

Naming Participants in the Eventuality

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Abstract

This paper deals with deverbal nominals denoting participants to processes, in a syntactic approach to word formation. The main goal is to verify the relevance of a correlation between event reading and argument structure (generally assumed for event-denoting deverbal nominals since Grimshaw (1990)). After a careful consideration of the properties associated with different groups of participant nominals, we propose a three-way typology on the basis of French data, and more specifically *-eur* nominals, based on a contrast between episodic / dispositional / instrument Ns. The three classes of *-eur* nominals are distinguished on the basis of whether they involve an underlying event (and therefore a verbal base) or not; and whether the underlying event is episodic or generic. This latter property correlates with the expression of specificity on internal arguments. The proposal is further extended to nominals denoting internal arguments (French *-é/i/u* nominals).

1 Background: nominalizations and *-er* nominals

The literature on deverbal nominalizations consensually assumes a two-fold partition between Complex Event nominals Grimshaw (1990), (or Argument-taking nominals (AS-nominals) like in Borer (1999)) on the one hand, and so-called ‘Referential’ nominals (R-nominals) on the other. Since Grimshaw (1990) (and much subsequent work), a correlation has been established between the availability of the eventive reading and the projection of obligatory argument structure; both present with AS-nominals and absent with R-nominals. Therefore, an ambiguity characterizes the deverbal nominal system, and the different properties of the two classes of nominals are related to the presence of an event structure in the former, and its absence in the latter. Event structure is in turn associated to the obligatory projection of arguments. As illustrated in (1) and (2) below, eventive modifiers like *constant*, *frequent*, *in three hours*, agent-oriented adjectives like *deliberate*, *intentional* or the presence of *by*-phrases activate AS for eventive nominals, while R-nominals resist event-related modification, and do not project arguments.

- (1) AS-nominals
- a. the frequent expression *(of one's feeling) is desirable
 - b. the instructor's deliberate examination *(of the papers) took a long time
 - c. the examination *(of aggressive feelings) by patients
 - d. the examination *(of the cat) in three hours
- (2) R-nominals
- a. the (*frequent) expression (*in a second) on her face puzzled me
 - b. the examination (*of the papers/*in order to fulfill the test) was on the table

In a syntactic approach to deverbal nominals formation, the correlation between the eventive interpretation and the obligatory argument structure is captured by assigning different structural representations to the two classes of nominals. The eventive reading, in this view, is brought in by a full-fledged verbal/aspectual structure inherited from the underlying verbal (hence eventive) structure. Non-eventive nominals, in turn, are built directly from a root, and present no verbal layers, which captures the lack of both eventive readings and arguments. Borer (2003, 2005), for instance, implements the correlation between event structure and argument structure by proposing that arguments are introduced by functional heads, one of which is also responsible for introducing the event variable. In this paper, we will by and large adopt Borer's framework, but see Alexiadou and Schäfer (2010); Van Hout and Roeper (1998) among others for alternative implementations. In the structure of AS-nominals in (3)-a below, AspEv thus introduces the external argument and AspQ the internal one, which is likewise severed from the root. AspEv is also responsible for introducing the event variable *e*. R-nominals in (3)-b, in turn, are built directly from a root.

- (3) a. AS-nominals:
 $[DP/NP\ N\ [_{AspEvP}\ AspEv\ [_{AspQ}\ AspQ\ -ation\ [XP \rightarrow VP\ form\]]]]$
- b. R-nominals:
 $[DP/NP\ N\ -ation\ \qquad\qquad\qquad [XP \rightarrow VP\ form\]]$

The literature on deverbal *-er* nominals (Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992), Van Hout and Roeper (1998), among others) also commonly distinguishes between (i) eventive nominals like *the saver of lives*, *the mower of the lawn*, and (ii) non-eventive nominals like *the life-saver*; *the lawn-mower*. An interpretive difference is observed between the two classes with respect to the actual implication in an event: a saver of lives has necessarily saved lives, while a life-saver has not necessarily saved any life. For nominals in the first group, then, an event has necessarily taken place, but not for those in the second – also sometimes dubbed *dispositional*. In actuality, non-eventive *-er* nominals are often considered to encompass both dispositional nouns and

instruments like *mixer*, *blender*, *grinder*, for which an eventive reading is also excluded; in the two cases, the entity denoted is trained or designed for a function but does not have to be involved in an actual event.

The eventive reading, as Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) argue for animate *-er* nominals, correlates with the presence of argument structure. Thus, when the eventive reading is forced, e.g. by modifiers like *constant*, *frequent*, argument realization is obligatory.

- (4) a. the constant defender *(of the government's policies)
 b. a frequent consumer *(of tobacco)
 c. a (*frequent) teacher, a (*frequent) firefighter

Inanimate instrumental *-er* nominals, in turn, lack eventive readings on a par with argument structure, as attested by the fact that they reject event-oriented adjectival (*frequent*-like) modification.

- (5) a. This machine continues to be our only (*frequent) transmitter.
 b. This machine continues to be our only transmitter (*to headquarters).

Descriptively, Grimshaw's correlation seems to be maintained for *-er* nominals: an eventive interpretation for animate *-er* nominals patterns with the presence of the argument structure; non-eventive dispositional nominals are argument-less, and so are instrumental (hence inanimate) *-er* nominals, which also lack an eventive reading.

Turning to French, however, the situation appears more complex. While instruments (cf. (6)) are arguably deprived of arguments (and expectedly correlating with the absence of an event interpretation), it is not always so for dispositional nouns. In this respect, dispositional nouns sometimes pattern rather with eventive nominals in having an argument structure; the only difference being that they only take non-specific arguments. (7) shows that they not only can take arguments (a) but sometimes must do so (b).

- (6) broyeur (*?de viande); aspirateur (*de poussière);
 crusher of meat vacuum-cleaner of dust
 photocopieur (*d'article)
 copier of article
- (7) a. vendeur (de voitures); consommateur (de drogue);
 seller of cars consumer of drug
 b. souffleur *(de verre); laveur *(de carreaux); etc.
 blower of glass washer of windows

The crucial issue relates to the nature of dispositional nominals. One possibility is that dispositional nouns are grouped with instruments on the basis of their not being associated with an actual event. This leads, however,

to abandoning the correlation between AS and event reading for *-er* nominals. The consequence is that *-er* nominals are treated separately from other eventive deverbal nominals, which would go against a general syntactic view on nominalizations. Alexiadou and Schäfer (2010) argue in favor of such a position, where episodic nominals differ from dispositional and instrument nominals in the kind of aspectual head their structure contains, and which is responsible for the actual/non-actual event involved in their interpretation. We reproduce below the structures they propose.

- (8) a. $[_{nP} \text{-er} [_{AspP} \text{Asp-EPIS} [_{VoiceP} \langle x \rangle [_{vP} \langle e \rangle [\text{RootP}]]]]]$ (episodic Ns)
 b. $[_{nP} \text{-er} [_{AspP} \text{Asp-DISP} [_{VoiceP} \langle x \rangle [_{vP} \langle e \rangle [\text{RootP}]]]]]$ (dispositional Ns)

The other possibility is to maintain the tight correlation between AS and event interpretation; while refining the role that arguments may play in the interpretation of the nominal. The present paper argues for such a view, integrating French *-eur* nominals in a syntactic theory of deverbal nominals in general.

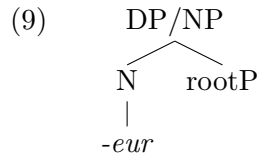
We will begin by presenting, in section 2, our syntactic account, while providing empirical support for a three-way classification of *-eur* nominals. We further show, in section 3, that eventivity in nominals denoting participants is in fact tightly connected to argument structure, even in the case of dispositional nominals, which we consider eventive on a par with episodic nominals. We derive the episodic reading from the presence of a specific argument, and the dispositional reading from the presence of a non-specific argument. Instrument nominals, in turn, are shown to completely lack eventivity and argument structure altogether. We turn, in section 4, to the extension of our proposal to the nominalization of internal arguments (*-é/i/u* nominals). Finally, in section 5 we discuss another class of apparent agent nominals, namely *-ant* nominals, and demonstrate that although they may look problematic at first sight to a general theory of participant nominalizations, they are in actuality expected to behave differently than *-er* nominals, since their are built on a different internal structure, involving clausal nominalization.

2 Revisiting eventivity inside *-eur* nominals

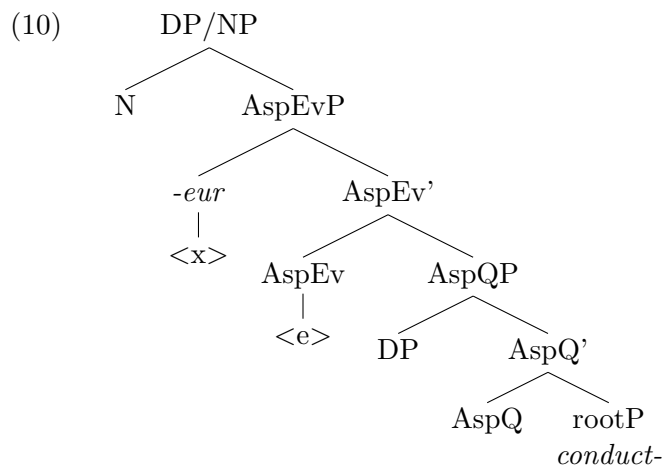
2.1 [+event] *-eur* nominals

We argue that all and only instruments belong to R-nominals (as opposed to AS-nominals); cf., (3-b). By contrast, both dispositional and episodic nominals are eventive, and in accordance with our assumption on the source of the event inside nominals, belong to AS-nominals.

This means that instruments, on a par with other R-nominals, are ‘simple’ root based structures involving a bare root and a nominalizing head:
¹



Whereas both dispositional and episodic nominals involve a full aspectual structure; cf. (3-a):



Concretely, in the representation in (10), arguments are introduced as specifiers of aspectual heads – Asp-Ev for the external argument and AspQ for the internal argument. The AspEv head itself is also responsible for introducing the event variable, which leads to the eventive reading, and which is bound by quantification over events. We propose that the *-eur* affix is generated in the specifier position of AspEvP and thus realizes the external argument. ² It is responsible for introducing an individual variable <x>;

¹There are two immediate questions that arise given this view, in which instrument *-eur* nominals involve a simple representation deprived of verbal layers (both pointed out to us by Florian Schäfer, p.c.). First, one might wonder about the status of morphemes like *-ize*, *-ify* that do show up in instrument nominals, like in *humidifier*. We may notice that the same question arises for cases like the adjective *métallisé* ‘metal-iz-ed’, in French, where we clearly do not have access to the verbal eventive base. We suggest that we are here in presence of idiom-like constructs, in which the presence of *-ize* is not associated to a causative meaning, and therefore compositionality doesn’t follow. This seems to be supported by the lack of transparency in nominals like *atomiseur* (lit. atom-iz-er) ‘spray’.

The second question is how this simple structure predicts the thematic restriction in the nominalizations of *instruments*, as opposed to other th-roles, in these nominals. We assume that the “instrument” meaning is brought in by the nominalizing suffix *-eur*.

²This representation also implicitly assumes that the *-eur* affix undergoes head movement to N to check nominal features; whereas it realizes an argument, and is generated

thus the nominalization ends up with an individual reading. Note that this account also captures the well-known generalization according to which *-er* nominals are not only agent' nominals but may denote participants with quite different th-roles, as long as they are assigned to the **external argument** - see Fabb (1984), Keyser and Roeper (1984), Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992), Van Hout and Roeper (1998).

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|---------------|
| (11) | a. | (he is) a <i>teacher</i> | (Agent) |
| | b. | a great <i>defuser</i> of pent-up emotions | (Causer) |
| | c. | a <i>holder</i> of Visa or Mastercard | (Holder) |
| | d. | a <i>dazzled</i> admirer of Washington | (Experiencer) |
| | e. | a <i>grinder</i> | (Instrument) |
| | f. | a <i>receiver</i> of compliments | (Beneficiary) |

In support of *-er* nominals as denoting external arguments, notice that they never take unaccusative bases: **a faller* ; **an arriver*.

We assume that structure (10) is shared by both dispositional and episodic nominals, and will turn to the source of the distinction between episodic and dispositional eventive nominals in section 3 below. First, we demonstrate that the structural distinction between (9) and (10) is empirically grounded.

2.2 Teasing apart eventive / non-eventive

Eventivity inside nominals is commonly tested by their (in)compatibility with adjectives that force an event oriented interpretation. We propose to distinguish two types of event-related adjectives, however: (i) *fréquent* 'frequent', *constant* 'constant', on the one hand, and (ii) adjectives like *gros* 'big', *vieux* 'old' and *heureux* 'happy' under their event-oriented reading (cf., Larson (1998)), on the other. These two tests put side by side allow us to group *-er* nominals in three distinct classes; only one of which resisting all of the event related adjective modifications.

We will call 'instruments' all *-er* nominals that are clearly non-eventive and take neither *fréquent*-type nor *gros*-type modifiers: ³

as a subject of AspEvP, thus in an argument (XP) position. We recognize that this raises a technical problem for any theory that assumes movement. A solution to this problem would be to make use of an R-argument à la Grimshaw (1990), and an indexing rule, like for instance Schäfer (2011) for German *-er* nominals. The issue at stake is to decide in which way, in the affix-derived nominals like French *-eur* nominals, the affix realizes the external argument, as compared to full clauses and clausal nominalizations. In languages like Malagasy (cf. Ntelitheos (2012)), clausal participant nominalizations have been argued to behave like sentences, being mini-CPs that realize completely their argument structure and have corresponding internal structure. However, we do not want to take a position with respect to these technical issues in this paper, and leave them aside for further research.

³Direct predicative uses of *-eur* nominals seem to render an eventive reading accessible, even for instruments; compare (i) and (ii). It is possible that predicate formation introduces a separate eventuality. We leave this issue aside here; and restrict our discussion to

- (12) a. *un broyeur fréquent
 a grinder frequent
 intended: ‘a frequent grinder’
 b. *un gros broyeur
 a big grinder
 intended: ‘a big grinder’ (= that grinds much)

Dispositional nominals, however, share the first property (13-a) but not the second one (13-b): they allow modification by *gros*-type in the event-oriented reading, while disallowing *fréquent*-type modification.

- (13) a. *un vendeur fréquent de voitures / *les consommateurs
 a seller frequent of cars the consumers
 fréquents de drogue
 frequent of drug
 intended: ‘a frequent car-dealer’ / ‘the frequent drug-user’
 b. un petit vendeur de voitures / les gros consommateurs de
 a small seller of cars the big consumers of
 drogue
 drugs
 ‘a small car-dealer’ / ‘the big drug users’

The combination of these two tests supports a view according to which instruments and dispositional *-eur* nominals fall into different classes. A certain type of eventivity (the nature of which has to be understood; see next section) is involved in dispositional nominals, while instrument *-eur* nominals involve no eventivity.

By the same token, a third class of deverbal *-eur* nominals must be distinguished, namely episodic *-eur* nominals, which allow both *fréquent*-type and *gros*-type modification.

- (14) a. un consommateur fréquent de plusieurs drogues douces/ de
 a consumer frequent of several drugs soft of
 LSD
 LSD
 ‘a frequent user of several soft drugs/ of LSD’
 b. un heureux/ gros consommateur de plusieurs drogues
 a happy/ big user of several drugs
 douces/ de LSD
 soft of LSD

-eur nominals in clearly argumental position.

- (i) This tiny machine is a big grinder. (ok: grinds much)
 (ii) #I bought a big grinder (referring to a tiny machine)

‘a happy/big user of several soft drugs/ of LSD’

Consequently, the three-way distinction within *-eur* nominals, in terms of episodic / dispositional / instrument, is warranted. Only instruments are non-eventive; whereas both dispositional (which have so far been treated on a par with instruments, e.g. in Alexiadou and Schäfer (2010)) and episodic nominals have an event related interpretation.

It is important to note that dispositional *-eur* nominals (with *big-old-happy* modifiers) may sometimes appear with non-overt arguments.

- (15) a. un gros mangeur
a big eater
‘someone who is big’ / ‘someone who eats much’
b. un vieil admirateur
an old admirer
‘someone who is old’ / ‘someone who has admired for a long time’

We assume that they are dispositional because they are compatible with *gros/vieux/heureux* modifiers; whereas non eventive nominals (i.e., instruments) never can. This means that it is not sufficient that the actual arguments be overt to conclude that any given N is not eventive. Because of implicit arguments, one cannot avoid the use of the *gros/vieux/heureux* test.

Let us turn now to the source of the dispositional / episodic distinction among AS *-eur* nominals.

3 Genericity vs. episodicity inside nominals

We call *episodic* nominals, those that are related to a particular event; and *dispositional* nominals those that are not. In the former case (16), the interpretation of the nominal relates to a particular event of building / selling / training, respectively.

- (16) a. Le constructeur de cette maison arrive dans un quart
the builder of this house arrives in a quarter
d’heure.
of.hour
‘The builder of this house will arrive in 15 minutes.’
b. Le vendeur du caisson l’avait acheté 180 euros
the seller of.the box it.had bought 180 euros
il y a un an.
a year ago
‘The seller of the box had bought it for 180 euros a year ago.’
c. Le dresseur des trois lions du cirque prendra sa
the trainer of.the three lions of.the circus will.take his

retraite bientôt.
 retiring soon
 ‘The trainer of the circus’ three lions will retire soon.’

Whereas in the latter (17), the interpretation relates to no particular event of building / selling / training:

- (17) a. Le constructeur de maisons arrive dans un quart d’heure.
 the builder of houses arrives in a quarter of hour
 ‘The house-builder will arrive in 15 minutes.’
- b. Le vendeur de journaux se tient au coin de la rue.
 the seller of newspapers is standing at the corner of the street
 ‘The newspaper seller is standing at the corner of the street.’
- c. Le dresseur de lion(s) a changé Simba de cage.
 the trainer of lion(s) has changed Simba of cage
 ‘The lion trainer has changed Simba’s cage.’

As appears clearly from the above sets of examples, the two eventive interpretations are associated with different properties of the internal arguments. The episodic reading is available with specific internal arguments only (definite expressions, demonstratives, etc.) (16); whereas the dispositional interpretation relates to non-specific arguments (bare singulars, indefinite plurals, etc.) (17).

The role of specificity in participant nominalizations is reminiscent of the role of specificity in bringing about a particular vs. generic interpretation at the clausal level. We claim that the source of the dispositional / episodic interpretation for nominals is precisely to be found in the type of underlying eventuality they involve, either generic or episodic. Concretely, episodic nominals involve existential quantification over the event variable introduced by AspEv (18), whereas dispositional nominals involve generic quantification over the event variable (19).

- (18) episodic nominals
 \exists [DP/NP N [AspEvP -*eur* [AspEv’ AspEv <e> [AspQP *le train de 19h30* [AspQ’ AspQ [rootP *conduct-*]]]]]]
- (19) dispositional nominals
 GEN [DP/NP N [AspEvP -*eur* [AspEv’ AspEv <e> [AspQP *des trains* [AspQ’ AspQ [rootP *conduct-*]]]]]]

Remaining agnostic as to how genericity is brought about in the clause through (non)specificity of the internal argument, we show that complex eventive -*eur* nominals mirror the clausal level. We illustrate this claim in the following table which shows the systematic correlate between the

underlying eventuality type and the interpretation of the derived nominal.

Table 1: Specificity - episodicity correlation

DP	underlying event	nominalization
specific	particular	episodic
<i>ce/le/mon verre</i> this/the/my glass	<i>souffler ce/le/mon verre</i> blow this/the/my glass	<i>le souffleur de ce/du/ de mon verre</i> ‘the blower of this/the/my glass’
<i>des verres</i> of.the glasses	<i>souffler des verres</i> blow of.the(spec) glasses	<i>le souffleur des verres</i> ‘the blower of the glasses’
<i>des verres</i> of.the glasses	<i>souffler des verres</i> blow of.the glasses	<i>le souffleur de verres</i> ‘the blower of glasses’
<i>du verre</i> of.the glass	<i>souffler du verre</i> blow of.the glass	<i>le souffleur de verre</i> ‘the blower of glass’
non-specific	generic	dispositional

Specificity may have different sources (either D itself, or adjectives, among other possibilities) and it is not our point here to explain how specificity and episodicity are articulated. What matters, however, is that when the underlying eventuality is interpreted as episodic, the derived nominal must be episodic as well. Specific internal arguments are associated with an episodic underlying eventuality which in turns correlates with the episodic reading for the derived nominal. Non-specific internal arguments are associated with a generic underlying eventuality, which in turn correlates with the so-called dispositional reading for the derived nominal. Accordingly, the correlation between episodicity of the underlying eventuality and the episodic/dispositional interpretation for the derived nominal is maintained.

⁴

Interestingly, in English, the contrast between episodic and dispositional AS-nominals is visible in the form of the nominalization; dispositional nominals incorporate, while episodic ones can’t, as one can see in the examples (20) and (21) respectively.

- (20) a. the lion trainer
b. the newspaper seller
c. the house builder

⁴The *inner* genericity contributed by the nature of the internal argument in dispositional nominals is to be distinguished from the *outer* genericity brought in by the Determiner system (*my best car-dealer / car dealers*). The interaction between the two types of genericity needs to be better understood. As well as the interaction between inner genericity and the semantics of the underlying predicate. We leave these issues open for future research.

- (21) a. the trainer of the lions
 b. the seller of the newspaper
 c. the builder of the house

Expectedly, only non-specific arguments can undergo incorporation. Arguments that can be either specific or non-specific (e.g., *venitian glasses*) can be found both in incorporated and non-incorporated nominals. Exclusively non-specific arguments must incorporate:

- (22) a. the blower of this glass ; *the this-glass blower
 b. the blower of the glasses; *the the-glasses blower
 c. the blower of big red glasses; *the big red glasses blower
 d. the blower of venetian glasses; the venetian glasses blower
 e. *the blower of glass; the glass-blower

In conclusion, the correlation established by Grimshaw (1990); Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) between the obligatory realization of argument structure and the availability of the event interpretation, needs to be restated, in the context of *-eur* nominals, in terms of a correlation between ‘specific’ arguments and ‘episodic’ reading. It is not the presence vs. absence of AS altogether, since episodic and dispositional *-eur* nominals are both AS-nominals (as they are eventive), but the nature of the arguments that matters in determining the episodic/dispositional reading. This approach captures the eventivity of dispositional nominals, and not only maintains the correlation between argument structure and eventivity, but propose that this correlation goes further than previously stated in the classical literature on nominalizations since Grimshaw (1990).

4 Extension to *é/-u/-i* deverbal nominals

Let us now consider how this analysis extends to nominalizations of internal arguments. Names for internal arguments in French are nominals ending in *-é/-i/-u*, which are homophonous with past participles (cf. (23)).

- (23) a. un invité, un blessé, les immigrés, le soufflé
 an invited a wounded the.pl immigrated.pl, the puffed
 ‘a guest’, ‘a wounded person’, ‘the immigrants’, ‘the soufflé’
 b. le détenu, un vendu, un imprévu
 the detained a sold an unforeseen
 ‘the prisoner’, ‘a traitor’, ‘a hitch’
 c. un arrondi, les insoumis
 a rounded the untamed
 ‘a curve’, ‘the rebellious persons’

A note is required on the nature of the data we are considering here due to the ambiguous character of the *é/-u/-i* deverbal construals. Such forms ending in *é/-u/-i* may be nominal (*un pendu* lit. ‘a hanged (person)’; *un soufflé* lit. ‘a soufflé’) or adjectival (*pendu* ‘hanged’, *soufflé* ‘blown’, etc.). Because French allows apparent bare adjectives directly introduced by a determiner, a form like *un pendu* may be potentially a Det-N sequence or a Det-Adj-(null)pro sequence. We are concerned in this article with ‘true’ nominals only, excluding precisely what has been called the *Adj(pro) constructions* Borer and Roy (2005), Borer and Roy (2010) and involves an adjective rather than a noun. *Adj(pro)* constructions, as opposed to (normal) Ns can never appear in weak contexts: ⁵

- (24) a. quelques pendus/ des blessés étaient là
 some hanged.ones, some wounded.ones were there
 b. *quelques salis/ *des mouillés étaient là
 some dirtied.persons, some wet.persons were there

Nominals in *é/-u/-i* present many similarities with *-eur* nominals, suggesting that a unified analysis is desirable. First, they are the ‘passive’ counterpart to *-eur* nominals in nominalizing the internal argument. And as for *-eur* nominals, they realize an argument position rather than a particular theta-role, as they may be thematically a patient or a theme:

- (25) a. le détenu, un invité (Patient)
 the detained an invited
 ‘the prisoner’ ‘a guest’
 b. les nouveaux venus, un insoumis (Theme)
 the new come an un.tamed
 ‘the new comers’, ‘a rebellious person’

Second, like *-eur* nominals, *é/-u/-i* nominals arguably belong to two classes, one eventive (26)-a and one non-eventive (26)-b. The non-eventive ones do not denote instruments *per se*, but do refer, nevertheless, to e.g. concrete objects, abstract objects, or (resulting) products of an event. As for *-eur* nominals, they are mostly inanimate.

- (26) a. le marié, un immigré, un malvenu, un pendu
 the married an immigrated a not.welcomed a hanged
 ‘the groom’; ‘an immigrant’; ‘an uncalled-for man’; ‘a hanged

⁵The distinction extends to *-eur* nominals, as well, as shown in (i); and there again we have considered true Ns only:

- (i) a. des navigateurs/ des inspecteurs étaient là
 some navigators, some inspectors were there
 b. *quelques dominateurs/ *des flatteurs étaient là
 some overbearing.ones, some flattering.ones were there

- man'
- b. l'arrondi, un imprévu, un soufflé
 the.rounded an unplanned a puffed
 'the curve'; 'a hitch'; 'a soufflé'

The presence of an underlying event in the former, and its absence in the latter, can be demonstrated with adjectival modification. Adjective that force an event related interpretation can modify *é/-u/-i* nominals from the first group only (27), and not from the second one (28).

- (27) a. un invité fréquent
 a guest frequent
 'a frequent guest'
 b. un récent blessé
 a recent wounded
 'a recently wounded man'
 c. une jeune mariée
 a young married
 'a recently married woman'
- (28) a. *un récent arrondi
 a recent rounded
 intended: 'a recent curve' (i.e., recently made)
 b. *un jeune soufflé
 a young soufflé
 intended: 'a young soufflé' (i.e., recently baked)

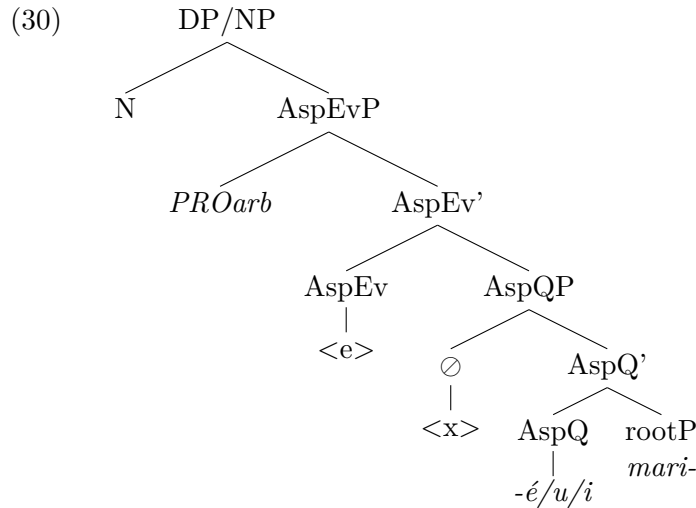
There is thus evidence supporting a partition for *é/-u/-i* nominals between R-nominals, on the one hand, directly derived from a root, and AS-nominals, on the other, that involve real verbal/aspectual layers. Non-eventive *é/-u/-i* nominals are accordingly represented as in (29) whereas eventive *é/-u/-i* nominals are represented as in (30), below:

- (29) DP/NP
 N rootP

Contrary to non-eventive *-eur* nominals that are the result of the combination of the root with the nominalizing suffix *-eur*, in (29) the nominalizing head is a null affix, while the root is the *é/-u/-i* form itself. For concreteness, this means that the root *soufflé* is not related to the root *souffl-* that is found in the formation of the (nominal) *souffle* 'breath' and (verb) *souffler* 'blow'. We expect to find more meaning variation here: cf. *le vernis* 'the varnish'; *une fondue* 'a fondue'; *un fondu* 'a blending/fade out'; etc.

Adjectival modification forcing an event reading indicates that eventivity is present in the 'eventive' class. We propose that, in that case, a null affix in the spec of AspQP realizes the internal argument, while the *é/-u/-i* affix

is realized as the head of AspQP (which is in accordance with recent work on participles assuming an AspP projection the structure of eventive participals, cf. Embick (2004)).



As earlier, the event variable is introduced by AspEv, in the spec of which the external argument is introduced. In the absence of overt material in spec, AspEvP, the position is filled by a PRO, which, we assume, receives an arbitrary interpretation (PROarb). This is confirmed by the impossibility to express the external argument altogether.

- (31)
- a. la mariée (*par le prêtre)
 the married by the priest
 intended: ‘the bride by the priest’
 - b. l’arrondi (*par le charpentier)
 the.rounded by the carpenter
 intended: ‘the curve by the carpenter’

Despite the similarities between *-é/-u/i* and *-eur* nominals (aside from their realizing different arguments), there is one main difference between them, which may represent a potential problem with respect to the analysis proposed here. Eventive *-é/-u/i* nominals can only receive the episodic interpretation and never the dispositional one. As we observe, *une jeune mariée* for instance (and the presence of the adjective *jeune* ‘young’ signaling the underlying event) does not have the meaning of a woman that has the disposition to be married, but the actual bride, in relation to a particular event of getting married. This point repeats itself for all occurrences:

- (32)
- a. un blessé
 a wounded
 = a wounded man and *not* someone who has the disposition to

- be wounded
- b. la mariée
the married(.fem)
= the bride and *not* a woman who has the disposition to be married
- c. trois inconnus
three unknown
= three individuals that I didn't know at the moment, etc.

The problem is the following. As we have established that in all these cases, *-é/-u/i* nominalize the internal argument, it should in principle, and according to its specific / non-specific character, give rise to both the episodic and the dispositional readings. The nominalization of a non-specific argument should give rise to the dispositional reading; whereas the nominalization of a specific argument should give rise to the episodic reading.

However, since *-é/u/i* nominals systematically lack the dispositional reading, it must be concluded that only *specific* arguments can be the base of the nominalization. In actuality, it is possible that only specific (external and internal) arguments can be nominalized. This means that, across the board, it is always the specific entity that is the agent / causer in a particular or generic event, or the specific patient / theme of an event that is nominalized. In the case of internal argument *-é/u/i* nominals, this leads necessarily to an episodic reading. The effect for *-é/u/i* nominals is that they cannot be interpreted as dispositions. The effect for *-eur* nominals is not as straightforward, and it is reasonable to think that it is in actuality blurred by the interpretational effect of the direct argument leading to an episodic/dispositional reading even if it is only specific external arguments that are nominalized.

To conclude, our three-way classification and structural analysis can be maintained, but it leads to a mere distinction in terms of episodic / instrumental among *-é/u/i* nominals.

5 An apparent counterexample to the specificity/episodicity correlation: *-ant* nominals

5.1 Issue

Lastly, we address now an apparent problem for the correlation between episodicity inside nominals and specificity of arguments. French (and other Romance languages as well) has another way of forming apparent 'agentive' nominals, namely *-ant* nominals. They coexist with *-eur* nominals with sometimes related verbal meanings and, as (33) illustrates, they often correspond to an *-er* (or *-or*) deverbal nominal form in English.

- (33) a. attaquant vs. défenseur
 attacker defender
 b. enseignant vs. chercheur
 teacher researcher
 c. soignant vs. guérisseur
 carer healer
 d. habitant; accompagnant; etc
 inhabitant accompanying person
 e. survivant; suivant
 survivor suitor

At times, they may even be constructed on the same verbal base as the corresponding -er nominals.

- (34) a. accompagnateur vs. accompagnant
 guide accompanying person
 b. serveur/serviteur vs. servent
 waiter/maid servant
 c. suiveur/successeur vs. suivant
 follower/successor suitor/follower

Assuming that *-ant* nominals are derived in a similar fashion as *-eur* nominals (and more on this point below), they seem to constitute a counterexample for our account based on the correlation between specificity and episodicity. We first note that productive new creations of *-ant* nominals are argument-less (35).

- (35) les écoutants; le discutant; un aidant; les publiants
 the listeners the commentator a helper the publishing.fellows

However, argument structure can often be inherited, suggesting that they are fully derived from a verbal base. In such cases, and as expected, non-specific arguments give rise to a generic interpretation. Consider (36) and (37), involving a generic definite and indefinite, respectively.

- (36) a. l'accédant à la propriété
 the.access-ant to the property
 'the home-buyer'
 b. un militant contre la peine de mort
 a campaigner against the penalty of death
 'a campaigner against death penalty'
- (37) a. L'enseignant de roumain sera en grève demain.
 the.teacher of romanian will.be on strike tomorrow

- b. Un fabricant de meubles s'est installé Avenue de Saint
 a maker of furniture itself.is installed Avenue de Saint
 Ouen.
 Ouen
 'A furniture maker opened a business on Avenue de Saint Ouen'

In turn, an episodic meaning may be obtained in the presence of specific arguments (38):

- (38) a. le gagnant du gros lot n'a pas réclamé son prix
 the winner of.the jackpot neg.has neg claimed his money
 'The jackpot winner didn't claim his prize.'
 b. Le discutant du dernier papier de Umberto Eco a
 the commentator of.the last paper of Umberto Eco has
 remis ses notes au comité.
 submitted his notes to.the committee
 'The commentator on the last Umberto Eco paper submitted
 his notes to the committee.'

However, in such cases the episodic reading is not necessarily obtained; and other predicates may lead to a non-episodic reading (which may be seen as a generic or habitual reading). In (39), the derived nominals denote someone who has the function of taking care / helping somebody. They cannot be understood as merely related to a punctual event. These cases are unexpected, as we predict the specific internal arguments to give rise to an episodic interpretation. For *-ant* nominals, however, the presence of a specific argument does not necessarily associate with an episodic interpretation.

- (39) a. Le soignant de Henri Gomez connaissait parfaitement sa
 the carer of Henri Gomez knew perfectly his
 réaction aux antibiotiques.
 reaction to.the antibiotics
 'Henri Gomez' care-giver was perfectly aware of his reaction to
 antibiotics.'
 b. Les aidants des malades de la chambre 304 sont au
 the helpers of.the sick of the room 304 are at.the
 conseil administratif.
 board administrative
 'The helpers of the patients in room 304 are at the administra-
 tive board.'

According to the tests proposed in section 2 for identifying eventivity (as opposed to instruments), nominals in (39) belong to eventive nominals. Eventive *-ant* nominals are compatible with *happy/big/small*-type modifiers under the event related reading (40). This property distinguish them from

instruments *-ant* nominals (41). The latter are (inanimate) R-Ns, which have no underlying eventuality (cf., instrument *-eur* nominals).

- (40) a. les (bien)heureux militants pour la paix
 the happy campaigners for the peace
 ‘the happy campaigners for Peace’ (= who are happy to fight for peace)
- b. un vieux gagnant du gros lot
 an old winner of.the jackpot
 ‘An old jackpot winner’ (= who won the jackpot a long time ago)
- c. les petits publiants
 the small publishing.fellows
 ‘faculty with low publication records’
- (41) a. #un vieux tranquillisant
 an old tranquilizer
 ‘an old tranquilizer’ (= that has tranquilized for a long time)
- b. #un gros amincissant
 a big slimming.cream
 ‘a big slimming cream’ (= that slims much)
- c. #le petit détachant
 the small stain.remover
 ‘the small stain-remover’ (= that removes few stains)

Among eventive *-ant* nominals, *fréquent*-type modifiers, which we argued in section 2 are a test for identifying the episodic reading of eventive *-eur* nominals, are possible. This suggests, in particular for our problematic cases in (39) that they belong to the class of episodic nominals. As already hinted at above, the interpretation of the nominals in (39) is by no means related to that of an episodic *-eur* nominal and a punctual particular event:

- (42) a. le gagnant fréquent du gros lot
 the winner frequent of.the jackpot
 ‘the frequent winner of the jackpot’
- b. un aidant occasionnel des malades de l’aile A
 a helper occasional of.the sick in the.wing A
 ‘an occasional helper of the patients in the A wing’

The interpretational difference between *-ant* nominals and *-eur* nominals correlates, we will argue, with another difference among these two groups of deverbal nominals, namely that the former are unable to express agents, while the latter may do so. This is reflected in the inability for *-ant* nominals unlike their *-eur* counterparts, to combine with agent-related modifiers like *délibéré* ‘deliberate’, *volontaire* ‘voluntary’. More strikingly, for *-ant* nominals built on agentive active verbs (e.g., *attaquer* ‘attack’, *soigner* take

care’, *voter* ‘vote’, *enseigner* ‘teach’, in (43) below), the agentive reading associated to the verbal base is systematically lost.

- (43) a. *{un attaquant délibéré} vs. {un agresseur délibéré} de la
 a attacker deliberate an aggressor deliberate of the
 vieille dame
 old lady
- b. *{le fervent soignant} vs. {le fervent guérisseur} de la vieille
 the fervent carer the fervent healer of the old
 dame
 lady
- c. *{un votant déterminé} vs. {un électeur déterminé} de
 a voter determined an elector determined of
 Sarkozy
 Sarkozy
- d. *{des enseignants obstinés} vs. {des chercheurs obstinés}
 some teachers obstinate some researchers obstinate

These two differences suggest that even though *-ant* nominals may be derived from a verbal base, the outcome of the derivation is certainly not identical to that of eventive *-eur* forms. The differences, we will argue, account for the absence of correlation between the specificity of the arguments and the nominal’s reading.

5.2 Subject of predication

As we have argued above, eventive *-eur* nominals nominalize external arguments (cf., section 2), including agents. Even though *-ant* nominals are formed from verbal bases, they differ in nominalizing subjects, rather than external arguments. As opposed to *-eur* nominals, they can be derived from unaccusative bases (44); which we take to mean that they may nominalize Themes. However, note that they do not nominalize objects, as they never get a passive interpretation. They also nominalize Experiencers and Holders (cf. (45)), which are the roles typically associated to the subject of stative predications.

- (44) a. un habitant vs. *un habiteur
 an inhabitant an inhabiter
- b. un arrivant vs. *un arriveur
 an arrivant an arriver
- (45) a. un arrivant, un accédant (Theme)
 a comer a reacher

- b. un mourant, un accompagnant, un soupirant
 a dying.person an accompanying.person a suitor
 (Experiencer)
- c. un soignant, un remplaçant, un servant (Holder)
 a carer a substitute a servant

We therefore assume that *-ant* nominals are nominalizations of *subjects*; we call this the *Subject Generalization*. The lack of agentivity is thus an (indirect) effect of the Subject Generalization. The apparent ban on agents is in fact a ban on nominalizing arguments altogether.

Building on this result, we analyze *-ant* nominals as nominalizations of the subject of a stative predication. We propose the following representation ((46)), in which the nominal is formed from a PredP structure involving a participial phrase. We assume a null nominalizing head \emptyset realizing the external argument of PredP.⁶

- (46) [_{nP} n [_{PredP} \emptyset_i < *x* > Pred [_{PartP} ec_i Part [_{VP} *perdant/*
 loser
gagnant du gros lot]]]]
 winner of the jackpot

In other words, we claim that *-ant* nominals involve a form of reduced relative in the sense of Giurgea and Soare (2010) who have argued that participial reduced relatives are based on a PredP structure (as defined in Bowers (1993)), leading to a stative meaning.

- (47) les personnes âgées marchant dans les rues de Paris
 the persons old walking in the streets of Paris
 ‘the old people walking in the streets of Paris’
- (48) [_{DP} les personnes âgées [_{PredP} \emptyset [_{PartP} ec marchant dans les rues de Paris]]]

The stative meaning of *-ant* nominals is the result of the fact that they involve a PredP, which introduces a stative underlying eventuality. Stativity is tested by the absence of deontic reading with modals such as *devoir* ‘must’ (50), e.g., Barbiers (1995); Giorgi and Pianesi (1997); and compare with the verbal predicates in (49).⁷

⁶A notable correlation with other nominalizations, is that, as it is the case for deadjectival nominals, in the absence of verbal (aspectual) structure, only true predicative structures involving a Pred head can form the basis for a nominalization; (cf. Roy (2010) in particular, on the contrast between *the nasality of the vowel* / **the nasality of the cavity*).

⁷Among the traditional tests for statives proposed in the literature since Lakoff (1966), most, including for instance the imperative (cf., *Kiss Lynn!* vs. **Love Lynn!*), clefts (*What John did was kiss Lynn* vs. *What John did was love Lynn*), etc., turn out to be

- (49) a. Jean doit écrire son roman. (deontic possible)
 John must write his novel
 b. Jean doit aimer ce film. (deontic not possible)
 John must like this movie
- (50) a. Tu dois être l'accompagnateur des enfants. (deontic possible)
 you must be the.accompany-er of.the children
 'You must be the guide to the children.'
 b. Tu dois être l'accompagnant (des enfants). (deontic not possible)
 you must be the.accompany-ant of.the children
 'You must be the accompanying person for the children.'

Note that *-ant* nominals cannot be built on the present participle form/stem directly, since that could potentially lead to nominalizations of true Agents, which we have already ruled out. The present participle *per se* is in fact compatible with both a stative reading and an agentive reading (e.g., when it adjoins to the sentence level, as we can see in (51)).

- (51) a. Parlant d'une voix forte, il n'a pas besoin de
 speaking with.a voice loud, he neg.has not need of
 micro.
 microphone
 'As he speaks with a loud voice, he needs no microphone.'
 b. Parlant (délibérément) d'une voix forte, il a réveillé
 speaking deliberately with.a voice loud, he has woke.up
 le bébé.
 the baby
 'While he spoke deliberately with a loud voice, he woke the
 baby up.'

French present participles are known to systematically involve a subject gap (cf. Siloni (1997)), which we represent in (52) below as an empty category *ec*, remaining agnostic whether this is a PRO or a null operator. Since *-ant* nominals nominalize a subject, a possible analysis would be that they nominalize the empty subject of the participle. However, the ban on agentive interpretation suggests that such structure is too restricted and argues in favor of the PredP level:

tests for agentivity rather than a stative meaning. We have already excluded the agent interpretation for *-ant* nominals. Modals are, we believe, the only reliable diagnostic here for stativity.

- (52) a. [PartP *ec* enseignant le français]
 teaching the french
 b. [PartP *ec* parlant d'une voix forte]
 speaking with.a loud voice

An alternative hypothesis, according to which *-ant* nominals are derived from adjectives ending in *-ant* has to be rejected on the basis of the fact that a considerable number of *-ant* nominals do not have associated *-ant* adjectives (53). This is confirmed by the incompatibility with degree modification (cf. (54).a, built from adjectival bases, and (54).b).

- (53) *la personne habitante; *les adultes enseignants; *les élèves
 the person inhabiting the adults teaching the students
 apprenants; *la personne soignante
 learning the person caring
- (54) a. le bien-aimé, le très-miséricordieux
 the best.beloved the all.merciful
 b. *le très-publiant, *le bien-aimant
 the very.publishing the well.loving
 'the one who publishes much'; 'the one who loves much/the
 best-loving'

The analysis gives the desired results that *-ant* nominals are nominalizations of subjects of a predication, and therefore are interpreted as holders of a state/property. In other words, e.g., *le votant* (lit. the voting) 'the voter' is not the one who votes, but the one who has the property to vote.

In terms of the correlation between specificity and episodicity, we conclude that although the arguments inside the PartP may have some contribution towards the interpretation of the underlying eventuality as episodic/generic, cf., (36)-(39) above, the arguments do not have direct contribution towards the overall interpretation of the nominalization because they are embedded in the PredP. Thus, *-ant* nominals will always be stative (and therefore neither episodic not dispositional) due to the presence of Pred.

Accordingly, the correlation between specificity and episodicity for derived name of participants in an eventuality is only valid in the case of nominals derived from a complex verbal phrase (i.e., *-eur*) and not in the case of clausal nominalizations (*-ant*).

6 Conclusion

The account proposed in this paper for participant nominalizations reaches important conclusions for the general theory of nominalizations. First, it confirms a general view in which events are represented inside nominals in presence of a 'complex' verbal phrase including its full argument structure.

We have shown that here is a tight connection between argument structure and event interpretation, which goes beyond what has been suggested so far for event nominals (e.g., Grimshaw (1990)'s well-known correlation): the nature (specific vs. non-specific) of the argument structure is crucial in building the episodic vs. dispositional meaning inside derived names of participants.

Second, we have argued that a three-way classification of names of participants, in terms of episodic AS-Ns, dispositional AS-Ns and R-Ns, is more accurate than a bi-partite one, either in terms of the [inanimate-eventive] distinction, as in Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) or in terms of the [episodic-dispositional] distinction alone, as in Alexiadou and Schäfer (2010).

Finally, we have also claimed that genericity can be inherited or structurally built-up in nominalizations, as demonstrated by the properties of dispositional nominals. Recent findings at the interface between syntax and semantics in the domain of derived nominals strongly support the idea that such nominals inherit (from their verbal base) or contribute fine aspectual distinctions (cf., Haas et al. (2008); Alexiadou et al. (2010); Sichel (2010)). The present papers has shown that this extends to the generic character of the underlying eventuality, as well.

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