Eventualities under deadjectival nominalizations[1]

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Abstract

In this paper the behavior of deadjectival nominalizations in Spanish is studied regarding the presence of an eventuality reading. It is shown that whereas abstract nominalizations (*la belleza del libro* 'the beauty of the book') clearly encode an eventuality according to standard tests, neuter nominalizations (*lo bello del libro* 'the beautiful part of the book') lack any eventuality reading altogether. It is argued that the difference lies in the different kind of nominalization process involved. As for abstract nominalizations, after the nominalizer is merged, the nominal functional head Classifier will encode the stative eventuality derived from the adjective root. In the case of neuter nominalizations, we lack any nominal functional structure, but rather the AP is directly selected by the neuter determiner, which, following a suggestion by McNally & de Swart (2012), is the syntactic realization of Chierchia's (1982) ∩ ('cap') operator, which shifts a property into its entity correlate. Moreover, a slight modification of this semantic operation allows a simple and principled analysis of the difference between the two main neuter deadjectival nominalizations.

Keywords: nominalization, eventuality, adjective, property, degree

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1 Introduction

Grimshaw (1990) is justly credited for a classification of nominals that has influenced the studies of nominalization until our days: complex event nominals (1) and result nominals (2).

(1)   a. the instructor's (intentional) examination of the student

        b. the frequent collection of mushrooms (by students)

        c. the monitoring of wild flowers to document their disappearance

        d. the destruction of Rome in a day

(2)   a. the instructor's examination/exam

        b. John's collections

        c. These frequent destructions took their toll.

Among the properties distinguishing these two classes, one can highlight the following:

Complex event nominals	Result nominal
Event reading	No event reading
Obligatory arguments	No obligatory arguments
Agentive	Non-agentive
Implicit argument control	No implicit argument control
No pluralization	Pluralization

Just for the sake of illustration, consider the following contrast:

(3)   a. the frequent collection of taxes by the government

       b. *the frequent collections of taxes by the government

In both cases, the presence of an event-modifier adjective and the agent and theme arguments forces a complex event reading, which is fine in the first case. However, in the latter, the plural nominal can only be interpreted as result, in contradiction with the eventive properties just mentioned, yielding an ungrammatical outcome.[2]

To account for these contrasts, Grimshaw (1990) argues that complex event nominals include an event argument, which is responsible for its argument structure. Result nominals, instead, include a referential external argument, yielding a result interpretation. In other words, the argument-taking properties of nominals derive from the presence of an event argument.

Yet, as originally pointed out by Borer (2003: 48), deadjectival nominals may inherit the argument structure of their underlying adjectives, even though it is highly contentious that they have an event argument, since adjectives typically denote states:

(4)   a. The court's awareness of the problem

       b. Pat's consciousness of my presence

       c. Jill's fondness of classical music

       d. Robin's readiness to leave

       e. Marcia's closeness to her parents

       f. The party's satisfaction with the counting results

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[2] I disregard the class of *simple event nominals* like *race*, *event* or *trip*, which behave as result nominals, even though they clearly denote events. See Grimshaw (1990, (2011), Borer (2003) or Roy & Soare (2011) for discussion.

(5)   a. The court is aware of the problem

        b. Pat is conscious of my presence

        c. Jill is fond of classical music

        d. Robin is ready to leave

        e. Marcia is close to her parents

        f. The party is satisfied with the counting results

Roy (2010) pursues Borer's observation a step further and offers the most detailed description of deadjectival nominalizations to date. She distinguishes two subtypes – state-nominals (6a) and quality-nominals (6b):[3]

(6)   a. La   popularité de ses   chansons m'impressionne.

        the.F popularity of his.PL   songs   me.impresses

        'The popularity of his songs impresses me'

        b. La   popularité est une qualité qui li   fait   défaut.

        the.F popularity is a.F   quality that to.him makes   lacking

        'Popularity is a quality that he is lacking'

While quality nominals behave as result nominals in lacking argument structure and any kind of event structure or eventuality meaning, state nominals do have argument structure and an "eventuality" interpretation, regardless of the fact that they do not denote events and, obviously, lack verbal structure:

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[3] I have adapted Roy's original glosses to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which I adopt in this article. The following abbreviations are used: F=feminine, GEN=genitive, INFL=inflection, LOC=locative, N=neuter, NMLZ=nominalizer, PL=plural, PST=past, REFL=reflexive, SG=singular.

(7)   a. La   popularité constante *(de ses   chansons) m'impressionne.

       the.F   popularity constant.F of his   songs   me-impresses

       'The constant popularity of his songs impresses me'

       b. La   fierté (*constante)   l'aveugle

       the.F   pride constant   him-blinds

       'Pride blinds him'

When the nominal *popularité* 'popularity' is modified by the event-modifier adjective *constante* 'constant', the argument must be realized, clearly suggesting that we are dealing with a state nominal. The same happens with the nominal *fierté* 'pride'.

One can easily appreciate that deadjectival nominalizations stand as a serious counterexample to Grimshaw's (1990) generalization that event structure is a necessary condition for argument structure in nominals. In this paper I will add a wider perspective on this issue including into the discussion neuter nominalizations as the ones widely found in Spanish (Bosque & Moreno (1990), Leonetti (1999: 12.1.3), Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010)), Greek (Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999),Alexiadou (2011a)) or Dutch (McNally & de Swart (2012)), where a distinctive neuter article heads the nominalization:[4]

(8)   a. la   bondad   (de   Juan)

       the.F   goodness(F)   of   John

       'John's goodness'

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[4] As far as Spanish is concerned, the label 'neuter article' is a traditional label that might misled the unaware reader: Spanish lacks a neuter gender *sensu stricto* (there are no neuter nouns, nor neuter adjective forms), and there is a long-standing debate in the literature concerning the categorical status of this element, either as an article or a pronoun (see Leonetti (1999: 12.1.3) for a summary and references). With this proviso, I will maintain this term for convenience.

b. lo   bueno (de   Juan)

the.N   good.M of   John

'the good thing about John' Bosque & Moreno (1990: fn. 5)

(9)   a. i   kalo-sin-i   tu   Jani

the.F   good-ness-F   the.GEN John

'John's goodness'

b. to   kal-o   tu   Jani

the.N   good-N the.GEN John

Lit. 'the good thing about John' Alexiadou (2011a)

(10)   a. het   vreemde   van   dit   boek

the.SG.N   strange.SG.N of   this   book

'the strange thing about this book'

b. het   gezonde   van biologisch voedsel

the.SG.N   healthy.SG.N of   biological food

'the healthy thing about biological food' McNally & de Swart (2012)

Quite similar examples have been reported with the masculine article in languages lacking a neuter one, as French (see Lauwers (2008), Beauseroy & Knittel (2007), Beauseroy (2009), Roy (2010)) or Catalan (Solà (1994)):

(11)   le   beau   de l'histoire

the.M beauty of the.F-story

'the beautiful thing of the story'

(12)   el   més   curiós   de l'assumpte

        the.M most   curious   of the.M-issue

        'the curious thing about the issue'

In the following section I will briefly review the properties of Spanish deadjectival
nominalizations. Then, in section 3, I will get into the core of the article and consider
the evidence regarding the eventive nature of deadjectival nominalizations. The main
conclusion will be that whereas abstract nominalizations have event properties, neuter
nominalizations don't. On the light of such evidence, in section 4, I will pursue a
morphosyntactic analysis, where abstract nominalizations involve lexical derivation
from an adjective root, whereas neuter nominalizations are syntactically construed from
an adjective. Finally, a summary of the main conclusions and a list of remnant problems
will close the article.

2   Spanish deadjectival nominalizations

In languages like Spanish, the range of deadjectival nominalizations duplicates that of
English: besides abstract deadjectival nominalizations (13b), neuter nominalizations can
be construed with the neuter article *lo* (13c) (see Bosque & Moreno (1990, Leonetti
(1999: 12.1.3),Bartra-Kaufmann & Villalba (2006),Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann
(2010)):

(13)   a. Juan   es honesto.

           Juan   is honest

            'Juan is honest. '

b. la honestidad (de Juan)

the.F honesty of John

'John's honesty'

c. lo honesto (de Juan)

the.N honest of John

'Juan's honesty'

(14) a. El camino es estrecho.

the path is narrow

'The path is narrow. '

b. la estrechez del camino

the.F narrowness of.the path

'the narrowness of the path '

c. lo estrecho del camino

the.N narrow of.the path

'the narrowness of the path '

Let us consider each type separately.

2.1 Abstract nominalizations

Spanish abstract nominalizations are formed on an adjective by means of a specialized suffix, and build a quality-denoting nominal:

(15) a cruel   -> cruel-dad

      cruel(M/F.SG)   cruel-NMLZ(F.SG)

      'cruel'   'cruelty'

   b triste   -> trist-ez-a

      sad(M/F.SG)   sad-NMLZ-F.SG

      'sad'   'sadness'

   c dulce   -> dulz-ur-a

      sweet(M/F.SG)   sweet-NMLZ-F.SG

      'sweet'   'sweetness'

Abstract nominalizations can be modified by a possessive PP, as substitution by a possessive pronoun shows:

(16) a la   belleza de la   obra   -> su belleza

         the.F beauty of the.F work   its beauty

         'the beauty of his work'   'its beauty'

   b. la   estrechez   del   camino -> su estrechez

      the.F narrowness   of-the path   its narrowness

      'the narrowness of the path'   'its narrowness'

We will consider their semantic properties in detail in subsection 4.1.

2.2 Neuter nominalizations

Since Bosque & Moreno (1990), two different readings have been identified for Spanish neuter nominalizations.[5] The first one is partitive/referential (*"lo* individuativo*"* for Bosque & Moreno (1990)):[6]

(17) Lo   interesante del   libro es el   primer capítulo.

the.N interesting   of-the book is the   first   chapter

'The interesting part of the book is the first chapter.'

As the translation makes clear, the nominal refers to a part of the subject which can be characterized by the property denoted by the adjective.

The second reading is quantificational ("*lo* cualitativo" for Bosque & Moreno (1990)):[7]

(18) Me   asusta   lo   peligroso de la   empresa.

to.me   frightens   the.N dangerous of the.f enterprise

'It frightens me how risky the enterprise is. '

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[5] Bosque & Moreno (1990) identify a third reading, "*lo* cuantitativo", as in (i):

(i)   No duerme lo   necesario.
       not sleeps the.N necessary
       '(S)he doesn't sleeps enough.'

As Leonetti (1999: 12.1.3) discusses, this quantitative construction is extremely restricted, in sharp contrast with the productivity of partitive and quantificational neuter nominalizations, so I will not consider it from now on.

[6] This reading is also reported by Alexiadou (2011a: ex. 13) for Greek neuter nominalizations:

(i)   To   kalo tu   Jani   ine i   ipomoni tu.
       the.N good the.GEN John   is the.F patience he.GEN
       'The good thing about John is his patience.'

[7] This reading is also reported by Alexiadou (2011a: ex. 14) for Greek neuter nominalizations:

(i)   Me fovizi   to   agrio tis   ipothesis.
       me frightens the.N wild the.GEN situation
       'It frightens me how wild the situation is.'

As the translations make clear, whereas the former refers to a part of the subject which can be characterized by the property denoted by the adjective, the latter involves degree quantification over the scale denoted by the adjective predicated of the subject.

Both subkinds are usually formed from gradable adjectives, but whereas this is a necessary condition for quantificational nominalizations (19), partitive ones are more flexible (20):

(19) *Es increíble lo eléctrico del coche.[8]

is incredible the.N electric of-the car

*'It is incredible how electric the car is.'

(20) a. *Lo alfabético del diccionario es la macroestructura.

the.N alphabetic of-the dictionary is the.F macrostruture

'The alphabetic part of the dictionary is the macrostructure.'

b. ?Lo eléctrico del coche necesita revisión.

the.N electric of-the car needs revision

'The electric part of the car needs a checking.'

Both kinds also differ in the range of degree modifiers they admit: partitive nominalizations are possible with *más* 'most', and quantificational nominalizations are possible with *muy* 'very':

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[8] I disregard coerced gradable readings, here.

(21) Lo   más/*muy interesante del   libro es el   primer capítulo.

the.N most/very interesting of-the   book is the   first   chapter

'The most interesting part of the book is the first chapter.'

(22) Me   asusta   lo   *más/muy peligroso de la   empresa.

to.me   frightens   the.N most/very dangerous of the.F enterprise

'It frightens me how very risky the enterprise is. '

For a detailed discussion of neuter nominalizations in Spanish, the reader is referred to Bosque & Moreno (1990), Leonetti (1999: 12.1.3) and Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010).

3   Eventualities in Spanish deadjectival nominalizations

After the brief general description of Spanish deadjectival nominalizations, we can now turn to our main concern: events. Following Grimshaw (1990), Borer (2003), Borer & Roy (2010), Roy (2010), and Alexiadou (2011a, b), we will consider the following evidence for the eventuality of nominals:

- temporality
- argument structure
- pluralization

3.1 Temporality

Abstract nominalizations admit temporal modifiers denoting duration, while neuter nominalizations cannot:

(23) a. Brutal durante meses,   al-Assad...

         brutal during   months Al-Assad

         'Brutal for months, Al-Assad…'

      b. la   brutalidad de al-Assad   durante meses

         the.F   brutality   of Al-Assad   during   months

         'Al-Assad's brutality for months'

      c. *lo   brutal   de al-Assad   durante meses

         the.N   brutal   of Al-Assad   for   months

         'Al-Assad's brutality for months'

The same happens with the frequency modifiers *constant* 'constant' and *constantemente* 'constantly' or *frecuente* 'frequent' and *frecuentemente* 'frequently':

(24) a. Constantemente/Frecuentemente brutal,   al-Assad...

         constantly/frequently   brutal   Al-Assad

         'Constantly/Frequently brutal, Al-Assad…'

      b. la   constante/frecuente brutalidad de al-Assad

         the.F   constant/frequent   brutality   of Al-Assad

         'Al-Assad's constant/frequent brutality'

      c. *lo   constantemente/frecuentemente   brutal   de al-Assad

         the.N   constantly/frequently   brutal   of Al-Assad

'Al-Assad's brutality for months'

It seems quite clear that the eventuality identified under deadjectival stative nominalizations by Roy (2010) does not surface at all in Spanish neuter nominalizations, in line with Greek neuter nominalizations, as reported by Alexiadou (2011a: ex. 12):

(25) *to   sinehes   kalo tu   Jani/me   to   Jani

      the constant good the.GEN John/with the John

3.2   Argument structure inheritance

As shown in the following examples, abstract nominalizations may inherit the argument structure of the adjective they derive from, whereas neuter nominalizations cannot:[9]

(26) a. Al-Assad fue (in)capaz   de asesinar a su   pueblo.

         Al-Assad was (in)able   of murder to his   people

         'Al-Assad was (in)able of murdering his people.'

      b. la   (in)capacidad de al-Assad   de asesinar a su   pueblo

         the.F (in)ability   of Al-Assad of murder to his   people

         'The (in)ability of Al-Assad of murdering his people.'

      c. *lo   (in)capaz   de al-Assad   de asesinar a su   pueblo.

         the.N (in)able   of Al-Assad   of murder to his   people

         'The (in)ability of Al-Assad of murdering his people.'

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[9] Neuter nominalizations based on past participles do inherit argument structure:
  (i) lo   comentado por   todos
       the.N commented by   everybody.PL

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In accordance with the previous data, abstract and neuter nominalizations differ regarding agentivity, as final adjuncts (27) and agent-oriented adverbs (28) show:

(27) a. Brutal para lograr sus objetivos, Al-Assad...

    brutal for achieve his goals Al-Assad

  b. la brutalidad de al-Assad para lograr sus objetivos

    the.F brutality of Al-Assad to obtain his goals

  c. *lo brutal de al-Assad para lograr sus objetivos

    the.N brutal of Al-Assad to obtain his goals

(28) a. Deliberadamente brutal por parte de Al-Assad, la represión en Siria...

    deliberately brutal by part of Al-Assad the.F repression in Syria

  b. la deliberada brutalidad por parte de al-Assad de la represión en Siria

    the.F deliberated.F brutality by part of Al-Assad of the.F repression in Syria

  c. ??lo deliberadamente brutal por parte de al-Assad de la represión en Siria

    the.F deliberately brutal by part of Al-Assad of the.F repression in Syria

Again, one can safely conclude that neuter nominalizations do not display the typical properties of event nominals.

3.3 Pluralization

As highlighted in the literature, the pluralization of deverbal nominals is sensitive of the nature of the construction: whereas result nominals appear in plural naturally, complex

event nominals cannot. Consider the examples in (1) and (2), repeated here for the ease of reference:

(29)   a. the instructor's (intentional) examination of the student

       b. the frequent collection of mushrooms (by students)

       c. the monitoring of wild flowers to document their disappearance

       d. the destruction of Rome in a day

(30)   a. the instructor's examination/exam

       b. John's collections

       c. These frequent destructions took their toll.

None of the complex event nominals in (29) admits a plural, while the result nominals in (30) are perfectly natural in either number.

When we move to deadjectival nominals, we obtain an interesting pattern. On the one hand, neuter nominalizations cannot be pluralized altogether:[10]

(31)   a. *los   interesantes   del   libro

         the.N   interesting.PL of.the   book

         'the interesting parts of the book'

      b. *los   difíciles   del   asunto

         the.N   difficult.PL of.the   matter

         'the complex parts of the matter'

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[10] Some fixed forms exist showing pluralization, like *los Altos del Golán* 'Golan's Heights', *los bajos del edificio* 'the basement of the building' or *los bajos de los pantalones* 'the low part of the trousers'. However, they are highly idiosyncratic and nonproductive (e.g. **los altos del edificio* 'the high part of the building' or **los altos de los pantalones* 'the high part of the trousers'), so they do not undermine the generalization in the text.

Abstract nominalizations admit pluralization when they lack any trace of argument structure:

(32) a. las   capacidades (*de matar)   de al-Assad

          the   abilities   of kill   of al-Assad

      b. *las   capacidades de matar   por   parte de al-Assad

          the   abilities   of kill   by   part of Al-Assad

This suggests that they can get pluralized when no even reading is available. Frequency modifiers confirm such a suggestion:

(33) las   (*constantes/*frecuentes)   brutalidades   de al-Assad

      the.F constant/frequent   brutality.PL   of Al-Assad

      'Al-Assad's (*constant/*frequent) brutalities'

It should be noted that the plural version lacks the original abstract meaning, and denotes a particular fact or individual instantiating the quality associated with the abstract version (see below 4):[11]

(34) a. Aquellas bellezas estaban enfermas.

          those.F   beauties were   sick.F.PL

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[11] Alexiadou (2011a) describes a similar pattern for Greek abstract nominalizations:

(i)   a. *i   kalosines   ine arêtes   aksiolatreftes.
             the.F   goodnesses   are virtues worth-worshipping.F
         b. Ekana   poles   kalosines.
             did.1SG many.F   goodnesses
             'I performed many acts of kindness.'

‘Those beauties were sick.’

    b. Afrontamos numerosas   dificultades.

       faced.2PL   numerous.F.PL   difficulties

       ‘We faced many difficulties.’

Hence, abstract nominalizations have a dual pattern between eventive and result readings, regarding pluralization, just as complex event nominals.

3.4   Interim conclusions

According to standard tests applied to nominals, we can safely conclude that abstract nominalizations like *la honestidad* ‘honesty’ are eventive, in sharp contrast with neuter nominalizations like *lo honesto* ‘honest part/aspect’, which lack any kind of eventuality reading. Moreover, the eventuality involved is grammatical, not conceptual. As Roy & Soare (2012) discuss, some nominals denote individuals, but are events from a conceptual point of view. The test is quite simple: conceptual events can appear as subjects of *take place* Roy & Soare (2012: exs. 51 and 2), regardless of the fact they denote an event:

(35)   a. The destruction of the city/ examination of the students took place at noon.

      b. The film/ meeting took place at noon.

(36)   a. #The driver/tamer of the lions takes/took place at noon.

      b. #The table/form took place at noon.

Crucially, when abstract nominalizations are considered, the test fails, clearly suggesting that they do not involve a conceptual event:

(37)   a. #John's honesty takes/took place at noon.

       b. #Mary's cruelty took place at noon.

In the following sections, we will offer a morphosyntactic and semantic solution which captures the event reading associated with abstract nominalizations.

4   Embedding events

We have just seen that abstract nominalizations involve an eventive reading, which neuter nominalizations lack. I will argue that the source of the difference is rooted in the kind of nominalization process: the former are lexically formed, whereas the latter are syntactically formed, involving a subject-predicate structure (see Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) for Spanish, and McNally & de Swart (2012), Alexiadou (2011a) for parallel nominalization structures in Dutch and Greek, respectively). I am perfectly aware that the classical opposition between lexical and syntactic derivation is actually blurred in a framework like Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz (1993), Marantz (1997), Embick & Noyer (2007)), which I adopt here –or in Lexical Conceptual Structure (Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (1998)), for that matter. Yet I think the reader will get the point that in the former case we are constructing a nominalization from a subword structure, whereas in the latter, only words are involved. Let us begin with abstract nominalizations.

4.1 Abstract nominalizations

Consider the derivation of the abstract nominalization *belleza* 'beauty' from the adjective *bello* 'beautiful'. We take the base to be an adjective root, selected by a nominalizer, in this case the suffix –*ez*(*a*):

(38) [nP -*ez* [aP a [√*BELL*]]]

Now, following Picallo (2006), the structure incorporates ClassifierP (ClassP) and NumberP (NumP), for coding gender and number features, respectively. Yet, we will adopt Alexiadou (2010) Alexiadou (2011a), and Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Soare (2010) idea that ClassP also encodes the mass/count distinction, as a nominal inner aspect parallel to the verbal one encoded in VoiceP (for deverbal nominalizations, see Kratzer (2003) and Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Soare (2010); see also Rothstein (1999) for a theory of predicate countability that classifies verbs as *count eventualities* and adjectives as *mass states*). Hence, if Class is [-count], NumP cannot be projected and we get a mass noun, either with a null or definite determiner:

(39) a. [DP [D Ø] [ClassP Class[-count] [nP -*ez* [aP a [√*BELL*]]]]]

      b. En   su   obra, había   belleza.

          in   her   work had   beauty

          'There was beauty in her work.'

(40) a. [DP [D *la*] [ClassP Class[-count] [nP -*ez* [aP a [√*BELL*]]]]]

      b. En   su   obra, se   reflejaba   la   belleza.

          in   her   work REFL   reflected.3SG the.F   beauty

'Beauty was reflected in her work.'

In this last case, regardless of the presence of the definite determiner, we obtain a definite kind lacking any number specification, as the translation by means of a bare nominal clearly suggests. Moreover, this gives us an explanation of Villalba (2008) observation that abstract nominalizations —unlike neuter nominalizations— can be quantized (see Levinson (1978), for the original insight), as confirmed by their inclusion as subjects of a verb like increase or in a comparative construction:

(41) a. La honestidad de los políticos aumenta día a día.

     the.F honesty of the.PL politicians increases day to day

     'The honesty of politicians increases daily.'

  b. La   honestidad de los políticos es mayor

     the.F honesty of the.PL politicians is bigger

     that the honesty of.the government

     que la   honestidad del gobierno.

     'The honesty of politicians is bigger than the honesty of the government.'

Moreover, since we take the parallel between verbal [bound] and nominal [count] features seriously, one expects that the event is encoded under Class in abstract nominals, where the [-count] value will match the stative nature of the nominal, derived from its adjectival origin. It is at this level where event modifiers will be adjoined as well, like *constant* or *frequent* (see subsection 3.1).

As for possessive modifiers, since they are always associated with a particular instantiation of the property denoted by the noun (i.e. a trope in Moltmann

(2004a),Moltmann (2004b) sense), we suggest that they appear in Spec,ClassP as well (see Alexiadou (2011a), who, following Borer (2005), assumes that it is ClassP that fulfills such individuating function):[12]

(42)   a. [$_{DP}$ *la* [$_{NumP}$ *de su obra* [$_{Num'}$ Ø [$_{ClassP}$ *-a* [$_{Asp(ect)P}$ Asp [$_{nP}$ *-ez* [$_{aP}$ [$_a$ Ø] [√*BELL*
]]]]]]]]

   b. Captó   la   belleza de su   obra.

      grasped.3SG the.F beauty   of her   work

      'He grasped the beauty in her work.'

Now, in order to obtain individual readings, NumberP must be merged, which requires Class to be [+count]. As argued by Rothstein (1999: 372), this is the morphological counterpart of the *packaging function* by Pelletier (1979), which maps mass nouns onto count ones (the opposite of the *grinder function*).

(43)   a. [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ Ø] [$_{NumP}$ Num$_{[+pl]}$ [$_{ClassP}$ Class$_{[+count]}$ [$_{nP}$ *-ez* [$_{aP}$ a [√*BELL*]]]]]

   b. En   su   obra, se   reflejaban   bellezas   diversas.

      in   her   work REFL reflected.3PL   beauties   varied

      'Several kinds of beauty were reflected in her work.'

When a definite article is added, we get particular readings, ranging from the property instantiation in (44b) (a trope, according to Moltmann (2004a, b, Villalba (2008)) to a

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[12] Cf. Alexiadou (2011a), who, following Borer (2005), assumes that it is ClassP that fulfills such individuating function, and henceforth argues that possessive modifiers appear under this projection.

pure individual reading in (44c) (note the presence of the differential object marker *a* 'to', which correlates with specificity in Spanish; see Leonetti (2008)):[13]

(44)   a. [DP [D *las*] [NumP Num[+pl] [ClassP Class[+count] [nP -*ez* [aP a [√*BELL*]]]]]

      b. En   su   obra, se   unen   las   bellezas clásica y

        moderna.

          in   her   work REFL unite.3pl   the.F.PL beauty classic and modern

          'In her work, classic and modern beauties get united.'

      c. En   su   obra, retrató   a aquellas dos bellezas   nórdicas.

          in   her   work portrayed to those.F two   beauties   Nordic

          'In her work, she portrayed these two Nordic beauties.'

To sum up, the derivation of abstract nominals crucially involves a lexical nominalizer and the projection of nominal functional structure (ClassP and NumP), allowing for the encoding of the state eventuality and the full range of nominal options just reviewed.

4.2   Syntactic construction of neuter nominalizations

Following Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010), I will assume that neuter nominalizations like *lo bello del cuadro* 'the beautiful thing of the picture' are based on a subject-predicate structure as the following:

(45)   [XP [DP *el cuadro*] [X' X [AP *bello*]]]

---

[13] The availability of pure individual readings is not general, for poorly understood reasons. See van de Velde (2000) and Beauseroy (2009: 3.2.3) for French quality nominals.

This structure is shown to correlate with standard topic-comment partition, as the topical properties of the DP clearly suggest (see Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010: sec. 2)).

Then the predicate AP is fronted for information-structure reasons to the specifier of a DP-internal focus, which, after incorporation of X, is realized as *de* 'of', as argued for by Kayne (2005), den Dikken (2006):

(46) [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ *bello*] [$_{F'}$ X+F [=*de*] [$_{XP}$ [$_{DP}$ *el cuadro*] [$_{X'}$ t$_X$ t$_{AP}$]]]]

Given this structure, it is unsurprising that the DP/PP modifier of neuter nominalizations behave so differently from that of abstract nominalizations. Witness the contrast regarding extraction and pronominalization:

(47) a. *¿[De qué político] te   extrañó lo   honesto *t*?
            of what politician to.you struck   the.N honest

      b. ¿[De qué político] te   extrañó la   honestidad *t*?
            of what politician to.you struck   the.F honesty

(48) a. lo   bueno   de Juan/*suyo
         the.N   good   of Juan/his

      b. *su   bueno
         his   good

(49) a. la   bondad   de Juan/suya
         the.N   goodness   of Juan/his

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b. su   bondad

   his   goodness

It seems thus that the predicate inversion analysis developed by Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) explains the main syntactic differences between abstract and neuter nominalizations. Yet, we have one more wrinkle to iron: the role of the neuter article.

As mentioned in fn. 4, there is no consensus on the literature on the exact category and function of the neuter article in Spanish. While I am not adding nothing new to the category issue –probably not a substantial one, once the limits between articles and pronouns blurred after Abney (1986)—, I would like to relate the function of the neuter article to the $\cap$ ('cap') operator introduced by Chierchia (1982): it takes a property and returns the entity correlate of this property. Formally:

(50)   a. [$_{AP}$ *alto*] = λx[tall(x)]

   b. [$_{DP}$ *lo* [$_{AP}$ *alto*]] = $^{\cap}$λx[tall(x)]

This is indeed the idea developed by McNally & de Swart (2012) for a class of Dutch color nouns and adjectives. They consider the following inflected nominalized construction:

(51)   a. het   rode   van   der   aardbeien

      the   red.FLEX   of   the   strawberries

      'the red of strawberries'

   b. $^{\cap}$λx.Red$_{asp}$(strawberries)(x)

   c. 'entity correlate of the property of being the red aspect of strawberries'

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As de Swart and McNally suggest, one can easily extend such analysis to Spanish neuter nominalizations:

(52)　a.　lo　　　　bello　　　de su　　rostro

　　　　　the.N　beautiful　of her　face

　　　　　'the beauty of her face'

　　　b.　$^{\cap}\lambda x.\text{Beautiful}_{asp}(\text{face})(x)$

　　　c.　'entity correlate of the property of being the beautiful aspect of his face'

This seems a very close rendering of the denotation of the partitive neuter nominalization (see Neuter nominalizations2.2), and one can try to derive the quantificational one as a particular variant, where the relevant aspect of the property is its high degree (see Gutiérrez-Rexach (1999) and Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) for similar proposals), namely the property is formed by abstracting over the degree:

(53)　a.　lo　　　　bello　　　de su　　rostro

　　　　　the.N　beautiful　of her　face

　　　　　'the beauty of her face'

　　　b.　$^{\cap}\lambda d.\text{Beautiful}_{asp}(\text{face})(x)(d)$

　　　c.　'entity correlate of the maximum degree of the property of being the beautiful aspect of his face'

Hence, from a semantic point of view, we can consider the neuter article a nominalizer of properties or degrees, which gives us a plausible analysis of the two basic neuter nominalization types discussed in 2.2.

Whereas the the partitive/referential type in (54) refers to a part of the subject which can be characterized by the property denoted by the adjective, the quantificational type in (55) involves degree quantification over the scale denoted by the adjective predicated of the subject:

(54) Lo   interesante del   libro es el   primer capítulo.

the.N interesting   of-the   book is the   first   chapter

'The interesting part of the book is the first chapter.'

(55) Me   asusta   lo   peligroso de la   empresa.

to.me   frightens   the.N dangerous of the.f enterprise

'It frightens me how risky the enterprise is.'

It is quite natural to translate this contrast to the same basic semantic structure, but with a difference on the element affected by the nominalizer operator: if it is the property, we obtain a partitive neuter nominalization, if it is the degree, we obtain a quantitational neuter nominalization.

The exact syntactic implementation of such type-shifting operation is open to discussion. Here I will stick to the analysis in Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann (2010), where the neuter article merges as the head of a DP:

(56) [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ lo] [$_{FP}$ [$_{AP}$ *bello*] [$_{F'}$ X+F [=*de*] [$_{XP}$ [$_{DP}$ *el cuadro*] [$_{X'}$ t$_X$ t$_{AP}$]]]]]

This solution is at odds with the proposal for Greek defended by Alexiadou (2011a), who argues that whereas abstract nominalizations are based on an adjective head, neuter nominalizations are based on an uncategorized root, which would explain their lack of adjectival properties (e.g. they do not admit measure phrases: (57)) and their idiosyncrasy (they are not productive: (58)). Compare abstract and neuter nominalizations:

(57)   kivernisan   ja   epta   hronia   me   megali   dikeosini.

       governed-3PL   for   seven   years   with   great   justice

       'They governed for seven years with great justice.' (Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999: 314))

(58)   *I   gonis   mathenun   ta   pedia   tus   to   poli   kalo.

       the   parents   teach   the   childern theirs the   very   good

       '*Parents teach their children the very good.' (Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999: 314))

(59)   a. perifanos   perifan-i-a   *to   perifano

          proud   pride-F   the.N proud

       b. ilikrinis   ilikrin-i-a   *to   ilikrines

          honest   honesty- F   the.N honest

       c. mikro   mikro-tit-a   *to   mikro

          small-petty   pettiness   the.N petty (Alexiadou (2011a))

Alexiadou advances, thus, the following analysis:

(60)   a. kalo-sin-i

       good-ness-F

       'goodness'

       b. [$_{nP}$ [$_n$ *sin*] [$_{aP}$ [$_a$ Ø] [√*KAL*]]]

(61)   a. kalo

       good

       'good'

       b. [$_{DP}$ D [$_{nP}$ [$_n$ *o*] [√*KAL*]]]

Yet, Alexiadou's analysis of Greek nominals cannot be extended to Spanish. First, neuter nominalizations retain adjectival properties, as modifiers show:

(62)   dado lo   muy difícil   de su acceso

       due   the.N very difficult of its access

       'due to the great difficulty of its access'

Second, *lo* nominalizations are extremely productive in Spanish, even with non-root material (Bosque & Moreno (1990), Leonetti (1999)):

(63)   a. lo   de venir   mañana

          the.N   of come   tomorrow

          'that idea about coming tomorrow'

b. lo   que has   comprado

   the.N that have.2SG bought

   'the thing(s) you have bought'

c. Lo   mucho   cansa.

   the.N too.much tires

   'Excess tires oneself.'

Indeed, we can find neuter nominalization with no abstract nominalization counterpart, as in the following examples from Javier Marías' *Tu rostro mañana. 1 Fiebre y lanza*:

(64) a. hasta lo   más descabellado e   inverosímil

        even   the.N most crazy   and unbelievable

        'even the most crazy and unbelievable things'

  b. Hoy   se   aborrece lo   definitivo y   seguro, y   en consecuencia

     today REFL hates   the.N definitive and certain and in consequence

     lo   ya   fijado   en el tiempo.

     the.N already fixed   in the   time

     'Today people hates definite things and certainty and, therefore, things already fixed in time.'

There are no abstract *descabelladez* 'craziness', *definitividad* 'definitiveness' nor *fijadez* 'fixedness' in Spanish.

So then, major differences exist between Greek and Spanish neuter nominalizations to adopt Alexiadou's (2001a) proposal.

5 Conclusions

We have seen that deadjectival nominalizations do not behave uniformly regarding eventuality readings: whereas abstract nominalizations (*la belleza del libro* 'the beauty of the book') clearly encode an event according to standard tests, neuter nominalizations (*lo bello del libro* 'the beautiful part of the book') lack any eventuality reading altogether. I have argued that the difference lies in the different kind of nominalization process involved. As for abstract nominalizations, after the nominalizer is merged, the nominal functional head Classifier will encode the stative eventuality derived from the adjective root. In the case of neuter nominalizations, we lack any nominal functional structure, but rather the AP is directly selected by the neuter determiner, which, following a suggestion by McNally & de Swart (2012), is the syntactic realization of Chierchia's (1982) ∩ ('cap') operator, which shifts a property into its entity correlate. Moreover, a slight modification of this semantic operation allows a simple and principled analysis of the difference between the two main neuter deadjectival nominalizations.

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