

A corpus investigation of new *-adă* derivatives in contemporary Romanian

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Abstract: The present paper looks at a productive suffix in contemporary Romanian, *-adă*, relying on a quantitative investigation of the corpus provided in Croitor (2021), which registers 47 new *-adă* derivatives having permeated journalese and the colloquial register. The paper shows that the suffix *-adă* in contemporary (colloquial) Romanian acts as a classifier, inducing two different interpretations: one which refers to a series of events, and a second one, which I will call the event interpretation. The distinction between the two interpretations mirrors the distinction operated on Greek numerical nouns in *-ada* between the SET interpretation and the HIGH number interpretation (Stavrou and Terzi 2008). The paper shows that *-adă* occupies the head of the Classifier Phrase and incorporates the noun by morphological merger (Matushansky 2006).

Key words: new *-adă* derivatives, classifiers, events.

1. Introduction²

The aim of the paper is two-fold. Firstly, the paper shows that, in contemporary Romanian, the suffix *-adă* derives nominals with two interpretations: a ‘collective’ interpretation, i.e., a series of events (1), and an event interpretation, i.e., a process (2).

- (1) *centenariadă* = centenary-*adă* = a series of cultural manifestations related to the Romanian centenary

Istoricii au lipsit din toată această centenariadă. (Croitor 2021: 70) historians.DEF have lacked from whole this centenary-*adă*.

‘There weren’t any historians in the series of celebrations related to the Romanian centenary’.

- (2) *borduriadă* = curb-*adă* = an ample process of replacing old curbs

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² I gratefully acknowledge the valuable comments and suggestions made by the two anonymous reviewers, which helped me to produce a much-improved version of the paper. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

În sectorul 4 a început mica borduriadă. (Croitor 2021: 56)
 in sector.DEF 4 has begun little.DEF curb-adă
 'In sector 4 the process of replacing old curbs has begun.'

-adă is a productive suffix in contemporary Romanian, as shown by a quantitative investigation of the corpus provided in Croitor (2021), which registers 47 new *-adă* derivatives having permeated the colloquial register, as well as journalese.

Secondly, the paper shows that the suffix *-adă* in contemporary (colloquial) Romanian acts in a similar fashion to the Greek suffix *-ada*, which derives collective numerals (Stavrou and Terzi 2008), or to the French *-aine*, which derives numerical nouns (Kayne 2010).

The suffix can be traced back to *-ad*, a word-forming element of Greek origin appended to nouns and denoting collective numerals (such as 'triad' and 'Olympiad') as well as feminine patronymics (such as 'Dryad' and 'Naiad'³). In Modern Greek, the suffix *-ada* derives what is traditionally known as collective numerals, such as the ones in (3):

- (3) tri-áða
 3-COLL.F.NOM.SG
 pend-áða
 5-COLL.F.NOM.SG (Samiotis 2022: 11)

Stavrou and Terzi (2008) call these types of derivatives numerical nouns and show that they fall into two sub-classes: the class of numerical nouns having a SET (4) interpretation and the class of numerical nouns having a HIGH number interpretation (5):

- (4) Eferē triseksades bires.
 brought-3s three six-ades beers
 'She brought three (packs of) six beers.' (Terzi and Stavrou 2008: 3)
- (5) Ekane dekadēs/ekatondades/xiljades lathi.
 made-3s ten-ades/hundred-ades/thousand-ades mistakes
 'He made tens/hundreds/thousands of mistakes.' (Terzi and Stavrou 2008: 13)

We propose that the Romanian *-adă* also induces two different interpretations: the series-of-events interpretation, which parallels the SET interpretation in Stavrou and Terzi (2008), and the process /

³ An anonymous reviewer points out that the Romanian *-adă* suffix can be traced back to the French *-ade* suffix, which, in turn, comes from the Latin first conjugation feminine participles in *-ata*; however, the reviewer also shows that with the meaning "festival, periodically organized event", it does originate in Greek. The scope of this paper, nevertheless, is not to assign precise etymological descriptions to the suffix, but to show that the suffix classifies nouns into categories, inducing different interpretations, which, in turn, can be read off different syntactic structures.

event interpretation, which parallels the HIGH number interpretation. The syntactic structure of *-adă* derivatives is shown to be that in (6), where *-adă* occupies the head of a Classifier Phrase (the Numerical (noun) Phrase in Stavrou & Terzi 2008, see also Cornilescu 2007), undergoing M-merger with the head noun (Matushansky 2006):

- (6) [[ClassP *-adă* [NP *bordură* / *curb*]]

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 investigates the corpus and introduces the distinction between the event interpretation and the ‘collective’, i.e., series-of-events interpretation, as well as a few syntactic tests to distinguish between the two. Section 3 proposes a morpho-syntactic analysis of *-adă* derivatives. Building on Kayne (2010) and Stavrou & Terzi (2008), the section argues that *-adă* occupies the head of the Classifier Phrase. Section 4 offers some conclusions.

2. The corpus

Over the last years, contemporary Romanian journalese has witnessed a rise in new *-adă* derivatives, presumably because these new derivatives are perfect examples of word-formation creativity. Word-formation creativity can be defined as a way of satisfying both the tendency towards economy of expression, preferred by a speaker, and the tendency towards semantic transparency, preferred by a listener (see Körtvélyessy, Štekauer and Kačmár 2021).

The example in (7), for example, perfectly illustrates word-formation creativity, conceived as “the ability of any speaker of a language to approach the naming act in a creative way by selecting one out of a number of possible ways of semiotic representation of an object to be named” (Štekauer 2005, quoted in Körtvélyessy, Štekauer and Kačmár 2021: 1018).

- (7) Această nouă *bivolariadă* [...] arată că partidul nu s-a schimbat în atitudinea față de
 This new *Bivolaru-adă* [...] shows that party.DEF not REFL-has changed in face of
 justiție. (Croitor 2021: 53)
 attitude.DEF justice.
 ‘This new pressure shows that the party did not change with respect to how it deals with justice.’

Economy of expression is clearly seen in the paraphrase of the new derivative *bivolariadă*: “The pressure exerted by politicians on judges by means of having a group of renowned politicians appear in court on the day of the hearing of another politician, with the

purpose of intimidating judges (as the circumstances surrounding the hearing of Gabriel Bivolaru)” (Croitor 2021: 53). The journalist using “*bivolariadă*” is, therefore, able to manifest word-formation creativity, express a disparaging communicative function, and satisfy economy of expression at the same time.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the register first permeated by the new *-adă* derivatives is journalese, for which economy of expression and word-formation creativity are crucial. In the following sections, I will argue that the new *-adă* derivatives registered by the Croitor (2021) corpus fall into two categories: collective or ‘series-of-events’ *-adă* derivatives and event *-adă* derivatives.

The Croitor (2021) corpus consists of 1600 new derivatives (with various suffixes), which were collected from different internet sites between 2015 and 2020. The derivatives registered by the corpus are listed alphabetically; each entry contains the sense(s) of the derivatives, a few examples, morphological and etymological information. The methodology I employed for the purposes of the paper involved drawing up a list of 47 *-adă* derivatives, followed by the extraction of the syntactic tests mentioned in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

2.1. New *-adă* derivatives with an event interpretation

The present section looks at new *-adă* derivatives with an event interpretation. I have been able to identify in the Croitor (2021) corpus 22 such new formations exhibiting a slighting or degrading communicative function.

The tests that have been used to identify the event reading of new *-adă* derivatives are the following (see Grimshaw 1990). First, these nominals can appear in syntactic frames of the types below, which are clear indicators of an event interpretation:

- ‘X-ada has begun’ (10), (13), (16), (26)
- ‘X-ada has ended’ (10)
- ‘X-ada is unfolding’ (8), (9), (11), (29)
- ‘X-ada is unfolding from t_1 to t_2 ’ (20)
- ‘X-ada is ramping up’ (28)

Secondly, it is often the case that the participants to the event are visible in the syntactic structures containing the nominals. This may apply to:

- internal arguments (8), (17), (18), (19), (23), (24), (28)
- external arguments (9), (25), (27)
- both (11)

Thirdly, new *-adă* derivatives with an event interpretation take definite determiners ((8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15), (18), (25), (26)) or no determiners ((17), (19), (20), (29)), paralleling the behavior of event nominals.

- (8) Se desfășoară al doilea episod al serialul polițist “**Autocariada Vămilelor**”. (Croitor 2021: 45)
 ‘The second episode of the detective series “The Bus-ada of the Customs” is under way.’
 ‘bus-ada’ = arresting customs officers and transporting them by bus
- (9) Negoită pentru asta vrea să cumpere această fabrică, ca să-și deruleze mai departe această **betoniadă**. (Croitor 2021: 51)
 ‘It’s for this reason that Negoită wants to buy this factory, to keep his concrete-ada running.’
 ‘concrete-ada’ = excessive pouring of concrete everywhere (including parks, etc.)
- (10) Nu acuz pe nimeni, dar tare mi-e teamă că s-a terminat **borduriada** și a început **copaciada**, bineînțeles pe banii noștri. (Croitor 2021: 89)
 ‘I am not pointing fingers at anyone, but I am really afraid that the curb-ada is over and the tree-ada has begun, of course at our expense.’
 ‘curb-ada’ = an ample process of replacing old curbs
 ‘tree-ada’ = an ample process of cutting trees
- (11) **Demolariada** continuă. Din dispoziția primarului Olguța Vasilescu, au pus la pământ încă patru chioșcuri aflate pe domeniul public. (Croitor 2021: 102)
 ‘The tearing down-ada is still going on. By the provision of the mayor Olguța Vasilescu four other stands on the public domain have been demolished.’
 ‘the tearing down-ada’ = an ample process of tearing down stands on the public domain
- (12) **Digitaliada** propune o metodă de educație bazată pe aplicații și jocuri digitale. (Croitor 2021: 108)
 ‘The digital-ada proposes an educational method based on apps and digital games.’
 ‘digital-ada’ = a process of promoting digital technology in the educational system
- (13) S-au terminat depunerile de liste pentru alegerile europarlamentare [...] De acum începe **pomaniada**, **demagogiada**, **fripturiada**. (Croitor 2021: 101)
 ‘The lists for europaliamentary elections are closed now [...]. This is the beginning of alms-ada, demagogue-ada, steak-ada.’
 ‘alms-ada’ = offering presents to the electorate
 ‘demagogue-ada’ = engaging in the acts typical of a demagogue
 ‘steak-ada’ = offering a series of presents (usually food) to the electorate

- (14) **Gazoniada** este noua borduriadă. (Croitor 2021: 141)
 ‘The lawn-ada is the new curb-ada.’
 ‘lawn-ada’ = the process of replanting grass
- (15) **Impoziada** – o epopee, care nici lui Homer nu i-a trecut prin cap. (Croitor 2021: 163)
 ‘The tax-ada - an epic poem which not even Homer could have thought up.’
 ‘tax-ada’ = a process of imposing new taxes
- (16) A început o nouă **interlopiadă**. Fratele lui Uțu Rohozneanu joacă rolul principal. (Croitor 2021: 169)
 ‘A new criminal-ada has begun. Uțu Rohozneanu’s brother is the leading actor.’
 ‘criminal-ada’ = ample process of arresting criminals
- (17) O lună de la **Jandarmeriadă**. Oamenii au ieșit, din nou, în stradă. (Croitor 2021: 179)
 ‘A month since the Gendarme-ada. People have taken to the streets again.’
 ‘Gendarme-ada’ = the process of repressing protests by the gendarmes
- (18) **Jandarmiada** din 10 august rămâne în continuare învăluită în mister. (Croitor 2021: 179)
 ‘The 10 of August Gendarme-ada stays shrouded in mystery.’
 ‘Gendarme-ada’ = the process of repressing protests by the gendarmes
- (19) Și fiindcă din **moguliadă** nu putea lipsi Patriciu, iacă înlocuitorii. (Croitor 2021: 214)
 ‘Since Patriciu had to be the target of mogul-ada, here are his replacements.’
 ‘mogul-ada’ = an ample process of unmasking / arresting rich and corrupt people
- (20) Este **penaliadă** la televizor de dimineață până seara. (Croitor 2021: 242)
 ‘All we can see on television from dawn till dusk is criminal-ada.’
 ‘criminal-ada’ = an ample process of unmasking / arresting rich and corrupt politicians
- (21) Ultima **pensionariadă** de la UMF Iași s-a dovedit a nu avea succesul scontat. (Croitor 2021: 244)
 ‘The last pensioner-ada at the Iasi Medical School turned out to be a flop.’
 ‘pensioner-ada’ = a process of having professors retire
- (22) Marea **polistireniadă**. În ultimii ani a luat amploare fenomenul de reabilitare termică a imobilelor. (Croitor 2021: 254)
 ‘The great Styrofoam-ada. Over the last few years, the phenomenon known as thermal rehabilitation has gained momentum.’
 ‘styrofoam-ada’ = a process of adding Styrofoam to the walls of blocks of flats, in order to keep in the warmth

- (23) Mai grav este că avem de-a face cu o **potemkiniadă** colectivă menită să convingă juriul internațional să dea OK-ul de capitală culturală.
 ‘Even worse is the fact that we are dealing with a collective Potemkin-ada meant to convince the international jury to give the go-ahead to the Capital of Culture case.’
 ‘Potemkin-ada’ = an ample process of reality make-over, in the sense of hiding the improper aspects of a situation and presenting them as solved
- (24) [...] fiindcă a zis că **procuroriada** contra participanților la referendum e ca la colectivizarea forțată din anii 50. (Croitor 2021: 268)
 ‘[...] because he said the prosecutor-ada against the referendum participants is similar to the forced collectivization of the 50s.’
 ‘prosecutor-ada’ = the process of using prosecutors and fabricating evidence against someone
- (25) **Rectoriada** III. Cine sunt rectorii care vizează al treilea mandat. (Croitor 2021: 278)
 ‘The Rector-ada III. The names of the rectors who envisage a third mandate.’
 ‘rector-ada’ = the process of enrolling of university rectors for political mandates
- (26) A început **șobolaniada** politică! (Croitor 2021: 312)
 ‘The political rat-ada has begun!’
 ‘rat-ada’ = the process of trampling the dead underfoot in the attempt at securing political mandates
- (27) [...] toate mașinile, acolo unde sunt, se opresc pe loc până când doamna Firea se trezește din **voucheriada** asta nebunească. (Croitor 2021: 349)
 ‘[...] all cars freeze wherever they may be until Mrs. Firea wakes up from this crazy voucher-ada.’
 ‘voucher-ada’ = the process of offering vouchers
- (28) Marea **primariadă** de primăvară se întetește. Al treilea primar de mare oraș ajunge după gratii, de la începutul acestui an. (Croitor 2021: 267)
 ‘The great spring mayor-ada is ramping up. The third major city mayor has been arrested since the beginning of this year.’
 ‘mayor-ada’ = a process of unmasking (corrupt) mayors
- (29) În vremea studenției, în plină **impostoriadă**, fără a fi un student model, a fost în preajma lui T. Vianu. (Croitor 2021: 162)
 ‘While he was a student, during fully-fledged imposter-ada, without being a model student, he was still in the close entourage of T. Vianu.’
 ‘imposter-ada’ = a process of imposters’ proliferating

The corpus under investigation contains, therefore, 22 instances of new *-adă* derivatives with an event interpretation, identified by the application of three main syntactic tests: the ‘X takes time’ frame,

the presence of either the internal or the external arguments, and determiner selection.

2.2. New *-adă* derivatives with a ‘series-of-events’ interpretation

The second type of new *-adă* derivatives is illustrated by those having a ‘collective’ interpretation, i.e., a series of events. I take this interpretation to be the closest to the original interpretation of the Greek suffix *-ad*, which is appended to nouns and derives collective numerals (see the examples in (3), (4), (5)).

The collective interpretation of *-adă* is available in a few non-recent formations in Romanian, such as *triadă* / three-*adă* ‘a number of three elements’ or *decadă* / ten-*adă* ‘a number of ten elements, usually years’. In the recent Romanian derivatives under investigation, however, *-adă* is not appended to numerals, but to nouns (including proper nouns).

The ‘series-of-events’ interpretation is the result of a process of coercion applied to the new derivatives by means of their insertion in specific syntactic contexts. First, the internal argument is missing, which entails the lack of the argument structure which, in turn, is translated into the noun carrying a sort of ‘result’ interpretation (see Grimshaw 1990). Secondly, these types of nominals can take either the definite or the indefinite determiners, which again parallels the behavior of result nominals. As shown in the previous section, new *-adă* derivatives with an event interpretation only take the definite determiner. Thirdly, ‘series-of-events’ new *-adă* derivatives do not occur in syntactic frames of the type ‘X-*adă* has begun / has ceased / is unfolding’.

- (30) *Avem acum tot mai multe manifestări culturale [...] Iată chiar ieri s-a organizat o **bostaniadă** la Lozova* (Croitor 2021: 58)
 ‘We are witnessing more and more cultural manifestations [...] For example, yesterday a pumpkin-ada was organized in Lozova’
 ‘pumpkin-ada’ = a series of events designed to celebrate pumpkins
- (31) *Fără să-și fi dat seama, criticul devenea cu totul penibil, căzând într-un fel de **bufoniadă** [...]* (Croitor 2021: 61)
 ‘Without realizing it, the critic was becoming ever more pathetic, falling into a kind of buffoon-ada.’
 ‘buffoon-ada’ = actions typical of a buffoon
- (32) **Bugetariada** – *colecția de toamnă. [...] Centrul Bucureștiului a fost luat cu asalt de peste 10.000 de bugetari din toate colțurile țării.* (Croitor 2021: 62)
 ‘state employee-ada – the fall collection. [...] Bucharest city center was taken over by over 10.000 state employees from all corners of the country.’
 ‘state employee-ada’ = a series of protests performed by state employees

- (33) **Castaniada** 2018 – Ce artiști ar putea veni în Baia Mare. (Croitor 2021: 68)
 ‘Chestnut-ada 2018 – Which artists could come to Baia Mare.’
 ‘chestnut-ada’ = series of events designed to celebrate (edible) chestnuts
- (34) **Ciobaniadă** la Parlament. Peste 3000 de ciobani veniți din toată țara au luat cu asalt, ieri, Palatul Parlamentului. (Croitor 2021: 74)
 ‘Shepherd-ada at the Parliament. Over 3000 shepherds coming from the whole country took over, yesterday, the Palace of the Parliament.’
 ‘shepher-ada’ = a series of protests performed by shepherds
- (35) A început **demențiada**: Valcov era să fie racolat, iar Dragnea – asasinat. (Croitor 2021: 101)
 ‘The demented-ada has begun: Valcov was about to be recruited, while Dragnea – assassinated.’
 ‘demented-ada’ = series of crazy declarations
- (36) Tot ceea ce a însemnat **festivaliadă**, din 2004 încoace, a deschis calea filmului românesc. (Croitor 2021: 131)
 ‘Everything that festival-ada stood for, ever since 2004, paved the way for Romanian films.’
 ‘festival-ada’ = series of festivals
- (37) **Islamiada** de iarnă. Încălzirea a avut loc în Germania. (Croitor 2021: 175)
 ‘The winter islam-ada. The warm-up took place in Germany.’
 ‘islam-ada’ = series of activities typical for Muslim refugees (derogatory)
- (38) **Minciuniada** PSD împotriva Pilonului 2. Iată istoricul contradicțiilor și minciunilor (Croitor 2021: 210)
 ‘The lies-ada of the Social Democrats against pillar II. Here is the history of the contradictions and lies.’
 ‘lies-ada’ = series of lies
- (39) Pesediștii o să declanșeze o, normal, **pesediadă**, cu atac de stradă și înfruntări cu scutierii (Croitor 2021: 246)
 ‘The Social Democrats will start a Social Democrat-ada, with street attacks and confrontations with the gendarmes.’
 ‘Social Democrat-ada’ = series of activities typical for the Social Democrats

Of the 47 new derivatives registered by the Croitor (2021) corpus, 10 can, therefore, be subsumed under an interpretation having to do with series of events.

Section 3 looks at a syntactic analysis of new *-adă* derivatives with ‘collective’ and event interpretations. The section shows that the suffix *-adă* behaves like a classifier (see Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2011, 2012, 2017, Constantinescu and Tănase-Dogaru 2008). In the syntactic structure of *-adă* derivatives *-adă* occupies the head of a Classifier Phrase (the Numerical (noun) Phrase in Stavrou and Terzi

2008, see also Cornilescu 2007), undergoing M-merger with the head noun (Matushansky 2006).

3. A (morpho)syntactic analysis

The present section takes the first steps to assign a syntactic structure to new *-adā* derivatives. My main aim in doing so is to assign classifier-like status to this word-forming element (see Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2011, 2012, 2017). A secondary aim is to relate the two different interpretations of new *-adā* derivatives to what Stavrou and Terzi (2008) call the SET interpretation and the HIGH number interpretation of numerical nouns.

Numerical nouns are nouns formed via the suffixation of a numerical base (such as ten):

- (40) a. Agorasa mia exada bires. (Stavrou and Terzi 2008)
bought.1SG one six-**ada** beers.
'I bought a six pack of beers.'
- b. Il y avait une **dizaine** d'erreurs dans votre papier. (Kayne 2010: 60)
it there had a ten-**aine** of mistakes in your paper
'There were (approximately) ten errors in your paper.'

(40a) is an example of a Greek numerical noun 'exsada' with a SET interpretation, i.e., a set of six elements, while (40b) is an example of a French numerical noun 'dizaine', again used with a SET interpretation, i.e., a set of ten elements.

- (41) Ekane dekades/ekatondades/xiljades lathi. (Terzi and Stavrou 2008: 13)
made-3SG ten-ades/hundred-ades/thousand-ades mistakes
'He made tens/hundreds/thousands of mistakes.'

(41), on the other hand, is an example of a Greek numerical noun employed with its HIGH number interpretation. We will now take a closer look at the behavior of numerical nouns in an attempt at tying in the collective *vs* the event interpretations of new *-ada* derivatives.

3.1. Numerical nouns. Stavrou and Terzi (2008), Kayne (2010)

In trying to capture the difference between English and French with respect to approximative expressions, Kayne (2010) postulates a silent suffix *-aine* in the English example (42a, b) corresponding to the overt suffix in the French example (43):

- (42) a. Ten-AINE-s of thousand-AINE-s of books
b. hundred-AINE-s of books

- (43) Il y avait une centaine / une dizaine d'erreurs dans votre papier.
(Kayne 2010: 61)
it there had a hundred / a ten of errors in your paper
'There were hundreds / tens of errors in your paper.'

A second affix postulated by Kayne is *NSFX* (short for 'nominal suffix'), which would account for the behavior of the English (44) and the Romanian (45):

- (44) a. several hundred NSFX dollars
b. several thousand NSFX dollars
- (45) treizec-NSFX-i de cărți
three-ten-NSFX-i of books
'thirty books' (Kayne 2010: 64)

My analysis of *-adă* derivatives falls along the lines in Kayne (2010), in the sense that *-adă* seems to behave like the French *-aine*, with the major difference that it attaches to nominal bases instead of numerical ones.

Greek has numerical nouns / overt manifestations for the nominal suffixes proposed by Kayne (2010). (46a) is an example of the suffix *-ada*, which nominalizes the cardinal *eksa* / 'six' and (46b) is an example of the suffix *-arja*, which nominalizes multiplicatives of five:

- (46) a. Irthan se tetrades.
came.3PL in four-*ades*
'they came in groups of four'
- b. Efaga kamia dekarja/dekarendarja sokolates.
ate-1PL one ten-*arja* / fifteen-*arja* chocolates.
'I ate some ten/fifteen chocolates.' (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 429)

Numerical nouns in *-ada* are associated with three interpretations. (47a) illustrates the SET interpretation, (47b) – the HIGH number interpretation and (47c) – the cardinal numeral interpretation:

- (47) a. Agorasa mia eksada bires.
bought-I one six-*ada* beers.
'I bought a six pack of beers.'
- b. Ekane dekades / ekatondades / xiljades lathi.
made.3PL ten-*ades* / hundred-*ades* / thousand-*ades* mistakes.
'He made tens / hundreds / thousands of mistakes.'
- c. Xrisimopiisan dio xiljades piata gia ti gamilia deksiosi.
used.3PL two thousand-*ades* plates for the wedding party
'They used two thousand plates for the wedding party.' (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 430)

According to Stavrou and Terzi (2008), Greek numerical nouns in *-ada* with the SET interpretation and the approximative nouns in *-arja* have the properties of nouns introducing pseudo-partitive constructions (see also Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009). First, the numerical noun and the lexical noun share the same case, in contrast with other nominal complexes (48):

- (48) *I genitria exi dinami dio dekadon metasximatiston.*
 the generator has power two ten-ades.Gen transformers.Gen
 'The generator has the power of twenty transformers.' (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 432)

Secondly, no determiner, quantifier or other modifier may intervene between the numerical and lexical noun, in contrast with other nominal-complement complexes (48):

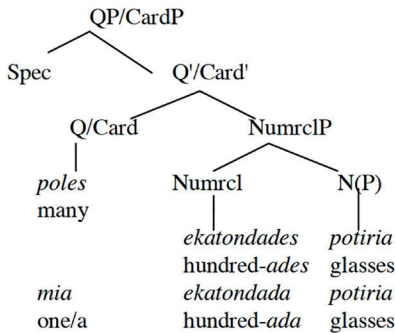
- (49) *Tris eksades (*afta ta) potiria.*
 three six-ades these the glasses
 '(These) three sets of six glasses.' (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 433)

Thirdly, the verb displays selective behavior with respect to agreement (see also Stavrou 2003, Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009), in the sense that it may agree with either the first or the second noun when they have different number specification (50):

- (50) *Mia dekada potiria den ine arketa / arketi*
 a ten-ada glasses not is/are enough.PL / enough.SG (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 433)

Stavrou and Terzi's proposal is that numerical nouns with a SET interpretation in Greek are semi-lexical nouns (see also van Riemsdijk 1998), on a par with measure or classifier nouns (51).

- (51)

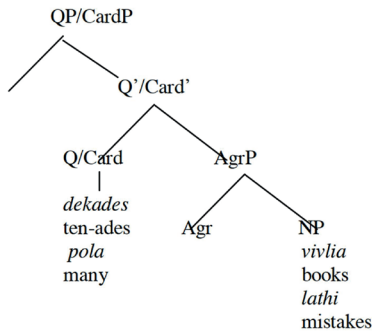


- (Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 433)

Therefore, numerical nouns with a SET interpretation are assigned a syntactic structure which is identical to that of pseudopartitive constructions.

In the framework of Stavrou and Terzi (2008), when in the plural and emphatically stressed, numerical nouns convey a HIGH number interpretation, in which case they pattern with quantifiers and cardinals (52):

(52)



(Stavrou and Terzi 2008: 436)

Therefore, Stavrou and Terzi (2008) identify two types of numerical nouns in Greek, the first being assigned a SET interpretation (and a syntactic structure identical to that of pseudopartitive constructions), while the second – a HIGH number interpretation. Section 3.2. aims at taking the first steps towards assigning a syntactic structure to new *-adă* derivatives in Romanian. In doing so, the original observation in Stavrou and Terzi (2008), according to which SET numerical nouns are similar to pseudopartitive constructions, will prove instrumental.

3.2. The syntactic structure. Loose ends

The present section capitalizes on the intuition that *-adă* behaves like a classifier, in the sense that, reminiscent of the job of classifiers in classifier languages like Chinese (53), it imposes either a ‘series-of-events’ interpretation or an event interpretation to the noun that will incorporate into it.

- (53) a. Qianmian turan tiao chulai yi *zhi* laohu
front suddenly jump out one CL tiger
‘Suddenly a tiger jumped out in front of us.’
- b. Ta mai le yi *zhuang* fangzi
he buy.PERF.ASP one CL house
‘He bought a house.’ (Chen 2003, in Tănase-Dogaru 2009: 69)

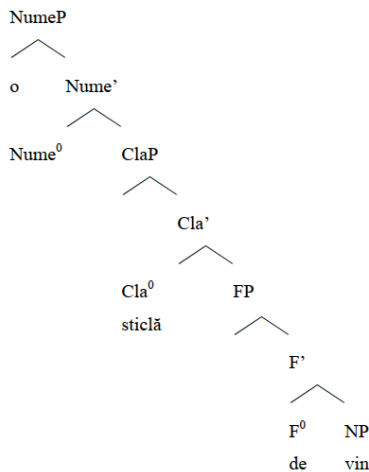
In the traditional analysis, classifiers were considered a subclass of measure phrases, which provide units of mensuration. The term ‘classifier’ is due to the fact that the measure word was felt to perform both the function of revealing some characteristics of the entity designated by the noun and that of categorizing nouns into classes. Nouns in a language like Chinese have their own special sortal classifiers, which indicate, in a suggestive manner, the shape, texture, function etc. of the entities designated by the nouns they are used with. For instance, the special classifier for ‘pen’ in Chinese is *zhi*, literally ‘branch’ – suggesting the shape of the pen; the special classifier for ‘table’ is *zhang*, literally ‘stretched, spread’ – suggesting the function of the table (Li 2000).

The basic intuition behind assigning classifier-like status to *-adă* is the fact that the suffix performs this function of revealing features of the entity designated by the noun root. In other words, one takes a nominal root and turns it into an event or a series of events, at the same time conveying a degrading, slighting, or disparaging communicative function.

Against the common claim that classifier inflection and number morphology are in complementary distribution, one of the central claims in Tănase-Dogaru (2009) is that languages with plural morphology (such as English and Romanian) also manifest classifier morphology, which becomes apparent in the case of the so-called pseudopartitive constructions (54), the syntactic representation being that in (55).

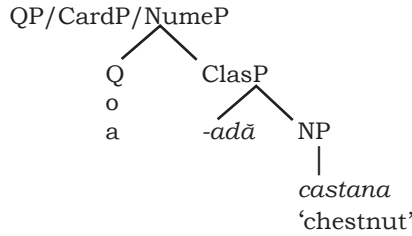
(54) three drops of blood / three types of footwear / a grain of sand
 trei stropi de sânge / trei tipuri de încălțăminte / un fir de nisip

(55) NumeP = Numeral Phrase (Cardinal Phrase in Stavrou & Terzi 2008),
 Cla(s)P = Classifier Phrase, FP = Functional Projection



Starting from both the representations in (51) (Stavrou and Terzi 2008) and in (56) and capitalizing on the intuition that *-adă* does the job of a classifier, I propose that the syntactic structure of new *-adă* derivatives is the following:

(56) *castaniada* ‘chestnut-ada’



If we adopt this representation, *-adă* is generated in the head of the Classifier Phrase and incorporates the noun by m-merger, in the sense of Matushansky (2006). I leave the precise implementation of this mechanism for further research.

In order to derive the two interpretations of new *-adă* derivatives, i.e., the collective (series-of-events) interpretation and the event interpretation, I need to postulate two homophonous classifiers, *-adă₁* and *-adă₂*. *-adă₁* classifies nouns as events (usually directed at disparaging someone) while *-adă₂* classifies nouns as a series of such events⁴.

4. Conclusions

The paper investigated a productive suffix in contemporary Romanian, *-adă*, relying on a quantitative investigation of the corpus provided in Croitor (2021). The paper has shown that the suffix *-adă* acts as a classifier, inducing two different interpretations: the event interpretation and the series-of-events interpretation. This difference is taken to mirror the one proposed by Stavrou and Terzi (2008) between the SET interpretation the HIGH number interpretation of numerical nouns in Greek.

With respect to the syntactic configuration, the paper has proposed that *-adă* occupies the head of the classifier phrase and

⁴ The process is reminiscent of what happens in classifier languages. In (1a), the classifier *cái* classifies the noun ‘eating bowl’ as a non-living thing, while the classifier *con* classifies the noun ‘cat’ as a living thing in (1b).

- (1) a. *ba cái bál* (Vietnamese)
 three Clas non-living thing eating bowl
 ‘three eating bowls’
 b. *bôn con mèo*
 four Clas living thing cat
 ‘four cats’ (Nguyen 1957: 125)

incorporates the noun via m-merger. On the other hand, from the vantage point of word-formation creativity and stylistics, new *-adă* derivatives satisfy both the tendency towards economy of expression and the tendency towards semantic transparency.

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