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Preface

The present dissertation will study the syntax and semantics of English nouns which are motivated semantically by corresponding verbs but lack any overt exponent of their derived status. Nouns of this type, such as $kick_N$, $return_N$ and buy_N, will often be referred to here as "bare nominalisations".[1] The term has been borrowed from Roeper (1987). It will be preferred to the equivalent labels "zero-derived deverbal nouns" and "suffixless deverbal nouns" due to its brevity and high information content.

Morphological bias will show itself throughout the present work. Syntactic and semantic issues which will be discussed in Chapters II and III are relevant to the method of deriving and analysing bare nominalisations advocated at the end of the monograph.

I have gathered for the purposes of this study a corpus which attempts to exemplify various styles of American and British modern English usage. The samples of texts that were analysed come from international weeklies and biweeklies representing mainly American English usage, from a British daily, British and American plays and novels, an American detective story and a British children's book. Consequently, the language of these extracts ranges from the informal styles of the plays and conversations through the slightly affected style of the children's book to the formal language of novels and newspapers. Whenever quotations appear in Chapters I—IV, the texts will be referred to by their abbreviations explained in the bibliography at the end of the dissertation. The newspapers will be referred to by their full names. In investigating the meanings of bare nominalisations recourse will also be made to available dictionaries.

The dissertation consists of a preface, four chapters and a summary. Chapter I is a prerequisite to the analysis offered in the chapters to follow. The discussion includes the theoretical implications of the terms "conversion" and "zero-derivation" and the vital issue of identifying bare nominalisations (i.e. distinguishing them from nonderived nouns). Chapter II investigates verbo-

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-nominal constructions, such as *have a smoke*, and addresses the question of the preservation of some subcategorization properties of verbal bases by bare nominalisations. Chapter III studies meanings exhibited by zero-derived nouns. Particular attention is paid to the competition between bare nominalisations and other deverbal nouns in denoting participants and circumstantials of actions and processes. The observations made in Chapters II and III will be taken into account in constructing a rule of word-formation which will be able to produce novel bare nominalisations and to analyse the institutionalised ones. The rule will be tentatively formulated within a model of generative word--formation.

A brief summary of conclusions will be offered at the end of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 1

Preliminary remarks
on bare nominalisations

1.0. Introductory

In the first chapter of the present study three questions will be raised over which anyone who embarks on the investigation of bare nominalisations should ponder.

The first question, considered briefly in Section 1.1., is whether deverbal nouns such as *a kick, a push* and *a shove* should be treated as products of a suffixless operation (referred to as conversion) or analysed as complex formations terminating in a phonologically null nominalising suffix.

The second query, which will be put forward in Section 1.2., concerns the distinction between actional and non-actional (concrete) readings of bare nominalisations. It is a matter of dispute where the boundary between actional and non-actional readings should be drawn. That bare nominalisations in concrete senses and those exhibiting actional readings represent distinct derivational types is arguable.

Section 1.3. will address the fundamental issue of distinguishing bare nominalisations in English from nonderived nouns (such as *a pirouette*) and from compound nouns (e.g. *a teach-in*).

1.1. Conversion or zero-derivation?

Bare nominalisations in English, e.g. *a jump, a kick,* may be regarded as produced either by means of zero-derivation or through conversion. The terms "conversion" and "zero-derivation" will be used interchangeably throughout the following chapters. It is important to bear in mind, however, that these two terms differ in their connotations and theoretical implications. Whereas the term "zero-derivation" unambiguously signals a word-formation process, namely derivation by means of a zero-morpheme, the term "conversion" carries no implications of this sort.

The latter term was most probably invented by Sweet (1892—1898: 38) and it denoted the taking on by word of a function which is not its basic one. It was used with reference to, among others, syntactic transposition of words, e.g. the nominal use of the adjective *poor* in the phrase *the poor* or the adjectival use of the noun *government* in *government job.*

Trnka (1954: 54) treats conversion as a purely syntactic phenomenon. He assumes that the essence of conversion lies in the ability of a single lexeme to occur as different parts of speech without any morphological change. The English lexeme *like,* for instance, functions as a verb in the sentence *She likes you,* as a noun in *I have never heard the like,* as an adjective in *Jimmy and his brother are very like* and as a conjunction in *Do it like I tell you.*

A number of Slavonic morphologists have emphasized the importance of the inflectional paradigm in distinguishing between members of conversion pairs, such as *to jump: a jump* or Polish *przepływać* 'to flow': *przepływ* 'the flow (of air, water, etc.)'. Dokulil (1979 [1962]: 90) understands conversion to be a word-formation process that involves the change of the inflectional paradigm of a base. For him conversion is first and foremost a means of relating pairs of formally identical lexemes (such as *černy* 'black' and *čern* 'blackness' in Czech) and, secondarily, a method of coining new lexemes.

Similarly, Polish researchers frequently refer to conversion as "paradigmatic derivation" (Polish *derywacja paradygmatyczna*). The term "paradigmatic formative" is employed in, for instance, Grzegorczykowa et al. (1984: 312) when there is no overt affix attached to the base but the base and the derivative exhibit different inflectional paradigms either because they belong to different parts of speech (e.g. *piękny*$_{Adj}$ 'beautiful' — *piękno*$_N$ 'beauty', *występować*$_V$ 'to perform' — *występ*$_N$ 'performance') or because they belong to distinct inflectional classes within the same part of speech (e.g. *logika*$_{Nfem.}$ 'logic' — *logik*$_{Nmasc.}$ 'logician').

The authors of the widely used accounts of English grammar (Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), Quirk et al. (1972) and (1985)) regard conversion as "the derivational process whereby an item is adapted to or converted to a new word-class without the addition of an affix" (Quirk et al. (1972: 1009)).

They assume a very wide scope of the term "conversion" and identify several subtypes of the operation. Major conversion processes involve the change of the major syntactic category, e.g. a verb may be converted to a noun (*to call*: *a call*) or an adjective into a noun (*daily*: *a daily*). The notion of conversion is extended to changes of the secondary syntactic category. Proper nouns may be reclassified as common nouns (e.g. *Cambridge* → (*several*) *Cambridges*), count nouns may be converted into mass nouns (a *pencil* → (*an inch*) *of pencil*) and transitive verbs may become intransitive (*to eat something* → *to eat*). The cases when two lexemes differ minimally in their phonological segmental make-up or in stress-assignment are also included under conversion and labelled as "approximate conversion", e.g. *a thief* → *to thieve, a récord* ← *to recórd*. Quirk and his colleagues exclude from the domain of word-formation, and consequently from the domain of "full" conversion, the cases of partial conversion of nouns into adjectives (e.g. *stone*$_N$ in *a stone wall*) or adjectives into nouns (*wealthy*$_{Adj}$ in *the wealthy*). They point out that *wealthy* occurring in the phrase *the wealthy* remains an adjective. It does function as the head of a noun phrase but does not exhibit other properties typical of nouns. It cannot, for instance, take the plural ending -*s*, hence the unacceptability of **those wealthies*. Quirk et al. (1972: 1010) argue that partial conversion is a syntactic phenomenon because it is very regular. Partial productivity and abundance of exceptions identify word-formation processes.

Marchand (1969) also draws a distinction between functional transposition of words (i.e. a temporary change of their syntactic function) and suffixless derivation of new lexemes. He reserves the term "conversion" for purely syntactic phenomena (e.g. the nominal use of adjectives). Creation of new words which lack overt exponents of their derived status is referred to as derivation by means of a zero-morpheme. Some constraints are imposed on the concept of a phonologically null formative. Marchand postulates a zero-morpheme only if there exists a parallel affix the attachment of which results in the same type of semantic and syntactic changes of derivational bases. For example, verbs in English can be derived from adjectives and nouns by means of the suffixes -*ify* and -*ize* (cf. *solid* → *solidify, code* → *codify, symbol* → *symbolize, legal* → *legalize*). Since these suffixes tend to mark the technical jargon, there often arises the need to coin a deadjectival or a denominal verb by a process which has no overt phonological reflex (cf. *empty*$_{Adj}$ → *empty*$_V$, *pilot*$_N$ → *pilot*$_V$). The zero-morpheme postulated by Marchand in the verb *empty* is "a sign that by virtue of the linguistic system cannot have an expression in phonic from" (Marchand (1969: 361)). A zero-suffix may occasionally compete with an overt suffix in attaching to a particular derivational base: compare *black*$_{Adj}$ → *blacken*$_V$ and *black*$_{Adj}$ → *black*$_V$. Marchand never speaks of a zero-morpheme if there is no alternation between an overt affix and a hypothetical

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phonologically null affix. Therefore, he does not regard the nouns *a hopeful, a facial* and *a daily* as zero-derivatives. He treats them as elliptical expressions formed from the corresponding noun phrases *a hopeful candidate, a facial operation* and *a daily newspaper* by omitting the head nouns.

Some problems with the treatment of zero-derivation offered in M a r c h a n d (1969) are discussed in S t e i n (1977). She shows that, contrary to Marchand's assumptions, zero-derivation can frequently widen the semantic spectrum of word-formation types. While denominal suffixal verbs such as *dandify* and *atomize* can be paraphrased as 'to convert into X' or 'to make look like X', denominal verbs belonging to the sense groups 'to provide with X', 'to act as X' or 'to put into X' can be coined only by means of zero-derivation, e.g. $coat_N \rightarrow coat_V$, $captain_N \rightarrow captain_V$, $bottle_N \rightarrow bottle_V$. Stein concludes that cases of semantic conversion, such as 'a name of a place' → 'a name of the people who live there' (e.g. *London* in *London was alarmed*) should be given parallel treatment to zero-derivation, e.g. $black_{Adj} \rightarrow black_V$.

The processes of conversion and zero-derivation have not been given so far a satisfactory account in generative models of word-formation.

A r o n o f f (1976) refuses to recognize zero-morphemes in his analyses of English word-formation.[2] When he notes the complexity of semantic relations obtaining between nouns and suffixless denominal verbs such as $father_N$ — $father_V$ or $butter_N$ — $butter_V$, he assumes that formation of denominal verbs must be accounted for by a series of separate word-formation rules (WFRs), each with a distinct semantic subpart. He openly rejects the zero-derivation analysis for denominal verbs:

(1)   "[...] the concept of a formless phonological substance like this is abhorrent, even ridiculous, when we realize that for every WFR which has no associated phonological operation (and there are several in English (cf. M a r c h a n d (1969: 359—389))), we must posit a separate such entity, with a resulting proliferation of zeros, one for every rule: $\phi_1, \phi_2, ... \phi_n$."
(A r o n o f f (1976: 71))

Elsewhere in his monograph (pp. 116—117), Aronoff ponders over the relationship between $experiment_N$ and $experiment_V$ or $segment_N$ and $segment_V$. He suggests deriving the verbs *experiment* and *segment* from the corresponding nouns by means of some unspecified rule. He also entertains the idea that those verbs and nouns may be entered independently in the lexicon and their correspondence would be viewed as accidental. This solution is hardly attractive for regular types of conversion, e.g. formation of bare nominalisations.

Kiparsky (1982) posits a rule of zero-derivation which produces deverbal agent nouns in English, e.g. *guide, bore, gossip*. He offers no comments on difficulties concerning the concept of a phonologically empty suffix.

A critical appreciation of zero-derivation is given in Lieber (1981 ab). She does not object to the concept of a zero-morpheme as such. She suggests deriving adjectival participles in English (such as *broken* occurring in the phrase *a broken vase*) from verbal passives by means of zero-affixation. An argument adduced in favour of such an analysis is that allomorphy exhibited by verbal passives is mirrored in adjectival passives. Lieber, however, puts forward a few counterarguments against deriving suffixless deverbal nouns and denominal verbs (in English or German) through the attachment of a zero-morpheme.

Firstly, she notes that deverbal nouns in German exhibit various inflectional paradigms, e.g. *der Riss* 'tear' is a masculine noun while *das Ruf* 'call' is a neuter noun. If one attempts to derive these nouns by means of zero-affixation, one needs to identify at least two distinct zero-morphemes: one deriving masculine nouns and the other giving rise to neuter nouns. Nominal stems would have to be marked then as taking either the nominalising zero-morpheme $-\phi_1$ or $-\phi_2$.

Secondly, in the model of the lexicon envisaged in Lieber (1981) affixes have lexical entries. The entry of each affix specifies its phonological representation, semantic representation and includes diacritics. It also describes the syntactic category of bases and derivatives and gives the insertion frame, namely the syntactic contexts into which derivatives can be inserted. Verbs derived by means of the suffix *-ize/-ise* are generally transitive, hence their insertion frame can be formulated as NP — NP. Verbs such as *figure* and *gesture* need to be derived in Lieber's model by a zero-morpheme distinct from the zero-morpheme deriving the verbs *condition* and *culture* since the former verbs are intransitive and the latter transitive. Lieber realizes that the requirements of her theory of the lexicon may lead to a multiplication of zero-morphemes. The only difference between the zero-morphemes she would postulate to derive the denominal verbs *to feud* (intransitive) and *to culture* (transitive) would lie in their insertion frames. Lieber (1981b: 179) remarks that typical homonyms share nothing more than their phonological representations, e.g. $bank_1$ 'a side of a river' and $bank_2$ 'a place where financial operations are performed'. Consequently, the idea of recognizing several homonymous zero-morphemes is, according to her, very controversial. The proliferation of zeros would, moreover, require that nominal stems be marked for the particular verbalizing zero-suffix they take.

Lieber decides to handle the relatedness between $feud_N$ and $feud_V$, $claw_N$ and $claw_V$, or $clap_N$ and $clap_V$ by means of redundancy statements. Both members of such conversion pairs are listed in the lexicon and the one felt as dependent semantically on its conversion mate lacks its semantic representation. The

missing semantic interpretation is then provided by various directional redundancy statements, such as those given below:

(2)   "a. N → V Semantic Interpretation Rule
        Given a semantically specified noun X and a related, but semantically underspecified verb Y, X must serve as an argument in the interpretation of Y.
        e.g. $claw_N$ → $claw_V$ 'scratch with claws'
        $paint_N$ → $paint_V$ 'cover with paint'
    b. V → N Semantic Interpretation Rule
        Given a semantically specified verb Y and a related, but semantically unspecified noun X, X is interpreted as 'an instance of Y-ing'.
        e.g. $throw_V$ → $throw_N$, 'an instance of throwing'
        $clap_V$ → $clap_N$ 'an instance of clapping' "
    (Lieber (1981b: 186))

Comments on the use of redundancy statements to relate conversion mates will be offered in later sections of this dissertation (in particular, in Chapter IV). At this moment it is worth pointing out that Lieber's arguments against recognizing zero-morphemes as suffixes deriving deverbal nouns and denominal verbs in English may carry little weight outside her theoretical framework. The requirement that each affix produces complex lexemes that exhibit the same subcategorization properties may be relaxed in other models of word-formation. Secondly, homonymy of affixes is not so rare as Lieber implies. The prefix *un-*, for example, attaches in English to adjectives to form negative adjectives, forms privative verbs paraphrasable as 'to deprive of X' from nouns and derives deverbal verbs the interpretation of which is contrary to the interpretation of their bases (cf. *dress* 'put on one's clothes' and *undress* 'remove one's clothes'). As a matter of fact, one could speak of polysemy or multifunctionality of affixes (such as *un-*, *-ing*, the zero-morpheme) rather than assume the existence of a series of homonymous affixes, e.g. un_1-, un_2-, $-\emptyset_1$, $-\emptyset_2$, $-\emptyset_n$. Multifunctionality of affixes has been recognized and accounted for in Beard (1981) and other works by the same author.[3]
    Lieber (1981b) rejects the proposal of deriving denominal verbs and deverbal nouns by directional non-affixal rules (i.e. rules of conversion) on theory-internal grounds. She identifies as possible types of rules only redundancy rules, feature percolation conventions, string dependent rules (e.g. reduplication, umlaut) and context-free rewrite rules. Directional non-affixal rules are not licensed in her model of the lexicon because their only effect would be a change of the category label on the base, e.g. $rise_V$ → $rise_N$.

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A conclusion which follows from the preceding discussion is that neither the proposal to account for derivation of suffixless verbs and nouns by means of a phonologically null morpheme nor the hypothesis of deriving them by directional non-affixal rules of conversion should a priori be regarded as implausible. Therefore, the nouns *a call, a throw* and the like will be referred to here as "zero-derivatives", "nouns converted from verbs" and "bare nominalisations".[4]

It will be assumed in the present study that the process by means of which bare nominalisations are formed is lexical, not syntactic. As a lexical operation, it abounds in exceptions. While the verbs *permit* and *flow* have related bare nominalisations, the verbs *submit* and *grow* have not. Moreover, zero-derived nouns are likely to evolve idiomatic readings, e.g. *spin* (dated) 'a short journey in a car or other vehicle for pleasure' and *split* 'a dessert made from a banana or other fruit cut into two pieces with ice cream on top'. Finally, as will be shown in Chapter III, a bare nominalisation is often related to only one of the senses exhibited by its base, e.g. *exhaust*$_N$ 'exhausting a vessel of air'.

1.2. Actional and non-actional meanings of bare nominalisations

A contrast between actional (predicative, verbal) and non-actional (concrete, nominal) readings is presupposed in most studies of nominalisations. This distinction will also be observed here.

Roughly speaking, nominalisations in non-actional senses are capable of referring to entities of some sort (that is to say, entities involved in or resulting from states of affairs to which corresponding verbs refer) whereas nominalisations in actional readings express abstract notions and cannot refer to any entities (see Kilby (1984: 118) for a similar explication of this contrast).

The nominalisation *dump* in its non-actional sense denotes a place where one can dump rubbish or waste material. *A permit* designates an official written statement which allows its holder to do something. *A cheat* is a name of a person who cheats habitually. These readings can be justifiably called "concrete" since they envisage the existence of some material objects referred to. Bare nominalisations in non-actional readings may, however, refer to non-concrete (i.e. immaterial) results of states of affairs. *A grin, a clatter* and *a gleam*, when encountered in sentences such as (3a—c), denote not so much the acts of grinning, clattering and gleaming, but the results of those acts, namely facial expressions, sounds and light.

(3)   a. *A nasty grin* appeared on her face.
       b. I could hear *the clatter of her bare feet on the floor.*
       c. *Gleams of sunshine* came round the edges of the dark cloud.

Such a position with reference to Polish nominals is taken in Puzynina (1969: 172).

The semantic information conveyed by nominalisations in actional readings is almost equivalent to the semantic information conveyed by cognate verbs. Some fairly subtle distinctions of meaning may be observed among such "verbal" nominalisations. They are due mainly to the influence of the syntactic and situational context in which those nominalisations occur. For instance, nominalisations paraphrasable as 'an act of V-ing', 'a process of V-ing' and 'a state of V-ing' typically occupy the subject position in sentences in which main verbs denote duration or occurrence of an event, namely *last, continue, happen, take place,* etc. The noun *arrest* occurring in (4a) can be paraphrased as 'an act of arresting' whereas *spread* in (4b) exhibits the reading 'a process of V-ing'. One can also distinguish 'fact' and 'manner' interpretations of nominalisations. Both these readings can be attributed to the noun *fall* in (4c). Nominalisations of emotive verbs (e.g. *hate, love, dislike*) exhibit the actional reading 'a feeling or state of V-ing or being V-ed', as shown in (4d).

(4)   a. *The arrest of all the Jewish personnel* has taken place. (*Time*, May 11, 1987, p. 14)
       b. a key feature for preventing *the spread of radiation* after an accident. (*Time*, May 11, 1987, p. 9)
       c. *His fall from power* surprised everybody.
       d. *I took a dislike to all the teachers in my new school.*

Nominalisations in actional (predicative) readings can be usually replaced in sentences by appropriate verbal expressions, verb phrases or clauses. The sentence (4c), for example, can be rephrased as *The fact that he had fallen from power surprised everybody* or as *The way in which he had fallen from power surprised everybody.*[5]

Kastovsky (1986) identifies two functions of word-formation patterns: labelling and syntactic recategorization. They are not mutually exclusive but one of them dominates in an actual textual occurrence of a derivative. Nominalisations in actional-readings serve mainly the function of recategorization. As Kastovsky (1986: 595) puts it: "Condensation of information, stylistic variation, and text cohesion including pronominalization are the most important motives for this function." In the case of nominalisations in non-actional readings the dominating function is the function of labelling, i.e. designating segments of extralinguistic reality.

It needs to be added that linguists differ in delineating the exact boundaries of nominalisations exhibiting actional readings (frequently referred to as action nouns proper).

Marchand (1969: 374 ff.) divides zero-derived deverbal nouns into four sense-groups: the Predication type, the Adverbial type, the Subject type and the Object type (this division will be presented in detail in Section 1.3.2. below). The category of Predication-type nominalisations roughly corresponds to the class of nominalisations in actional readings set up here. Representatives of the Predication type exhibit either the sense 'a single instance illustrative of the active process' or 'a concrete illustrative example of the process'. Marchand (1969: 374 ff.) quotes the nouns *address* 'speech', *rise* 'elevated place' and *shuffle* (*of feet*) 'the sound of shuffling' as belonging to the Predication type. The sentences in (5) indicate, however, that these nouns occur in non-actional readings according to the criteria that will be adopted in the present section. Acts, processes or states cannot be read, listened to or be situated at the end of a road.

(5) a. I've read *your address to the university graduates*.
  b. I could hear *the shuffle of my mother's feet*.
  c. *The small rise at the end of the street* was our destination.

Two types of zero-derived deverbal nouns are distinguished in Randall (1984a: 322). Nouns belonging to the first group are called "process nominals", e.g. *a glance, a move, a win*. Nouns belonging to the second group are usually referred to as "result nominals", although apart from denoting results they may designate an implement or agent involved in a particular process or action (e.g. *a crab, a lift*).

Walińska de Hackbeil (1984: 308) separates clausal nominals (nominals which "do not draw their semantics from the nominal's base but rather from a larger context" in which they are embedded) from theta-nominals,[6] i.e. those which have the meaning of a complement of their verbal base, respectively the subject, object, place and manner". The sentences given in (6) are quoted after Walińska de Hackbeil (1984: 308) as being ambiguous. The underlined nominalisations in (6) may be interpreted either as theta-nominals (as shown in (i)) or as clausal nominals (the readings given in (ii)).

(6) a. *Their secret passage through the mountains* was never discovered.
    i) The secret place through which they would pass the mountains was never discovered.
    ii) That they secretly passed the mountains was never discovered.
  b. *The solution of the problem* surprised everybody.
    i) The way the problem was solved surprised everybody.
    ii) That the problem was solved surprised everybody.

One difference may be pointed out between the dichotomy theta nominals/clausal nominals recognized in Walińska de Hackbeil (1984) and the contrast of actional and non-actional readings postulated here. The reading 'the manner or way in which one V-s' is treated in the present study as a variant of actional senses. Walińska de Hackbeil regards nouns with such a reading as theta-nominals.

Lebeaux (1986) distinguishes V-nominals (i.e. "verbal nominals") and N-nominals (i.e. "noun-like nominalisations"). V-nominals stand for some action or process whereas N-nominals refer to some existing "thing" in the world. There are nouns which refer to something with temporal extension (e.g. *the presentation* in *The presentation lasted twenty minutes*) which are not regarded in Lebeaux (1986) as V-nominals because they cannot occur with temporal adjuncts like *while*-clauses. According to Lebeaux, the noun underlined in (7a) represents V-nominals whereas the noun in (7b) does not.

(7)   a. The *presentation* of this material while groggy from cold medicine would be ill-advised.
       b. * The *presentation* while groggy from cold medicine would be ill-advised.

The difference in the semantics of verbal (i.e. predicative) nominalisations and concrete nominalisations is one of the reasons for emphasizing the contrast between these two groups. Another reason is differences between subcategorization properties of nominalisations exhibiting actional readings and those exhibiting non-actional senses. Randall (1984), Walińska de Hackbeil (1984) and Lebeaux (1986) propose that V-nominals inherit the subcategorization frames (or argument structures) of their verbal bases. Therefore, these nominals may retain the transitivity properties of corresponding verbs and are able to take purpose clauses.

Derivation of nominalisations in actional readings is often assumed to be performed differently from derivation of concrete nominalisations. Lakoff (1970) postulates separate transformational rules to derive factive nominalisations, manner nominalisations, object nominalisations and instrumental nominalisations. Randall (1988) claims that process nominalisations terminating in -*ing* and result -*ing* nominalisations are derived by distinct lexical rules. Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 57 ff), in contrast, assumes that concrete nominalisations in English which terminate in the sequences -*ing*, -*ation*, -*al*, -*ment* and -*ance* are not derived productively by word-formation rules. She proposes to regard nominalisations in non-actional readings as products of lexicalisation phenomena that affect corresponding (i.e. formally identical) actional nominalisations.

Subcategorization properties of bare nominalisations will be investigated in Chapter II. The derivational origin of actional and non-actional zero--derived nouns will be considered in Chapter III.

1.3. Identification of bare nominalisations

1.3.1. Bare nominalisations vs. compound nouns

Nouns consisting of a verb stem followed by a particle (e.g. *away, on, up*) can be analysed either as nominalisations of phrasal verbs or as compound nouns coined by attaching the particle element to a verb stem.

The majority of nouns which exhibit the internal structure in question will come within the scope of the present study because they are semantically related to corresponding phrasal verbs and, by virtue of the criteria spelled out in Section 1.3.2., they will be recognized as bare nominalisations. For instance, the verbs *come back, come down, cop out* and *write off* give rise to the nominalisations *comeback* 'a return to a former position', *comedown* 'a fall in importance, rank or respect', *cop-out* 'an act or instance of copping out' and *write-off* 'anything which is completely ruined and cannot be repaired'.

For some verb-particle nouns there exist no established phrasal verbs, e.g. *killout* (AmE slang) 'any thing or person that is remarkable or gives one a feeling of exhiliration', *dress-off* (AmE slang) 'a contest, especially among flashily dressed men, to determine who is the best dressed' and *spell-down* 'a spelling contest in which the winner remains standing to meet the next challenger and the loser returns to his seat and sits down'. Other nouns with the same internal structure exhibit very loose or no semantic connection with formally identical phrasal verbs, cf. *fall out* 'to leave proper lines or order' and *fall-out*$_N$ 'the dangerous radioactive dust' or *work in* 'to include (something), by a clever arrangement of words' and *work-in*$_N$ 'the taking over of a factory or other place of work by angry or dissatisfied workers who work in it according to their own methods and refuse to leave'.

Since there are no phrasal verbs motivating them semantically, nouns discussed in the preceding paragraph such as *killout* and *fall-out* will be regarded here as compound formations composed of a verb and a particle. Compound nouns terminating in the particle *-in* are particularly common and they denote protests in which demonstrators enter or remain in a place to protest against a custom or law, e.g. *stand-in* 'standing in line to enter segregated facilities (as a form of protest)', *kneel-in* 'Negroes entering segregated churches to attend services' and *love-in* 'a gathering, usually of young people, to

provide mutual love and understanding'. Lexemes which contain the intensifying particle *up* represent another fairly productive type of compound nouns, e.g. *mock-up* 'a representation or model, often full-size, of something planned to be made or built', *punch-up* (infml BrE) 'a fight' and *rave-up* (BrE slang) 'a very wild party'. Compound nouns will fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

1.3.2. The direction of morphological derivation in conversion pairs

1.3.2.1. The relevance of historical data

A fundamental problem encountered in studies on verb → noun and noun → verb conversion is the establishing of the direction of morphological derivation in conversion pairs. Presented with pairs of formally identical nouns and verbs, such as *answer*$_N$ — *answer*$_V$ or *desire*$_N$ — *desire*$_V$, one frequently cannot determine at a glance which of the conversion mates (i.e. which member of the pair) should be regarded as the base, and which functions as the derivative.

The present study assumes a synchronic approach to conversion, hence the usefulness of historical data concerning conversion mates will be limited. It needs to be stressed that even in the course of a thorough diachronic survey the identification of the historically primary conversion mate may prove to be impossible. Conversion mates may have occurred in written texts at the same time, especially if they were borrowed from French or Latin. The lexeme *claim* was first attested in its nominal and verbal use in 1300, *count* — in 1325, *doubt* — in 1225 and *rule* — in 1225. If both members of a conversion pair go back to Old English, it is not feasible to establish their first records. In such cases many scholars make the arbitrary assumption that the conversion mate which has cognates in Germanic languages should be treated as primary, as M a r c h a n d (1963) points out.

Moreover, etymological and historical estimates may not correspond to present-day judgments. The verb *moan*, for instance, occurred first in written texts in the 16th century while the noun *moan* was recorded as early as in 1225. *Moan*$_N$ can be paraphrased as 'an act of moaning'. This paraphrase, which is typical of deverbal nouns, can serve as an argument for regarding the verb *moan* as the derivational base of the noung *moan* from a synchronic point of view. In the case of the pair *mould*$_V$ — *mould*$_N$, historically the verb is the derived member. Synchronically, however, the verb *mould* can be analysed as the primary conversion mate because it can function as the input to various

affixation processes, e.g. *-able, -ing* and *-er* attachment. A number of procedures have been proposed in synchronic studies on conversion in order to determine the direction of derivation in conversion pairs. These procedures will be reviewed below.

1.3.2.2. Semantic dependence

A morphologically complex formation is usually motivated semantically and morphologically by its derivational base. In other words, a derivative is expected to be both formally and semantically more complex than its base. In the case of conversion mates, the criterion of formal complexity is not applicable. Both *answer*$_N$ and *answer*$_N$ are equally complex in form; the putative zero-affix appended to either of them has no formal reflection. Consequently, one needs to resort to the criterion of semantic complexity to identify the basic conversion mate. Most speakers of English will probably agree that the nouns *captain, father* and *mother* are semantically simpler than the corresponding verbs *captain, father* and *mother*. When explaining the meaning of *to capitain*, a speaker will presumably employ the noun *captain* in the paraphrase of the verb: to *captain* means 'to be a captain of; to behave as a captain'. The semantic analysis of the verbs *rattle* and *whistle*, in contrast, does not call for the semantic features of the nouns *rattle* and *whistle*: a rattle and a whistle are not the only objects which can produce the sounds of rattling and whistling. Therefore *rattle* and *whistle* in their nominal use can be regarded as derivatives.

1.3.2.3. Semantic pattern

It may often be difficult to determine which member of a conversion pair is semantically simpler. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE) treats the noun as primary in the conversion pair *grin*$_N$ — *grin*$_V$. The noun is glossed in the LDCE as 'a smile which shows the teeth' and the verb is paraphrased as 'to make a grin'. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), on the other hand, finds it more appropriate to explain the meaning of the noun *grin* by referring to the verb: *to grin* is paraphrased as 'to smile showing the teeth' and *a grin* as 'an act of grinning, the expression produced on the face during grinning'. In such troublesome instances of conversion pairs, Marchand (1964) suggests checking whether the semantic analysis of a noun follows one of certain patterns characteristic of nouns converted from verbs. If this is the case, the derived nature of the noun can be assumed.

Deverbal nouns are regarded by Marchand (1969: 374 ff.) as nominalised sentences and divided into four basic types, according to which element of a process (i.e. of a sentential analogue) they denote: the subject, the object, the adverbial or the predicate. The following semantic subtypes can be distinguished within the four basic types of zero-derived deverbal nouns in English:

(8)   I. Predication type: the nominalisation denotes the process itself,
      1) 'single instance illustrative of the active process': *answer, bark, cheer, move, slap*
      2) 'characteristic qualities of a thing as established by the verbal activity referred to': *(velvety) feel, smell, touch (of a fabric)*
      3) 'a concrete illustrative example of the process': *rise* 'elevated place', *fall* 'waterfall'
      4) 'state, condition of being V-ed': *alarm, arrest, daze, defeat, dismay*
      5) 'process as a general phenomenon': *desire, dislike, distrust, doubt, envy*
      6) 'nervous fits': *shakes, staggers, creeps*
      7) 'a specific way of performing the activity': *(dog's) bark, (his) laugh*
   II. Adverbial type: the noun denotes an adverbial associated with the process:
      1) 'the place where the action is performed': *bend, dump, sink, stand*
      2) 'the instrument with which the action is performed': *clip, goggles, pull, whistle*
      3) 'the time when the action is performed': *start, spring, kickoff*
      4) 'compass, distance, range of extent of the movement': *carry (of the gun), run (of a play)*
  III. Subject type: the noun corresponds to the subject of a paraphrasing sentence in which the motivating verb is used:
      1) 'one who carries out the activity': *gossip, grind, cheat*
      2) 'something that brings about the process': *hit, kick, bait, delight*
   IV. Object type: the noun refers to the object of the sentential analogue, e.g.:
      1) 'one who is or has been V-ed': *convert, discard, pervert*
      2) 'that which is or has been V-ed': *award, burn, catch, kill*

Marchand (1969) points to the first semantic subtype given in (8) as the most common among deverbal zero-derived nouns, especially those related to

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intransitive verbs of the 'move' and 'sound' group such as *advance, dig* and *cough.* J e s p e r s e n (1954:117) expresses the same view: "The most usual meaning of sbs derived from and identical in form with a vb is the action or an isolated instance of the action". The weakest sense-groups, according to M a r c h a n d (1969: 374) are 'nervous fits', 'the time of the action' and 'compass or distance of V-ing'. Subject-type nouns, especially those denoting immaterial or impersonal agents, are relatively more frequent than object-type nominalisations.

The nominal member of the conversion pair $shock_V$ — $shock_N$ can be regarded as derived because it exhibits meanings characteristic of nouns converted from verbs. When occurring in the sentence *They died of shock*, it can be parapharased as 'a state or condition of being shocked'. In the sentence *It was a great shock to all of us* the noun *shock* occurs in the subject-type reading 'something that brings about the state of being shocked'. The criterion of semantic pattern implies the deverbal nature of the noun *shiver*, which is related to the formally identical verb *to shiver*. The noun *shiver* exhibits the sense 'a single instance of shivering', e.g. *She gave a shiver*, as well as the sense 'a nervous fit', cf. *She had the shivers.*

When the semantic analysis of the verbal member of a conversion pair follows one of patterns typical of noun → verb conversion, the verb should be considered a derivative. The sense groups given in (9) have been identified among zero-derived verbs in M a r c h a n d (1969: 368 ff.):[7]

(9)   I. Predicate-subject complement type: the nominal base of a ze-ro-derived verb corresponds to the subject complement of the sentential analogue:
1) 'to be, act as, play the N': *butcher, father, ape, fox, bolt, dart, needle*
   II. Predicate-object complement type: the nominal base of a verb functions as the object complement in a paraphrasing clause:
1) 'to make into, put in the form of, give the form of, convert into N': *bale, bundle, cash, beggar, cripple*
2) 'to treat as N': *baby, badger, pet*
   III. Predicate-adverbial complement type: the noun motivating the verb occurs in an adverbial phrase in the corresponding senten-tial paraphrase:
1) 'provide with N': *awe, barb, belt, cloak, label, tag*
2) 'to coat with a layer of N': *butter, cement, enamel, varnish*
3) 'to prepare with N or treat with N': *brine, curry, paraffin*
4) instrumental verbs
   a) 'to use N as an instrument': *brake, guitar, bugle*

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b) 'to fasten with N': *anchor, belt, button, screw*
c) 'to attack or beat with N': *club, spear, whip*
5. location verbs
   a) 'to go by N, to move in N': *barge, bike, mail, ship*
   b) 'to put in N': *bottle, blacklist, kennel, register*
   c) 'to live in or be in N': *bivouac, camp, dock*
   d) 'to deprive of N': *bone, gut, skin, weed*
IV. Predicate-object type: the nominal base appears as a resultative object in the paraphrasing sentence:
   1) 'to manufacture, to produce or emit N': *blot, crease, cub, fish, harvest, smoke, steam*
   2) 'to give rise to N':
      a) the motion and dance group: *curtsy, frolic, pirouette, somersault, waltz*
      b) the talk group: *bluff, harangue, parley*
      c) the general activity group: *campaign, crusade, experiment*

The sense-groups distinguished within the predicate-object type are neither well-defined nor uniform. It can be added, though, that no researcher has managed so far to compile an exhaustive and methodologically sound list of semantic readings occurring with zero-derived denominal verbs. Clark and Clark (1979), after a very detailed analysis of innovative verbs in English, establish eight fundamental sense groups (namely Locatum verbs, Location verbs, Duration verbs, Agent verbs, Experiencer verbs, Source verbs, Goal verbs and Instrument verbs) and are forced to recognize the ninth class of Miscellaneous verbs which comprises the verbs *to lunch, to rain, to blackberry* and the like.

As far as the productivity of the subtypes identified in (9) is concerned, Marchand (1969: 368 ff.) stresses the numerousness of location verbs paraphrased as 'to put in N', instrumental verbs and verbs which mean 'to provide with N'. Jespersen (1954: 95 ff.) notes the strength of the instrumental sense-group among zero-derived verbs and the rareness of verbs formed from names of persons. According to Clark and Clark (1979: 769 ff.), the weakest semantic subtype of zero-derived verbs is the group of derivatives paraphrased as 'to treat as N'.

Semantic considerations testify to the derived status of the verb *stone* related to the noun *stone*. This verb exhibits the readings 'to attack with stones' and 'to take the stones out of fruit'. Both of these meanings are characteristic of zero-derived verbs. In the case of the conversion pair $pulp_N$ and $pulp_V$ the verb is the derived member as well. In one of its senses (i.e. 'to reduce to pulp') it represents the predicate-object complement type of zero-derived verbs. It can also be classified as a loca-

tion denominal verb since it occurs in the sense 'to remove pulp (from coffee beans)'.

The conversion pair $grin_N$ — $grin_V$, mentioned at the beginning of the present section, will be regarded here as an instance of verb → noun conversion. This conclusion follows from the content analysis of the noun *grin*. The noun in question exhibits the standard reading of bare nominalisations, i.e. 'a single instance of V-ing'. The verb *to grin* could, alternatively, be recognized as a denominal predicate-object typ verb paraphrased as 'to make a grin'. Since the predicate-object type is not strong with zero-derived denominal verbs, the latter hypothesis is less plausible. For the same reason the assumption of the derived nature of the verb *answer* is less tenable than the proposal to treat the noun *answer* as a zero-derivative.

Nevertheless, to remove doubts concerning the derivative relations between conversion mates such as $answer_N$ — $answer_N$ or $grin_N$ — $grin_V$, it will be necessary to employ additional methods of identifying primary members of conversion pairs described in the following sections.

1.3.2.4. Semantic range

If one member of a conversion pair exhibits more specific meanings than its conversion mate, it should be regarded as a zero-derivative (see M a r c h a n d (1964)).

The verb *convert*, for instance, has a wider field of reference than the noun *convert*. $Convert_N$ designates a person that has been converted to a particular religion or a political belief. The verb *convert* may be often paraphrased as 'to make into a convert' but it also exibits the sense 'to change into another type of money' or 'to change into another substance', cf. *John has converted to Buddhism* and *Foreign money can be converted in this bank*. Therefore the verb *convert* is the primary conversion mate.

Not every sense of the verb *answer* corresponds to a sense exhibited by the noun *answer*, e.g. *to answer to a name, to answer to a description*, hence the verb should not be treated as derived.

The meaning of the verb *paste*, on the other hand, is more restricted than the meaning of the noun *paste*. *To paste* means 'to stick or fasten (paper) with paste'. The noun *paste*, from which the verb is derived, denotes a cement of flour and water used for sticking paper, a mixture of flour and fat for making pastry, food for spreading on bread, a shining composition used in making imitation gems or any soft plastic mixture.

If one member of a conversion pair is in common usage while the other is not generally accepted, the former will be considered as the basic conversion mate.

The status of a derived formation will be assigned to verbs or nouns which are recognized by most speakers as innovations related to familiar lexemes. A number of innovative denominal verbs are discussed in Clark and Clark (1979), e.g. *houseguest* in *Ruth Buzzi houseguested with Bill Dodge* or *Wayne and Cagney* in *We all Wayned and Cagneyed*. Innovations have a shifting sense and denotation dependent upon the context in which they are used. When occurring in the sentence *The factory sirened midday and everybody stopped for lunch*, the verb *siren* means 'to signal'. It can be paraphrased as 'to issue the warning' in the sentence *The police sirened the Porsche to a stop*. Verbal innovations from personal nouns retain the spelling characteristic of names of persons, e.g. *to Wayne* starts with a capital letter.

When a zero-derivative becomes established in common usage and loses its semantic indeterminacy, a clue to its derived status may be provided by its frequency of occurrence. Adams (1973: 38) remarks, for instance, that the verbs *to carpet* and *to landscape* are rare in actual usage, hence they should be regarded as derived from the nouns *carpet* and *landscape* which have higher frequency of occurrence. When frequency of occurrence cannot be assessed intuitively, resort can be taken to dictionaries of word-frequency. However, frequency counts given in dictionaries should be approached with caution. *A General Service List of English Words* by M. West notes that in 48% of its occurrence the form *love* functions a · a noun while in 39% — as a verb. The choice of samples of written texts for analysis may have influenced these frequency counts in an unpredictable way. In 25% of all cases when the form *love* was encountered in the corpus analysed by the editor of *A General Service List*, it occurred in the phrase *the Goddess of Love*. It needs to be added that frequency tables tend to include basic vocabulary, i.e. words which are introduced to beginners and intermediate learners of English as a foreign language.

Restrictions on the use of zero-derivatives may be expressed in terms of incomplete inflectional paradigms. The bare nominalisation *amends* is used only in the plural. The zero-derived verbs *neighbour* occurs mainly in the *-ing* form.[8]

The derived member of a conversion pair may be stylistically marked. The nouns *hunger* and *thirst* are stylistically neutral whereas the corresponding verbs *hunger* and *thirst* are felt to be poetic or literary. The use of numerous bare nominalisations is restricted to informal language or slang, e.g. *think*$_N$ (informal) 'an act of thinking' and *throwaway* (informal) 'an advertisement

printed on a piece of paper and given out in the street, put through people's doors, etc.'. The corresponding verbs *think* and *throw away* exibit no stylistic restrictions on their usage.

1.3.2.6. Derivational relations within a word cluster

The primary member of a conversion pair may serve as an input to affixation processes more readily than its conversion mate. Consequently, by studying the cluster of words derived from formally identical nouns and verbs, it is possible to establish the direction of morphological derivation in such conversion pairs. One needs to inspect the so-called first degree derivatives, i.e. lexemes derived from either member of a conversion pair by attaching a single affix (see Ginzburg et al. (1979: 134)). The adjective *baggy* 'hanging in loose folds' is, for example, a first degree derivative of the noun *bag* while its nominalisation *bagginess* is a second-degree derivative from *bag*.

$Handy_A$, $handful_N$ and (*left-*) $handed_A$ are first-degree derivatives from *hand*. Their occurrence confirms the primacy of the noun in the conversion pair $hand_N$ — $hand_V$ since they are denominal formations. First-degree derivatives from *float* and *grin* are, in contrast, all deverbal, i.e. *floatable, floater, floatation, floating, floaty* and *grinner, grinning*. Therefore the application of the derivational criterion to the conversion pairs $float_N$ — $float_V$ and $grin_N$ — $grin_V$ demonstrates the primacy of the verbs.

Derivatives which terminate in the suffixes listed in (10) can easily be identified either as denominal or as deverbal formations. The suffixes included in (10a) attach only to nominal bases whereas the suffixes in (10b) subcategorize for verbs.

(10) a. Suffixes which subcategorize for nouns:
   $-al_A$: *accidental, causal, regimental, rhomboidal*
   $-ary_A$: *cautionary, fragmentary, limitary, provisionary*
   $-esque_A$: *picturesque, teacheresque*
   $-ful_N$: *bagful, bottleful, cupful*
   $-ic_A$: *chloric, geographic, Icelandic*
   $-en_A$: *golden, waxen, wooden*
   $-ous_A$: *adventurous, desirous, envious*
   $-ship_N$: *championship, courtship, friendship*
   b. Suffixes which subcategorize for verbs:
   $-al_N$: *rental, reposal, reversal*
   $-ant_N$: *accountant, claimant, servant*
   $-ive_A$: *abusive, active, supportive*
   $-ory_A$: *affirmatory, appreciatory, contradictory*
   $-ment_N$: *amazement, controlment, concernment.*

The suffixes given in (11) are less restricted in their attachment than those in (10) but they are sensitive to the contrast between the categories "verb" and "noun". The suffixes in (11a) cannot be tacked on to verbal stems whereas those in (11b) are prohibited from operating on nominal bases.

(11)   a. Sufixes which attach to nouns or adjectives:
           $-hood_N$: *widowhood, childhood* (denominal)
                      falsehood, likelihood (deadjectival)
           $-ify_V$: *beautify, fishify* (denominal)
                      drowsify, tipsify (deadjectival)
           $-ise_V$: *burglarise, computerise* (denominal)
                      colonialise, urbanise (deadjectival)
           $-ist_N$: *pianist, soloist* (denominal)
                      leftist, rightist (deadjectival)
           $-like_A$: *snakelike, tigerlike* (denominal)
                      grim-like, human-like (deadjectival)
           $-ly_A$: *homely, heavenly* (denominal)
                      deadly, lowly (deadjectival)
        b. Suffixes which attach to verbs or adjectives:
           $-ance_N$ or $-ence_N$: *acceptance, existence* (deverbal)
                                   dominance, prevalence (deadjectival)
           $-ure_N$: *departure, failure* (deverbal)
                      converture, rapture (deadjectival)

The application of the derivational criterion in identifying basic conversion mates is rendered difficult by the existence of suffixes which can operate both on nominal and on verbal bases, e.g. *-er, -able, -ing, -ed, -ful, -less, -some, -ish* and *-y*. In order to determine the syntactic category of the base for a derivative terminating in one of those suffixes, it may be necessary to consider in detail the semantic interpretation of the derivative. M a r c h a n d (1969: 352) observes that denominal adjectives ending with the suffix *-y* can be paraphrased as 'full of N, abounding in N, characterized by N' — e.g. *bloody, hairy, leafy* — whereas deverbal adjectives such as *sticky, shaky, weepy*, mean 'inclined or apt to V' and have a pejorative tinge. A subtle distinction can be drawn between the interpretation of denominal and deverbal *-able* adjectives. The former require the semantic reading 'characterized by N, showing N in a specific manner' (e.g. *comfortable, charitable, profitable*) while the latter can be paraphrased as 'fit for V-ing or for being V-ed; worthy or likely to suffer the action of V-ing' (e.g. *eatable, enjoyable, readable*). C h a p i n (1970: 57) points out another difference between the two groups: denominal adjectives usually nominalise in *-ness* and deverbal *-able* adjectives in *-ity* (compare *comfortableness* and *readability*).[9]

It is suggested in Myers (1984: 62 ff.) that zero-derivatives cannot serve as an input to word-formation processes because zero-derivation is ordered after all word-formation operations. According to Myers, the occurrence of both deverbal and denominal first-degree derivatives from members of a given conversion pair indicates that neither of the conversion mates is primary and serves as the derivational base for a zero-derivative. Given the existence of a denominal adjective *conditional* and a deverbal noun *conditioner*, Myers concludes that neither the verb *condition* nor the noun *condition* should be treated as derived. $Condition_N$ and $condition_V$ are cognate but unrelated morphologically lexemes. The approach taken here will be different. If in a cluster of words related to a particular verb — noun conversion pair denominal derivatives occur but deverbal formations prevail, then the verb will be treated as the stronger and more basic conversion mate by virtue of the derivational criterion.

1.3.2.7. Syntactic environment

Kilby (1984: 116 ff.) and Ginzburg et al. (1979: 136) remark that a noun can be regarded as deverbal if it occurs with modifying noun phrases which represent the subject (i.e. the 'doer') and the object (i.e. the 'patient') of the activity referred to. By virtue of this criterion (which is labelled "a transformational criterion" in Ginzburg et al. (1979)), the noun *disregard, promise* and *visit* will be recognized as deverbal. The noun phrases headed by the lexemes in (12) may be viewed as transformed predicative syntagmas.

(12)   a. John disregards everybody's advice → John's disregard of everybody's advice
        b. John visited his friends → John's visit to his friends
        c. She promised $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to help} \\ \text{secrecy} \end{Bmatrix}$ → Her promise $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to help} \\ \text{of secrecy} \end{Bmatrix}$

There exist limits on the applicability of the transformational criterion. Nouns derived from intransitive verbs will accept only one noun phrase (NP) modifier, e.g. *the boy's arrival, your jump*. Moreover, due to a variety of pragmatic and semantic factors, nouns derived from transitive verbs may sound awkward when accompanied by subject and object modifiers. The diagnostic sentences for the nouns *hit* and *like*, quoted here after Kilby (1984: 117), do not confirm the deverbal status of these zero-derivatives. *Like* exhibits only a non-actional sense 'thing that one likes', hence it patterns syntactically similarly to nonderived nouns *hammer* and *boss*, and differs in this respect from the bare nominalisation *dislike*:

(13)   a. *John's hit of his mother-in-law was vicious.
       b. *His like of suet puddings is notorious.
       c. Her dislike of cats was notorious.
       d. *John's hammer of a nail in was impressive (cf. John hammered the nail in.)
       e. *Everybody resented her boss of the establishment. (cf. She bossed the establishment.)

Jespersen (1954: 117), Marchand (1969: 376) and Kilby (1984: 117) emphasize the frequency of verb-noun combinations in which semantically vague verbs *have, take, give,* etc. are followed by zero-derived nouns. Kilby regards the verbo-nominal construction as a diagnostic context for bare nominalisations. Suffixal nominalisations are less likely to occur in such a construction: compare *have a guess* and *have a guessing,* or *have another try* and *have another trial to heave it.* On the other hand, the occurrence of some bare nominalisations may be limited to verb-noun combinations of this type. The nouns *think,* for instance, attested in the phrase *have a think,* cannot function as a subject or a prepositional complement:

(14)   a. I'll have a think about it later.
       b. *His think surprised me.
       c. *You're depriving me of my daily think.

Therefore, Kilby (1984: 117) suggests that the verbo-nominal construction may be treated as a 'lower bound' on nominalisation status.

1.3.2.8. Stress placement

The stress contours of verbs and nouns in conversion pairs may provide a clue helping to establish their derivational relation.

Bare nominalisations derived from phrasal verbs or from compound verbs with a locative particle as their first element regularly shift their main stress to the initial syllable, e.g. *to back úp — a báckup, to throw awáy — a thrówaway, to overbíd — an óverbid.*

A verb zero-derived from a compound noun retains the stress contour of its base: *an únderstudy — to únderstudy, an óutlaw — to óutlaw.* The same is true of verbs zero-derived from simple nouns: compare *a fáther* and *to fáther, a bívouac* and *to bívouac* or *a párachute* and *to párachute.*

Nouns zero-derived from morphologically simple verbs or from prefixal verbs do not exhibit uniform behaviour. A group of Latinate prefix-stem verbs give rise to bare nominalisations which differ from their verbal bases in the

placement of heavy stresses: *to expórt — an éxport, to prolápse — a prólapse, to transplánt — a tránsplant*. An interesting suggestion concerning the origin of different stress contours is put forward in M a r c h a n d (1964):

(15)   "The reason for the stress distinction was probably the awareness of educated speakers of the composite character of the verbs in French and/or Latin. In deriving substantives from the verbs, they followed the native pattern of words for which there existed both a verb and a substantive differentiated only by stress."
(quoted after K a s t o v s k y (ed.) (1974: 251))

In accordance with M a r c h a n d (1964), nouns distinguished from cognate verbs by stress will be treated here as bare nominalisations unless semantic criteria — discussed in Sections 1.3.2.2. — 1.3.2.4. — preclude such an analysis. For instance, *cóncert*$_N$ 'a musical performance' and *concért*$_V$ 'to arrange by mutual agreement' will be treated as unrelated lexemes.

The majority of bare nominalisations derived from simple or prefix-stem verbs retain the stress contours of corresponding verbs, e.g. *advánce*$_{N,V}$, *dislíke*$_{N,V}$ and *embráce*$_{N,V}$.

One may perceive a fairly clear pattern among conversion mates exhibiting the same stress contours. When a verb is the basic member of a conversion pair, the main stress in both conversion mates tends to fall on the last heavy syllable of a word[10], as in (16a) below. If the final heavy syllable is left unstressed, as in (16b), a noun is usually the primary member of a conversion pair.

(16)   a. accóunt, attémpt, commúte, deféat, reléase.
          b. cómment, cómpliment, dócument, shádow, tríumph.

This regularity reflects differences in the operation of stress-assignement rules applying to nonderived lexemes of distinct syntactic categories. However, there has been a recent tendency, particularly strong in American English, for "levelling of stress contours" in verb-noun pairs. Verbs which are traditionally end-stressed, such as *accent, annex, conflict* and *export*, shift the main stress to their initial syllable and match the stress pattern of related nouns.

There is, moreover, a variation in the stress pattern of verbs containing the prefix *re-*. The majority of such verbs bear the primary stress on their stems and the secondary stress on the prefix, e.g. *remarry, remodel* and *reset* but some verbs have the primary stress on the prefix, e.g. *réfill*$_V$, *rémake*$_V$ and *rétake*$_V$. The latter verbs may exhibit two pronunciations, i.e. *refíll*$_V$ and *réfill*$_V$.

Nonderived nouns have the characteristic word-initial stress in English but there exist end-stressed nonderived nouns, such as *campáign, canóe, cemént*,

crusáde, paróle, which may give rise to zero-derived end-stressed verbs. The position of the main stress is, thus, only an ancillary criterion employed in determining the direction of conversion. A verbal conversion mate with the final heavy syllable stressed will be tentatively regarded as the derivational base for a corresponding noun unless semantic criteria point to a contrary analysis.

1.3.2.9. The regularity of inflectional paradigms

It is shown in Myers (1984: 58) that lexemes with irregular inflectional paradigms should usually be recognized as nonderived. By virtue of the inflectional criterion, the nouns *man, fist, foot*, and *goose* ought to be treated as basic conversion mates in the pairs man_N — man_V, $fish_N$ — $fish_V$, $foot_V$ — $foot_N$ and $goose_N$ — $goose_V$ because they have irregular plural forms, i.e. *men, fish, feet* and *geese*. The verb → noun direction of morphological derivation should, in contrast, be proposed in the pairs $drink_N$ — $drink_V$, hit_N — hit_V, $shake_N$ — $shake_V$ and $sleep_N$ — $sleep_V$ since the verbs have irregular past tense forms and passive participles. Jespersen (1954: 28) observes that "(p)ractically all new verbs enter the weak class", where weak verbs are understood to be ones inflected regularly. An isolated counterexample is the denominal verb *shoe* 'to fix a shoe on (an animal)' with its past tense and passive participial form *shod*. It needs to be added, though, that the regular past tense and participial form *shoed* has been attested as well.

By means of conversion verbs can be freely formed from compound nouns. If the nominal base contains as one of its elements a verb which is strong (i.e. irregularly inflected), a contrast can be observed between the conjugational paradigm of the "embedded" strong verb and the regularly inflected verb derived from the compound, e.g. $ride_V$, (past tense *rode*, past participle *ridden*) and $joyride_V$ (past tense and past participial form *joyrided*) zero-derived from $joyride_N$ 'a ride for pleasure in a vehicle, especially a stolen car'.

1.3.2.10. Phonetic shape

Sequence *-ade, -ation, -ition, -ment*, and *-ture* are characteristic noun terminations, as Marchand (1964) points out. Consequently, the occurrence of one of those terminations in a verb implies its denominal origin, e.g. *crusade, fraction, condition, gesture*. This inference can, however, be invalidated by the application of semantic criteria to a given conversion pair. The verb *torment* should not be analysed as denominal, in spite of its termination (which resembles phonetically the nominalising suffix *-ment*), because the corresponding noun *torment* exhibits semantic readings characteristic of bare nominalisa-

tions, namely 'state of being tormented' and 'something that causes the state of being tormented'. The deverbal status of the noun *torment* can also be inferred from the stress distinction between the verb and the noun: *torment*$_V$ vs. *torment*$_N$.

1.3.2.11. Equivocal results

The criteria for identifying basic members of conversion pairs — presented above in 1.3.2.2. — 1.3.2.10. —act in unison when one of the conversion mates is a novel formation, e.g. *commute*$_N$ in the pair *commute*$_N$ — *commute*$_V$ in the pair *porch*$_N$ — *porch*$_V$. If both members of a conversion pair are established in common usage, there may be clashes between criteria of content and criteria of form or the application of some criteria may have no effect.

Both members of the conversion pair *love*$_N$ — *love*$_V$ existed as early as in Old English: OE *lufu*$_N$ 'love' and *lufian*$_V$ 'to love' were distinguished by their inflectional endings. Both are common now in everyday usage and none of them can be identified as semantically simpler on an intuitive basis. The criterion of semantic pattern points to the verb *love* as the derivational base of the coresponding noun: *love*$_N$ exhibits the senses 'state of V-ing', 'one who is V-ed' and 'one which is V-ed', which are characteristic of bare nominalisations. This criterion does not, however, exclude totally a denominal analysis of the verb *love*, which could then be treated as a representitive of the predicate — object type of zero-derived denominal verbs (such as *to pirouette, to crusade*). The semantic range of the noun *love* is slightly wider than the range of the verb *love*. The sense 'the state of having no points (in tennis)' exhibited by *love*$_N$ is not matched by any sense occurring with *love*$_V$. This might indicate the primacy of the noun in the conversion pair *love*$_N$ — *love*$_V$.

It may be useful at this point to recall Marchand's analysis of the pair *act*$_N$ — *act*$_V$. The semantic reading 'a division of a play' possible with the noun *act* has no equivalent among the senses exhibited by the verb *act*. When occurring in the senses 'a deed' and 'one of a number of short events in a theatre or circus performance', the noun *act* is related semantically to the verb. The conclusion that Marchand draws is: "A word may be a derivative in one sense and not another. Both verb and substantive may follow separate trends of semantic development [...]" (Kastovsky (ed.) (1974: 244)). In other words, the noun *love* in the sense 'the state of having no points (in tennis)' is not a deverbal derivative but when occurring in other senses it should be treated as derived. The syntactic behaviour of *love*$_N$ confirms the properness of this decision: being a deverbal action noun, *love*$_N$ allows two genitive modifiers which correspond to the subject NP and object NP associated with the formally identical verb (cf. *Roy loves nature* and *Roy's love of nature*).

Investigation into first-degree derivatives of the form *love* shows a slight predominance of denominal formations, which implies the nonderived status of *love*$_N$. The group of denominal formations from *love* includes *lovelike*$_A$, *lovely*$_A$, *loveworthy*$_A$, *loveful*$_A$ 'abounding in love', *loveling*$_N$ 'a lovely creature' and *lovey*$_N$ 'dear love, darling'. *Loveless*$_A$ can in principle be analysed both as a denominal and a deverbal adjective since the suffix -*less* attaches to verbal and nominal bases. When occurring in the phrase *a loveless marriage*, the adjective *loveless* requires a paraphrase 'devoid of love', hence it patterns semantically with denominal formations such as *homeless, guileless*. The adjective *lovable* can be grouped either with denominal adjectives paraphrased as 'worthy of N' (e.g. *honourable, respectable*) or with deverbal -*able* adjectives paraphrased as 'fit for V-ing or for being V-ed' (e.g. *readable, likeable*). Marchand (1969: 231) treats it as denominal while the OED marks it as deverbal. Deverbal formations from *love* are undoubtedly *loved*$_A$, *lover*$_V$, *loving*$_A$ and *lovee*$_N$ 'one who receives love'. They are less numerous than denominal ones. Consequently, the result of applying the derivational criterion for identifying the basic member of the pair *love*$_N$ — *love*$_V$ is in disagreement with conclusions stemming from the criterion of semantic pattern and the syntactic criterion. The application of the derivational criterion does not yield so clear-cut a distinction as to invalidate the application of the remaining criteria. Therefore, the verb *love* will be regarded here as the derivational base of *love*$_N$. Certain degree of arbitrariness involved in taking such a decision will be admitted.

Another troublesome conversion pair is *saw*$_N$ — *saw*$_V$. Marchand assumes that the noun *saw* is semantically primary as it cannot be satisfactorily defined as an instrument used for the action of sawing. The shape of this tool is as important as its cutting function: a saw has a thin blade with a row of V-shaped teeth on the edge (see Kastovsky (ed.) (1974: 244)). Ljung (1977: 165 ff.) claims that the verb *saw* is not dependent semantically on the noun *saw* since it is possible to saw using any jagged object which cannot be properly described as a saw, e.g. a jagged or dull knife, a set of false teeth, and a stone with an uneven edge.

The primacy of the verb in the pair *saw*$_N$ — *saw*$_V$ can be inferred from the comparison of semantic ranges of the verb and the noun. Apart from denoting the action of sawing (i.e. cutting with a saw or any jagged instrument), *saw*$_V$ can refer to the ability of a material to be sawn, e.g. in the sentence *Soft wood saws easily*.

First-degree derivatives from *saw* given in the OED include deverbal *sawing*$_N$ 'the action of sawing; (pl.) sawdust', *sawing*$_A$ 'harsh, rasping' (in the phrase *a sawing voice*), *sawed*$_A$ 'that has been sawn; (AmE slang) drunk' and *sawer*$_N$ 'one whose job is sawing logs'. *Sawer*$_N$ is rare as it has been superseded by the nouns *sawyer* which can be treated as a denominal formation comparable to *lawyer* or *bowyer* 'a maker or seller of brows'. The denominal

origin of *sawyer* is assumed in Jespersen (1954: 238). The predominance of deverbal derivatives from *saw* implies the primacy of the verb in the pair saw_N — saw_V.

The irregularity of the inflectional paradigm of the verb *saw* in British English supports the hypothesis of the verb → noun conversion. On the other hand, the noun *saw* does not pattern syntactically as a deverbal action noun since it exhibits no actional reading: note the ill-formedness of the phrases ** his saw of a loaf of bread with a jagged knife* and ** have a saw of bread*. Apart from the sense of an instrument, saw_N has no concrete senses characteristic of bare nominalisations, e.g. 'that which is V-ed', 'the place where the action of V-ing is performed'. The instrumental sense-group is very strong with denominal zero-derived verbs. Thus the criterion of semantic pattern favours the denominal analysis of the verb *saw*.

A problem arises of how to reconcile the hypothesis of V → N conversion in the case of saw_N — saw_V borne out by the application of the criterion of semantic range, the derivational and the inflectional criteria with the assumption of N → V analysis supported by the criterion of semantic pattern and the syntactic criterion. Saw_N and saw_V should presumably have separate entries in the lexicon as they are partly independent of each other and may separately develop new senses. However, the pressure of the semantic pattern "a name of an instrument" → "a name of an action for which the instrument is employed" is so strong that saw_N and saw_V will be related by a conversion rule N → V (in accordance with Ljung (1977: 178)).

Granting that in some conversion pairs neither member is primary, one has to admit the existence of numerous conversion pairs in which one conversion mate is dependent semantically on the other, exhibits restrictions on its usage and gives rise to no derivatives (e.g. *invite*$_V$ → *invite*$_N$, *pull*$_V$ → *pull*$_N$, *cage*$_N$ → *cage*$_V$). In discussing the syntax and semantics of bare nominalisations in the present dissertation, I will attempt to base my conclusions on the analysis of conversion pairs in which the nominal use of a given form is less frequent or in which the primacy of the verbal mate may be unambiguously supported.

CHAPTER 2

The syntax of bare
nominalisations in English

2.0. Introductory

Syntactic contexts in which bare nominalisations can occur will be investigated in some detail in Chapter II of the present study.

Section 2.1. will examine complex predicates, i.e. combinations of a verb with a vague meaning and an action noun, e.g. *have a chat, take a look, make a throw, do a checkup* and *give a shiver*. Particular attention will be given to the following issues:

1) Should the right-most constituents in complex predicates be analysed as bare nominalisations or as verb stems?

2) What is the difference between the semantic interpretation of verbo--nominal constructions *have a chat, take a look, make a throw*, etc. and the semantic interpretation of related simple verbs, i.e. *to chat, to look* and *to throw*?

3) Should complex predicates be regarded as idioms?

Section 2.2. will consider limitations on the occurrence of bare nominalisations outside complex predicates.

In Section 2.3. modification of bare nominalisations will be briefly discussed. The parallels between modifiers of bare nominalisations and complements of corresponding verbs will be indicated. The question will be raised whether bare nominalisations inherit complementation of derivationally related verbs.

2.1. Complex predicates

2.1.1. The advantages of verbo-nominal constructions

At the outset of the discussion of complex predicates, it is worth pointing out reasons for the prevalence of verbo-nominal combinations, such as *have a chat* ar *make a throw*, in present-day English, especially in colloquial speech.

Quirk et al. (1972: 943 ff.) identify two factors influencing the clause structure: the principle of end-weight and the principle of end-focus. The first of these principles requires more complex parts of a clause to be put in the clause-final position, hence the sentence *I confessed to him the difficulties I had found myself in* is preferable to the sentence *I confessed the difficulties I had found myself in to him*. In accordance with the principle of end-focus, the more important elements of the content — namely those elements which convey new information — are placed at the end of a clause. Consequently, the focus of the sentence *Homer wrote "The Odyssey"* falls on the title of the epic while in the sentence *"The Odyssey" was written by Homer* the emphasis is shifted to the name of the author. Quirk and his colleagues suggest that the principle of end-weight and the principle of end-focus are jointly responsible for the tendency to replace one-word predicates with multi-word structures. Therefore, the sentence *He smoked* is usually replaced by *He was smoking* or *He had a smoke*, when it occurs in non-habitual use, or it is expressed by the clause *He was a smoker* if the intended reading is a habitual one. The observation that "(w)ith the SV pattern one-word predicates are shunned", made in Quirk et al. (1972: 968), is confirmed by Allerton. Allerton (1982: 130) remarks that reflexive-deleting verbs such as *shave, wash* or *dress* tend to occur in intransitive constructions only in formal style, whereas in colloquial English the sentences *He dressed* and *He shaved* would be substituted by *He got dressed, He got shaved* or *He had a shave*.

Jespersen (1954: 117) and Halliday (1985: 135) indicate another factor which determines the usefulness and handiness of verbo-nominal constructions such as *have a shave or give a smile*. Nouns expressing states of affairs (e.g. activities, processes and events) can be modified more easily than corresponding verbs. Consider in this respect the examples in (17) below, the majority of which are taken from Halliday (1985):

(17)   a. He made a long speech. → He spoke for a long time.
       b. They did a Hungarian dance. → They danced in a Hungarian style.
       c. She gave her usual welcoming smile. → She smiled in her usual way to welcome the guest (or the guests).

d. He made three serious mistakes. →? She mistook something for something else three times and her action had or could have had serious consequences.

The sentences containing semantically 'light' verbs and action nouns accompanied by appropriate modifiers are less diffuse and less awkward than their equivalents containing simple verbs.

Finally, it needs to be added that there exist stylistic differences, differences of emphasis or perspective and other subtle semantic differences between the interpretation of sentences containing complex predicates and sentences containing simple verbs. They will be discussed in Section 2.1.3. Due to the existence of such differences, a speaker may decide to use the expression *have a swim* instead of the simple verb *swim*.

2.1.2. Verb stems or deverbal nouns?

The right-most constituents of complex predicates, e.g. *swim* in *have a swim* or *look* in *take a look*, are treated in the present study as deverbal nouns. Such a view is held by the overwhelming majority of linguists who have investigated the construction in question, e.g. Jespersen (1954: 117 ff.), Nickel (1968), Cattell (1984), Jayaseelan (1988) and Makkai (1977).

A contrary opinion has been recently expressed by Wierzbicka. In her 1982 paper Wierzbicka argues that the right-most constituents of the expression *have a look, take a walk* and *give someone a dig* should be analysed as verb stems. She quotes Kruisinga (1932: 26) as saying that although the word *dig* in the sentence *I gave him a dig in the rib* functions as a noun, speakers of English feel that *dig* is 'properly' a verb. She points out formal differences between the deverbal nouns *choice, use* (pronounced as [ju: s̩]) and *argument* given in (18a-c) and between the words *choose, use* (pronounced as [ju: z]) and *argue* occurring in (18 d-f) and treated by her as verb stems.

(18)   a. I had no *choice.*
       b. Their *use* of the house as a shop surprised us.
       c. We had an *argument.*
       b. I want you to have a *choose.*
       e. Can I have a *use* of your pen?
       f. We had an *argue.*

The occurrence of the indefinte article *a* in front of *choose, use* and *argue* in (18d-f) is not regarded by Wierzbicka as a conclusive proof of the nominal status of these forms.

Walińska·de Hackbeil (1984: 326) suggests treating *walk* in *have a walk* or *take a walk* as the nontensed form of the verb *walk*. She assumes that the semantically 'light' verbs *have, take, make, give* and *do* are auxiliaries and that the word *a* occurring in complex predicate functions as a marker of aspect. (19) below is the structure of the expression *took a walk* proposed in Walińska de Hackbeil (1984: 326):

(19)

$$V^o + AUX \quad INFL^o \qquad ASPECT \quad V^o$$
$$took \qquad\qquad\quad a \quad walk$$
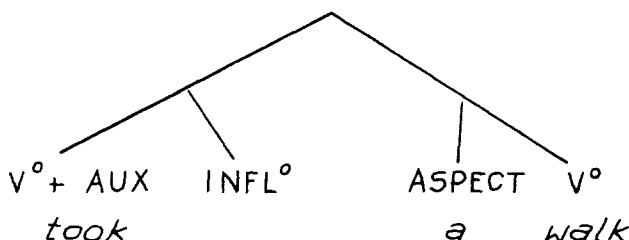
The analyses of complex predicates offered in Wierzbicka (1982) and Walińska de Hackbeil (1984) are, however, fraught with many difficulties. Even if the indefinite article *a* occurring in front of the alleged verb stems in complex predicates is regarded as an aspectual marker, syntactic rules must be amended to allow for the occurrence of quantifiers, possessives and ordinals as modifiers of verb stems in the phrases *give it a few kicks, make one's escape, have another guess* and *take a second look*. Moreover, verbs are normally modified by adverbs, as in the sentence *Scrub the floor well!*, and can be followed directly by a noun phrase if they are transitive, e.g. *The dog waggled its tail, I read your paper.* In contrast, the supposed verb stems *scrub, waggle, read* and *glare* occurring in the sentences *Give the door a good scrub!, The dog gave a waggle of its tail, Can I have a read of your paper?* and *She gave me a narrow glare of hate* behave like nouns since they are modified by adjectives and accompanied by the genitive *of*-phrases. The alleged verb stems resemble nouns in other respects as well. They can take the declensional ending *-s*, as is shown in (20):

(20)   a. They gave each other *glances*.
        b. He takes long *swims* at the end of the day.
        c. [...] things you could not guess if you had a thousand *tries* (Jespersen (1954: 119))
        d. I took several *rides* in his car so I can tell you it's really safe.
        e. Can I have two *guesses*?

Apart from occurring as constituents of complex predicates, the lexemes *catch, grin, grunt, kiss, shout, sweep, swim, try* and *throw* can function as subjects, subject complements, objects, object complements and prepositional complements, as is demonstrated below:

(21)   a. A good *throw* was answered by a good *catch.*
        b. It was a good *try* but it didn't succeed.
        c. The man raised a *shout.*
        d. I administered the conventional *kiss.* (SB, p. 40)
        e. He grinned a tired *grin.* (LS, p. 216)
        f. I considered it a very good *throw*, even though he didn't score a point.
        g. The room needs a good *sweep.*
        h. Let's go for a *swim.*
        i. After a while, he straightened up with a *grunt.* (LS, p. 210)

It is theoretically possible to regard the items underscored in (21) as deverbal nouns proper, distinct from formally identical verb stems occurring in the frames *make a throw, make a catch, have a try, give a shout*, etc. Then, however, the sentences *He grinned a tired grin* and *He gave a tired grin* will require separate analyses: the first sentence will be analysed as containing a deverbal noun *grin* and the second — a verb stem *grin*. The semantic identity of *grin* in both sentences will not be brought into focus. A difference will have to be postulated between the syntactic category of *swim* in the sentence *Let's have a swim* and in (21h), in spite of the fact that *swim* exhibits the same meaning in both sentences. It can be paraphrased as 'an act or occasion of swimming'. There are no semantic reasons for claiming that (21g) contains the noun *sweep* distinct from *sweep* occurring in the sentence *Give the room a good sweep* and treated in Wierzbicka as a verb stem. Consequently, the assumption that complex predicates are verbo-nominal combinations will be accepted here without any reservations.

The tenability of this assumption is confirmed by the occurrence of complex predicates which consist of a verb with a vague meaning and a deverbal noun terminating in an overt nominalising suffix, e.g. *make an appearance, make a flight, give someone a beating, give (a letter) a re-reading* and *give (the room) a close inspection.*

2.1.3. The interpretation of complex predicates

The semantic interpretation of complex predicates has not received much attention in various studies of the construction in question. Random remarks

on the semantics of verbo-nominal combinations can be found in, among others, Jespersen (1954: 118) and Cattell (1984: 4, 17, 259, 277).

A penetrating semantic analysis of the construction *have a N* has been carried out by Wierzbicka. The conclusions stemming from her 1982 paper will be presented briefly below. An attempt will be made to produce semantic analyses of the remaining types of complex predicates following the method employed in Wierzbicka (1982).

When investigating the interpretation of complex predicates, one needs to consider the temporal characteristic of states of affairs denoted by particular nominalisations. A contrast between stative and dynamic situations is the fundamental distinction postulated in the majority of aspectual classifications, including the classification of states of affairs outlined in Quirk et al. (1985: 178 ff.). Stative situations are homogenous and stable, for instance the situations denoted by the verbs *resemble, stand, sit, sleep, love, believe*, and by their nominalisations. Dynamic states of affairs "happen" rather than "exist", e.g. *sit down, blacken, tap*. Dynamic situations can be further divided into durative and punctual. Durative states of affairs take place over a period of time, hence in English they are compatible with the unmarked progressive aspect. The use of the dynamic durative verbs *drink, grow* and *fill up* in the progressive points to the limited duration of the situations denoted and it may imply that they are not finished, e.g. *I am drinking, The trees are growing, The room was filling up with people.* Punctual situations denote happenings which occur at certain points of time. When the punctual verbs *nod, arrive, drown* and *tap* are combined with the progressive they must be given "marked" interpretation. The sentence *She was drowning when the man jumped into the water and saved her* has an anticipatory reading whereas the sentence *Someone was tapping on the door* implies repetition of punctual situations.

Another significant contrast within the class of dynamic states of affairs is the conclusive-nonconclusive dichotomy. Conclusive situations (such as writing a letter, arriving or getting up) involve some endpoint and the notion of completion or incompletion apply to them. Nonconclusive situations (such as writing, reading, playing the piano or working) have no natural boundary in the form of an attainable goal, hence they cannot be viewed as either completed or not completed. Conclusive situations allow a resultative interpretation of the perfective aspect in English. The sentence *She has read the book*, for instance, implies that she knows its content. Instead of the terms "conclusive" and "nonconclusive", the terms "telic" and "atelic" are often employed, for example in Wierzbicka (1982).

All states of affairs can be classified as agentive or nongentive. Agentive states of affairs involve a 'doer' capable of volition and of instigating the happening. The doer is typically human, for instance the agent involved in the situations denoted by the verbs *murder, work, knit* and their respective nominalisations. Moreover, Wierzbicka (1982) and Langacker (1987b: 80) postulate a distinction

between reiterative (replicable) and nonreiterative (nonreplicable) states of affairs. The action of playing a tune is replicable while the action of eating a sandwich is not since the same sandwich cannot be eaten twice. Consequently, the sentence *He played the tune again and again* is acceptable whereas the sentence *?He ate the sandwich again and again* is semantically deviant. Stative and dynamic nonconclusive situations are generally nonreplicable since they are internally homogenous and involve no natural boundary: note the unacceptability of the sentence *She liked her cousin again and again*. If a dynamic nonconclusive state of affairs can be construed as occurring in limited episodes (e.g. *run, sleep, wear a sweater*), it will be regarded as replicable.

Overlaps between aspectual categories and transitions of states of affairs from one aspectual class to another are analysed in Dowty (1979: 58 ff.).[11] Verbs which normally express states may come to denote dynamic nondurative conclusive situations (termed "transitional events" in Quirk et al. (1985: 201)). The verb *remember* denotes a state in the sentence *I'll always remember you* but in the sentence *Suddenly I remembered his name* it expresses a transitional event. Verbs which are usually in stative use may also come to denote dynamic durative nonconclusive and agentive situations (labelled as "activities" in Quirk et al. (1985: 201)): compare, in this respect, *John ignored Mary* (state) and *John was ignoring me all the evening* (activity). Verbs expressing nonconclusive situations come to denote conclusive states of affairs when accompanied by direct objects or adverbials indicating destination. *Write* in *John was writing* denotes an activity whereas in *John was writing a letter* it expresses an accomplishment (i.e. a dynamic durative conclusive agentive situation in the terminology employed in Quirk et al. (1985: 201)).

Wierzbicka (1982: 758) observes that the construction *have a N* imposes agentive, experiencer-oriented, antidurative, atelic and reiterative interpretation on states of affairs. Nominalisations denoting nonagentive situations are unlikely to occur in the frame *have a N*. If they are encountered in such a construction, thery are construed as semi-intentional states of affairs, e.g. *Humpty-Dumpty had a great fall*. Nominalisations expressing actions that have natural boundaries in the form of attainable goals are normally not allowed in the frame *have a N*, hence the oddness of the sentence *?She had a walk to the postoffice to post a letter*. Nouns derived from verbs classified as telic can, however, occur in the construction in question when actions they denote are interpreted as directed at an experiencer (i.e. a participant which is conscious and capable of volition) rather than at external goal. The external goal is perceived as not being affected. Therefore the sentence *He had a bite of the sandwich* is acceptable while * *John had a kill of the chicken* or * *He had a bite of Mary* are deviant. The experiencer-oriented perspective of the complex predicates with the verb *have* often implies that the situations denoted cause the human participants to feel pleasure,[12] e.g. *Susie and John had a kiss and a cuddle*

in the back seat, I had a smoke of tobacco. These situations may be, as a matter of fact, unpleasant or tiresome but their effect will be viewed as beneficial for the doer. He may feel better as a result of his action (consider, in this respect, the sentence *Have a vomit — you'll feel much better*), he may look better (e.g. *I'll have a shave*) or he may find out something that he did not know before. It needs to be explained here, as well, why Wierzbicka (1982) regards the *have a N* construction as anti-durative. This construction implies that "the action goes on for a limited, and in fact rather short, period of time" (Wierzbicka (1982: 757)). Therefore, nominalisations denoting nondurative states of affairs are excluded from the frame *have a N* unless these states of affairs are perceived as being relatively long. The phrases *have a sneeze* and *have a yawn* express intentional acts which are rather long as sneezes and yawns go. Dynamic durative situations are denoted by the *have a N* construction quite freely, as long as they are construed as not lasting for a very long time: note the unacceptability of the sentence *She had a swim for two hours.*

The construction *have a N* suggests a lack of zeal and commitment on the part of the agent. Consequently, the phrases *have an attempt* and *have a watch of something* sound odd while *have a try* and *have a look at it* are compatible with the lack of commitment. Moreover, the construction in question is very appropriate for putting forward tentative suggestions and making polite offers.

The association of the *have a N* frame with the experiencer-oriented perspective is responsible for the fact that this construction is marked as highly colloquial. The phrases *have a converse* and *have a urinate* are unacceptable because non-colloquial terms imply the factual and objective perspective.

The statement "The *have a N* construction is agentive, experiencer-oriented, antidurative, atelic and reiterative" will be expressed as (22) if Wierzbicka's semantic metalanguage is employed. For the reasons presented above, Wierzbicka refers to the verbo-nominal combinations *have a look, have a walk,* etc. as the *have a V* construction:

(22)   "X had a V =
        For some time, not a long time
        X was doing something that could cause him to come to feel/know
        something
        he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to
        anything other than himself
        he could do it again." (Wierzbicka (1982: 758))

The formula given in (22) has two functions: it specifies semantic constraints on the nominal constituent of the *have a N* construction — and hence predicts the acceptability of the verbo-nominal combinations underscored in (23) — as

well as accounting for differences in meaning between the complex predicates *have a N* and corresponding simple verbs.

(23)   a. John *had a lie* on the new bed (to see if it was comfortable).
         b. [...] a much better fellow he would be if he *had a good swear* now and again. (Jespersen (1954: 117))
         c. *"Have a suck of my orange!"* the child said.

Wierzbicka (1982) does not discuss in detail verbo-nominal combinations introduced by verbs other than *have*. However, in the postscript to her paper she offers the following tentative formulation of semantic limitations on the *take a N* frame:

(24)   "X took V =
At moment t, X moved some part(s) of his body bacause he wanted to do something for a short time which could cause him to feel/know something
for a short time he was doing it
he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to anything other than himself
he could do it again." (Wierzbicka (1982: 794))

If the rule of semantic interpretation given in (24) is translated into more conventional linguistic terms, the *take a N* construction will be described as agentive, experiencer- oriented, replicable, atelic and antidurative — just like the *have a N* construction. Therefore, with many nominalisations both the *have a N* frame and the *take a N* frame are equally suitable, for instance, the nouns *nap, lick, look, ride, shave, sniff, walk* and *wash*.

Cattell (1984: 84), Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 175) and Wierzbicka (1982: 756) observe that in many expresssions in which speakers of British and Australian English would most naturally use *have* (e.g. *have a bath, have a shave*) American English speakers would prefer the verb *take* (i.e. *take a bath, take a shave*).

Though the semantic constraints on the *have a N* and *take a N* constructions overlap, they are not identical. The actions denoted by complex predicates containing the verb *take* must be initiated by initial momentary movements. Consequently, nouns denoting speaking or listening cannot occur in the *take a N frame*: *take a listen, *take a chat* differ in their acceptability from *have a listen* and *have a chat*.

The paraphrase of the *take a N* construction offered by Wierzbicka brings out the inceptive element in the semantic interpretation of such verbo-nominal combinations. It does not, however, point to another subtle difference between the complex predicates containing *have* and those containing *take*. Whereas

the construction *have a N* implies no commitment on the part of the agent and usually expresses actions which are performed quickly and casually (e.g. *have a sniff, have a look, have a wash*), the verbo-nominal combinations introduced by the verb *take* may be interpreted as denoting actions that are performed less perfunctorily and are extended over slightly longer periods of time. Such an interpretation is implied by the presence of the adjectival modifiers *long, slow* and *close* accompanying bare nominalisations in (25). Consequently, the occurrence of the *take a N* is not limited to colloquial English. Verbo-nominal combinations *take a N* may be used in more formal registers, e.g. in narrative prose (as the sentences in (25abe) indicate) and in journalistic writings (as in (25c)).

(25)   a. Jerry took a long slow sip of his whisky. (SB, p. 62)
        b. The stranger took a long pull at his cigarette, inhaling deeply.
        c. Jonathan Izard takes a look at some more individuals who carry out the sorts of occupation which others find less than appealing (LC, Jan. 1989, p. 5)
        d. Take a close look at it!
        e. [...] Foxley would say, taking a quick look at his own handiwork [...] (ToU, p. 80)

The verb *give* occurs in two types of complex predicates: *give a N* and *give someone/something a N*.

Nominalisations occurring in the frame *give a N* typically denote nondurative states of affairs which involve animate doers, e.g. *nod, jump, groan*. Durative situations are not compatible with this construction, hence the unacceptability of **give a listen* or **give a float*. Nondurative states of affairs which involve inanimate participants only can be expressed by the *give a N* combinations if those states of affairs are normally associated with human doers: compare, in this respect, the sentences *The old chair gave a groan* and *The woman gave a groan*, or *The drunken man gave a lurch* and *The car gave a lurch*. The overwhelming majority of the complex predicates *give a N* encountered in my corpus denote production of sounds, facial expressions and bodily movements. This is shown in (26):

(26)   a. The salmon gave a little dart in the water.
        b. Lottie actually dropped her legs, gave a wriggle and lay and stared. (LP, p. 41)
        c. The woman who was leaning on the rail started up and gave a little jump of surprise. (ToU, p. 65)
        d. She jumped when the bell rang and jumped again when it gave a second long blast. (SB, p. 86)
        e. She gave a sad smile.

Actions denoted by the *give a N* construction are sudden and usually involuntary[13] reactions on the part of animate (typically human) doers. A paraphrase for this construction could be stated as (27), which attempts to imitate Wierzbicka's semantic formulas for the *have a N* and *take a N* expressions:

(27)   "X gave a N =
At moment t, X moved some part of his body, moved his facial muscles or set his organs of speech into motion; his action was sudden and short
X did not want anything to happen to him or anything else he could do it again."

States of affairs expressed by the complex predicates *give a N* are repeatable, as the sentences *The dog gave another waggle of its tail* and *Becky gave another snore* show.

While the construction *give a N* occurs in all styles of English (frequently in narrative prose), the construction *give someone/something a N* is usually associated with informal language (compare, in this respect, the sentences *Give the doorbell a ring*! and *Ring the doorbell*!). The verbo-nominal combinations *give someone/something a N* express intentional acts performed by human beings. The noun phrases occupying the position of the indirect object in the *give someone/something a N* frame denote participants which are viewed as essentially involved in and affected by particular states of affairs, e.g. *We gave the car a good shove and moved it*. Some of those participants are not patients proper but rather beneficiaries (e.g. *him* in (26a)) or end-points of movement (e.g. *me* in (28b)). A difference between the subject-oriented perspective of the *have a N* construction and the object-oriented perspective of the *give someone/something a N* frame may be perceived when one compares the interpretation of the sentence *Have a look at her*! and (28c), or *Have a kick of the football* and (28d).

(28)   a. I smiled at him and gave him a courteous little nod. (ToU, p. 84)
        b. She gave me a searching glance.
        c. It was rather odd to be standing so close to him in nothing but her own skin and him not even giving her a second look. (SB, p. 107)
        d. I gave the door three kicks.

Apart from producing some visible effect on the patient (e.g. *the door* in (28)), the agent may intend to additionally influence someone not involved in the state of affairs, e.g. *the shopkeeper* in (29b).

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(29)   a. We gave the door three kicks but it did not open.
        b. We gave the door three kicks but the shopkeeper did not let us in.

Situations denoted by the construction *give someone/something a N* are construed as bounded and repeatable. The actions of brushing, pressing or shaking have no natural end-point — they are classified as nonconclusive. However, thay can be viewed as occurring in bounded episodes in which the agent attains the goals he has set himself. Such an interpretation can be assigned to the sentence *I gave the flask a good shake (and the medicine dissolved)*. When comparing the sentence *Give the blanket an airing* and *Give the blanket an air*, Wierzbicka (1982: 760) observes that the second sentence implies an action of relatively short duration performed less thoroughly than the action denoted by the sentence *Give the blanket an airing*. Actions expressed by the frame *give someone/something a N* involve an initial momentary movement on the part of the doer. The phrases *give it a look* and *give her a glance* are acceptable because looking involves an initial movement of eyeballs. In contrast, the phrases * *give it a smell* and * *give it a taste* are not acceptable.[14] Actions denoted by the verbo-nominal combinations *give someone/something a N* are usually very simple, e.g. *push, embrace, wipe*. Simplicity of the task is not, however, a necessary feature of those states of affairs. The expressions *give the car an overhaul* and *give the patient a checkup* are acceptable even though they refer to fairly complicated operations. Thus, the semantic constraints on the construction *give someone/something a N* can be formulated tentatively as in (30) below:

(30)   "X gave Y a N =
        At moment t, X moved some part(s) of his body because he wanted
        to do something for a short time which could cause Y to change
        its/his position, physical state or emotional state
        for a short time he was doing it
        X was doing it because he wanted something to happen to Y; he
        could do it again."

Bare nominalisations can occur in complex predicates containing the verb *make*, as the sentences in (31) demonstrate. Situations denoted by the construction *make a N* involve volitional doers who act with deliberateness and usually serious commitment.[15] Consequently, expressions with the verb *make* can be frequently heard or read in sports news (e.g. (31ab)). The juxtaposition of the phrase *give a jump of surprise* occurring in (26c) and *make a jump* in (31c) brings out the contrast between the nonvolitional interpretation of the construction *give a N* and the volitional reading of complex predicates *make a N*. Sentences in which the verb *make* is followed by an action noun frequently

contain expressions of purpose or external goal (end-point of movement), for instance *to have breakfast* in (31d). Actions denoted by the construction *make a N* are usually difficult to perform and require some time: consider, in this respect, the phrases *to make a search of the public records, to make an estimate of the ship's run* and *make a study of Shakespeare's sonnets.* Even if the nominal constituent of the *make a N* predicate normally refers to a nondurative situation, the construction *make a N* imposes upon it a durative interpretation. This is presumably due to the inclusion of some preparatory action which leads to a momentary event in the interpretation of such states of affairs as making a jump, making a bow, making a stop or a making a throw.

Although the verb *make* occurs in the verbo-nominal combinations discussed here mainly with personal subjects, impersonal agents are compatible with the *make a N* construction, as shown in (31ef). They are construed as capable of independent functioning and human agents who operate them are not mentioned explicitly.

(31)   a. Lozowski made a surging run [...] (*The Observer*, 16 Oct. 1988, p. 20)
        b. Sufflebotham has made a smart inside break from scrummage just outside the Park 22. (*The Observer*, 16 Oct. 1988, p. 20).
        c. He was by no means satisfied yet this woman he saw before him was absolutely certain to give the alarm when he made his jump. (ToU, p. 66)
        d. We made a stop on the way to have breakfast.
        e. The gun made a soft hiss and a fine misty spray came out of its nozzle. (SB, p. 129)
        f. The plane dropped a bomb, making a direct hit on the house.

Situations denoted by the phrases *make a N* are viewed as repeatable: the sentence *He made a few dabs at the fence with the paint* suggests that the doer may need to make more dabs at the fence until he finishes painting it.

A tentative formulation of the semantic interpretation of the *make a N* construction is offered below in (32):

(32)   "X made a N =
        X did something because he wanted something to happen to him or to someone else
        his action was deliberate and probably required considerable effort and/or previous training
        X was doing it for some time
        he could do it again."

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Apart from forming complex predicates with the verbs *have, take, give* and *make*, bare nominalisations can enter into combinations with the verb *do* such as *do a high dive* or *do a shuffle*. When comparing the sentences *Harry had an enjoyable dance with Sue* and *Harry did an enjoyable dance with Sue*, Cattell (1984: 4) observes that the phrase *do a dance* implies dancing before an audience. Moreover, the adjective *enjoyable* describes Harrry's emotions in *Harry had an enjoyable dance with Sue* while in the sentence *Harry did an enjoyable dance with Sue* it was the audience that enjoyed the dance. If someone does a hand-stand or a press-up the audience need not be present: the doer may be practising rather than showing off. Nevertheless, the construction *do a N* suggests in those instances that an action requiring some skill is performed in a routine manner (see (33) for more examples).

(33)   a. Each time left foot touches floor counts one. After each fifty counts do ten semi-squat jumps. (*Kaleidoscope*, p. 85)
         b. I've done loops and spins in a fighter plane, but I've never flown sideways or backward. (*Smithsonian*, May 1988, p. 53)
         c. [...] doing a belly flop from a high dive (ToU, p. 76)
         d. [...] 'we must do a creep,' she said. 'Furtive's the word.' (Jespersen (1954: 118))
         e. We'll just do the basic bids showing honour tricks. (ToU, p. 55)

The semantic interpretation of the verbo-nominal combinations *do a N* occurring in (33) can be predicted by (34):

(34)   "X did a N =
         At time t, X performed an act (or an action) requiring some skill
         X did it on purpose
         he did it in a routine manner (as if) for an audience
         he could do it again."

The semantic formula offered in (34) will provide the interpretation of expressions containing nonderived nouns, e.g. *do a somersault, do a stunt, do a jig*. If the part of (34) which concerns an audience is omitted, this semantic rule can account for the acceptability of the phrases *do a quick scan of the area* and *do a blood test* which denote actions performed in a regular fixed way (i.e. according to routine). No stretching of the formula given in (34) could allow for a single interpretation of the complex predicates *do a belly flop, do a creep* and the expressions *do a favour, do harm* and *do damage*. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that the verbs *do, make, give, take* and *have* can form verbo-nominal combinations other than the complex predicate constructions discussed in the present section. The verb *have* occurs, for instance, in the

sentences *Mary had a visit from her inlaws* and *Mary had a nervous breakdown* in which it requires a different semantic reading than in the complex predicates *have a swim* or *have a walk*. When encountered outside complex predicates such as *take a look* or *take a walk*, the verb *take* may be paraphrased as 'to accept' — e.g. *She took my advice* — or as 'to suffer', e.g. *She took a fall, She took offence at my behaviour*. The verb *give* is possible in permissive sentences such as *The teacher gave Harry a glance at the answers* and *The captain gave Harry a kick at the goal* or in causative sentences, e.g. *You gave us a scare, They gave me a lot of trouble*. Such constructions are analysed in detail in Cattell (1984).

In the course of the presentation of verbo-nominal combinations offered above, some contrasts were pointed out between complex predicates which contain the same action noun but differ in the copula verb, e.g. *have a kick of the football* and *give the ball a kick*. By employing the appropriate verb, the speaker may construe the action denoted by the complex predicate either as agent-oriented or object-oriented, intentional or involuntary, pleasurable or necessitating great effort. This variation is demonstrated again in (35), (36) and (37). The sentences given in (35) are quoted after Quirk et al. (1985: 752).]

(35)   a. She *gave a shriek.* (an involuntary shriek)
       b. She *had a good shriek.* (voluntary and for own enjoyment)
       c. She *did a (good) shriek.* (a performance before an audience)

(36)   a. Shall we *make a little bet* on that? (deliberate action)
       b. 'We were only *having a little bet*', mumbled the little man from the bed. (ToU, p. 42) (enjoyable action)

(37)   a. She *gave a faint smile.* (an involuntary act)
       b. [...] she would raise her brows [...] as though asking a question. Then she would *make a quick sly smile*, supplying the answer. (SB, p. 45) (a deliberate act)

A parallel may be drawn between the semantic interpretation of complex predicates and meanings exhibited by the verbs *have, take, make, give* and *do* occurring outside complex predicates. The verb *give* in sentences such as *Cows give milk, This technique gives a curious result* and *The food gave off a bad smell* denotes nonintentional situations. These sentences may include an optional indirect object, e.g. *Cows give us milk, The lamp gives us a good light*. When the indirect object is obligatory, it can be omitted to imply its indefinite reference or can be replaced by a prepositional phrase, e.g. *John gave me a present, John gives presents at Christmas time, John gave a present to me*. If the verb *give* occurs with an obligatory indirect object, it denotes a volitional action, such as giving

presents or giving money. Thus, some similarity can be detected between the sentences *She gave me a present* and *She gave me a push* which refer to fully controlled states of affairs, or between *The lamp gives a good light* and *She gave a wriggle* which denote involuntary situations. The verb *make* implies volition and commitment on the part of the agent in the complex predicate *make a jump* as well as in the expression *make a chair, make cheese* and *make a fire*. It also implies that something which did not exist prior to the action comes into existence through that action, e.g. a concrete object *a chair, cheese* or a sound in *make a noise*. Cattell (1984: 246) points out that the 'completive' meaning can also be attributed to the verb *make* entering into the verbo-nominal constructions *make a lead* and *make a dive*: a leap and a dive can be regarded as products of the actions of leaping and diving. As far as the verb *have* is concerned, there is a suggestion of enjoyable and perhaps purposeless activity both in the complex predicates *have a walk, have a lie-down* and in the expressions *have dinner, have a party* and *have a good time*.

Jespersen (1954: 117) refers to the verbal consitituents of complex predicates as 'light' verbs implying that *take* in *take a walk or give* in *give someone a push* is 'light' in semantic load and the really significant part of the complex predicate is the nominalisation. Allerton (1982: 130) analyses the phrase *make a comment* as consisting of a semantically empty verb followed by a nominalisation. Admittedly, the verbs *do, have,* and *give* in the phrases *do a shriek, have a shriek* and *give a shriek* exhibit a connective function and attract the person and tense markers, therefore they can be referred to as 'copulas'. I hope to have shown, however, that they are not totally devoid of semantic information. The use of the term 'a common verb of general meaning' in Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 174) with reference to the verbal constituent of a complex predicate seems to be more adequate.

2.1.4. Complex predicates as idioms

It is an open question whether complex predicates should be regarded as syntactically regular phrases or as idioms.

In Crystal (1980: 179) an idiom is defined as a "sequence of words which is semantically and often syntactically restricted, so that they function as a single unit".

The semantic interpretation of the overwhelming majority of complex predicates can be predicted from the formulas given in the preceding section in (22), (24), (27), (30), (32) and (34). Semantic compositionality of the phrases *have a swim, take a look* and *give the car an overhaul* does not confirm the need for analysing them as idioms.[16] A few verbo-nominal constructions which are not transparent semantically may be justifiably treated as idioms, e.g. *give*

someone the slip 'to escape from someone', *give someone a pull* 'to give someone (unfair) personal advantage', *have a go at something* 'to try to do something' and *take a dive* 'to agree to lose a match dishonestly, (especially of a boxing match)'.

Idioms are expected to show syntactic defectiveness. Constituents of an idiom cannot be separated by optional elements or change position with respect to each other. Moreover, they exhibit limited collocability: a constituent of an idiom cannot be easily replaced by another element of the same syntactic category. Complex predicates behave in many ways as regularly formed syntactic phrases. Their nominal constituents can take optional modifiers or can be fronted in relative clauses and in passive sentences, as the sentences in (38) show:

(38) a. He *had* a sort of *doze*, and then ambled off among the bushes. (Nickel (1968: 15))
   b. It's the best *laugh* we've *had* for ages. (*Kaleidoscope*, p. 43)
   c. The final *assault* on the jugged peak is *made* at dawn.
   d. Sue was *given a hug* by Bill. (Cattell (1984: 177))
   e. The *look* I *took* at it was long enough for my purposes. (Higginbotham (1985: 590))

Higginbotham (1985: 590) argues, however, that in the diagnostic sentence quoted below in (39) the nominalisation *look* functions like a fragment of an idiom and exhibits syntactic defectiveness.

(39) a. *Go take the look at it.
   b. *Which looks did I take at it?
   c. *A look would be hard to take at it.

Consequently, he regards the complex predicate *take a look* as a "semi-productive idiom". It needs to be pointed out, however, that the unacceptability of (39) may be due to semantic and pragmatic factor. The sentence *?How many looks did you take at it?* is less deviant than (39b). The sentence occurring as (39c) seems to violate the principle of end-focus: the nominalisation *look* is more significant than the verb *take* and should normally receive the unmarked end-focus. Quirk et al. (1985: 753) resort to the principle of end-focus to account for the oddness of the sentence *?I gave a nudge to Helen.* Cattell (1984: 75) suggests that the noun phrase occupying the indirect object position in a complex predicate can be shifted to the sentence-final position — which is typically reserved for the nominalisation — only when it is a heavy NP, e.g. *Ken gave a kiss to anyone who deserved it.*

As far as the collocability of constituents of complex predicates is concerned, it is easy to show that the nominalisations *look, swim* and *push* in the phrases

take a look, have a swim and *give someone a push* can be replaced by other nominalisations, e.g. *take a dip, have a scribble* and *give someone a punch*. The possibilities of combining the nominalisations *look, swim* and *push* with 'light' verbs are more restricted — note the unacceptability of * *give a swim*, * *make a look* and * *give a push* — but these limitations seem to be of semantic nature. Thus, complex predicates resemble in this respect free collocations.

There seems to be a cline between free collocations, such as *have some money* and *kick a ball*, and idioms proper (which are syntactically "frozen" and semantically unanalysable), e.g. *have butterflies in one's stomach* 'to be nervous', *kick the bucket'* (slang) to die'. Complex predicates can be placed on that cline close to free collocations.

Complex predicates are certainly less idiomatic than the expressions *on the move* 'moving', *on the boil* 'boiling' and *on the burn* 'burning' discussed in Brugman (1983). These expressions represent a fairly productive pattern and are analysable semantically: they can be paraphrased as meaning 'being involved in the continuing or repeated process or activity'. Nevertheless, they exhibit syntactic defectiveness. While the phrases *on the decline* and *on a steady decline* are acceptable, the phrase * *on a decline* and the sentence * *The decline his health is on started when he caught pneumonia* are odd. The expressions of the type *on the N*, regarded in Brugman (1983: 74) as a construction type which is syntactically unusual and has a conventionalized semantics, seem to be better candidates for the category of "semi-productive idioms" than complex predicates.

A question which could be posed at the end of the discussion of verbo-nominal combinations is: should complex predicates be entered in the lexicon as verbo-nominal units? The answer to this question depends on the model of the lexicon that one wishes to adopt. On the one hand, it can be argued that there is no need to list complex predicates in the lexicon since the choice of the 'light' verb accompanying a particular bare nominalisation is to a large extent predictable. Differences between the choices made by various speakers stem from the variety of semantic interpretations associated with distinct types of complex predicates (one can compare, in this respect, the phrases *do a jump, give a jump* and *make a jump*) and from differences of dialects (e.g. a speaker of BrE is more likely to employ the phrase *have a shave* while the speaker of AmE — *take a shave*). On the other hand, some verbo-nominal combinations are used more often than others. The phrase *make an answer*, which implies in (40) some difficulty in answering a question, is heard less frequently than *give an answer*.

(40)   Then I sort of froze up and sat staring at him for at least a minute before I got hold of myself and *made an answer*. (ToU, p. 73)

Therefore, there is some merit in putting the well-established complex predicate *give an answer* in the lexicon. A speaker will not have to employ a set of internalized semantic rules to find the most appropriate 'light' verb for the nominalisation *answer* but he will search his linguistic memory for the item of information concerning the collocability of the noun. Such a procedure will be time-saving and effective. It leads, however, to a substantial expansion of the lexicon, which makes the task of providing a formal description of the lexicon more demanding.

2.2. Bare nominalisations outside complex predicates

Bare nominalisations can be encountered in all the positions of a clause in which nonderived nouns occur, as is shown in (21) in Section 2.1.2. They can function as subjects, subject complements, objects, objects complements and prepositional complements. It must be admitted, though, that in some contexts bare nominalistions are less likely to occur than in other syntactic frames. The bare nominalisations *choose, clean, listen, read, think* and *wipe* form complex predicates with the verbs *have* and *give* (i.e. *have a choose, give something a clean, have a listen, have a read, have a think* and *give something a wipe*) but they do not occur in the subject or subject complement position in a clause:

(41)   a. *A *choose* was a very difficult one.
        b. *A *clean* of the lab twice a day will be your duty.
        c. *His favourite pastime was a *listen* to jazz records.
        d. *A *read* of Mary's letter made me cry.
        e. *A *think* made me tired.
        f. *It was a very careless *wipe* of the table.

Speakers of English would normally use *a choice* instead of *a choose* in (41a) and replace the bare nominalisations underlined in (41b-f) by gerunds or action nouns terminating in *-ing*, e.g. *Cleaning the lab twice a day will be your duty, Thinking made me tired.* The sentence in (41e) is marginally acceptable when it is understood as a child's complaint.

The prediction that *choose, clean, listen, read, think* and *wipe* exhibit the nominal function only in complex predicates would be too strong, given the acceptability of the sentences in (42);

(42)   a. The room needs a good *clean* now.
        b. [...] an even more spiky, arcane and uncompromising album —

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one that takes at least half a dozen *listens* before you can even work out what is going on. (*The Spectator*, Feb. 18, 1989, p. 40)

c. I retired to my study for a quiet *read*.
d. If you think I'm going to lend you a pound you've got another *think* coming.
e. Even after a good *wipe* and a scrub the floor was still sticky.

Bare nominalisations which form complex predicates of the type *give something a N* regularly occur in the object position following the verb *need*, e.g. *The car needs an overhaul — Give the car an overhaul*. The position of the prepositional complement is frequently filled by bare nominalisations, in particular in prepositional phrases expressing temporal relations (as in (42e)) and in phrases of purpose (as in (42c)). C a t t e l l (1984: 3) regards as acceptable the sentences *I went for a ski* and *I went for a skate*, in which the bare nominalisations *a ski* and *a skate* — derived from the denominal verbs *ski* and *skate* — occur in phrases of purpose, but rejects the complex predicates *have a ski* and *have a skate*. Consequently, the syntactic frame *go for a N* seems to be fairly 'open' to novel nominalisations.

Both novel and established bare nominalisations often occur in newspaper headlines (e.g. *A think about the future?*, *A bathe in the Baltic sea*) and in elliptic lauses containing the numeral *one* (e.g. *One good pull and you'll take the cork out*). The strength of the latter pattern accounts for the higher acceptability of the sentences in (43ab) and the marginal acceptability of (43c).

(43)   a. One *listen* to his new record and you'll feel like vomiting!
        b. ?One *listen* to his new record convinced me that it was not worth buying.
        c. *A *listen* to his new record convinced me that it was not worth buying.

The data presented in (41) — (43) imply the existence of two conditions on the use of novel bare nominalisations. These conditions are tentatively formulated in (44).

(44)   *Principle A*: The syntactic context should clearly indicate the category of a novel zero-derivative.
        Principle B: The context should bring out the intended meaning of a novel zero-derivative.

The principles given in (44) are of a pragmatic nature and they follow from the Cooperative Principle put forward in G r i c e (1975).[17] They predict that a speaker who decides to use a novel bare nominalisation in an utterance will facilitate the processing of the utterance by providing the listener with clues

concerning the syntactic category and the semantic interpretation of the nonce-
-formation. Otherwise the listener will reject the utterance as violating the
rules of syntax (if he does not recognize the novel syntactic category of the
zero-derivative) or he will stumble, unable to establish the meaning of the
zero-derivative.

Both conditions stated in (44) are satisfied by bare nominalisations
occurring in complex predicates, temporal prepositional phrases, prepositional
phrases of purpose, elliptic clauses (*one pull and the door will open*) and even the
semi-idiomatic expression *on the N* mentioned on page 57. The presence of
a determiner, e.g. *a, the, one*, signals the nominal status of bare nominalisations.
Familiarity with a given frame (e.g. *have a N, It needs a N, on the N*) allows
both the speaker and the listener to assign an appropriate interpretation to the
expressions underlined in (45):

(45)   a. You mean you *had a good munch munch*. (OPl, p. 67)
        b. Those plates *need a dry*.
        c. Nobody in Japan doubts that the politicians are corrupt, but the
            context of your article suggests that civil servants are *on the stake*
            too. (*The Economist*, Dec. 17, 1988, p. 6)
        d. They were *on the scrounge*.
        e. Are you two off again *for a smooch* in the back row of the
            cinema?

The reading 'an act, episode or occasion of V-ing', exhibited by bare
nominalisations in (45), is one of the meanings occurring with zero-derived
nouns. The noun *polish*, for instance, is well-established in the common usage
in the sense 'a liquid or paste used in polishing a surface' and occurs less
frequently in the sense 'an act of polishing'. The phrase *to give the shoes a polish*
is semantically transparent (due to the existence of semantic interpretation
rules for complex predicates discussed in Section 2.1.3.) whereas the sentence
The polish you gave to my shoes was a good one is ambiguous. Some listeners
construe it as *The polishing paste you put on my shoes was of high quality* and
others understand it as *You polished my shoes well: you did a good job*. The
nouns *air, brush, shampoo* and *smoke* are similarly ambiguous between actional
and non-actional readings, e.g. *brush* denotes an implement for cleaning or
smoothing as well as denoting a single act of brushing. Since the concrete
reading is well-established and more central than the actional one, a listener
may have difficulties in interpreting the sentence *A brush will take only a few
minutes*. Some degree of oddness provoked by that sentence is the result of
activating a less central sense of the word *brush*.[18] The presence of adjectives of
manner (e.g. *quick, good*) will reduce the oddness of the sentence in question by
pointing to the actional reading of *brush* (as in the case of the sentence *A quick
brush of your coat will take just a minute*).

The pragmatic principles formulated in (44) need not be fulfilled in the case of established bare nominalisations — or, to be more precise, in the case of established senses of nouns. The nominalisation *drag* will be interpreted as 'something dull and uninteresting' in minimal and neutral contexts, e.g. *What a drag*!

Speakers vary considerably in their assessments of the acceptability of sentences containing bare nominalisations. The sentence *It was a very careless wipe of the table*, given in (41f) and marked as deviant by the majority of my informants, was actually considered acceptable by a, male speaker of American English. Another speaker of American English, a female, was more critical in her judgments. She regarded the complex predicates *have a bathe, have a listen, give something a wipe* and *have a think* as awkward and was quick to point out that *bathe, listen, wipe* and *think* should not be used as nouns.

The acceptability judgments elicited from the speakers of English whom I have consulted indicated a correlation between the level of formality of an utterance and the occurrence of non-established bare nominalisations. The sentences *I haven't got an invite* and *They received a quiet assist from South Africa* were regarded as possible in colloquial speech and unacceptable in more formal registers.

2.3. The internal structure of noun phrases headed by bare nominalisations

2.3.0. Introductory

It has been observed in numerous studies on English grammar that the structure of a noun phrase headed by a deverbal noun resembles the structure of a verb phrase or a sentence. Quirk et al. (1985: 1232) compare the complementation of verbs and their nominalisations. Correspondence between patterns of complementation for verbs and nominalisations is shown in (46):

(46)   a. He examined the room. → his examination of the room
         b. They rely on her. → their reliance on her
         c. I predict that it'll rain. → my prediction that it will rain.
         d. She refused to answer. → her refusal to answer
         e. They elected Joe (as) leader. → their election of Joe as leader
         f. They chose Jim to be boss. → their choice of Jim to be boss

In early works couched within the framework of the transformational generative grammar (e.g. in Lees (1960) and Lakoff (1970)) the existence of striking analogies between the internal structure of noun phrases headed by nominalisations and the structure of sentences is regarded as an argument in favour of transformational derivation of such noun phrases. The phrase *the ruler of the people of Vietnam* is derived from the sentence *Someone rules the people of Vietnam* while the phrase *the imprisonment of the murderer* is traced back to its sentential source *Someone imprisoned the murderer*. Whenever a noun phrase is ambiguous, e.g. *the shooting of the hunters*, it can be derived from two underlying sentences, namely *The hunters shot someone or something* and *Someone shot the hunters*.

There exist, however, discrepancies between complementation of verbs and their nominalisations:

(47)   a. John amused the children with his stories. → *John's amusement of the children with his stories.

          b. We got her elected. → .*our getting of her elected

          c. John requested something of the authorities. → *John's request of the authorities

          d. *Nancy approached to the bank. → Nancy's approach to the bank

The internal structure of noun phrases headed by deverbal nouns in English (i.e. derived nominals) differs in other respects from the internal structure of gerundive nominals and sentences. Derived nominals may be modified by adjectives and may contain plural froms (e.g. *John's unmotivated criticism of the book, John's three proofs of the theorem*) whereas gerundive nominals may be modified by adverbs and do not pluralize (e.g. *John's sarcastically criticizing the book, * John's three provings of the theorem*). Derived nominals cannot contain aspect and may not undergo transformations (e.g. * *John's having criticism of the book* and * *his looking of the information up*). The meanings exhibited by derived nominals are often idiosyncratic with respect to corresponding verbs, e.g. *revolve – revolution* and *act — activities*, whereas the meaning of gerundive nominals is predictable from the meaning of their bases. These observations have prompted Chomsky to propose a "lexical" treatment of derived nominals and assume that they are created by lexical rules in the base component. The adoption of the lexicalist hypothesis in Chomsky (1970) creates a need for another (i.e. non-transformational) mechanism capable of accounting for similarities between selectional restrictions and subcategorization properties of verbs

and action nouns. Chomsky (1970: 190) puts forward the supposition that verbs and derived nominals should have common entries in the lexicon with fixed selectional and strict subcategorization features but with a choice as to the syntactic categories [+noun] and [+verb]. Morphological rules determine the phonological form of the lexical items *destroy, prove* and *refuse* when they appear in the noun position. They surface as *destruction, proof* and *refusal*. If there are differences between complements associated with a particular lexical item as a verb and a noun — such as those indicated in (47) — they must be explicitly mentioned in the lexicon as a complication of the verb-noun pairing.

The lexicalist hypoth sis is further developed in Jackendoff (1977). Within the framework of the theory of $\bar{X}$ syntax, rules rewriting the four major categories of Noun, Verb, Adjective and Preposition conform to the structural schema presented in (48). Spec$_X$ stands for 'the specifier od X' and Comp$_X$ is an abbreviation of 'complement'.

(48)
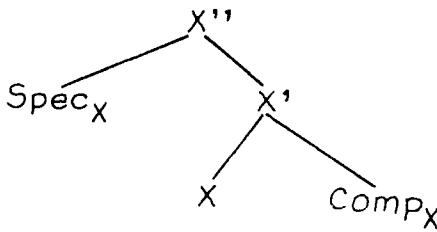
(Jackendoff (1977: 17))

Consequently, the range of complements occurring with nonderived or derived nouns is as great as the range of verb complements. The rules expanding N' symbol allow for the presence of prepositional phrases, infinitival clauses and noun phrases which follow the head noun as in (49a-c). The preposition *of* in the genitive phrase in (49b) is inserted transformationally.

(49)

c.

```
                    N'''
              ___/      \___
          Art'''          N''
           |          __/  \__
          the       A'''  N      S'
           |         |     |     /\
        general    scurry  V    /  \
                           |   to leave the building
                        (V)
```

A''' N   S'
general V
scurry
to leave the building
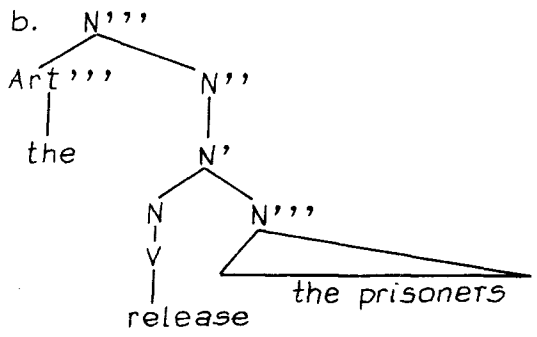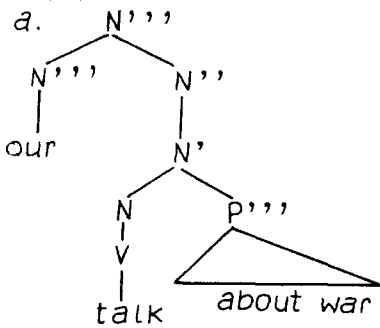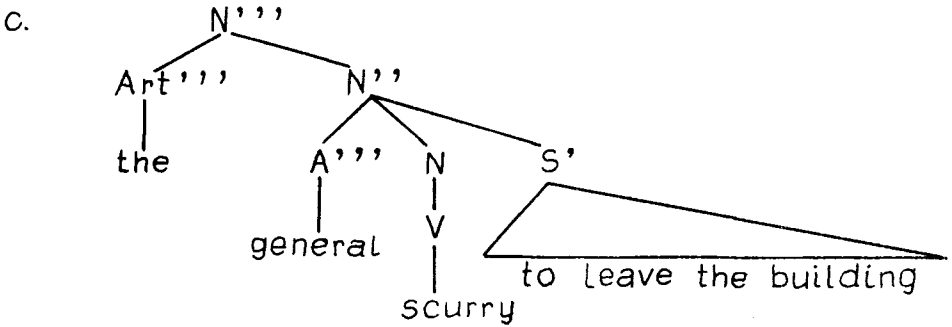
Chomsky's (1970) treatment of deverbal nouns is also adopted in Cattell (1984). Cattell (1984: 49 ff.) postulates single lexical entries for pairs of formally identical or formally related verbs and nouns. *Offer*$_V$ and *offer*$_N$ as well as *consign*$_V$ and *consignment*$_N$ are regarded as categorially-oriented reflexes of the lexical items OFFER and CONSIGN(MENT). Lexical entries are associated with arrays of semantic functions (i.e. thematic roles). Certain semantic functions can be assigned only within the verb phrase (or within the noun phrase), which accounts for the discrepancy between the complementation of *shout*$_V$ and *shout*$_N$:

(50)   a. Bob shouted to Lenny.
       b. Bob shouted something to Lenny.
       c. Bob's shout to Lenny
       d. *Bob's shout of something (to Lenny)

The procedure of treating verbs and derived nouns as categorially-oriented reflexes of single lexical items has some disadvantages, though. Firstly, it does not explain how vocabulary expands, and what subcategorization properties of novel bare nominalisations will be. As far as the established vocabulary items are concerned, no mechanism is offered in Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1977) or Cattell (1984) which would allow marking one member of the noun-verb pair as basic (in the cases in which the primacy of a particular categorially-oriented reflex of a lexical entry is evident). It is difficult to foresee a single semantic formula subsuming various meanings exhibited by the nominal and the verbal variant of the lexical entry RECOD, RUN and CATCH(MENT) since each categorially-oriented reflex of such lexical items is associated with distinct readings. Finally, it is often impossible to predict by means of morphological rules the exact phonological shape of the nominal variant of a given lexical entry — the verb *avow* is paired with the noun *avowal*, *flow*$_V$ with *flow*$_N$ and *grow*$_V$ with *growth*$_N$

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The mechanism which can be employed in order to predict the semantico-syntactic properties of novel nominalisations is the inheritance of thematic grids by a derivative from its base. This mechanism can have the power of redundancy statements in the case of established nominalisations. If one assumes that established derivatives are entered in the lexicon with their selectional restrictions and subcategorization properties fully specified, the cost of repeating some information in the lexical entry of a base and in the lexical entry of its derivative will be reduced by the inheritance principle (which predicts similarities between properties of bases and derivatives).

The inheritance hypothesis, which was outlined in R a n d a l l (1984ab), R o e p e r (1987) and W i l l i a m s (1981), will be considered in detail in the following sections of Chapter II. The terms "complements", "arguments", "thematic relations", "lexical-conceptual structure" and "predicate-argument structure" will be explained in Section 2.3.1. The essence of the inheritance hypothesis will be presented in Section 2.3.2. Evidence supporting the assumption that bare nominalisations inherit predicate-argument structures of their bases will be collected in Section 2.3.3. Optionality of inherited arguments will be discussed in Section 2.3.4. The data indicating that bare nominalisations may inherit lexical-conceptual structures but not predicate-argument structures of their bases will be presented in Section 2.3.5. The inheritance mechanism for bare nominalisations in non-actional readings will be examined in Section 2.3.6. Concluding remarks will be offered in Section 2.4.7.

2.3.1. Basic concepts

Before embarking upon the discussion of the inheritance hypothesis, I shall offer a few comments on the concepts of "complement", "argument" and "thematic role". These terms have been widely used in linguistics and related disciplines (e.g. in logic) but there seems to be no uniformity in their usage. I shall not attempt here to give an exhaustive review of various interpretations which have been attributed to the above-mentioned concepts. I shall mainly limit myself to clarifying the meaning in which the terms "complement", "argument" and "thematic role" will appear in the present study.

The distinction between complements and non-complements is usually postulated on the syntatic plane whereas the distinction between arguments and non-arguments, which corresponds very roughly to the former division, tends to be drawn on the level of semantic description of a potential expression (as is shown in H e r b s t (1988: 299)).

Complements exhibit a high degree of binding to their heads. A complement is subject to co-occurrence restrictions, which means that certain heads may not occur with complements of a particular type. The governing element

characteristically determines the form of its complement. The verb *object*, for instance, requires the prepositional object *to something* as its complement while the verb *argue* takes the *against-* or *for-* object, e.g. *I objected to his proposal* and *I argued against/for his plan*. Non-complements (often referred to as peripheral elements or adjuncts) can freely modify various types of heads as long as the resulting sequences make sense. The peripheral elements *in Helsinki* can accompany the stative verb *rest* as well as the dynamic conclusive verb *murder*, as is shown by the acceptability of the sentences *I'll rest in Helsinki* and *I murdered her in Helsinki*. The form of a peripheral element is independent of its head. Several diagnostic tests for distinguishing between complements and peripheral elements have been proposed in Matthews (1981: 127 ff.) and Herbst (1988: 269 ff.). In contrast to peripheral elements, complements cannot be freely inserted into a sentence, replaced by one-word adverbs or separated from their heads in pseudo-cleft constructions. Question forms with *who* or *what* are possible for complements but not for peripheral elements. Peripheral elements accompanying nouns can occur in postmodifying relative clauses and they are more likely than complements to accompany the pronouns *something* and *someone*. Herbst (1988: 292) allows for the existence of a cline between complements and peripheral elements. Expressions of purpose, instrument, manner, means and beneficiary may behave like complements in some diagnostic frames and be peripheral by virtue of other criteria mentioned above.[19]

A distinction may be drawn between obligatory complements and optional complements,[20] as is assumed in, among others, Herbst (1988: 284) and Topolińska (ed.) (1984: 111 ff.). The omission of an obligatory complement of a verb or an adjective makes the whole sentence ungrammatical, e.g. *I rely, * She is fond, * We discussed*. In the case of optional complements, contextual or indefinite deletion is possible, e.g. *She was writing (something)*.

The term "argument" employed in the propositional calculus denotes an element in a logical function, i.e. x in $f(x)$. Leech (1974: 128) regards arguments as logical participant in an event which are linked by a predicate. The predicate and its arguments form a unit called "predication" to which questions concerning truth and falsehood relate. Semantic analysis of predications involves breaking them down into constitutive parts. Procedures for establishing the number of argument positions opened by a predicate (i.e. the number of arguments associated with the predicate) are discussed in Topolińska (ed.) (1984: 54 ff.). Complements are surface correlates of arguments. However, the match between the number of arguments of a predicate and the number of complements governed by the element which is the syntactic realization of the predicate is not exact. The sentence *John buttered his toast* expresses a three--argument predication, similarly to the sentence *John smeared butter on the bottom of the dish*. One of the arguments of the predicate expressed by the verb

butter is not grammatically interpretable, hence *to butter* is monotransitive whereas *to smear* is ditransitive.[21] A predication may contain elements which are omissible and may be construed as representing a separate predication which has been downgraded. Such elements are usally referred to as "modifiers", for instance *in spite of the rain* in *We went for a walk in spite of the rain* and *loudly* in *They spoke loudly*. Instrumental phrases (e.g. *with a knife* in *John sliced the cake with a knife*) may be regarded either as syntactic realizations of downgraded predications (as is assumed in Leech (1974: 153)) or as realizations of optional arguments (this solution is adopted in Bogusławski (1974: 52) and Topolińska (ed.) (1984: 112)).

Within a relatively recent framework of generative grammar presented in Chomsky (1981: 35) the status of arguments is assigned to all nominal expressions which have some sort of referential function. An argument position, in contrast, is a base-generated noun phrase position in which a grammatical function (such as "subject-of" or "object-of") can be assigned. Consequently, the expression *the bat* is an argument involved in the event denoted by the sentence *John hit the ball with the bat*, although it does not occupy an argument position.

Chomsky (1981: 36) postulates that each argument bears one thematic role. Thematic roles (abbreviated as "theta-roles" or "θ-roles") are analogous to case relations proposed in Fillmore (1968) or to thematic relations of Gruber (1965). The exact number of theta-roles which need to be posited remains a disputable issue. As Marantz (1984: 31 ff.) points out, it is in principle possible to argue that predicates assign their own unique semantic roles. The role of "throwee" would thus be treated as distinct from the roles of "kickee" and "pushee". The alternative position is to maximally reduce the set of semantic roles and to equate the grammatical functions "object" or "subject" with theta-roles. The argument *the boy* would then bear the same theta-role in *John saw the boy* and *John kicked the boy*. The difference between the interpretation of *the boy* as an unaffected entity in the first event and as an affected entity in the second event would be attributed to the distinction between the semantics of the role assigning verbs *see* and *kick*.

In spite of the controversy concerning the precise formulation of semantic functions, certain theta-roles are commonly assumed. The role of Agent is assigned to a personal, volitional and causative participant. He may be either affected by the situation he is involved in (e.g. *John* in *John jumped into the water*) or he may remain unaffected (e.g. *John* in *John threw the ball to me*). Another term which is widely used in generative studies of semantic roles is Theme. Gruber regards Theme as a role of entities which undergo a change of state or location and entities the location of which is being ascertained. *The book* is a Theme in *The book fell off the table* and in *The book is on the table*.

If, contrary to Chomsky (1981), a single argument is allowed to bear more that one semantic role, *John* in *John jumped into the water* will be assigned two semantic functions: Agent and Theme. This is the position taken in, for instance, Marantz (1984: 31), Andrews (1985: 70) and Jackendoff (1987: 395).

Entities which bear the brunt of actions instigated by Agents have been traditionally referred to as Patients, e.g. *Fred* in *John killed Fred.* According to Jackendoff (1987: 395), *the stone* in *Pete threw the stone* is both a Theme and a Patient. I suggest assigning the role of Result to entities which come into being as a result of agentive states of affairs (e.g. *a house* in *They built a house*). The role of Instrument is attributed to nonvolitional entities which are employed by Agents to produce some effect on Patients or to create Results. *A red pencil* in *He wrote a letter with a red pencil* is an Instrument.

Source, Goal and "Inner" Locative are semantic functions assigned by verbs of motion and location, e.g *live* assigns the role of Inner Locative to *Australia* in *They live in Australia.* If the end-point of movement is a human participant, e.g. *George* in *I gave George the key to the auditorium*, it will bear the role of Recipient. Conscious affected participants in cognitive or emotive states are often referred to as Experiencers, for instance *Fred* in *The noise irritated Fred. The noise* can, in turn, be assigned the role of Experienced. The Experienced may, however, be viewed as a subtype of the role of Causer, i.e. a participant which causes something but does not act intentionally. *The earth* is a Causer in the event described by the sentence *The earth attracts the moon.*

The semantic functions which have been mentioned above are labelled "Participatory roles" in Andrews (1985: 69) since they are borne by entities crucially involved in particular states of affairs. Entities which are not seen as participants in an event but form part of its setting take on Circumstantial semantic functions, e.g. Benefactive (an entity benefiting from an event), "Outer" Locative (the place where something is done), Reason and Temporal.

Chomsky (1981), Roeper (1987) and Randall (1984) argue that each verb should be assigned its thematic grid which indicates the number of argument positions associated with the verb and specifies semantic roles borne by elements occupying the argument positions. The verb PUT, for instance, carries the thematic grid [Agent, Theme, Location]. Williams (1981) refers to such grids as "argument structures" and assumes a distinction between internal and external arguments. The external argument of a predicate is typically realized by a noun phrase occupying the subject position in active sentences. The external argument of SURPRISE is an Experienced whereas the external argument of LOVE is an Experiencer, hence the contrast between the thematic grids SURPRISE [Experiencer, Experienced] and LOVE [Experiencer, Experienced].

Rappaport and Levin (1988: 9) observe that a thematic grid is a reflection of two distinct lexical representations: a predicate-argument

structure (abbreviated as PAS) and a lexical-conceptual structure (LCS). The PAS of a particular verb contains syntactically relevant information. The PAS of the verb *put* is formulated in R a p p a p o r t and L e v i n (1988: 15) as PUT $x < y, P_{loc}z >$, where x represents an external argument, y is a direct argument (an internal NP argument assigned its theta-role directly by the verb) and z is an indirect argument (i.e. it is assigned its theta-role by a preposition). The verb *load* has two PASs. The first PAS, namely LOAD $x < y, P_{Loc}z >$, predicts the occurrence of the verb *load* in sentences such as *Bill loaded cartons onto the truck*. The second PAS, namely LOAD $x < y, P_{with}z >$, mentions explicitly the preposition which assigns the theta-role to the indirect argument of *load* and it accounts for the grammaticality of the sentence *Bill loaded the truck with cartons*. A lexical-conceptual structure (LCS) associated with a particular verb serves as a representation of the verb's meaning since it specifies semantic relations obtaining between the verb and its arguments. LCSs presented in R a p p a p o r t and L e v i n (1988) take the form of a predicate decomposition, e.g. PUT: [x cause [y come to be at z]].

2.3.2. The inheritance hypothesis

Morphological operations either preserve or change thematic grids carried by derivational (or inflectional) bases. Depending on the type of the affix involved in a given morphological operation, a deverbal derivative inherits the thematic grid of its parent verb (i.e. its verbal base) without any modification or it inherits some (but not all) arguments associated with the parent verb.

R o e p e r (1987: 271 ff.) distinguishes three types of affixes which differ in the way they influence the inheritance of thematic grids by derivatives. Affixes of the first class — those that carry empty grids of their own — allow the derivative to inherit all thematic roles listed in the grid carried by the derivational base. The nominalising suffix *-ing* and the inflectional suffix *-ed* can be regarded as representative of this category of affixes.

Affixes of the second class, e.g. *re-*, *-able*, *-ation* and *-ment*, are assumed to carry nonempty grids. Consequently, they can attach only to those verbal bases the thematic grids of which match the thematic grids of the affixes. The suffix *-able* carrying the grid [Agent, Theme] cannot be tacked on to the verb *come* whose grid is [Agent]. R o e p e r (1987: 273) claims that arguments inherited by derivatives formed by means of first class and second class affixes do not have to be expressed syntactically. They may remain implicit. The implicit Agent inherited by the nominalisation *putting* controls a rationale clause in the noun phrase *the putting of men in jail to protect them from the angry villagers*.

Affixes of the third class, referred to as nonthematic affixes, carry no thematic grids of their own and block the inheritance of any roles included in the

thematic grids of verbs to which they attach. The inheritance of theta-roles is blocked even if a nonthematic affix — for instance, the suffix *-ist, -ian* or the plural marker *-s* — follows a thematic one.[22] Prepositional phrases which modify derivatives terminating in nonthematic affixes are not regarded as syntactic realizations of arguments associated with verbal bases of those derivatives. The semantic relationship between the head *cuttings* and its modifier *of the lawn* in the noun phrase *the cuttings of the lawn* is arrived at by inference on the overall meaning of the lexemes *cutting* and *lawn*. The prepositional phrase *of the lawn* is regarded in this case as a nonthematic phrase.

Roeper puts forward a suggestion the appropriateness of which will be investigated in the following sections of Chapter II. He claims that formations derived by means of phonologically null affixes inherit no thematic relations from their derivational bases. He observes that "(i)f there is no affix, then there is no means whereby the thematic grid can be carried to a higher node" (R o e p e r (1987: 273)). He is forced to admit, however, that the behaviour of bare nominalisations is erratic. When they occur in legal language, they are allowed to inherit the grids of their verbal bases — as is shown by the acceptability of the noun phrase *the use of drugs by teenagers*. This sub-regularity is accounted for in R o e p e r (1987) by an ad-hoc "bracket-erasure" convention. Another set of systematic exceptions to the hypothesis that zero-affixes are nonthematic includes ergative bare nominalisations, e.g. *the start of the game* and *the slam of the door*. These nouns require ergative readings since they denote states of affairs which involve no external agents. When the nominalisations *start* and *slam* denote agentive situations, they cannot occur with thematic (i.e. inherited) prepositional phrases, hence the unacceptability of ** the start of the game by John* and ** the slam of the door by Henry.*

Contrary to R o e p e r (1987), R a n d a l l (1984ab, 1988) does not treat phonologically null affixes as those which block the assignment of thematic grids to derivatives. She points out a difference between the inheritance potential of action nouns terminating in the suffix *-ing* and other action nouns (i.e. those derived by means of zero-derivation or terminating in the nominalising suffixes *-ment, -ation* and *-y*). The nominalising suffix *-ing* allows the inheritance of an unlimited number of arguments, including the so-called "optional arguments". Optional arguments are not listed in thematic grids carried by lexemes and they are realized syntactically by prepositional phrases the status of which is intermediate between complements proper and peripheral elements. Prepositional phrases of manner and instrumental phrases represent optional arguments which can be inherited from the verbs *collect* and *discover* by the nominalisations *collecting* and *discovering*. Nominalisations other than *-ing* nouns cannot inherit optional arguments, hence the contrast between the acceptability of the phrases *the collecting of garbage in a hurry* and *the discovering of new stars with computer technology* and the unaccep-

tability of the phrases *the collection of garbage* (*in a hurry*) and *the discovery of new stars* (*with computer technology*). There is only one argument which nominalisations other than *-ing* nouns can inherit. It is the internal direct argument of the corresponding verb.

Randall (1988: 137) employs the term "Theme" in a broad sense and assumes that every internal direct argument bears the semantic role of Theme. She claims that there exists a straightforward correlation between the semantic interpretation of nominalisations and the occurrence of thematic (i.e. inherited) prepositional phrases representing Themes of parent verbs. If a deverbal noun derived from an obligatorily transitive verb (e.g. *construct, find*) occurs without an accompanying thematic prepositional phrase, it must be interpreted as exhibiting a non-actional reading (typically a resultative sense 'something V-ed'). The nouns *construction* and *finding* occurring in the sentences *The construction was painted blue* and *The finding is published in the journal* should be regarded as result nominalisations whereas the same lexemes occurring in the phrases *the construction of the bridge* and *the finding of fossils* require actional interpretation. Randall's proposal can be contested in view of the occurrence of process nominalisations, such as *hit, climb, move* and *sweep*, not followed by thematic prepositional phrases, e.g. *That was a good hit, The climb took twenty minutes.* Randall (1984b: 322) argues that the nominalisations in question are derived from intransitive verbs (or from transitive verbs used intransitively), therefore they cannot occur with Themes.

The plausibility of Randall's hypothesis concerning the inheritance potential of nominalisations in non-actional senses will be assessed in Section 2.3.6.

2.3.3. Inheritance of predicate-argument structures

It was shown in Section 2.3.1. that thematic grids employed by Chomsky (1981), Roeper (1987) and Randall (1984ab, 1988) reflect simultaneously two distinct representations: a predicate-argument structure (PAS) and a lexical--conceptual structure (LCS). Consequently, the question whether bare nominalisations inherit thematic grids of parent verbs can be rephrased as two more specific questions:

a) Do these nouns inherit LCSs of their verbal bases?

b) Do bare nominalisations inherit PASs of their bases?

The inheritance of LCSs results in the identity of selectional restrictions exhibited by a verb and its bare nominalisation. Given the unacceptability of the sentence * *The idea kissed me*, one can predict the unacceptability of the phrase * *the kiss of the idea*. The full (i.e. unmodified) inheritance of PASs implies the identity (or near identity) of subcategorization frames of bare nominalisations and verbal bases.

It needs to be borne in mind that PASs postulated in Rappaport and Levin (1988) contain more detailed subcategorization information than thematic grids employed in Williams (1981), Roeper (1987) or Randall (1984ab, 1988). The choice of a preposition used to introduce a PP complement is often specified in the PAS of a relevant lexical entry, e.g. *rely (on), object (to)*. Williams (1981: 88) and Chomsky (1986: 86) assume the subcategorization information is predictable from thematic grids. Williams envisages the existence of realization rules the determine the syntactic expression of particular types of arguments. An argument which is assigned the role of Goal can be either realized as the first NP in a V-NP-NP structure or as an NP immediately dominated by the preposition *to*. A Source argument is usually syntactically realized as an NP in a PP headed by *from*. An Instrument argument will be an NP in a PP headed by *with*.

It seems, however, that the link between thematic grids and subcategorization frames cannot be regarded as direct unless one is prepared to perceive fine-grained differences between semantic functions and postulate a host of theta-roles. Verbs denoting visual perception, e.g. *gaze, look, stare*, subcategorize prepositional objects introduced by the preposition *at*. The verb *listen*, in contrast, takes a prepositional complement headed by *to*. The verbs *smell, taste* and *feel*, which denote the remaining types of sensory perception, take direct objects. Verbs of speaking occur with prepositional objects denoting the subject matter introduced either by the preposition *on* or *about*. The preposition *on* is appropriate for verbs denoting deliberate and formal discourse, e.g. *lecture on Polish history*. The preposition *about* introduces the topic of discourse which exhibits no formal structure, e.g. *gossip about her love affairs*.

With a number of verbs the choice of a particular preposition is idiosyncratic. The verbs *follow, obey* and *observe* require direct objects whereas the semantically close verb *abide* takes a prepositional object headed by the preposition *by*: compare, *obey the rules* and *abide by the rules*. Few verbs of speaking, including *inform, speak* and *talk*, can be followed by prepositional phrases introduced by *of*, e.g. *nothing to speak of*.

The occurrence of the same partly or totally idiosyncratic prepositions with a verb and its bare nominalisation testifies to the inheritance of subcategorization frames (i.e. PASs) of verbal bases by bare nominalisations in actional readings:

(51)   a. There is talk in Congress *of* retaliatory action against Toshiba. (*Time*, June 22, 1987, p. 30) ↔ to talk *of* something

        b. His despair *of* becoming a great artist made him stop painting. ↔ to despair *of* something

        c. A fresh look is needed *at* the story. (LC, August 1988, p. 19) ↔ to look *at* something

d. Let's have a listen *to* his new LP. ↔ to listen *to* something
e. She took delight *in* tormenting her admirers. ↔ to delight *in* something
f. With his $ 3 billion gamble *on* TV Guide the media tycoon astounds admirers. (*Newswek*, August 22, 1988, p. 38) ↔ to gamble *on* something
g. I had a good browse *through* your book. ↔ to browse *through* something

In accordance with Roeper's (1987) observations, bare nominalisations followed by thematic prepositional phrases often require ergative interpretation, for instance the nouns underlined in (52):

(52) a. Waldheim benefited from a ground *swell* of popular support. (*Time*, May 11, 1988, p. 6)
b. The enormous *spread* of crack coupled with disastrous availability of semiautomatic weapons in this country is creating a spiral of violence. (*Newsweek*, March 14, 1988, p. 14)
c. [...] the computer adjusts two electrical motors that control the hot- and cold-water valves, keeping the flow and the *mix* of hot and cold water constant. (*Newsweek*, Feb. 1, 1988, p. 4)
d. The *move* of the department of Horticulture to Whiteknights has been authorised. (UR Bulletin, p. 19)

As a matter of fact, the situations denoted by the nominalisations *mix* and *move* in (52cd) allow both ergative and agentive analyses. The staff of the department of Horticulture may be regarded as changing the location of their institution on their own accord. Alternatively, it may be assumed that some external agent, e.g. the authorities at the faculty, is responsible for the change. Ambiguity of this sort does not impede the listener's understanding of (52d) and the department is correctly recognized as the entity undergoing motion, i.e. Theme.

Contrary to Roeper's claim, bare nominalisations which do not denote ergative states of affairs abound in the corpus of sentences taken from novels and journals, some of which are given in (53) below. It is not true that bare nominalisations followed by inherited prepositional phrases occur only in legal language. They seem to be typical of formal language in general, particularly of informative prose.

(53) a. The bits of paper must be slightly stuck on to the hair and jacket for the play's *need* of them is not finished. (Tr, p. 56)
b. Since 1678 Lady Godiva's legendary *ride* naked through the streets of Coventry, England, has been reenacted every seven or eight years. (Prof. p. 113)

c. An important activity in the first year or so after moving was the *display* of the new house to admiring relatives and friends, a ritual performed on Sunday afternoons. (Prof., p. 117)

d. the *purchase* by India of howitzers from the Swedish firm of Bofors (*The Economist,* August 6, 1988, p. 45)

e. We annonced in Bulletin 199 the *award* to Professor B. J. Hoskins (Meteorology) of the Charles Medal and Prize. (UR Bulletin, p. 7)

Heavy noun phrases, such as those headed by bare nominalisations in (53), are favoured in the language of newspapers since they help to achieve a substantial economy of expression. The samples in my corpus taken from *ACE* and Harold Pinter's plays, which are representative of colloquial speech, contain very few examples of heavily modified bare nominalisations.

The data given in (53) confute Randall's (1984ab, 1988) claim that process-type nominalisations, with the exception of *-ing* nouns, inherit only one argument, namely Theme. The external argument bearing the role of Agent can also be inherited (e.g. *by India* in (53d)) as well as the indirect argument having the role of Recipient (*to Professor B. J. Hoskins* in (53e)) or Source (*from the Swedish firm of Bofors* in (53d)).

The prepositional phrases underlined in (54) realize syntactically arguments which bear various circumstantial semantic functions, e.g. Temporal in (54a), Purpose in (54b), Instrument in (54c) and Manner in (54d).

(54) a. arrangements for the use of French ports and airfields by NATO forces *in the event of a European war.* (*Newsweek,* Feb. 1, 1988, p. 16)

b. There was a general scuttle *for shelter* when the rain began to fall heavily.

c. Your trousers need a press *with a hot iron.*

d. Thanks for a long chat *over the phone.*

The elements bearing those circumstantial roles have no slots in the PASs of the verbs *use, scuttle, press* and *chat* so they cannot be inherited. The selection of postmodifiers of this sort by the corresponding bare nominalisations is determined on a purely semantic basis. However, due to the occurrence of such prepositional phrases, noun phrases headed by bare nominalisations seem to be reduced versions of sentences containing finite forms of related verbs.

2.3.4. Optionality of inherited complements

Arguments inherited from verbal bases do not need any overt syntactic realizations by modifiers of deverbal nouns within the framework of R o e p e r (1987). Roeper remarks that "(a)ffixes that carry a thematic grid do not a s s i g n all thematic roles to syntactic positions, but l i c e n c e syntactic positions for all thematic roles" (R o e p e r (1987: 273)). Consequently, although the verbs *chase*, *hit* and *kill* are obligatorily transitive, their nominalisations may occur without thematic prepositional phrases, as in (55) below:

(55)   a. French officials insist that they plan no air *chases* through the
    .   night skies. (*Newsweek*, August 22, 1988, p. 3)
        b. The trailing MiG is hit. [...] "Good *hit*, good *hit* on one ...
           Roger, that good *kill*, good *kill* ... I've got the other one'.
           (*Newsweek*, Jan. 16, 1989, p. 13)

The data in (55) undermine R a n d a l l 's (1988) assumption that nominalisations of obligatorily transitive verbs require nonactional interpretation when occurring without thematic prepositional phrases.

A viable explanation for the optionality of complements inherited by nominalisations from their verbal bases is provided by H e r b s t (1988: 297). He notes that nominal phrases headed by deverbal nouns modified by a plethora of prepositional phrases and infinitival clauses are heavy and stylistically awkward, e.g. *her advice to them to take a train from Bridge of Orchy* and *their hire of a coach from the local bus company to take the handicapped children to Vienna.* Stylistically awkward and heavy phrases are avoided, especially in spoken language. They are replaced by their sentential analogues, such as *She advised them to take a train from Bridge of Orchy* and *They hired a coach from the local bus company to take the handicapped children to Vienna.* In written language the heaviness of noun phrases can be offset by the demand for economy of space and high information content.

It should be borne in mind, moreover, that deverbal nouns — similarly to nonderived nouns — can occur with premodifying denominal adjectives, as is shown in (56):

(56)   a. New issues like *parental* leave, flexible hours and part-time work.
        b. Plant operators can slow the *bacterial* spread. (*Newsweek*,
           August 22, 1988, p. 53)
        c. a *Papal* promise of the forgiveness of sins for those who reached
           Jerusalem. (LC, April 1988, p. 11)

Although the premodifying adjectives in (56) denote participants in the states of affairs denoted by the nominalisations *leave, spread* and *promise*, R o e p e r

(1987) does not regard such premodifiers as licensed by inherited thematic grids. He points out that a noun phrase containing two thematic agents would be ungrammatical, e.g. * *America's discovery of land by naval forces.* The phrase *the American discovery of land by naval forces* is, in contrast, acceptable. The *by*-phrase represents the thematic agent whereas the denominal adjective denotes a cognitive (i.e. non-inherited) agent. The interpretation of denominal adjectives is determined by inference: the phrase *a Canadian surprise* may denote someone unusual from Canada, someone or something that the Canadians are surprised by, etc.

Bare nominalisations in English frequently enter into noun-noun compounds the first element of which denotes a participant in the event denoted by the second constituent, e.g. *wage freeze, drug abuse, air chase, a Dukakis win.* Magazine and newspaper editors, in their efforts to save space in headlines and subtitles, often resort to coining nonce-word compounds, such as those in (57):

(57)   a. *Butto battle plan* swings into action (i.e. Miss Bhutto's plan for her political battle)
        b. pact snub for *Hungary retreat* (i.e. retreat of Soviet troops from Hungary)
        c. *Mandela appeal* (i.e. an appeal for the release of Nelson Mandela)
        d. *the Broederstorm arrest* (i.e. the arrest of four whites in Broederstorm)

The examples (57ab) have been taken from *The Observer*, July 17th, 1988 and the examples in (57cd) come from *Newsweek*, June 20th, 1988.

One of the reasons why a speaker decides to use a nominalisation instead of a finite verb may be the desire to leave unspecified certain characteristics of the state of affairs referred to. If the agentive or agent-like participant remains implicit, it receives indefinite interpretation. It is not essentential who performs the jump in (58a) or who takes a stroll in (58b). The stimulus invoking the emotional state in (58c) does not have to be determined, either.

(58)   a. A good *jump* was greeted with applause.
        b. A *stroll* in the Central Park after midnight could be rather dangerous.
        c. Her face showed her complete *surprise.*

Participants crucially involved in states of affairs denoted by bare nominalisations, namely Patients, Results, Experiencers and Themes, cannot be left unspecified. If they are not expressed by modifiers accompanying nominalisations, they have to be recoverable from the situational or linguistic context. For instance, when asking *Can I have a lick?*, the speaker may point to the object he

would like to taste. The bare nominalisations underlined in (59ab) are preceded by the definite article which refers to an earlier mention of the states of affairs denoted by those nouns. The Theme, Patient or Result argument inherited by a nominalisation can, alternatively, be realized syntactically as a complement of a verb which is superordinate to the nominalisation, as in (59c). (Cattell (1984) and Jayaseelan (1988) investigate in detail the promotion of arguments associated with nominalisations embedded in complex predicates to appropriate host verbs.) The entity which is being heaved in (59d) can, in turn, be identified as the entity denoted by the direct object of *move*.

(59)   a. The train arrived in Warsaw at 10 p.m. The *delay* was caused by heavy snowfall.
        b. The missing child has not been found yet. The *search* will continue.
        c. Give the table a good *wipe*.
        d. Let's have a good *heave* and move the wardrobe.

It is interesting to note that, although a premodifying genitive usually indicates the possessor or the agent (e.g. *John's passport, the party's control of the newspaper*), it normally denotes the affected entity when occurring as a single modifier of an action noun derived from a verb carrying the theta-grid [Agent, Patient], as in the case of the noun phrases *Funaro's overthrow, the general's recall, Palme's murder* and *Mandela's release*.

A similar generalization concerning the interpretation of genitive premodifiers accompanying nominalisations of verbs of emotion has been put forward in Rozwadowska (1988). If a nominalisation from a transitive verb of emotion takes a genitive premodifier and no genitive postmodifier, the premodifier will be assigned the role of Experiencer, no matter whether the argument bearing this role occupies the slot of the external or internal argument in the relevant PAS. Consequently, *John* is the Experiencer in *John's love, John's surprise* and *John's embarrassment* but he is the Agent in *John's embarrassment of Mary*. In the approach advocated in Rozwadowska (1988) theta-roles are decomposed into feature complexes. The feature (+change) implies the affected status of the entity which undergoes some change of state or location. The feature (+sentient) stands for conscious involvement of the entity in a state of affairs. The state of affairs can be either controlled or not controlled by this entity. The feature (+cause), in turn, signals causation directed toward itself or some other entity. Rozwadowska's constraint on the interpretation of genitive premodifiers is quoted in (60):

(60)   "N$^+$ RULE: A (-change, -sentient) argument cannot appear in specifier position of a nominal." (Rozwadowska (1988: 158))

Participants which exhibit the feature (+change), namely Experiencers, Patients, Results and Themes, are more salient than (−change) participants, such as Causers, Agents or Instruments. In Halliday (1985: 146) participants of the former type are assigned the ergative function Medium since they denote "the entity through the medium of which the process comes into existence". Therefore, it is more important for a listener to establish the identity of (+change) participants in a particular state of affairs than the identity of (−change) participants.

Strange as it may seem, the sentences *The love of money was the root of evil* and *A dislike of cats does not imply cruelty to animals* show that the Experienced (Causer) may be specific whereas the Experiencer remains undetermined. This does not hamper the listener's understanding since Experiencers share the feature (+sentient) with nonaffected and affected Agents. The listener will interpret the Experiencers in the two sentences quoted above as referring to indefinite human participants.

In conclusion, alhough arguments inherited by bare nominalisations do not have to be expressed syntactically by complements of those nouns, there exists a pragmatic constraint which requires the identity of (+change, −sentient) participants to be determined by the linguistic or situational context.

2.3.5. No inheritance of predicate-argument structures

It has been shown above (in Sections 2.3.3. and 2.3.4.) that subcategorization properties of a verb are commonly assumed to be fully predictable from its thematic grid or predicate-argument structure. Rules linking arguments to their syntactic realization in, for instance, Williams (1981) refer to thematic roles borne by arguments. It needs to be emphasized, though, that the majority of generative linguists adopting the framework of Government and Binding theory claim that rules mapping PASs onto syntax ignore thematic roles. The mapping is sensitive to the distinction between external, internal direct and internal indirect arguments (which was explained briefly at the end of Section 2.3.1.).

The internal direct argument is assigned its theta-role and governed directly by the verb. It is mapped onto the object position in the case of transitive verbs occurring in active sentences (e.g. *George* in *I hit George*) or onto the subject position in the case of unaccusative verbs (e.g. *Joan* in *Joan came early*). When the inheritance of PASs takes place, the direct argument of the verb becomes the direct argument of the corresponding action noun (i.e. the direct argument is realized syntactically as a genitive NP following the action noun and headed by the semantically empty preposition *of*). Under certain conditions it can be preposed to the determiner position of the head noun, i.e. the position of the genitive premodifier (see Zubizarreta

(1987: 8 ff, 43 ff) for details). Consequently, the sentence *The barbarians destroyed the city* corresponds to the noun phrases *the barbarians' destruction of the city* and *the city's destruction by the barbarians*.

The interitance of PASs seems, however, to be frequently distorted. The data in (61) show that participants represented by direct arguments in the PASs of particular verbs may be denoted by noun phrases dominated by semantically specialized prepositions, such as *on, to* indicating goal or location, *with* indicating accompaniment, *against* signalling opposition and *for* which signals purpose or destination.

(61)   a. A check *on* the quality of all goods leaving the factory will be indispensable. ↔ to check the quality
       b. [...] taekwondo, the popular martial art that employs kicks *to* the face. (*Newsweek*, Sept. 19, 1988, p. 62) ↔ to kick something
       c. my encounter *with* John ↔ to encounter someone
       d. There have been many attacks *against* farmers recently. ↔ to attack someone
       e. The workers' demand *for* higher wages seems reasonable. ↔ to demand something
       f. his dislike *for* trade unions ↔ to dislike something

The occurrence of such semantically specialized prepositions has sound reasons. It is justified by the demand for greater transparency of semantic relations between the head bare nominalisations in (61) and their post-modifiers. The noun phrase *the attack of Jihad*, for instance, is ambiguous since *Jihad* may be interpreted as the name of the attacker, the name of the person or place which is attacked or, by analogy to the phrase *the attack of 1st May*, the name of the period when the attack takes place. The ambiguity is resolved once the prepositions *on* and *against* are used and *Jihad* is identified as the name of the entity which is affected in *the attack on/against Jihad*.

External arguments inherited from verbal bases are regularly realized syntactically by noun phrases occurring as genitive premodifiers of nominalisations or dominated by the preposition *by*. In (62) these arguments are expressed by noun phrases headed by the prepositions *from, with* and *at*.

(62)   a. a rebuff *from* Thatcher ↔ Thatcher rebuffed someone
       b. the offer of Ł50,000 *from* a New-York based publisher ↔ a New-York based publisher offered Ł50,000
       c. his disgust *with* cats ↔ cats disgusted him
       d. Mary's disgust *at* his rude behaviour ↔ his rude behaviour disgusted Mary
       e. their surprise *at* the news ↔ the news surprised them

The data in (62ab) and (61ab) support the hypothesis of locative grounding of semantic roles such as Agent and Patient.[23] Patients have their parallels in spatial roles denoting the end-point of movement whereas Agents correspond to Sources.

Causers of emotions can be correlated with targets (i.e. intended end-points of movement). The choice of the prepositions *at* and *with* in (62cde) is dictated semantically, as in the case of a noun phrase headed by a nonderived noun such as *his sorrow at the death of a friend.* The preposition *with* is used when the causer is a person or an object whereas *at* introduces a stimulus which is an event. (62ce) cannot be rephrased as * *his disgust by cats* and * *their surprise by the news* since, as noted in R o b e r t s (1985: 442), *by*-phrases in nominals can express Agent arguments only. The unacceptability of the phrases * *the disgust of cats* and * *their surprise of the news* is due to a variety of puzzling factors discussed in, among others, R o z w a d o w s k a (1988: 153 ff) and R o b e r t s (1985: 438 ff.).[24]

Arguments assigned the role of Patient by the verbs *decline, rise, delay* and *change* can be construed in (63) as bearing the semantic function of Location.

(63)   a. to avert a sharp decline *in* the number of graduates (*The Economist*, August 6, 1988, p. 24)
        b. despite a sharp rise *in* private industry's profitability (*The Economist*, August 6, 1988, p. 25)
        c. delays *in* the reconstruction of New York's West Side Highway (*Newsweek*, June 20, 1988, p. 26)
        d. There have been swift, almost abrupt changes *in* public attitudes about eating, exercise, smoking and drinking. (*Newsweek*, June 20, 1988, p. 4)

The locative interpretation of phrases headed by the preposition *in* is manifest in (64):

(64)   The increases have been disproportionately situated *in* the professional and managerial ranks. (*Newsweek*, August 22, 1988, p. 33)

There exists a noticeable difference between the interpretation of the phrases *a recent change of the government of New Guinea* and *a recent change in the government of New Guinea.* The preposition *in* suggests that the change affected only one minister (possibly more but not many) so the government as a whole functioned not as the Patient but as the spatial Location of the event.

Bare nominalisations in actional senses which have been presented in this section seem not to have inherited PASs of related verbs. Consequently, their subcategorization frames differ from the frames of their verbal bases. Prepositional

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phrases which modify the bare nominalisations occurring in (61—64) are not licensed by PASs of verbal bases. The lexical meaning of the prepositions themselves relate the prepositional complements to the meaning of a particular nominalisation. The modification of the zero-derived nouns in (61—64) is, thus, governed by the same principles as the modification of nonderived nouns. One can compare, in this respect, the phrases *John's love for his wife* and *his penchant for young girls*.

It is possible, nevertheless, to assume that the nominalisations given in (61) and (62) inherit LCSs of their bases and, therefore, they denote situations involving the same number and type of participants as situations denoted by corresponding verbs (e.g. Patient and Agent involved in the situation denoted by *rebuff*$_V$ and *rebuff*$_N$). The inheritance of LCS is, however, disturbed in the case of the nominalisations *decline* and *rise* occurring in (63).

2.3.6. Modification of bare nominalisations in non-actional readings

As was mentioned in 2.3.3., R a n d a l l (1984ab, 1988) argues that nominalisations in non-actional readings do not inherit thematic grids of related verbs. There is, however, some evidence indicating that PASs of verbal bases are inherited by bare nominalisations in concrete senses. The same preposition, the choice of which is partly or totally idiosyncratic, introduces the prepositional object of the verb and the postmodifier of the nominalisation in (65 a-e).

(65)   a. His research *into* the cause of brain damage will be published next autumn. ↔ to research *into* something
        b. Have you read his report *on* the war in Afghanistan? ↔ to report *on* something
        c. He is a convert *to* Christianity. ↔ to convert *to* something
        d. Our bid *for* the job was much lower. ↔ to bid *for* something
        e. a more acceptable excuse *for* urging his men to conserve their strength (*The Economist*, August 6, 1988, p. 50) ↔ to excuse someone *for* something

The noun phrases occurring in genitive postmodifiers to bare nominalisations in (66) correspond to subject and object noun phrases subcategorized for by verbal bases of bare nominalisations. These can be regarded as licensed by inherited PASs: the inheritance hypothesis makes the correct prediction that external and internal arguments will be expressed by genitive phrases.

(66)   a. Over the soft throb *of that departing boat* they heard Caroline calling to them. (CSt, p. 98)

        b. I tidied up my desk, listening to the scrape *of a bucket* on the tiling of the corridor. (LS, p. 177)

        c. Half the nation's supply *of 'uplink' trucks* are expected to be in Des Moines Feb. 8 (*Newsweek*, Feb. 1, 1988, p. 16)

        d. watching reruns *of "The Beverly Hillbillies"* (*Newsweek*, June 20, 1988, p. 50)

        e. for the opening of a new exhibit *of abstract art* (*Newsweek*, June 20, 1988, p. 50)

        f. Who was the cook *of that delicious soup*?

Bare nominalisations denoting results of states of affairs seem to be the most likely candidates for being modified by thematic genitives (e.g. *scrape* in (66b) and *reruns* in (66d)). It may be added, in passing, that selectional restrictions controlling the choice of the subject NP by the verb *throb* are slackened when the verb is nominalised. While the sentence in (66a) is acceptable in narrative prose, the sentence *The departing boat throbbed softly* sounds odd.

The data in (67) suggest that bare nominalisations in non-actional senses may, similarly to the process-type nominalisations in (61—62), be regarded as having inherited LCSs of their bases:

(67)   a. He received final demands *for* the gas, electricity and rates. ↔ to demand something

        b. a tight curb *on* government expenditure ↔ to curb something

        c. your order *for* a book ↔ to order something

        d. It was a shock *to* him ↔ to shock someone

The requirement of the syntactic or situational recoverability of (+ change, -sentient) participants, postulated for process-type nominalisations in Section 2.3.4., does not hold for bare nominalisations in concrete readings. The sentence *Lifts are out of order* and *She's a cheat* are perfectly understandable although the objects affected by lifting and cheating remain unspecified.

Concrete nominalisations differ from process-type nominalisations in other respects as well. The former can be modified by descriptive phrases (underlined in (68a-c)), appositive genitives (in (68d-e)), partitive genitives (in (68f)) and possesive genitives (as in (68g)). Descriptive genitives, which are particularly common with nouns denoting sounds and facial gestures, may convey any kind of information relating to head nouns. Appositive genitives stand in the relation of apposition to their heads. Partitive genitives convey the part-of-the-whole relationship between head nouns and postmodifiers.

(68)   a. He devoted all his life to writing and talking about the despair *of the past* and the concerns *of the present*.
       b. [...] you have smeared the U.S. Marine Corpus with your cover *of the Marine with the black eye. (Time,* May 11, 1987, p. 4)
       c. [...] stared at me with a faint smile *of contempt* (LS, p. 75)
       d. [...] all to the proud owner's shouts *of 'That's Berlin', 'Here's Hilversum', or simply 'Beromunster'.* (Prof., p. 118)
       e. a quick murmur *of 'No thanks'* (CSt, p. 15)
       f. a slice *of bread*
       g. They have removed the covers *of the dishes.* (LP, p. 181)

The prepositional phrases underlined in (68) are not treated here as licensed by PASs or LCSs of verbs related to the appropriate bare nominalisations: note the oddness of ?*She smiled contempt.* Genitive phrases of this type are common with nonderived nouns, e.g. a descriptive genitive occurs in the phrase *a wide street of shops,* an appositive one in *the city of Rome* and a partitive one in *a blade of grass.*

Bare nominalisations in process readings cannot be modified by *of*-genitives exemplified in (68). The sole exception is the occurrence of descriptive genitives referring to the time of event in noun phrases headed by process-type nominalisations in (69):

(69)   a. Delays *of up to two hours* were reported on all roads this morning.
       b. There were twenty serious casualties in the train crash *of October 21st.*

Zero-derived nouns in concrete senses exhibit, thus, greater similarity in their modification to nonderived nouns than zero-derived nouns in process readings do.

Let us address at the end of Section 2.3.6. constraints on the modification of result-type nominalisations proposed in Randall (1984ab, 1988). She argues that concrete nominalisations cannot be followed by thematic (i.e. inherited) prepositional phrases. This follows from her assumption that deverbal nouns with the semantic reading 'something V-ed' absorb the theta-role Theme (which Randall treats as the semantic role assigned to every direct argument). The absorption of Theme blocks the inheritance of remaining theta-roles since Theme is assumed in Randall (1988: 138) to be the highest in a hierarchy of theta-roles.

While Randall's generalization is confirmed by the unacceptability of the sentence * *Their find of fossils is exhibited in the National Museum* or * *The construction of the tower was painted blue,* it is disproved by the acceptability of (66d) or the phrases *a rewrite of the old Gilgamesh myth* and *remakes of*

"Gone with the Wind". There is a difference, though, between the exact semantic function of *the tower* in * *the construction of the tower* and the role of *Gilgamesh myth* in *a rewrite of the Gilgamesh myth. The construction* in non-actional readings and *the tower* refer to the entity which comes into being during the process of constructing. *A rewrite* and *the old Gilgamesh myth* refer to distinct entities: the myth serves as a model for its rewrite but the two are not identical. Consequently, the genitive *of*-phrase in the noun phrase *a rewrite of the old myth* is not redundant semantically. The hypothesis concerning absorption of roles and blocking of the absorbed roles should be restated as a requirement of semantic nonredundancy of modifying prepositional phrases.

2.3.7. Conclusions

Bare nominalisations in actional readings inherit predicate-argument structures and lexical-conceptual structures of related verbs. The inheritance of PASs manifests itself clearly when a bare nominalisation subcategorizes for the same type of prepositional phrases as its verbal base, e.g. *She delights in tormenting her parents* and *her delight in tormenting her parents*. Subcategorization frames inherited via PASs from verbal bases do not have to be enforced due to the existence of a pragmatically-motivated tendency towards avoidance of heavy noun phrases. The inherited PASs may be discarded if a speaker intends to signal unambiguously semantic relationships obtaining between prepositional modifiers and the head nominalisation, e.g. *to demand computers experts* ↔ *the demand for computer experts*. The inheritance of lexical-conceptual structures is, generally, unaffected. The phrases *the increase in tax rates* and *the drop in productivity* exemplify, however, the reanalysis of Themes in the inherited LCSs as Locations.

There exists evidence indicating that concrete nominalisations inherit PASs of related verbs. The inheritance tends to be partial because the non-actional senses may correspond to semantic functions of arguments included in PASs. It can be argued that the inheritance mechanism may be employed only when concrete nominalisations exhibit vivid relatedness to corresponding verbs. This relatedness is quite plain in the case of nominalisations that can be paraphrased as 'a concrete exemplification of V-ing', e.g. *bid, promise, offer, call*. It is less obvious in the case of locative and agentive nominalisations, such as *carry* 'a place where a boat is carried across land between two rivers or lakes' and *soak* (sl.) 'a person who is often drunk'. The whole issue requires, nevertheless, a further in-depth investigation which exceeds the scope of the present study.

I hope to have proved that a number of specific claims put forward by Randall (1984ab, 1988) and Roeper (1987) within their theories of inheritance should be abandoned.[25] I have defended, instead, my own constraint on the

optionality of arguments inherited by process-type bare nominalisations. It predicts that (+change, −sentient) participants must be recoverable from the syntactic or situational context. This constraint is not operative in the case of nominalisations in non-actional senses.

Noun phrases headed by bare nominalisations form a cline from those the structure of which is a slavish imitation of their sentential analogues to noun phrases containing modifiers typical of nonderived nouns. Phrases headed by process-type bare nominalisations are close on this cline to the 'verbal' end. If headed by bare nominalisations exhibiting non-actional readings, noun phrases approach the 'nominal' end of the cline.

CHAPTER 3

The semantics
of bare nominalisations

3.0. Introductory

This chapter will investigate in detail meanings exhibited by English bare nominalisations. When discussing the semantics of morphologically complex items, it is important to maintain the distinction between their lexical meaning and their categorial meaning. This distinction is observed in, for instance, Grzegorczykowa et al. (1984: 327). Lexical meanings of morphologically complex words are those meanings in which they are actually employed. When occurring in the sentence *I will mark the area of the dump / hunt / run on your map*, the nouns *dump, hunt* and *run* can be paraphrased as, respectively, 'a place where waste mineral can be dumped', 'a large area of land where animals can be hunted', and 'an enclosed space where domestic animals can run'. The above-mentioned lexical meanings share a common core which may be formulated as 'a place for V-ing' or 'a place where one can V (something)'. This common core will be referred to here as the categorial meaning of the nominalisations *dump, hunt* and *run*. The conflation of the categorial meaning typical of a class of derivatives and the meaning of a particular derivational base may be regarded as the structural meaning of a derivative. The structural meaning of *run* in the sense glossed above is 'a place for running'.

When examining the meanings of bare nominalisations, one should also make allowances for the influence exerted on the semantic interpretation of morphologically simple or morphologically complex word by lingustic or extra-linguistic context.[26] If a lexeme exhibits two or more discrete senses, or if there occur homonymous lexemes such as *bank* 'a financial institution' and

bank 'land along the side of a river', the intended meaning of the polysemous or homonymous word on a particular occasion will be selected by its context. The reading 'a financial institution' is incompatible with the context of the lexeme *bank* in (70a) but the same sense is compatible with (hence selected by) the context of *bank* in (70b):

(70)   a. We were sitting on the *bank*, watching the boats go by.
        b. I withdrew all my money from the *bank*.

Apart from disambiguating polysemous and homonymous lexemes (such as *bank, light* or *fair*), context can modify the semantic interpretation of nonambiguous lexemes which are undetermined with respect to some semantic features, for instance the distinction between male and female. The linguistic context of the lexeme *cousin* in (71a), combined with the speakers' knowledge of the world, will associate *cousin* with the feature 'female' while the context of *cousin* in (71b) will associate the nonambiguous lexeme in question with the feature 'male':

(71)   a. My *cousin* is pregnant.
        b. My *cousin* will soon become a father.

It is essential to distinguish between context-independent meaning of a word and semantic information which is totally conditioned by context in order to identify the range of categorial meanings available with bare nominalisations. Semantic readings of a particular bare nominalisation which differ only by virtue of context-bound information should not represent distinct categorial meanings. Cruse (1986: 51 ff.) offers a review of tests which can by employed in differentiating between contextual modulation of general senses and contextual selection of discrete senses. Some of these tests will be mentioned in Sections 3.1.3. and 3.1.4.

An inventory of categorial meanings available with bare nominalisations in English will be offered in the first part of Chapter III. In Section 3.1. actional readings of zero-derived nouns will be considered whereas Section 3.2. will deal with non-actional (i.e. concrete) readings. The distinction between actional and non-actional senses of action nouns was introduced in Section 1.2. Having identified senses encountered with all bare nominalisations or with sizeable groups of those derivatives, I shall attempt to describe factors which restrict the occurrence of bare nominalisations in concrete readings in the institutionalised usage. Section 3.3. will point out the correspondence existing between semantic roles assigned by verbs to their complements and between concrete readings

potential with bare nominalisations derived from those verbs. In Section 3.4. it will be argued that the existence of suffixal operations by means of which names of participants or names of circumstantials of processes can be formed will generally obviate the need for employing bare nominalisations in concrete readings. Given the occurrence of the suffixal derivative *driver*, a speaker of English is unlikely to use the noun *drive* in the sense 'one who drives'. Section 3.5. will investigate the correspondence between actional and non-actional readings encountered with bare nominalisations and between semantic interpretation of suffixal action nouns derived from the same verbal bases. For example, the semantics of *exhibit* and *exhibition* will be compared. The hypothesis that actional readings, such as 'an act of V-ing' and 'process as a general phenomenon', should be regarded as primary to concrete readings of bare nominalisations will be defended in Section 3.6.

The analyses carried out in Chapter III of the present study will provide a basis for the tentative formulation of the word formation rule deriving bare nominalisations in Chapter IV.

3.1. Actional readings of bare nominalisations

3.1.1. 'A single instance of V-ing'

The most frequent semantic function of bare nominalisations is to denote a single occurrence — or a series of occurrences — of the state of affairs denoted by related verbs, e.g. *a throw* 'a single act of throwing' or *a few kicks* 'a few acts of kicking'. Nominalisations referring to a single act (i.e. a single instance illustrative of an action) can be called Nomina Acti. In Wik (1973) they are not regarded as action nouns proper. Nomina Acti are countable, occur with numerals, quantifiers and determiners, as is shown in (72) below:

(72)   a. [...] electric grace of *every shrug, strut* and *pelvic thrust* he used to sell his songs. (*Newsweek*, March 7, 1988, p. 57)

        b. *Any beat of the heart* might open the artery and spray the brain with blood. (SPI, p. 81)

        c. He did *twenty press-ups.*

When one compares bare nominalisations derived from verbs denoting nondurative situations with gerunds or action nouns derived from the same stems by -*ing* affixation, a contrast emerges between the Nomen Acti interpretation of bare nominalisations and the serial reading (i.e. the

sense 'a repetition of acts of V-ing') or the generic reading of -*ing* formations. This contrast can be seen in (73):

(73) a. He paused before he made his *jump.*
      b. *Jumping* over a bonfire requires courage.
      c. He gave the ball a hard *kick.*
      d. *Kicking your opponent* will not help you to win the fight.
      e. They gave the prisoner *twenty lashes.*
      f. They gave the prisoner *a lashing.*

Verbs denoting durative conclusive situations, such as *clean, wipe* or *check*, usually have parallel bare nominalisations with the Nomen Acti interpretation. There are gaps in this pattern: compare, in this respect, *a check* and **a correct.* Verbs denoting durative inconclusive situations (e.g. *walk, wander, burn, roll*) and nondynamic situations (such as *sleep, stay, think*) can be nominalised as Nomina Acti if these situations can be conceived as replicable and occurring in episodes. Langacker (1987b: 78) refers to replicable and bounded situations as perfective processes, where the term "process" is equivalent to "state of affairs". Cognitive and emotive processes, such as those denoted by the verbs *know, consider, love* and *hate*, are regarded in Langacker (1987b: 78) as imperfective processes because they "describe the perpetuation through time of a static configuration". Verbs denoting imperfective processes do not form Nomen Acti nominalisations, hence ** a know, * a consider* and ** a resemble* are unacceptable. Even if names of emotions are preceded by the indefinite article *a*, as in *I have a great love for Indian food*, they do not refer to a single occurrence of an emotion. The presence of the article indicates that *love* denotes a particular kind of emotion.

Bare nominalisations derived from performative verbs, such as *offer, order, promise*, do not exhibit the proper Nomen Acti readings. *An offer*, for instance, denotes something which is being offered in *I rejected his offer* or refers to a statement which offers to do something (as in *I gave you my offer yesterday*). The paraphrase 'an act of offering' seems to be inappropriate for *offer$_N$* even in the case of *I made an offer to him.*

Nouns zero-derived from verbs denoting production of sounds do not allow the paraphrase 'an act of V-ing' either. They exhibit instead, the sense 'the sound of V-ing', e.g. in *He gave a loud snore.*

Nomina Acti are very regularly formed from verbs denoting motion, e.g. *a catch, a hit, a put, a punt, a save* and *a slog*. Nominalisations of this type frequently occur in sports reports.

3.1.2. 'A process or state as a general phenomenon'

Uncountable bare nominalisations which can be paraphrased as 'a state or process as a general phenomenon' are derived from stative verbs denoting nonreplicable and unbounded situations, such as *desire, love,* or *sleep.*

(74)   a. I am filled with *desire* to go there.
           b. *Love* will be stronger than death.
           c. I haven't had enough *sleep* lately.

Langacker (1987: 91) equates the imperfective/perfective opposition in verbs with the mass/ count dichotomy in nouns. Consequently, the existence of uncountable nominalisations related to verbs denoting imperfective processes is predictable in Langacker's framework.

It needs to be pointed out that a number of stative verbs have no parallel bare nominalisations, for instance verbs denoting relations, e.g. *belong to* or *seem.* Moreover, nominalisations related to verbs of perception, such as *smell* and *taste,* refer not to stative processes of perception but to the ability to perceive, as in the sentence *Dogs will track the hare by smell alone.*

Nominalisations denoting perfective processes, such as *escape* or *talk,* can be occasionally construed as denoting temporally unbounded and nonspecified processes. Examples of a generic interpretation of perfective processes are offered in (75).

(75)   a. The Poles at dawn came shooting. As soon as it was light enough
               for *murder.* (SPl, p. 140)
           b. There are two regions, the water and air, and the transitions (i.e.
               escape and *return*) between them.
           c. He was sent to prison for *rape.*
           d. I dislike *idle talk.*

Some bare nominalisations can function as uncountable nouns in set phrases, e.g. *beyond repair, to lie in wait* or *in return (for your kindness).*

3.1.3. 'The state or condition of being V-ed'

Nouns denoting emotional and cognitive states related to verbs carrying the theta-grids [Experienced, Experiencer] can be provided with paraphrases emphasizing the elements of passivity in their interpretation, e.g. *disgust* 'the state or feeling of being disgusted' and *surprise* 'the state or feeling of being surprised'. These nominalisations do not allow active interpretations, such as

'the action of disgusting someone' and 'the action of surprising someone'. Therefore, it is theoretically possible to regard *disgust* and *surprise* as nouns derived from the passive participles *disgusted* and *surprised.*

Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 111 ff.) argues that *-ment* nominalisations which require passive interpretation, e.g. *amazement, bafflement* or *bewilderment,* should be derived from passive verbs. One of the arguments that she puts forward for her proposal concerns the obligatory Experiencer interpretation of the premodifying NP in *John's amazement* or *Mary's bafflement.* In passive sentences, such as *John was amazed,* the original Experienced subject is deleted and the original Experiencer object moves to the subject position. Within the presents study no correlation between the passive sentence *John was amazed* and the NP *John's amazement* needs to be postulated since — as is shown in Section 2.3.4. — the principle of greater salience of the (+change) participant, i.e. the Experiencer, operates. Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 119) supports her hypothesis of passive origin of *-ment* nominalisations by pointing out that the meanings exhibited by those nominalisations coincide with the meanings of deadjectival nominalisations in *-ness,* e.g. *abashment — abashedness, contentment — contentedness* and *astonishment — astonishedness.* It could be added here that bare nominalisations in passive interpretation may also have parallel *-ness* nominalisations derived from passive adjectives, e.g. *dismay — dismayedness, disgust — disgustedness, worry — worriedness.* (The nouns terminating in *-edness* have been listed in Lehnert (1971)).

If, however, *abashment* and *dismay* are supposed to be derived from related passive participles or passive adjectives, one should expect the occurrence of the forms * *abashedment* and * *dismayed*$_N$ containing the passive morpheme *-ed.* It is possible to postulate a rule of truncation to delete *-ed* in bare nominalisations and *-ment* nouns but, as is shown in Rozwadowska (1988: 150), the assumption of departicipial (or deadjectival) origin of nominalisations containing the suffix *-ment, -ance* or *-ation,* e.g. *bafflement, annoyance, irritation,* results in further complications of morphological theory. The problem of the origin of passive nominalisations certainly requires a more extensive research. The position taken in the present study is that *dismay, disgust, surprise* and similar nominalisations are derived from related verbs. The lack of active interpretation of those nouns stems from the lack of Agent participants involved in the states of affairs denoted by the verbs *dismay, disgust* and *surprise.*

Bare nominalisations derived from transitive [Agent, Patient] verbs can occasionally come to denote a state of the Patient which is the result of the action performed by the Agent, e.g. *release* 'the condition or feeling of being released', *ruin* 'wrecked or impaired state', and *defeat* 'the state of being defeated' which occur in (76).

(76) a. He questioned whether *release* from long Jewish mental discipline, hereditary training in lawful control, was attainable upon individual application. (SPl, p. 72)

b. He was faced with complete *ruin.*

c. *Defeat* filled us with despair.

The interpretation 'the condition or state of being V-ed' is not appropriate for the majority of [Agent, Patient] nominalisations, e.g. *break, hit, squash, smash,* and *damage.*

Bare nominalisations may contain a passive element in their interpretation while denoting acts, actions or processes. This happens when the Agent remains implicit and the Patient is brought into focus, e.g. *I am waiting for John's release from prison* 'I am waiting for the act of someone's release of John from prison'. The number of complements to the nouns *murder, overthrow* and *recall* and their type determine the interpretation of these nominalisations as 'V-ing' or 'being V-ed'. One can compare, in this respect, the phrases *Funaro's overthrow, Funaro's overthrow of the Marxist government* and *Funaro's overthrow by his army.*

Although context is crucial in choosing between the readings 'the state or condition being V-ed' and 'the act or action of V-ing', there exists evidence for treating those readings as discrete senses and not as contextually-conditioned variants of one general sense. One of the criteria for discreteness of senses mentioned in Cruse (1986: 62) is that separate senses should be antagonistic and cannot be brought into play simultaneously without giving rise to oddness. The sentence *I think that rape is an unpleasant experience and so do my friends* would sound odd if in each of its parts a different reading of *rape* (i.e. 'the condition of being raped' and 'the instance of raping someone') were selected.

3.1.4. 'The fact that one V-s or is V-ed', 'the manner of V-ing' and 'the degree to which one V-s or is V-ed'

The 'factive', 'manner' and 'degree' interpretations of bare nominalisations will be discussed jointly in the present section since these readings are often available for nominalisations occurring in identical (or nearly identical) syntactic contexts. The noun *disgust* in (77) can be construed as denoting either 'the fact that someone was disgusted' or 'the degree to which one was disgusted'. (78) and (79) illustrate two interpretations available for the nouns *defeat* and *escape,* namely the factive and the manner readings.

(77) Her *disgust* with her husband surprised me.

a. 'The fact that she was disgusted with her husband surprised me.'

b. 'The degree to which she was disgusted with her husband surprised me.'

(78)   The *defeat* of our team was a disgrace.
        a. 'The fact that our team was defeated was a disgrace.'
        b. 'The way in which our team was defeated was a disgrace.'

(79)   Everybody was amazed at the prisoners' *escape.*
        a. 'Everybody was amazed at the fact that the prisoners' had escaped.'
        b. 'Everybody was amazed at the way in with the prisoners had escaped.'

The factive interpretation of (77) — (79) seems to be the natural choice for most speakers of English. The manner and degree interpretations are possible when the further syntatic context provided for (77) — (79) indicates the need for the nonfactive reading of nominalisations. For instance, the paraphrase given in (78b) is preferable over the paraphrase in (78a) when the sentence *The defeat of our team was a disgrace* is followed by the sentence *I didn't expect them to win but I hoped that they would score at least a single point.*

The syntactic frames into which the nominalisations *disgust, defeat* and *escape* have been inserted in (77) — (79), i.e. *... surprised me, ... was a disgrace* and *Everybody was amazed at ...,* accept both factive and manner nominals. Other syntactic frames may restrict the potential reading of a noun phrase headed by a bare nominalisation. Nominalisations occurring in the host sentences *....was brillant* and *I admired ...* require the manner reading, for instance the noun *play* in the sentence *Your play last night was brilliant.* The manner interpretation has to be assigned as well to the noun phrases underlined in (80):

(80)   a. *The author's approach,* at first reading disappointingly mild, could prove in the long term more effective. (*The Observer,* Oct. 16, 1988, p. 43)
        b. *The drop of the head* as she bent over her sewing was curiously tranquil. (ToU, p. 22)
        c. She went on down the hall without looking back. She had *a beautiful walk.* (LS, p. 161)

Nominals occurring in the syntactic frames *... increased, ... diminished, ... was greater than I expected* and in similar contexts require the reading 'the degree to which one V-s or is V-ed', as the examples in (81) show.

(81)   a. *Her delight in the Christmas present* was greater than we had expected.
        b. *My surprise* increased with every minute of the interview.
        c. *Your respect for your parents* has suddenly diminished.

The semantic reading 'that one V-s or is V-ed' can be assigned to nominalisations occurring in the frames *I learnt about ..., I regret ..., He denied ...,* and *I mentioned ...,* e.g. *I learnt about their escape yesterday* 'I learnt they had escaped yesterday'. Nominalisations occurring in such frames can usually be replaced by the expression *the fact* and an appropriate *that*-clause, e.g. *I learnt about the fact that they had escaped.* Noun phrases such as *their escape* put into the frames *I learnt about, I regret...* and the like are referred to as "factive nominals" in Chapter 3 of L e e s (1960). The noun phrases underlined in (82) can also be labelled "factive nominals".

(82)   a. Claire Amelie Lemnes [...] confessed at once to *the murder of her deaf-and-dumb cousin.* (LC Jan., 1989, p. 9)
        b. [...] neither he nor his private secretary [...] knew anything about *the purchase of Recruit stock.* (*Newsweek*, Dec. 12, 1988, p. 23)

Verbs such as *confess, deny, regret* and *mention* belong to the class of the so-called factive predicates which presuppose the truth of the proposition expressed by nominalisations accompanying them. If a woman confesses to a murder, an assumption can be safely made that the murder has been committed. The verbs and verb phrases *believe, be unlikely* and *be necessary* do not imply any knowledge about the truth value of the propositions introduced by them. Such verbs are labelled "non-factive predicates". The distinction between factive and non-factive predicates is introduced in K i p a r s k y and K i p a r s k y (1971). Bare nominalisations in (83) occur as subjects and objects of non-factive predicates.

(83)   a. I believe in *your love for the family.*
        b. *Their defeat* is very probable.
        c. *Her rescue* is impossible.

The paraphrase 'the fact that...' would sound awkward with the nominalisations underlined in (83), e.g. 'I believe in the fact that you love your family'. Therefore, the noun phrases given in (83) cannot be justifiably called "factive nominals". They seem, nevertheless, to share one feature with factive nominals: they can be replaced by *that*-clauses. The readings assigned to the bare nominalisations in (82) and (83) will, consequently, be treated here as variants of one sense, labelled here '*that*-clause reading'.

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Puzynina (1969: 167) argues convincingly in her study of Polish Nomina Actionis that the factive reading constitutes a sort of superstructure built over the unmarked meaning of Nomina Actionis, namely the sense of the action itself. She points out that the factive and the action sense proper never contrast and their occurrence is contextually conditioned.

In the case of English bare nominalisations the unmarked action interpretation can take the form of the sense 'a single instance of V-ing', 'a process or state of V-ing as a general phenomenon' and 'a state or condition of being V-ed'. Each of these senses can serve as a basis for the factive reading, as can be proved by inserting the nominals *your attack against farmers, his dislike for trade unions* and *her dismay at the news* into the syntactic frame *We mentioned* .... The readings 'the manner in which one V-s or is V-ed' and 'the degree to which one V-s or is V-ed' can be similarly superimposed upon the action senses proper of bare nominalisations. There is a pattern in their distribution: the degree reading can be combined with the senses 'a state or condition of being V-ed' (e.g. in the case of *delight* in (81a)) and 'a process or state of V-ing as a general phenomenon' (e.g. *respect* in (81c)). The manner reading, on the other head, can occur with nominalisations which exhibit the sense 'an instance of V-ing', e.g. *walk, drop* in (80bc).

The application of the ambiguity tests given in Cruse (1086: 51 ff.) bears out the claim that the factive, manner, degree and other action readings should not be treated as discrete senses but as different facets of one general action meaning assigned to bare nominalisations.

A simultaneous activation of two or more discrete senses of an ambiguous word in a sentence should give rise to a semantic oddness called "zeugma", as in the case of the sentence ?*John and his driving licence expired last week*. No zeugma arises in (84a), although the relative clause requires *arrest* in the sense of 'an instance of arresting (someone)' as its antecedent while the rest of the sentence suggests the factive reading of *arrest*. The sentences in (84bc) are not zeugmatic, either. The senses 'an instance of V-ing' and 'the manner of V-ing' are both activated in (84b). In (84c) the first part of the sentence allows the factive reading of *dislike* whereas the second part implies the degree reading.

(84)   a. The arrest of the Jewish personnel, which took place on July 21st, came as a shock to the French public.
        b. The attack of the National Guards on students, which was shown on TV last night, was extremely brutal.
        c. Her dislike of children, against which you have already warned me, seems to increase with her age.

The application of the so-called identity test for ambiguity in (85a) shows that the factive and manner reading are not independent and antagonistic. Each

part of the sentence in (85a) can manifest a different facet of the action sense: Sonya may be shocked by the mere fact of America's supporting the Afghan rebels while Ali may be shocked by the firmness of the American support. The application of the *Yes/No* test in (85b) confirms the lack of antagonism between the factive and the manner reading. The question asked in (85b) can be truthfully answered *Yes*, no matter which facet of the action sense the respondent believes the questioner to have in mind.

(85)   a. Sonya was shocked at America's support of the fanatically xenophobic Afghan rebels, and so was Ali.

        b. Were you surprised by the retreat of our troops?

           i) Yes. I thought they would advance on the enemy the next morning.

          ii) Yes. It was very hasty and disorderly.

Thus, one can conclude that the factive, degree and manner interpretations occurring with bare nominalisations result from contextual modulation of the general action sense.[27] The unmarked reading of the general action sense can take the form of the readings 'an instance of V-ing', 'V-ing as a general phenomenon' and 'a state or condition of being V-ed', depending upon the aspectual type of the verbal base.

3.2. Non-actional readings of bare nominalisations

3.2.1. 'The result of V-ing'

Among non-actional meanings occurring with bare nominalisations in English, the most common seems to be the sense of a concrete or abstract (i.e. immaterial) result of the state of affairs denoted by the related verb. The paraphrase 'a mark made by V-ing' is appropriate for nouns zero-derived from transitive verbs denoting physical damage inflicted by an agent upon an animate or an inanimate object (see (86a) for examples). Resultative nouns derived from verbs denoting emission of light as well as those denoting production of facial expressions, smells and sounds can be paraphrased as 'a sound (light, smell, expression) produced as a result of V-ing', for instance *cry*, *glitter* and other nouns listed in (86b).

(86)   a. bite   gash   scratch   stab

             bump   nick   scorch   tear

burn	rip	slash	
cut	scald	slit	

b.
cry	glitter	howl	smile
frown	grin	moan	snarl
glare	groan	niff	sneer
gleam	growl	reek	stink

The semantic reading 'a sound produced during V-ing' is potential with any nominalisation denoting a proces which is not noiseless, e.g. *the bubble of the cooking pot, the flap of the wings, the rub of the window being polished,* and *the snip of the scissors.* The actions of flapping and rubbing are not aimed at the emission of sounds. Nevertheless, by analogy to the nouns in (86a), the nominalisations *flap* and *rub* occurring in the frame *I heard ...* may be regarded as names of results. The interpretation 'a sound produced during V-ing' is not purely contextually conditioned as it can be attributed to nouns outside the frame containing the verb *hear*, as is shown in the sentences *The rub of the windows being polished was getting on my nerves* and *I was woken up by the steady flap of the birds' huge wings.*

The sense 'a result of V-ing' occurs fairly frequently, but not regularly, with bare nominalisations denoting creation of a new entity, such as *blend* 'a product of blending various substances', *print* 'a picture printed from a small sheet of metal' and *rehash* 'a product of using old ideas in a new form without improvement'. Nominalisations of this type tend to include idiosyncratic elements in their semantic interpretation. *Construct,* for example, is not a name of a building but a name of a general idea formed in the mind. *Produce* is something that has been produced by farming or by growing. *Crush* and *squash* denote drinks made by crushing the juice from fruit. (Incidentally, *build,* which is synonymous to *construct,* and *squeeze,* synonymous to *squash,* exhibit no resultative readings.)

In contrast to *construct, produce, crush* and *squash,* the nouns given in (86) show no tendency toward lexicalisation. Their semantic readings are fully predictable, which may be attributed to the regularity with which such nouns can be coined.

A d a m s (1973: 52 ff.) regards all zero-derived nouns occurring in the frames *have a N, give a N, make a N* and *take a N* as nouns exhibiting the sense 'a concrete result of V-ing'. Her judgement is open to question. The noun *cut* denotes the result of cutting (i.e. a wound) in the sentence *He made a cut in his hand: a few drops of blood trickled from it* but seems to have an actional reading in the sentence *The soldier made a cut at his enemy with a sword but missed.* While admitting that *groan* and *slit* in the phrases *give a groan* and *make a slit in the chair* denote results of actions, I would refrain from classifying *tug*

and *dive* occurring in the constructions *give a tug* and *make a dive* as resultative nominalisations.[28]

3.2.2. 'The object of V-ing'

The sense 'an object affected by V-ing' is very close to the sense 'a result of V-ing' examined in Section 3.2.1. In Szymanek (1989: 291 ff.) these senses are regarded as variants of the semantic reading 'something which is or has been V-ed' and a single derivational category of Objective/Resultative nouns is postulated.

The distinction between results of actions and objects of actions will be observed here following Grochowski (1974) and Chruścińska-Waszakowa (1980). If entities involved in a particular process change their properties radically, the resulting entity deserves a new name (e.g. *a blend, a remake*). Entities considered as affected objects may, but do not have to, change some of their properties in the course of a given process. The changes are not fundamental. Therefore, the same name can refer to the affected object before and after it has undergone the proces. The noun *cut* in the sentence *I don't think there was anything in this cut that would have offended anyone* denotes a part of an article or a book that has been cut out. It is recognizable as a piece of writing both before and after the action of cutting. There exists a fuzzy border between names of affected objects and names of results. For example, bare nominalisations denoting secreted or discharged substances (e.g. *spit, vomit*) will be treated here as resultative nouns although it could be argued that they are names of affected objects. Fuzziness is, however, characteristic of semantic categories.[29] It should not be taken as evidence of the lack of distinction between affected objects and results.

Objective nominalisations exemplified in (87) are prone to develop specialized readings. *Catch* can denote something caught in the sentence *I went out, sat in my car and looked over my catch* but is very often used with reference to fish. *Revise* is a technical term denoting a printed page in which mistakes have been put right. *Release* refers to a new record or film that has been released. *Pickle* in British English may be understood as referring to pickled onion while in American English it would rather be interpreted as denoting pickled cucumber.

(87)	buy	find	kill	preserve	spill
	catch	exhibit	offer	reject	supply
	deposit	import	order	release	swap
	discard	insert	pickle	revise	transplant

It is not possible to identify a semantic class of verbs which regularly derive object-type bare nominalisations. Although the verbs *discard, reject* and *throw* share certain elements in their semantic interpretation, the noun *throw* exhibits no object reading (i.e. 'something thrown') whereas the nouns *discard* and *reject* are object-type nominalisations.

Convert, suspect and other nouns listed in (88) are regarded in Szymanek (1989: 197 ff.) as representatives of Patientive nominalisations.

(88)   *convert* 'a person who has been converted'
        date 'a person whom one dates'
        drag (sl.) 'a girlfriend'
        draft 'a group of people chosen by conscription'
        initiate 'a person instructed in some special field'
        suspect 'someone who is suspected'

The category of Patientive nominalisations paraphrasable as 'someone who is or has been V-ed' is set apart from the category of Objective/Resultative nominalisations in Szymanek (1989) for two reasons. Firstly; there exists a derivational pattern in English for deriving nouns of the former type only (i.e. *-ee* suffixation). Secondly, Objective/Resultative nominalisations typically denote inanimate entities, e.g. *buy* and *blend*. However, the reason why *convert, suspect* and the other nouns in (88) denote persons is straightforward: the states of affairs denoted by the verbs *convert* and *suspect* require personal objects. If a verb allows both (+ human) and (– human) noun phrases in the object position, the corresponding bare nominalisation may refer either to an impersonal or personal affected object, e.g. *catch, find, reject, reserve, ruin* and *wreck*. Consequently, the Patientive nominalisations listed in (88) will be regarded here as representatives of the general category of objective nominalisations.

The category of objective nominalisations is not homogenous. The paraphrase 'something or someone V-ed' appropriate for such nouns may have more specific variants, for example 'something that can be V-ed' or 'something for V-ing'. The latter paraphrase can be used to describe the semantics of the nouns given in (89).

(89)   *dip* 'a liquid for dipping animals to disinfect them'
        drink 'something for drinking'
        feed 'food for animals'
        listen 'something that can be listened to, e.g. a record'
        read 'something that can be read for enjoyment'
        slide 'a thing slid into its place, e.g. a small piece of glass holding an
                object for a microscope'
        slip 'something that can be slipped on or into something else'

spread 'soft food for spreading on bread'
wash 'a liquid spread over a surface to cleanse'

Chruścińska-Waszakowa (1980) refers to Polish nominalisations such as *doprawa* 'seasoning' and *smar* 'grease, lubricant' as names of second objects of actions. A second object is an entity which allows an agent to perform an action directed at another object and which is not an instrument proper. The bare nominalisations *dip, spread* and *wash* can be regarded as names of second objects.

The nouns included in (90) constitute another subtype of objective nominalisations.

(90)   desire   dislikes (pl.)
        dream   likes (pl.)
        love   wants (pl.)

The nouns in (90) do not denote affected objects. They can be regarded as names of stimuli which trigger off the feelings of love, desire or want. Therefore, they might be grouped together with causative nouns which will be discussed in Section 3.2.6.

Very few bare nominalisations exhibit the sense of an indirect object of an action, e.g. *assign* (legal) 'one to whom a property or a right is transferred' and *toast* 'one whose health is drunk'. They may be regarded as another subtype of objective nominalisations as well.

3.2.3. 'The amount V-ed'

Bare nominalisations can occur in partitive constructions, such as *a pull of beer, a sip of whisky, a sniff of air, a swallow of vodka* and *a squeeze of lemon*. They become associated with the semantic reading 'the amount V-ed', which may consequently by assigned to nominalisations appearing outside partitive phrases, e.g. *a pinch* and *a bite*. The question *How much of the sandwich do you want?* may be followed by the reply *Well, just a bite*, where the modifying genitive phrase *of the sandwich* has been omitted.

A few bare nominalisations paraphrasable as 'the amount V-ed' require highly constrained and technical semantic interpretations. *The cut* is the quantity of wood cut down in a particular period of time. *The clip* denotes the quanity of wool cut from a group of sheep at one time. *The fall*, in turn, refers to the amount of rain that falls, the amount of timber cut down or the number of lambs that have been born in a given period.

3.2.4. 'One who V-s'

Zero-derived nouns in English very rarely exhibit the agentive reading 'one who V-s volitionally'. If they do, such nouns usually have a pejorative tinge in their interpretation, as is shown in (91a). Alternatively, agentive bare nominalisations may function as collective nouns, e.g. the nouns in (91b).

(91)   a. *bore* 'on who bores'
          cheat 'one who cheats'
          creep (sl.) 'an unpleasant person who tries to win the favour of
               a person of higher rank'
          scold 'a person, typically a woman, who scolds'
          soak (sl.) 'a person who is often or usually drunk'
    b. *attack* 'the part of a team that tries to score a goal'
          help 'a body of servants'
          hunt 'persons hunting with a pack'
          (*city*) *watch* 'a group of people who guard property at night,
               especially in former times'

Non-derogatory and non-collective names of agents are exceptional among zero-derivatives, e.g. *guide, chimney-sweep* and *catch* 'one skillful at catching, especially in cricket'.

It is worth pointing out that a number of agentive bare nominalisations allow no action reading, for example *bore, nag, scold* and *tease*.

3.2.5. 'Something one can V with'

The sense 'something one can V with' is not frequent with bare nominalisations. Examples of instrument-type nominalisations appear in (92) below.

(92)   *clip* 'an instrument or device which clasps or grips objects tightly'
        clips (pl.) 'shears, esp. for wool'
        controls (pl.) 'various devices which are used to control altitude,
             speed, direction, etc.'
        rattle 'an instrument or a plaything made to rattle'
        shave 'a knife-blade with a handle at each end for shaving wood, etc.'
        snips (pl.) 'heavy scissors for cutting metal sheets'
        throttle 'a valve controlling the flow of steam'

The nouns *controls* and *throttle* denote objects which are intermediate between instruments proper and semi-agents or causers. They can perform their

function even when no personal agent operates them. Other nouns paraphrasable as 'something one can V with' tend to exhibit idiosyncratic semantic and syntactic properties. *Shave*, for instance, cannot be used with reference to an apparatus for shaving off hair. *Shears* and *snips* denote instruments when occurring in plural forms.

As was mentioned in Sections 1.3.2.3. and 1.3.2.11. in Chapter I, the noun is the primary member of the majority of conversion pairs which consist of a noun denoting an instrument and a verb denoting an action in which the instrument is employed, e.g. $comb_N$ — $comb_V$ and $hammer_N$ — $hammmer_V$.

3.2.6. 'Something which V-s'

Nouns denoting causers or semi-agents form a very strong sense group among bare nominalisations.

The causative reading 'one which V-s' is regularly exhibited by nouns zero-derived from verbs which carry the thematic grid [Experienced, Experiencer], e.g. *delight, hurt, insult, surprise* and *solace*.

Causative bare nominalisations can also be coined from verbs which denote dynamic situations involving no personal agents or from verbs denoting agentive situations which are construed as involving no personal agents. The states of affairs denoted by the verbs *offer, order, invite* and *permit* require agentive participants. The nominalisations *offer, order, invite* and *permit*, denoting written statements, can be viewed metaphorically as semi-agents or causers. The power to give permission is, thus, delegated by the author of a permit to the document itself. The semi-agentive (i.e. causative) interpretation may be assigned to other nouns zero-derived from performative verbs, e.g. *call, command, challenge, demand, promise* and *request*.

Further examples of causative nominalisations are provided in (93). A few nominalisations exhibit both the agentive and causative reading, e.g. *bore, cheat, catch* and *help*.

(93) a. The technocratic promise is either a *cheat* or a nightmare. (*Newsweek*, June 3, 1985, p. 59)
      b. Journalists [...] wound up functioning more as a rubber stamp than as *a check* and *balance* on President Reagan. (*The New Yorker*, Nov. 7, 1988, p. 30)
      c. Inventories of this kind can give useful *leads* to the experienced psychologist.
      d. All this spending is *a drain* on the money I have saved.

Causative nominalisations may occasionally require idiosyncratic readings, e.g. *hit* 'a musical or theatrical performance which is successful'. Some causative

nouns occur mainly in compounds for instance *guard* appearing in *fireguard* and *mudguard*, or *stop* occurring in the compound *doorstop*.

3.2.7. 'A concrete instantiation of a static situation'

There is a small group of bare nominalisations which can be paraphrased as 'something that V-s' but can be regarded neither as causative nor as instrumental nouns. They are derived from intransitive non-agentive verbs and denote material objects which exhibit particular stative properties, e.g. *fall* 'waterfall', *bend, slope, sprawl* 'an irregular spreading mass of buildings' and *stretch* 'a level area of land or water'. The nouns underlined in (94) belong to the same sense-group.

(94) a. They were climbing a gentle *rise* now. When they reached the top, they weren't in Luxemburg anymore. (SIF, p. 56)
      b. I drove on past the *curve* that goes down into the strip. (LS, p. 102)
      c. There was a steep *climb* on the road out of town.

Such nouns will be referred to here as names of concrete instances illustrative of static situations.

3.2.8. 'The place where one V-s or can V'

The semantic reading 'a place where one V-s or can V' is exhibited by the bare nominalisations given in (95).

(95) *carry* 'a place where a boat is carried across the land between two rivers or lakes'
      drop (AmE) 'a place where something may be dropped or left, e.g. a mail drop'
      hunt 'the area where people regularly hunt (foxes)'
      run 'an area (which is usually enclosed) where animals are kept'
      slips (theatr.) 'the part of the stage from which scenes are slipped on'; (sport) 'the part of a cricket field where the cricket fielders called "slips" are stationed'

This sense-group in not particularly strong. Locative bare nominalisations usually belong to specialized vocabulary with which many speakers are not

familiar (e.g. *slips* and *carry*). These nominalisations may have restricted usage. The noun *lick*, for instance, occurs in the locative reading only inside the compound *saltlick* 'a naturally salty piece of ground where animals collect to get salt'.

3.2.9. 'The period of V-ing' and 'the occasion of V-ing'

Bare nominalisations in English sporadically allow the temporal interpretation 'the period of V-ing', for instance *freeze* 'a period of very cold weather', *fall* (AmE) 'autumn', *nap* 'the period during the day when one takes a nap' and *slump* 'a time of seriously bad business'. The occurrence of this sense with nominalisations in not predictable. The verbs *melt* and *thaw* are synonymus. Although the nominalisation *thaw* exhibits the meaning 'a period of warm weather during which snow and ice melt', the nominalisation *melt* is not established in the temporal reading.

One may regard 'occasion' -type nouns as a subtype of temporal nouns. 'Occasion' -type nouns denote conventional events during which the action of V-ing takes place, e.g. *hunt, sports meet, show, sprint* and *strip*. They frequently occur in the frames *I didn't attend ..., The next ... is scheduled for (May)* and *We wouldn't like to miss ....* Puzynina (1969: 175 ff.) employs the term "znaczenie sytuacyjne" (which could be translated from Polish into English as *situational reading*) with reference to the occasion-sense exhibited by the Polish nominalisations *zabawa* 'party' and *zebranie* 'meeting'.

3.2.10. 'The range of extent of V-ing'

There exists a variety of senses exhibited occasionally by bare nominalisations which will be subsumed here — as in Marchand (1969: 375) — under the single formula 'the range of extent of V-ing'. Some bare nominalisations belonging to this sense-group require the paraphrase 'the distance of V-ing', e.g. *walk* 'the distance one needs to walk' and the nouns underlined in (96ab). The nominalisations marked off in (96c–e) can be paraphrased as 'the range of V-ing' or 'the power, the ability to V', for instance *pull* 'natural force that influences or causes movement' and *stretch* 'the degree of ability to increase in length or width'.

(96)   a. On the edge of the city, a frog's *jump* from the line, I shut myself in.

        b. It's a long *drop* from the top of the building to the street.

        c. There is not much *stretch* in this collar. I can hardly get it over.

d. Just as the sun's gravitational *pull* is weaker on distant Pluto than on nearby Mercury, the *hold* of an atomic nucleus is weaker on electrons in the outermost layers. (*Time*, May 11, 1987, p. 43)

e. The persistence, the maniacal *push* of certain ideas, themselves originally stupid, stupid ideas that had lasted for centuries, this is what drew the most curious reactions from him. (SPl, p. 143)

A few nominalisations paraphrasable as 'the ability to V' or 'the range of V-ing' call for idiosyncratic semantic interpretation. The nouns *wear* and *bite* do not denote the ability to wear and bite or the range of wearing and biting. Their respective glosses in the LDCE are 'the quality of lasting in use' and 'sharpness; bitterness'.

It is possible to identify a few other sense groups among bare nominalisations. They will not be discussed here since they include a small number of members. The nouns *creeps, jitters, jumps, shakes* and *shudders* form a group of names of nervous fits. Bare nominalisations can also denote card games (e.g. *cheat* and *snap*) or sports (e.g. *catch* 'a simple game in which two or more people throw a ball to each other' and *squash* 'a game played in four-walled court by two or four people with rackets').

3.3. Correspondence between concrete readings of bare nominalisations and thematic grids carried by verbs

M a r c h a n d (1969) emphasizes the relatedness between the internal structure of morphological units and the internal structure of sentences. He observes that

(97) "Morphological composites (= compounds, suffixal derivatives prefixal combinations) are 'reduced' sentences in substantival, adjectival, or verbal form and as such explainable from full sentences: *washing machine* sb from '(we) wash with the machine', *color-blind* adj from '(he is) blind with regard to colors', *rewrite* vb from '(we) write again', *stone* vb from '(we) kill with stones'." (M a r c h a n d (1969: 31))

Grammatical relations obtaining between the derivational base and the zero-morpheme are postulated in Marchand's account of bare nominalisations. As was mentioned in Section 1.3.2.3., nominalisations are divided into the Predication-type, Subject-type, Object-type and Adverbial-type nouns.

Within the framework of generative grammar advocated in Randall (1984ab) or Walińska de Hackbeil (1984), action nouns are construed as absorbing theta-roles listed in thematic grids carried by corresponding verbs. The verbs *swank* and *flirt* assign the role of Agent while the verbs *rise* carries the grid [Theme]. The bare nominalisations *swank* and *flirt* have an agentive interpretation whereas the nominalisation *rise* has a non-agentive reading 'something that rises'. The transitive verbs *reject* and *transplant* carry the grids [Agent, Patient] and, consequently, the nouns *reject* and *transplant* exhibit the concrete reading 'something V-ed' which corresponds to the semantic function of Patient. The verbs *worry* and *need* assign the roles of Experiencer and Experienced. The role of Experienced may be viewed as absorbed by the nominalisations *worries* and *needs*. The thematic roles of Causer and Patient are associated with the verbs *bait, cure* and *stop*.[30] The nouns *bait, cure* and *stop* have the causative interpretation.

Bare nominalisations can occasionally "absorb" thematic roles which are not included in thematic grids of verbs because these roles are borne by elements occupying non-argument positions, e.g. instrumental or locative prepositional phrases. The nouns *carry* and *stop* can be viewed as absorbing the role of Location while *clip* and *shears* absorb the roles of Instrument.

It needs to be pointed out that nominalisations may fail to absorb certain thematic roles included in thematic grids of corresponding verbs. The nouns *worry* and *need* do not absorb the role of Experiencer and cannot be interpreted as 'one who worries/needs something'. The nouns *bait, cure* and *stop* do not exhibit the object-type reading 'one V-ed' parallel to the theta-role of Patient assigned by the verbs *bait, cure* and *stop*.

Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 77 ff.), when analysing concrete readings of suffixal nominalisations observes the following regularity:

(98)   "lexicalisations represent non-agentive, non-theme (non-Experiencer) roles, if available, with Theme as the second best choice, and any role if neither of them is possible".

Thus, the preferable concrete readings expected with bare nominalisations are those corresponding to the roles of Experienced, Causer, Instrument, Location, Source and Goal. If neither of these roles is available, the next candidate for absorption is the role of Theme.

Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 78) attributes the absorption hierarchy to conceptual factors. Concretisation of action nouns, i.e. development of concrete readings, is more likely to take place when the most 'object-like' roles are absorbed. The roles of Agent and Experiencer are not 'object-like' since they are typically assigned to human participants.

Although the pattern stated in (98) is not to be contradicted, it does not account for the rarity of certain non-agentive and non-theme readings with bare nominalisations, for instance the rarity of the instrumental reading. One of the factors responsible for an infrequent occurrence of this concrete sense with bare nominalisations is the exstence of *-er* deverbal formations with instrumental interpretation. Competition between zero-derivatives and suffixal formations in denoting arguments of parent verbs will be investigated in Section 3.4.

Another factor hampering absorption of thematic roles by bare nominalisations is the lack of need for deverbal formations with particular concrete readings. A speaker of English may need a name of a place where people are allowed to smoke (i.e. *smoker* and *smoking room*) but he will most probably never wish to coin a noun denoting a place where people can cough or think. The coining of locative nouns seems to be culturally conditioned. If special areas are assigned for driving or for dumping waste material, a speaker may decide to refer to those places by specific names (i.e. *drive* and *dump*). The pragmatic constraint on vocabulary extension — formulated in, among others, B a u e r (1983: 85) — accounts for predominance of concrete bare nominalisations in a technical jargon in which the need to name a particular instrument or area arises more frequently that in non-specialized vocabulary.

It may be added, in passing, that bare nominalisations occasionally absorb semantic roles which, though implied by the semantic interpretation of verbs, are not assigned by verbs either to overt complements or to modifiers. The nouns *rip*, *slit* and *bump* have a resultative reading 'a mark made by V-ing' while the corresponding verbs *rip*, *slit* and *bump* assign no role of Result. The reading 'the sound produced while V-ing', exhibited by the noun *rub*, does not correspond to theta-roles assigned by the verb *rub* (which carries the grid [Agent, Patient]).

Last but not least, there are concrete senses of bare nominalisations which are very loosely related to meanings of corresponding verbs. Those senses do not match semantic roles assigned by verbs. The occurrence of semantically unanalysable nominalisations confirms the accuracy of the observation made in C o m r i e and T h o m p s o n (1985: 357):

(99)   "Semantically, it is very common to find a deverbal noun taking on special and unpredictable meanings precisely because it is a noun and as susceptible to idiosyncratic semantic change as any other lexical item."

The noun *spit*, for example, is used in the sense 'the exact likeness', the noun *run* may be paraphrased in one of its meanings as 'a set of cards dealt to a person in which the numbers on all the cards follow on from each other' and *sleep* denotes, among others, the substance which gathers in the corners of the eyes when one is tired or asleep.

3.4. Competition between bare nominalisations and suffixal formations denoting participants or circumstantials in states of affairs

There exist morphological operations in English by means of which speakers can regularly coin names of participants or circumstantial elements associated with particular states of affairs.

Names of personal agents are productively derived from verbs by the attachment of the suffix *-er*, e.g. *to drive — a driver*. The suffixes *-or, -ar, -ist, -ian, -ant* and *-ent* can be identified in some agentive nouns, e.g. *translator, liar, guardian, informant* and *respondent*. The existence of productive nominalising suffixes with the agent-forming function obviates the need for assigning agentive interpretation to bare nominalisations. A speaker of English usually prefers to coin a deverbal *-er* noun on the spot rather than to employ a bare nominalisation in a novel agentive function. A non-institutionalised *-er* formation will be transparent semantically hence decoded (i.e. processed) by the listener more easily than a bare nominalisation employed in a non-institutionalised sense.

If a bare nominalisation exhibits an established agentive sense, there is usually a parallel agentive noun derived from the same verb, e.g. *help — helper, guide — guider* (rare) 'one who guides but has no official function' and *sweep — sweeper*. In the majority of cases, *-er* derivatives are not real rivals to bare nominalisations. A bare nominalisation may require a collective reading and thus differ from its parallel *-er* agentive noun, e.g. *the attack* and *an attacker*. Alternatively, a zero-derived agentive noun may exhibit the derogatory tinge in its interpretation and be distinguished in this way from an agentive *-er* derivative. The verb *grind* occurs in the senses 'to crush into small pieces or powder' and 'to study hard, especially for an examination'. The corresponding zero-derived agentive noun exhibits semantic relatedness to the pejorative reading of the verb *grind* while the noun terminating in *-er* is related to the non-pejorative reading of the verb (compare *grind* 'a student who is always working' and *grinder* 'a person or a machine that crushes into small pieces'). A similar situation obtains in the case of the verb *bore* and its derivatives *a bore* and *a borer*. The verb *bore* exhibits the senses 'to make holes' and 'to make someone tired and uninterested'. *Borer* denotes a person or a machine that bores holes and $bore_N$ can be paraphrased as 'someone or something that is boring'.

The majority of *-er* and *-or* nouns occur both in the agentive and in the instrumental sense, e.g. *borer, grinder, slicer, collector* and *conductor*. Frequently those nouns denote machines or parts of machines which are power-driven and require no personal agent to operate them, e.g. *transmitter, refrigerator* and *generator*. Such machines may be regarded as semi-agents and referred to as impersonal agents.[31] The existence of *-er* and *-or* formations in the

instrumental sense does not prevent totally the development of the instrumental reading by bare nominalisations, as is shown in (100). However, this factor is responsible for infrequency of the instrumental sense with bare nominalisations.

(100) a. *catcher* 'a person or thing that catches'
    catch 'a contrivance for checking the motion of a door'
  b. *hoister* 'one who or that which hoists, raises or elevates'
    hoist 'an apparatus for lifting heavy goods'
  c. *picker* 'one who gathers or collects; an instrument for picking'
    pick 'a sharp pointed usually small instrument, e.g. a toothpick or an icepick'
  d. *shunter* (BrE) 'a railway shunting engine or its driver'
    shunt (electr.) 'a conductor joining two points of a circuit over which more or less current may be diverted'
  e. *wringer* 'a machine, often a part of a washing machine with rollers between which water is pressed from clothes, sheets etc., being passed through'
    wring ' a machine which presses cheese into shape or presses the juice out of apples'

The bare nominalisation and its *-er* rival in (100cd) differ in being related to distinct senses of their verbal base, namely *pick* 'to pluck (flower, fruit, etc.) from its stalk' and *pick* 'to probe (teeth, etc.) with a pointed instrument', or *shunt* 'to turn a railway carriage or train from one track to another' and *shunt* 'to divert electric current'. In (100ab) the *-er* noun allows a general and unrestricted interpretation 'anything or anyone that V-s' (i.e. *catcher, hoister*) while the interpretation of the bare nominalisation is more specialized. Bare nominalisations denote neither prototypical personal agents nor prototypical impersonal agents. They frequently refer to small appliances or parts of complex machines (e.g. *catch, pick, throttle* and *release*).

 Deverbal formations terminating in *-er* occasionally exhibit the causative sense 'something that V-s', e.g. the nouns in (101):

(101) *clincher* 'an argument or a remark that triumphantly settles a question'
   reminder 'a thing that reminds (about something)'
   smasher (slang) 'someone or something excellent; a convincing argument or a smashing blow'
   stunner (infml) 'a very attractive person or a thing'
   trier (slang) 'a difficult problem'

Causative nouns terminating in *-er* are not regular rivals to causative bare nominalisations because the former nouns usually belong to slang and refer mainly to the sphere of cognition.

Causative traits are noticeable in the semantic reading of deverbal formations terminating in the suffixes *-ant* and *-ent*, e.g. *coolant* 'a liquid applied to the edge of a cutting tool to lessen the friction', *irritant* 'an irritaing substance' and *solvent* 'a solving liquid or substance'. The above-mentioned nouns can be regarded as representatives of the category of Substances which is distinct from the categories of Causers or Instruments (as in Szymanek (1989: 193)) or as names of second objects of actions (as in Chruściń-ska-Waszakowa (1980)). The suffixes *-ant* and *-ent* do not truly compete against the zero-suffix in deriving causative nominalisations since *-ant* and *-ent* formations are usually felt to belong to scientific terminology.

Names of places in which a particular activity is carried on can be derived in English by means of the suffix *-ery*, which is estimated to be fairly productive in American English (as observed in Marchand (1969: 284)). An assumption can be made that the existence of the formations *brewery* 'a place where beer is brewed', *dreamery* (rare) 'a place which favours dreaming' and *hatchery* 'a place for hatching fish eggs' prevents the bare nominalisations *brew, dream*, and *hatch* from developing the locative sense. The locative interpretation is seldom available for *-er* deverbal nouns, e.g. *diner* 'dining room', *rocker* 'a rocking chair' and *smoker* 'a smoking compartment'.[32]

As far as Object-type nouns are concerned, English contains a very productive pattern for deriving names of personal patients, namely the process of *-ee* suffixation. Few patientive nominalisations contain the now unproductive suffix *-ling*, e.g. *changeling* 'any child secretly exchanged for another' and *foundling* 'a child of unknown parents'. When a formation terminating in *-ee* coexists with an Object-type bare nominalisation derived from the same verb, they contrast in one of the three modes exemplified in (102). Firstly, as in (102d–e), the suffixal formation denotes a personal patient while the bare nominalisation denotes a nonpersonal patient. Secondly, the noun in *-ee* denotes a recipient (i.e. a personal goal of a state of affairs) whereas the bare nominalisation denotes a nonpersonal object, e.g. in (102a–c). Thirdly, the noun terminating in *-ee* refers to an affected agent and its suffixless rival refers to a nonpersonal object, e.g. in (102f).

(102)   a. *depositee* 'a person to whom money or property is trusted'
              deposit 'something that is deposited'
        b. *grantee* 'someone to whom something has been granted'
              grant 'something that has been granted to someone, especially money'
        c. *releasee* 'one to whom an estate is released'

release 'something that has been released, especially a new film or record'

d. *rejectee* (rare) 'someone that has been rejected, e.g. a person unfit for military service'

reject 'an article sold cheaply as not up to the standard; a person unfit for military service'

e. *transferee* 'one to whom a transfer is made; one who is transferred or removed'

transfer 'a thing (rarely a person) that is transferred; a drawing or design conveyed from one surface to another in litography and the like'

f. *returnee* 'one who has returned'

return (often pl.) 'a sum of money returned as a profit'

The personal patientive interpretation is not excluded completely with the bare nominalisations given in (102de), i.e. *reject* and *transfer*, but due to the blocking influence of *-ee* formations this sense is rare with suffixless nouns. The rarity of the recipient reading with bare nominalisations can be similarly accounted for by the strength of this sense-group with *-ee* nouns.

The notion of blocking, introduced in A r o n o f f (1976), has been initially interpreted as "the nonoccurrence of one form due to the simple existence of another" (A r o n o f f (1976: 43)). The nonoccurrence of the formations * *gloriosity* and * *furiosity*, derivable on the pattern of *curiosity* or *preciosity* from the adjectives *glorious* and *furious*, is due to the existence of the nouns *glory* and *fury*. The latter nouns are assumed by Aronoff to occupy the slot for the canonical meaning 'the quality of being X' associated with the stems *glor-* and *fur-* in the lexicon. The term *canonical* means in A r o n o f f (1976) "derived by regular processes".

B a u e r (1983: 87) argues that the existence of the forms *thief* and *variety* does not block the coining of the semantically equivalent formations *stealer* and *variousness* but prevents their institutionalisation, where institutionalisation is understood as the stage in the history of a lexeme when the lexeme starts to be accepted by speakers as a familiar lexical item.

Blocking as discussed in A r o n o f f (1976) and B a u e r (1983) referred to the relationship between a nonderived word and a derivative or between a word containing a relatively unproductive suffix (e.g. *-ity*) and a word derived by a more productive word-formation rule (i.e. WFR). S c a l i s e (1984: 160) points out that a blocking relationship can obtain between two or more productive word-formation operations. The suffix *-cy*, which productively attaches to adjectival bases terminating in *-ate, -ant,* and *-ent,* blocks the attachment of the highly productive suffix *-ness.* Therefore, the nominalisations *delicateness, decentness* and *vagrantness* are blocked by the forms *delicacy, decency* and *vagrancy* and do not become institutionalised.

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Scalise (1984) rightly observes that blocking cannot be considered a formal constraint on WFRs but an expression of a tendency of the lexicon towards its economy.

The competition between suffixal formations discussed in this section and between concrete senses exhibited by bare nominalisations can be interpreted as an exemplification of blocking. Nouns which are productively derived by means of suffixation and which serve as names of agents, instruments, substances, personal goals, personal patients and places block the institutionalisation of bare nominalisations in those concrete senses.[33] The range of non-actional readings attested with bare nominalisations is basically complementary to readings which are "reserved for" particular types of suffixal derivatives. This accounts for a high frequency of the causative sense and the resultative sense with zero-derived nouns.

Blocking is not tight, as is proved by the occurrence of doublets such as *recruit — recruitee* or *scold — scolder*. In the majority of cases, blocking is suspended when the nominalisation one expects to be blocked reveals some idiosyncratic properties. For instance, bare nominalisations in the agentive reading are not blocked when they acquire emotional colouring, necessitate collective interpretation or exhibit more specialized readings than their suffixal equivalents.

3.5. Competion between bare nominalisations and other action nouns

Having analysed the interaction between bare nominalisations and nouns terminating in *-er, -ee, -ant, -ent* and *-ery*, one cannot neglect the competition between bare nominalisations and suffixal action nouns in English.

Bare nominalisations are regularly matched by action nouns which terminate in the suffix *-ing*. Action nouns in *-ing* are distinct from gerunds, as has been pointed out in, among others, Schachter (1976), Anderson (1979: 9 ff.) and Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 84). There are few verbs from which action nouns in *-ing* are not derived, e.g. modal verbs, stative verbs denoting relations and verbs denoting emotion and cognition. The nouns derived through *-ing* suffixation do not block the occurrence and the institutionalisation of zero-derivatives but exert influence upon their semantic reading.[34] The association of the generic interpretation (i.e. 'the state of affairs as such', or 'the art or practice of V-ing') with *-ing* nominalisations may be responsible for the assignment of the Nomen Acti reading to zero-derivatives: one can compare, in this respect, the nouns *torturing* and *torture* or *transferring* and *transfer*. The

Nomen Acti reading, paraphrasable as 'a single instance of V-ing', is not totally excluded with -*ing* nouns but is encountered mainly with those -*ing* nominalisations which require an iterative interpretation, e.g. *a coughing* and *a lashing*. The latter nouns denote sequences of momentary events.

If a particular verb can be used both transitively and intransitively, its -*ing* nominalisation will be related semantically to the transitive usage of the verb and the bare nominalisation will be related to the intransitive usage. This is the difference between *beating* and *beat* occurring in the phrases *the beating of prisoners* and *the beat of your heart*. Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 104) assumes this distinction to be a consequence of the fact that -*ing* attaches mainly to verbs carrying the thematic grid [Agent, Patient].

When both a zero-derived noun and an -*ing* noun derived from a transitive verb allow the action reading, the noun in -*ing* tends to be related to all senses of the verb, while the zero-derivative may be related to one of those senses only, e.g. *drawing* 'the activity of drawing (in all senses)' and *draw* 'an act of receiving or taking by chance cards, lots, etc.'.

As far as concrete readings exhibited by -*ing* nouns are concerned, the non-actional sense encountered most frequently is 'the sound produced while V-ing', e.g. *the slamming of car doors*. There is, moreover, a fairly large group of -*ing* nouns which, when occurring in the plural from, exhibit the specialized reading 'unwanted matter which is the by-product of the process', e.g. *peelings* 'parts peeled off (especially from potatoes)', *mowings* 'grass removed by mowing' and *siftings* 'that which is separated or removed by means of a sieve'. It must be borne in mind, however, that the sense of a by-product is theoretically possible with bare nominalisations. As is shown in (103a), the difference between *sweepings* and *sweeps* in the resultative sense is idiosyncratic. Action nouns terminating in -*ing* can also denote objects of actions (*borrowing*, *darning*), instruments (*coupling* 'something that connects two things') and locations (*landing*, *dwelling*). If there exist rival bare nominalisations in those concrete senses, the difference between -*ing* nouns and zero-derived nouns is negligible (as in (103b)), unpredictable (in (103c)) or it pertains to registers in which both action nouns are used (as in (103d)).

(103)   a. *sweep* 'that which is swept up, in, along, etc.; (coll. sing. or pl.) the sweepings of gold and silver dust from the workshops of goldsmiths or silversmiths'
        sweepings (pl.) 'that which is swept up; matter, especially dust or refuse that is swept together or away'
    b. *wash* 'things to be washed or being washed'
        washing 'things (especially clothes) washed or to be washed'
    c. *dig* 'an ancient place being uncovered by archaeologists'
        digging 'a place where people dig for metal'

d. *read* (infml) 'something to be read'
   reading 'matter to be read'

The cases when a bare nominalisation competes against an action noun derived from the same verb by means od *-ation, -ment, -al* and *-ance/-ence* attachment are less frequent than the rivalry between *-ing* nouns and zero-derivatives. Firstly, those suffixal action nouns are less numerous than *-ing* action nouns. Secondly, certain morphological classes of verbs exhibit a very strong preference for one of those nominalising suffixes and do not undergo conversion into nouns. Verbs terminating in the suffix *-ify*, for instance, do not give rise to bare nominalisations but derive action nouns by means of *-ation* attachment (compare * *calcify*$_N$ and *calcification*).

There is a tendency for bare nominalisations which compete against *-ment, -ation, -al* or *-ance/-ence* action nouns to require a non-actional interpretation. The nouns *deposit, exhibit, guide, pay, remove* and *revise* can theoretically be used in the sense 'an act of V-ing', as the respective glosses in the OED indicate, but the action reading is rare and largely potential. Speakers of English employ the corresponding suffixal nominalisations in the sense 'an act of V-ing' or 'an action of V-ing', i.e. *deposition, exhibition, guidance, payment, removal* and *revision*. There exist a few bare nominalisations which allow no action reading, e.g. *buy* 'a purchase, a bargain', *blend* 'a mixture formed by blending various sorts of qualities' and *insert* 'something inserted, e.g. a paper cirular placed within the folds of a newspaper'.

If a bare nominalisation and a related suffixal action noun (other than the *-ing* nominalisation) are both institutionalised in the action reading, the interpretation of the bare nominalisation tends to be more restricted and more 'marked'. While suffixal action nouns exhibit semantic affinity to all senses attested with cognate verbs, bare nominalisations are usually related to one or two meanings of polysemous verbal bases. The noun *remove* occurs in the institutionalised usage in the specialized action reading 'promotion to a higher form at school' (in British English) whereas *removal* 'the act or action of removing' is related to the verb *remove* in the senses 'to take away or off from the place occupied', 'to get rid of' and 'to go to live and work in another place'. The bare nominalisation *try* 'an attempt' is derived from the verb *try* in the sense 'to attempt to do or to perform something'. The suffixal nominalisation *trial*, in contrast, appears to be related to the verb *try* in all its possibile readings, i.e. 'to investigate a case judicially', 'to test the quality of a person or a thing', 'to put a person to a severe test' and 'to attempt to do something'.

Suffixal nominalisations terminating in *-ation, -ment, -al* and *-ance/-ence* can function as names of causers, affected objects, results, personal agents, instruments, places and nonpatientive themes. Illustrative examples of com-

petition between such nominalisations and zero-derived nouns in concrete readings are provided in (104).

(104) a. *command* 'controlling or being controlled; an order; a division of the army, air force, etc. under separate control of one person; a group of officers or officials with the power to give orders; the ability to use and control'
       commandment (lit.) 'an order; any of the the laws given by God to the Jews'
       b. *exhibit* 'a document or thing produced in the lawcourt; a thing sent to an exhibition; display; (AmE) a public show of objects'
       exhibition. 'the action of displaying; a public display of works of art'
       c. *quote* (infml) 'a passage quoted; (pl.) quotation marks'
       quotation 'the act of quoting; a passage quoted; the amount stated as the current price of stocks; (print.) a quadrat used for filling up blanks'
       d. *reserve* 'something reserved for future use; troops withheld from action to reinforce or cover retreat; a place reserved for some special use, e.g. a game reserve; self-restraint'
       reservation '(eccl.) the right reserved to the Pope of nominating to a vacant benefice; the power of absolution reserved to the superior; (law) the right or interest retained in the estate being conveyed; clause reserving it; (US) the tract of land reserved for the exclusive use of a native tribe; a tacit limitation about something; a booking of a room in a hotel, etc.'

There exists no regular pattern of difference between concrete readings of suffixal and suffixless nominalisations in (104). There is no way of predicting that a piece of land set apart for American Indians is referred to as *a reservation* while a place where animals and plants are protected is called *a nature reserve*. A bare nominalisation in a concrete reading may be regarded as typical of an informal register, e.g. *quote* in (104c) and *invite*, whereas its suffixal equivalent (i.e. *quotation* and *invitation*) is register-neutral. Some speakers of British English feel that *invite* 'invitation' and *exhibit* 'a public show of objects' are Americanisms and should be avoided in "proper English".

Occasionally bare nominalisations compete against action nouns terminationg in the suffixes *-ure* and *-age*. For some pairs of doublets, e.g. *drain – drainage* and *pass — passage*, the regularity holds that the zero-derivative has a more restricted usage. *Drainage* and *passage* are paraphrasable as 'an act of draining/passing (in all senses)'. In contrast, $drain_N$ can be interpreted as 'an act of draining' in the figurative sense of $drain_V$ only (i.e. 'to use up resources or

energy'). *Pass*$_N$ occurs in the action reading in sports terminology, denoting an act of kicking a ball to another player or letting one's turn go in a card game.

Action nouns terminating in the now unproductive suffixes *-t* and *-th* or related to cognate verbs through vowel or consonant change usually block the formation of bare nominalisations from corresponding verbs. The nonoccurrence of the potential zero-derivatives ?*grow*$_N$, ?*live*$_N$, ?*complain*$_N$ and ?*prove*$_N$ may be attributed to the institutionalised status of the irregular nominalisations *growth, life, complaint* and *proof*. Nevertheless, there are several counterexamples to this blocking principle. The suffixless nominalisations *bathe, choose, sell, shoot* and *think* coexist with the irregular nominalisations *bath, choice, sale, shot* and *thought*. Some of the suffixless nominalisations may be regarded by speakers as nonce-words (e.g. *choose*$_N$), they may be encountered mainly within the frames *have a N* (e.g. *have a think*) or their occurrence may be limited to compounds (e.g. *hardsell*). Speakers of English may disagree in evaluating the acceptability of particular bare nominalisations.

It may be worth quoting here Marchand's comment on pseudocompound verbs, namely verbs derived from compound nouns through back-formation:

(105)   "Pseudo-compound verbs have been steadily increasing in Modern English, especially since the beginning of the 19th century. Their growth, however, has been largely on the colloquial or slang level. This is one of the reasons why they are still not established in literary usage, though even educated speakers use them in conversation. Many people are hesitant about them, unconsciously considering them to be 'not good English'. This is the usual attitude of speakers towards new linguistic trends." (M a r c h a n d (1969: 106))

Most of the above remarks could refer to bare nominalisations. Speakers may regard some zero-derived nouns as unnecessary and "vulgar" innovations which are unacceptable outside slang or technical jargon, e.g. *affirm* (slang, originally U.S. Air Force in the Vietnam War) 'an affirmative reply', *assist* (U.S. baseball) 'a score credited to the fielder who stops and throws in the ball to a player nearest the base to which an opponent is running, so helping to put him out' and *invert* (sports) 'a figure in skateboarding'.

Comments on conversion made in P e n n a n e n (1988) can be construed as indicating another reason for the "specialized" tinge in the semantic interpretation of bare nominalisations. P e n n a n e n (1988: 138) observes that the present-day trend in English is "to convey more content with less form, to depend more on connotation than denotation". Conversion of verbs into nouns exemplifies such a tendency since suffixless nominalisations are simpler in form than suffixal ones. Extralinguistic knowledge is very important in interpreting non-established zero-derivatives and established zero-derivatives emp-

loyed in novel senses. Speakers who belong to a particular professional group or a social milieu share some knowledge and, as noted in Pennanen (1988: 136), "they are able to decode a message when they know what is spoken about, by whom, in what kind of situation, although these circumstances are not expressed by linguistic elements".

3.6. Concrete senses regarded as developments from actional senses

It has been tacitly assumed in the course of the preceding discussion that *transfer* 'an act of transferring' and *transfer* 'someone or something that has transferred or has been transferred' are instances of the same polysemous lexeme *transfer*. Another assumption implicit in the present study is that concrete senses are secondary to (i.e. developed from) abstract senses, such as 'the activity of V-ing', 'an act of V-ing' or 'a state of V-ing'.

The possibility of alternative analyses has been signalled in Section 1.2. *Transfer*$_1$ 'an act of transferring' and *transfer*$_2$ 'someone or something that has transferred or has been transferred' may be treated as homonymous lexemes derived from the same verbal base by means of separate rules.

In this section evidence will be adduced in favour of the polysemous approach towards formally identical zero-derivatives exhibiting distinct senses (e.g. *transfer*$_1$ and *transfer*$_2$).

There are two major criteria traditionally invoked by linguists in determining whether two forms should be regarded as distinct homonymous lexemes or as variants of one polysemous lexeme. The first criterion, which is not always decisive, concerns the origin of particular words and their senses. Formally identical words which developed from historically distinct lexemes are treated as homonyms. The second criterion requires the senses of a polysemous lexeme to be in some way connected, for instance by metaphorical extension. The lack of unambiguous semantic relatedness between formally identical words classifies them as homonyms, e.g. *pontoon*$_1$ 'a type of a flat-bottomed boat' and *pontoon*$_2$ 'a type of a card game in which a winning combination of two cards is worth twenty-one points'. When the etymological criterion and the semantic criterion are both taken into account, bare nominalisations occurring in actional senses and those in non-actional senses are usually recognized as variants of polysemous lexemes. If the semantic connection between a particular concrete reading of a zero-derivative and the abstract reading becomes obliterated, the recognition of homonymous lexemes is a more probable solution, e.g. *drag*$_1$ 'an act of dragging' and *drag*$_2$ 'woman's clothing worn by a man'.

The traditional approach towards homonymy and polysemy need not be adhered to if there are powerful arguments to the contrary. R a n d a l l (1988) has claimed that resultative and process-type nominalisations should be derived by distinct lexical rules since each type exhibits different inheritance properties: process-type nominalisations inherit theta-grids of verbal bases while result-type nominalisations do not. Randall's hypothesis has been shown in Section 2.3.6. of this study to be very controversial. The nonoccurrence of a Theme complement with the resultative or object-type zero-derivatives (as in the case of * *a good buy of clothes*) can be accounted for without any formal constraint on inheritance of Themes.

As has been noted in L y o n s (1977: 219), the tendency towards maximizing homonymy leads to duplication of phonological and grammatical information in the lexicon, hence it is not desirable in itself.

Below it will be argued that actional readings are primary to non-actional readings in the case of bare nominalisations.

Historical data neither prove nor disprove convincingly such a hypothesis. According to the OED, the actional readings were attested in written texts earlier than concrete readings in the case of the nouns *draw, haul, scoop, pull, stop* and many others. *Pull* occurred first in the actional sense 'the act of pulling or drawing towards oneself with a force' in 1440 and in the non-actional sense 'that part of a mechanism with which a pull is exerted, a handle or the like' in 1810. One can compare in the same respect *haul* 'the act of hauling' (1670) and *haul* 'a draught of fish' (1834). The first quotations for the actional readings and non-actional readings of $lift_N$ and $climb_N$ come from the same period, e.g. *lift* 'an act of lifting' (1470—85) and 'an apparatus for lifting' (1485). There is a host of bare nominalisations for which, according to the OED, concrete senses are attested in earlier texts than actional senses, e.g. *deposit* 'something laid up in a place or committed to the charge of a person for safe keeping' (1660) and 'the act of despositing' (1773). To complicate historical evidence even further, the OED marks some nouns as attested first in actional senses which became obsolete. Those nouns developed concrete senses which later gave rise to new actional senses, e.g. *dispatch* '(obsolete) dismissal of a suitor after settlement' (1550), 'a written message sent off promptly or speedily' (1582) and 'the sending off of a messenger, letter, etc. on an errand to a particular destination' (1600).

No attempt will be made here to account specifically for the historical development of senses available with bare nominalisations. It has already been pointed out in Section 1.3.2.1. that the earlier attestation in historical sources of a particular sense of a lexeme cannot be regarded as a decisive proof of the primacy of this sense. It may be just a matter of coincidence that a quotation exemplifying another usage of a lexeme is dated some twenty or thirty years later. Moreover, an accurate description of the present-day state of affairs may require neglect of diachronic evidence. J e s p e r s e n (1954: 375) notes that

the suffix *-ment* originates in English from the French suffix *-ment* which "was added to verbal stems generally to denote the instrument, result or product of an action, later the action itself". As observed in M a r c h a n d (1969: 332), from the synchronic point of view 'the act of V-ing' and 'the state of being V-ed' are the basic and the most productive senses of *-ment* nominalisations.

The high productivity of the sense 'an act of V-ing' with bare nominalisations at present may be viewed as a piece of synchronic evidence confirming the primacy of this reading over non-actional readings exhibited by zero--derived nouns. There are no institutionalised concrete readings for a large number of bare nominalisations, especially those denoting movement (e.g. *collapse, cuddle, hug, nod, putt* and *save*). With other bare nominalisations concrete senses may be exhibited less frequently, hence may be less familiar, than actional readings, e.g. *shave* 'an act of shaving' and 'a knife-blade for shaving wood, etc.'. The majority of zero-derived nouns felt as nonce--formations occur only in the Nomen Acti sense 'an act or an occasion of V-ing', e.g. *commute, interrupt, invert, wander* and *rewind. Rewind*$_N$ occurred as a jocular nonce-word in a caption to a cartoon showing a witness giving testimony in a court of law:

(106)   "Thank you for the *rewind*, Miss Cooper. Now let us fastforward to that fateful moment in February and hit the pause button." (*The New Yorker*, October 24, 1988, p. 47)

A serious counterargument to the hypothesis that concrete readings are developments from actional readings is constituted by the existence of nouns which allow no action reading (e.g. *blend, assign, insert, scold*) or nouns for which actional readings are not institutionalised or much rarer than concrete senses (e.g. *guide, pay, revise*). The rarity of actional senses with the latter groups of nominalisations has been shown in Section 3.5. to stem from the occurrence of rival suffixal formations institutionalised in abstract readings, e.g. *guidance, payment* and *revision*. It is possible to claim that actional senses, from which concrete senses develop, are potential with *guide, pay* and *revise* but are usually blocked. *Assign*$_N$, *blend*$_N$, *insert*$_N$, *cook*$_N$ and *convert*$_N$ have to be marked in the lexicon as having no action reading. *Assign*$_N$ was adopted into English from French independently of *assign*$_V$. *Insert*$_N$, as the OED suggests, may be analysed as a clipped form of *insertion*. Consequently, some grounds can be found for viewing these nominalisations as exceptions among bare nominalisations.

A different approach is available in the case of the agentive nouns *nag, soak* (slang) 'a person who is often or usually drunk', *scold* and *tease* mentioned in Section 3.2.4. When discussing conversion of verb-adverb combinations into personal nouns, such as *run-away, call-down* and *stare-about*, L i n d e l ö f (1938: 33 ff.)

observes that nouns of this type with a derogatory meaning were regularly coined in English in the period dating up to 1700. Then their number declined. Abstract nouns coined from verb-adverb groups were, in contrast, less numerous initially but have been steadily increasing for the last two or three centuries. For the majority of nouns denoting persons and abstract notions (or material objects), the personal use was attested earlier. Lindelöf points to imperative phrases as the hypothetical source of personal appellations *run-away, stare-about* and the like. His analysis may be applied to agentive suffixless nouns such as *nag, soak* and *scold*. They may be viewed as representing the now unproductive pattern of deverbal personal appellations, hence the lack of the action reading in their case is to be expected.

There exists indirect evidence for recognizing abstract senses of bare nominalisations as primary to various concrete readings.

Abstract nouns often develop concrete senses, for instance names of qualities come to denote concrete examples of those qualities (e.g. *injustices, my weaknesses, the wrongs done to men by fate*). The reverse process, namely the development of abstract readings by names of persons or material objects, does not take place in English. Nouns denoting people who exhibit particular qualites (e.g. *fatty, lofty*), names of agents (*typist, driver*), patients (*interviewee, visitee*) and names of substances (*coolant, irritant*) do not exhibit secondary abstract senses. *Coolant*, for instance, does not come to denote the quality of being a coolant or the process of cooling.

Moreover, it is not a coincidence that action nouns representing various derivational types in English exhibit similar kinds of concrete readings. An important generalisation concerning the behaviour of action nouns would be missed if the following statements were formulated to describe independently the coining of resultative, object-type and causative nominalisations:

(107)   a. Names of material objects or immaterial entities which come into being as a result of a process can be derived from verbs by means of *-ing, -ation, -ment, -ance/-ence* and *-age* suffixation or zero-derivation, e.g. *building, calcination, establishment, utterance, sweepage, cut.*

            b. Names of objects affected by or involved non-causally in a process can be derived from verbs by means of *-ing, -ation, -ment, -ance/-ence* and *-age* suffixation or zero-derivation, e.g. *borrowing, quotation, shipment, inheritance, wastage, find.*

            c. Names of causers (i.e. entities triggering off a process non-volitationally) can be derived from verbs by means of *-ation, -ment, -ance/-ence* suffixation, zero-derivation and occasionally by *-er* suffixation, e.g. *distraction, embarrassment, annoyance, bother, reminder.*

The statements given in (107) could be abbreviated and made more adequate descriptively if the list of suffixes consisting of *-ing, -ment, -ance/-ence, -age* and zero-morpheme were replaced by the single formula "suffixes which produce action nouns". A hypothetical objection which might be raised against such a simplification of (107) is the lack of *-al* derivatives exhibiting resultative, object and causative readings or the nonoccurrence of *-ing* nominalisations in the causative sense. These phenomena can be attributed to an interaction of several tendencies. Firstly, causative nominalisations are not formed regularly by means of *-ing* and *-al* attachment (*blessing* and *trial* being rare exeptions) since the two suffixes do not attach to verbs carrying the thematic grids [Causer, Patient], [Experienced, Experiencer] and [Experiencer, Experienced]. Malicka-Kleparska (1988) suggests that *-ing* and *-al* attach productively to [Agent, Theme] verbs. Secondly, as has been pointed out in Section 3.5., the nonoccurrence of the resultative and patient readings with particular action nouns (e.g. *revisal, transference*) may be due to competition between action nouns derived from the same verbal base.

Action nouns, no matter what derivational type they belong to, generally follow the same pattern of semantic extensions. Suffixal action nouns have been found to undergo concretisation in Malicka-Kleparska (1988). An analogical approach can be suggested here for suffixless nominalisations.

CHAPTER 4

The rule of verb to noun conversion

4.1. The format of word-formation rules

In the final chapter of this study an attempt will be made to formulate tentatively a rule of word-formation (WFR) by means of which bare nominalisations are derived from verbs in English.

Each rule of word-formation postulated in Aronoff's (1976) monograph consists of two major parts:

1) the statement of the operation which is performed on the derivational base,

2) various conditions and constraints specifiable on the bases.

The operation performed on a derivational base has phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. A rule of word-formation should state the phonological effect of its application (for instance, the addition or subtraction of an affix) and the internal morphological structure of the derivative. Moreover, a WFR should specify the syntactic category of the base and the derivative and identify the predictable portion of the semantic interpretation of the derivative. The semantic effect of the application of a WFR is formulated as a compositional function of the meaning of the bases and the meaning of the affix. For example, *"unX* means 'not X'"* appears as a statement of the semantic facet of the rule of *un*-attachment in Aronoff (1976: 63).

Since Aronoff's seminal study appeared, alternative models of word-formation in generative grammar have been proposed where the "one affix — one rule" principle is not observed. Beard (1981) assumes the separation of rules of semantic derivation from rules of affixation. Rules of derivation

specify syntactico-semantic changes effected in the derivational base. Rules of affixation spell out phonological results of word-formation operations. One rule of affixation may be linked with several rules of derivation. The rule of *un*-prefixation is, for instance, correlated with the rule of derivation forming negative adjectives *(fair → unfair)* and with the rule of derivation for denominal privative verbs *(button → unbutton)*. On the other hand, a single rule of derivation is correlated with several rules of affixation which are ordered with respect to each other or with respect of the most general of them.[35] In the model of word-formation in which the Separation Hypothesis is put forward, conditions can be stated both on rules of semantic derivation (DRs) and affixation rules (ARs).

The rule deriving bare nominalisations in English which will be presented in this section conforms to the rule-format outlined in Aronoff (1976). However, it is possible to restate (109) as a rule of derivation and to restate (108) as an affixation rule linked with (109).[36]

I take no stand here on the controversial issue whether phonologically null affixes should be allowed in morphological analyses. What I argue for is the lexical (i.e. word-formational) status of the process by means of which verbs are converted into nouns. It cannot be a purely syntactic operation since it involves regular changes in the semantic interpretation of its input. Verbs bring into focus the evolution of a process in time while nominalisations are construed as referring to actions and processes viewed as atemporal entities. Langacker (1987a: 146) assumes that a process denoted by a nominalisation is "viewed as a single complex configuration all of whose facets are coactivated and simultaneously available". Moreover, bare nominalisations are likely to exhibit unpredictable readings, which is typical of the output of a word-formation rule: consider, in this respect, *rub* 'a dancing party' and *lay* 'an expedition of thieves for any criminal purpose' derived from rub_V and lay_V.

It is immaterial for the formulation of a WFR offered here whether the nouns *rub, lay, call* and the like are derived from corresponding verbs through the attachment of a zero-suffix or by means of a word-formation operation that has no phonological reflex. For the purposes of the present study, (108a) and (108b) will be treated as notational variants of the syntactico-morphological subpart of a single WFR.

(108)   a. $[x]_V \rightarrow [[x]_V \emptyset]_N$ (to be read as "a verb to which a zero-affix is appended gives rise to a noun")
        b. $[x]_V \rightarrow [[x]_V]_N$ (to be read as "a noun can be formed from a verb through a suffixless operation")

It was argued in Section 3.6. that actional readings should be regarded as primary to concrete readings of bare nominalisations. Consequently, the semantic change effected by (108) will be stated as (109):

(109) $[[x]_V(\varnothing)]_N$ is to be interpreted as "an episode of X-ing" if
X denotes a perfective process and as "X-ing as a general
phenomenon" if X denotes an imperfective process.

The terms "imperfective process" and "perfective process", employed here after
L a n g a c k e r (1987), have been introduced in Section 3.1.1. above. A perfective
process is replicable and bounded (e.g. *jump, sleep*) while an imperfective
process can be neither repeated nor bounded (e.g. *know, love*).

When discussing in Section 3.1.4. the factive reading, the degree and the
manner interpretation of bare nominalisations, I have pointed out the
importance of the syntactic and situational context in selecting one of these
readings. Given the occurrence of *regret* in the clause *I regretted my escape from
prison*, rules of semantic interpretation (presumably some sort of projection
rules in generative grammar) will amalgamate the meanings of lexemes
occurring in the clause and add the information 'the fact that...' to the
categorial meaning 'an episode of V-ing' provided for the nominalisation
escape by rule (109).[37] Concrete readings of bare nominalisations, e.g. 'the
object of V-ing', will be derived from the actional readings given in (109) by
means of extension rules which will be discussed in 4.5.

In Section 4.2. and 4.3. conditions statable on potential bases to (108) will
be examined. According to A r o n o f f (1976: 48 ff.), conditions on bases can be
negative or positive. Negative conditions exclude from the domain of a WFR
a set (or sets) of potential bases. The adjectival suffix *-al*, for instance, cannot be
attached to deverbal nouns terminating in *-ment*,[38] hence the hypothetical
forms ** employmental* and ** derangemental* are unacceptable. Positive con-
ditions on a WFR indicate sets of bases on which this WFR operates very
productively. The nominalising suffix *-cy*, for example, attaches regularly to
adjectives terminating in the sequence *-ate, -ant* and *-ent*: *delicate* gives rise to
delicacy, consistent to *consistency* and *brilliant* to *brilliancy*.

4.2. Negative conditions on verb-to-noun conversion

The following sets of bases seem to be excluded from the domain of verb-to-
-noun conversion (zero-derivation):

(110)   A. Verbs containing the prefixes *be-* and *en-*, e.g. *bewilder,
bequeath, encroach*. These verbs form nominalisations by means
of *-ment* suffixation.

B. Verbs terminating in the sequences *-ate, -ize/-ise* and *-ify*, e.g.

allocate, popularize, amplify. Action nouns are regularly derived from those verbs by means of the suffix *-ation* (*allocation, popularization, amplification*).

C. Deadjectival verbs derived by means of the suffix *-en*, e.g. *weaken, sharpen*, which form only *-ing* nominalisations.

There are only isolated counterexamples to the constraints formulated as (110AB), e.g. *an employ* (rare), *a revise*, and *a concentrate*. The classes of verbs listed in (111) occasionally — but rather rarely — serve as the input to verb-to-noun conversion, e.g. *comb*$_V$ gives rise to *comb*$_N$ 'an act of combing' while *divide*$_V$ functions as the derivational base for *divide*$_N$.

(111)   A. Verbs formed by means of zero-derivation from nouns or adjectives, e.g. *empty, hammer*.
   B. Verbs derived by means of back-formation from compound nouns and compound adjectives, e.g. *babysit, handpick, spoonfeed*.
   C. Morphologically complex verbs analysable into morphological units (i.e. Latinate prefixes and Latinate stems) devoid of independent meaning, e.g. *inscribe, subscribe, construct, instruct, compel, expel*.
   D. Verbs derived through prefixation from independently existing lexemes, e.g. *dehair, uncover, misjudge*.

The data gathered in (112) show that zero-derived denominal verbs are most likely to be converted into action nouns when the meanings exhibited by the verbs depart from the meanings of their nominal bases. In such cases, speakers of English may reanalyse denominal verbs as nonderived lexemes and apply the rule of verb-to-noun conversion.

(112)   *dart*$_N$ 'a kind of weapon' → *dart*$_V$ 'to throw (a dart); to move rapidly (like a dart)' → *dart*$_N$ 'a sudden movement'
   feather$_N$ 'one of the appendages growing from a bird's skin' → *feather*$_V$ 'to furnish with feathers; to make (the blade of an oar) lie flat on the surface of water' → *feather*$_N$ '(in rowing) an act of feathering an oar'
   nose$_N$ 'the part of the face above the mouth' → *nose*$_V$ 'to watch (someone); to act as an informer' → *nose*$_N$ 'an act of nosing; a police spy'

Jespersen (1954) refers to the instances of noun → verb → noun conversion as an oscillation between a nominal and verbal usage of a lexeme. He observes that "(s)moke is first a sb (the smoke from the chimney), then a vb (the chimney smokes a pipe); then a new sb is formed from the verb in the last sense (let us have a smoke)" (Jespersen (1954: 124)).

Latinate prefix-stem verbs seldom undergo conversion into nouns since they have related suffixal action nouns which are loans from French or Latin, e.g. *inscription, compulsion, explosion.* Some of Latinate prefix-stem verbs, however, are related both to a suffixal action noun and a bare nominalisation, as has been shown in Section 3.5. (e.g. *permit*$_V$ — *permission, permit*$_N$). The constraint against coining zero-derivatives from verbs with the internal morphological structure described in (111C) represents a prevailing tendency rather than a negative condition on a word-formation process.

It is not common to form zero-derived nouns from pseudo-compound verbs, namely verbs formed from synthetic compounds by subtracting the final *-er* or *-ing* or *-ed* suffix. The verbs *babysit* (coined from *babysitting* or *babysitter*), *spoonfeed* (back-derived from *spoonfeeding* or *spoonfed*) and *type-write* (from *typewriter* or *typewriting*) have no institutionalised nominalisations *?a babysit, ?a spoonfeed* and *?a typewrite.* The occurrence of the nouns *handshake, joyride, broadcast* and *nosedive* seems to contradict this constraint on verb-to-noun conversion. However, it is not clear if *handshake* or *nosedive* should be analysed as bare nominalisations or as compound nouns which represent a very strong noun + noun pattern.

Another tendency identifiable in verb-to-noun conversion is the avoidance of bare nominalisations derived from prefixed adjectival, denominal and deverbal verbs. Suffixless action nouns are not formed from verbs containing the privative prefix *de-* and paraphrasable as 'to deprive or get rid of X' (*dehair, dewater*) of from verbs containing the reversative prefixes *de-, dis-* and *un-* paraphrasable as 'to undo the effect of X-ing' (e.g. *decompress, disconnect, uncover*). The apparent counterexamples *undress*$_N$ and *unrest*$_N$ are denominal formations while *dislike*$_N$ and *distrust*$_N$, instead of containing the reversative prefix *dis-*, contain *dis-* which expresses the opposite of the notion signified by the derivational base. The majority of prefixed *mis-* and *fore-* verbs do not undergo conversion into nouns: *misprint, mishit* and *forecast* are exceptional. The same remark refers to verbs with the prefixes *inter-, pre-* and *post-*, e.g. *intermix, predefine* and *postdate.* The prefixes *mis-, fore-, inter-, pre-* and *post-* can be attached to nominal as well as verbal bases therefore it is possible to analyse *misfit*$_N$, *foretaste*$_N$, *interchange*$_N$, *postfix*$_N$ and *pre-contract*$_N$ as prefixed denominal formations (and not as zero-derivatives from prefixed verbs).

The only group of prefixed verbs which frequently serve as the input to the rule of conversion or zero-derivation stated in (108) are deverbal verbs containing the prefix *re-* and paraphrasable as 'to X again'. Although the nouns *refill, rehash, rerun* and the like are clearly related semantically to corresponding prefixed verbs, attention should be paid to the possibility of treating those nouns as derived from the nonprefixed nouns *fill, hash, run,* etc. by means of *re-* prefixation. Marchand (1969: 190) gives examples of *re-* nouns which are not matched by *re-* verbs (*re-carriage* 'conveyance back',

rebirth) and suggests that all nouns with the initial *re-* morpheme are coined regardless of the existence of formally identical verbs.

Bare nominalisations can be formed from verbs beginning with locative particles, especially the particle *over*, e.g. *overload, overbid, outdo* and *underbid*. However, a number of nouns containing location particles in the word-initial position are analysable as denominal formations, even when they are matched by preparticle verbs, e.g. *understudy* and *outfit*.

The majority of nouns containing the prefix *inter-, post-, pre-, over-, out-*, or *under-* differ from corresponding verbs in their stress contours. Nouns tend to carry the main stress on the prefix and verbs usually have the main stress on the stem, e.g. *ínterchange*$_N$ — *interchánge*$_V$, *réwrite*$_N$ — *rewríte*$_V$, *óverlap*$_N$— *overláp*$_V$, *óutflow*$_N$ — *outflów*$_V$.

A question could be asked at this point whether it is necessary to mark explicitly the groups of verbs listed in (110) and (111) as not undergoing verb-to-noun conversion. The nonoccurrence of the nouns * *a bequeath*, * *a popularize*, * *an encroach*, * *an amplify* and * *a translate* may be viewed as the result of blocking these forms by institutionalised nominalisations terminating in *-ment* or *-ation*. However, it has been pointed out in Section 3.4. that the mechanism of blocking is not tight. This is particularly evident when a regularly formed bare nominalisation differs in its denotation or connotation from its rival suffixal action noun, e.g. *reserve*$_N$ — *reservation*. In contrast, the nonoccurrence of bare nominalisations from verbs beginning in the prefixes *be-* and *en-* or terminating in the suffixes *-ate, -en, -ify* or *-ize/-ise* is very systematic. One factor responsible for this regularity is the existence of positive conditions on co-functional rules of word-formation deriving suffixal action nouns. Verbs beginning in the prefixes *be-* and *en-* are identified by a rule of *-ment* suffixation as its preferable input while verbs terminating in *-ate, -ify* and *-ize/-ise* are mentioned as preferred bases for *-ation* suffixation. Another factor is the categorizing function of suffixes, e.g. *-en, -ify*, and *-ize/-ise*, which is pointed out in Marchand (1969: 376). These suffixes unambiguously signal the verbal status of lexemes which contain them in the word-final position. Recategorization of verbs terminating in those suffixes without any phonological reflex of the operation is unlikely, for psychological and pragmatic reasons. This argument does not hold for the suffix *-ate* which, apart from coining verbs, may be employed for forming adjectives (*passion*$_N$ — *passionate*$_{Adj}$) or nouns (*sultan*$_N$ — *sultanate*$_N$).

It is proposed here that the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (zero-derivation) formulated as (108) carries no negative conditions. The exclusion of certain types of bases from the domain of the rule may be attributed to the factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which are independent of the rule itself. The solution adopted here is reminiscent of the approach taken by Gussmann (1987), who formulates no conditions on the rule of zero-

-affixation which forms deadjectival verbs (e.g. *dirty*$_{Adj}$ — *dirty*$_V$). It is worth quoting here the following comment on conversion from Bauer (1983):

(113)   "Conversion is an extremely productive way of producing new words in English. There do not appear to be morphological restrictions on the forms that can undergo conversion, so that compounds, derivatives, acronyms, blends, clipped forms are all acceptable inputs to the conversion process." (Bauer (1983: 226))

If co-functional processes deriving action nouns are construed as constituting a block, zero-derivation should be ordered as the last process of the block. It operates whenever a nominal base fails to meet the positive conditions on co-functional suffixation processes. Zero-derivation is ordered neither before nor after *-ing* suffixation because no blocking effect is observed between zero-derivatives and *-ing* action nouns. Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 164 ff.) argues that *-ing* suffixation forms a separate block.

I assume that the sets of verbs listed in (111), e.g. zero-derived denominal verbs or Latinate prefix-stem verbs, do not consitute preferable input to non-*ing* suffixations which are rivals with verb-to-noun conversion. The rarity of bare nominalisations derived from those groups of verbs should be viewed as a consequence of pragmatic limits on word-formation. When pointing to uncommonness of verbs zero-derived from suffixed nouns in English, Marchand (1969: 375) observes that "(m)any of the nominal suffixes derive substantives from verbs, and it would be contrary to reason to form such verbs as *arrival, guidance, improvement, organization* when *arrive, guide, improve, organize* exist". Vicious circles in word-formation are avoided, hence **natio-nalizational* is an unacceptable derived adjective. Circular and vacuous application of rules of zero-derivation, e.g. N → V → N and V → N→ V, would be undesirable (especially if the derived form were to have the same meaning as its base).

It is not clear why prefixed verbs should rank as uncommon input to verb-to-noun conversion. Prefixes are not verbal categorizers and not all prefixed verbs are of denominal origin. The avoidance of zero-derivatives from certain types of prefixed verbs presumably reflects the tendency towards applying zero-derivation to first and foremost morphologically simple verbs.

4.3. Positive conditions on verb-to-noun conversion

The overwhelming majority of verbs from which bare nominalisations are derived are monosyllabic, e.g. *bust, blush, cut, fail* and *sleep*. Disyllabic verbs give rise to bare nominalisations fairly frequently, especially if their second syllable is constituted — on the phonetic plane — by a syllabic sonorant [n], [l] or if they end in [ə(r)]: *chuckle, glitter, glisten*. Such a phonetic make-up of preferable bases for verb-to-noun conversion is a consequence of the tendency to form zero-derivatives from nonderived verbs. Derived lexemes are usually polysyllabic due to the occurrence of affixes. Verbs which undergo conversion are usually of Germanic origin, e.g. *crack*, and *stop*. However, verbs adopted from Latin of French are not excluded, e.g. *demand, offer* and *reprimand*. The native/foreign distinction in the lexicon of English is difficult to maintain. For instance, *demand* and *offer* are no longer felt as borrowings.

M a r c h a n d (1969: 374) observes that the bulk of bare nominalisations are derived from intransitive verbs, "among which verbs of the 'move' and 'sound' class stand as a particularly strong group". One could add that verbs denoting movement prevail also among transitive bases for bare nominalisations, e.g. *haul, kick, push* and *shove*. A number of transitive bases for bare nominalisations belong to the 'cut' and 'squeeze' group, namely to the group of verbs denoting an agent's action directed at a patient. The action involves movement and results either in leaving some marks on the patient or in destroying it completely (e.g. *crush, bite, rip*). A considerable part of the input to verb-to-noun conversion is constituted by verbs which allow both transitive agentive and intransitive nonagentive use, e.g. *increase, mix, stop* and *spread*.

If thematic grids carried by preferable bases for zero-derivation are taken into account, the majority of verbal bases seem to assign only the role of Agent, e.g. *jump, frown* and *shout*. As a matter of fact, this role is conflated with the role of Theme in the case of intransitive verbs of movement such as *dive* and *jump* since the agent of jumping is affected by the action (i.e. he changes his position). Intransitive verbs which assign the role of Theme to a nonpersonal participant are less frequent, e.g. *glow, fade* and *rise*. If a personal participant who does not act volitionally is treated as a Theme, then a sizable group of the input to verb-to-noun conversion will be analysed as [Theme]-grid verbs, e.g. *belch, fall, shiver* and *tremble*. The third class of preferable bases for zero-derivation — apart from [Agent + Theme] -verbs and [Theme]-verbs — is constituted by resultative transitive [Agent, Patient]-verbs, e.g. *cut, crush* and *tear*, and nonresultative transitive verbs of movement carrying [Agent, Patient] grids, e.g. *drop, pull* and *push*. It is worth pointing out that zero-derivation is particularly productive with those types of bases which do not form the acceptable input to co-functional rules of suffixation (other than *-ing* suffixation). * *Jumpation,*

cuttance and *breakal* are not institutionalised formations and look ill-formed. ?*Gigglement* and ?*treblement* are attested in the OED but are marked either as obsolete or nonce-formed. ?*Twitteration* and ?*splatteration* are quoted in Marchand (1969: 261) as jocular nonce-words.

Malicka-Kleparska (1988) posits quite complex constraints on possible bases for -*ment*, -*ation*, -*ance*/-*ence* and -*al* suffixations. She points out that the suffix -*ation* attaches frequently to ergative verbs (i.e. verbs with [Theme]-grids) which can occur in transitive agentive construction and to intransitive verbs provided that both classes of verbs are of Latinate origin, e.g. *ascend, extend* and *protrude*. The suffix -*ment* is found mainly with Latinate transitive verbs taking [Experienced, Experiencer] or [Agent, Theme] grids, e.g. *astonish, arrange* and *improve*. Latinate verbs with the thematic structure other than [Agent, Patient] have nominalisations terminating in -*ance*/-*ence*, e.g. *acceptance, dependence* and *correspondence*. The suffix -*al* occurs with bases analysable as Latinate prefix-stem verbs carrying the [Agent, Patient] grids, e.g. *approval, recital, transferral.*

Malicka-Kleparska observes, however, that the products of non-*ing* nominalising suffixations "are mostly lexicalised, possibly with the exception of -*ments* corresponding to *be-, eN-* verbs and -(*A*)*tions* with -*ise, -ate, -ify* verbs". (Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 165)). I propose to construe her remark as implying that only *be-, en-* prefixed verbs and verbs terminating in -*ise, -ate* and -*ify* constitute preferable input to non-*ing* suffixations co-functional with verb-to-noun conversion. Other classes of verbs mentioned in the preceding paragraph are possible (but not preferable) bases for -*ment, -ation, -al* and -*ence*/-*ance* suffixations if they are not included in the negative conditions on a particular suffixation. These groups of verbs are potential (but not preferable) bases for zero-derivation. Consequently, they may be selected by more than one nominalising suffix, e.g. $impress_V$ — *impression*, $impress_N$, $bother_V$ — *botheration*, $bother_N$ and $command_V$ — $command_N$, *commandment*. The appearance of a particular morpheme (including the zero-morpheme) is then determined by individual roots, e.g. the Latinate [Experienced, Experiencer]-grid verbs *annoy, amaze* and *surprise* nominalise as *annoyance, amazement* and *surprise.*

I propose to set up the following positive conditions on the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (or zero-derivation) which was given as (108):

(114)   Bare nominalisations are regularly derived from verbs which
       a) are monomorphemic,
       b) are at most disyllabic,
       c) belong to one of the following semantic classes:
          1. verbs denoting production of sounds; e.g. *belch, bleat, hiss, shout.*

2. verbs denoting production of facial expressions, e.g. *frown, grin, smile, wink.*
3. nonagentive verbs denoting emission of light, e.g. *flash, glimmer, sparkle.*
4. agentive verbs denoting movement as a result of which a mark is left on the patient, e.g. *bite, bump, cut, dent.*
5. nonconclusive verbs denoting movement (which may be directed at the patient), e.g. *dive, jump, kick, shake.*

Phrasal verbs serve fairly frequently as the input to verb-to-noun conversion, e.g. *break-down, walk-about* and *shake-up.* It is possible to restate condition (a) in (114) as "are monomorphemic and may be optionally followed by a particle". I have decided not to do so since a number of phrasal verbs which meet the conditions specified in (114) have no institutionalised bare nominalisations, e.g. *break off, kick about, bum along, push along* and *shake out.*

The positive conditions identified in (114) function as mnemonic devices for native speakers. If a speaker hears a novel monosyllabic or disyllabic verb belonging to any of the semantic classes mentioned in (114c), he will automatically derive a bare nominalisation from it.

A similarity can be perceived between sets of bases recognized above as the preferable input to conversion and between formulas stating semantic limitations on verbo-nominal constructions (e.g. *give a N*) in Section 2.1. The actions of cutting, shaking, shouting and even sparkling may be viewed as initiated by an instantaneous movement.

4.4. Bare nominalisations and the lexicon

I assume that the distinction between the Conditional Lexicon and the Permanent Lexicon, postulated in Allen (1978) and refined in Gussmann (1987) and Malicka-Kleparska (1987), is a useful and justifiable concept. The Conditional Lexicon contains all regular derivatives, i.e. derivatives formed according to productive patterns of word-formation, including potential but not institutionalised formations such as ?*stealer.* The Permanent Lexicon contains simple words, complex words formed by word-formation processes which are no longer productive (e.g. *-ter* and *-th* suffixations which gave rise to *laughter* and *growth*), as well as regularly derived formations which exhibit semantic idiosyncrasies, e.g. *catch* 'a hidden or awkward difficulty'. In addition, the Permanent Lexicon may be assumed to list those semantically and formally regular formations whose institutionalisation cannot be predic-

ted. If two or more competing suffixes can operate on a particular base but only one of the resulting derivatives is institutionalised, the institutionalised formation needs to be entered in the Permanent Lexicon. As Malicka-Kleparska (1987: 114) suggests, the Polish diminutive form *domek* 'a house, dim.' needs to be listed in the Permanent Lexicon as it ousts the potential formation *?domik* 'a house, dim.' which is regularly derived by the rule of *-ik* attachment (the suffixes *-ik* and *-ek* being co-functional).

Since the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (zero-derivation) stated in (108) is highly productive and carries no negative conditions, the Conditional Lexicon will most probably list action nouns with no overt suffix derived from all types of verbs in English. The Permanent Lexicon, in contrast, will contain entries for institutionalised bare nominalisations only. Speakers of English will inevitably have different internalized Permanent Lexicons as they vary in their acceptability judgments concerning particular bare nominalisations, e.g. *clean*$_N$, *listen*$_N$ and *argue*$_N$. Moreover, not every speaker is familiar with the same set of professional, dialectal and slang expressions, such as *affirm* 'an affirmation; an affirmative reply', *steal* (slang) 'a theft; a bargain' and *tell* (dial.) 'a message, an account; gossip'. Entries in the Permanent Lexicon of a particular speaker will also be given to bare nominalisations which are semantically irregular, for instance *drain*$_N$ 'the act of exhausting the resources' which is related to one sense of the cognate verb *drain* only or *insert* 'something inserted; a leaflet inside a magazine' which exhibits no actional reading. Formations which differ in their stress contours from their verbal bases, e.g. *import*$_N$ — *impórt*$_V$ and *misprint*$_N$ — *misprint*$_V$, will have to be listed in the Permanent Lexicon as well since rule (108) predicts no phonological reflexes of nominalisation.

If the contrast between the stress contours of verbs and their nominalisations is perfectly regular and predictable, as in the case of conversion of phrasal verbs into nouns, one can argue that those nominalisations are not entered in the Permanent Lexicon. One can postulate a rule of readjustment, associated with rule (108), by virtue of which the stress contours of bare nominalisations from phrasal verbs would be predicted.

I propose to list in the Permanent Lexicon all bare nominalisations which exist side by side with rival non-*ing* action nouns. As was shown in Section 3.5., those bare nominalisations are very likely to exhibit semantic idiosyncrasies. I also suggest that the Permanent Lexicon should contain bare nominalisations which have no rival action nouns (apart from *-ing* nouns) but which are derived from verbs not included in the sets of preferable bases for zero-derivation (conversion). For instance, the nouns *thaw* and *freeze* will be listed because verbs denoting change of state (such as *thaw* and *freeze*) do not constitute the preferable input to (108). On the other hand, the nouns *gash*, *slash* and *slit* will have no entries in the Permanent Lexicon since their

occurrence is predictable by virtue of the positive conditions on rule (108) stated in (114).

Thus, the recourse to positive conditions on word-formation rules will result in enhancing the economy of the lexicon.

4.5. Semantic extension rules

Concrete readings can be derived from the basic reading of bare nominalisations, specified in (109), by means of rules of semantic extension which are comparable to rules of semantic transfer postulated in Leech (1974: 216 ff.). Leech (1974: 217) states (115) as a metonymic rule which substituted the meaning 'the time at which something to do with A happened' for the meaning 'A':

(115) $A \Rightarrow$ 'time' $\langle$ the. $\rightarrow$ 'at'. (PN) $\rangle$
         (where the embedded predication PN contains A)

A question might be asked at this moment whether one really needs rules to account for concretisations of zero-derivatives. One could argue that semantic development of bare nominalisations reflects speakers' inventiveness which is not governed by any principles.

There are at least two reasons for postulating semantic extension rules. Firstly, concrete readings institutionalised with bare nominalisations tend to conform to the pattern described in Section 3.3. They can usually be correlated with semantic roles assigned by cognate verbs to their complements and modifiers. Semantic redundancy rules can be, correspondingly, viewed as redundancy statements expressing the knowledge of sense-developments which is either conscious or subconscious but is shared by speakers of English. It is worth quoting here Miller's opinion about the nature of semantic extension rules (which are termed "construal rules" in his framework):

(116)   "The assumption is that construal rules are not active processes that the lexical component executes every time a word is used in some derived sense [...]they represent what is learned over and over — the conceptual core — as new senses are acquired [...]" (Miller (1978: 107))

Semantic extension rules, stated informally as 'action' → 'a place where the action is, or can be, performed' or 'action' → 'an object affected by the action',

can be employed by the speaker to analyse unfamiliar uses of bare nominalisations, e.g. *drop* (U.S. slang) 'an ostensibly respectable place of business used as a cover for illegal business', which is related to *drop*$_V$ in the sense 'to supply illegal or contraband goods to a person', and *drop* (U.S. slang) 'a slum boy of unknown origin' presumably related to *drop*$_V$ paraphrased as 'to cease to associate with'.

Secondly, semantic extension rules can be used to create novel senses of nominalisations, such as *drip* 'a painting produced by dripping paint onto the canvas'.

(117)   "Pollock's $ 11 Million *Drip*.
Jackson Pollock liked to drop paint on the canvas because it made him feel at one with it. [...] The owner of Pollock's drippy "Number 8, 1950" knew what he was doing when he put the work up for auction last week. The painting was sold for $ 11 million." (*Newsweek*, Feb. 1, 1988, p. 21)

It is possible to claim that semantic development of bare nominalisations is described by one extension rule given below as (118):

(118)   A name of an action may become a name of a participant involved in the action or a name of a circumstantial associated with the action.

However, as was pointed out in Section 3.3., the generalisation stated as (118) should be treated as a fairly lenient condition on sense-development. I prefer to posit a series of extension rules, such as 'action' → 'the cause of the action' or 'action' → 'an object affected by the action'. Presumably as many semantic rules need to be postulated as there are concrete readings identified in Section 3.2. Such an assumption will account for the occurrence of the resultative reading with nouns derived from verbs which do not assign the role of Result to their complements, e.g. *drip, burn* and *slash*. Sense-developments such as *sleep* 'the natural resting state of unconsciousness' → *sleep* 'the substance that sometimes gathers in the corners of the eyes when one is asleep' will be treated here as non-rule governed.

The semantic extension rules which operate on action nouns differ in their productivity. K a s t o v s k y (1986: 596) formulates a hierarchy of readings, i.e. "Action/Fact → Result → Locative → Instrument → Agent", to characterize the productivity of semantic types with the suffix *-ation*. A similar hierarchy, namely "Act/Action → Result → Cause → Affected Object → Locative → Instrument → Agent", can be set up for readings available with bare nominalisations. The concrete sense which occurs most frequently with bare

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nominalisations is 'the result of V-ing' or, to be more precise, 'the inalienable result of V-ing',[39] for instance the mark made while V-ing or the sound produced while the action is performed.

In Section 3.4. the claim was advanced that the weakness of a particular sense-group among bare nominalisations is a consequence of the existence of productive co-functional word-formation processes, such as *-er, -ant/-ent* or *-ee* suffixations. If a rule of semantic extension is treated on a par with rules of suffixation, it may be grouped with co-functional suffixation processes and ordered as the last process of the block. The operation of sense-development may, consequently, be blocked by a rival morphological operation. Such a hypothesis, however, ought to be elaborated on in further research.

Conclusion

The present study explored in detail syntactico-semantic properties of bare nominalisations in English and attempted to specify the domain of the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (or zero-derivation).

The identification of bare nominalisations is fraught with difficulties. If a verb and a formally identical noun are institutionalised and are common in general usage, it may be appropriate to talk of mutual semantic motivation within such a conversion pair, e.g. *doubt*$_V$ — *doubt*$_N$ and *joke*$_V$ — *joke*$_N$. I hope to have shown, nevertheless, that in a large number of noun-verb conversion pairs the noun is semantically dependent on the verb and, by virtue of the criteria presented in Chapter I (Section 1.3.2), the noun can be regarded as deverbal. Consequently, it makes sense to refer to *a jump, a doze* and *a pull* as nominalisations and to formulate a rule of non-affixal directional operation (or zero-derivation) by means of which such nominalisations can be analysed. The rule, given in Chapter IV as (108), can be used in a productive mode, as the existence of novel bare nominalisations indicates, e.g. *commute*$_N$, *invert*$_N$, *rewind*$_N$ and *affirm*$_N$. This is another item of evidence in favour of the directionality of the rule relating *jump*$_V$ and *jump*$_N$ or *doze*$_V$ and *doze*$_N$.

Another problem the dissertation had to approach was the status of the lexemes *dig, know, prowl* and the like when attested in the constructions *give someone a dig in the ribs, in the know* and *on the prowl*. The claim has been put forward by some researchers that the lexemes in question retain their verbal category even when they are preceded by the articles *the* or *a*. In Chapter II (Sections 2.1.2. and 2.2.) arguments were presented in favour of regarding *dig, know*, and *prowl* encountered in the phrases mentioned above as nouns. Bare nominalisations pattern syntactically like nonderived nouns. Restrictions on the occurrence of some bare nominalisations (especially the non-institutionalised ones such as *listen*$_N$) in the position of a subject or subject complement are of pragmatic nature, as was pointed out in Section 2.2. If a speaker wants to

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coin a novel bare nominalisations he is unlikely to use it in syntactic contexts which do not signal unambiguously the intended syntactic category and the intended semantic interpretation of the nonce-formation. In Section 2.1.1. some other reasons were given for the high frequency of occurrence of bare nominalisations in verbo-nominal constructions *have a N, take a N, give a N* and the like. One of the reasons is the principle of end-weight and end-focus, another — the possibility of introducing multiple modifiers into noun phrases headed by bare nominalisations. Finally, by employing verbo--nominal constructions *give a jump* and *have a smoke* instead of simple predicates, such as *jump* and *smoke*, a speaker may add stylistic colouring and an appropriate 'semantic perspective' (e.g. volitional/nonvolitional interpretation) to his utterance.

A controversial syntactic issue which was considered in Section 2.3. was the question whether bare nominalisations can inherit predicate-argument structures (which amounts to inheritance of complementation) from their verbal bases. I assume that they do, in particular nouns in actional senses and in the resultative reading. As a number of linguists investigating this issue have indicated, inherited arguments are optional. They are not often realized syntactically by modifiers of bare nominalisations because heavy noun phrases tend to be avoided in English. One reservation needs to be voiced, though. The inherited argument which denotes the main participant (i.e. the medium) of the process denoted by the verb is obligatory. It has to be expressed by a modifier of the bare nominalisation unless it is recoverable from the broader syntactic or situational context. If the main participant is the Agent or Agent + Theme, as in the case of *jump, shout* and *walk*, it does not have to be overtly expressed because the listener can recover it assuming the unspecified personal interpretation. *A walk along the river* will be interpreted by the listener as someone's walk.

Discrepancies between complementation of verbs and modification of bare nominalisations, such as *to love someone* versus *love for someone*, have been attributed in Section 2.3.5. to a pragmatic reason, namely the speaker's wish to facilitate the listener's task of processing a heavy noun phrase. Instead of using the semantically neutral preposition *of* (as in *Mary's love of John*) , the speaker may replace it by a preposition which is more specialized semantically, e.g. *for* in *Mary's love for John.*

It can be argued that the nominalisation *love* occurring in the phrase *love for John* fails to inherit the predicate-argument structure of the related verb but does inherit the verb's lexical-conceptual structure, namely the set of semantic functions associated with $love_V$. As a result, the modification of $love_N$ and many other bare nominalisations bears a closer resemblance to the modification of nonderived nouns.

In addition, bare nominalisations can take modifiers which do not correspond to complements required by corresponding verbs, for example

descriptive genitives, appositive genitives and partitive genitives. Those types of postmodifiers occur mainly with bare nominalisations in non-actional senses, which shows that zero-derivatives in concrete senses are more 'noun-like' (and less 'verb-like') than zero-derivatives in actional readings. Both actional and non-actional bare nominalisations can occur with premodifying nouns and adjectives, as in *Dukakis win* or *German defeat*, which is characteristic of nonderived nouns and not possible with verbs.

The mechanism of inheritance of predicate-argument structures needs futher refinement. The present study has not dealt with all the intricacies of this phenomenon. It has been noted that bare nominalisations in concrete readings, apart from resultative nouns, are relatively rarely encountered with thematic (i.e. inherited) modifiers. The phrases * *a flirt with boys,* * *a lift of luggage* and, * *a switch of light near the door* are hardly acceptable whereas the verbs *flirt, lift* and *switch* take complements, e.g. *flirt with boys, lift luggage, switch the lights.* There is a correspondence between complements of those verbs and premodifiers of the bare nominalisations, e.g. *luggage lifts* and *light switches.* However, some types of premodiers (e.g. denominal adjectives according to Roeper (1987)) can be regarded as not expressing inherited arguments.

It has been suggested tentatively in Section 2.3.7. that bare nominalisations which take on special and unpredictable meanings become independent of corresponding verbs and lose the ability of inheriting their complementations. $Lift_N$ includes some idiosyncratic semantic information in its interpretation because, instead of denoting an instrument or a machine that can lift anything, it is usually used referring to an apparatus taking people and goods from one floor in a building to another floor.

Another very tentative conclusion drawn in Chapter II (Section 2.3.6.) concerns the theory of absorption of thematic roles proposed in Randall (1984ab, 1988). Randall claims that the inheritance of all semantic roles assigned to complements by verbs is blocked when nominalisations absorb the semantic role of Theme (which corresponds to the role of Patient or Result in my terminology) and call for the paraphrase 'something V-ed'. This constraint could be employed to account for the unacceptability of the sentence * *This jacket is a good buy of clothes.* However, I have proposed to replace Randall's absorption hypothesis by a requirement of a semantic non-redundancy of complements inherited by bare nominalisations from verbal bases. Such a requirement predicts the acceptability of the phrase *a remake of "Gone with the Wind"* and the unacceptability of the sentence * *The find of fossils is exhibited in our museum.*

The analysis of semantic properties of bare nominalisations carried out in Chapter III has indicated the actional readings 'an episode of V-ing' and 'a process of V-ing' as the basic readings of this type of nouns. Other abstract readings, e.g. 'the fact of V-ing' or 'the manner of V-ing', are treated in this

study as modifications of the basic actional readings triggered by the syntactic and situational context of nominalisations.

Concrete readings, such as the senses of an affected object, an instrument or a causer involved in a process, are assumed here to be derived from the actional reading of a bare nominalisation by means of semantic extension rules. These rules are made use of especially frequently when there are no rival morphological processes. For instance, the semantic extension rule 'A name of action can serve as the name of the instrument used by the agent of the action' is relatively dormant because names of instruments can be coined regularly by means of -er suffixation. In contrast, the semantic extension rules which substitute the meaning of the result or the cause of an action for the meaning of the action itself are active since they do not compete regularly with affixal word-formation operations.

Semantic extension rules operate not only on zero-derived action nouns but on suffixal action nouns as well. As was pointed out in Section 3.5., suffixal action nouns in English tend to occur more often in actional readings whereas bare nominalisations which compete with them tend to exhibit concrete readings. This tendency, discernible when one compares *deposition* with *deposit*$_N$ or *exhibition* with *exhibit*$_N$, cannot be formulated as a strict principle in view of the occurrence of numerous counterexamples, such as the pair *trial* 'an act of trying; something that is trying and annoying' and *try*$_N$ 'an act of trying'. It is basically a matter of historical accident which senses have become associated with bare nominalisations and which meanings are institutionalised at present with suffixal action nouns.

In Section 3.3. a restriction on semantic development of bare nominalisations was considered. On the whole, concrete senses exhibited by nominalisations correspond to semantic roles assigned by cognate verbs to their complements. As generative grammarians have put it, action nouns can absorb thematic roles inherited from verbal bases. However, the absorption hypothesis does not account for all the concrete readings exhibited by bare nominalisations. Firstly, the semantic extension rules which supply the causative and the resultative readings are so productive that they can operate on action nouns derived from verbs which do not subcategorize for Result and Causer complements, e.g. *bump* and *rub*. Secondly, bare nominalisations can develop concrete readings in a non-rule governed fashion, as nonderived nouns do.

The investigation conducted into syntactico-semantic properties of bare nominalisations in Chapter II and III provides justification for a relatively simple formulation of the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (zero-derivation) presented in Chapter IV. No negative conditions are attached to the rule of word-formation in question. The non-application of the rule to verbs containing the prefixes *en-* and *be-* or the suffixes *-ate, -ize/-ise* and *-ify* stems from the fact that these classes of verbs constitute preferable input to co-functional

suffixation operations (i.e. the attachment of the suffixes *-ment* and *-ation*). In Section 4.3. positive conditions on the rule of verb-to-noun conversion (zero-derivation) are set up to identify groups of verbs which form bare nominalisations in a very regular, practically exceptionless, manner. These positive conditions are assumed to function as mnemonic devices. They obviate the need for listing certain classes of bare nominalisations, e.g. *cry, moan, roar* and *shout*, in the Permanent Lexicons of speakers of English.

A number of problems concerning the model of the lexicon and the structure of the word-formation component in generative grammar have only been touched upon in Chapter IV. The question of the mechanism of blocking and the issue of ordering co-functional word-formation operations have not received an exhaustive treatment. Such problems are, however, too intricate to be dealt with in a limited space.

It needs to be stressed that the data which have been analysed in the dissertation abound in subregularities and exceptions, which is typical of word-formation processes and their products.

Notes

1. Variability in the orthographic shape of the verb-forming suffix -*ize/-ise* results in the existence of alternative spellings of words derived from -*ize/-ise* verbs, e.g. *nominalization* vs. *nominalisation*. The spelling with z is typical of American English usage and is becoming fairly popular with British linguists. The spelling adopted here (with *s*) is less frequent but seems to be preferred by more conservative British authors. It occurs in, among others, Matthews (1981) and Kilby (1984).

2. Pennanen (1971: 27—31) offers a review of criticism directed against the idea of zero-morpheme by a number of American and European linguists, including W. Haas and H. A. Gleason. Objections are frequently raised against the identification of a double zero-morpheme in a single linguistic form, such as $[[wire_N] \emptyset]_V \emptyset]_N$, *Wire*$_N$ 'a message sent by a telegraph' may be regarded as a zero-derivative from *wire*$_V$ 'to send a telegram by wire' which, in turn, is zero-derived from *wire*$_N$ 'a piece of thin metal, like a thread'. Pennanen (1971: 35) seems to admit the need for positing zeros as allomorphs of overt morphemes occurring in paradigmatic representation with the same root.

3. Beard (1981) proposes to separate rules of semantic derivation from rules of affixation. His theory of morphology is discussed very briefly in Chapter IV of the present study, Section 4.1.

4. Bare nominalisations are assumed in Roeper (1987) to be derived by non-affixal rules.

5. Tom Lavelle from University College London (personal communication) proposes the following definition of nominalisations: "A noun is regarded as a nominalisation if in order to interpret the clause it occurs in an understanding of the embedded proposition is required." Consequently, he does not regard the noun *lecture* as a nominalisation proper when it occurs in the sentence *He sat up writing a lecture* because no embedded proposition is implied.

6. The term "theta-nominal" is related to the term "thematic grid" explained in Chapter II, Section 2.3.1.

    Instead of focusing on deverbal nouns in null syntactic contexts, generative linguists prefer to investigate nominals, i.e. noun phrases headed by deverbal nouns. The distinction between deverbal nouns and nominals (i.e. phrases) is not, however, drawn particularly consistently. For instance, Lebeaux (1986: 232, 244) refers to the noun *picture* as a non-deverbal nominal and quotes *criticism* and *proof* as examples of deverbal nominals.

7. I have somewhat arbitrarily, though following Marchand's discussion, grouped the semantic paraphrases available for denominal verbs under ten classes. Some of the senses indentified in (9) are very specific, e.g. 'to coat with a layer of N' and 'to prepare with N'. They can be regarded as variants of a more general reading, e.g. 'to provide with N' or 'to use N', as has been proposed in Quirk et al. (1972: 1012).

8. Many speakers are hesitant about using the past tense and past participial forms of pseudo-compound verbs, such as *babysit, broadcast, dressmake, housekeep, sightread* and *sightsee*. There arises a conflict between two tendencies: the trend to pattern a pseudo--compound after its verb constituent (as happens with Particle-Verb compounds) and the tendency towards regular conjugation of derived verbs. Quirk et al. (1972: 1029) note that the verb *babysit*, which is a backformation from *babysitting* or *babysitter*, is used mainly in the infinitival form since speakers of English avoid ?*babysat* and ?*babysitted* as probable past tense forms.

9. In a number of cases either of the rival affixes *-ness* and *-ity* can be attached to the same base. Doublets terminating in *-ability* or *-ableness* can be found in Lehnert (1971), e.g. *acceptability -acceptableness, changeability — changeableness* and *knowledgeability — knowledgeableness*.

10. Liberman and Prince (1977) discuss stress placement in terms of syllable strength. A syllable is light if it consists of a short (i.e. nontense) vowel followed by at most one consonant; otherwise it is a heavy syllable. The rule of stress assignment in English, stated in Liberman and Prince (1977: 272) as

$$V \rightarrow [+\text{stress}]/C_o(\breve{V}(C))\,(\breve{V}C_o)$$

predicts that the main stress in a word will be attracted by the right-most syllable containing a long vowel or by the ante-penultimate syllable, notwithstanding its strength. However, verbs tend to require stress on their heavy syllable even if it contains no long vowel, e.g. *fermént* and *caréss*. Nominalisations which retain the verb stress pattern are regarded in Liberman and Prince (1977: 307) as "illicitly undergoing the verb rule".

11. Roberts (1985: 386 ff.) attempts to relate aspectual distinctions to thematic properties of verbs (discussed in the present study in Section 2.3.1.), such as the property of taking an internal Theme argument. Roberts suggests that lexical rules which manipulate argument structures of verbs play a role in changing the aspectual class of the verbal base. For example, a rule deleting the internal Theme converts conclusive situations into inconclusive ones.

12. Wierzbicka (1982: 753 ff.) draws a parallel between the *have a N* construction in English and sentences with reflexive pronoun *sobie* in Polish. They both denote self-centred and pleasure seeking activities. One can compare the English sentence *I had a lie on the grass* with its Polish translation *Poleżałem sobie na trawie* in order to perceive the similarity between the two constructions in English and Polish. I have encountered the following sentence in my corpus:

(i) to sit down [...] and have himself a nice economical smoke that required no matches and no tobacco and didn't mess up the living-room carpet. (LS, p. 150)

The sentence contains the reflexive pronoun *himself* inside a complex predicate, i.e. *have a smoke*.

13. The native speakers of AmE and BrE who served as my informants pointed out to me the contrast between the sentence *She gave him a sad smile* and *She gave a sad smile*. Whereas the first of these sentences denotes a volitional and purposeful action directed at another person, the action denoted by the second sentence is not controlled by 'the doer' who smiled to herself, probably not realising what she was doing.

14. The phrases *give it a smell* and *give it a taste* seem to be acceptable when, instead of denoting acts of smelling or tasting objects, they refer to hypothetical situations in which a human agent uses artificial or natural substances (e.g. spices, sweeteners, perfumes) to intensify the smell or taste of an object.

Let us add that the overwhelming majority of nominalisations occurring in the frame *give someone/something a N* are derived from verbs of motion. e.g. *hit, kick, spin* and *whirl*. Agents involved in situations denoted by those complex predicates typically come into close physical contact with patients. Cattell (1984: 276 ff.) observes that the sentence *Roger hit Sue with a rock* may either denote the situation in which Roger threw a rock at Sue or it may refer to

the state of affairs in which Roger held the rock in his hand while hitting Sue. The sentence *Roger gave Sue a hit with a rock* may denote the latter situation only.

The complex predicates *give someone a glance* and *give someone a nod* seem to represent less common subtypes of the construction *give someone/something a N*.

15. Cattell (1984: 259) claims that the sentence *Harry made his leap from the balcony* implies that the leap was scheduled or it was part of a regular ritual. It could have been a scripted part of a play or film or Harry could have been telling everyone about his act before he finally did it.

16. It might be more appropriate to talk of near-compositionality of *have a swim, give a door a kick* and other complex predicates. The information about the perspective from which a state of affairs is viewed stems indirectly from the meaning of the verbs *have, give, take, make* and *do*.

17. The Cooperative Principle reads: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (Grice (1975: 45)). The Cooperative Principle is associated with the so-called conversational maxims, namely the maxim of Quality, Quantity, Manner and Relation.

18. The distinction between central and unestablished senses is explained in Cruse (1986: 79 ff.).

19. There are co-occurrence restrictions on the presence of expressions of purpose, instrument, means and beneficiary. These elements are generally possible with agentive verbs only, hence the ill-formedness of the sentences *I'll live with my lungs* and *I'll hiccup for you*. Bogusławski (1974: 51) argues that not every agentive verb is compatible with an instrumental phrase, as is shown by the semantic deviance of the sentence ?*I divided the money into two equal parts with my hand*. However, sentences in which the expressions of instrument, purpose, means and beneficiary are lacking are not felt to be syntactically or semantically incomplete.

Matthews (1981: 140) distinguishes a category of non-peripheral non-complements (called "adjuncts") for which verbs may be said to subcategorize but which do not denote entities crucially involved in a given state of affairs. Herbst (1988) allows for the existence of a cline between complements and peripheral elements.

20. It is possible to maintain the claim that complements are obligatory in the sentence structure if one treats the verbs *write, smoke* and *drink* as exhibiting two valencies, i.e. — NP and — $\varnothing$. The intransititive verbs *write, smoke* and *drink* may be construed as derived by means of conversion from their transitive equivalents.

21. Predicates containing incorporated arguments, i.e. arguments which are inherent but not interpretable grammatically, have been discussed in, among others, Saloni (1974), Bogusławski (1974), Karolak (1974) and Jackendoff (1987).

22. The phenomenon of blocking the inheritance of roles is explained in Roeper (1987) by reference to the notions "the head of a word" and "percolation of features". Affixes are treated as heads of lexemes, hence thematic relations assigned to the outermost affix determine the subcategorization properties of the derivative. The grid carried by the head of a derivative percolates "up the tree" and hence characterizes the whole lexeme. In concatenations of affixes the outermost affix is the head. Consequently, the addition of an affix to a morphologically complex lexeme may incur changes in its thematic grid.

23. King (1988: 575) shows that participant roles have a natural interpretation in terms of spatial relations. It is possible to treat Goal and Source as component features of the complex labels Agent and Patient. Agents can be reanalysed as (+ Controller, + Cause, + Source) and Patients as (+ Effect, + Goal). I assume that Causers of emotion can be viewed as goals of emotion and Experiencers as sources of emotion.

24. Rozwadowska (1988: 153 ff.) mentions Rappaport's assumption that only Themes are compatible with the OBL_{Theme} function in nominals and, therefore, only Themes can be realized as objects of the preposition *of*. This constraint predicts the unacceptability of the

phrase *John's amazement of the film* but it does not account for the well-formedness of *John's love of Mary* where Mary is an Experiencer.

Roberts (1985: 438, 443) notes that in [Agent, Patient] nominalisations the role of Agent cannot be assigned if the role of Patient-Theme is not assigned as well. *The barbarians* in the noun phrase *the barbarians' destruction* can either bear the role of Patient or the role of Possessor which is defined in Roberts (1985: 458) as "any contextually available relation".

The principle that internal theta-roles must be assigned in nominals predicts the ill-formedness of *the disgust of cats*, in contrast to the acceptability of *the love of money*. It does not account for the deviance of *people's disgust of cats* and* John's surprise of his father's death*, where both the external and internal argument roles have been assigned. Another principle, which I postulate as (ii) below, needs to be invoked here:

(ii) If roles borne by the external and internal arguments are assigned inside a nominal, the external argument cannot appear in the genitive *of*-phrase.

25. One of the claims made in Roeper (1987) which has not been discussed here but which needs to be rejected is that the plural suffix *-s* blocks the inheritance of thematic grids. If the genitive phrases in the nominals *the supply of 'uplink' trucks, an exhibit of abstract art* and *a rerun of 'The Beverly Hillbillies'* are regarded as thematic (see the data in (66)), there is no reason why the same genitive phrases in *the supplies of 'uplink' trucks, exhibits of abstract art* and *reruns of 'The Beverly Hillbillies'* should be treated as nonthematic.

26. Zawadowski (1966: 272) uses the term "context" with reference to linguistic context only. Extralingustic facts are referred to in Zawadowski (1966) as "con-situation" (*konsytuacja* in Polish). It may be worth adding that extralinguistic context can be divided into situational context (namely the knowledge of the situation in which a particular utterance is produced) and psychological context (i.e. the knowledge of the world which is shared by the speaker and the listener).

27. The assumption that the manner reading is a variant of the action sense challenges the claim, put forward in Walińska de Hackbeil (1984: 308), that manner nominalisations belong to the class of theta-nominals.

28. Cattell (1984: 246) regards $leap_N$ and $dive_N$ occurring in the frame *have a N* as nominalisations denoting products of leaping and diving. Anderson (1979: 17) seems to asume that bare nominalisations always refer to results of actions and have no action sense.

29. Fuzziness of categorial boundaries is predictable within the framework of the prototype theory, developed in cognitive psychology by Eleanor Rosch and her associates. Rosch (1978: 35) claims that "(m)ost, if not all, categories do not have clear-cut boundaries". Each category has a graded structure. It is organized around its prototypical instances which exhibit a cluster of properties characteristic of a category. Other instances of the category form a continuum from central to peripheral, depending on how many attributes they share with prototypical members.

30. The verbs in question can additionally carry the grids [Agent, Patient] since they may occur in agentive constructions, e.g. *The doctor could not cure the boy.*

31. Booij (1986) proposes to treat names of agents and names of instruments as a single semantic category in which agents are more central (more prototypical) than instruments. He postulates the extension scheme Personal Agent > Impersonal Agent > Instrument for semantic interpretation of *-er* nouns in Dutch and English.

32. Jespersen (1954: 324) treats locative *-er* formations as contracted forms of related compounds, e.g. *diner* is regarded as a shortened form of *dining room.*

33. Pairs consisting of compounds and semantically equivalent bare nominalisations suggest that compound and conversion (zero-derivation) do not block each other, e.g. *drop curtain — drop* 'a painted curtain let down between acts at the theatre', *borehole — bore* 'hole made by boring,

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especially for oil, water etc.', *drainpipe — drain* 'a means of draining, such as a pipe or tube' and *mincemeat — mince* '(AmE) mincemeat'. The lack of the blocking effect may be attributed to the interaction between two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, bare nominalisations are preferable to compounds on the grounds of economy of form. On the other hand, the internal structure of compounds is more informative than the structure of bare nominalisations. For instance, one can deduce from the structure of *dropcurtain* that it denotes a sort of curtain which bears some relation to the action of dropping.

34. Anderson (1979: 19) makes an opposite assumption, namely that zero-derived nouns exert influence upon the semantic reading of *-ing* nominalisations. She argues that *-ing* nouns are produced by a 'marked' rule and their acceptability is related to the availability of rival action nouns.

35. The question of ordering between co-functional affixation rules is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of Szymanek (1985), Section 4.3. of Malicka-Kleparska (1985) and in Gussmann (1987).

36. I assume that names of acts and names of actions represent a single derivational category, which is in agreement with Szymanek (1988: 178). As was pointed out in Section 3.1.1., zero-derivatives denote a single instance of a state of affairs more often than suffixal nominalisations do. Consequently, suffixless and suffixal nominalisations could, in theory, be regarded as representing distinct derivational categories. However, suffixation processes linked to one rule of derivation may exhibit a tendency towards semantic specialization. In Polish, for instance, the suffix *-arka* usually forms names of large power-driven machines while the co-functional suffix *-aczka* occurs mainly in names of simple tools. One can compare in this respect *koparka* 'excavator' and *kopaczka* 'hoe', both related to the verb *kopać* 'to dig'.

37. Similarly, the passive element in the interpretation of the noun phrases *the general's recall, their defeat* and *my surprise* can be viewed as supplied by projection rules. The passive reading of *recall* in *The general's recall was a shock to me* is triggered by the presence of only one genitive modifier, as was argued in Section 3.1.3. When two genitive modifiers are present, as in *The general's recall of his soldiers from abroad surprised me*, the bare nominalisation receives its agentive actional reading, i.e. 'an act of recalling', which is then conflated with the 'manner' or 'factive' interpretation required by the predicates *was surprising, surprised me, was a shock to me*, etc.

38. As was pointed out to me by Anna Malicka-Kleparska, one can find counterexamples to Aronoff's negative condition on *-al* suffixation, namely the occurrence of the adjectives *governmental* and *developmental*.

39. Inalienable results are produced every time the main participant performs an action. Every time someone cuts himself with a razor, a cut is made. In contrast, a dress is an alienable result of sewing.

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Bożena Cetnarowska

Składnia, semantyka i derywacja odczasownikowych rzeczowników z formantem zerowym w języku angielskim

Streszczenie

Autorka opisuje semantyczno-składniowe właściwości odczasownikowych rzeczowników, powstałych w języku angielskim w wyniku derywacji bezafiksalnej, zwanej również konwersją lub derywacją z formantem zerowym, np. *to jump → a jump.*

Proponuje reguły semantyczne ograniczające możliwości tworzenia tzw. predykatów złożonych (tj. predykatów składających się z semantycznie „niepełnego" czasownika oraz nazwy czynności, np. *give a jump, take a look* lub *have a try*). W pracy omówiono zjawisko dziedziczenia przez nominalizacje bezafiksalne ról tematycznych przypisanych podstawom czasownikowym. Porównano zakres możliwych sensów nominalizacji afiksalnych oraz· nominalizacji bezafiksalnych w języku angielskim. Autorka przedstawiła propozycję reguły słowotwórczej — sformułowanej w modelu leksykalistycznym gramatyki generatywnej — opisującej tworzenie bezafiksalnych odczasownikowych nazw czynności w języku angielskim. Zasugerowała istnienie semantycznych reguł poszerzania, które derywują konkretne znaczenia nazw czynności.

Bożena Cetnarowska

Syntaxe, sémantique et dérivation des noms déverbaux avec le formant neutre en anglais

Résumé

L'auteur décrit les propriétés syntaxico-sémantiques des noms déverbaux, formés en anglais par une dérivation infixative, appelée aussi la conversion ou la dérivation avec le formant neutre, p. ex. *to jump — a jump.*

Elle propose des règles sémantiques limitant les possibilités de formation des dits prédicats composés (c'est-à-dire des prédicats, constitués du verbe sémantiquement "incomplet" et l'appellation de l'action, p. ex. *give a jump, take a look* ou bien *have a try*). Dans le présent ouvrage on a discuté le phénomène par suite duquel les nominalisations infixatives héritent des rôles thématiques attribués aux bases verbales. On a opéré une comparaison de l'étendue des sens possibles de nominalisations afixatives et les nominalisations infixatives en langue anglaise. L'auteur y a proposé une règle morphologique — formée au modèle lexicaliste de la grammaire générative — qui décrit la formation des appellations infixatives déverbales des actions en langue anglaise. Elle a suggéré l'existence des règles sémantiques de l'élargissement, celles-ci dérivant la signification concrète des appellations des actions.