

Events in the semantics of non-deverbal nominalizations

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Derivational semantics

- Two central questions

1. Which kinds of readings are possible with a given affix?
2. Which affix is chosen to express a given reading?

What is known?

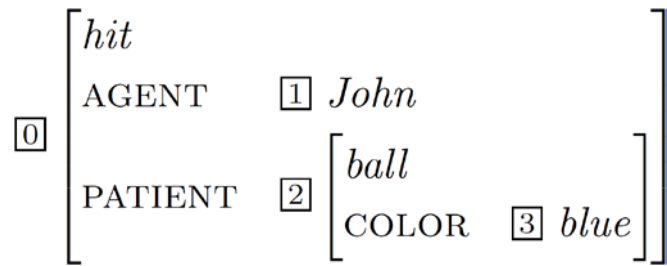
- Non-arbitrary relationship between base and derivative (e.g. Bauer et al. 2013, Ferret & Villoing 2015, Kawaletz 2021)
 - Verb requires **instrument** participant (e.g. *to wrap*, *to refresh*)
 - Nominalization can denote **INSTRUMENT** (e.g. *wrap*, *refreshment*)
- Deverbal *-ment* nominalization: Interplay of base and affix (Kawaletz 2021)
 - Base offers array of semantic elements
 - Affix selects from this array in a systematic way
 - Range of readings
 - Disambiguation in context

What is needed?

- Precise characterization of the interaction between base and affix
 - Identify potential targets in the base's semantics
 - Decompositional semantic approach
 - Here: Frames (Barsalou 1992a, b; Löbner 2013)

Frames

- Fundamental representation of knowledge in human cognition
- Applicable to linguistic phenomena
- Recursive, typed attribute-value structures



Derivational semantics in frames

- Verbal bases (Plag et al. 2018, Kawaletz 2021)
 - Decompose semantics of base and derivative in **frames**
 - Model process of derivation in **lexeme formation rules** (LFRs; Riehemann 1998, Koenig 1999, Bonami & Cysmann 2016)

Illustration: *endull* → *endullment*

- *endull*: to render dull (OED Online)
- *endullment* (Kawaletz 2021)
 - Eventive readings
 - Transposition of a complex event
 - Subevents
 - Causing event
 - Change-of-psych-state
 - Psych state
 - Participant reading: Stimulus

Exemplary attestations

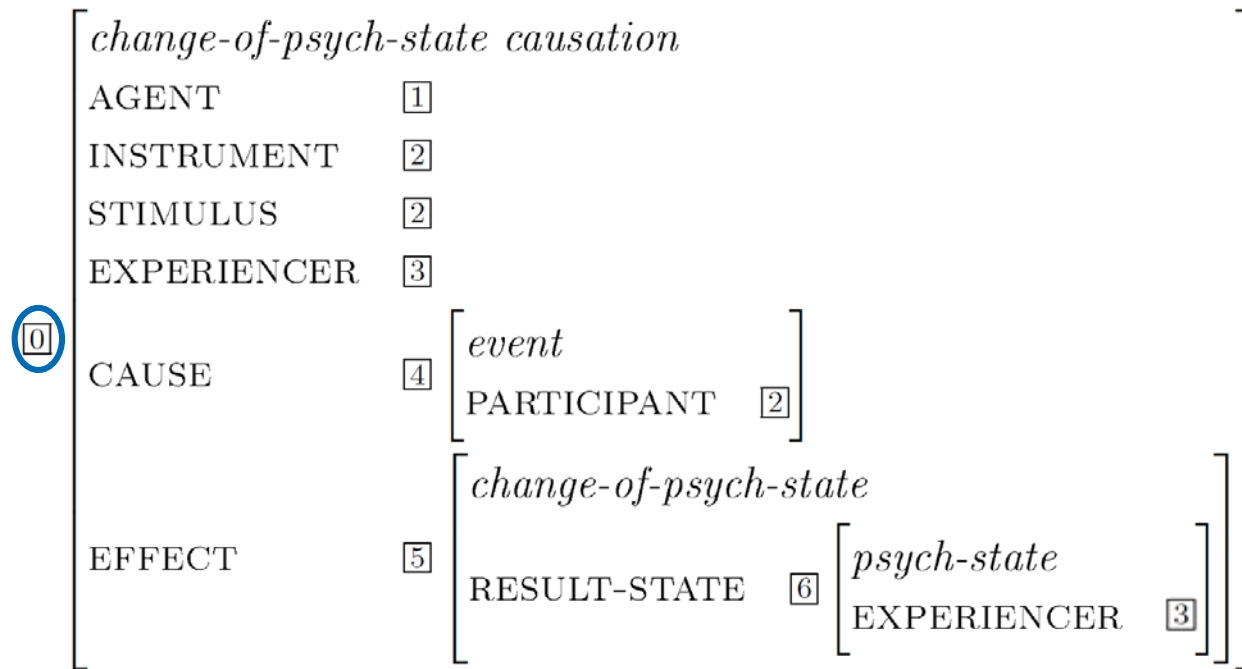
- Transposition of a complex event

(1) What we see now is backslosh from the Raj. [...] All of this is well-thought-out, like a **military campaign** of blitzkrieg **endullment**. [...] [W]e're **getting enstupidated** at a hell of a pace. (Google BLOG unz.com 2006)

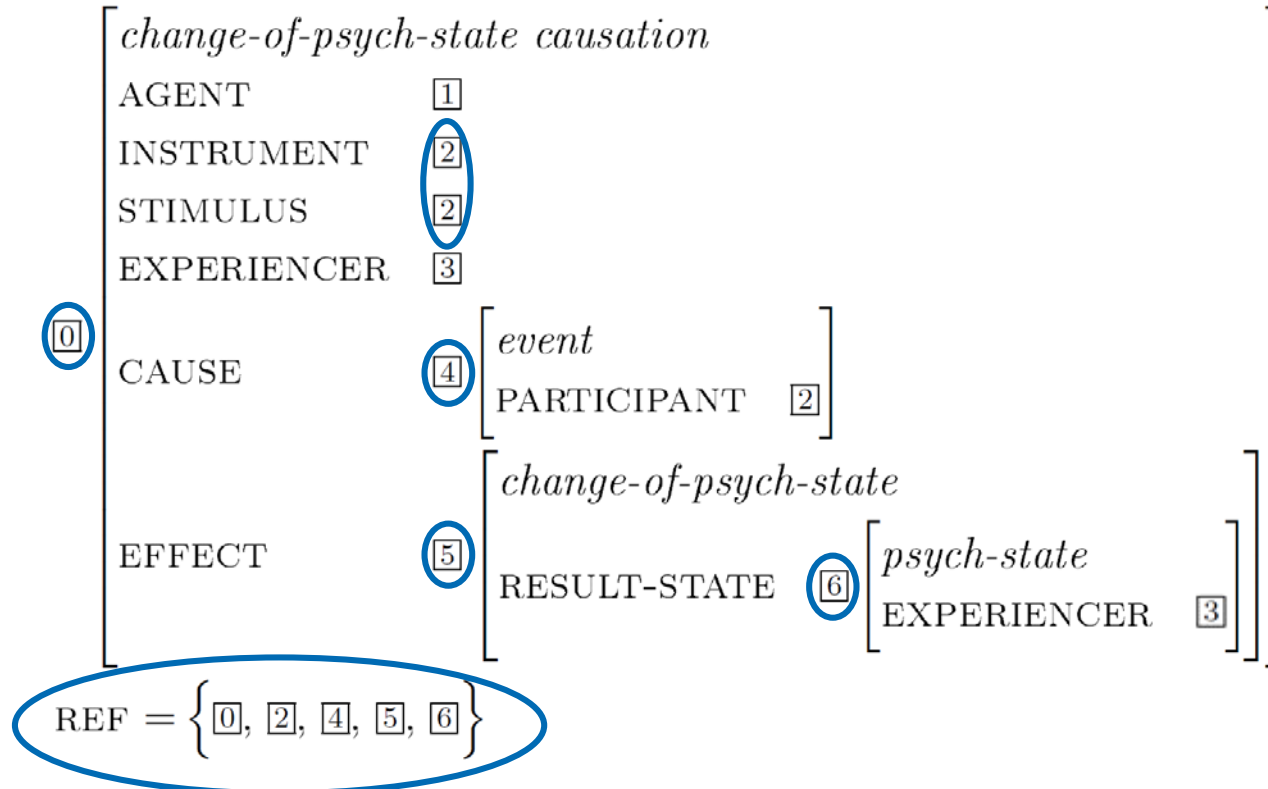
- Change-of-psych-state

(2) **Endullment** is **the dulling of people's minds** as a result of their nonparticipation (GB NONFIC ManagingTeamEnvironment 1998)

Frame for verbs like *endull*



Frame for nominalizations like *endullment*

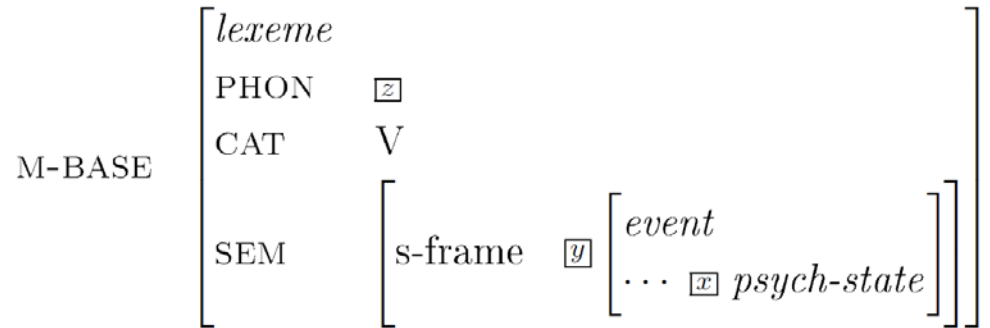


Kawaletz (2021, 154)

LFR: PSYCH STATE readings of deverbal *-ment* nouns

■ LFRs

- Input: Lexical entry
- Output: Lexical entry
- Systematically related
 - Form
 - Part of speech
 - Meaning



Interim conclusion: Deverbal nominalization

- Process can be modeled straightforwardly with frames and LFRs
- *-ment* targets elements in the base verb frame
 - Event structure
 - Participants
- Extend this approach to other kinds of bases: How about nouns?

Nominal bases

- Research tends to focus on deverbal nominalizations (e.g. Barker 1998; Alexiadou 2010; Kawaletz & Plag 2015)
- Many nominalizing suffixes also attach to nominal bases (Plag 1999, 2004; Bauer et al. 2013)
 - *architecture, candidature*
 - *artefaction, ozonation*
 - *illusionment, devilment*

Nominal bases: What do we know?

- “the verbal relation is **implied by context** or **can be inferred** from the nature of the non-verbal base. [...] Such interpretations follow from the sort of activities that the base nouns **could conceivably be involved in.**” (Bauer et al. 2013: 233)
 - Vague description
- Eventive elements found in/inferred from non-eventive bases (e.g. Pustejovsky 1996)
- Decomposition necessary to find eventive structures in nominal bases (Kawaletz 2021)
- We will see:
 - Some non-verbal bases like *illusion* eventive themselves
 - Other non-verbal bases as *devil* not straightforwardly eventive

Nominalizations: denominal and eventive

■ All our denominal *-ment* derivatives are eventive:

(3) The IPP were probably under the **illusionment** that everything was fundamentally the same. (NOW Galway Advertiser 2017)

(4) While all this **devilment** was going on (COCA WEB 2012)

(5) The **illusion occurs** because the visual system receives different stories from these two sources of information (COCA WEB 2012)

→eventive base

(6) He is not a man, but a **devil**. (COCA FIC 2015)

→ non-eventive base

Research questions

- Can we model the semantics of eventive nominal bases and their respective derivatives similar to deverbal formations?
- What about nominal bases which are not analyzable parallel to verbs?
 - Is it possible to find an event in the semantics of not straightforwardly eventive nominal base words?
 - If yes, how can we model the semantic representation of these eventive structures in the nominal base?

Illusion → Illusionment

(7) The **illusion** occurs because the visual system receives different stories from these two sources... (COCA WEB 2012)

- Base *illusion* definition OED:
 - “The fact or condition of being deceived or deluded by appearances, [...] a mental state involving the attribution of reality to what is unreal”
 - “Something that deceives or deludes by producing a false impression”
- *Illusion* involves a *deceive/delude*-event

Illusion → *Illusionment*

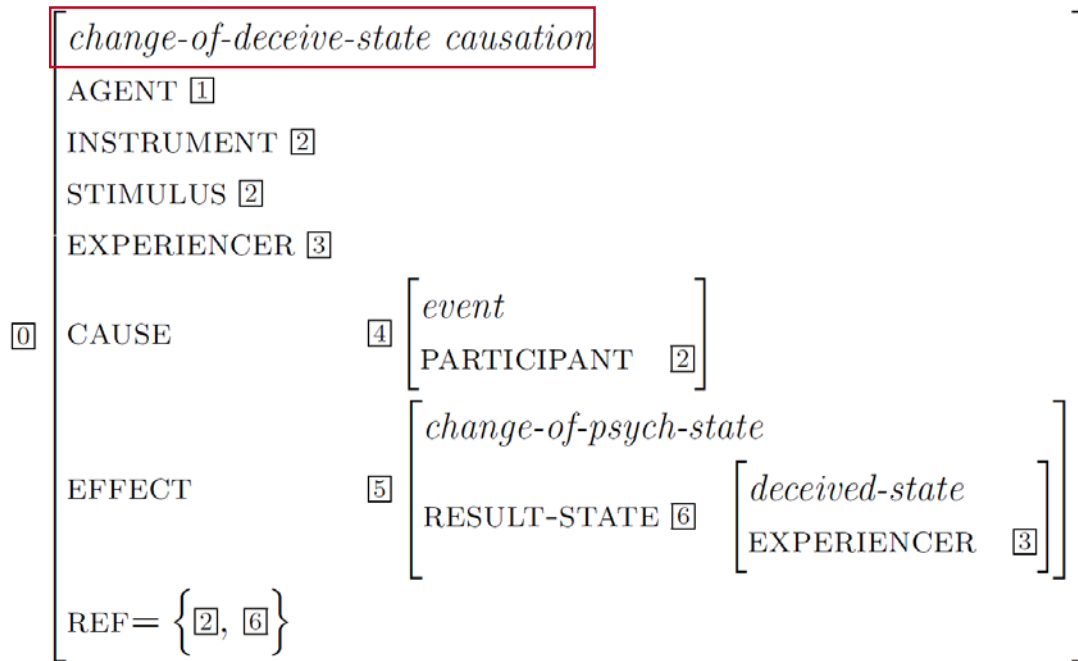
- derivative *illusionment*:

(8) One can only be disillusioned if once one lived within illusions [...] This way of being that one recognizes only retrospectively may be called "*illusionment*," a **state of being apprehended** in the very process of its falling apart. (Google ACAD journals.sagepub.com 2018)

- *Illusionment* as a state someone is in
- Do we find this state in the representation of the base *illusion*?

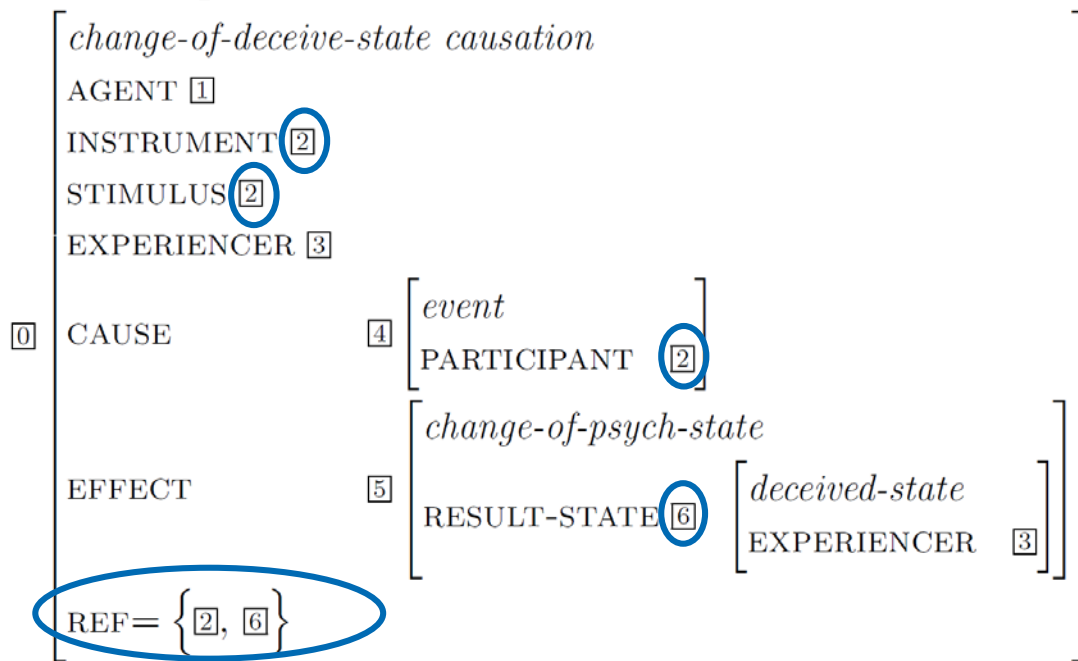
Analysis - base *illusion*

- Base can be modeled as a DECEIVE-STATE CAUSATION (*deceive, delude*)
- In parallel to the psych verbs

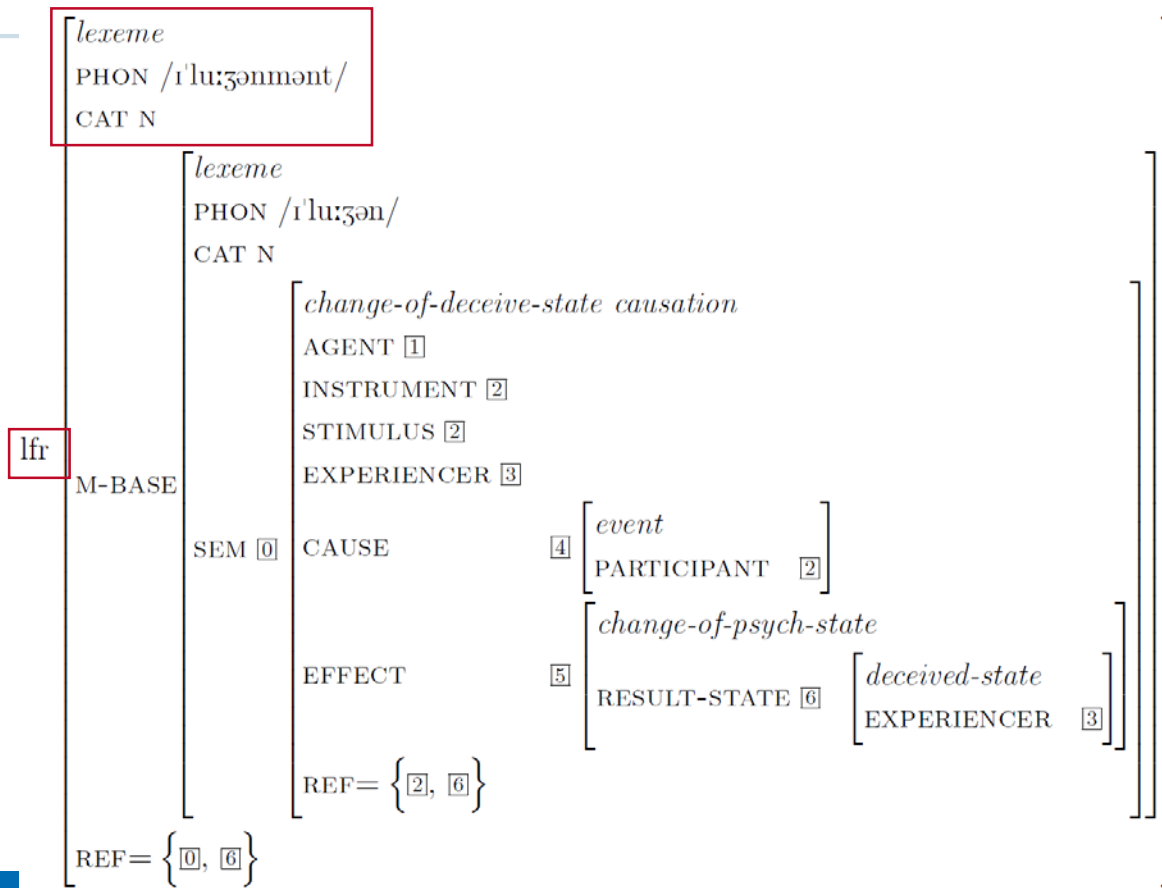


Analysis - base *illusion*

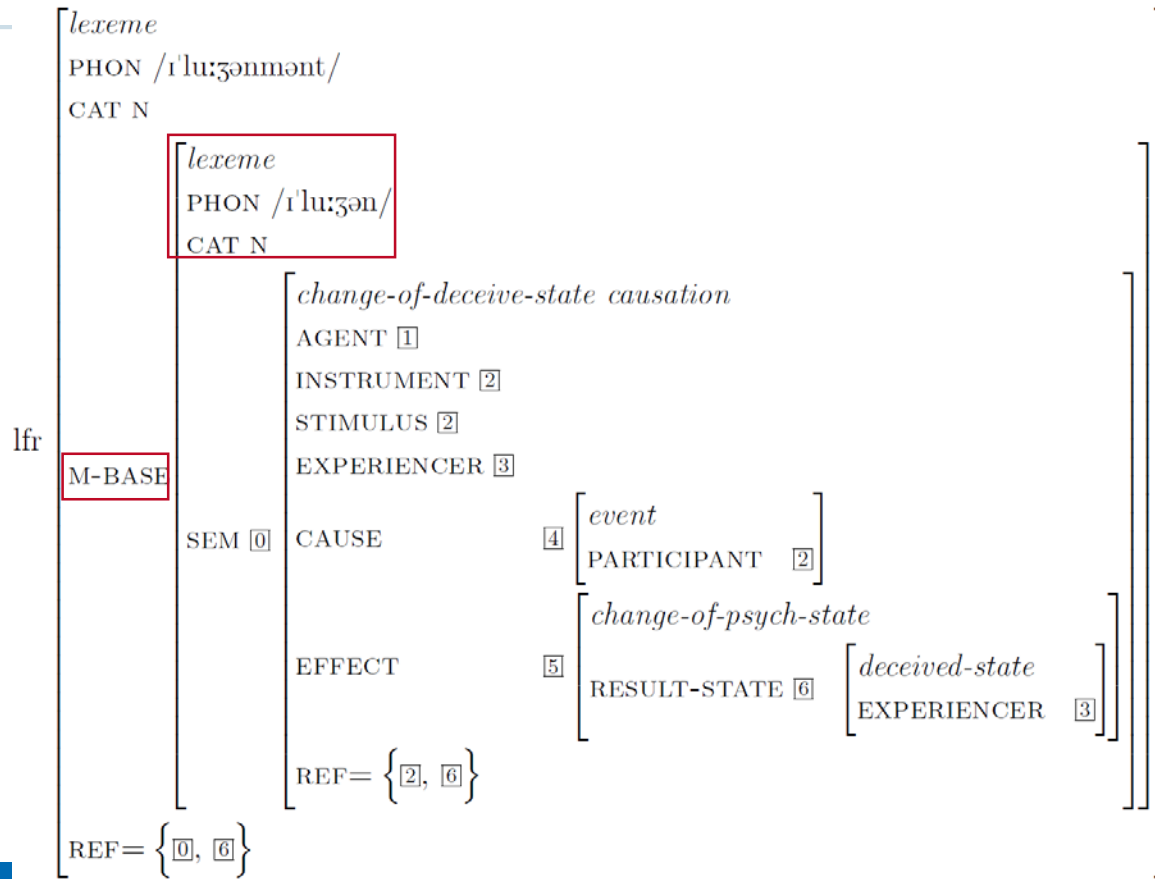
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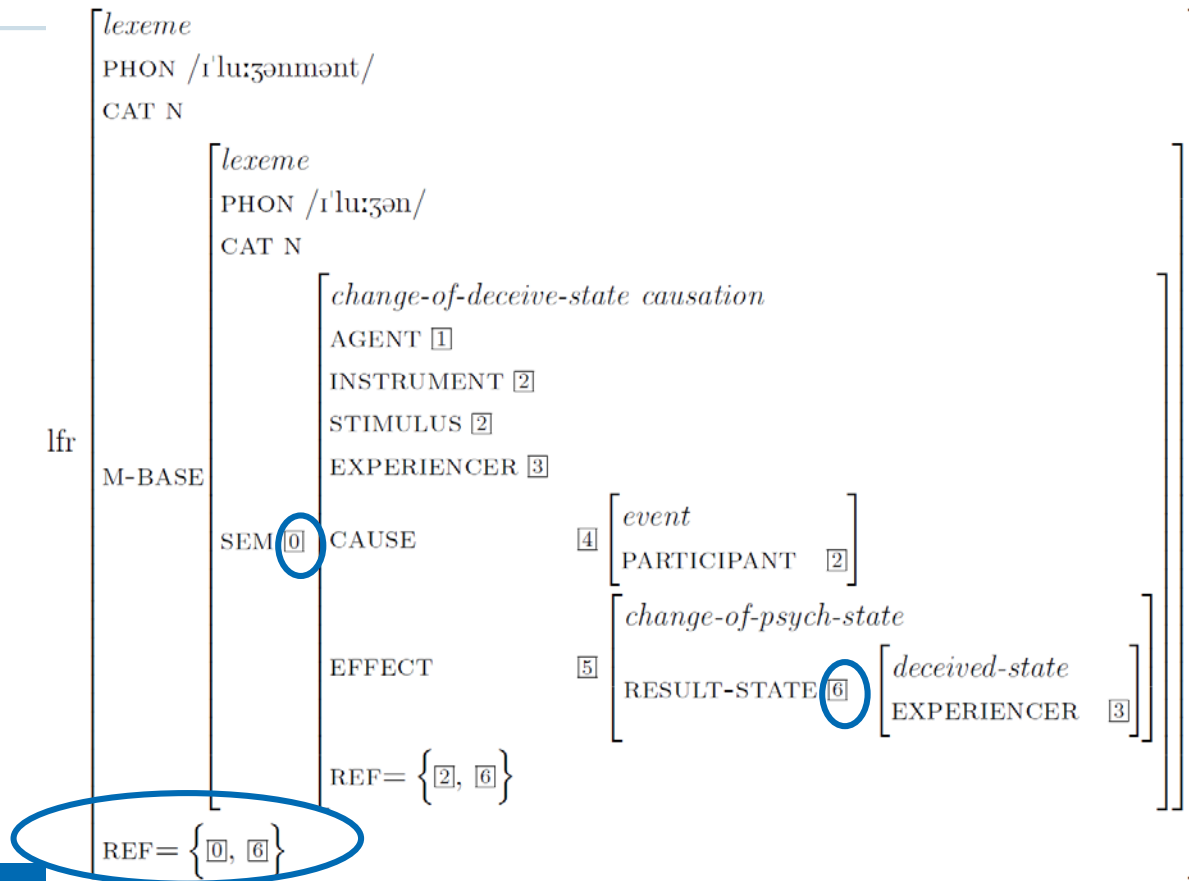
Analysis - derivative *illusionment*



Analysis - derivative *illusionment*



Analysis - derivative *illusionment*



Devil → *Devilment*

- *devilment* in different readings:

- Activity-readings:

(17) [...] the biggest *devilment* that goes on in these elections are what we call deceptive practices people are going to get robocalls [...]" (COCA WEB 2012)

- Property-readings:

(18) She's of a mind it'll wash any *devilment* right out of me (COCA FIC 2019)

- *Devilment* related to attitudinal noun *devil*

- Both possible readings in base

Devil → Devilment

(9) A **devil**, by its very nature, can not change (COCA FIC 1999)

(10)***devil** occurred/happend → find no event-denoting contexts

■ Definition base *devil* OED:

- “the supreme spirit of evil, the tempter and spiritual enemy of mankind, the adversary of God; Satan. “
- “A very wicked or cruel person”
- “A sin, vice, or evil quality personified”

■ No event denoted

■ Readings 2/3 to analyze *devil* as attitudinal noun

Devil → Devilment

- Evidence *devil* is attitudinal noun:

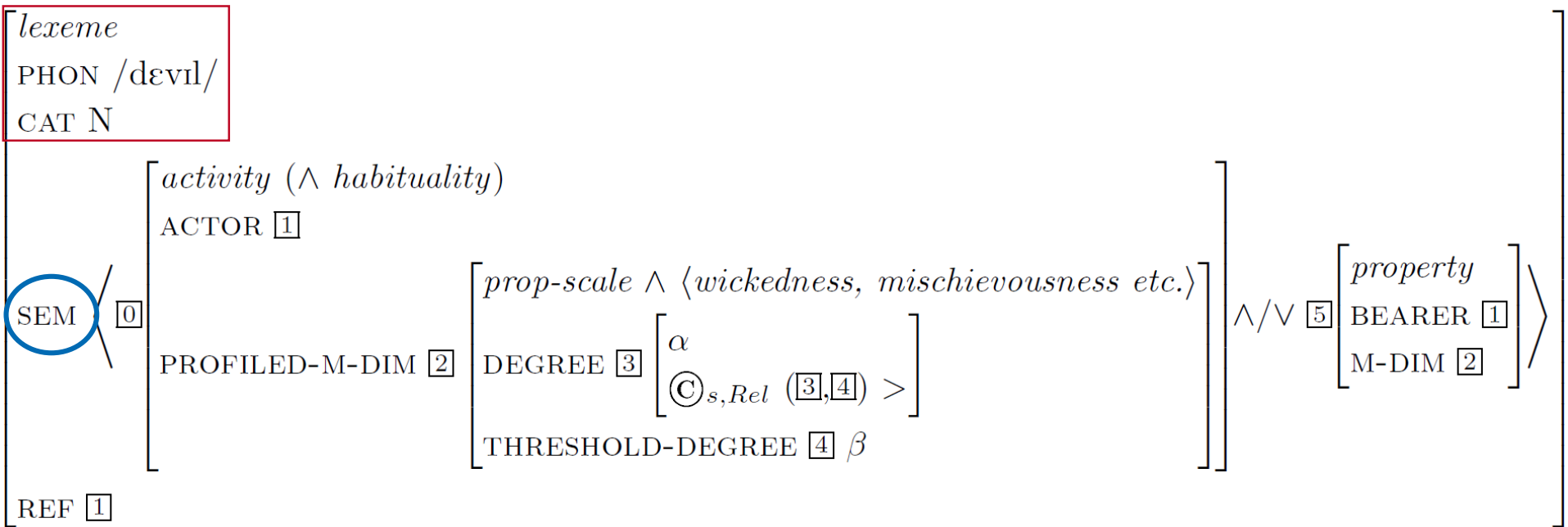
(15) Can you tell this little guy is a **total devil**? He s going to give his Momma a run for her money and break a few hearts in his lifetime, I'm sure.“

(iWeb lovegrowswild.com 2014)

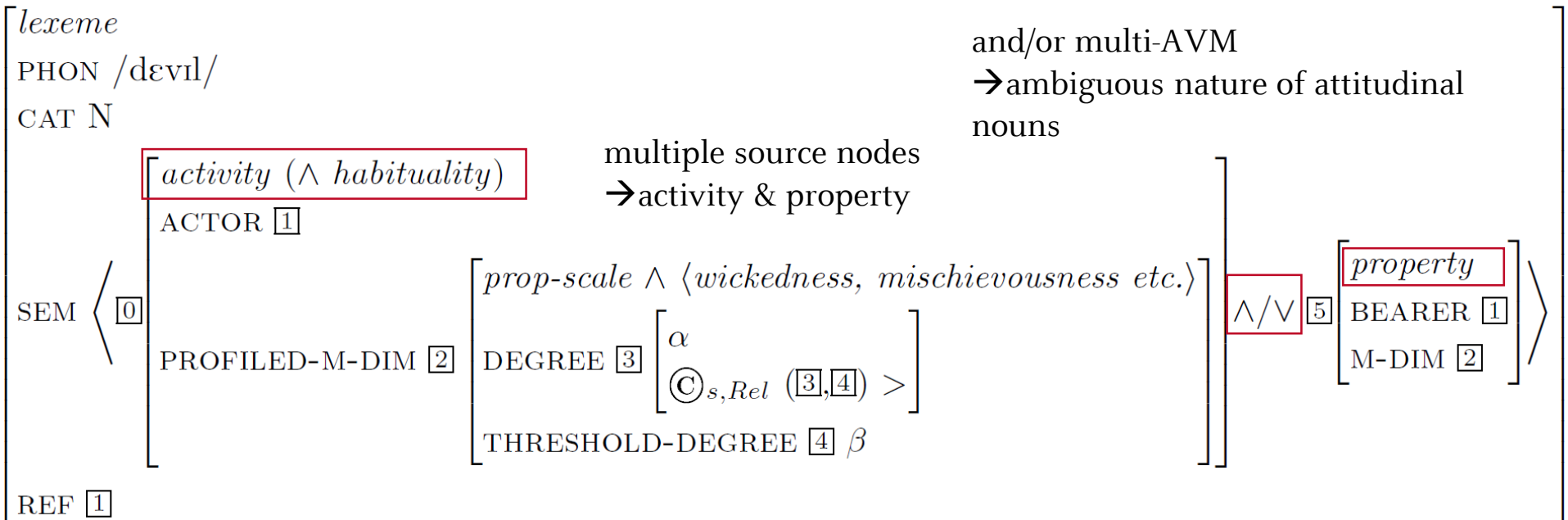
(16) Well, it wasn't always so nice either, for she was pretty tough at times too. **A real devil** she could be, the one I got for a wife.“ (COCA WEB 2012)

- attitudinal noun as
 - indefinite article → general attitudinal noun not “**the devil**”
 - *total/real* are degree modifiers → scalar meaning attributes

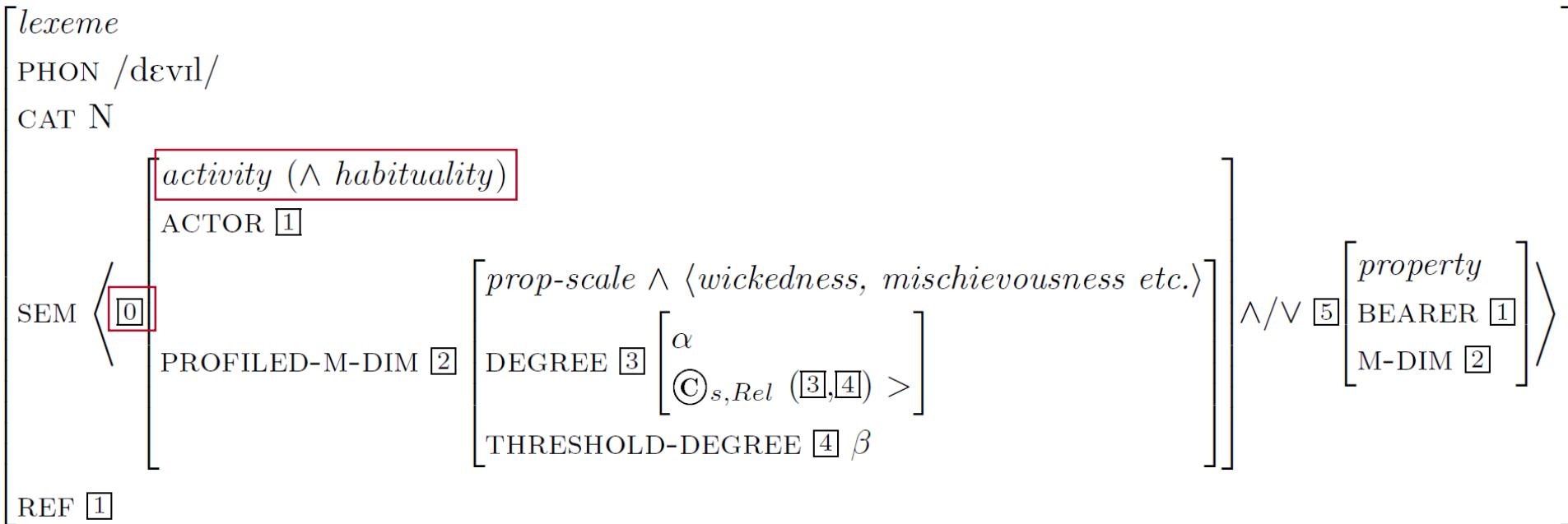
Analysis - base *devil*



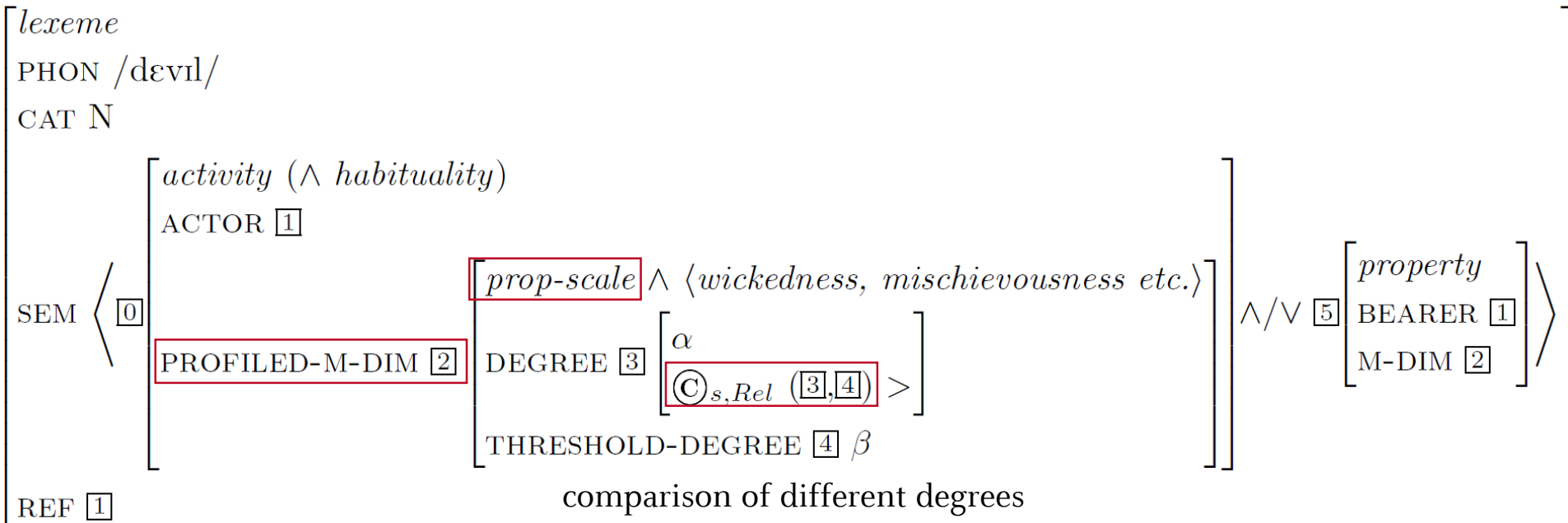
Analysis - base *devil*



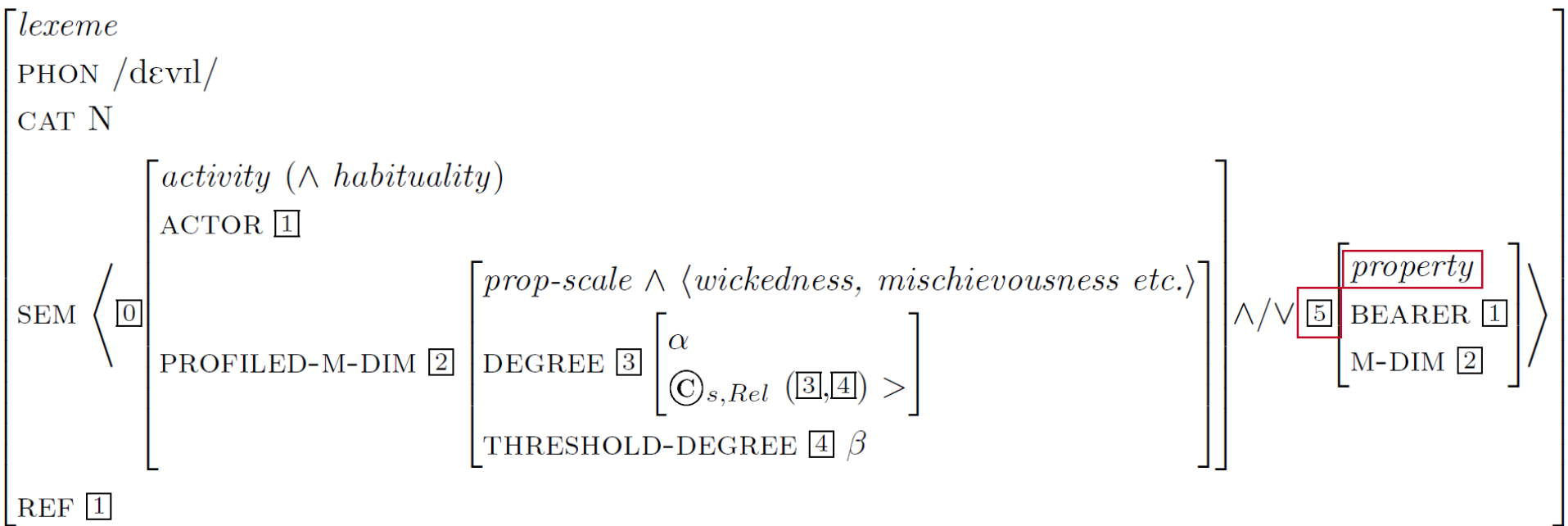
Analysis - base *devil*



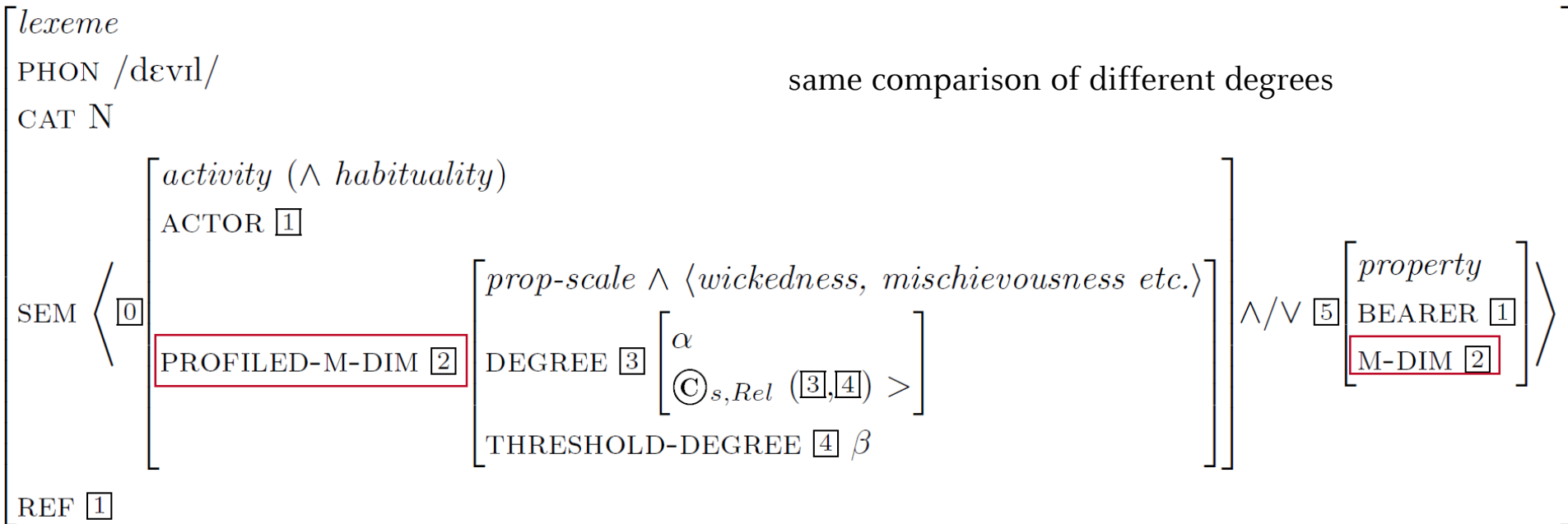
Analysis - base *devil*



Analysis - base *devil*



Analysis - base *devil*



Analysis - base *devil*

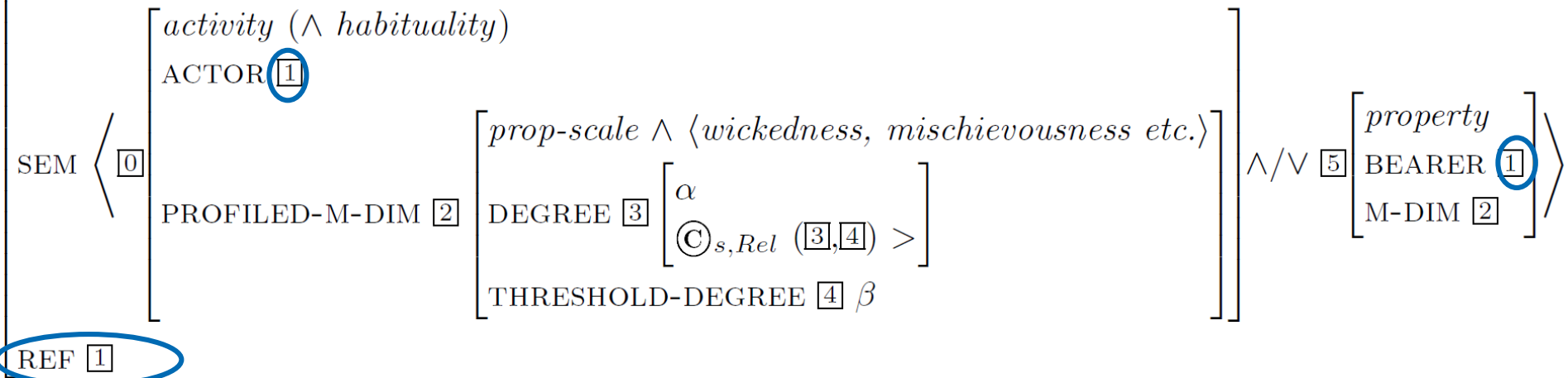
lexeme

PHON /dɛvɪl/

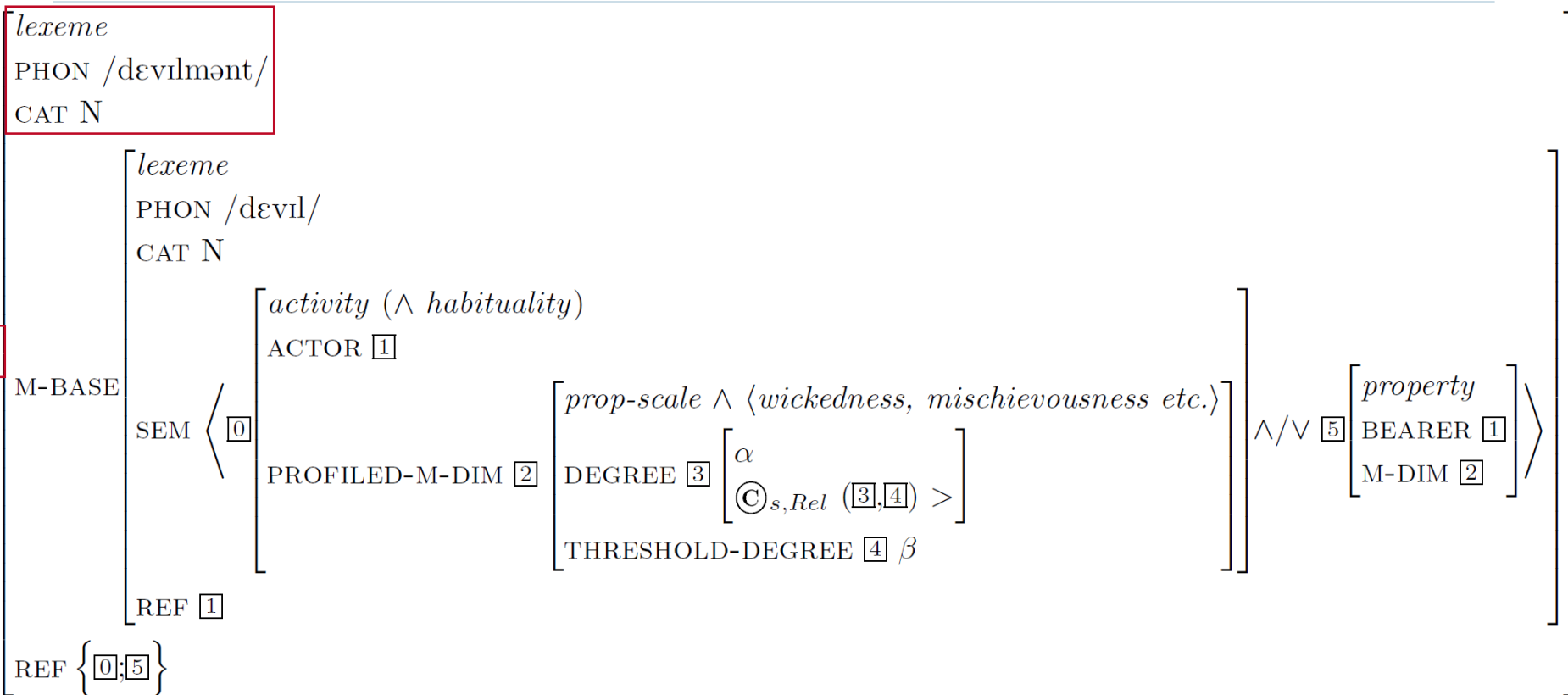
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semantics of *devil* as an attitudinal noun:

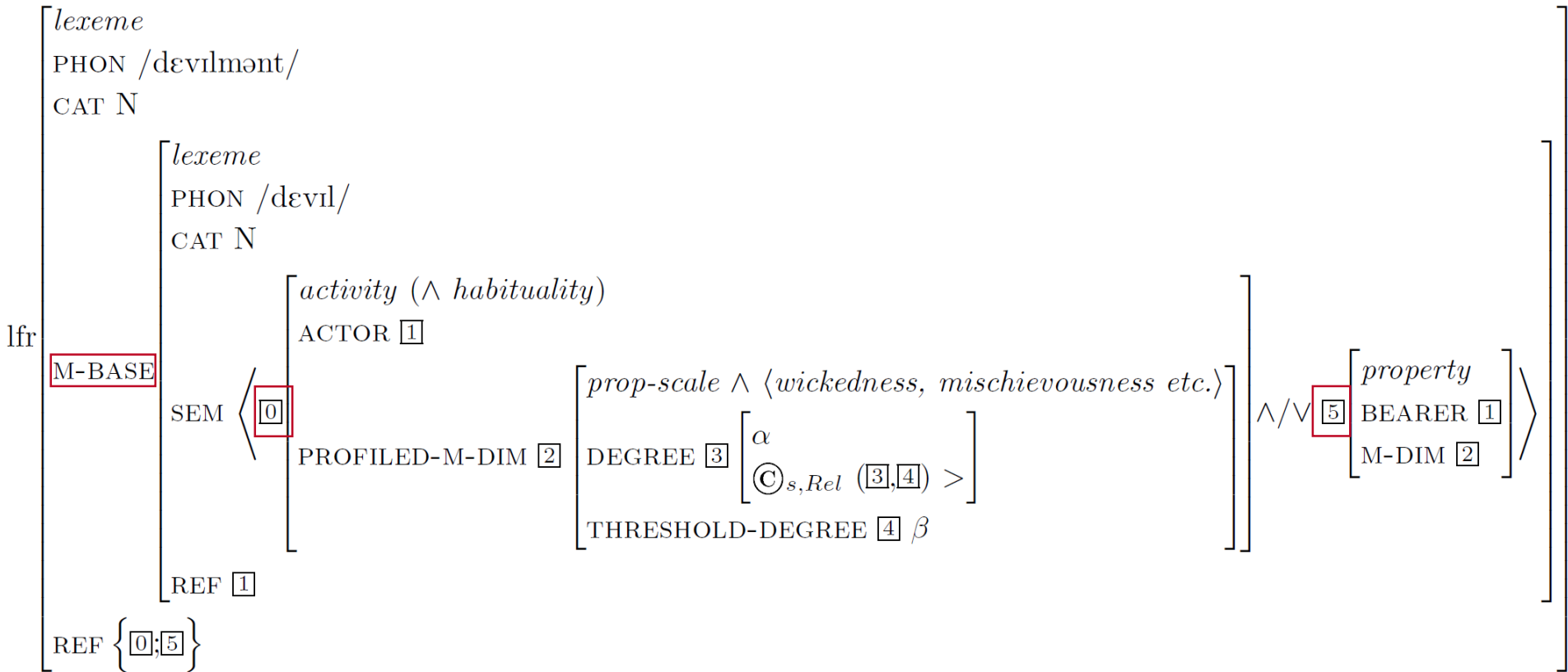
referring to participant-attribute of eventuality(-like) structures



Analysis - derivative *devilment*

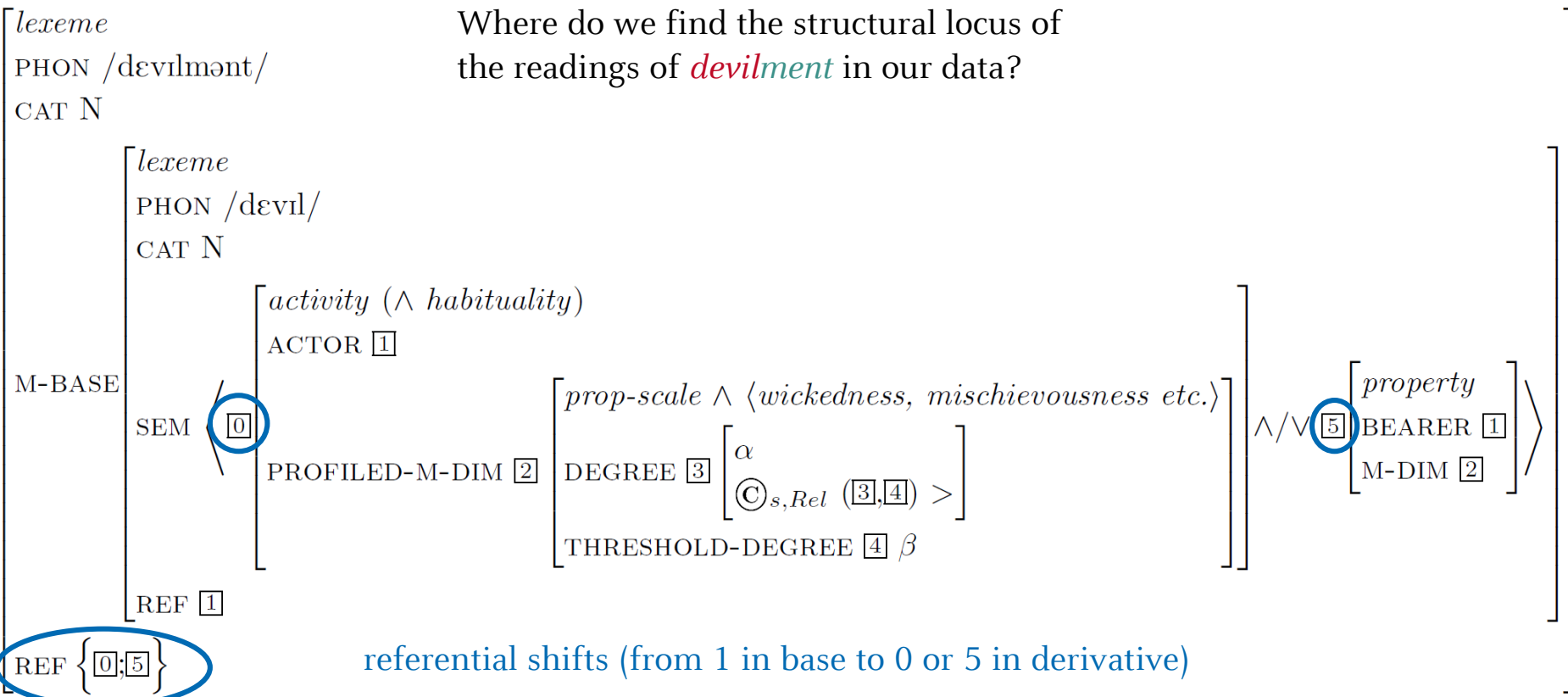


Analysis - derivative *devilment*



Analysis - derivative *devilment*

Where do we find the structural locus of the readings of *devilment* in our data?



Summary

- Meaning shifts on semantic structure of base words for both (*illusionment*, *devilment*)
- *-ment* nominalizations from nominal bases analyzable:
 - eventive bases allow for analysis parallel to deverbal formations (*illusionment*)
 - non-eventive bases: decomposition allows for retrieving eventive structures for eventive nominalizations (*devilment*)

Conclusion

- All denominal *-ment* nominalizations in our data have event-related interpretations.
- Decomposition reveals event structure for the interpretation of the nominalization.
- Frame semantics useful tool
 - for decomposition of derivatives and bases
 - to show meaning shift of base and derivative

Next Steps

- Same analysis for other event-related nominalization with non-verbal bases?
 - nominalizing suffixes *-age*, *-ance*, *-ation*, *-er*, *-ee*, *-ure*
 - noun-to-verb-conversion

- Frame semantics as unified format for analysis of nominalizations?

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Thank you!

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Appendix - data set *-ment*

- Nominal bases *-ment*
 - 14 derivatives
- Some bases can count as nominal or verbal
 - Frequency criterion
- 1 attitudinal noun
 - Also reveals event structure
 - Examples *-ee*:
biographee, debtee

bankment	allurement
basement	contestment
bombardment	figurement
concernment	illusionment
devilment	patchment
gruntlement	provisionment
puzzlement	trapment