and Stavrou assume to be sandwiched between D and N in the functional skeleton of N). In this ‘defective’ position (see Fabregas 2007), *german-* is spelled out as an adjective.

According to Moreno Marchis (2010, 2015) thematic adjectives and genitive PPs, as for instance *of* in “the attack *of* the Germans” (cf. (4)) are base-generated in the same position, and this assures that the relation to the event nominal they modify is the same, namely they both express a ‘possessor’ of the deverbal nominal and receive the agent theta-role by that nominal. However, broadly in line with Fabregas (2007), since genitive DPs do not lack case, they are spelled out as nominals, whereas thematic adjectives undergo a movement to a(sp)P, as proposed by Alexiadou and Stavrou.

For what concerns the alleged difference in terms of the class labels of thematic and classificatory ethnic adjectives, Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011: 138) simply state that: “the differences between EAs (i.e. thematic) and homophonous descriptive adjectives are accounted for under the assumption that the formation of the latter takes place prior to insertion in the syntactic structure. This amounts to saying that EAs and their homophonous coun-

terparts interact with syntax at different points of the derivation. Moreover, while classificatory adjectives of provenance are formed prior to insertion in the syntactic structure, EAs are formed in the syntax.”

In order to highlight this assumption on the special status of thematic ethnic adjective, Alexiadou and Stavrou present a series of tests which try to cast light on the basic difference they assume between thematic ethnic adjectives and their ‘homophonous’ classificatory counterparts. We will sketch some of their tests below, providing examples that show that such a strict dichotomy does not seem to hold in Italian.

First, in line with many authors (e.g. Bartning 1980; Levi 1978; Bosque and Picallo 1996; Fábregas 2007; Marchis Moreno 2010, 2015, among others) they assume that predicativity is a possible first tool to disentangle between thematic and classificatory ethnic adjectives. Indeed, they argue that Ethnic adjectives cannot be predicative, while classificatory adjectives can. Such difference should be highlighted by the examples in (5) for Italian.

- (5) a. Il tappeto è persiano
 ‘The carpet is Persian’
 b. ^(*)L’invasione è persiana
 ‘The invasion is Persian’

The example in (5b) has been ‘starred’ (in brackets) only to illustrate what Alexiadou and Stavrou argue for Greek and English, namely the fact that, according to their judgements, thematic ethnic adjectives cannot be used predicatively in such languages. Actually, according to our own judgements, in Italian it is not difficult to imagine contexts in which a ‘thematic’ ethnic adjective can be employed predicatively, as illustrated by the examples in (6) and (7). Note that this kind of use for thematic ethnic adjectives appears quite natural (unmarked) when the predicate is quantificationally modified/restricted (e.g. by an adverb such as *solo*, *soltanto* meaning ‘only’).

- (6) a. la coltivazione italiana delle patate
 ‘The Italian cultivation of potatoes’
 b. la coltivazione delle patate (non) è (soltanto) italiana
 ‘The cultivation of potatoes is (not only) Italian’
- (7) a. l’invasione americana dell’Iraq
 ‘The American Invasion of Iraq’
 b. l’invasione dell’Iraq (non) è (solo) americana (ma globale)
 ‘The Invasion of Iraq is (not only) American (but global)’

Further consider that the assignment of an agent theta role is not a good diagnostic to consistently disentangle thematic ethnic adjectives from other ‘common’ relational adjectives. Arsenijevic *et al.* (2011) already show that

deverbal ‘unaccusative’ nominals are not incompatible with an ethnic adjective as shown in (8).

- (8) l’arrivo francese in Louisiana
 ‘The French arrival in Louisiana’

Note however that Alexiadou *et al.* (2015) assume unaccusative verbs to be endowed with a *v* layer. Thus, more robust evidence can be provided showing that an internal argument (i.e. a patient-like) role for ethnic adjectives can be triggered also by ‘transitive’ deverbal nominals, as illustrated in the examples in (9) and (10). In (9 a, b) a patient role for the adjective *africana* or *persiana* is ensured by the presence of a *bona fide* agent introduced by the complex prepositional string *da parte di* (cf. the example in (3)). In (10) the same interpretation can be rendered switching the adjective and the Agent, namely pragmatical cues do favour a patient interpretation for the adjective in (10a), and such example is nor ungrammatical neither marked according to our own judgement (and also basing on a small informal survey conducted among linguistically naïve Italian speakers).

- (9) a. la colonizzazione africana da parte dei tedeschi è ancora un tasto dolente
 lit. ‘The African colonization by (from part of) Germans is still a sore point’
 (*L’Espresso*, 2011/3/23)
- b. l’ammissione persiana al negoziato da parte delle potenze occidentali
 ‘The Persian admission to the negotiation by (from part of) the Western Countries’
- (10) a. la colonizzazione africana della Cina
 ‘The African colonization by China’
- b. la colonizzazione cinese dell’Africa
 ‘The Chinese colonization of Africa’
 Both interpreted as: ‘China colonizes Africa’

Conversely, it is not difficult to trigger an agent interpretation for (non-ethnic) relational adjectives employed with some types of deverbal nominals. The item *invasion*, already employed above in (2), is a case in point, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) l’invasione tecnologica della sfera intima
 ‘The technologic invasion of the intimate sphere’
 Interpreted as: ‘Technology invades the intimate sphere’
 (C.J. Jung, *L’io e l’inconscio*, ed. Bollati Boringhieri 2011, trad. Arrigo de Vita)

On the contrary, evidence that we are dealing with the same object when we consider thematic ethnic adjectives and classificatory ones is provided by a series of facts. For instance, both types of adjectives are not naturally grada-

ble as illustrated in (12) (*contra* what assumed in Alexiadou and Stavrou, who say that thematic items only are not gradable, but in line with Arsenijevic *et al.* 2011, who say that both sub-types are marginally gradable), and both can appear only sandwiched between the noun and its complement/internal argument (cf. Cinque 1994: 86, for the original observation of this constraint for ‘thematic’ items), as in (13).²

- (12) a. ?l’invasione molto americana
 ‘The very American invasion’
 b. ?Il tappeto molto persiano
 ‘The very Persian carpet’
- (13) a. L’invasione italiana dell’Albania
 a’. *L’italiana invasione dell’Albania
 ‘The Italian invasion of Albania’
 b. Il tappeto persiano di Gianni
 b’. *Il persiano tappeto di Gianni
 ‘The Persian carpet of Gianni’

Furthermore, Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011: 121-122) argue that thematic (adjectives), *contra* classificatory ones, cannot be coordinated with ‘normal’ adjectives, but only with other thematic items, as shown in (14) with their Greek examples (cf. also Fabregas 2007).

- (14) a. *i {amesi, grigori, pithani} keamerikanikianamiksi
 the {immediate, quick, possible} and American intervention
 b. ?to oreo, zesto, malino keeglezikopalto tu
 the nice warm woolen and English overcoat.his

Actually, in Italian both kinds of adjectives appear to be quite marked, if not completely ungrammatical, when coordinated with non-ethnic items. Thus, we argue that no differences between classificatory and thematic items can be detected on the basis of this test.

- (15) a. ??L’invasione americana e militare
 ‘the military and American invasion’
 b. ??Il tappeto persiano e nuovo
 ‘the new and Persian carpet’

² Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011: 122) say that one property that thematic and classificatory ethnic adjectives share in Greek and Germanic is their adjacency to the noun they appear to modify, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. the unexpected aggressive Italian invasion to Greece
 b. these small round wooden Chinese tables

In the light of the data presented above, we can conclude that there are no clear facts that might lead to hypothesize a substantial dichotomy between thematic ethnic adjectives and their classificatory counterparts.

A more appealing proposal is the one put forth in Arsenijevic *et al.* (2011), who propose a semantic account to the topic arguing that both types of adjectives are actually one and the same thing. They start their analysis from ‘classificatory’ adjectives, assuming that this type of ethnic adjectives combines with descriptions of kinds and work as intersective modifiers (cf. also Cinque 2010; Partee 2007) of the kind description (as suggested by the classificatory label). Thus, they introduce a contextually-determined relation (R) between the kind described by the nominal property (P_k) and the nation associated with the ethnic adjectives (cf. Carlson 1977). Their basic (adapted) representation for an example like *French wine* is in (16).

- (16) a. [wine]: $\lambda x_k[\text{wine}(x_k)]$
 b. [French]: $\lambda P_k \lambda x_k [P_k(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \text{France})]$
 c. [[_{NP} French wine]]: $\lambda x_k[\text{wine}(x_k) \wedge R(x_k, \text{France})]$

Arsenijevic *et al.* assume thematic adjectives to have an identical semantic representation. So, an example like *French discovery* (17) does not differ from something like *French wine* in (16). In (15) the eventive noun *discovery* is taken by Arsenijevic *et al.* (cf. also McNally and Boleda 2004; Boleda *et al.* 2012) to describe an eventuality type (i.e. a sub-kind of kind).

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

A potential problem, acknowledged by the same Arsenijevic *et al.*, for extending their proposal to thematic ethnic adjectives, as in (17), is that there is no immediate explanation of why the thematic items commonly can only target those sub-kinds of events in which a given nation (or, as an extension, individuals of a given nation) bears an agent theta role. For instance, nothing in (17) “blocks France from being what is discovered” (Arsenijevic *et al.* 2011: 23). As a solution, they propose that the relation R in (16)–(17) generally expresses a relation of *Origin*. Indeed Arsenijevic *et al.* assume that *origins* can be ascribed to kinds – including eventuality kinds – and, essentially, agent participants in an eventuality can be taken to be the *Origin* of that eventuality (cf. also Manzini and Savoia 2002).

Now, we have seen in (8)–(10) that thematic ethnic adjectives are not universally assigned the agent role, given that we may imagine sets of eventive nominals allowing a patient-like thematic ethnic adjective. Furthermore, as illustrated in (11) other relational adjectives can access the agent theta role in nominalization patterns. Thus, we will advance the hypothesis that a more general relation of ‘belonging to (something)/part-whole/possession’ is at work

with ethnic adjectives, and relational adjectives in general. This view is shared with Marchis Moreno (2010), who assumes that a common ‘possession’ relation is involved with ethnic adjective, as well as with other relation adjectives. Marchis Moreno, however, accepts the dichotomy between thematic and classificatory ethnic adjective proposed by Alexiadou and Stavrou.

In the next section, we will introduce Italian Ethnic adjectives in some more details, focussing on the derivational morphemes employed to render this kind of adjectives in the Italian lexicon. In Section 4 we will provide a unified syntactic analysis of (thematic and classificatory) ethnic adjectives. Building on Manzini and Savoia (2011a, b), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Savoia *et al.* (2017, forthcoming), we will provide a unified characterization of ethnic adjectives and we will take the derivational morphemes shaping this kind of items to be a derivational counterpart of the genitive/oblique adpositions,³ sharing with the latter a common predicational core. This common predicational core we think about precisely represents a *belonging to (something)/part-whole/possession* morpho-syntactic relation. The proposal advance for ethnic adjectives can be broadly extended to relational adjectives in general.

3. Italian ethnic adjectives and how they are built: an overview

In Italian, many different suffixes are used to build ethnic adjectives (Rohlf 1968; Crocco Galèas 1991: 29-39; cf. also Rainer 2004). Crocco Galèas (1991) lists up to 44 derivational suffixes active in the realm of ethnic adjectives. This proliferation of suffixes has to be ascribed to the fact that their distribution is influenced, and somewhat determined, by areal factors. For instance, the suffix *-asco* of *bergamasco* (from Bergamo), *comasco* (from Como), is almost only diffused in northern Italy (and southern France, e.g. *monegasco*, ‘from Monaco’) (see Rohlf 1969: §1120), while the suffix *-oto*, of *liparioto* (from Lipari), being of Greek origin (cf. Meyer Lübke 1911; Rohlf 1969: §1139; Reiner 2004: 402ff.), is diffused almost only in Southern Italy.

Interestingly, there are various Italian toponyms which have suppletive (sometimes conveying an aulic flavour) ethnic adjectives, together with their ‘standard’ derivational counterpart (Crocco Galèas 1991: 238), as illustrated in (18).

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------|-----|------------|----------------|
| (18) | a. | Bolognese | a’. | Felsineo | (From Bologna) |
| | b. | Napolitano ⁴ | b’. | Partenopeo | (From Napoli) |
| | c. | Livornese | c’. | Labronico | (From Livorno) |

³ Consider also Franco (2015) for similar assumption concerning Italian adverbs in *-oni*.

⁴ Note that we do not consider here the shape of interfixes, as for instance *-et* in *Napolitano*, in the formation of ethnic adjectives. See Reiner (2004) for some notes about them.

It is interesting to notice that, if one assumes that thematic ethnic adjectives and their classificatory counterparts are only accidentally homophonous, along the lines of Alexiadou and Stavrou, it would be likely – in principle – to find specialized suppletive forms able to encode one of the two interpretations only. Actually, this is not the case, as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. La pasticceria bolognese a'. La pasticceria **felsinea**
 (both: 'the Bolognese patisserie')
- b. L'invasione bolognese b'. L'invasione **felsinea**
 (both: 'the Bolognese invasion')

Coming back to the derivational suffixes involved in the formation of ethnic adjectives, according to Crocco Galèas (1991: 29-39, 177) the entire set includes 44 variants, 35 of which are confined to unproductive toponyms from Trentino (that we will not take into consideration here). According to Crocco Galèas the most productive suffix is *-es* (forming around 68% of the adjectives derived from Italian toponyms), as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. portoghese b. bolognese c. genovese d. lucchese
 (from Portugal) (from Bologna) (from Genova) (from Lucca)

The suffix *-ens* is taken to be (cf. e.g. Rainer 2004) a variant of *-es* (as in *Ostiense*, *Panamense*, etc.). The suffix *-es* and its variant *-ens* are not exclusively employed to form ethnic adjectives. As shown below, for instance the suffix *-es* can be employed to indicate the language of a given social subgroup or a given medium with a somewhat pejorative connotation,⁵ as in (21), while both the suffix *-es* (cf. also Hohnerlein-Buchinger 1996, for a description of many *-ese* adjectives employed in the sub-lexicon of Italian wine-makers) and the suffix *-ens* (from which *-es* is historically derived, cf. Rainer 2004, employed for the 1,26% of Italian toponyms) can be used to form various relational adjectives:

- (21) a. sindacalese b. politicese
 mumbo jumbo of syndicalists mumbo jumbo of politician
- c. burocratese d. sinistrese
 mumbo jumbo of bureaucrats mumbo jumbo of leftists
- (22) a. cortese b. borghese
 kind/courtly bourgeois/middle class

⁵ Note that, in Italian, the names of languages and dialects are always homophonous to ethnic adjectives (e.g. l'italiano, *Italian*, il francese, *French*, il portoghese, *Portuguese*, il napoletano, *Neapolitan*).

- c. **circense**
circus (e.g. 'a circus show')
- d. **forense**
forensic

The other two suffixes most commonly employed to encode ethnic adjectives in Italian, are *-in* (23) and *-an* (24) (employed respectively in the 7,8% and 7,6% of occurrences, according to the statistics provided in Crocco Galèas 1991). All the other suffixes retrieved in Crocco Galèas's survey are not able to *adjectivize* more than the 1% of the toponyms in her sample. The interested reader is, in fact, referred to Crocco Galèas (1991) for a comprehensive discussion.⁶

- (23) a. **fiorentino**
(from Florence) b. **algerino**
(from Algeria) c. **perugino**
(from Perugia)
- (24) a. **italiano**
(from Italy) b. **palermitano**
(from Palermo) c. **grossetano**
(from Grosseto)

The suffix *-in* is employed in various contexts in Italian. As recently illustrated in Savoia *et al.* (2017, forthcoming), it can be used as an evaluative (i.e. diminutive) morpheme,⁷ as in (25), and as a singulative morpheme

⁶ Scalise (1990: 76) assumes that the derivational suffixes employed to form ethnic adjectives are unable to derive adverbs in *-mente*. Actually, as shown in Ricca (2004: 526), once ethnic adjectives are associated to properties (and *clichés*) that can be attributed to the members (as a whole) of a given locality, such kind of derivation is widely attested, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) imprecano, ordinatamente, elveticamente, ma imprecano
'They swear, neatly, Swissly, but they swear'
- (ii) avvezzo italianamente all'approssimazione
'Italianly accustomed to the approximation'

⁷ Note that the interplay between evaluative and ethnic morphology can be seen with many other suffixes. Consider for instance the case of *-ott* (i), *-on* (ii), or *-ell* (iii).

- (i) a. aquila 'eagle' > **aquilotto** 'little eagle'; leper 'hare' > **leprotto** 'little hare'
b. Rovigo > **rovigotto** (from Rovigo); Choggia > **chioggiotto** (from Chioggia)
- (ii) a. orso 'bear' > **orsono** 'big bear'; letto 'bed' > **lettone** 'bid bed'
b. Borgogna > **borgognone** (from Borgogna); Montagna in Valtellina > **montagnone**
(from Montagna in Valtellina)
- (iii) a. vino 'wine' > **vinello** 'light wine'; bambino 'child' > **bambinello** 'little child'
b. Centa San Nicolò > **centarelllo** (from Centa San Nicolò)

Further notice that the suffix *-esc*, sometimes employed to build ethnic adjectives, may have an evaluative (i.e. pejorative) connotation (Wandruszka 2004, cf. Dardano 2008: 102) when employed as opposed to a more typical derivational suffix in the formation of a relational adjectives (cf. (iv)).

- (iv) a. Pantelleria > **pantesco** (from the island of Pantelleria); Barberia > **barbaresco**
(from Barberia)
- b. Produzione artigianale vs Produzione artigiana**esca**
'handmade production' 'low-quality handmade production'

(both from mass noun or verbal bases, cf. Ott 2011; de Belder *et al.* 2014, among others, for a set of cross-linguistic facts linking diminutives to singularatives), as in (26).

- (25) a. **lettino** 'small bed' b. **macchinina** 'small/toy car' c. **uccellino** 'little bird'
- (26) a. **zucchero** 'sugar' a'. **zuccherino** 'sugar cube'
 b. **piombo** 'lead' b'. **piombino** 'sinker'
 c. **crema** 'cream' c'. **cremino** 'chocolate truffle'
 d. **accendere** 'to light' d'. **accendino** 'lighter'
 e. **imbiancare** 'to paint' e'. **imbianchino** 'painter'

Moreover, the suffix *-in* can be employed to form various relational adjectives unrelated to toponyms, as illustrated in (27).

- (27) a. **vacca** 'cow' a'. **vaccino** 'of a cow, e.g. latte vaccino *cow's milk*' 'vaccine'
 b. **mare** 'sea' b'. **marino** 'marine'
 c. **sale** 'salt' c'. **salino** 'saline/salt'
 d. **corallo** 'coral' d'. **corallino** 'coral'
 e. **cristallo** 'crystal' e'. **cristallino** 'crystalline'

The suffix *-an* is again not only employed to form ethnic adjectives. It is one of the most common devices to form (relational) adjectives from an anthroponimic base (together with *-iano*, which can be taken to be an allomorph of *-ano*, cf. Reiner 1996; Seidl 2004),⁸ as illustrated in (28); it can form agent nouns from collective nouns (in a fashion similar to the singularative behaviour on *-in* illustrated in (26)), as in (29), and, like the suffix *-in* is able to convey various kinds of relational adjectives (30).

- b'. **titolo baronale** vs **titolo baronesco**
 'baronial title' 'snobbish title'

Nevertheless, the suffix *-esc* is employed to form full sets of relational adjectives, without any evaluative flavours, as shown in (v):

- (v) a. **cinquecento** > **cinquecentesco** (e.g. 'palazzo cinquecentesco')
 'sixteenth century' 'of the of the sixteenth century' 'building of the sixteenth century'
 b. **polizia** > **poliziesco** (e.g. indagine poliziesca)
 'police' 'police' 'police investigation'

⁸ Note that this property is shared with the suffix *-in*, as illustrated in (i). Another widely employed suffix in de-anthroponimic contexts is *-esc* (ii), also employed with toponyms (cf. fn. 7).

- (i) Cervantes > **Cervantino** (of/related to Cervantes) / Garibaldi > **Garibaldino** (of/related to Garibaldi)
 (ii) Dante > **Dantesco** (of/related to Dante) / Boccaccio > **Boccaccesco** (of/related to Boccaccio)

- (28) a. Copernico > Copernic**ano** (of/related to Copernico)
 b. Maometto > Maomett**ano** (of/related to Maometto, muslim)
 c. Francesco > Francesc**ano** (of/related to Francesco)
- (29) a. mandria > mandri**ano**
 ‘herd’ > ‘herdsman’
 b. milizia > milizi**ano**
 ‘militia’ > ‘militiaman’
 c. popolo > popol**ano**
 ‘people’ > ‘commoner/member of the lower class’
- (30) a. monte > mont**ano** (e.g. valico montano)
 mountain > mountain/alpine (e.g. mountain crossing)
 b. pioggia > piog**vano** (e.g. acqua piovana)
 rain > rain (e.g. rain water)
 c. uomo > um**ano** (e.g. corpo umano)
 man > human (e.g. human body)

Given this overview, we can conclude that there is a clear interplay between ethnic adjectives and other relational adjectives, and between ethnic adjectives and evaluatives (cf. fn. 7). In particular, there is no derivational suffix which is dedicated to the formation of ethnic adjectives only. From a morpho-lexical perspective this fact weakens the view of Arsenijevic *et al.* concerning a ‘narrow’ semantic *Origin* relation responsible of the peculiarities of the behaviour of ethnic adjectives. Once we assume that morphology is a window for syntax (and semantics), it is likely that the relation being established between an ethnic adjective and its head noun is broader, encompassing a *sensu lato* possessor-possessum/part-whole relation. In fact, the set of the suffixes responsible for the formation of ethnic adjectives is also responsible for the formation of ‘typical’ relational adjectives, singulatives, evaluatives, etc. In the next section, we will assume that such suffixes play a role in the syntax, and we will characterize them as expressing a unified basic predicational core, comparable to that of the Italian genitive adposition *di* (of), and other oblique devices. On the basis of the data presented in the preceding sections, we reject the idea that ethnic adjective involved as agents (or patients) in nominalization patterns are different in any respect from the ethnic adjectives involved in expressing ‘classificatory’ property relations within a given noun phrase.

4. *A sketch of the morphosyntactic analysis of ethnic adjectives in Italian*

4.1 *The relational content of ‘ethnic’ suffixes*

At this point, we have enough evidence to sketch our analysis. The morphemic analysis of Italian/Romance implies a first component which is a root $\sqrt{\quad}$; following Marantz (1997), we may think of the root $\sqrt{\quad}$ as category-less.

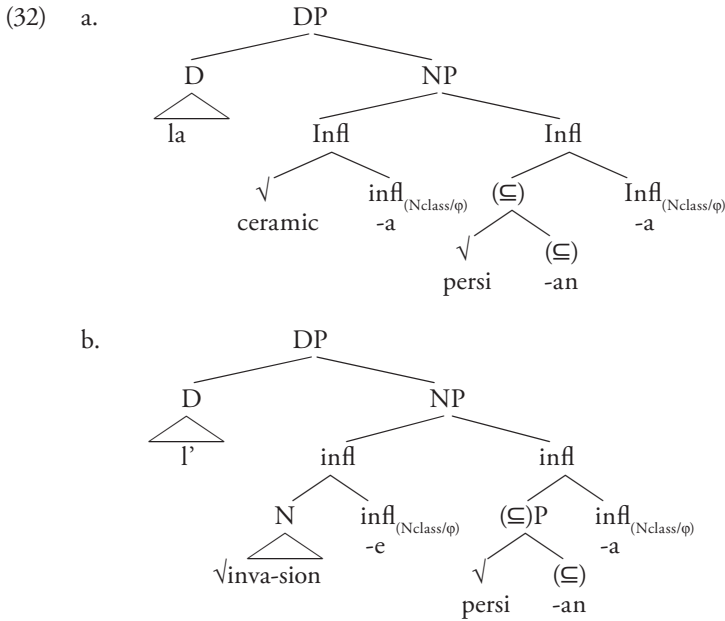
Next to the root $\sqrt{\quad}$ we find different kinds of morphemes, including derivational and inflectional ones (e.g. gender, number); inflectional morphemes generally follow derivational suffixes (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2017a, b).

We assume that the (derivational) suffixes reviewed so far syntactically express a relational content (a very elementary *belonging to*, *part-whole* relation), notated here as (\sqsubseteq) (not to be strictly interpreted in a logico-mathematical sense), following Manzini and Savoia 2011b, Manzini and Franco 2016, Franco and Manzini 2017, among others. The different flavours these suffixes happen to encode are a matter of pragmatic inference. Furthermore, following Borer (2003, 2014) and Savoia *et al.* (2017, forthcoming) we assume that the same lexical content can be expressed by inflectional and derivational morphemes, both intralinguistically and crosslinguistically. For instance, in Romance languages, inflectional morphemes can introduce properties more standardly introduced by derivational tools, for example category change, size properties (e.g. *melo* ‘apple tree’/*mela* ‘apple’; *buco* ‘hole’/*buca* ‘pit’, cf. Franco *et al.* 2015). Conversely, derivational morphemes can introduce types of contents generally associated with inflection, as for instance gender specifications, which is also introduced in Italian by the derivational suffix *-ess* (e.g. *operaio-operaia* ‘male/female labourer’ vs *dottore-dottoressa* ‘male/female doctor’). The same is true when we introduce in the picture standalone morphemes such as adpositions, which generally express a *bona fide* relational content. The same content is expressible inflectionally (e.g. in languages with case paradigms), and derivationally, as we will show below. The gist of the present proposal is precisely that the Italian adposition *di* (of) in the nominal domain (as well as other adpositional items, such as *da*) expresses the same (\sqsubseteq) syntactic primitive of the derivational morphemes involved in the formation of relational adjectives. Following Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2011), in fact, we assume that merge takes morphemes as its input and single morphemes are visible to syntactic computation.

Consider the examples in (31). Leaving aside from our discussion/representation the content expressed by the nominalizer morpheme *-sion* in (31b)⁹ and class(ifier) layers (for an extensive discussion on the role of the node class in the syntax, see Manzini and Savoia 2017a, b) we may assume that both items in (31) can be roughly represented as in (32a)-(32b), where we assume a fully interpretable (\sqsubseteq) node, sandwiched between the root and an inflectional node (visible to agreement) in the morpho-syntax of ethnic adjective.

⁹ The different layers at work in the ‘functional skeleton’ of deverbal (i.e. event) nominals have been assigned different labels in the literature: *Event Phrase* (van Hout and Roeper 1998) or different flavors of *AspP* (Borer 2003, 2014; Alexiadou *et al.* 2009). In such proposals, normally a correlation between event structure and argument structure is realized by taking arguments to be introduced by functional heads (one of which being also responsible of the introduction of the event variable).

- (31) a. la ceramica persiana
 ‘The Persian ceramics’
 b. l’invazione persiana
 ‘The Persian invasion’



Thus, we take both classificatory and thematic ethnic adjective to basically express a broad part-whole content, namely in (31) both the *ceramics* and the *invasion* belongs to/originate from Persia. Such content may be surely interpreted as an (semantic) *Origin* content along the lines of Arsenijevic *et al.*, but the evidence provided in Section 3, namely the use of the various suffix able to encode ethnic adjectives as meaningful devices in many other contexts, lead us to think that such characterization is (morpho-syntactically) too narrow. Evidence that we are on the right track in our characterization of ethnic adjectives is provided by the fact that (31a) and (31b) are paraphrasable (without any significant shift in the meaning) as in (33a) and (33b), using an adposition, as a (⊆) device.

- (33) a. la ceramica della/dalla Persia
 ‘The ceramics of/from Persia’
 b. l’invazione della/dalla/da parte della Persia
 ‘The invasion by/from Persia’

Interestingly, in (33) the adposition *di* can alternate with the adposition *da* (and in (33b) with the complex adpositional string *da parte di*, lit. *from*

part of).¹⁰ Following Manzini *et al.* (2017) and Manzini (2017) we can attribute to *di* and *da* headed phrases the same (\subseteq) signature/content. One piece of evidence that confirms that this assumption is on the right track comes from the fact that the adposition *da* in Italian can be pronominalized by the same clitic that pronominalizes genitive/partitive *di*, namely *ne*, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. **Ne** esco ora (dal parrucchiere/da casa)
 from.it I.get.out now (from the hairdresser/from home)
 'I get out now from there'
- b. **Ne** vedo tre (di ragazzi)
 of.them I.see three of boys
 'I see three of them'

Further evidence that the same signature is at work with *di/da* morphemes is given by the genitive/ablative alternation in introducing (demoted) agents. For instance, there are Italian dialects, which introduce (demoted) agents by means of a genitive adposition, as illustrated in (35) and (36) for Cosentino (northern Calabria) and Mussomelese (south-western Sicily), respectively. Standard Italian (37) employs the *da* adposition for such purpose. Indeed, considering causative constructions, we can standardly distinguish between *faire-infinitif* ((a) examples, introduced by dative adpositions) and *faire-par* ((b) examples, introduced by genitive/ablative adpositions) constructions. There is lexical micro-variation (as in the canonical passive) in relation to the choice of preposition that introduces the (demoted) agent (DE+AB 'from, by' vs DE 'of') (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, for a comprehensive overview, and Ledgeway forthcoming, from which the examples in (35)-(36) are taken).

Cosentino (northern Calabria)

- (35) a. Maria fa pulizzà u cessu **a** Ciccio (faire-infinitif)
 Maria makes clean.inf the toilet to Ciccio
 'Maria makes Ciccio clean the toilet'
- b. Maria fa pulizzà u cessu **'i** Ciccio (faire-par)
 Maria makes clean.inf the toilet of Ciccio
 'Maria has the toilet cleaned by Ciccio'

Mussomelese (south-western Sicily)

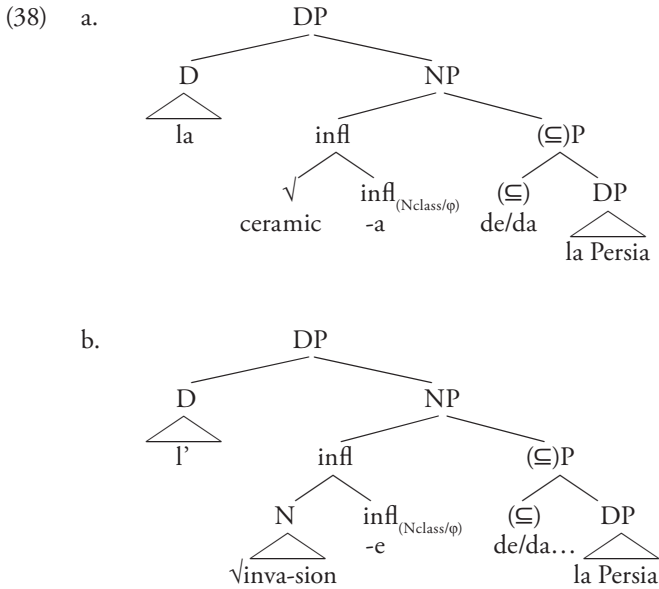
- (36) a. Maria fa puliziarì i gabinetti **a** Giovanni
 Maria makes clean.inf the toilets to Giovanni
 'Maria makes Giovanni clean the toilets' (faire-infinitif)

¹⁰ Note that in some contexts, for instance with animate/human head nouns, the *da* morpheme appears to be more natural than *di*, as shown in (i).

(i) Una ragazza dal Brasile/?del Brasile
 'A girl from Brazil'

- b. Maria *si* fa puliziari i gabinetti **di** Giovanni
 Maria self makes clean.inf the toilets of Giovanni
 ‘Maria has the toilets cleaned (by Giovanni)’ (faire-par)
- (37) a. Maria fa pulire i gabinetti **a** Ciccio (faire-infinitif)
 ‘Maria makes Ciccio clean the toilet’
 b. Maria fa pulire i gabinetti **da** Ciccio (faire-par)
 ‘Maria makes Ciccio clean the toilet’

On the basis of the evidence illustrated above, we can provide the rough representation in (38a) and (38b) respectively for (33a) and (33b).¹¹



4.2 Deverbal nominalization patterns

Once assuming that *di* and *da* have the same (\subseteq) content (as well as their derivational counterparts), it is quite easy to include in our model the

¹¹ For the sake of the present discussion, we can take constructions such as ‘l’invasione *da parte della* Persia’ (cf. 33b) to instantiate a layered PP/(\subseteq) domain, including an Axial Part node (Svenonius 2006), within the complex adpositional string ‘*da parte di*’. Remember that, as shown in (3), the same adpositional string is commonly employed in Italian to introduce (demoted) agents in passive constructions.

‘puzzling’ prevalent agent-like interpretation of ‘thematic’ ethnic adjectives in nominalizations. Consider the examples in (39)-(41).

- (39) a. l’esclusione italiana (dal G8) da parte delle grandi potenze
 ‘the Italian exclusion (from G8) by the great powers’
 a’. L’esclusione dell’/*dall’Italia (dal G8) da parte delle grandi potenze
 ‘the exclusion of Italy (from G8) by the great powers’
 a’’. -> Le grandi potenze hanno escluso l’Italia (dal G8)
 ‘the great powers excluded Italy (from G8)’
 b. La conquista italiana dell’Etiopia
 ‘the Italian conquer of Ethiopia’
 b’. La conquista dell’Etiopia dell’/da parte dell’Italia
 ‘The conquer of Ethiopia by Italy’
 b’’. -> L’Italia ha conquistato l’Etiopia
 ‘Italy conquered Ethiopia’
- (40) a. Il trasferimento tecnologico da parte delle università¹²
 ‘Technology transfer by universities’
 a’. Il trasferimento della/*dalla tecnologia delle/da parte delle università
 ‘the transfer of Technology by universities’
 a’’. -> Le università hanno trasferito (la) tecnologia
 ‘Universities has transferred technology’
 b. l’innovazione tecnologica del processo produttivo
 ‘the technological innovation of the productive process’
 b’. l’innovazione del/*dal processo produttivo della/da parte della tecnologia
 ‘the innovation of the productive process by technology’
 b’’. -> la tecnologia ha innovato il processo produttivo
 ‘Technology has innovated the productive process’
- (41) a. La ricezione dantesca da parte del popolo¹³
 ‘Dantes’ reception by the people’
 a’. La ricezione di Dante/*da Dante del/da parte del popolo
 ‘the reception of Dante by the people’
 a’’. -> Il popolo ha ricevuto Dante
 ‘The people received Dante’
 b. La manipolazione dantesca della lingua
 ‘Dante’s manipulation of the language’
 b’. La manipolazione della lingua di Dante/da parte di Dante
 ‘the manipulation of the language by Dante’
 b’’. -> Dante ha manipolato la lingua
 ‘Dante has manipulated the language’

¹² The example is taken from the book Abbate, Tindara. 2012. *Market orientation nelle imprese ad elevato contenuto tecnologico*. Milano: Franco Angeli, retrieved from Google Books.

¹³ The example is taken from the book *Recte sapere. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Dalla Torre*, ed. by Geraldina Boni *et al.* Torino: Giappichelli, retrieved from Google Books.

As shown in the examples above, in deverbal nominalization patterns (cf. Grimshaw 1990; Alexiadou 2001; Harley 2009, among others), ethnic adjectives pattern with ‘normal’ relational adjectives¹⁴ in being able to encode both a patient-like ((a) examples) and an agent-like ((b) examples) role (cf. also the discussion surrounding examples (8)-(11) in Section 2). We have introduced deanthroponimic adjectives (41) in the picture because despite being strictly correlated to/derived from (prototypically agentive) human entities, they are freely compatible with a patient-like interpretation. Thus, the prevalent interpretation of (thematic) ethnic adjectives as agent participant in an event is possibly triggered by our knowledge of the world, namely as already suggested in Arsenijevic *et al.* (2011), the reference to a given geographical locality can be easily extended to the inhabitants of that locality.¹⁵ The human feature, as in the case of deanthroponimic adjectives, is relevant from a pragmatic viewpoint to trigger an agent-like interpretation of the adjective. Crucially, such interpretation is pragmatically favoured, but not syntactically determined, as shown above.

What the examples in (39)-(41) interestingly show (cf. a’ examples) is that the *da* morpheme, to which we have imputed the same (\subseteq) content of the *di* adposition is unable to introduce an internal argument in a nominalization structure. For what concerns external arguments of nominalization constructions, they can be freely introduced by *di* and the *da parte di* string, and they do not pose particular issues to us: it is not difficult to impute to them, as well as for their derivational counterparts, a (\subseteq) content. Following Manzini *et al.* (2015) they can be taken to be as ergative-like participants. A well-established stream of literature (cf. e.g. Johns 1992, 2013, among others) connects genitive and ‘possession’ structures with ‘ergative’ structures in general. Montaut (2004: 39) quotes Benveniste’s (1966: 176-186) conclusion that “the Old Persian ergative structure [...] is intrinsically possessive in its meaning, and is analogical with the periphrastic perfects in Latin (*mihi id factum*, me-DAT this done)”. In other words, the external (ergative) argument is treated not so much as a causer/agent in an event as the possessor of a property. Following this basic insight, we will assume an ergative-like characterization of the external (genitive) argument in

¹⁴ Note that the suffix *-ic* employed in a ‘standard’ relational adjective like *tecnologico* (or *alcolico* ‘alcoholic’, *angelico* ‘angelic’, etc.) is employed also with some ethnic adjectives, as for instance *labronico* (from Livorno) or *asiatico* (from Asia). Note that, actually, a DP phrase like *bevanda alcolica* ‘alcoholic drink’ seems to instantiate a reverse part-whole relation (\supseteq), meaning ‘a drink containing/possessing alcohol’ (cf. Fabregas 2007, for a unified treatment of the predications involving relational adjectives, and Franco and Manzini 2017, for a comprehensive treatment of ‘inverse’ part-whole relations in DP and at the clause level).

¹⁵ Note that the nouns denoting the inhabitants of a given locality are constantly expressed in Italian by means of the same suffixes which express the relational/ethnic adjective for that toponym, as in (i)

(i) Gli **italiani**/i **francesi**/I **fiorentini**/i **panteschi**
 ‘The inhabitants of Italy/France/Florence/the Island of Pantelleria’

nominalizations. Within the generative literature, Alexiadou (2001: 172-173) assumes that “nominalizations and ergative patterns [...] are reflections of the same structure: one that involves a single theme argument that appears as sister of the lexical root, and an adjunct type of phrase that introduces the agent”.

Thus, we can assume that there is a possession/part-whole (i.e. a \subseteq) ‘adjunction’ relation between the event described in a nominalization construction and the ‘originator’ of such event. For instance we may roughly conceive (39b)-(39b’) in the following terms: “Ethiopia has been conquered and Italians ‘possess’ (or cause, cf. Manzini 2017) that event, namely the event ‘conquer of Ethiopia’ is part of the whole activities Italians are involved in.”

In principle, ascribing the same (\subseteq) to the internal argument of a nominalization construction could be more problematic. Indeed, as we have already pointed out, it is impossible to alternate *di* and *da* in such contexts. Furthermore, many authors have assumed that the genitive item appearing in such position is a structural device deprived of any interpretive content (see e.g. Siloni 1997; Alexiadou 2001). Actually, this is by far the most popular analysis in approaching *of* phrases within the DP – starting with Chomsky’s (1981) rule of *of*-Insertion. ‘*Of*’ would act as a syntactic repair, allowing for case assignment to the object of an N, which would otherwise be caseless. One family of proposals takes the repair to be a matter of PF. For instance, Richards (2010) proposes that *of*-Insertion avoids a potential N-N local identity, working as a morphosyntactic counterpart of the phonological OCP. Another family of proposals takes *of* to parallel the copula (Hoekstra 1999; den Dikken 2006).

Nevertheless, it seems to us that theories relying on a non-contentive construal of *of-like* items face empirical problems (cf. Franco and Manzini 2017 for a full array of arguments). Saying that *of* repairs lack of case or is a means for identity avoidance is not applicable, for instance, to those verbal contexts which have arguments introduced by genitive adpositions (cf. Haspelmath and Michaelis 2008), as shown in (42).

- (42) Il sangue ha rifornito le cellule di ossigeno
 ‘the blood supplied oxygen to the cells’
 lit. ‘The blood has supplied the cells of oxygen.’

As for the ‘copular’ proposal, in (42) we would have to find a predication of which *of* is the copula. Clearly, there is neither a direct nor an inverse copular relation between ‘the oxygen’ and ‘the cells’ in (42). We conclude that (universally) genitives must be endowed with a predicative content, however elementary.

Furthermore, for what specifically concerns nominalization patterns, as shown in Franco (forthcoming), the prediction that a genitive is involved as a structural device, reshaping the internal argument of a verb into a genitive ‘*di*’ (*of*) is not always borne out, if we consider those cases where a dative ‘*a*’

(to) PP or a benefactive/cause ‘per’ (for) PP surface to encode the internal argument of a deverbal nominal, as shown in (43)–(44).

- (43) La punizione **a/??di** Maria **di/da** parte **di** Gianni
 ‘Gianni’s punishment to Mary’
- (44) La predilezione **per/??della** la musica brasiliana di/da parte di Gianni
 ‘The veneration for Brazilian music by Gianni’

Given the data above, we follow Manzini and Savoia (2011) and Manzini and Franco (2016) in proposing a unified construal of the genitive/dative in terms of the predicative relation (\sqsubseteq).¹⁶ Indeed, assuming that dative is an inherent case for most authors nowadays (cf. Woolford 1997, 2006), it is difficult to see how it (or a ‘lexical’ benefactive/cause, cf. (44)) could alternate with a ‘structural’ genitive in nominalizations. The ban of *da* with internal arguments may be ascribed to a contextual sensitivity in the pattern of lexicalization of the (\sqsubseteq) relation. Actually, in Italian the lexical item *di* ‘of’ generally specializes for nominal embedding and *a* ‘to’ for sentential embedding. Nevertheless, they still encode the same (\sqsubseteq) primitive (cf. fn. 16). *Da* simply does not lexicalize (\sqsubseteq) with the patient-like arguments of deverbal nominals.

Thus, a representation of (39b) and (39b’), could be respectively as in (45a) and (45b-b’), cf. fn. 11, where Axial Parts are introduced in the discussion). The interpretation of the structure that we propose here is that the external argument ‘Italian/Italy’ is introduced as including (possessing/locating) the event/property represented by the NP ‘conquer of Ethiopia’ (where in turn the eventive nominal ‘conquer’ is, *lato sensu*, the possessum of Ethiopia).

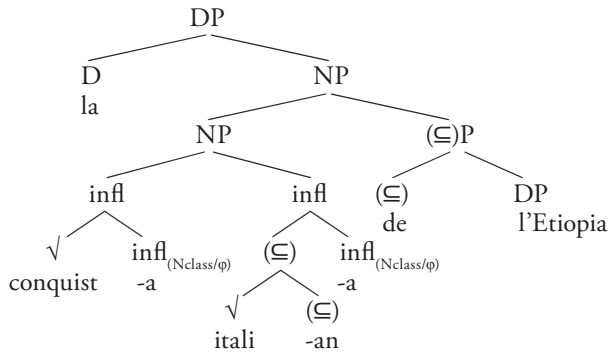
¹⁶ Manzini and Savoia (2011b) and Manzini and Franco (2016)’s basic idea concerning the shared (\sqsubseteq) content of genitives and datives can be grasped by reference to data like (i). In (ib), the ‘s’ genitive ending or the *of* preposition introduces a possession relation between the argument it selects, namely the woman (the possessor), and the head of the DP, namely (the) children (the possessum). The same possession relation holds in (ia) between the dative (John) and the theme of the ditransitive verb (the books).

- (i) a. I gave the books to John
 b. the woman’s children/the children of the woman

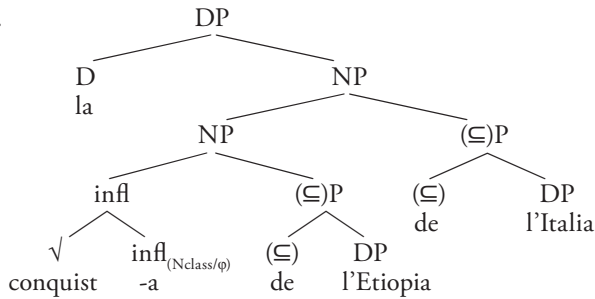
The literature quoted uses the label (\sqsubseteq) for the possession relation instantiated by the Preposition *to* in (ia) or the genitive inflection in (ib). They take the content of (\sqsubseteq) to be part/whole, akin to what Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) call zonal inclusion. Formally, in (ib), (\sqsubseteq) takes as its internal argument its sister DP (the possessor) and as its external argument the sister to its projection (the possessum) – and says that ‘the children’ is in the domain of inclusion of ‘the woman’, as in (ii). In (ia) the primitive content of the preposition is again the (\sqsubseteq) relation introduced for genitives in (ii); P(\sqsubseteq) takes as its internal argument its sister DP ‘John’ (the possessor) and as its external argument the sister to its projection, i.e. the theme of the verb ‘the books’ (the possessum), as in (iii).

- (ii) [DP the children [PP(\sqsubseteq) of the woman]]
 (iii) [VP gave [PredP the books [PP(\sqsubseteq) to John]]]

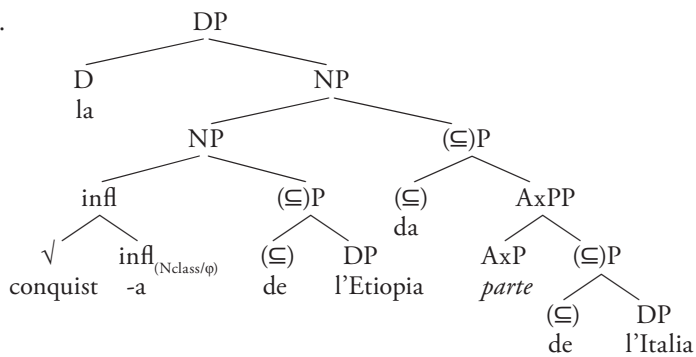
(45) a.



b.



b'.



Given the representation provided, we argue that the same (\subseteq) predicate establishes a relation with the head, either when relational adjectives (ethnic, deanthroponimic, whatever...) or adpositional complements/adjuncts are involved. This is true both in 'classificatory' context and in thematic ones.

Our model accounts for the fact that the suffixes recruited for the derivation of ethnic adjectives can be involved in many other relational settings. Furthermore, the characterization of such suffixes as (\subseteq) , is in line with the 'singulative'/individualizing' properties of many of the suffixes reviewed here.

For instance, the interpretation of *-in* as endowed with a singulative/individualizing property (cf. (26) above)¹⁷ agrees with the occurrences of *-in* in nouns referring to town inhabitant constantly homophonous with ethnic adjectives (see fn. 15), as in *fiorent-in-o* ‘of Florence, Florentine’, *regg-in-o* ‘of Reggio Calabria’, etc. Clearly an inhabitant of a town is (broadly speaking) ‘part’ of that town. The same way of reasoning can be extended without difficulties, for example, to the suffix *-an* (e.g. a *militian* is part of a militia, cf. (29)).

4.3 *A note on Agree (and the connection with Suffixaufnahme)*

For what concerns the agreement relation established between the ethnic/relational adjective and the head noun, we follow Manzini and Savoia (2017a, b) in assuming that matching (agreement) of genders between head nouns and (relational) adjectives means that the respective inflections (infl) can individuate the same argument (slot). In the minimalist framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001), agreement processes are standardly associated with the rule of Agree – which however is conceived so as to account for one-to-one agreement in the sentential domain. Here, we keep the assumption that Agree also applies within DPs. However, we avoid attributing interpretable/uninterpretable, valued/unvalued status to any of the categories inside DP (cf. Manzini *et al.* 2016). We simply assume that given two elements in a c-command configuration, the higher is the Probe and the lower the Goal. Everything else proceeds as in the standard definition of Agree, by Minimal Search and Match of the relevant features (cf. Manzini *et al.* 2016). We assume that what impels Agree to apply is the necessity of creating equivalence classes of phi-feature bundles denoting a single referent (the equivalent of uninterpretable feature deletion).

Finally, note that the assumption that the derivational morphemes of ethnic adjectives are endowed with a (\subseteq) content makes the structures represented above quite similar to Suffixaufnahme constructions, by which a genitive/oblique item agrees with (i.e. is inflected by) the phi-features/case morphology of its head noun (cf. Plank 1995 for a descriptive/typo-

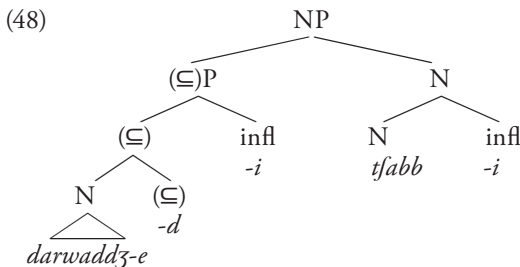
¹⁷ Note that we may establish, both etymologically/diachronically (cf. e.g. Grandi 2001) and formally (cf. Savoia *et al.* 2017, forthcoming), a link between singulatives/individualizers and evaluative morphology (cf. Section 3 and fn. 7 for the interplay between ethnic and evaluative affixes). For instance, as shown in Jurafsky (1996), the word for ‘child’ (i.e. a small individual of a group) is the most common base for the grammaticalization of diminutives in the languages of the world. This process begins when such words are employed as a type of classificatory element to refer to young animate individuals and then are extended to inanimate entities, targeting small sizes with countable items and small quantities with uncountable items, and being employed also to turn mass items into count nouns (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 65-66; Di Garbo 2014).

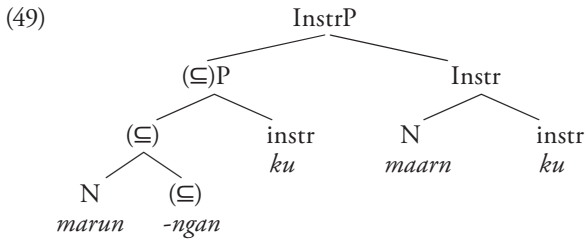
logical overview and Manzini *et al.* 2016 for a formal characterization). Consider the Punjabi (Indo-Aryan) example in (46) and the Lardil (Pama-Nyungan, Australian, cf. Richards 2013) example in (47).

(46) darwaddz-e d-i tʃabb-i *Punjabi*
 door-msg.obl gen-fsg key-fsg
 ‘the key of the door’

(47) marun-ngan-ku maarn-ku *Lardil*
 boy-gen-instr spear-instr
 ‘with the boy’s spear.’

In Punjabi, a genitive modifying a noun bears its own (oblique) phi-features inflection (*-e* in (46)), followed by the postposition *d-* and then by a phi-features inflection (*-i* in the example) agreeing with the modified noun. Namely, in Punjabi the outer inflectional slot of the genitive postposition, that we take here to instantiate a (\subseteq) predicate, registers agreement with the head noun. As for Punjabi, in Lardil (47) we take it that so-called genitive case introduces an (\subseteq) elementary predicate. We assume Agree to be responsible for the presence of a partial copy of the possessum, i.e. the external argument of the (\subseteq) elementary predicate, within the genitive phrase (\subseteq)P. In (47), the inflectional properties that copy under Agree are oblique case ones, which we can be notated as Instr(umental). Consider the representation for the Punjabi (46) and the Lardil (47) examples, respectively in (48) and (49). As with ethnic/relational adjectives, the inflectional node sister of (\subseteq) is visible to Agree and matches the head noun in phi-features (and, eventually, case features). We can thus hypothesize a sort of *continuum* between the two phenomena/constructions (cf. e.g. Nikolaeva and Spencer 2013; Spencer and Nikolaeva 2017).





We are aware that some other issues (e.g. affix rivalry, adjunct (free) vs adjective (fixed) order within the DP,¹⁸ the interaction of class node/features with the derivational tools building ethnic adjectives, etc.) can be taken into consideration. Our aim here was to give a basic characterization of the morpho-syntax of ethnic relational items. We leave the issues unexplored in the present work for future research.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have addressed the morpho-syntax of Italian ethnic adjectives, arguing against the dichotomy between ‘thematic’ and ‘classificatory’ ethnic adjectives recently assumed by Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011). Building on Manzini and Savoia (2011), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Savoia *et al.* (forthcoming), we have provided a unified characterization of ethnic adjectives and we have taken the derivational morphemes shaping this kind of items to be a derivational counterpart of the

¹⁸ Just a brief note on the difference in word order between PPs (free) and adjectives (constrained). Consider the examples in (i)-(iii).

- (i) a. La colonizzazione dell’Africa della Cina
- b. La colonizzazione della Cina dell’Africa
 ‘The colonization of Africa by China’
- (ii) a. La colonizzazione cinese dell’Africa
- b. ?*la colonizzazione dell’Africa cinese
 ‘The chinese colonization of Africa’
- (iii) a. il tappeto di Gianni del Turkmenistan/Il tappeto del Turkmenistan di Gianni
 ‘Gianni’s carpet from Turkmenistan’
- b. il tappeto turcomanno di Gianni/*?Il tappeto di Gianni turcomanno
 ‘Gianni’s Turkoman carpet’

The word order restriction, namely the obligatory adjacency of the adjective clearly applies to both ‘thematic’ and ‘classificatory’ items, showing once again that there are no significant syntactic gaps between them. We assume that the agreement relation, namely the matching of features between the adjective and the head noun must be local, and the presence of an adposition in between behaves as a barrier (a phase), disrupting the Agree relation (cf. Gallego 2010; Lorusso and Franco 2017). Moreover, as shown also by the examples in (10), we can take that the scope of the (⊆)P predicates is basically influenced by pragmatic cues only, hence the ‘free’ order in the adjunction of adpositional (⊆)P.

genitive adposition *di* (of) (and the ‘ablative’ adposition *da* ‘from’), sharing with the latter a common predicational (\sqsubseteq) core and a common signature. The proposal advanced for ethnic adjectives has been broadly extended to relational adjectives in general.

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