

OBJECTIVES

Denominal adjectives (DAs) are adjectives morphologically correlated with a noun identified here as their base-noun (bse-N) e.g. fra *industriel* 'industrial' ← *industrie* 'industry'.

This contribution limits itself to the attributive use of denominal adjectives, whereby they modify their head-noun (hd-N). DAs come in distinct varieties which are function of the relationship established between the bse-N and the hd-N.

The aim of this presentation is (i) to investigate a variety involving an essive relationship that has been overlooked before; (ii) to account for it in an intersective way, in keeping with recent proposals made for other denominal adjectives.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF DAs

The way DAs semantically interact with the N they modify can be accounted for in an intersective manner for most of them. This holds true for – classical relational adjectives e.g. *presidential*, *thoracic* (McNally2004)

– ethnic adjectives e.g. *Alpine* (Arsenijevic2014)
– some frequency adjectives e.g. *periodic*, provided they do not exhibit an adverbial reading as e.g. *occasional biker* (Gehrke2015).

The intersective account allows one to align the semantics of DAs with that of plain qualifying adjectives.

Type	Simple A	Denominal A
Intersective	<i>blue car</i>	<i>mossy trunk</i>
		<i>thoracic surgeon</i>
Subjective	<i>Thai recipe</i>	<i>Alpine biotope</i>
	<i>frequent breakdown</i>	<i>periodic review</i>
	<i>swift player</i>	
Adverbial	<i>former biker</i>	
	<i>rare hiker</i>	<i>occasional hiker</i>
Privative	<i>fake fur</i>	

Table 1 – Semantic types of As and DAs

REFERENCES

Arsenijević, Boleda, Gehrke and McNally 2014; Gehrke McNally 2015; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; McNally Boleda 2004; Kleiber 1994; Fradin (to appear). See the LLF website for details.

SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

The relations between the hd-N and the bse-N fall in two categories:

Intrinsic relations The DA specifies a distinctive property e.g. *cône volcan-ique* 'volcanic cone' or the value of a dimension of the hd-N's referent e.g. *légume farine-eux* 'starchy vegetable': '**consistency**(vegetable) = **consistency**(flour)'.

Extrinsic relations The relationship is mediated by a predicate linked either with the hd-N or the bse-N (participant, origin relations) e.g. *bénédiction pap-ale* 'papal blessing' or with both (causal, spatial relations) e.g. *rivage insul-aire* 'island seashore', *virus apht-eux* 'aphthous virus'.

THE ESSIVE INTERPRETATION

The essive interpretation is a sub-type of the extrinsic relations.

It can be evidenced by a copular sentence with an ascriptive use e.g. fra *nombre fractionn-aire* 'fractional number' = 'number (which) is a fraction'.

In the ascriptive use, a property is ascribed to the subject-referent, whereas "the specifying use defines a variable and specifies its value" (Huddleston-Pullum 2002). The reverse order is possible with the specifying use only.

- (6) a. His son was a hero. (ascriptive)
b. The chief culprit was Kim. (specifying)
c. *A hero was his son. (ascriptive)
d. Kim was the chief culprit. (specifying)
- (7) *Ce nombre est une fraction.* (ascriptive)
'This number is a fraction'
**Une fraction est ce nombre.* (ascriptive)
'A fraction is this number'

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Albeit scarce in corpora (frWaC), DAs with the essive interpretation can be discriminated very neatly. Additional tests have to be sought for though and seem to exist: DANPs with an essive

PROPERTIES OF THE ESSIVE INTERPRETATION

An NP with a DA (DANP) denotes an entity sharing all the distinctive properties of the bse-N's referent. This can be shown through

(i) the inferences that can be drawn from copular sentences where the DANP is the predicate (1). Such inferences are impossible and nonsensical with DAs triggering other interpretations (2).

- (1) a. *Ce nombre est un nombre fractionnaire.* ⊢ *Ce nombre est une fraction.*
'This is a fractional number ⊢ This number is a fraction'
b. *Ce nombre n'est pas un nombre fractionnaire.* ⊢ *Ce nombre n'est pas une fraction.*
'This number is not a fractional number ⊢ This number is not a fraction'

(2) #*Cette élection n'est pas une élection présidentielle.*

tielle ✗ *Cette élection n'est pas un président.*

'This election is not a presidential election ✗
'This election is not a president'

(ii) the contradictions arising out of the negation of the ascriptive statement at the basis of the essive interpretation (3). Note however that this impossibility is gradual: categorical for some DAs, less so for others.

- (3) **Ceci est un nombre fractionnaire mais ce n'est pas une fraction.*
'This is a fractional numeral but it is not a fraction'
?Ceci est une insurrection révolutionnaire mais ce n'est pas une révolution.
'This is a revolutionary uprising but it is not a revolution'

PROPOSED ACCOUNT

Triggering condition: the hd-N and the bse-N must denote an entity of the same type. Two cases have been observed.

— The hd-N denotes a hypernym of the bse-N. The *sorte de* test is verified (Kleiber1994) e.g. "a fraction is a sort of number".

— The hd-N and the bse-N denote entities sharing a core semantic content: location, activity type, eventuality, substance, etc., or performing / exhibiting similar functions cf. the definitions of the online New Oxford American Dictionary:

— *ville portu-aire* 'portuary town': **town:** 'area, with defined boundaries and local government, where people live...'; **port:** 'town or city where ships load and unload'

Account. When the similarity condition is met, the interpretation of N DA is given by rule (4), where P, Q correspond to the parts of meaning rel-

evant to this interpretation for the hd-N and bse-N respectively and the *isa* expresses the ascriptive relation.

Capitalizing on former treatments, the account of *ville portuaire* is given in (5) (nouns denote properties of kinds, predicates apply to tokens ('o') or to kinds ('k'), **R** is Carlson's realization relation, NPs inflected for Number denote tokens).

- (4) $[[N DA]] = \lambda P_k, \lambda Q_k, \lambda x_k. [isa(x_k, y_k) \wedge P(x_k) \wedge Q(y_k)]$
- (5) $[[ville]] \equiv \lambda x_k. [ville(x_k)]$
 $[[port]] \equiv \lambda y_k. [port(y_k)]$
 $[[ville portuaire]] = \lambda x_k. [isa(x_k, y_k) \wedge ville(x_k) \wedge port(y_k)]$
 $[[_{Num} [ville portuaire]]] = \lambda y_o, \exists x_k, \exists y_k. [isa(x_k, y_k) \wedge ville(x_k) \wedge port(y_k) \wedge R(y_o, x_k)]$

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interpretation can never be substituted with a *de* 'of' PP embedding the bse-N e.g. fra *son cristallin / son de cristal* 'sound of crystal' vs. *nombre fractionnaire / *nombre de fraction* 'fractional number'.