The structural source of stative nominalizations from psych verbs

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Abstract
The focus of our study is the syntactic structure of Greek and Romanian stative nominalizations that are derived from alternating object-experiencer (OE) verbs (i.e. OE verbs that have subject-experiencer counterparts) and realize the experiencer argument. These verbs are aspectually ambiguous between eventive and stative readings, so the stative nominalization might be derived either from the result state of the event or from the stative eventuality itself. In contrast to what one would expect, we show that the stative value of these nominalizations is not inherited from the stative reading of the corresponding verb, but they are nominalizations of the root phrase whose experiencer argument and stative properties they preserve.

Keywords: stative nominalizations, psychological verbs, eventivity, Greek, Romanian

1. Introduction
The literature on deverbal nominalizations has so far mainly concentrated on eventive nominals (Chomsky 1970, Grimshaw 1990, Picallo 1991, Alexiadou 2001, Borer 2003 among many others). Recently, researchers have started taking some interest into stative nominalizations (see for instance Alexiadou 2012, Fábregas & Marín 2012, Barque, Fábregas & Marín (2012), Fábregas, Marín & McNally 2012), but our understanding of their behavior is still very limited, in comparison to event nominals.

In this paper, we contribute to this recent literature with an investigation of stative nominalizations from psych verbs in Greek and Romanian. We are particularly interested in determining the structural source of stative nominalizations that are derived from alternating object-experiencer (OE) psych verbs (i.e. OE verbs have subject-experiencer (SE) counterparts) and realize the experiencer argument.
Romanian has three nominalizations that are derived from OE verbs and we consider here:¹ i) supine, ii) infinitival, and iii) so-called zero-derived nominals, which contrast with the previous two suffix-based ones.² The supine, illustrated in (1a), only gets an eventive interpretation (see Iordăchioaia & Soare 2008, where the supine is shown to pluralize events); in (1b), the infinitive may receive a stative or an eventive reading; zero-derived nominals are always stative (1c).

(1) a. supăra-t-ul părinților (de către Ion de fiecare dată upset-Sup-the parents.the.Gen by John of every time când vine acasă) when comes home
i. ‘John’s upsetting his parents every time he comes home’
ii. ‘the parents’ state of being upset’

b. supăra-re -a părinților (de către Ion anul trecut) upset -Inf -the parents.the.Gen by John year last
i. ‘the upsetting of the parents (by John last year)’
ii. ’the parents’ state of being upset’

c. frica/groaza lui Ion de câini fright/dread John.Gen of dogs
‘John’s fear/dread of dogs’

In Greek, there are only two types of nominalizations derived from these verbs: i) zero-derived, and ii) affix-derived. The latter are transparently related to the verb as they are formed via the addition of an affix, -m- or -s to the verb stem (Kolliakou 1995, Alexiadou 2001, 2009). We will see that for certain verbs both forms are possible, as in (2), and when this happens, the affix-derived lacks a stative reading (see (2b) vs. (2a)).

(2) a. I orgi tu Jani me ti Maria the rage the John.Gen with the Mary
‘John’s anger at Mary’

b. O eksorgismos tu Jani me ta gegonota the enraging the John.Gen with the events
‘John’s enraging with the events’

In this paper, we are only interested in the stative nominalizations, but we will occasionally make reference to eventive nominals for comparison.

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¹ Other suffixes like -eală (plictiseală ‘boredom’), -ie (bucurie ‘joy’) are much less productive in Romanian.
² Like in English zero-derived nominals, it is mostly unclear whether the noun is derived from the verb, or the other way around, but in some cases the morphology indicates that the verb was derived from the noun. We will call them both zero-derived, as this matter does not interfere with our analysis.