

BOŻENA CETNAROWSKA
University of Silesia

THEMATIC AND NON-THEMATIC USES OF RELATIONAL ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH: THE CASE OF *MANAGERIAL*

The aim of this article is to investigate the usage of a selected denominal adjective in English, namely the lexeme *managerial*. The data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) are employed to examine the occurrence of *managerial* as a qualitative adjective, a thematic relational adjective and a non-thematic (i.e. classificatory) relational adjective. The question is considered whether relational adjectives can be treated as argument-saturating satellites of deverbal nouns.

1. Introductory

Denominal adjectives are commonly divided into two classes: qualifying and relational ones (cf. Giorgi and Longobardi 1991 for Italian, Bosque and Picallo 1996 for Spanish, Szymanek 2010 for Polish). Relational adjectives (abbreviated as RAs) are transpositional formations (cf. Spencer 1999) and can be paraphrased as ‘pertaining to N’. They are regarded as pseudo-adjectives and “hidden nouns” (Levi 1976) since they exhibit a number of noun-like properties. As is shown in (1a) and (1b) below, they can be used attributively but are generally infelicitous in the predicative position. They are not gradable (1d) and they cannot act as derivational bases for abstract nominalizations paraphrasable as ‘a property or a state of being Adj’ (see 1e).

- (1) a. He was a newly-graduated electrical engineer.
b. *This engineer was electrical.
c. *a very electrical engineer
d. *a more electrical engineer
e. *electricalness of this engineer

Qualifying adjectives (QAs) in (2), also referred to as ‘qualitative’ by Fábregas (2007) and Szymanek (2010), are prototypical adjectives, felicitous both in the predicative and attributive position (cf. 2a and 2b). They tend to be gradable (as in 2c), can occur with modifiers (e.g. *very* in 2b) and can take nominalizing suffixes, such as *-ness* or *-ity* (in 2d).

- (2) a. I like sweet grapes.
 b. Those grapes were very sweet.
 c. They are the sweetest grapes I’ve ever tasted.
 d. the sweetness of those grapes

Relational adjectives are either denominal, e.g. *environmental* derived from *environment*, or collateral, i.e. related semantically though not morphologically to a noun, e.g. *feline* related to *cat* (cf. Giegerich 2005). However, the same morphological form of a denominal adjective can often be employed either as a relational satellite or a qualitative modifier.

- (3) a. They sent arms to *dictatorial* regimes in Africa. (RA)
 b. Her father is very *dictatorial*. (QA)

2. Thematic vs. non-thematic adjectives

Several researchers who have investigated relational adjectives in Germanic and Romance languages (e.g. Levi 1976, Giorgi and Longobardi 1991, Cinque 1994, Giegerich 2005¹) have suggested that such adjectives are able to serve as arguments of event nouns.² For instance, the ethnic adjective *Japanese* (i.e. a relational adjective derived from the toponym *Japan*) has a ‘subjective’ interpretation in (4a), since its nominal base *Japan* functions as a subject in sentence (4b). The ethnic adjective *British* in (5a) calls for an ‘objective’ (object-type) reading, as indicated by the corresponding sentence in (5b).

- (4) a. several Japanese attacks on China
 b. Japan attacked China in 1937

¹ Giegerich (2005) draws the distinction between English associative (i.e. relational) and ascriptive (i.e. qualitative) adjectives. He assumes that associative adjectives modifying deverbal nouns are able to “express an argument-predicate structure inherited from a predicate contained in the noun” (Giegerich 2005: 579).

² It needs to be mentioned that some researchers criticize the analysis of Th-adjectives as theta-role absorbers. For instance, McNally and Boleda (2004) and Boleda et al. (2012) argue that a subgroup of Th-adjectives, i.e. ethnic adjectives (such as *Japanese* and *British* in 4a and 5a), are not argument-saturating “pseudo-adjectives” but ordinary adjectival modifiers. According to McNally and Boleda (2004), as well as Boleda et al. (2012), all relational adjectives modify nouns they combine with and denote descriptions of kinds of individuals.

- (5) a. the British defeat by the Zulus
 b. The Zulus defeated the British

Bosque and Picallo (1996) employ the term “thematic adjectives” to refer to Spanish relational adjectives which, in their opinion, saturate thematic roles lexically licensed by head nouns, such as the role of Agent in *Japanese attacks* in (4a), or the role of Theme (Patient) in the case of *the British defeat* in (5a). The relevant Spanish examples (provided by Bosque and Picallo 1996, or by Fábregas 2007) are quoted in (6) and (7):

- (6) a. producción sedera
 production silky
 ‘silk production’ (Bosque and Picallo 1996: 354, their ex. 13a, Theme reading of RA)
 b. respuesta presidencial
 answer presidential
 ‘(a/the) president’s answer’ (Bosque and Picallo 1996: 355, their ex. 15a, Agent reading of RA)
- (7) a. la importación sedera francesca
 the import silky French
 ‘the French silk import’ (Fábregas 2007: 138, his ex. 6b, Agent and Theme readings of RAs)
 b. la guerra rusa
 the war Russian
 ‘the Russian war’ (Fábregas 2007: 138, his ex. 6c, Agent reading of RA)

Th(ematic) adjectives occur mainly with deverbal nouns denoting events or result nouns (such as Spanish *producción* ‘production’ in 6a or *importación* in 7a). However, Bosque and Picallo (1996) as well as Fábregas (2007) give examples of Th-adjectives occurring as satellites of non-derived event nouns, e.g. *guerra* ‘war’ in (7b) and *fiesta* ‘party’.

Non-thematic relational adjectives are referred to as C-adjectives, i.e. classificatory (Bosque and Picallo 1996) or classificative (Fábregas 2007) ones. They do not belong properly to the argument structure of the head noun, although their interpretation may involve some kind of semantic roles (see Bosque and Picallo 1996, Levi 1976, Warren 1984). For instance, C-adjectives may call for a SOURCE reading (e.g. *solar* in *solar heat*), PURPOSE reading (e.g. *surgical* in *surgical material*), or CAUSE reading (e.g. *racial* in *racial discrimination*). A C-adjective “does not absorb a theta-role but it introduces a domain in relation to which the object denoted by the head noun is classified” (Bosque and Picallo 1996: 352). C-adjectives are more felicitous in the predicative position than Th-adjectives, as is shown for Spanish by Bosque and Picallo (1996) and Fábregas (2007).

- (8) a. La revista es mensual.
 the magazine is monthly
 ‘The magazine is a monthly one.’
 b. La comedia es musical.
 the comedy is musical
 ‘The comedy is a musical one.’
 (Fábregas 2007: 140, his exx. 12a and 12b)

Bosque and Picallo (1996) emphasize that the choice between the interpretation of a given adjective as a Th-adjective or as a C-adjective depends on the type of the head noun. While the Spanish adjective *automovilística* ‘automobilistic’ appears as a Th-adjective in (9a), in (9b) it has the status of a C-adjective.

- (9) a. producción automovilística
 production automobilistic
 ‘car production’
 b. excursión automovilística
 tour automobilistic
 ‘car tour’
 (Bosque and Picallo 1996: 353, their exx. 10a and 10b)

Furthermore, some phrases consisting of head nouns and relational adjectives are ambiguous since the adjective may call either for a thematic or a classificatory interpretation. The Spanish phrase *política americana* (lit. politics American), discussed by Bosque and Picallo (1996: 353), exemplifies the Th-adjective/C-adjective ambiguity, as does its English equivalent *American politics*. It can be paraphrased as ‘politics by America’ (where the adjective *American* occurs as a Th-adjective with an agentive reading) or as ‘politics with respect to America’ (where *American* is a C-adjective).

3. Referential nominals vs. argument supporting nominals

Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011) follow Bosque and Picallo (1996) and Fábregas (2007) in assuming that thematic adjectives (as exemplified by Greek ethnic adjectives) encode thematic roles assigned by deverbal head nouns. However, they do not say clearly that such adjectives are arguments of deverbal nouns (or of verbal predicates underlying such nouns). According to Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011: 121), although thematic adjectives “have an ‘argument’ like flavor”, they do not occur with argument-supporting nominals.

The distinction between argument-supporting nominals (ASNs) and Referential nominals (R-nominals), employed by Borer (2003), Alexiadou and Grimshaw (2008) and Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011), goes back to the difference

between complex event nominals and result nominals, introduced by Grimshaw (1990).

Complex event nominals (CENs) occur with obligatory arguments, e.g. the head noun *production* is followed by its internal argument *highly enriched plutonium* in (10).

- (10) Production of highly enriched plutonium is harmful to the environment.

R-nominals take no arguments, although they can occur with various satellites, e.g. the noun *hypothesis* in (11a) can be followed by the optional *that*-clause complement. The noun *production* has a result (referential) reading in (11b-c). It denotes something produced and prepared for presentation to the audience (i.e. a play or a film in 11b) or the amount of goods manufactured by a given company or country (in 11c).

- (11) a. The hypothesis (that organisms share a common descent) is supported by many lines of evidence.
<http://dev6.mhhe.com/textflowdev/genhtml/007352543x/15.f.htm>
 b. Raghu_Dixit speaks to me about his new production
<https://twitter.com/shominisen/status/538995904959614977>
 c. Industrial production in Italy has dropped by around 25%.
www.ansamed.info/ansamed/en/news/nations/italy/2014/09/11/italian-industrial-production-down-25-since-2007_339f6683-3fa4-43a0-8ff5-1a99429e1886.html

Grimshaw (1990) points out that some event nouns are not CENs and do not take arguments, e.g. *examination* in (12). Such nouns denote “simple events” and they are regarded as a subgroup of R(eferential) nominals, since they pattern together with result nouns.

- (12) By 1370, the examinations lasted between 24 and 72 hours, and were conducted in spare, isolated examination rooms (...)
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_examination

R-nominals are count nouns (according to Grimshaw 1990 and Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008), e.g. *hypothesis* in (11a), *production* in (11b) or *examinations* in (12). They do not take aspectual modifiers (e.g. *constant*, *frequent*), and do not allow implicit argument control (as indicated in 13b).

- (13) a. *Constant industrial production in Italy has dropped by around 25%.
 b. *industrial production in Italy to compete with the Chinese

Argument-supporting nominals can occur with aspectual modifiers (in 14a) and they allow implicit argument control (as in 14b). According to Grimshaw

(1990) and Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011), ASNs are mass nouns and they cannot pluralize (e.g. the gerundive *-ing* nominals in 14b). They can be accompanied by event-related temporal phrases, such as *in ten days* or *for a week* (in 14c).

- (14) a. Frequent False Detection of Positive Selection by the Likelihood Method
<http://mbe.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/7/1332.short>
 b. reorganizing government in order to achieve efficiency
 c. the reorganization of the department in ten days

Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011) point out that thematic adjectives cannot occur with unambiguous argument-supporting nominals, i.e. gerundive nominals, as is shown by the ill-formedness of the phrase **Italian criticizing Albania*.

Bosque and Picallo (1996: 358) state that the occurrence of (Spanish) Th-adjectives with the internal argument (i.e. Theme/Patient) interpretation triggers the result reading of the head noun, e.g. in the case of *producción automovilística* ‘car production’ in (9a). In contrast, Th-adjectives with the external argument (i.e. agentive) interpretation can appear with event nouns (as in 15), although it is not specified by Bosque and Picallo (1996) whether these are names of simple events or complex events.

- (15) La invasión americana de Grenada se prolongó
 the invasion American of Grenada r.cl. lasted
 durante tres días.
 for three days.
 ‘The American invasion of Grenada lasted three days.’
 (Bosque and Picallo 1996: 359, their ex. (i) (b) in footnote 14)

Consequently, it seems worth investigating what types of nominals occur with a selected Th-adjective in a large on-line corpus of English. In the next sections an analysis will be carried out of noun phrases containing the adjective *managerial* and attested in the Corpus of American Contemporary English (COCA), which is composed of more than 450 million words, culled from texts coming from the years 1990-2012.

The adjective *managerial* is derived from the noun *manager* and thus it is expected to pattern similarly to ethnic adjectives (such as *British* and *Japanese*) or other group adjectives. Group adjectives are derived from names of professions, titles, positions and regions and they identify groups of individuals exhibiting a given characteristics, e.g. *professorial*, *senatorial*, or *presidential* (Grimshaw 1990). Therefore, such adjectives can be given the agentive reading (as in *professorial strike* or *presidential victory*).

In section 4 the distinction between *managerial* as a qualifying adjective and as a relational adjective will be illustrated. In section 5 it will be shown that the relational adjective in question can be a classificatory adjective accompanying

(non-deverbal) object-denoting nouns. Section 6 exemplifies the usage of *managerial* with deverbal result nouns. I will try to determine whether it exhibits then the properties of a C-adjective or a Th-adjective. Section 7 examines the occurrence of *managerial* with event nouns. An attempt will be made to identify the eventive head nouns either as names of simple events or complex events. Conclusions are stated in section 8.

4. The adjective *managerial* as a qualifying adjective

Definitions of the adjective *managerial* found in online dictionaries of English indicate that it is a transpositional (relational) adjective with a general reading ‘pertaining to management or a manager’ (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com>) or ‘of or relating to a manager or to the functions, responsibilities, or position of management’ (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>).

The adjective in question has 1863 attestations in the COCA corpus. Only four of them (quoted in 16 below) exemplify the qualifying usage of *managerial*, which is not mentioned in the above-mentioned online dictionaries.

- (16) a. I’m an explorer: spontaneous and open-minded. Linda is a builder: managerial and home oriented but social.
 b. He’s a -- he’s a guy who looks competent, looks managerial.
 c. (...) the question of what is owed to certain special players, he can sound downright managerial.
 d. (...) they are catty, wear curls, and go shopping, while the women are energetic, managerial, unadorned partners.

The data in (16) provide support for the observations made by Nowakowska (1988) concerning Polish data: she has shown that relational adjectives can freely develop qualitative³ senses.

As is expected of qualitative adjectives, *managerial* in (16a-c) occurs in the predicative position, following the copula verb *be*, *seem*, or *look*. It allows premodifiers, e.g. *downright* in (16c).

³ Nowakowska (1988) observes that the Polish relational adjective *nesquikowy* ‘pertaining to Nesquik, i.e. chocolate-flavored milk produced by Nestlé’ can be used innovatively (e.g. in a commercial) in the qualitative reading ‘chocolate-like; chocolaty; resembling Nesquik (e.g. in its colour)’.

5. *Managerial* as a relational C-adjective with object-denoting nouns

The bulk of the attestations of the selected adjective in the COCA corpus involve noun phrases in which *managerial* modifies non-deverbal object-denoting nouns. It can exhibit then a general meaning ‘pertaining to a manager or management’, e.g. *managerial issues* ‘issues concerning management’. Some of the Adjective+Noun combinations with *managerial* as a classificatory adjective form fixed expressions, such as *managerial finance* ‘the assessment of finance techniques to determine how they affect the business internally and externally’ (<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/managerial-finance.html>). This combination shows as many as 88 attestations in the corpus.

Some other frequent collocations of *managerial* with object-denoting nouns include: *managerial position(s)* – 99 attestations, *managerial role(s)* – 64 attestations, *managerial job(s)* – 63 attestations, *managerial skill(s)* – 62 attestations, *managerial task(s)* – 27 instances. Relevant examples are provided in (17).⁴

- (17)
- a. (...) women now hold 51 percent of managerial and professional jobs in the United States, and more are on the way.
 - b. Recruiting students who voluntarily participated in the pre-and post-tests of personal finance and managerial finance (...)
 - c. Doyle (1979, 1985b, 1986) identified managerial and instructional tasks systems that he found operating in the classroom.
 - d. (...) their time is taken by building administrators to address other managerial issues.
 - e. On the long checklist of technological, cultural and managerial factors that lead an organization to catastrophe, BP inked every box.
 - f. (...) postdocs have emerged into the job market lacking many of the leadership and managerial skills necessary to be successful faculty members.

The examples in (17) indicate that *managerial* used as a relational classificatory adjective can be coordinated with other classifying adjectives (e.g. *professional*, *personal* and *instructional*) or with nouns used attributively (e.g. *leadership and managerial skills* in 17f).

⁴ Some N+A combinations illustrated in (17) are less common, e.g. *managerial factor(s)* – 1 attestation in the COCA corpus.

6. *Managerial* with deverbal result nouns

The examination of the data from the COCA confirms that *managerial*, just like other denominal adjectives, can accompany result nouns. The term “result nouns” is used here as in Grimshaw (1990). These are deverbal nouns which do not denote processes, states, activities or acts but refer to some entities related to events. For instance, *decision* in (18a) can be paraphrased as ‘the result of deciding, i.e. a conclusion or resolution reached after consideration’, while *innovation* in (18b) as ‘something new that has been introduced’. The result nouns in (18) are countable and the corpus data testify to their common occurrence in the plural form when modified by the adjective *managerial*. There are 12 instances of the singular *decision* and 19 instances of the plural *decisions* in the collocation *managerial decision(s)*. Similarly, 2 attestations of *managerial innovation* can be juxtaposed with 5 attestations of *managerial innovations*.

- (18) a. (...) the roots of the February 2003 Columbia disaster have been traced to similar bad managerial decisions as well as technical problems.
 b. Decentralized teams are central to every managerial innovation of the past 20 years (...)

There is a notable decrease in the frequency of use of the relational adjective *managerial* accompanying result nouns when compared to the frequency of its use as a modifier of object-denoting (non-deverbal) nouns. The relevant counts for the attestations of *managerial* in the combinations illustrated in (18) and (19) are as follows: *managerial decision(s)* – 31 examples, *managerial innovation(s)* – 7 examples, *managerial challenge(s)* – 7 instances, *managerial support* – 6 instances, *managerial advice* – 3 examples, *managerial judgment* – 2 examples, *managerial needs* – 2 examples, *managerial obligations* – 1 instance, *managerial knowledge* – 1 instance.

If the occurrences of *managerial* with the result nouns in (18) and (19) are regarded as exemplifying its usage as a Th-adjective, the thematic role saturated by the adjective appears to be that of Agent, e.g. *managerial decisions* ‘decisions taken by manager(s)’ in (18a), Source, e.g. *managerial advice* ‘advice from manager(s)’ in (19a) and *managerial support* ‘support from manager(s)’ in (19b), or Possessor, e.g. *managerial knowledge* ‘knowledge possessed by manager(s)’ in (19c), *managerial obligations* ‘obligations that managers have’ in (19d). In the case of *managerial challenge*, which can be paraphrased as ‘challenge for manager(s)’ in (19e), the thematic role which can be saturated by the adjective is Goal.

- (19) a. He simply would not listen to managerial advice or recognize any discipline.
 b. (...) what will happen to the lodge once Helvetas ends its financial, technical, and managerial support (which could happen later in 2008).

- c. (...) the PE teachers may lack of managerial and administrative knowledge about athletic teams.
- d. From the introspective view of own instructional and managerial obligations, Denis progressed towards a broader focus on the lesson (...)
- e. Coordinating two huge missions for launch on one rocket posed a daunting managerial challenge.

It needs to be noted, though, that in the case of the Adjective+Noun combination exemplified in (19e), the adjective can be moved to the predicative position, as shown in (20) by another sentence culled from the COCA.

- (20) The main challenge here is not operational but managerial: violence-minimizing enforcement leads to fewer arrests and smaller drug seizures (...)

As observed in sections 1 and 2, the predicative position is characteristic of qualitative adjectives. Thematic adjectives are not allowed in the predicative position while classificatory adjectives are more likely to follow copula verbs (cf. Fábregas 2007, Bosque and Picallo 1996), in particular in the presence of an overt contrast or negation, as in (20) (cf. Cetnarowska and Trugman 2012).

Therefore, when accompanying deverbal result nouns, *managerial* seems to be ambiguous between its usage as a Th-adjective and a C-adjective. The phrase *managerial support* in (19b) allows two paraphrases: ‘support from manager(s)’ (where *managerial* appears as a Th-adjective) and ‘support concerning managerial issues’ (with *managerial* as a C-adjective). Furthermore, this adjective is coordinated in (19b) with other classificatory adjectives, e.g. *financial, technical and managerial support* ‘support concerning financial, technical and management issues’. This makes its analysis as a C-adjective more likely.

In (21) the deverbal noun *opening* shows the lexicalized meaning ‘vacancy, an unfilled position or job’. The adjective *managerial* appears here as a C-adjective, as is indicated by the occurrence of the possessive phrase (i.e. Saxon genitive) *Yankee’s*.

- (21) After interviewing two offseasons ago for the Yankees’ managerial opening, which was filled by Joe Girardi, Mattingly followed Torre to the West

7. *Managerial* with event nouns

Event nouns can be either names of simple events or complex events, as mentioned in section 3. The event nouns modified by *managerial* in (22) and (23) are not deverbal, hence they belong to names of simple events according

to Grimshaw (1990). The nouns *coup*, *combat* and *carnage* are borrowings (from French and Italian, respectively). The nouns *malpractice* and *missteps* are denominal formations, derived by means of prefixation.⁵

- (22) a. So they tried, I think, to stage a sort of professional managerial coup and promptly lost.
 b. But they also signify that he is engaged in managerial combat.
 c. Milwaukee followed nine games later with Davey Lopes, and the managerial carnage was on.
- (23) a. (...) intended precisely to give patients a way of dealing with what you could call managerial malpractice.
 b. (...) top executives Philip J. Purcell and Stephen Crawford were ousted after a series of managerial missteps swamped that bank with losses and crushed its stock.

The event nouns occurring in (24) are deverbal zero-derivatives. Grimshaw (1990) claims that zero-derived nouns are names of simple events (or names of results) because the lack of an overt nominalizing suffix prevents the noun from inheriting the event structure and the argument structure from its verbal base (cf. Borer 2003 and Alexiadou and Grimshaw 2008 for a similar position). However, Bloch-Trojnar (2013: 59-61) presents (and reviews) evidence indicating that English zero-derived nouns are argument-supporting. The ability of the zero-derivative *control* to take the Theme/Patient argument is demonstrated by example (24d). This noun is fairly frequent with *managerial* (24 attestations), as is the zero-derivative *change* (31 attestations).⁶

- (24) a. Research on the effect of managerial change on organizational effectiveness, as measured by team performance (...)
 b. Who in any profession prospers under that sort of managerial turnover?
 c. For instance, one field staff member talked about the importance of “active managerial control,” attributing the idea to staff in the neighboring jurisdiction
 d. Tayloristic “ systems are characterized by a hierarchical managerial control of work where jobs are highly fragmented in order to minimize the skill level

⁵ The relevant frequency counts for the occurrence of *managerial* with the event nouns in (22-23) are as follows: *coup* (1), *combat* (1), *carnage* (1), *malpractice* (2), *missteps* (1).

⁶ The frequency counts for combinations of *managerial* with the remaining event nouns given in (24-27) are as follows: *managerial turnover* (1), *managerial denial* (1), *managerial collaboration* (1), *managerial replacement(s)* (10), *managerial firings* (2), *managerial sackings* (1), *managerial search* (2).

Event nouns containing overt nominalizing suffixes (i.e. *-al*, *-ation*, and *-ment*), hence capable of taking argument and event structure, occur as head nouns in the sentences in (25).

- (25) a. such problems, while prevalent, may nevertheless be subject to a certain degree of managerial denial.
 b. In addition, some argue that managerial collaboration with workers and unions in redesigning jobs and workplaces is a grossly underutilized strategy
 c. A second explanation, ritual scapegoating, recognizes that managerial replacement occurs after poor team performance.

The instances of the thematic adjective *managerial* in (25a-b) can be given a ‘subjective’ (agentive) reading, e.g. *managerial collaboration* is an action of managers who cooperate with someone else (e.g. workers and unions). When occurring with zero-derived nouns such as *control* in (24c-d), *managerial* can be interpreted as saturating the Agent role as well. *Managerial* in (25c), on the other hand, exemplifies the ‘objective’ (Patient/Theme) reading of the adjective (i.e. ‘replacement of a/the manager’), as in the case of *managerial firings* and *managerial sackings* in (26a-b).

- (26) a. and he still won’t assail the Reds for the most peculiar of managerial firings.
 b. the medium that reports all those signings and salaries indirectly causes many managerial sackings

In some collocations, relational adjectives are ambiguous between the ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ reading. This is true of the adjective in the phrases *managerial change* and *managerial search*. The sentential context in (27) points to the ‘objective’ interpretation, i.e. ‘search for a manager’, and ‘changes of managers’, as a more likely one.

- (27) a. Hendry deflected questions about how the managerial search might impact in-house personnel such as pitching coach Larry Rothschild (...)
 b. He’s endured three managerial changes and now manages himself

The event *-ing* nouns in (28) are parts of compounds. The agentive interpretation of the adjective *managerial* follows from the presence of the left-hand compound constituents (e.g. *problem*), interpretable as objects (Patients/Themes) of the activities in question.

- (28) a. a gnawing job insecurity brought on by sinister managerial throat-clearings

- b. Contrast two of our most recent examples of managerial tongue-lashings.
- c. Crisis is a third condition that can precipitate managerial problem solving.

As in the case of deverbal result nouns, it needs to be admitted that some instances of *managerial* accompanying event nouns are not thematic but classificatory, as exemplified by the phrase *his first managerial move*, paraphrasable as ‘his first move as a manager’.

- (29) That was his first managerial move of the 2000 season, “said Mark Newman, the Yankees’ president

Nevertheless, the presence of thematic modifiers corresponding to internal or external arguments of verbal predicates (e.g. *managerial* in *managerial replacement*, *managerial control* or *managerial problem-solving*) shows that the analysis of noun phrases in (24–28) as argument-supporting nominals is fairly likely. Although many of the head nouns are countable (e.g. *firings* in 26 and *changes* in 27), their countability is not a necessary prerequisite. The phrases *managerial control* in (24c), *managerial replacement* in (25c) and *managerial problem solving* in (28c) are examples of nominals headed by uncountable nouns, interpretable as argument-supporting nominals.

8. Conclusions

The present paper investigated syntactic properties and semantic interpretation of a selected English denominal adjective, namely the adjective *managerial*. Its occurrence in the Corpus of Contemporary American English was examined. It can be concluded that the adjective appears mainly with object-denoting nouns as a classificatory adjective (in collocations such as *managerial jobs*, *managerial factors*, *managerial finance*, or *managerial positions*). Less numerous instances of the adjective in question in the corpus accompany deverbal result nouns and can be regarded as Th(ematic) adjectives, saturating the role of Agent (*managerial decisions*), Possessor (*managerial knowledge*) or Goal (*managerial challenge*). The frequency counts for the use of *managerial* with simple or complex event nouns are generally low (often indicating a single attestation of a given collocation, e.g. *managerial denial*), and yet the zero-derived deverbal event nouns *control* and *change* are fairly common with the relational adjective under discussion. When occurring with event nouns, the adjective *managerial* can be interpreted as absorbing the Agent role (*managerial denial*, *managerial collaboration*) or the Theme/Patient role (*managerial search*, *managerial replacement*). With some event nouns (e.g. *managerial change*), the sentential context determines the

choice of either the Patient or the Agent reading of the relational adjective as more felicitous.

Moreover, the alternative analysis of this adjective as a classificatory one seems available when it accompanies a deverbal event or result noun. This analysis is preferred when *managerial* is coordinated with other classificatory adjectives, or when it co-occurs with possessive adjectives (as in *his first managerial move*).

The data considered in this paper have confirmed the observation made by Bosque and Picallo (1996) (concerning Spanish) that relational adjectives preferably occur in R(eferential) nominals. They frequently modify object-denoting nouns unrelated to verbs (e.g. *managerial jobs*) or deverbal result nouns (e.g. *managerial obligations*). However, in view of the data examined in section 7 (e.g. *managerial collaboration with workers*), no support can be provided for the hypothesis formulated by Alexiadou and Stavrou (2011) that relational adjectives are impossible in argument-supporting nominals.

References

- Alexiadou, A. and J. Grimshaw 2008. Verbs, nouns and affixation. In SINSPEC (Working Papers of the SFB 732) 1: 1-16.
- Alexiadou, A. and M. Stavrou 2011. Ethnic adjectives as pseudo-adjectives: a case study in syntax-morphology interaction and the structure of DP. *Studia Linguistica* 65(2): 117-146.
- Bloch-Trojnar, M. 2013. *The mechanics of transposition. A study of action nominalisations in English, Irish and Polish*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Boleda, G., S. Evert, B. Gehrke, and L. McNally 2012. Adjectives as saturators vs. modifiers: statistical evidence. In M. Aloni, V. Kimmelman, F. Roelofsen, G. Sasoon, K. Schultz and M. Westera (eds.), *Logic, language and meaning*, 112-121. Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Verlag.
- Borer, H. 2003. Exo-skeletal vs. endo-skeletal explanations: syntactic projections and the lexicon. In J. Moore and M. Polinsky (eds.), *The nature of explanation in linguistic theory*, 31-67. Stanford CA: CSLI Publications.
- Bosque, I. and C. Picallo 1996. Postnominal adjectives in Spanish DPs. *Journal of Linguistics* 32: 349-385.
- Cetnarowska, B. and H. Trugman 2012. Falling between the chairs: are classifying adjective+noun complexes lexical or syntactic formations? In J. Błaszczak, B. Rozwadowska and W. Witkowski (eds.), *Current issues in Generative Linguistics: syntax, semantics and phonology*, 138-154. Wrocław: CGLiW. [available online <http://www.ifa.uni.wroc.pl/linguistics/GLiW-CIGL2012.pdf>]
- Cinque, G. 1994. On the evidence for partial N-movement in the Romance DP. In G. Cinque, J. Koster, J.-Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi and R. Zanuttini (eds.), *Paths towards Universal Grammar. Studies in honor of Richard S. Kayne*, 85-110. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Fábregas, A. 2007. The internal syntactic structure of relational adjectives. *Probus* 19 (1): 135-170.

- Giegerich, H.J. 2005. Associative adjectives in English and the lexicon-syntax interface. *Journal of Linguistics* 41: 571-591.
- Giorgi, A. and G. Longobardi 1991. *The syntax of noun phrases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimshaw, J. 1990. *Argument structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Levi, J.N. 1976. *The syntax and semantics of nonpredicating adjectives in English*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- McNally, L. and G. Boleda 2004. Relational Adjectives as Properties of Kinds. In O. Bonami and P. Cabredo-Hofherr (eds.), *Empirical issues in formal syntax and semantics* 5, 179–196. Berlin: Lang. 179–196. <http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss5>.
- Nowakowska, M. 1998. Przymiotnik relacyjny czy przymiotnik jakościowy. *Bulletin de la Societe Polonaise de Linguistique* (Biuletyn PTJ), vol. LIV: 83-94.
- Spencer, A. 1999. Transpositions and argument structure. *Yearbook of Morphology 1999*, 73-101.
- Szymanek, B. 2010. *A panorama of Polish word-formation*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Warren, B. 1984. *Classifying adjectives*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.