

On the edge: nominalizations from evaluative adjectives

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Abstract. In this paper we examine the elements, structure and formation process of derived categories, by analyzing the properties of nouns derived from adjectives. We will discuss the event structure underlying them and argue that, although it is commonly assumed that deadjectival nouns denote qualities (*wisdom, beauty*) or states (*sadness, perplexity*), there is a group of deadjectival nominalizations (*imprudence, cruelty*) that refer to occurrences of events (Beuseroy, 2009). We show that such occurrential nominalizations are possible only when derived from evaluative adjectives. This is due, we argue, to the fact that such adjectives can be predicated of events in addition to the sentient individual (Stowell, 1991). Finally, we furthermore show that the existence of a structure of origin with the relevant properties does not guarantee the existence of the derived category, leaving what seem to be gaps in the universe of possible derivations.

1. Introduction

In this paper we examine the elements, structure and formation process of derived categories, by analyzing the properties of nouns derived from adjectives. In recent literature, the space of the grammar where the process of derivation belongs (e.g. narrow syntax or somewhere else), the role of functional categories in it and the precise structure of derived categories is being revisited at the light of current models about the architecture of the morphology- syntax- and semantics interface. By tradition, the derived category that keeps receiving the highest level of attention is that of nominalizations and, among nominalizations, those that come from verbs. In contrast, nominalizations coming from adjectives still remain understudied, although some authors have turned their attention to them recently (Roy, 2010; Alexiadou & Martin, to appear, and references therein).

Three issues can be said to be at the core of the investigation of derivation processes: the role and properties of the affixes and other categories (e.g. functional categories) that participate in implementing the derivation process itself; the role of the structure of origin; and the patterning of the nominalization in classifications such as the one proposed by Grimshaw (1990) where nominalizations are divided into those involving fully-fledged Argument Structure (AS-nominalizations) and those without it that have a referential meaning (R-nominalizations). Alexiadou and Martin (to appear) argue that the account of most properties observed in nominalizations must make reference to the properties of affixes. Roy 2010, Arche and Marín 2011, Borer 2012 emphasize that properties of nominalizations should be accounted for by the properties of the structure of origin. In this paper we will contribute to further filling the lacuna existing around deadjectival nominalizations by providing a finer grained taxonomy for them and by discussing the origin of their properties. We will discuss the event structure underlying them and argue that, although it is commonly assumed that deadjectival nouns denote qualities or properties (*wisdom* or *beauty*) or states (*sadness, perplexity*), there is a group of deadjectival nominalizations that exhibit a behavior closer to those which are properly deverbal, as they seem to be able to refer to occurrences of events (Beuseroy, 2009). Examples of such cases are *imprudence* or *cruelty*. Their eventive-like behavior can be observed, as will be shown, for example, by their compatibility with event support verbs: *Bill committed two imprudences*.

In this paper we explore the properties of different deadjectival nominalizations and show that those nominalizations that can refer to instantiations of eventualities are possible only when derived from stems with particular properties, namely, those of evaluative adjectives. The working hypothesis we entertain here is that this is due to the fact that such adjectives can be predicated of events in addition to the sentient individual, as Stowell (1991) pointed out. Regarding the role of affixes, we show that they vary as for their ability to give rise to different readings and interpretations of the derived category, although in most cases the kind of nominalization cannot be predicted from it. Finally, we furthermore show that the existence of a structure of origin with the relevant properties does not guarantee the existence of the derived category with the expected characteristics, leaving what seem to be gaps in the universe of possible derivations.

The paper is organized as follows. Sections 2 and 3 introduce the theoretical issues relating to nominalizations in general and deadjectival ones in particular. Section 4 presents a critical taxonomy of different nominalizations coming from adjectives and the different suffixes involved in it. Section 5 offers an account of the differences by discussing the properties of the adjectival bases underlying the nominalizations. Section 6 makes some considerations about the suffixes involved in the derivation processes studied and section 7 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. Nominalizations

In the theory about nominalizations, the two-way distinction proposed by Grimshaw (1990) together with the properties associated with each group is kept as a reference to probe the properties of derived nouns. In this classification, only some nouns are considered to have a proper Argument Structure associated with them (AS-Nominals), while others lack it (R-Nominals). Likewise, other event properties such as those associated with aspect and the interpretation of subjects as agents correlate with those involving a proper AS. Properties of each are below in Table I.

AS-nominals	R-nominals
a. Obligatory arguments	a. No obligatory arguments
b. Event reading	b. No necessary event reading
c. Agent-oriented modifiers	c. No agent-oriented modifiers
d. Subjects are arguments	d. Subjects are possessives
e. <i>by</i> -phrases are arguments; in Spanish, selects <i>por</i>	e. <i>by</i> -phrases are non-arguments; in Spanish, selects <i>de</i>
f. Implicit argument control	f. No implicit argument control
g. Aspectual modifiers such as <i>for three hours; in three hours</i>	g. No aspectual modifiers
h. Modifiers like <i>frequent</i> possible without plural	h. Modifiers like <i>frequent</i> only with plural

Table I. Properties of derived nominals apud Grimshaw (1990)

An illustration of the difference between R-nominals and AS-nominals is given below. As Grimshaw (1990) pointed out many nominalizations can be said to be ambiguous between the two, their different properties being evidenced in the respective tests. Sentences in (1) illustrate AS-nouns properties; those in (2) R-nouns properties.

- (1)
 - a. the sociologists' collection of butterflies.
 - b. the intentional/ premeditated/ careful collection of butterflies.
 - c. the collection of butterflies by the sociologists.
 - d. the collection of butterflies during three hours.
 - e. the frequent collection of butterflies by the sociologists.
 - f. the careful collection of the experiment to ensure its success.
 - g. the dismantlement of the department in two months.

- (2)
 - a. We all admired the collection.
 - b. The presented collection was rejected by the panel as non-explanatory.

Although the idea of associating an event structure to AS nominalizations has found consensus in the literature, authors critically differ in its syntactic implementation. For some (Picallo 1991, Ouhalla 1991; Alexiadou 2001, Harley 2009, Embick 2010), the eventive structure responsible for the properties exhibited is superimposed to the nouns. That is, nouns are *embedded* into eventive structure. In contrast, for others, notably for Borer 2005, 2009, 2012, the nominalizer merges with a structure which already contains the relevant event projections; in, e.g. deverbal nominalizations, they are proposed to involve the relevant verbalizer categories. In this paper we will provide evidence in favour of this latter view coming from deadjectival nominalizations. We will argue that the range of properties found across them can be explained if we assume that they are due to the elements the AP is equipped with. We argue that, otherwise, the properties of the nominalizations are rendered as stipulative and the system producing them unrestricted. That is to say, we will propose that the nominalizer takes a specific structure that contains different event-related projections, which gives rise to different argumental relations as well. If this is effectively the case, the properties of nominalizations and adjectives are expected to correlate, which seems to be borne out by our data. However, if the properties of nominalizations were due to structure idiosyncratically superimposed onto the adjectival bases, no correlations would be expected.

The approach to morphology we adopt in this paper is that defended by Borer (2005, 2009, 2012). In such a framework, roots are devoid of any category information and categorization is obtained in the narrow syntax, by virtue of the merge of the root with the relevant functional category. Deadjectival nominalization is understood here as the merge in narrow syntax of an adjectival base with a nominalizer.

3. *Deadjectival nominalizations*

Deadjectival nominalizations have been considered, in recent works, to constitute two distinct groups: those that refer to States an individual may be in, S-nominalizations (e.g. *sadness*, *perplexity*), and those that refer to Qualities an individual may possess, Q-nominalizations (e.g. *wisdom*, *beauty*). As Roy (2010) surveys, S-nominalizations closely pattern with AS nominalizations in Grimshaw's (1990) classification. This is not surprising since, even though they may not have eventive properties understood as "active events", stativity is a type of event structure. That is, to be stative does not amount to non having AS but means having a different type of AS, likely involving different functional projections that do not leave room for properties associated with, for example, active dynamic events (e.g. agentive modification). As is shown below, S-Nominalizations largely behave as AS-nominalizations in most respects. The subject is not a mere possessor (3a) and aspect modification is possible (3b), (3c).

- (3) a. La tristeza de Juan → experiencer; not possessor
the sadness of Juan
b. La tristeza de Juan durante dos semanas
the sadness of Juan during two weeks
c. La frecuente tristeza de Juan
the frequent sadness of Juan

As Roy (2010) points out, only gradable adjectives produce AS-nominalizations. Relational adjectives, e.g. *presidencial* ‘presidential’, which cannot take degree modifiers (4a), cannot occur prenominaly (4b) and cannot have a predicative use (4c), as observed by Schmidt (1972) and Bache (1978), are never the base for nominalizations (5):

- (4) a. *una reunión muy presidencial.
a meeting very presidential
b. *la presidencial reunion vs. la reunión presidencial.
the presidential meeting vs. the meeting presidential
c. *la reunion fue presidencial.
the meeting was presidential

- (5) *la presidencialidad de la reunión.
the presidentiality of the meeting

Roy (op.cit) concludes that the base for AS nominalizations includes functional structure containing a projection for Degree and a PredP, the functional category that takes a root and makes the projection of arguments possible. In this sense, deadjectival nominalizations are rendered as derivations construed over a structure already including all the relevant functional information. Q-Nominalizations are more delicate to define. Q-nominalizations are possible only if coming from degree adjectives, just like AS-Nominalizations. Following Flaux and Van de Velde (2000), we take the compatibility with the so-called genitive of Quality (6) and with verbs such as *mostrar* ‘show’ or *dar muestras de* ‘give signs of’ (7) as structures diagnosing qualities:

- (6) *Juan es de una gran presidencialidad.
Juan is of a great presidentiality
(7) *Juan dio muestras de presidencialidad.
Juan gave signs of presidentiality

In the remainder of the paper, we assume the just described fundamentals (i.e. that deadjectival AS-Noms and Q-Noms involve functional structure containing DegP and PredP) but argue that the dichotomy quality/state for AS ones does not cover the whole range. We will propose a finer-grained classification and show that some nominalizations have properties that lend themselves to be classified closer to purely eventive ones.

4. Towards a finer-grained distinction for deadjectival nominalizations

Nominalizations such as the ones given in (8) behave differently from S-nominalizations and Q-nominalizations in a number of respects. We will survey their properties in the following subsections and argue next that the properties of such nominalizations can be predicted from the type of adjective involved in the stem; this gives support to the idea that nominalizing structure embeds a fully-fledged adjectival structure.

- (8) *bobada* ‘nonsense’, *cabazonada* ‘stubbornness’, *crueldad* ‘cruelty’, *estupidez* ‘stupidity’, *grosería* ‘rudeness’, *imprudencia* ‘imprudence’, *indiscreción* ‘indiscretion’, *infidelidad* ‘unfaithfulness’, *injusticia* ‘injustice’, *insolencia* ‘insolence’, *memez* ‘nonsense’, *necedad* ‘stupidity’, *ordinariez* ‘vulgarity’, *osadía* ‘daring’, *sandez* ‘nonsense’, *temeridad* ‘temerity’, *tontería* ‘silliness’, *travesura* ‘devilry’, *vulgaridad* ‘vulgarity’.

Since, as will be shown, they are able to refer to instantiations or occurrences of eventualities, we will dub them as “Occurrential Deadjectival Nominalizations” (ODNs), following Beuseroy (2009).

4.1 Ability to pluralize and be counted

Just as other nouns denoting events, deverbally derived (*operación* ‘operation’, *discusión* ‘discussion’) (9) or not (*fiesta* ‘party’, *boda* ‘wedding’) (10), the nominalizations in (8) are able to pluralize (11), in clear contrast with deadjectival nouns denoting qualities or properties (*belleza* ‘beauty’, *pesadez* ‘heaviness’) (12) or states (*tristeza* ‘sadness’, *perplejidad* ‘perplexity’) (13):

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (9) | dos discusiones/ varias operaciones
two discussions/ several operations | [deverbal eventive nouns] |
| (10) | dos fiestas/ cuatro bodas
two parties/ four weddings | [non-derived eventive nouns] |
| (11) | dos imprudencias/ varias injusticias
two imprudencies/ several injustices | [occurrential deadjectival nouns] |
| (12) | *dos pesadeces/ *tres tristezas.
two heavinesses/ three sadnesses | [state deadjectival nouns] |
| (13) | *dos bellezas/ *dos sabidurías
two beauties/ two wisdoms | [quality deadjectival nouns] |

We will get back to this characteristic further down below, together with our analysis of aspect modification.

4.2. As a complement of action denoting verbs, take place and perception verbs

The following classical tests on nominal eventivity (Godard & Jayez 1994) show that ODNs behave like deverbal and simple eventive nominals in the majority of relevant respects and contrast with S-nominals and Q-nominals. This can be observed as complements of action-denoting verbs such as *hacer* ‘do’, *llevar a cabo* ‘carry out’ or *cometer* ‘commit’ (14); as complement of *tener lugar* ‘take place’ (15); and as complements of perception verbs such as *presenciar* ‘be a witness of’ (16).

- (14) a. Juan hizo dos operaciones/ llevó a cabo dos discusiones.
Juan made two operations/ conducted two discussions
b. Juan hizo dos fiestas.
Juan made two parties

- c. Juan cometió dos imprudencias/ varias crueldades¹.
Juan carried out two imprudencies/ several cruelties
- d. *Juan cometió dos tristezas/ varias perplejidades.
Juan carried out two sadnessess/ several perplexities
- e. *Juan cometió varias tristezas/ perplejidades.
Juan carried out several sadnessess/ perplexities
- f. *Juan cometió varias bellezas/ sabidurías.
Juan carried out several beauties/ wisdoms
- (15) a. Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias discusiones / operaciones.
This morning have taken place several discussions / operations
- b. Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias fiestas.
This morning have taken place several parties
- c. Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias imprudencias/ injusticias.
This morning have taken place several imprudencies/ injusticies
- d. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias tristezas/ perplejidades.
This morning have taken place several sadnessess/ perplexities
- e. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias bellezas/ tristezas.
This morning have taken place several beauties/ sadnessess
- (16) a. He presenciado las discusiones/ operaciones del jefe.
I.have witnessed the discussions/ operations by.the boss
- b. He presenciado las fiestas del presidente.
I.have witnessed the parties of.the president
- c. He presenciado las imprudencias/ injusticias del presidente.
I.have witnessed the imprudencies/ injusticies of.the president
- d. ??*He presenciado las tristezas/ perplejidades del presidente.
I.have witnessed the sadnessess/ perplexities of.the president
- e. *He presenciado las bellezas/ sabidurías del presidente.
I.have witnessed the beauties/ wisdoms of.the president

4.3. Fully-fledged Argument Structure

The tests below aim at showing that ODNs have a fully-fledged AS (e.g. the subject is not understood as a mere possessor) which, in addition, cannot be considered as stative. Contrasting with S-Nominals, where the subject is commonly understood to hold the theta role of experiencer, the subject of ODNs is interpreted as an agent. Examples in (17) aim at making explicit the theta-role of the subject.

- (17) a. las operaciones de Juan [las que Juan realiza vs. *las que Juan tiene]
the operations of Juan [which Juan makes vs *which Juan has]
- b. las fiestas de María [las que María hace vs. *las que María tiene]
the parties of María [which María makes vs. *which María has]
- c. las imprudencias de Juan [las que Juan hace vs. *las que Juan tiene]
the imprudencies of Juan [which Juan makes vs. which Juan has]
- d. la tristeza de Juan [la que Juan *experimenta* vs. *la que Juan hace]
the sadness of Juan [which Juan experiences vs. *which Juan makes]

¹ Only nominals expressing negative events, as crimes or offenses, are compatible with *cometer* ‘commit’.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| e. la sabiduría de Inés | [la que Inés <i>tiene</i> vs. *la que Inés hace] |
| the wisdom of Inés | [which Inés has vs. *which Inés has] |

The possibility of agentive modification argues in the same direction than above. However, it is worthwhile to note that, unlike simple event nouns of the type of *party*, only ODN allow for agent oriented modifiers.

- (18)
- a. la deliberada operación/ discusión.
the deliberate operation/ discussion
 - b. *la deliberada fiesta.
the deliberate party
 - c. la deliberada imprudencia/ crueldad.
the deliberate imprudence/ cruelty
 - d. *la deliberada perplejidad/ tristeza.
the deliberate perplexity/ sadness
 - e. *la deliberada belleza/ sabiduría.
the deliberate beauty/ wisdom

This suggests that agentive modifiers are modifiers of eventive functional structure, which is lacking in simple event nouns. Incompatibility of agent oriented modifiers in S-nouns is then expected.

4.4. Aspectual modification

Authors such as Borer (2012) consider that the two most infallible tests for AS-nominals are those involving aspectual modification (*for-/in-* adverbials) and the addition of a purpose clause, which is controlled by an overt or covert argument. We argue that these two proofs cannot be kept on a par. We argue that the data below show that while the *for/in-*adverbials seem to be reserved to deverbal stems (19), while purpose clauses are licensed in the case of ODNs, see (22) further down below, which we will take as evidence in favour of the existence of an event argument in ODNs. Regarding the interpretation of the adverbials, we argue that their interpretation has to be handled with care. *For-*adverbials are allowed in some cases but we argue that it is being licensed at different scope positions. In example (19)a, the *for-*adverbial measures the duration of the discussion. We argue that this is licensed within the functional structure accompanying the verbal base structure. The event of *discussing* is homogeneous and atelic, which explains the incompatibility of the *in-*time adverbial. It seems then that the aspectual properties of the functional structure found in the verb *discuss* are kept in the nominalization. As example (19)b, containing a heterogeneous telic event shows, the *in-*time adverbial is all right when that condition is met. The simple event noun (*party*) does not license aspectual modification, which suggests that aspect modification is licensed by aspectual functional structure, arguably inexistent in the case of these simple nouns. Examples involving ODNs are in principle grammatical, but the adverbial does not modify an instantiation of an eventuality (i.e. what Juan may have done and is considered imprudent). The adverbial may only refer to the period of time within which the subject gave signs of the quality. Similar situation regards S-nouns and Q-nouns. Observe that the sentences improve very much if a Noun Phrase clearly referring to a period of time is inserted (20).

- (19)
- a. la discusión de los problemas durante/ *en una hora.
the discussion of the problems for/ in an hour
 - b. la construcción del puente en seis meses.
the construction of.the bridge in six months

- c. *la fiesta durante/ en una hora.
the party for/ in an hour
- d. #la imprudencia/ crueldad de Juan durante una hora.
the imprudence/ cruelty of Juan for an hour
- e. #la tristeza de Juan durante un año.
the sadness of Juan for a year
- f. #la belleza de María durante un año.
the beauty of María for a year

- (20)
- a. la imprudencia de Juan durante su juventud.
the imprudence of Juan during his youth
 - b. la tristeza de Juan durante su juventud.
the sadness of Juan during his youth
 - c. la belleza de María durante su juventud.
the beauty of María during her youth

We argue that the difference between the interpretations of the adverbials obeys to the same reasons to the differences observed in sentences such as the ones below from Arche (2012). Sentence (21)a shows the possible co-occurrence of *for*-adverbials suggesting that they play different roles and are interpreted at different levels. In support of the closer syntactic positioning of the adverbial to the verb when it modifies the event-time, consider the contrast with (21)b and (21)c and (21)d. Following Arche (op.cit) we argue that only in the case of deverbal nouns *for*-adverbial access and measure an event time. In the S-nouns, Q-nouns and ODNs, the *for*-adverbial does not modify the event time but the external frame interval the quality or the eventuality holds.

- (21)
- a. Marta navegó durante una hora durante años.
Marta sailed for an hour for years
 - b. Durante años Marta navegó durante una hora.
For years Marta sailed for an hour
 - c. *Durante una hora Marta navegó durante años.
For an hour Marta sailed for years
 - d. ??Marta navegó durante años durante una hora.
Marta sailed for years for an hour

In the literature, the availability of plural is related to aspectual properties (Alexiadou *et al.* 2010, Barque *et al.* 2012, Fábregas & Marín, 2012 and references therein). In particular, the possibility of counting instantiations is usually linked with perfectivity (see Arche 2006 and 2012 for a formal syntactic account where Aspect involves a quantifier over occasions). In the case of ODNs the issue is delicate. On the one hand, we intuitively understand that when we say *John's imprudences* we are making reference to a number of instantiations that can be counted because they are bounded or finished. The problem is that for perfectivity to be fully instantiated an Aspect projection would be expected and we had seen no evidence of it earlier on, given the unavailability of aspectual modification on the eventuality per se. What seems clear is that the presence of an event is instrumental in the allowance for plural in deadjectival AS-nouns. Further investigation pending, we can say that the structure couching the event seems more defective than the one that verbalizes a root. ODNs seem to be on the edge between deadjectival and deverbal nominalizations. Even though aspectual modifiers (*for*-/*in*-adverbials) do not seem possible, purpose clauses seem so, as shown in (22). This could only be explained, we argue, if a covert event (with non stative functional structure) is assumed to be involved in the structure of origin of the AP. We will abound on this later on in section 5.

- (22)
- a. Las discusiones para solucionar el problema.
the discussions to solve the problem
 - b. *Las fiestas para sorprender a su amiga.
the parties to surprise to her friend
 - c. Las imprudencias/ travesuras de Juan para sorprender a su amiga.
the imprudencies/ devilries of Juan to surprise to her friend
 - d. *las pesadeces/ tristezas para molestar a su amiga.
the heavinesses/ sadnesses to bother to her friend
 - e. *Las bellezas/ sabidurías para sorprender a su amiga.
the beauties/ wisdoms to surprise to her friend

Interestingly, as can be appreciated in (22), nominals referring to an event not due to a particular event structure but only due to their encyclopaedic meaning (e.g. *party*) do not license purpose clauses.

5. *It was all in the stem*

In this section we argue that the properties of ODNs, which place them in very close to deverbal nouns, can be accounted for by the properties of the stem: the properties of the AP. We argue that deadjectival nominalizations that can refer to occurrences or instantiations of eventualities are those deriving from Evaluative Adjectives (EAs) since they can be predicated not only of a sentient individual but of an event as well. Following Stowell (1991), Arche (2006, 2010), Arche & Marín (2011) and Fábregas et al. (2012), we argue that the structure of EAs include a covert event. More clearly, we argue that the EAs that give rise to ODNs are those EAs that are predicated of an event in addition to the sentient individual; in Stowell's (1991) terms, those that are dyadic. To begin the analysis of this, some few further descriptive clarifications are in order, as we survey below.

First, denoting an evaluative property is not enough. Adjectives such as *capaz* 'capable' or *apto* 'apt' are evaluative but cannot be predicated of an event. In this regard, compare them with *cruel* or *imprudent*:

- (23)
- a. Juan fue cruel/ imprudente al hacer esa pregunta.
Juan was cruel/ imprudent to make that question
 - b. Hacer esa pregunta fue cruel/ imprudente.
To make that question was cruel/ imprudent
 - c. Fue cruel/ imprudente por parte de Juan hacer esa pregunta.
It was cruel/ imprudent by part of Juan to make that question
- (24)
- a. *Juan fue capaz/ apto al hacer esa pregunta.
Juan was able/ suitable to make that question
 - b. *Hacer esa pregunta fue capaz/ apto.
To make that question was able/ suitable
 - c. *Fue capaz/ apto por parte de Juan hacer esa pregunta.
It was able/ suitable by part of Juan to make that question

In Stowell's (1991) analysis, the unavailability of the options in (24) suggests that the adjective cannot be predicated of an event at the same time than of an individual. And also, it would amount to saying that there is no covert event in the structure of such adjectives. We

hypothesize that it is precisely such lack of an event in the structure that makes the interpretation of their nominalizations unable to refer to instantiations:

- (25) las capacidades de Juan => las acciones aptas de Juan.
 the capacities of Juan => the actions able of Juan

Second, some of the nominals that have been analysed as ODNs can also have a quality reading, as their compatibility with the genitive of quality manifest:

- (26) una persona de una gran imprudencia/ crueldad.
 a person of a great imprudence/ cruelty

That is, some nominals are ambiguous between the two readings, ODN and quality. Following Arche & Marín (2011), we analyze this dichotomy as structurally due: ODNs come from a structure containing an event (27), Q-nominalizations, from a structure where the event is absent (28). This makes sense with the idea advanced in Stowell (1991) and Arche (2006) that EAs have two different structures. The structures below include the functional projection Pred, justified for the reasons given above:

- (27) PredP [Subject [Event [Pred [A

- (28) PredP [Subject [Pred [A

Third, it is not the case that all ODNs allow for a quality reading. Some can refer to instantiations of eventualities (eventualities carried out) but cannot refer to the quality:

- (29) *Una persona de una gran fanfarronada/ travesura.
 A person of a great boast devilry

Fourth, although all ODNs derive from evaluative adjectives, not all nouns built on evaluative adjectives have an occurrential realization. The nominals in (30) have a quality reading (31) but fail to refer to an instantiation of an eventuality (32). This leaves what seem gaps in the derivation that are not explained by the absence of an event in the structure, as all the adjectives of their stems can be predicated of an event (33).

- (30) *amabilidad* ‘kindness’, *arrogancia* ‘arrogance’, *astucia* ‘cunningness’, *audacia* ‘audacity’, *cautela* ‘caution’, *cobardía* ‘cowardice’, *cortesía* ‘courtesy’, *egoísmo* ‘selfishness’, *fidelidad* ‘faithfulness’, *generosidad* ‘generosity’, *honradez* ‘decency’, *humildad* ‘humbleness’, *modestia* ‘modesty’, *prudencia* ‘prudence’, *soberbia* ‘arrogance’, *valentía* ‘braveness’.

- (31) a. Una persona de gran amabilidad/ modestia.
 A person of great kindness/ modesty
 b. Dio muestras de amabilidad/ modestia.
 S/he.gave signs of kindness/ modesty
 c. Actuó con amabilidad/ modestia.
 S/he.acted with kindness/ modesty

- (32) a. *dos arrogancias/ cautelas.
 two arrogancies/ cautions
 b. *Juan ha cometido dos arrogancias/ cautelas.
 Juan has committed two arrogancies/ cautions

- c. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias arrogancias/ cautelas.
This morning have taken place several arrogancies/ cautions
- d. *Las arrogancias/ cautelas de Juan hacia su tío.
The arrogancies/ cautions of Juan towards his uncle
- e. ?He presenciado la amabilidad/ modestia de Eustaquia.
?I.have witnessed the kindness/ modesty of Eustaquia

- (33) a. Juan fue arrogante/ cauto al hacer esa pregunta.
Juan was arrogant/ cautious to make that question
- b. Hacer esa pregunta fue arrogante/ cauto.
To make that question was arrogant/ cautious
- c. Fue arrogante/ cauto por parte de Juan hacer esa pregunta.
It.was arrogant/ cautious by part of Juan to make that question

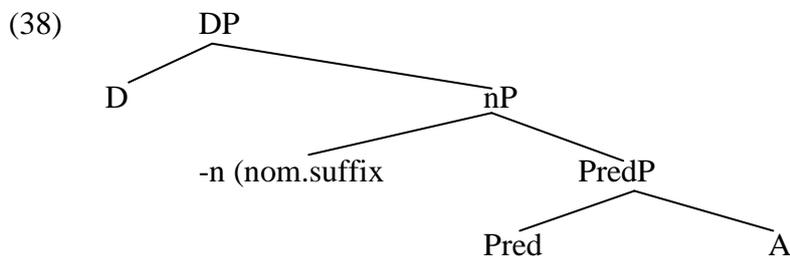
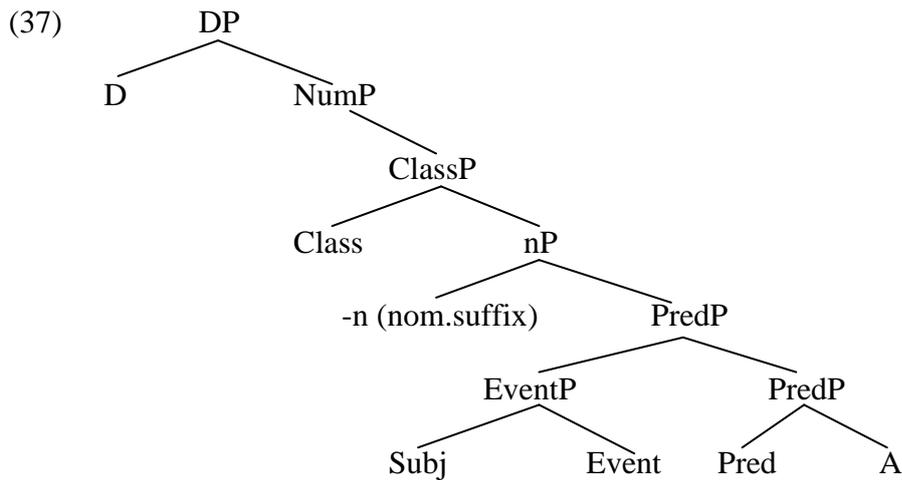
This seems to indicate that there are three groups of nominalizations coming from evaluative adjectives: those of *imprudencia* type, having both an occurrential and a non-occurrential reading, those of modesty, which do not allow for an occurrential reading and those that behave like *travesura*, which only have the occurrential reading; respectively:

- (34) Ambiguous
crueldad ‘cruelty’, *estupidez* ‘stupidity’, *grosería* ‘rudeness’, *imprudencia* ‘imprudence’, *indiscreción* ‘indiscretion’, *injusticia* ‘injustice’, *infidelidad* ‘unfaithfulness’, *insolencia* ‘insolence’, *necedad* ‘stupidity’, *ordinariez* ‘vulgarity’, *osadía* ‘daring’, *temeridad* ‘temerity’, *tontería* ‘silliness’, *vulgaridad* ‘vulgarity’.
- (35) Occurrential only
bobada ‘nonsense’, *bravuconada* ‘piece of bravado’, *cabazonada* ‘stubbornness’, *curtilada* ‘tawdriness’, *fanfarronada* ‘boast’, *memez* ‘nonsense’, *sandez* ‘nonsense’, *tontada* ‘silliness’, *travesura*² ‘devilry’.
- (36) Quality only
amabilidad ‘kindness’, *arrogancia* ‘arrogance’, *astucia* ‘cunningness’, *audacia* ‘audacity’, *cautela* ‘caution’, *cobardía* ‘cowardice’, *cortesía* ‘courtesy’, *egoísmo* ‘selfishness’, *fidelidad* ‘faithfulness’, *generosidad* ‘generosity’, *honradez* ‘decency’, *humildad* ‘humbleness’, *modestia* ‘modesty’, *prudencia* ‘prudence’, *soberbia* ‘arrogance’, *valentía* ‘braveness’.

The descriptions above shed an important finding: all deadjectival nominals denoting instantiations of events come from evaluative adjectives, arguably due to the presence of a covert event in the structure. Some of these adjectives can optionally have this event (ambiguous adjectives), which can be tested in the existence of Q-nominals. Others lack the Q-reading, which suggest that the adjectival structure of (38) is not an option for them. Finally, the gaps represented by the third group suggest that the mere existence of a structure does not amount to the need of use it to produce derived new words. The eventive structure of the adjectives corresponding to the nouns in the third group seems to be left unused.

The structures giving rise to the ODN (37) and the Q-noun (38) are given below:

² This suffix can also attach to nouns and give the same meaning: e.g. *diablura* (from *diablo* –noun).



Structure in (37) captures the following facts: the root A merges with the functor Pred that allows the adjective to be predicative and have a subject (as explained in section 3). Inspired in Stowell (1991), we argue that what is predicated of the adjective is an event. The covert event in question must consist of, we argue, the essential structure to license purpose clauses but maybe not fully-fledged in the sense that it does not seem to be able to be modified by aspectual adverbials. The subject is actually proposed to be generated in the specifier of the relevant event projection. Evidence in favour of the covert event not being stative is given in Arche (2006), where it is shown that the event predicated of the adjective cannot be but “actions” (i.e. an activity or an accomplishment) (39). The nominalizer takes all this structure, which is next taken by Classifier Phrase, understood as in Borer 2005, that is, as a syntactic functor that divides mass and makes it countable, allowing for the presence of Number. The presence of such projections is evidenced by the availability of plural and numerals (11). The essence of the contrast between ODNs and Q-Ns lies, we hypothesize, in the lack of an event argument and the lack of the Classifier-Number structure.

- (39) a. [States] *It was very imprudent of John to know mathematics/ to own a house/ to be an African/ to want that coat.
 b. [Non-states] It was very imprudent of John to read my paper/ to cook the dinner/ to swim in the Ocean.

6. A comment on the suffixes

In the three-way classification proposed in (34)-(36) it can be observed that the suffixes involved in the derivation of EAs are of a great variety, not being possible to predict the reading of the nominal based on the suffix at hand.

It thus seems that the semantics of most of these suffixes is quite vacuous in some sense, and their role is just to give phonological content to the functional element providing the structure of a category. This being said, it seems that certain correspondences can be found and will be worth exploring in future research.

Alexiadou & Martin (to appear) found certain correlations between suffixes and semantic content. Concerning the four French deadjectival suffixes they study in detail (*-erie*, *-isme*, *-ité*, *-itude*), the following generalizations can be drawn: (i) the suffix *-ité* is the unmarked suffix and can form Ns with any kind of aspectual interpretation; (ii) *-erie* imposes a preference for the eventive reading; (3) *-isme* tends to force the deadjectival noun to have a quality (or dispositional) reading; (4) *-itude* forces the noun to denote habits or attitudes and thereby imposes the feature of animacy and the individual-level reading.

These outcomes are mostly confirmed by the Spanish equivalent suffixes we have analyzed. Leaving aside the suffix *-itud* (for which we have not found any realisation among our data), the suffix *-idad* (the Spanish counterpart of *-ité*) is also unmarked: we find it among ODNs as well as among quality nouns. Likewise, the suffix *-ismo* is not found among ODNs, only among quality nouns (e.g. *egoísmo*).

On the other hand, the suffix *-ería* also shows a clear preference for the eventive reading: we only found it among ODNs. Yet this preference is not so strong as in the case of *-ada*, which is only found among strictly ODNs. Suffix *-ada* seems to not being able to give rise to Q-nominals, but only to ODNs. In this regard, it should be brought up the proposal by Ippolito (1999), who states that such a suffix comes from a participial form of a verb; i.e., these nominals are in reality derived from verbs. This could explain *fanfarronada* (from *fanfarronear*) or *tontada* (from *tontear*), and even *cabazonada*³.

Interestingly, there are a few doublets derived from the same stem (40). In all of them, the item in *-ada* is the one that has only an occurrential reading while the one in *-ería* is ambiguous.

- (40) bravuconería-bravuconada; cabzonería-cabzonada; cursilería-cursilada;
fanfarronería-fanfarronada; tontería-tontada;

Likewise, the suffix *-ez* also shows a clear preference for the eventive reading, since among quality readings, we only find *honradez*; among ODNs is far more frequent: *estupidez*, *ordinariez*, *sandez*, *memez*...

7. Summary and conclusions

In this paper we have argued that the properties of nominalizations can be predicted from the properties of the stem. In particular we have provided a finer grained taxonomy of deadjectival nominalizations and have argued that a dichotomy between qualities and states does not exhaust the options. We have show the existence of nominalizations that perform as closer to deverbal nominalizations in a number of tests, referring to instantiations of eventualities. We have defended the idea that it can be predicted which nominalizations can give rise to such a reading: those deriving from an adjectival stem where an event is involved. Such a group is that typically corresponding to evaluative adjectives, as these are predicated of an event, in addition to a sentient individual very naturally. We have offered a systematic

³ Even though *cabzonear* is not registered in the Academic Dictionary of Spanish, its usage is attested.

survey comparing the properties of deverbal nominals, simple event nominals and deadjectival nominals denoting states and qualities. It has become apparent throughout the discussion that the conceptual reference to an event is not enough to license event related modifiers, such as aspectual modifiers or purpose clauses (e.g. with nouns such as *party*). At the same time, we have suggested that aspectual modifiers seem to be so of verbal structure, while purpose clauses seem to need an event (covert or overt) in the structure and this need is fulfilled by the covert event proposed to be present in evaluative dyadic adjectives. In the classification we have provided, we have shown that conceptual reference to an evaluative property is not enough to produce ODNs. Only those able to be predicated of an event at the same time than of a sentient individual. We have also argued that the ambiguity exhibited by some nominals is explained by an ambiguity in the adjectival structure of origin. Furthermore, we have shown that being a dyadic adjective is not enough either to guarantee the production of the corresponding nominalization, as many of them seem incapable to refer to an eventuality. Likewise, we have shown that not all ODNs have a corresponding quality noun. That is, the two cases seem attested: absence of derivation from one existing structure and absence of the corresponding base structure.

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