

EVENTUALITIES UNDER DEADJECTIVAL NOMINALIZATIONS

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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)¹ (‘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

RESUMEN. En este trabajo se estudia el comportamiento de las nominalizaciones deadjetivales en relación con la presencia de una lectura de eventualidad. Se muestra que, mientras que las nominalizaciones abstractas (*la belleza del libro*) pueden codificar una eventualidad, las nominalizaciones neutras (*lo bello del libro*) carecen de esta clase de lecturas. Se argumenta que la diferencia se debe al distinto proceso de nominalización usado en cada caso. En las nominalizaciones abstractas, una vez que se introduce el nominalizador, la eventualidad estativa –derivada de la raíz adjetival– está contenida en el núcleo Clasificador. En las nominalizaciones neutras, en cambio, no hay estructura funcional de naturaleza nominal, y el SA es seleccionado directamente por el determinante neutra, que –siguiendo una sugerencia de McNally & de Swart (2012)– es la realización sintáctica del operador¹ (‘cap’) de Chierchia (1982), que convierte una propiedad en su correlato de identidad. Por fin, una modificación leve de esta operación semántica permite un análisis simple y motivado de la diferencia entre los dos grupos principales de nominalizaciones deadjetivales neutras.

Palabras clave. nominalización, eventualidad, adjetivo, propiedad, grado

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:

Table 1

| 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.¹

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
- (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.

¹ 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.

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):²

- (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:

- (7) a. La popularité constante *(deses 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:³

- (8) a. la bondad (de Juan)
the.F goodness(F) of John
 'John's goodness'
 b. lo bueno (de Juan)
the.N good.M of John
 'the good thing about John' [Bosque & Moreno 1990: fn. 5]

² 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.

³ As far as Spanish is concerned, the label 'neuter article' is a traditional label that might mislead 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.

- (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, Beuseroy & Knittel 2007, Beuseroy 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 curios 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 §4.1.

2.2. Neuter nominalizations

Since Bosque & Moreno (1990), two different readings have been identified for Spanish neuter nominalizations.⁴ The first one is partitive/referential (“*lo individuativo*” for Bosque & Moreno 1990):⁵

⁴ 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 sleep 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.

- (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):⁶

- (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.’

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.⁷
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 macrostructure
 ‘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’:

- (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.’

⁵ 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.’

⁶ This reading is also reported by Alexiadou (2011a: ex. 14) for Greek neuter nominalizations:

- (i) Mefovizi to agrio tis ipothesis.
me frightens the.N wild the.GEN situation
 ‘It frightens me how wild the situation is.’

⁷ I disregard coerced gradable readings, here.

- (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
 ‘John’s constant goodness’

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:⁸

- (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.’

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, el-Assad...
brutal for achieve his goals Al-Assad
 b. la brutalidad de el-Assad para lograr sus objetivos
the.F brutality of Al-Assad to obtain his goals
 c. *lo brutal de el-Assad para lograr sus objetivos
the.N brutal of Al-Assad to obtain his goals
 (28) a. Deliberadamente brutal por parte de el-Assad, la represión...
deliberately brutal by part of Al-Assad the.F repression
 b. la deliberada brutalidad por parte de el-Assad
the.F deliberated.F brutality by part of Al-Assad
 de la represión en Siria
of the.F repression in Syria
 c. ??lo deliberadamente brutal por parte de el-Assad
the.N deliberately brutal by part of Al-Assad
 de la represión en Siria
of the.F repression in Syria

Again, one can safely conclude that neuter nominalizations do not display the typical properties of event nominals.⁹

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,

⁸ Neuter nominalizations based on past participles do inherit argument structure:

(i) lo comentado por todos
the.N commented by everybody.PL

⁹ One anonymous reviewer points out, even though we have shown that abstract deadjectival nominalizations have an eventive reading and allow

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'

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 event 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

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'). Moreover, as an anonymous reviewer points out, they seem to come from a masculine form, as in the following case (s)he brings: *el alto* lit 'the.M high', meaning a high point on a terrain. In any event, these cases do not undermine the generalization in the text.

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

- (34) a. Aquellas bellezas estaban enfermas.
those.F beauties were sick.F.PL
 ‘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

-
- (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.’

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)*:

$$(38) \quad [{}_{\text{nP}} \text{-ez} [{}_{\text{aP}} \text{a} [\sqrt{\text{BELL}}]]]$$

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:

$$(39) \quad \text{a. } [{}_{\text{DP}} [{}_{\text{D}} \emptyset] [{}_{\text{ClassP}} \text{CLASS}_{[-\text{count}]} [{}_{\text{nP}} \text{-ez} [{}_{\text{aP}} \text{a} [\sqrt{\text{BELL}}]]]]]$$

- b. En su obra, había belleza.
in her work had beauty
 ‘There was beauty in her work.’

$$(40) \quad \text{a. } [{}_{\text{DP}} [{}_{\text{D}} \text{la}] [{}_{\text{ClassP}} \text{CLASS}_{[-\text{count}]} [{}_{\text{nP}} \text{-ez} [{}_{\text{aP}} \text{a} [\sqrt{\text{BELL}}]]]]]$$

- 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:

$$(41) \quad \text{a. } \text{La honestidad de los políticos aumenta día a día.}$$

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
 que la honestidad del gobierno.
than the honesty of the government

‘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.¹² It is at this level where event modifiers will be adjoined as well, like *constant* or *frequent* (see subsection 3.1).¹³

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).¹⁴

- (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

¹² One anonymous reviewer points out that nominals with eventive reading come from a subset of evaluative adjectives allowing eventive readings (*La infidelidad de Juan tuvo lugar...* 'John's disloyalty took place...') and combination with the progressive (*Juan está siendo infiel* 'John is being disloyal'). While this observation seems correct for all adjectives in this subset regarding the progressive (*Juan está siendo infiel/honesto/impertinente/cruel* 'John is being disloyal/honest/impertinent/cruel'), the eventive reading with *tuvo lugar* 'took place' is restricted to those nominals admitting an individual 'act of' reading (hence more commonly in plural):

- (i) La infidelidad/#honestidad/?impertinencia/#crueldad de Juan tuvo lugar...
the.F infidelity/honesty/impertinence/cruelty of John took place
(ii) Las infidelidades/#honestidades/?impertinencias/?crueldades de Juan tuvieron lugar...
the.F.PL infidelities/honesties/impertinences/cruelties of John took place

¹³ As pointed out by one anonymous reviewer, the relation between the classifier and the event reading is confirmed by simple event nouns like *guerra* 'war', which can only get the event reading if count, just as abstract quality nominalizations:

- (i) a. *Mucha guerra/deslealtad tuvo lugar entre 1939 y 1945.
much war/disloyalty took place between 1939 and 1945
b. Muchas guerras/deslealtades tuvieron lugar entre 1939 y 1945.
much.F.PL wars/disloyalties took place between 1939 and 1945

¹⁴ 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.

2008) to a pure individual reading in (44c) (note the presence of the differential object marker *a* ‘to’, which correlates with specificity in Spanish; see Leonetti 2008):¹⁵

- (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
in her work REFL unite.3pl the.F.PL beauty classic and
moderna.
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:¹⁶

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

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: §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

¹⁵ The availability of pure individual readings is not general, for poorly understood reasons. See van de Velde (2000) and Beuseroy (2009: 3.2.3) for French quality nominals.

¹⁶ One anonymous reviewer suggests an alternative analysis where the PP is not the subject of the predication, but rather a modifier of the adjective that is interpreted as a subject on conceptual grounds (maybe as a *logical* subject because of its topic nature). This would offer a straightforward explanation for the lack of agreement, which Fábregas (2007) places on Bowers’ (1993) Pred(icate) head. Unfortunately, I cannot offer a comparison of both analyses due to space limitations.

- (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
 b. su bondad
 his goodness

Note as well that our proposal explains without further stipulation the fact observed in the literature and described in section 2.2, that neuter nominalizations admit degree modification, just as any gradable adjective. This will become a clear argument to reject the solution proposed by Alexiadou (2011a) for Greek neuter nominalizations.

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. 3, there is no consensus on the literature on the exact category and function of the neuter article in Spanish. While I am not adding anything 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 $\hat{\cap}$ (‘cap’) operator introduced by Chierchia (1982): it takes a property and returns the entity correlate of this property. Formally:

- (50) a. $[_{AP} \textit{alto}] = \lambda x[\textit{tall}(x)]$
 b. $[_{DP} \textit{lo} [_{AP} \textit{alto}]] = \hat{\cap} \lambda x[\textit{tall}(x)]$

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. $\hat{\cap} \lambda x. \textit{Red}_{asp}(\textit{strawberries})(x)$
 c. ‘entity correlate of the property of being the red aspect of strawberries’

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. $\hat{\cap} \lambda x. \textit{Beautiful}_{asp}(\textit{face})(x)$
 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 nominalizations*, §2.2), 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. $\lambda d.$ Beautiful_{asp}(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 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 quantificational neuter nominalization.

The exact syntactic implementation of this 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 children 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. I 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
today REFL hates the.N definitive and certain and in
consecuencia lo ya fijado en el tiempo.
consequence 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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