Edgy Nominalizations

María J. Arche and Rafael Marín
University of Greenwich and Université Lille 3 – CNRS (UMR 8163)

1. Introduction

In this paper we examine the elements, structure and formation process of nouns derived from adjectives with the aim of contributing to the theoretical debate about the process of derivation. The space of the grammar where derivation takes place (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 of 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 and Martin 2012, 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 elements that implement the derivation process itself (e.g. affixes, functional categories); the base structure; 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, with a referential meaning (R-nominalizations). Alexiadou and Martin (2012) argue that the account of most properties observed in nominalizations must make reference to the properties of affixes. Roy (2010), Arche and Marín (2011) and Borer (2012), among others, emphasize that properties of nominalizations are 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 (*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 (Beauseroy 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*.

Here we explore the properties of different deadjectival nominalizations in Spanish 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 deadjectival nominalizations. Section 4 presents a critical taxonomy of different nominalizations coming from adjectives and offers an account of the differences by discussing the properties of the adjectival bases underlying the nominalizations. Section 5 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. Deadjectival nominalizations

In recent works deadjectival nominalizations have been considered 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 typical 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, but an experiencer (1a) and aspect modification is possible (1b), (1c).

(1)   a. la tristeza de Juan
           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 (2a), cannot occur prenominally (2b), cannot have a predicative use (2c) and, as observed by Schmidt (1972) and Bache (1978), are never the base for nominalizations (3):

(2)   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

(3)   *la presidencialidad de la reunión
         the presidentiality of the meeting

Thus, Roy (2010) 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. Just like AS-nominalizations, Q-nominalizations are possible only if coming from degree adjectives. Following Flaux and Van de Velde (2000), we take the compatibility with the so-called genitive of Quality (4) and with verbs such as *dar muestras de* 'give signs of' (5) as structures diagnosing qualities:

(4)   *Juan es de una gran presidencialidad.
          Juan is of a great presidentiality

(5)   *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 make them pattern closer to purely eventive ones.

3. Towards a finer-grained distinction of deadjectival nominalizations

Nominalizations such as the ones given in (6) behave differently from S-nominalizations and Q-nominalizations in a number of respects. We will survey their properties in the following subsections and argue 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.

(6)   *bobada* 'nonsense', *cabezonada* 'stubborness', *crueldad* 'cruelty', *estupidez* 'stupidity', *grosería* 'rudeness', *imprudencia* 'imprudence', *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 Beauseroy (2009).

3.1. Ability to pluralize and be counted

Just as other nouns denoting events (*discusión* 'discussion', *operación* 'operation) (7), the nominalizations in (6) are able to pluralize (8), in clear contrast with deadjectival nouns denoting states (*tristeza* 'sadness', *perplejidad* 'perplexity') (9) or qualities (*belleza* 'beauty', *pesadez* 'heaviness') (10):

(7)   dos discusiones/ varias   operaciones   [deverbal eventive nouns]
        two discussions/ several operations

(8)   dos imprudencias/ varias   injusticias   [occurrential deadjectival nouns]
        two imprudencies/ several injustices

(9)   *dos tristezas/   *tres   perplejidades   [state deadjectival nouns]
        two   sadnessess/ three perplexities

(10)   *dos bellezas/ *dos sabidurías   [quality deadjectival nouns]
        two   beauties/ two wisdoms

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

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

The following classical tests on nominal eventivity (Godard and Jayez 1996) show that ODNs behave like 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' (11); as complement of *tener lugar* 'take place' (12); and as complements of perception verbs such as *presenciar* 'be a witness of ' (13).

(11)   a. Juan hizo   dos operaciones/ llevó a cabo dos discusiones.
            Juan made two operations/ conducted   two discussions
        b. Juan cometió   dos imprudencias/ varias crueldades[1].
          Juan carried out two imprudencies/ several cruelties
        c. *Juan cometió   dos tristezas/   varias perplejidades.
           Juan carried out two sadnessess/ several perplexities
        d. *Juan cometió   dos bellezas/ sabidurías.
           Juan carried out two beauties/ wisdoms

(12)   a. Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias   discusiones/ operaciones.
           This morning have taken place several discussions/ operations
        b. Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias   imprudencias/ injusticias.
          This morning have taken place several imprudencies/ injusticies
        c. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias tristezas/   perplejidades.
           This morning have taken place several sadnessess/ perplexities
        d. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias   bellezas/ sabidurías.
           This morning have taken place several beauties/ wisdoms

(13)   a. He   presenciado   las discusiones/ operaciones del   jefe.
            I.have witnessed   the discussions/ operations by.the boss
        b. He   presenciado   las imprudencias/ injusticias del   presidente.
           I.have   witnessed   the imprudencies/ injusticies of.the president
        c. ??*He presenciado   las tristezas/   perplejidades del   presidente.
            I.have witnessed   the sadnessess/ perplexities of.the president
        d. *He   presenciado   las bellezas/ sabidurías   del   presidente.
           I.have   witnessed   the beauties/ wisdoms   of.the president

3.3. Fully-fledged Argument Structure

The tests below show that ODNs have a fully-fledged AS (i.e. 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 (14) make explicit the theta-role of the subject and those in (15) show that only ODNs have an agentive interpretation, in contrast with the rest.

(14)   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 imprudencias de Juan   [las que Juan hace vs. *las que Juan tiene]
          the imprudencies of Juan   [which Juan makes vs. which Juan has]
        c. la   tristeza de Juan   [la que Juan *experimenta* vs. *la que Juan hace]
          the sadness of Juan   [which Juan experiences vs. *which Juan makes]
        d. la sabiduría de Inés   [la que Inés *tiene* vs. *la que Inés hace]
          the wisdom of Inés   [which Inés has vs. *which Inés has]

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

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[1] Only nominals expressing negative events, as crimes or offenses, are compatible with *cometer* 'commit'.

3.4. Aspectual modification

Authors such as Borer (2012) consider that one of the most infallible tests for AS-nominals is that one involving aspectual modification (*for-/in-* adverbials)[2]. We argue that the data below show that *for/in*-adverbials seem to be reserved to deverbal stems (16). Regarding the interpretation of the adverbials, we also 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 (16)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. Examples involving ODNs (16)b 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 (16)c and Q-nouns (16)d. Observe that the sentences improve very much if a Noun Phrase clearly referring to a period of time is inserted (17).

(16)   a. la discusión de los problemas durante/ *en una hora
          the discussion of the problems for/   in an hour
    b. #la imprudencia/ crueldad   de Juan durante una hora
      the imprudence/ cruelty   of Juan for   an hour
    c. #la tristeza de Juan durante un año
      the sadness of Juan for   a   year
    d. #la belleza de María durante un año
      the beauty of María for   a   year

(17)   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 observed in sentences such as the ones below from Arche (2012). Sentence (18)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 (18)b and (18)c and (18)d. Following Arche (2012) we argue that only in the case of deverbal nouns *for*-adverbials can 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.

(18)   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

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[2] The other test that Borer (2012) considers as infallible is the compatibility with a purpose clause, which can be controlled by an overt or covert argument. This is explored in Arche & Marín (submitted) in the analysis of simple event nouns (e.g. *party*) and ODNs.

In the literature, the availability of plural has been understood related to having aspectual properties (Alexiadou *et al.* 2010, Barque *et al.* 2012, Fábregas and 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.

4. It was all in the stem

In this section we argue that the properties of ODNs, which make them pattern very close to deverbal nouns, can be accounted for by the properties of the stem: the properties of the AP. We argue that the 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 and Marín (2011) and Fábregas et al. (2013), we argue that the structure of EAs include a covert event. More specifically, 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*:

(19) a. Juan fue cruel/ imprudente al hacer esa pregunta.
         Juan was cruel/ imprudent to make that question
      b. Hacer   esa pregunta fue cruel/ imprudente (por parte de Juan).
         To make that question was cruel/ imprudent (by part of Juan)

(20) a. *Juan fue capaz/ apto   al hacer esa pregunta.
          Juan was able/ suitable to make that question
      b. *Hacer   esa pregunta fue capaz/ apto   (por parte de Juan).
          To make that question was able/ suitable (by part of Juan)

In Stowell's (1991) analysis, the unavailability of the options in (20) 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.

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:

(21) 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 and Marín (2011), we analyze this dichotomy as structurally due: ODNs come from a structure containing an event (22), Q-nominalizations, from a structure where the event is absent (23). This is in accordance 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:

(22)   PredP [Subject [Event [Pred [A

(23)   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:

(24)   *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 (25) have a quality reading (26) but fail to refer to an instantiation of an eventuality (27). 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 (28).

(25)   *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'.

(26)   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

(27)   a. *Juan ha cometido dos arrogancias/ cautelas.
            Juan has committed two arrogancies/ cautions
        b. *Esta mañana han tenido lugar varias arrogancias/ cautelas.
            This morning have taken place several arrogancies/ cautions
        c. *Las arrogancias/ cautelas de Juan hacia   su tío.
            The arrogancies/ cautions of Juan towards his uncle

(28)   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 the type of *imprudencia* 'imprudence', having both an occurrential and a non-occurrential reading (29), those that behave like *modestia* 'modesty', which do not allow for an occurrential reading (30), and those that behave like *travesura* 'devilry', which only have the occurrential reading (31):

(29)   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'.
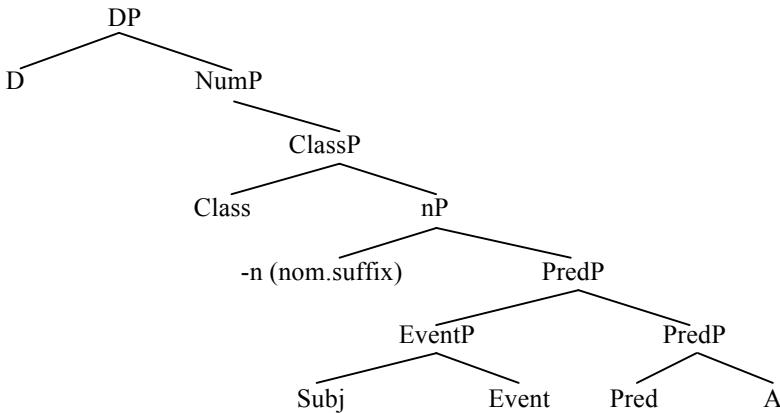
(30)   <u>Occurrential only</u>
  bobada 'nonsense', *bravuconada* 'piece of bravado', *cabezonada* 'stubborness' *cursilada* 'tawdriness', *fanfarronada* 'boast', *memez* 'nonsense', *sandez* 'nonsense' *tontada* 'silliness', *travesura*[3] 'devilry'.
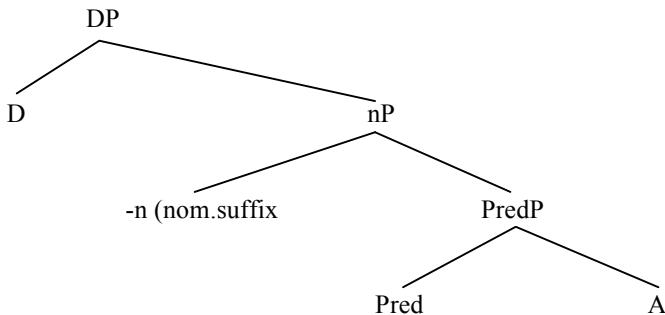
(31)   <u>Quality only</u>
  amabilidad 'kindness', *arrogancia* 'arrogance', *astucia* 'cunningness', *audacia* 'audacity', *cautela* 'caution', *cobardía* 'cowardice', *cortesía* 'courtesy', *egoísmo* 'selfishness', *fidelidad* 'faithfulness', *generosidad* 'generosity', *honradez* 'decency' *humildad* 'humbleness', *modestia* 'modesty', *prudencia* 'prudence', *soberbia* 'arrogance', *valentía* 'braveness'.

The descriptions above point to 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 (33) 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 (32) and the Q-noun (33) are given below:

(32)

```
              DP
            /    \
           D      NumP
                     \
                     ClassP
                    /      \
                Class       nP
                          /    \
             -n (nom.suffix)    PredP
                              /       \
                          EventP      PredP
                         /     \      /    \
                      Subj    Event  Pred   A
```

(33)

```
              DP
            /    \
           D      nP
                 /   \
      -n (nom.suffix   PredP
                      /     \
                   Pred      A
```

Structure in (32) 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 state that what is predicated of the adjective is an event. The covert event in question must consist

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[3] This suffix can also attach to nouns and give the same meaning: e.g. *diablura* 'devilry' (from *diablo* 'devil').

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 refer to states (34).

(34)   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.

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, as shown above in (8). 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.

5. 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 shown the existence of nominalizations that perform 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 typically corresponds to evaluative adjectives, as these are predicated of an event, in addition to a sentient individual. We have offered a systematic survey comparing the properties of deverbal nominals and deadjectival nominals denoting states and qualities. We have suggested that aspectual modifiers seem able to modify only verbal structure. In the classification we have provided, we have shown that conceptual reference to an evaluative property is not enough to produce ODNs. Only the subset able to be predicated of an event at the same time than of a sentient individual produces ODNs. 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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