

Preface

The chapters in this volume grew out of papers presented at the workshop “Nominalizations across Languages” that we organized at Stuttgart University, Germany, in December 2007. It was a lively and engaging workshop, with many good papers – in fact too many for a single volume. We decided to split the papers in two volumes, one focusing on the semantics of nominalizations (the current volume, IE 22), the other one focusing on the syntax of nominalizations (IE 23). The split reflects nicely the kinds of contributions we received, although we want to stress that there are, of course, many overlapping and unifying questions.

The current volume IE 22 explores the semantics of nominalizations from different theoretical points of view: formal and lexical semantics, cognitive-functional grammar, lexical-functional grammar, discourse representation theory. Data from a variety of languages are taken into account, including Hungarian, Italian, French, German and English. The papers discuss the semantics of distinct readings of nominalizations and meaning differences observed between competing affixes.

It was an enormous pleasure for both of us to prepare the volumes. We would like to thank our authors for their contributions, we have benefited enormously from reading their chapters. Many thanks also to our reviewers for their insightful and inspiring comments.

Many thanks also to the DFG for the financial support that made this event possible.

Finally, we would like to thank Anke Beck, Julie Miess and Ursula Kleinhenz at Mouton de Gruyter for their valuable editorial assistance and guidance. Thanks also to Frank Benno Junghanns for proofreading and taking care of the formatting of the manuscripts.

Monika Rathert and Artemis Alexiadou
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Contributors

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Melanie Uth is PhD student at the Department of Romance Linguistics at the University of Stuttgart. She is interested in derivational morphology, lexical semantics, language and cognition, language change and creole genesis. In her PhD thesis, she discusses the role of semantics in derivational morphology on the basis of a contrastive analysis of the French nominalization suffixes *-ment* and *-age*.

Introduction

Monika Rathert and Artemis Alexiadou

Deverbal nouns have been important and controversial in linguistic research, as they constitute an instance of structures showing categorially ambivalent behaviour, cf. Roeper (2005). Do deverbal nouns inherit the arguments of the underlying verbs? English data such as (1b) show that nominalizations of transitive verbs allow the inheritance of both the agent and the theme argument of the verb:

- (1) a. destroy ($x_{\text{Agent}}, y_{\text{Theme}}$)
b. [the enemy's]_{Agent} destruction [of the city]_{Theme}

But the agent is only realized in presence of the theme. If the theme is suppressed, *enemy's* is no longer the agent but the theme of destruction:

- (2) a. *[the enemy's]_{Agent} destruction
b. [the enemy's]_{Theme} destruction

In contrast to English, the prenominal position in nominalizations is more or less limited to proper names in today's German¹:

- (3) a. ?? des Feindes Zerstörung (equivalent to (2b))
the enemy's destruction
b. Churchills Zerstörung
Churchill's destruction

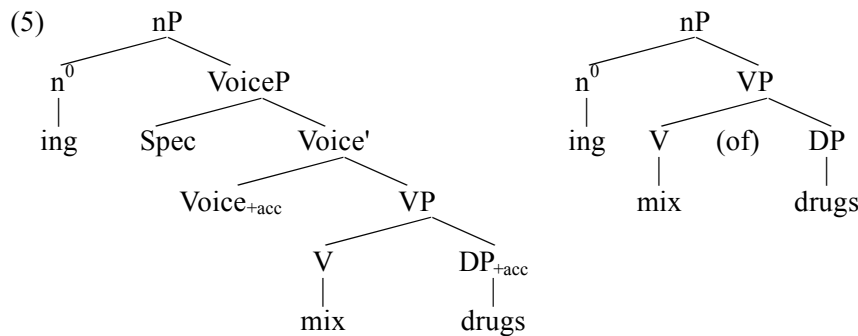
While the nominalizers *-tion* in (2) and *-ung* in (3) lead to clearly nominal outputs, this is not the case for other affixes. As for the English *-ing*, a relatively verbal ACC-ing gerund contrasts with a nominal ING-of gerund:

- (4) a. ACC-ing
Belushi foolishly mixing drugs was the cause of...
b. ING-of-Gerund
Belushi's foolish mixing of drugs was the cause of...

¹ Cf. Demske (2001); it is only after the end of the 17th century that the prenominal position was restricted to proper names like this.

The ACC-ing gerund *mixing* in (4a) is relatively verbal as it assigns accusative case and is modified by an adverb (*foolishly*). ING-of gerund in (4b) is nominal as it allows only adjectival modification and as the object does not receive accusative (but genitive from *of*).

Within the framework of Distributed Morphology, this contrast receives a syntactic explanation. Similar to Abney (1987), Alexiadou (2001), Harley (2009) proposes that *-ing* dominated a VoiceP with the ACC-ing gerund, but only a VP with the ING-of gerund:



This analysis is not without problems, consider that adverbial modification is possible in both cases, contrary to the data in (4).

If a syntactic analysis would be the solution to deverbal nominalizations, well-known facts about restrictions on productivity and lexicalization phenomena would be left unaccounted for. The following nouns do not show the event or process reading one would expect with German *-ung*-noun (examples from Fleischer and Barz 1992):

- (6) Erfrischung, Lenkung, Kupplung, Innung, Losung, Schöpfung

As already mentioned, in English a relatively verbal ACC-ing gerund contrasts with a nominal ING-of gerund. But there is even more variation with *-ing* formations (examples from Quirk et al. 1985):

- (7)
- Brown's painting of his daughter hangs in the museum
 - The painting of Brown is as skillful as that of Gainsborough
 - ING-of: Brown's deft painting of his daughter is a delight to watch
 - POSS-ing: Brown's deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch
 - PRO-ing: Brown is well known for painting his daughter
 - ACC-ing: I dislike Brown painting his daughter
 - Brown is painting his daughter

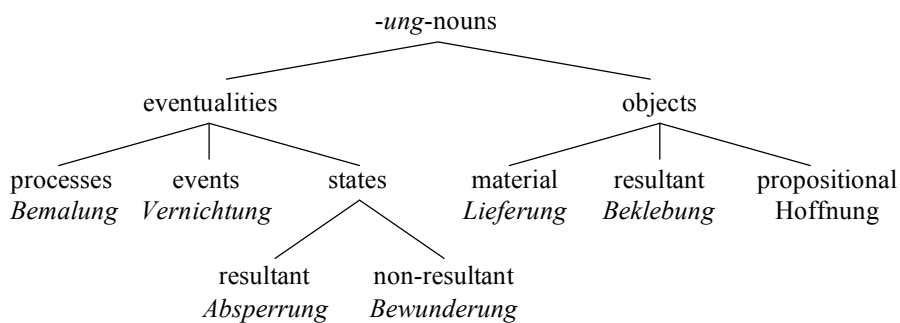
With the POSS-ing in (7d), the agent (Brown's) is expressed as a possessor. As for the PRO-ing in (7e), one assumes a proform as [painting his daughter].

Several tests show that ACC-ing and PRO-ing display a verbal/propositional semantics whereas the semantics POSS-ing is rather nominal. Horn (1975) has shown differences in agreement:

- (8) a. That Pat came and that Chris left bothers / ?bother me (S)
 b. Pat coming and Chris leaving bothers / ?bother me ACC-ing
 c. Coming and leaving (so often) bothers / ?bother me PRO-ing
- (9) a. Pat and Chris *bothers / bother me (NP)
 b. Pat's coming and Chris's leaving ?bothers / bother me POSS-ing

Another problem is the non-constant meaning of nominalizing affixes, their so called sortal ambiguity. German *-ung* shows up to seven distinct types of meaning:

- (10) *-ung*-Nomen according to Ehrich and Rapp (2000):



Not all readings are available for all deverbal *-ung*-nouns:

- (11) a. *Lieferung*: no resultant state **die Lieferung hat Bestand*
 b. *Vernichtung*: no material object **die Vernichtung der Akten wird gelagert*

Empirical work with corpora (e.g. Reinhard 2001) has tried to determine the relationship between the semantics of the verbal base and the sortal ambiguity of the deverbal noun. The picture is complicated by blocking phenomena; although semantically equivalent, *-ung*-nouns and nominalized infinitives show variation with respect to blocking:

- (12) a. *-ung*-nouns and nominalized infinitives: equally acceptable
 die Normalisierung – das Normalisieren
 the normalizing – the normalizing
- b. preferences for the infinitive
 **die Streichelung – das Streicheln*
 the petting
- c. preferences for the *-ung*-noun
 eine Überwachung für die Urlaubszeit – ?? ein Überwachen für die Urlaubszeit
 a monitoring during the vacations
- d. equally bad
 **die Herumliegung des Mülls – *das Herumliegen des Mülls*
 the lying around of garbage

The reasons for the varying grammaticality are not completely clear. They are currently under examination by Kamp and Rossdeutscher and Alexiadou and Schäfer within the context of the SFB 732 in Stuttgart. Is the deviance of (12c) due to the fact that nominalized infinitives are closer to verbs than *-ung*-nouns in that their accusative object may not be omitted? The deviant infinitive in (12d) might be due to a restriction on animacy limited to stative verbs, cf. the grammatical *das Rauschen der Wälder* Jacobs (2002).

The papers in this volume address these issues and introduce further and finer distinctions in the semantics of nominalization. Let us briefly summarize their main contributions.

Barker is concerned with the question whether nominals provide criteria of identity. He claims that there is no need for positing lexical criteria of identity, and so nominals provide only criteria of application. The impression that some nominals have non-trivial criteria of identity is due to the fact that in certain limited pragmatic situations, nominals can shift their meaning from a set of individuals (people) to a set of stages (passengers). Because some nominals are episodically linked to a set of events, they are especially likely to undergo this meaning shift, but under the right circumstances, other nominals can shift. Circumstances that promote per-event shifts include situations in which tracking individuals becomes difficult: large numbers of individuals, long periods of time between observations, or salience of a nominal's qualifying events. Ultimately, then, the granularity of individuation depends on spatial, temporal, and causal contiguity, in combination with the pragmatic needs of the discourse, and not on lexical criteria of identity.

Brandtner and Heusinger's discussion of predicate transfer is devoted to a similar kind of pragmatically-triggered meaning shift. As mentioned before, nominalizations denote different sortal types, e.g. events, states etc., depending on a variety of parameters. Brandtner and Heusinger focus on the sortal readings of *-ung*-nominalizations in German that are triggered by the sortal restrictions of adjectival modifiers and the predicates that govern the nominalizations. They start with the observation that some nominalizations can occur in a context where they have different sortal readings imposed by the adjectival modifier on the one hand and by the predicate on the other. They provide a new analysis for these cases based on Nunberg's notion of predicate transfer. They assume that the predicate extends its meaning and thereby imposes different selectional restrictions, rather than shifting the meaning of the nominalization.

Heyvaert offers a cognitive-functional perspective on deverbal nominalization in English. Rooted in the Cognitive Grammar framework as developed by Langacker while also adopting some of the fundamentals underlying Halliday's systemic-functional analysis of language structure, the approach to nominalization that it proposes involves a usage-based description of the 'symbolic' status of various nominalization types, of the compositional relationships which they realize (in particular, of their component functions – which, it is argued, may be highly schematic categories realizable both in clauses and in nominal structures); and, thirdly, of the paradigmatic relationships which nominalizations enter into as 'complex' linguistic categories with non-nominalized noun phrases and with clausal structures. Among its most distinctive features is certainly the importance it attaches to the role played by functional categories that relate to the speech event or 'ground' (e.g. modality, tense, subject) and that have long been attributed exclusively to clausal structure.

Laczkó is concerned with a new account of possessors and event nominals in Hungarian within Lexical-Functional Grammar. The gist of the analysis is that a lexical conversion process creates a raising predicate from an ordinary noun and an equi predicate from a relational/deverbal noun, and the Poss morpheme functions as the PRED of their (XCOMP) propositional argument. This approach solves two classical problems: (i) modelling the "embedded" nature of the possessive relation and (ii) avoiding dual theta role assignment. Laczkó also discusses issues raised by possessive constructions with complex event nominal heads. A crucial feature of the new approach is that the argument structure that the deverbal noun inherits from the input verb is, as a rule, also augmented by the lexical predication template with a propositional argument. Consequently, the possessor in such construc-

tions is not a simple equivalent of the subject argument of the input verb, because it is also involved in an equi-type functional control relationship.

Martin investigates the semantics of eventive suffixes in French. Eventive deverbal nouns (EDNs) can be formed with at least three suffixes in French, namely *-age*, *-ment* and *-ion*. The goal of Marin's paper is to explain the distribution of these three suffixes in contemporary French. The hypothesis she explores is that these suffixes have an abstract semantical value, which contributes to explain why verbs select different suffixes in the operation of nominalisation, given the additional premise that the meaning of the verbal stem and the one of the suffix must match. She also tackles the acceptability of neologisms. For this study, two kinds of empirical data have been investigated, namely existing EDNs listed in dictionaries (*Le Petit Robert*, *Le Littré* and *Le Trésor de la Langue française*) as well as existing EDNs which are present in corpora (e.g. on Internet) but not listed in dictionaries.

Melloni investigates polysemous action nominals which not only denote events but also refer to the results or effects of the events themselves. She **is** looking *inside* action nominals, hence paying attention to verbal semantics, rather than examining their behaviour in the syntactic context. The hypothesis she develops is that it is possible to predict the potential polysemy of action nominals by exploring the structural and, especially, the conceptual semantics of the base verb. The analysis of several verb classes allows her to capture the semantic features of the relevant argument or semantic participant of the base that semantically corresponds to the referential noun. In particular, she isolates the conceptual-semantic, thematic and aspectual features of the heterogeneous class of result/referential nouns. Melloni focuses on Italian data, but her analysis surely carries over to other Romance languages, and might be extended to Germanic and Slavic.

Roßdeutscher and Kamp are concerned with syntactic and semantic constraints on the formation and interpretation of German *-ung*-nouns. The central aim of this paper is to explain when *-ung*-nouns can be formed and what an *-ung*-noun can mean in case it can be formed. The general approach to these questions is to develop a theory of the internal, root based structure of verbs, building on the works from within Distributed Morphology. New is the way in which morpho-syntactic structures familiar from DM (or structures closely related to those) are given a formal semantics (specified by Roßdeutscher and Kamp in the form of semantic representations cast in a version of DRT).

Uth investigates the rivalry of French *-ment* and *-age* from a diachronic perspective. She shows that even in New French, the several differences

exhibited by the *-ment* and *-age* nominalizations should best be traced back to a single underlying semantic difference, relating to the perspective from which the nominalized forms refer to the event designated by the base verb. She argues that *-age* nominals focus on the property of subject referents to take part in the event designated by the base verb, whereas *-ment* nominalizes the property of Theme arguments to participate in the state resulting from the base event. It follows that, in the case of *-ment*, the exact meaning of the nominals will highly depend on the Aktionsart-related characteristics of the base verb. The paper clearly supports the hypothesis that *-ment* and *-age* may indeed be distinguished with respect to a single underlying semantic difference.

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