

NANTES UNIVERSITÉ

Séminaire des Doctorants  
(LLING)

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April 8, 2022

## **Frozen vs. Flexible Event Nominals Trope Structure and the Negation**

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# 1 Two Types of Argument-Structure (AS-) Nominals

- While Grimshaw's (1990) binary distinction between AS- and non-AS- nominals has been widely acknowledged, significant data from French seems to indicate that the typology may need refining.
- More specifically, French AS-Ns, I argue, can be subdivided into two types (I and II), mainly according to whether or not they accept the PN *non-*.
- Licensing of **Manner modification** has been taken to be the hallmark of the presence of a VP inside nominals.
- I will introduce the notion of *semantic flexibility* and argue that only type II AS-Ns have this special ability, along with deadjectival AS-Ns.
- Two types of AS- Nominals:
  - ▶ **Type I – will be shown to be *frozen* on either an event or manner denotation**
    - ✓ reject the preposed negation *non-* (henceforth PN);
    - ✓ reject manner modification;
    - ✓ may only denote an event;
    - ✓ may not undergo transitivity alternation.
  - ▶ **Type II – exhibit semantic flexibility argued to be inherited from grammatical variation of a source V or A**
    - ✓ accepts the PN;
    - ✓ takes manner modification;
    - ✓ may exhibit *eventuality vs. trope* ambiguity;
    - ✓ may undergo transitivity alternation.
- My claim is that the properties of Type II AS-Ns are enabled by the presence of a V inside them, V being a verb as we know them, i.e. an item with the ability to take the negation, manner modification, and to undergo grammatical operations such as aspectual shift, passivization and transitive / intransitive alternation.

## 1.1 Manner Modification

Fu, Roeper & Borer (2001) and Alexeyenko (2015):

- (1) a. Manner modification by adverbs in English  
(adapted from Fu, Roeper & Borer (2001) – judgments theirs)
  - (i) His transformation into a werewolf so rapidly was unnerving.
  - (ii) His explanation of the accident thoroughly did not help him.

- (iii) The occurrence of the accident suddenly disqualified her.
- b. Manner adverbs and paraphrases in French
- (i) Sa transformation en loup-garou [plutôt rapidement / d'une façon extrêmement rapide] me surprit quelque peu.  
'His transformation into a werewolf [rather quickly / in an extremely quick manner] surprised me a little bit.'
  - (ii) L'explication par le suspect des raisons de l'accident [\*très précisément / ✓ d'une façon très précise] a joué en sa faveur.  
'The explanation by the suspect of the reasons of the accident [very precisely / in a very precise manner] played in his favor.'
  - (iii) La survenue de l'accident [?? soudainement / ✓ d'une façon soudaine] l'a disqualifiée.  
'The occurrence of the accident [suddenly / in a sudden manner] disqualified her.'

Alexeyenko (2015: 61–67), with examples by Piñón (2007):

Semantics has no means to give an adequate analysis to the nouns *manner* and *way* modified by manner adjectives inside manner adverbials of the type in *a(n) A manner/way* and, more generally, it does not say anything about the internal structure of such manner adverbials and their compositional semantics. By contrast, a theory that considers manners a separate semantic type does not face this problem being able to analyze *manner* and *way* as manner-denoting nouns. Second, Piñón (2007) points out that there is a difference in interpretation between sentences that contain verbs of perception with bare infinitival complements and sentences that contain verbs of perception with *how*-clauses as their complements. While the former ones report perceptions of events, the latter ones by contrast report perceptions of manners in which events unfold. Piñón's examples that illustrate this interpretative difference are given below.

- |           |    |      |                                     |                                |
|-----------|----|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [Piñón 1] | a. | (i)  | Malika saw Rebecca write illegibly. | <i>Perception of an Event.</i> |
|           |    | (ii) | Malika saw how Rebecca wrote.       | <i>Perception of a Manner.</i> |
|           | b. | (i)  | Rebecca heard Malika speak softly.  |                                |
|           |    | (ii) | Rebecca heard how Malika spoke.     |                                |

The theme argument of *see* is identified with the manner variable introduced by the *wh*-word *how*. Thus, the argument for manners from *how*-clauses embedded under verbs of perception is in fact parallel to Parsons's (1990) argument for events from bare infinitivals embedded under verbs of perception. In addition to these arguments for manners made by Piñón (2007), there are also further facts that speak in favor of manners as a separate semantic type. One of them concerns the existence of nominal(ization)s denoting properties of manners; another concerns the possibility of anaphoric reference to manners. Note that in both cases the argumentation for underlying manners mirrors that for underlying events (cf. Davidson 1967, Parsons 1990). In a similar way as there are nouns that denote properties of events (most of which are nominalizations formed by means of such suffixes as *-ing*, *-ation*, *-ment*, *-al*, etc., see section 4.1), there also exist manner-denoting nouns. Some of them are deadjectival nominalizations that are derived from manner adjectives, often by means of the suffix *-ness*, e.g., *skillfulness*, *carelessness*, *sloppiness*; others, on the contrary, are the base nouns of manner adjectives, e.g., *care*, *grace*, *courage*, etc.

The meanings of such nominals are similar to the meanings of periphrastic NPs of the form A manner/way, where A is the corresponding manner adjective (cf. skillfulness and skillful way), and, like in the case of the latter, intuitively they denote manners, rather than events or anything else in the semantic ontology of standard event semantics. The manner interpretations of such nouns are particularly obvious when the events whose manners they specify are stated overtly, as, for instance, in the following example.

[Alexeyenko 1] John's carelessness in driving bothers Mary.

## 1.2 The Eventuality vs. Manner Ambiguity

### 1.2.1 Ambiguity in Nominalizations

Vendler (1967: 140) points out an *event/fact* ambiguity which is more accurately (cf. Alexeyenko 2015: 68, n. 38) a *manner/fact* ambiguity Katz 2000: 397–400, cf. (2).

(2) John's singing of the Marseillaise surprised me.

(3) Chomsky (1970):

a. Note 10 (pp. 19–20):

The artificiality might be reduced by deriving nominals from underlying nouns with some kind of sentential element included, where the meaning can be expressed in this way: for example, *John's intelligence* from *the fact that John is intelligent* (in *John's intelligence is undeniable*), and from *the extent to which John is intelligent* (in *John's intelligence exceeds his foresight*). It is difficult to find a natural source for the nominal, however, in such sentences as *John's intelligence is his most remarkable quality*. This idea runs into other difficulties. Thus we can say *John's intelligence, which is his most remarkable quality, exceeds his foresight*; but the appositive clause, on this analysis, would have to derive from *\*the extent to which John is intelligent is his most remarkable quality*, since in general the identity of structure required for appositive clause formation to take place goes even beyond identity of the given phrase-markers, as was pointed out by Lees (1960: 76).

b. Page 29:

Consider next the adjectives that appear with derived nominals, as in *John's sudden refusal* or *John's obvious sincerity*. Two sources immediately suggest themselves: one, from relatives (as *John's aged mother* might be derived from *John's mother, who is aged*); another, from adverbial constructions such as *John refused suddenly, John is obviously sincere*. The latter assumption, however, would presuppose that derived nominals can be formed from such structures as *John refused in such-and-such a manner, John was sincere to such-and-such an extent*, etc. This is not the case, however. We cannot have *\*John's refusal in that manner (in a manner that surprised me)* or *\*John's sincerity to that extent*. Furthermore, adjectives that appear with derived nominals often cannot appear (as adverbs) with the associated verbs: for example, we have *John's uncanny (amazing, curious, striking) resemblance to Bill* but not *\*John resembled Bill uncannily (amazingly, curiously, strikingly)*. We might propose to account for this by deriving *John's uncanny resemblance to Bill* from something like *the degree to which John resembles Bill, which is uncanny*. But this proposal, apart from the difficulty that it provides no way to exclude such phrases as *\*their amazing destruction of the city from the degree to which they destroyed the city, which was amazing*, also runs into the difficulties of Note 10.

### 1.2.2 Manner Reading

- Manner AS-Ns have often been regarded as devoid of internal structure. I take to involve a resultative passivization applied to a full argument structure (contra Grimshaw 1990, and many authors after her who handle such Ns as Root-derived): in the absence of an event argument in their internal structure, there would be no way the “Result” Ns might convey the manner denotation that they have; so there must be a grammatical eventuality embedded inside such Ns (the same may be claimed of relevant *-ble* As).
- The contrast in (4) is predicted if ability of a N to denote a manner directly follows from its being built on a V which may undergo resultative passivization, i.e. stative passivization that preserves licensing of manner modification. That is verified in (5).

- (4) a. Cette maison est [ ✓ construite / \*détruite ] de façon originale.  
b. J’aime la [ ✓ construction / \*destruction ] originale de cette maison.

- (5) a. Cette viande est cuite/préparée à la perfection.  
b. Je me régale: la cuisson/préparation de cette viande est parfaite.

- Therefore, I take such Manner-denoting Ns to involve a resultative passivization applied to a full argument structure (contra Grimshaw 1990, and many authors after her who handle such Ns as Root-derived): in the absence of an event argument in their internal structure, there would be no way the Manner Ns under consideration could convey the manner denotation that it shows; so there must be a grammatical eventuality embedded inside such Ns (the same may be claimed of relevant *-ble* As).
- If we regard deverbality as being the manifestation of a set of functional projections, then we may **use the syntax to determine morphology**.
  - ▶ Thus, (6) tends to prove, I argue, that *découpen* is a true deverbal, since the semantic flexibility observed in (6) would be impossible otherwise.
  - ▶ My claim, is, therefore, the following: if *découpe* was not deverbal, there is no way it could have both an event and a manner reading: it would have to be *frozen* under one reading or another.

- (6) **Claim:**  
**flexibility between event reading and manner reading entails internal verbal structure.**

- a. La fabrication de cet objet nécessite la découpe de plusieurs matériaux.  
b. J’aime la découpe élégante de ce manteau.
- If indeed the hypothesis is on the right track, *exil* cannot be derived from *exiler* since it does not inherit its AS-related flexibility.
  - Likewise, we may predict that *exiln* will reject both the PN and Manner modification. This is verified in (7).

- (7) a. \* L'exil de mon frère d'une manière soudaine aurait traumatisé mes parents.  
 'The exile of my brother in a sudden manner would have traumatized my parents..'
- b. \* Le non-exil de Victor Hugo aurait changé l'avenir de la France.  
 'The non-exile of Victor Hugo would have changed the future of France..'
- French clearly possesses Zero-Derived AS-Ns, which pass *in x-time* (IN-X), cf. (8).
- (8) a. Le vol des bijoux par les malfaiteurs en à peine quelques secondes traumatisa le vieil homme.  
 'The stealing of the jewelry by the lawbreakers in hardly a few seconds traumatized the old man.'
- b. Nous fûmes soulagés de l'arrêt en quelques minutes de cette machine dangereuse.  
 'We were relieved by the stopping in a few minutes of this dangerous machine.'
- c. La maîtrise du feu en quelques minutes par les sapeurs pompiers permit de sauver des vies.  
 'The containment of the fire in a few minutes by the firemen allowed to save lives.'
- However, AS-Ns as in (9), while passing the IN-X test and Implicit Agent Control, reject the PN; see the contrasts in (10).
- (9) a. Le sac \*(de la région) par les Huns en quelques mois (afin d'asseoir leur domination) aboutit à la rupture du traité de paix avec Rome. [<sup>o</sup>saquer<sub>v</sub> une ville 'sack a city']  
 'The sack of the region by the Huns in a few months in order to establish their domination lead to the rupture of the peace treaty with Rome.'
- b. Le rapt massif en seulement quelques jours \*(de plusieurs dizaines d'enfants) par les intégristes (dans le but de les endoctriner) m'a indigné. [<sup>o</sup>rapter<sub>v</sub>]  
 'The massive abduction in only a few days of dozens of children by the integrist in order to indoctrinate them outraged me.'
- c. Le meurtre \*(de César) par les sénateurs en quelques secondes (dans le but de sauver la République) provoqua une guerre civile. [<sup>o</sup>meurtre<sub>v</sub>]  
 'The murder of Caesar by the senators in a few seconds in order to save the Republic caused a civil war.'
- d. Le siège \*(de nombreuses cités phéniciennes) par Alexandre en seulement quelques années (afin de consolider l'hégémonie de la Macédoine) fut un exploit. [<sup>o</sup>siéger<sub>v</sub>]  
 'The siege of many Phoenician cities by Alexander in a few years so as to strengthen the hegemony of Macedonia was a feat.'

- (10) a. Le [ (\*non-)sac<sub>(I)</sub> / (✓ non-)pillage<sub>(II)</sub> ] de ces villes serait regrettable.  
 ‘The [(non-)sack / (non-)plundering] of those cities would be a shame.’
- b. Le [ (\*non-)rapt<sub>(I)</sub> / (✓ non-)enlèvement<sub>(II)</sub> ] de cette fille aurait été préférable.  
 ‘The [(non-)rapt / (non-)abduction] of those girls would have been preferable.’
- c. Le / La [ (\*non-)meurtre<sub>(I)</sub> / (✓ non-)exécution<sub>(II)</sub> ] du dissident par la milice aurait permis d’éviter ces émeutes.  
 ‘The [non-murder / non-execution] of the dissident by the milice would have allowed to avoid those riots.’
- The novel observation here, is that in French there are some AS-Ns which appear to lack a set of grammatical features that we normally find in regular AS-Ns.
    - ▶ Thus, even though *meurtre* or *siège* denote events and even project AS, their internal structure arguably lacks the PN-licensing functional apparatus.
    - ▶ Type I AS-Ns do not seem to be semantically compatible with manner modification, which has been regarded by Fu, Roeper & Borer 2001 as proving the presence of a VP inside the structure of the nominalization.
  - Building on those authors and adopting a *Distributed Morphology* framework, I propose that type I AS-Ns include in their structure a verbal event projection, let’s say vP.
    - ▶ **Problem:**  
**Type I AS-Ns seem to embed an internal event but lack the “manner” ability.**
    - ▶ Observation: Type I AS-Ns can never denote *manners of doing something*, i.e. they lack a structural component.
  - Davidsonian tradition: manner adverbials are modifiers of the event variable.
    - ▶ Alternative account (cf. Dik 1975, Schäfer 2008, Piñón 2007): manner-denoting units should be attributed their own semantic type, namely *m*, instead of being treated as events of type *v*. But it seems rather counter-intuitive.

### 1.3 Transitivity Alternation

- Whereas type 2 AS-Ns may undergo transitivity alternation, as seen in (11a) and (12b.i), type 2, however, may *not*, cf. (11b) and (12b.ii).
- (11) a. Nous avons assisté à l’immersion en quelques minutes du sous-marin (par les militaires).  
 ‘We attended the immersion of the submarine in a few minutes by the militaries.’
- b. Nous avons assisté au naufrage en quelques minutes de ce navire (\* par la tempête).  
 ‘We attended the shipwrecking of that ship in a few minutes.’

- (12) a. (i) Cet homme s'est exilé dans le but d'échapper à ses persécuteurs.  
 (ii) Auguste exila Ovide.
- b. (i) l'exil de cet homme dans le but d'échapper à ses persécuteurs  
 (ii) \* l'exil d'Ovide par Auguste

- I also suggest to adopt a kind of approach not so widespread in the literature on nominalizations, which is to observe the properties of the non-AS- counterparts of deverbal AS-Ns when some are available.

- ▶ If the agent-introducing projection (VoiceP) is dominated by a *Man* head which licenses *manner* modification (cf. Alexeyenko 2015), we may take the nominalizing suffix to realize the *manner* argument that such a projection would be assumed to introduce.

Fabb (1984: 207):

“Thus the external argument of the verb is not only matched with the role of the suffix, but phrasally unrealizable. This kind of pre-emption of a theta-role fits with what we find in theta-indexing (theta-assignment); a theta-role, once matched can not be assigned again. Thus we suggest that the external theta-role is matched with the affix *-er*; that is, is assigned to the affix *-er*.”

- ▶ Specifically, I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that if indeed the manner reading involves *saturation* of the manner *argumental position* to build the referent, while event reading *projects* it, then it predicts that manner modifiers will:
  - be semantically compatible with Type II AS-Ns, but be grammatically unauthorized in the Manner variant if we assume the Manner argumental position to be already saturated by the nominalizing head;
  - sound extremely wrong with Type I Manner Ns since, being frozen, they may not denote events and should be assumed to lack a true V.

- Both predictions turn out to be correct, cf. (13):

- (13) a. (i) \* L'empilement l'une sur l'autre de ces assiettes est étrange. (MANNER)  
 'The stacking of those plates on one another.'
- (ii) \*\* la pile l'une sur l'autre de ces assiettes  
 'the stack of those plates on one another'
- (iii) ✓ le non-empilement / \*\* la non-pile  
 'the non-stacking / the non-stack'
- b. (i) # Le placement l'un en face de l'autre de ces deux invités ne me semble pas judicieux. (MANNER)  
 'The seating of those two guests in front of one another does not seem judicious.'



- (ii) \*\* la place l'un en face de l'autre de ces deux invités  
'the seat of those two guests in front of one another'
  - (iii) ✓ le non-placement / \*\* la non-place  
'[ the non-seating / the non-seat ]'
- c. La configuration de cette pièce tout en longueur [ \*me paraît insolite / ✓ permet des installations intéressantes ].  
'The lengthways layout of this piece [ seems to me unusual / allows for some interesting installations ].'
- d. (i) \* La disposition de ces objets d'art en quinconce l'un par rapport à l'autre rend bien.  
'The disposition of those objects in quincunx relatively to one another looks good.'
- (ii) \* Le positionnement de ces objets en quinconce l'un par rapport à l'autre rend bien.  
'The positioning of those objects in quincunx relatively to one another looks good.'
- Note however that, as previously mentioned, the base need not correspond to an autonomously attested V. Let's take *audition<sub>N</sub>*, for example.
- (14) a. Les enfants se sont fort enthousiasmés de l'audition de ce morceau de musique.  
'The children were very enthusiastic about listening to this piece of music..'
- b. l'audition de ma grand-mère commence à décliner  
'My grandmother's audition starts to decline.'
- I would like to put forward the idea that such semantic alternations directly reflect a flexibility in the internal structure.
  - This flexibility is made possible by the very complexity of the structure and may be defined as the mobility of its configurational elements.
  - I would like to suggest that instead of thinking in terms of individual structures, each of which would yield one particular denotation, it may be more beneficial to consider what we may call the *structural array* of such nominalizations: the set of possible setups and more importantly, the combinatorics which generates such a set.
  - Thus, the fact that some simple Ns denote events shows that what distinguishes complex events is not their denotation, but their ability to potentially convey a whole set of denotations, in relation to their ability to project AS.

## 2 The Preposed Negation

### 2.1 AS-Ns and the negation

AS-Ns usually accept the PN (cf. Kaiser 1978, Cresswell 1979, Zucchi 1993), cf. (15).

- (15) a. *-ion*
- (i) La non-destruction de la ville fut un soulagement.  
'The non-destruction of the city came as a relief.'
  - (ii) La non-invasion du pays par les troupes russes nous aurait rassurés.  
'The non-invasion of the country by Russian troops would have reassured us.'
  - (iii) La non-possession d'une voiture rend la vie difficile.  
'The non-possession of a car makes life difficult.'
- b. *-ment*
- (i) Le non-enlèvement des marchandises nous a fait perdre du temps.  
'The non-removal of the goods made us lose time.'
  - (ii) Le non-ralliement de ces pays à notre cause nous nuirait.  
'The non-taking side of those countries with our cause would harm us.'
- c. *-ance*
- (i) La non-appartenance à un quelconque groupe est revendiquée par certains.  
'The non-belonging to any group is claimed by some.'
  - (ii) La non-connaissance de ce chapitre peut te faire rater l'examen.  
'The non-knowledge of this chapter can make you fail the exam.'
- d. Ns having the form of feminine past participles
- (i) La non-découverte de ce vaccin aurait causé des problèmes.  
'The non-discovery of this vaccine would have caused problems.'
  - (ii) La non-arrivée de Pierre à bon port nous a inquiétés.  
'The non-arrival of Pierre at the destination worried us.'
  - (iii) La non-prise de ces médicaments te fait courir un risque.  
'The non-taking of these medicines makes you take a risk.'
- e. Zero-Derived Ns
- (i) Le non-arrêt des machines était dû à un dysfonctionnement.  
'The non-stopping of the machines was due to a malfunction.'
  - (ii) Le médecin a demandé la raison du non-réveil son patient par l'infirmière.  
'The doctor asked for the reason of the non-waking up of his patient by the nurse.'

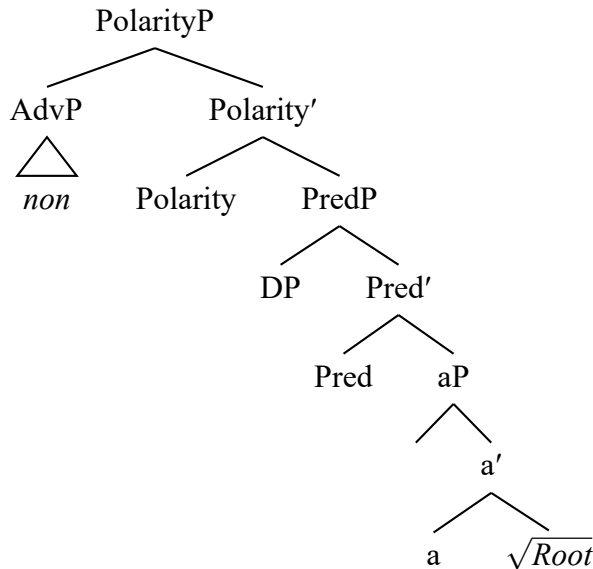
- (iii) Le non-port du casque n'est pas recommandé.  
'The non-wearing of a helmet is not recommended.'
  - (iv) La non-maîtrise de cette technique a fait échouer le sauveteur.  
'The non-mastering of this technic made the rescuer fail.'
- Importantly, we do not need an attested verbal base, cf. (16).
- (16)
- a. La non-exploitation du gisement et la non-combustion de son or noir éviteront à la planète l'émission de 500 millions de tonnes de CO<sub>2</sub>. (*Libération*)  
'The non-exploitation of the deposit and the non-combustion of its black gold will spare the planet the emission of 500 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub>.'
  - b. Tous pensèrent alors que ce temps défavorable avait pour cause la non-crémation de l'enfant. (1922) [<sup>†</sup>crémer<sub>v</sub>]  
'All then thought that this unpropitious time had been caused by the non-cremation of the child.'
  - c. La non-audition de cette mélodie serait regrettable.  
'The non-audition of this melody would be a shame.'
- Thus, my claim is that AS-Ns which do not accept the negation lack a component which is normally part of the structure that a V or A lexicalizes.
    - ▶ Considering that only predicative As take the negation, this component might very well be related to the predicative component, which is usually taken to be introduced by Pred for adjectives, v/Voice for verbs.
    - ▶ However the fact that the negation is rejected by some Type I AS-Ns tends to show that it requires something more than the mere embedded eventuality.
    - ▶ We therefore need to determine which layer the polarity-licensing projection must be assumed to select.
  - The data I will provide shows that, in line with Borer's (2003: 47–51) claim about AS-Nominals in general, **only bases which either currently are or have historically been verbal or adjectival take the negation.**
    - ▶ Thus, if we want to account for the correlation between the complexity of layered AS-Ns and their derivational history, **the additional features that such negation-taking Ns possess should be specific to what we find in lexical verbs and adjectives.**

The possibility for French lexical units to accept the word *non* before them is a functional property of predicates as construed in the traditional sense (cf. Marchand 1960: 129–130).

- (17) a. utile ‘useful’ → non utile ‘non-useful’  
 b. aimable ‘loveable’ → non aimable ‘non-loveable’  
 c. réceptif ‘receptive’ → non réceptif ‘non-receptive’  
 d. croyant ‘believing’ → non croyant ‘non-believing’

Thus, we may assume *non* to select for a predicative projection, for examples a [*Pred* [*a*  $\sqrt{Root}$ -]] as in (18).

- (18) PN + Predicative Adjective



- The word *non* is compatible with AdvPs, cf. (19a).
- In French, there is no hyphen, similarly to what happens before an Adj, while before a nominal, there is a hyphen, cf. (19b); in English, before a nominal, there is either a hyphen, or no separator at all (e.g. *nonoccurrence<sub>N</sub>* next to *non-occurrence<sub>N</sub>*).
  - ▶ Thus, a distinction is needed between the relatively autonomous *non*, and the PN *non(-)*, which is more intimately connected to the word it attaches to.

(19) a. *A-ment*

- (i) facilement ‘easily’ → non facilement ‘non-easily’
- (ii) aimablement ‘kindly’ → non aimablement ‘non-kindly’

b. Deadjectival Ns

- (i) la facilité de l’exercice → la non-facilité de l’exercice  
‘the easiness of the exercise’ ‘the non-easiness of the exercise’
- (ii) l’amabilité du client → la non-amabilité du client  
‘the kindness of the customer’ ‘the non-kindness of the customer’

- A crucial condition for an Adv to be built from an A is that the A must be predicative; as a consequence, all adverbs in *-ment* take the negation, cf. (20).

(20) a. (i) un homme non méchant  
a man non-mean

- (ii) Il t’ a parlé non méchamment.  
he to you has spoken non-meanly

b. (i) un exercice non difficile  
an exercise non-difficult

- (ii) Je l’ ai résolu non difficilement.  
I it have solved non-difficultly

c. (i) une situation non temporaire  
a situation non-temporary

- (ii) On m’ a intégré à l’ équipe, de surcroît non temporairement.  
one me has integrated to the team moreover non-temporarily

- In all cases, in a less sustained form of French, non may be replaced by *pas*.

## 2.2 The PN vs. negative prefixation

- Depending on the scope of *non-*, two possibilities of segmentation, cf. (21).

(21) a. [non [facile-ment]]  
non- easi -ly

b. [[non facile]-ment]  
non-easi -ly

- However, data point towards the first analysis (21a), i.e. *non-* scoping over the whole AdvP.

- ▶ Following Zimmer (1964), while *un-* words are associated with evaluative considerations, *non-* denotes neutral contradiction.
- ▶ Building on Allen (1978), I suggest that,
  - while idiosyncratic properties of *-un-* style so-called *negative* prefixation support low attaching of the latter,
  - the highly systematic behaviour, in turn, of *non-*, makes it a grammatical morpheme dedicated to the spell-out of true, wide-scoping, sentence-like negative polarity.

Zimmer (1964: 33–34) (bolding mine):

In our terms, *non-* generally expresses contradictory opposition, while *in-* and *un-* often express contrary opposition. The fact that most derivatives in *non-* are not compared and are not modified by *very*, etc., also supports the interpretation of *non-* as a contradictory negative.

There is a considerable number of cases where the *un-* derivative of a given base seems to imply the absence of a desirable or expected quality, while the *non-* derivative of the same base does not have this implication (*unremunerative* vs. *nonremunerative*). And often the contrast between *x* and *non-x* lies as it were along a different dimension from that between *x* and *un-x* (or *in-x*). Thus the contrast *Christian* vs. *non-Christian* appears to be primarily one between ‘related to, pertaining to, characteristic of certain religious doctrines’ and ‘not related to, etc., these doctrines,’ while that between *Christian* and *unchristian* rather involves a **scale of conformity or opposition to certain norms**. Comparable contrasts are quite frequent (, cf. *non-American* vs. *un-American*, *non-grammatical* vs. *ungrammatical*). We might say in general that in such cases *non-* selects the descriptive aspect of the stem for negation, while *un-* selects the evaluative one. [...]

It would seem that we are justified in assuming that the use of *non-* is primarily confined to descriptive, i.e. “neutral”, terms, or at least to terms which have a possible interpretation under which they are evaluatively neutral.

Following Zimmer (1964: 32–35), Allen’s (1978: 51–73) shows that “*non-* systematically forms contradictory negatives”, cf. [Allen 1] and (22).

The following pairs further illustrate the difference between contradictory negatives, as expressed by *non-X*, and contrary negatives, as expressed by *un-X*.

[Allen 1]	non-christian	[vs.] unchristian
	non-human	[vs.] unhuman
	non-grammatical	[vs.] ungrammatical
	non-musical	[vs.] unmusical
	non-wearable	[vs.] unwearable
	non-dying	[vs.] undying
	non-necessary	[vs.] unnecessary
	non-godly	[vs.] ungodly
	non-professional	[vs.] unprofessional

[...]

In the *un-* forms, the negative prefix has become more closely bound in some way with the root word, so that a more specialized meaning has emerged.

(22) *un-* vs. *non-* (adapted from Allen 1978: 54):

- a. (i) ✓ an untiring effort  
(ii) # a non-tiring effort  
(iii) ✓ a non-tiring task
- b. (i) ✓ unwearable clothes  
(ii) # non-wearable clothes  
(iii) ✓ a non-wearable chemical substance
- c. (i) ✓ an unhuman treatment  
(ii) # a non-human treatment  
(iii) ✓ non-human characteristics
- d. (i) ✓ an undying melody  
(ii) # a non-dying melody  
(iii) ✓ a non-dying organism

Allen (1978: 66–73):

Contrary oppositions, as expressed by *un-*, may be labelled "positive", "more than a simple negative," "implying an opposite thing or quality," or the like. For instance, the word *unkind* in the sentence *he is unkind to animals* means more than *not kind*; it expresses something close to the positive notion *cruel*. Contradictory oppositions on the other hand are "simple" or "logical" negatives, and in this respect, as Zimmer points out, a pair of contradictory terms exhaust the possibilities along a given dimension. For example, one can be either "American" or "non-American"; there is no intermediary position. From this it follows that *non-* forms cannot be compared nor can they be modified by *very*.

- [Allen 2] a. \* Marty is more non-American than Jim.  
b. \* He is very non-American.

In contrast, *un-* forms expressing contrary oppositions do not exhaust the possibilities along a given dimension. An *un-* contrary form names a spot on a dimension; this spot is generally accepted as the "opposite" of the unprefixed form. It follows that *un-* contrary forms may be compared, and may be modified by *very*. [...]

In the *un-* forms, the negative prefix has become more closely bound in some way with the root word, so that a more specialized meaning has emerged.

- [Allen 3] a. (i) a non-opening door (a door which never opens)  
(ii) an unopening door (a door which is not opening at the present moment)
- b. (i) a non-fluctuating signal (a signal which never fluctuates)  
(ii) an unfluctuating signal (a signal which for the moment is not fluctuating)
- c. (i) a non-dying plant (a plant which never dies)  
(ii) an undying plant (a normal plant which despite adverse conditions, is not dying)

Words in *non-* are [...] highly transparent in their semantics in that they are not idiosyncratic in meaning but are completely predictable given the facts that *non-* forms contradictory negatives and that the scope of *non-* is always the entire root word.

- As pointed out by Allen (1978: 68), *non-*, unlike embedded negative prefixes, scopes over the whole adjective.
- Taking up Zimmer's (1964) analysis in DM terms, in (22b.i), *un-* scopes over the projection headed by the head spelled-out by *-able*, but instead *non-*, in (22b.ii–b.iii), scopes over PredP.
- The PN may dominate a simple Adv:
  - ▶ *non moins* 'non less' + AP  $\approx$  aussi

(23) après une chute terrible suivie d'une défaite non moins douloureuse

- Besides, any Adv may be inserted between the PN and the *-ment* Adv:

(24) un meuble                    facilement montable    et    non moins facilement démontable  
 a piece of furniture easily    assemblable and non less    easily    disassemblable

- However, the PN that we find before a derived N is, as the use of the hyphen shows in French, unseparable from the N to which it attaches, cf. (25).

(25) la non-(\*x-)invasion de cette région  
 the non-x-    invasion of this    region

- Thus, the PN does not scope over the whole N, but on part of the structure of the latter.
  - ▶ Importantly, we can determine that operators on Outer Aspect have scope over the PN, not the other way around, as seen in (26):

(26) a. le non-remplacement systématique des fonctionnaires  
           'the systematic non-replacement of public agents'  
 b. le constant non-remplacement des fonctionnaires  
           'the constant non-replacement of public agents'  
 c. le non-remplacement des fonctionnaires pendant plusieurs années  
           'the non-replacement of public agents for several years'

- The VoiceP or PredP projection, which introduces an external argument or holder, may only take wide scope with respect to *non-*, i.e. only the latter may be located high enough as to license a negative polarity item at the spelling-out of the quantifier of the argument (Fr. *non-... quelconque* = 'non-... any'), and this is even true of unergatives, as seen in (27b).

(27) a. la non-disponibilité d'une quelconque place de parking  
           'the non-availability of any parking place'  
 b. le non-acquiescement d'un quelconque partisan  
           'the non-nodding of any follower'



As a side remark, narrow scope over the internal argument may only be obtained by *non pas* ‘non’, cf. (28).

- (28) l’acceptation, *non pas d’une trêve*, mais au moins d’un cessez-le-feu  
‘the acceptance, non of a truce, but at least of a ceasefire’

The PN is only compatible with states, not qualities:

- (29) a. La (\*non)-longueur de ce meuble est de  $x$  cm.  
b. La non-longueur de ses cheveux [ ✓ me pose problème / \* est de  $x$  cm ].

(29a) and (29b) may be respectively regarded as Q- and S- Ns. The former clearly involves a generic Holder, while the latter a Holder realized as a *de*-P. Both may take the PN, which is a property plausibly inherited from the source predicative A and, following Zucchi, entails availability of a propositional interpretation. Negative prefixes do not yield the same results, cf. (30).

- (30) a. ✓ la grande impopularité de ses chansons  
b. \* la grande non-popularité de ses chansons

Also, the indefinite *quelconque*, a free-choice item whose possibility of occurrence is favored by a negative context, is much less felicitous with a negative prefix than with the PN, cf. (31).

- (31) a. ✓ la non-disponibilité d’une quelconque place de parking  
‘the non-availability of any parking place’  
b. \* l’indisponibilité d’une quelconque place de parking  
‘the unavailability of any parking place’

## 2.3 Quality Nominals

- As shown by Roy (2010), French deadjectival Ns in *-eur/-ité...* are ambiguous between a quality (Q-) and a state (S-) interpretation.
  - ▶ Q-Ns, at first sight, seem to lack a Holder and reject internal modification. But they eventually turn out to involve an implicit Holder, in the shape of a silent pronoun (which receives arbitrary reference through a higher generic operator).
  - ▶ Thus, both types are actually similar, projecting a Holder inherited from the State denoted by the source predicative A, which is embedded as a [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred AP] structure.
  - ▶ Crucially, only predicative As take the PN:

(32) a. # une voyelle non-nasale  
b. \* une cavité non-nasale

- I suggest that there is a correlation between, on the one hand, ability of an N to have a manner interpretation and, on the other hand, its ability to accept the PN when denoting an event.
  - ▶ The *degree* reading of Q-Ns may be analyzed on a par with *manner* reading (cf. Katz 2000) of “Result” Ns, which are also incompatible with the negation (cf. Falk 1968).
  - ▶ Kennedy & McNally (2005) identify a “strong correlation between the event structure of the verb from which a participial adjective is derived and the scale structure of that adjective”, which provides strong support in favor of this hypothesis.
    - I propose that *manner* and *degree* reading be subsumed under the concept of *trope*, which refers to an instantiated property (Moltmann 2004, 2007, 2009).
      - Like event Ns embed an event structure, trope Ns may be argued to embed a *trope structure*, involving arguments which are not projected but *saturated*.
      - But since trope Ns refer to the manner or degree argument, their internal structure requires a vP or aP, i.e. frozen trope Ns are predicted to be impossible.

### 3 Conclusion

- I hope to have shown that in Type II AS-Ns, the flexibility of the denotation array is due to the compositionality of the semantics. Type I-AS-Ns as we saw, are frozen in one particular configuration, either an event or a trope, in each case with a fixed argumental configuration.
- If type II AS-Ns are truly deverbal Ns which inherit manner-denoting modification from their categorized source, and if we determine that VoiceP must be assumed in Type I since they may exhibit transitivity, then we will need to assume a dedicated layer for the licensing of manner modification.
  - ▶ Thus, *murder*<sub>N</sub> lexicalizes the chunk of structure required for denoting a complex event, but the absence of upper verbal layers in its internal structure limits its functional abilities.
  - ▶ Neo-constructionist frameworks, which assume morphology to reflect the compositional semantics, predict such limitations.

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