



This research aims to shed light on the poorly investigated issue of deadjectival nominalization, focusing on Italian and taking a corpus-based approach. The adopted framework is grounded in Croft's Radical Construction Grammar, which considers lexical categories as constructions of pragmatic functions and semantic concepts; in Croft's view, de-adjectival nouns are then references of property concepts, which however gives only a generic understanding of this type of construction. Radical Construction Grammar is then integrated with Malchukov's perspective on nominalization, which describes the phenomenon as further articulated into the two parallel processes of the acquirement of nominal parameters and the loss of verbal parameters. The application of the elaborated framework to thousands of occurrences of Italian de-adjectival nouns sees the emergence of a series of grammatical patterns describing a number of minor lexical categories, which are found between the two major categories of Italian adjectives and nouns.

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Luigi Talamo
NOMINALIZATION OF PROPERTY CONCEPTS

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NOMINALIZATION OF PROPERTY CONCEPTS Evidence from Italian



**UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI BERGAMO**



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OF PROPERTY CONCEPTS
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To my friends and family, for never letting me down.

Contents

Introduction	I
 I Foundations	 5
1 Parts of speech	7
1.1 Hengeveld 1992	7
1.2 Beck 2002	10
1.3 Croft 1991, 2001	14
 2 Parameters	 21
2.1 Nominal parameters	22
2.1.1 Nominal Aspect	24
2.1.2 Deictic relations between nouns	30
2.1.3 Definiteness and Syntactic Roles	32
2.2 Adjectival parameters	36
2.2.1 Valency, Subject Agreement and Adjunct Coding(s)	37
2.2.2 Degree	43
2.2.3 Types of property concepts	46
 3 Nominalizations	 49
3.1 Lexical nominalization and grammatical nominalization	49
3.2 Grammatical parameters	54
3.2.1 Coding of argument structure	54
3.2.2 The meronymic relation	57
3.2.3 Hierarchies of verbal and nominal parameters	57
3.3 Semantics and Functions	61
3.3.1 Semantic Types and Grammatical Categories	61
3.3.2 Representations of Multifunctionality	64
3.3.3 The continuum between grammatical and lexical nominalization	72

II	Italian de-Adjectival Nouns: Data and Analysis	75
4	At first glance: Data from the dictionary	79
4.1	The GRADIT dictionary	79
4.2	A sample of Italian Adjectives	80
4.3	A sample of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns	84
4.3.1	Affixation	85
4.3.2	Zero marking	90
5	A deeper probe: Data from the corpus	95
5.1	Criteria and Methodologies	95
5.1.1	Lexical property nominalization vs. Noun phrases with only modifying words	95
5.1.2	Degrees of nominalization	97
5.2	The constructions, one by one	107
5.2.1	<i>cattivo</i> : BAD	108
5.2.2	<i>bello</i> : BEAUTIFUL	110
5.2.3	<i>grande</i> : BIG	113
5.2.4	<i>amaro</i> : BITTER	115
5.2.5	<i>nero</i> : BLACK	117
5.2.6	<i>intelligente</i> : CLEVER	119
5.2.7	<i>freddo</i> : COLD	120
5.2.8	<i>crudele</i> : CRUEL	122
5.2.9	<i>secco</i> : DRY	124
5.2.10	<i>stupido</i> : FOOL	125
5.2.11	<i>buono</i> : GOOD	127
5.2.12	<i>caldo</i> : HOT	129
5.2.13	<i>gentile</i> : KIND	131
5.2.14	<i>nuovo</i> : NEW	133
5.2.15	<i>vecchio</i> : OLD	135
5.2.16	<i>rapido</i> : QUICK	138
5.2.17	<i>lento</i> : SLOW	139
5.2.18	<i>piccolo</i> : SMALL	140
5.2.19	<i>brutto</i> : UGLY	142
5.2.20	<i>bianco</i> : WHITE	144
6	Toward a typology of Italian property nominalizations	147
6.1	Cluster of constructions	147
6.2	Boundaries and cut-off points	148

6.2.1	The valency boundary	148
6.2.2	Between the valency and the nominal aspect boundaries	150
6.2.3	The nominal aspect and the gender boundaries	157
6.3	A semantic map of Italian property nominalizations	158
6.3.1	Lexical categories	158
6.3.2	Semantic map	161
Conclusion		163

List of Figures

1.1	Conceptual Space for parts of speech (Croft 2001:124)	16
1.2	Overtly marked structural coding constructions for parts of speech. (Croft 2001:88)	17
1.3	Semantic map of Englishlanguage]English (Indo-European, Germanic) parts of speech constructions (Croft 2001:99)	19
3.1	A hierarchically-ordered constructional schema for the Mandarinlanguage]Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese) marker <i>bā</i> . (reproduced by Arcodia 2014:133)	66
3.2	A radial network for the Mandarinlanguage]Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese) marker <i>bā</i> . (Arcodia 2011:124)	68
3.3	A semantic map for four Ancient Greeklanguage]Ancient Greek (Indo-European, Greek) argument nominalization markers. (Luján and Abad 2014:263)	69
3.4	Distribution patterns of six Japaneselanguage]Japanese (Japonic, Japanese) lexical categories. (Croft 2001:83)	70
3.5	The semantic map for the Japaneselanguage]Japanese (Japonic, Japanese) Nominal, Nominal Adjective and Adjective constructions. (Croft 2001:95)	71
6.1	The semantic map of Italian de-Adjectival Noun categories.	161

List of Tables

4.1	The list of property concepts employed by Dixon 1982.	82
4.2	A list of Italian adjectives coding the 20 property concepts.	83
4.3	The 20 Italian adjectives listed in the GRADIT dictionary as affixed de-adjectival nouns.	86
4.4	A list of Italian affixed de-adjectival nouns as found in the GRADIT dictionary.	89
4.5	The 20 Italian adjectives listed in the GRADIT dictionary as nouns.	91
4.6	A list of Italian zero-marked de-adjectival nouns as found in the GRADIT dictionary.	92
6.1	Distribution patterns and sub-patterns of Italian property nominalizations.	156
6.2	Distribution patterns of Italian property nominalization along with lexical categories.	160

Abbreviations

The abbreviations for the grammatical morphemes and categories follow the ‘Conventions for inter-linear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses’, or ‘Leipzig Glossing Rules’. Some additional abbreviations used in the text are also given here.

0	zero-marking/marker
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADA	augmentative, diminutive or approximative
ADJ	adjective
ADJN	adjunct
AGR	agreement
ART	article
ATRB	attributive
AUGM	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CLL	collective
CMP	completive
CMPR	comparative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GNRC	generic

IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
INDV	individualizer
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MDF	modification
N	neuter
N-	non- (e.g. NSG nonsingular, NPST nonpast)
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PNT	punctual
POSS	possessive
PROP.N	proper noun
PRS	present
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PTV	partitive
RDP	reduplication
PTCP	participle
Q	question
QUANTIF	quantification
RCG	Radical Construction Grammar
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
SBJ	subject (argument)

SG singular

WFM without further measures

Introduction

The present work is concerned with what has been traditionally referred to as ‘de-adjectival nominalization’, or the linguistic phenomenon turning adjectives, such as Italian *nero* ‘black’ or *bello* ‘beautiful’, into nouns: *nero* ‘black (n.)’, *bellezza* ‘beauty’ or *i belli* ‘the beautiful (people)’. By drawing on corpus data, the aim of this study is to investigate in Italian how the mismatch between the semantic class of properties and the propositional act function of reference accounts for a series of constructions of property nominalizations, each characterized by a specific strategy, distribution pattern and meaning.

Nominalization phenomena are traditionally seen as changes of category membership of lexical items, or movement of words from one part of speech to another, in our case, from adjectives to nouns. But what are adjectives, nouns and parts of speech? And are these categories really homogeneous? If in formal linguistics parts of speech are generally taken for granted, thus constituting a set of linguistic primitives, functional-typological studies have questioned the status of long-established linguistic concepts such as ‘verb’, ‘noun’ and ‘adjective’, eventually trying to cross-linguistically define parts of speech.

In this work I take a perspective which strives to combine the different, albeit both functionally-based and typologically-adequate, theories of Croft’s Radical Construction Grammar and Malchukov’s approach to nominalization, which in turn extensively draws from Functional Grammar.

According to the theory of Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), parts of speech can be defined as constructions of semantic classes (i.e., concepts) and propositional act functions; basic parts of speech such as verb, noun and - to a certain extent - adjective represent a construction between a semantic concept and its corresponding function, while semantic concepts employed with non-corresponding functions define extended parts of speech. De-adjectival nouns fall in the second category, as they are property concepts i.e., abstract entities defining properties and qualities employed in reference function, i.e. to speak about objects.

As opposed to other theories of parts of speech (Hengeveld 1992, Bhat 1994, Beck 2002), parts of speech are conceived in Radical Construction Grammar as language-specific lexical categories and, following typological tradition, are labelled with an initial capital, such as ‘Italian Nouns’, ‘Italian Adjectives’ and ‘Italian Verbs’.

Lexical items belonging to a given lexical category are characterized by a cluster of grammatical parameters (Ramat 1999:160, 166-171), or a “morphosyntactic pattern” (Croft 2010:788); for instance,

Italian Nouns generally have no valency, inflect for number and control the agreement of their modifiers for gender and number, Italian Adjectives generally have a single valency, are graded and show agreement in number and gender with subject arguments, Italian Verbs generally have a multiple valency, inflect for TAM parameters, have person marking and show agreement in number and gender with subject arguments.

According to Malchukov's works on nominalization (Malchukov 2004, 2006), clusters of parameters are organized into hierarchies according to their relevance to the lexical category; items belonging to the core of the lexical category will show higher parameters in the hierarchy, while items belonging to the periphery will show lower parameters. For instance, some Italian Nouns can have valency, displaying the subject (argument) as well as additional arguments (adjuncts): *l'amore di Lucia per Mario* 'Lucy's love for Mario', some Italian Adjectives can have a multiple valency, showing adjuncts: *i capelli umidi di mare* 'sea-damp hair' and of course many Italian Verbs have a single valency: *Luca corre* 'Luca runs'.

As extended categories such as de-verbal and de-adjectival nominalization, non-verbal predication, nominal modification and participles are found in the overlap between one basic category and another, we can measure the grammatical behaviour of these mixed categories by employing the hierarchies of the involved basic categories, as already shown by Malchukov's works on nominalization and verbalization. The amount of grammatical behaviour that is drawn from each category participating in a given mixed category vary not only cross-linguistically, but also inter-linguistically. As I will show for Italian, the mixed category of de-Adjectival Nouns is not only mixed in the sense that it participates of different lexical categories, but it is also *internally* mixed, in the sense that it contains a continuum of constructions whose grammatical behaviour ranges from Adjectives to Nouns. When plotted onto a semantic map, Italian de-Adjectival Noun constructions reveal a series of multi-dimensional points featuring semantic characteristics such as types of properties e.g., HUMAN PROPENSITY, DIMENSION, ..., referent animacy and concreteness.

This work is organized into two parts.

The first part introduces the reader to functional-oriented theories on the organization of parts of speech system (first chapter), discusses grammatical and semantic parameters from a typological perspective (second chapter) and explains how this is concerned with two different types of nominalization, lexical nominalization and grammatical nominalization (third chapter).

The second part consists of a case-study on property nominalizations in Italian; the fourth chapter opens with a bird's-eye view of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns, as described by the most comprehensive Italian dictionary, the *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso* dictionary, and establishes a sample of Adjectives and corresponding de-Adjectival Nouns; the fifth chapter digs deeper in the analysis, by considering how the constructions of twenty property concepts with referential function behave morpho-syntactically and semantically in a big corpus of written Italian language, the LA REPUBBLICA corpus; the sixth chapter advances a typology of Italian property nominalizations, which is

constrained by the two different hierarchies of substantivization and de-adjectivalization and is represented in the semantic map for Italian property nominalizations.

Part I

Foundations

Chapter 1

Parts of speech

Traditional notions for parts of speech, which are based either on semantic facts, such as ‘Adjectives denote properties’, or (morpho)-syntactic facts, such as ‘Adjectives are attribute modifiers of the NP head’, are found in the literature to be unsatisfactory (Hopper and Thompson 1984:703-706, Croft 2001:63-65, Beck 2002:11-20); current approaches (Hengeveld 1992, Croft 1991, 2001, Beck 2002) hold that major parts of speech can be accounted in terms of pragmatic functions such as reference, predication and modification (Smith 2010); the distinction between these approaches lies in the extent to which pragmatic/discourse functions are acknowledged, in the alleged universality of the major parts of speech such as noun, verb and adjective and in the relevance of (morpho)-syntactic facts for a theory of markedness.

As I will discuss in the following sections, Hengeveld 1992’s and Beck 2002’s approaches do not directly acknowledge pragmatic functions, addressing reference, predication and modification with their syntactic counterparts; moreover, they stipulate that major parts of speech are cross-linguistically valid. By contrast, Croft 1991, 2001 acknowledges the pragmatic foundation of parts of speech and states that lexical categories are in fact language-specific, while maintaining that major categories such as noun, verb and adjective are typological prototypes.

1.1 Hengeveld 1992

Hengeveld’s theory for parts of speech is couched in the functional framework of Dik’s Functional Grammar, which also informs other theoretical contributions discussed in this work, such as Rijkhoff’s analysis of the Noun Phrase structure (Sect.2.1) and Mackenzie and Malchukov’s treatments of nominalization (Sect.3.2).

Hengeveld 1992:58 proposes the following definitions for parts of speech:

A verbal predicate is a predicate which, without further measures being taken, has a predicative use only.

A nominal predicate is a predicate which, without further measures being taken, can be used as the head of a term (NP).

An adjectival predicate is a predicate which, without further measures being taken, can be used as a modifier of a nominal head.

Hengeveld's definitions are clearly syntactic in their nature: 'has a predicative use only', 'can be used as the head of a term (NP)', and so on; what he adds to the traditional notions mentioned above is the clause 'without further measures being taken' (henceforth: WFM). These further measures are morphological and morpho-syntactic devices such as morphemes and copula constructions, which are added to a lexical item to employ it in a given syntactic function. For instance, in the English noun phrase 'the intelligent detective', 'intelligent' is employed as a modifier WFM being taken, while in the noun phrase 'the singing detective', 'sing' is employed with the *-ing* marker in order to allow this lexical item to function as a modifier. (Hengeveld 1992:58)

Several languages, notably those falling outside of the European languages, employ lexical items in multiple syntactic functions; this describes the following typology:

- NAV type: languages in which each type of predicate has its own lexical category (three parts of speech);
- [NA]V type: languages in which the nominal and the adjectival predicates are conflated into a single category, while verbal predicates have their own category (two parts of speech);
- N[AV] type: languages in which the verbal and the adjectival predicates are conflated into a single category, while nominal predicates have their own, N category (two parts of speech);
- [NAV] type: languages in which each type of predicate is conflated in a single class (no distinction of parts of speech);

In languages of the NAV type, lexical items can be employed WFM in only one syntactic function, while in languages of the [NA]V and N[AV] type lexical items are WFM syntactically bi-functional; finally, lexical items in languages of the [NAV] can appear WFM in all syntactic functions.

Moreover, Hengeveld's typology has a further distinction between 'rigid' and 'flexible' languages; this distinction applies to languages conflating two parts of speech into a single one, such as [NA]V and N[AV] languages. In rigid languages, when employed with one of the two functions of the conflated category, lexical items are marked with the same morphological/morpho-syntactic device; in flexible languages, lexical items are employed WFM for both functions of the conflated category. For instance, Bemba is a rigid language of the N[AV] type; as shown in examples (1a)-(1b), the relative marker *ɛ* is used for both adjectives and verbs in nominal head modifier position; on the other hand, in predicate position, both adjectives and verbs appear as finite verbal forms (WFM), as in examples (1c)-(1d).

(1) Bemba (Schachter and Shopen 2007:16)

- a. umuuntu ùashipa /ùakosa /ùaceenjela
person who.is.brave /who.is.strong /who.is.wise
'a brave/strong/wise person'
- b. umuuntu ùalemba
person who.is.writing
'a person who is writing'
- c. Umuuntu àashipa /àakosa /àaceenjela
person is.brave /is.strong /is.wise
'The person is brave/strong/wise'
- d. Umuuntu àalemba
person is.writing
'The person is writing'

As in Bemba, in Lushootseed adjectives and verbs are conflated in a single lexical category; however, in Lushootseed, a 'flexible' language, adjectives and verbs are employed WFM both as modifier of nominal heads and as predicates.

(2) Lushootseed (dialect(s) unspecified, various sources, cited in Beck 2002:123)

- a. tiʔəʔ haʔl ʔu+kʷ əl qʷ uʔ
DET good PNT+(RDP)trickle water
'This nice trickling water'
- b. kʷ l+axʷ tiʔəʔ qʷ uʔ dxʷ čaʔkʷ
trickle+now DET water seaward
'This water trickled down to the sea'
- c. bəqʷ stubš
fat man
'Fat man'
- d. həlaʔb+əxʷ čəd bəqʷ
really+now 1SG fat
'I (am) really fat'

In the examples above, the lexical items *kʷl* 'trickle' - an action word - and *bəqʷ* 'fat' - a property word - are used WFM both as adjective and verb; moreover, note that the action word *kʷl* retains aspectual markers as a modifier. (Beck 2002:123-124).

The main criticism raised toward Hengeveld's typology of parts of speech is that it does not fully take into account the role of semantics (Croft 2001, Beck 2002:199-203); according to Croft 2001:67-70, Hengeveld's typology does not account for what it happens to the meaning of a lexical item when it is employed in a given syntactic function. For instance, in the English lexicon several words can appear

WFM in different syntactic functions, more specifically, as modifiers and predicates. Croft 2001:69 gives examples such as *The school was small* and *We schooled him in proper manners*; in both examples, the lexical item *school* is employed without further measure been taken, first as a noun and then as a verb. Hence, on the basis of these examples, English should be classified as a flexible [NA]V language. But even if the last claim proved right - and indeed it does not -, we would still miss, Croft argues, an exact explanation of the semantic shift in which lexical items employed with different syntactic functions occur. To get back to the English example above, the meaning of *school* employed as a predicate is not predictable, neither in English nor cross-linguistically; in other languages, it could be signify ‘To build a school’ or ‘To feel bored during a class’.

As I will discuss in Sect.3.3.2, the issue of semantic shift can be ascribed to the more general phenomenon of polysemy/multifunctionality.

1.2 Beck 2002

A prominent role to semantics is acknowledged by Beck 2002, who sees the organization of parts of speech governed by the forces of semantics and syntax, with the former outranking the latter. Hengeveld’s definition of parts of speech is rephrased by Beck as follows:

- verb: a lexical item expressing a semantic predicate which can WFM be syntactic head of a lexical item expressing its semantic argument;
- noun: a lexical item expressing a semantic name which can WFM be a syntactic dependant of the lexical expression a semantic predicate of which it is a semantic argument (i.e., is WFM an actant);
- adjective: a lexical item expressing a semantic predicate that can be WFM a syntactic dependant of a lexical item expressing its semantic argument (i.e., is WFM a modifier).

Note that in Beck’s formulation, verbs are syntactic heads, while nouns and adjectives are both syntactic dependants. Semantic characterization of predicate and name are discussed at length in Beck 2002:41-71, and they can be summed up as follows: (Beck 2002:76)

- predicate: a conceptually non-autonomous meaning which is used in combination with some other meaning (its argument) to convey information about the referent of the argument;
- name: a conceptually autonomous meaning referring to an individual, discrete or abstract entity.

Moreover, the ‘WFM’ clause is explained by Beck in terms of a theory of markedness, which draws extensively from Givón 1995. The theory of markedness is articulated into the following three criteria:

Structural complexity: An element X is marked with respect to another element Y if X is more complex, morphologically or syntactically, than Y;

Contextual markedness: An environment E is a marked one for an element X if E is not a member of the largest subset of environments of X where X displays the greatest number of common properties;

Cognitive complexity: An element X is marked with respect to another element Y if the representation of X is a less direct expression of X's meaning than the representation of Y is of Y's meaning.

(Beck 2002:24)

Languages firstly organize their lexicon upon the semantic distinction between predicates and names; a universal tendency is that highly-predicative concepts i.e., concepts that change such as action/event and properties are characterized as verbs, while least-predicative concepts i.e. more permanent concepts such as people, animals, objects and places as nouns. The first semantic distinction characterizes languages of the N[AV] type. Languages of the NAV type are characterized by a further, syntactic distinction between head and dependent; semantic predicates will be treated as syntactic heads, forming the verbal category and semantic names as syntactic dependents, giving rise to the nominal category. The adjectival category will be formed by semantic predicates acting as syntactic dependents; such disharmony between semantics and syntax in defining parts of speech, Beck argues, is the motivation behind the cross-linguistical markedness of the adjectival category with respect to the other two parts of speech, as predicted by the hierarchy of parts of speech (Hengeveld 1992:68):

verb > noun > adjective

The above hierarchy reads as follows: 'If a language has a distinct lexical category for adjectives, then it has a distinct lexical category for nouns' and 'If a language has a distinct lexical category for nouns, then it has a distinct lexical category for verbs'.

In Beck's model, the organization of lexicon in languages of the [NA]V type would require that syntax takes precedence over semantics; as syntactic dependents, adjectives and nouns can be conflated together, but this overrides the fact that adjectives are semantic predicates or, in the other way round, that nouns are semantic names. In other words, languages of the [NA]V should employ WFM nouns as modifiers and adjectives as actants. (Beck 2002:141)

According to Beck 2002, languages of the [NA]V type simply do not exist; both nouns as modifiers and adjectives as actants are actually marked, either cognitively and/or structurally.

As for nouns behaving without further measures as noun phrase head modifiers, Beck 2002 claims that examples of N+N structures provided in the literature are either re-analyzable as cognitive com-

plex or are structurally marked; for instance, the following examples are from different Quechua languages, which are recurrent examples of languages of the [NA]V type:

- (3) a. Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:73, cited in Beck 2002:147)
- rumi jan
stone road
'stone road'
- b. Ancashino Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:300, cited in Beck 2002:147)
- hara čakra rumi
corn field stone
'stone of/from the cornfield'

In example (3a), the referent of *rumi* 'stone' does not indicate a particular stone, but the material or the purpose of/for the road is built; the N+N structure in example (3a) is then cognitively complex, since *rumi* in *rumi jan* has a less direct representation of *rumi* taken as an actant. Example (3b) is structurally marked; *hara* 'corn' forms a nominal compound with *čakra*, which, as in example (3a), acts as a cognitively-marked attribute of *rumi*; according to Beck 2002:148, the analysis of example (3b) as *[*hara*] [*čakra rumi*] 'field-stone of/from corn' is not possible, meaning that *hara čakra* is a lexicalized expression.

In the literature on parts of speech, other examples for a [NA]V lexical inventory come from the Totonac-Tepehua family; one of these languages, Upper Necaxa Totonac, has been the subject of Beck's field work. Again, examples of nominal modifiers from Upper Necaxa Totonac are interpreted by Beck as structurally marked; for instance, the two words *škan* 'water' and *líwə* 'snake' form the N+N structure *škanilíwə* 'water snake', with the insertion of an epenthetic high vowel, while *kiwí* 'tree' and *lašás* 'orange' are found in the N+N structure *ša+kiwí lašás* 'orange tree', with the first word prefixed by the determiner *ša*. (Beck 2002:162-166)

As for adjectives employed as nouns WFM, Quechua languages behave as in the following examples:

- (4) Quechua (unspecified dialect, Schachter and Shopen 2007:17)
- a. Rikaška: alkalde-(kuna)-ta
see:PST:1SG mayor-(PL)-ACC
'I saw the mayor(s).'
- b. Rikaška: hatun-(kuna)-ta
see:PST:1SG big-(PL)-ACC
'I saw the big one(s).'
- c. Chay runa hatun (kaykan)
DET man big (COP.3SG)
'The man (is) big'.

- d. Chay hatun runa
 DET big man
 ‘The big man.’

The lexical item *hatun* is employed without markers both as modifier (4d) and actant (4b, cfr. 4a); a facultative additional copula is used in example (4c). In Hengeveld 1992’s classification, Quechua is a flexible language, in that it employs a lexical item in two - and, possibly three - distinct functions without further measures. However, according to Beck 2002:145-146, examples as those in (4b) are cognitively complex, since they contain an elliptical reference to the object modified, which has to be recoverable from the discourse context. Otherwise, examples as such are ungrammatical outside the discourse context. Other evidences for the non-existence of adjectives without a recoverable modified object - or, in syntactic terms, without a recoverable noun phrase head - are provided by Beck from Upper Necaxa Totonac:

(5) Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2002:159)

- a. k+laʔtí ša+sá:sti
 1SG+like DET+new
 ‘I like the new one’.
- b. k+laʔtí ša+kapéxwa
 1SG+like DET+brown
 ‘I like the brown one.’

Examples (5a)-(5b) were elicited by Beck during a conversation about horses; the two lexical items *sá:sti* and *kapéxwa* are syntactically actants and are modified by the determiner *ša*, expressing the nominal parameter of definiteness. However, their referentiality is external, since “the *ša*+ADJ construction also expresses the semantic name ‘horse’ ” (Beck 2002:159).

In order to qualify as actants without further marking, adjectives must express - as ‘true’ nouns do - an internal referentiality; in the literature, the Chadic language Hausa is often cited as meeting these requirements. In Hausa, adjectives are employed without further measures as actants, while they show further measures when they are found as modifiers:

(6) Hausa

- a. (Schachter and Shopen 2007:15)
 mutum màì alheri/arziki/hankali
 person MDF kindness/prosperity /intelligence
 ‘a kind/prosperous/intelligent person’
- b. (Ma Newman 1990:9, cited in Beck 2002:179)
 k’arfi+n+sà ya: ba: mù ma:ma:ki:
 strength+LNK+M.3:POSS M.3:CMF give 1PL amazement

‘His strength amazed us (lit. ‘gave us amazement’)’

In example (6a), the modification (MDF) function is expressed by the *màì*+ADJ construction, while in example (6b) adjectives appear as actants without further measures; as shown by the English glosses in the latter example, the semantics of these lexical items corresponds to abstract nouns, or more precisely, to the so-called ‘Quality Nouns’ in European languages.

As for adjectives with external referentiality, the same *màì* marker is employed:

(7) Hausa (Kraft & Kraft 1973, cited in Beck 2002:182)

nawà ne: màì àràha:
how.much COP MDF inexpensiveness

‘How much is the cheap one?’

Again, examples such as (7) are ungrammatical (or, simply, they do not make sense) outside of their discourse context (Beck 2002:182).

It seems, then, that the only way to express an adjective as an actant WFM is to refer to the property concept itself, thus configuring an abstract noun.

According to Beck 2002:185-188, Hausa makes for its lexicon a semantic distinction only and is not *de facto* different from N[AV] languages; the difference between languages such as Quechua and Upper Necaxa Totonac and languages such as Hausa is that the formers semantically categorize property concepts as predicates, while the latter as (semantic) names. Hengeveld’s typology is then reduced to three possible types: full inventory, no inventory and N[AV].

1.3 Croft 1991, 2001

Both Hengeveld’s and Beck’s approaches maintain that nouns, adjectives and verbs are universal and, in case of languages which do not make this distinction, lump together different parts of speech (Croft 2001:65). A critique toward this kind of approach is moved by Croft’s Radical Construction Grammar (RCG). As with other elements of grammar, parts of speech are conceived in RCG as language-specific constructions encompassing the traditional components of grammar: phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics; in fact, constructional grammars refuse the componential model of both formal and functional linguistics. (Croft 2001:14-18)

The need for different components of grammar - i.e., morpho-syntax and semantics in former approaches - for the description of parts of speech is then superseded in the holistic approach of RCG; moreover, as with other grammatical categories, parts of speech can be represented in a semantic map, which in turn is a language-specific - and, thus partial - realization of the universal conceptual space for parts of speech. In order to distinguish between language-specific and universal parts of speech, I will address the former as ‘lexical categories’, and reserve ‘parts of speech’ to the latter.

The conceptual space for parts of speech¹ is a multi-dimensional diagram in which one dimension represents the three semantic classes of objects, properties and actions and the other dimension represents the three propositional acts, or discourse functions, of reference, modification and predication. The three semantic classes are characterized according to the semantic properties (Langacker 1987) of relationality, stativity, transitoriness and gradability: (Croft 2001:87)

- object: non-relational, state, permanent, nongradable;
- property: relational, state, permanent, gradable;
- action: relational, process, transitory, nongradable.

The semantic property of relationality indicates whether the given concept can be conceived without a relation with another concept; properties and actions cannot be conceived without a modified or predicated referent, while objects have an inherent referent in the concept they denote. Stativity describes the given concept as a state or a process; objects and properties represent states, while actions processes. Transitoriness further describes states and processes as permanent or transitory; states can be either permanent or transitory, such as permanent and transitory properties, while processes are always transitory. Finally, gradability is the semantic property according to which a given concept can be measured against a scale; only properties can be graded.

As I will discuss in the following section, semantic properties are formally coded in grammar as parameters; for instance, the semantic property of relationality corresponds to the valency² of verbs and adjectives, which is absent in nouns.

As for the discourse functions, the three propositional acts correspond to the three syntactic functions in Hengeveld 1992's definition for parts of speech (see above). Reference, predication and modification are propositional act functions (Croft 2001:66, see also Hopper and Thompson 1984 for a discourse-based approach to parts of speech; for a critique of this approach, see Smith 2010); the reference function establishes a referent in discourse i.e., a 'discourse-manipulable participant' (Hopper and Thompson 1984:703); the predication function asserts an event in discourse, in which one or more referents are involved; finally, the modification function participates of the nature of the other two functions, either adding a property to the referent in order to identify it (restrictive modification) or predicating a property of the referent (non-restrictive modification) (Croft 2001:97, 2010:793)

The three main parts of speech employed in Hengeveld's typology are described in RCG as the pairings of semantic classes with the corresponding propositional act functions: (Croft 2001:89)

- noun: reference of an object;

¹The exact topography of the conceptual space for parts of speech is still unknown; other semantic classes and discourse functions need to be stipulated: for instance, in order to account for function words and grammatical inflections, Croft 1990 proposes the minor propositional acts of situating and selecting.

²Michele Prandi pointed out to me that the concept of relationality is very similar to Tesnière's valency, which is a linguistic adaptation of Frege's *Sättigung*. (see Prandi 2004)

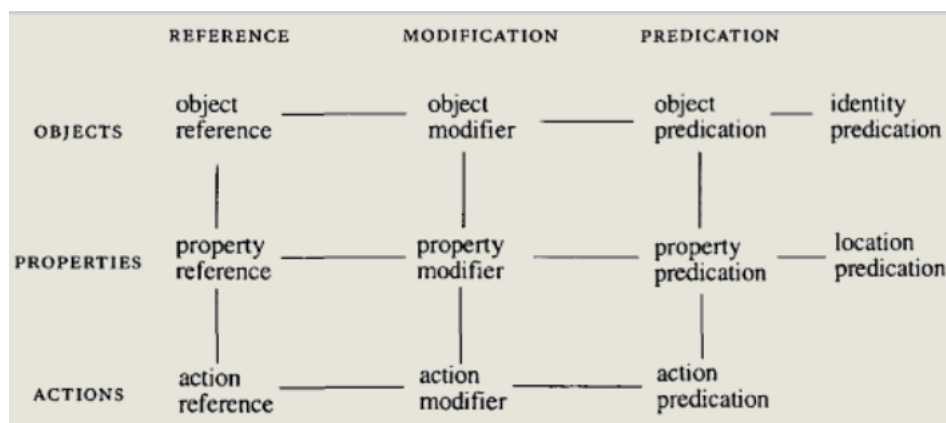


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Space for parts of speech (Croft 2001:124)

- adjective: modification by a property;
- verb: predication of an action.

At the universal, cross-linguistic level, a Conceptual Space for parts of speech, which is shown in Figure 1.1, is built along the two dimensions of semantics and pragmatics; the three semantic classes of objects, properties and actions represent cardinal points in the conceptual space; when paired with the corresponding propositional act function, these cardinal points represent prototype points in conceptual space for the parts of speech, according to the following hypothesis:

Grammatical Category Structure Hypothesis

The internal category structure of a grammatical category (e.g. a prototype point in conceptual space and links to its extensions) is provided by the universal theory of grammar, while its boundaries are provided by the particular language grammar.

(Croft 2001:103)

As with other grammatical categories, lexical categories of a given language are represented at the specific-language level in a semantic map, which has to comply to the Conceptual Space for parts of speech; cross-linguistically, the typological markedness predicts that the more a language-specific grammatical category conforms to such prototypes, the less is marked (see further for Croft's theory of typological markedness).

Less prototype points are identified at the crossroads of semantic classes with non-corresponding propositional acts and are typologically marked. Figure 1.2 shows a representation of typologically unmarked constructions that have been traditionally associated with parts-of-speech systems: nouns, adjectives and verbs, and a selection of typologically marked constructions, such as deadjectival nouns and action nominals.

Croft's theory of typological markedness adopts the following two criteria:

	Reference	Modification	Predication
Objects	UNMARKED NOUNS	genitive, adjectivalizations, PPs on nouns	predicate nominals, copulas
Properties	deadjectival nouns	UNMARKED ADJECTIVES	predicate adjectives, copulas
Actions	action nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	UNMARKED VERBS

Figure 1.2: Overtly marked structural coding constructions for parts of speech. (Croft 2001:88)

Typological markedness

Structural coding: If a language codes a typologically unmarked member of a grammatical category by n morphemes ($n \geq 0$), then it codes a typologically marked of that category by at least n morphemes.

Behavioral Potential: If a construction encoding the behavioral potential of members of a grammatical category is found in that category, that is found with at least the unmarked member of that category for that construction.

(Croft 2001:90-91)

Beck's structural complexity and Croft's structural coding both refer to the amount of machinery employed by a language to encode a concept with a given function (function-indicating morphosyntax: Croft 1991:58); moreover, Beck's definition of contextual markedness is similar to Croft's behavioral potential, since both take into account the overall distribution of the construction. In order to stress this similarity and since I find the term 'behavioral' a bit obscure, I prefer the term 'distributional potential' here, which is employed in Croft 2007.

However, note that Croft's criteria for typological markedness (and Greenberg's: see Croft 2001:90 and references therein) differ from other criteria that have been proposed for markedness in the functional-typological literature, most notably, criteria developed by Prague School, on two important points. First, given its typological nature, Croft's markedness does not refer to a language-specific grammatical category but, rather, to a universal conceptual category; second, according to the structural coding quoted above, marked categories can have the same number of morphemes and members of unmarked categories. This accounts for languages 'conflating' different parts of speech into a single one, as Bemba and Lushootseed do for verbs and adjectives and Quechua and Totonac languages for nouns

and adjectives. Third, the notion of structural coding only applies to function-indicating markers; several derivational morphemes, including category-changing devices such as agent/instrument affixes, may be thus irrelevant to typological markedness. For instance, according to Croft 2010:790, the English agentive/instrumental deverbal suffix *-er* (*reader, teacher, ...*) is not a function-indicating marker, since it changes the semantic type of the root from an action to an object.

As previously discussed, languages with a single category for adjectives and nouns i.e., [NA]V languages, are however denied in Beck's model. According to Beck 2002:39-40, Croft's model for parts of speech is too broad in allowing languages of the [NA]V type and worse, Beck argues, languages conflating nouns and verbs into a single category that is distinct from adjectives. Indeed, Beck's criticism are directed toward an earlier model of Croft proposal for parts of speech (Croft 1991); the model rooted in the RCG framework states that the relationship between language-specific semantic maps and the universal conceptual space is governed by the following hypothesis:

Semantic Map Connectivity Hypothesis

Any relevant language-specific and construction-specific category should map onto a connected region in conceptual space.

(Croft 2001:96)

This rules out the existence of languages in which objects and actions concepts are unmarked for the same function(s) and property concepts are marked, since 'object' and 'action' are two unconnected regions in the conceptual space. By the same token, languages with a single category for adjectives and nouns as well as languages with no distinction of lexical categories are allowed, albeit the existence of the latter type of languages is seriously questioned; see Croft 2001:76-78 and Dixon 2004a:8-9 on Nootkan languages, and references therein. (Croft 2001:103, 106-107)

The multidimensional representation given in Figure 1.2 is not a semantic map yet, including only one of the two criteria of markedness, the structural coding. In order to build a semantic map, we must also include the other criteria in the representation, that is, the distributional potential; I will further come back on semantic maps in Sect.3.3.2, where I discuss the representation of Japanese adjectival categories, as found in Croft 2001:95.

For the sake of clarification and brevity, I present here a simpler example of semantic map, discussing Croft's treatment of the lexical category of English Adjective.

As shown in Figure 1.3, the lexical category of English Adjective is defined by covert structural coding i.e., no morphemes and by the grammatical parameter of gradation; as predicted, the English Adjective is mapped onto the 'property with modification' region in the semantic map for English parts of speech. According to Croft 2001:99, the lexical category of English Adjective is further divided into two subcategories, more prototypical property concepts, such as *good/better/the best*, corresponding to four semantic types of properties as outlined by Dixon 1982, 2004 (see Sect.2.2.3), and less prototypical concepts, such as *more/less/the most organic*. The semantic division is reflected by the grammatical

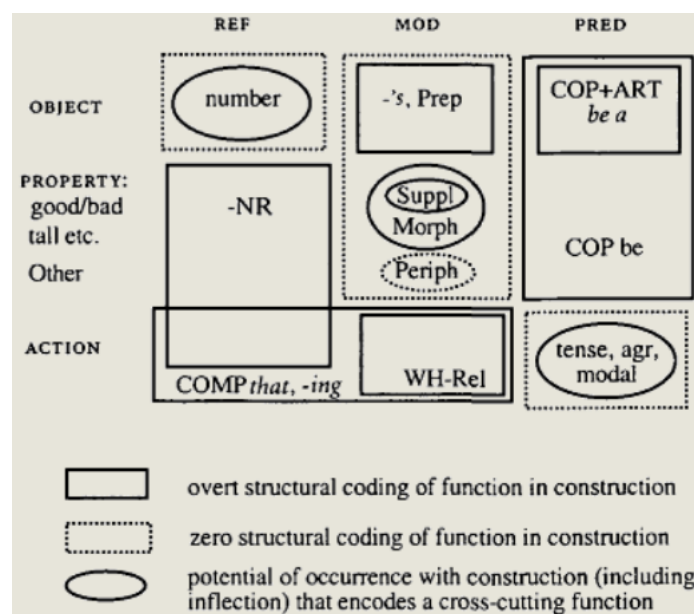


Figure 1.3: Semantic map of English parts of speech constructions (Croft 2001:99)

behavior taken by these forms when inflected for the gradation parameter: suppletive/morphological for the most prototypical adjectives and syntactic for the less prototypical adjectives.

An alternative way of modeling lexical categories, as well as other constructions, is represented by radial categories or radial network, which are employed in cognitive approaches to languages; in the center of a radial category, we expect the lowest amount of machinery (unmarked structural coding), the highest amount of grammatical behavior (distributional potential) and the most prototypical semantic class(es).

According to Croft 2001:104, the cognitive approach, which employs radial categories, and the typological approach of the RCG, which uses semantic maps, are compatible; as Croft points out:

The difference between the cognitive and typological theories of parts of speech is chiefly a matter of emphasis. The cognitive theory emphasizes the uniformity of the semantic construals found over and over across languages with respect to constructions expressing the propositional act functions. The typological theory focuses on the variation found in the distribution patterns of constructions and lexical classes within and across languages, and the varied topography of the conceptual space that underlies the typological universals. (Croft 2001:104)

In this work I will focus on the second type of variation explicated by Croft in the above-quoted passage, observing the different patterns of property nominalization found within a single language, that is, Italian; specific-language lexical categories are, at the best, approximation of myriads of constructions i.e., concepts of a given semantic type with a given discourse function found in a given

context. A precise description of a part of speech such as ‘Noun in the language X’ will be at least take into account all constructions in which an object is used with a reference function in the language X; this ultimately corresponds to the lexicographic activity of compiling dictionary entries, but here entries corresponds to concepts and examples to constructions entertaining relations with other constructions. Furthermore, an important diagnostics for recognizing patterns of constructions are the different environments or distributions in which constructions are found, which, as discussed, is captured by Croft’s distributional potential.

A convenient way to describe how the distributional potential decreases when departing from, or increase when approaching to, a given lexical category is provided by hierarchies of grammatical parameters, which I discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Parameters

Given the language-specific nature of constructions and categories, it is *a priori* excluded that grammatical parameters such as tense, gradation or number are universally valid. However, it has been suggested that grammatical parameters - as well as grammatical categories and semantic types - traditionally employed by linguists can be considered as comparative concepts, thus allowing cross-linguistic comparison. (Ramat 1999, Haspelmath 2010, Malchukov 2006:980 on hierarchies) In the remaining of this section, I will treat grammatical parameters and related hierarchies as comparative concepts. Establishing universal categories, parameters and hierarchies is clearly beyond the scope of the present work; rather, working on a single language, I will propose in the next part categories, parameters, hierarchies and semantic types that are valid for Italian and that will be employed for the analysis of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns.

In functional-typological studies, two notions inform the establishment of hierarchies of grammatical parameters: the semantic relevance of parameters with respect to the lexical category and the relation of scope between parameters.

A number of hierarchies have been proposed in the typological literature for the two major parts of speech, nouns (Mackenzie 1987, Malchukov 2004) and verbs (Bybee 1985, Lehmann 1988, Hengeveld 1992, Croft 1991). As for semantic relevance, nominal parameters such as gender and number show the highest relevance for the semantic class of objects, while parameters such as definiteness and syntactic roles are less relevant; as for scopal relation, the parameter of syntactic role has scope over definiteness, since it describes which role (in)definite nouns play in the discourse. As for the verbal category, parameters such as illocutionary force and agreement markers are less relevant for the semantic class of action, while aspect, tense and mood are more relevant; moreover, tense has semantic scope over aspect, in that it locates “an aspectually profiled predication within one of the temporal planes” (Malchukov 2006:978).

Hierarchies of parameters have been employed for the explanation of different linguistic facts; according to Bybee 1985, the verbal parameter hierarchy is iconically reflected in the morphological structure of verbs, in that aspect-tense-mood markers are closer to the verbal root than agreement

and illocutionary markers; in Cristofaro 2003, hierarchies of verbal parameters are used to analyze the relationship between main clauses and subordinate clauses, predicting which parameters will be lost when a clause is ‘deranked’ due to subordination.

Most important for the purpose of the present work, Malchukov’s typology of nominalization, which I discuss in Sect.3.2.3, employs hierarchies to predict which parameters are retained, lost (de-categorization: Hopper and Thompson 1984) or acquired (re-categorization: Bhat 1994) when a concept is used with a non-corresponding function.

2.1 Nominal parameters

In Mackenzie 1987, a typological study on nominalization conducted on a sample of thirty languages and couched in the framework of Dik’s Functional Grammar (FG), we find the first example of a hierarchy of nominal parameters; Mackenzie 1987:95-99 identifies the following five degrees of nominalization:

- degree of nominalization 1: no nominal parameters, but initial loss of verbal parameters;
- degree of nominalization 2: external nominal parameters, such as focus and case marking;
- degree of nominalization 3: nominal marking of verbal arguments through possessive constructions or similar dependent constructions;
- degree of nominalization 3-op: definiteness marking;
- degree of nominalization 4: gender and number marking, modifiable by adjectives.

In Mackenzie’s study, nominalization processes are seen as the acquirement of nominal parameters by verbal items; the loss of verbal parameters is not investigated, although Mackenzie reports that higher degrees of nominalization are accompanied by heavy loss of verbal parameters. Mackenzie then describes the following implicational hierarchy:

nouniness(> operators) > possessor/dependent > function marking > de-verbalization
(Mackenzie 1987:99)

In order to explain these nominal parameters, I refer to Rijkhoff 2002, which is the most comprehensive typological study on the noun phrase, again conducted within the FG framework and considering a sample of fifty-two languages. The following three ordered layers are proposed for the organization of the noun phrase: (Rijkhoff 2002:216-224, 337)

- the quality layer, hosting grammatical parameters such as gender/classification (e.g., feminine, inanimate), nominal aspect (e.g., single noun vs. mass noun; see further) and lexical expressions such as adjectives;

- the quantity layer, featuring grammatical parameters such as number (e.g., plural) and cardinality (e.g., one, two), and lexical expressions such as numerals;
- the location layer, including grammatical parameters such as demonstratives (e.g., definite, non-specific) and articles and lexical expressions such as possessive modifiers and relational clauses.

plus a reference or discourse layer, which provides discourse-related information on the noun phrase referent, such as deixis or anaphora.

It's easy to see that Rijkhoff 2002's layered structure of the noun phrase is very similar to the five nominalization steps described in Mackenzie 1987. The leftmost parameter of 'nouniness' corresponds to the quality layer, while 'operators' denote, in FG terminology, NP modifiers such as adjectives, which are again hosted in the quality layer and numerals, which belong to the quantity layer; the possessor/dependent parameter is present in the location layer, while the function marking parameter and the unspecified parameter of 'de-verbalization' are in the discourse layer.

Malchukov's typology of nominalization (Malchukov 2004, 2006) elaborates on the two former proposals, describing and verifying on a sample of fifty languages the following hierarchy:

Hierarchy of Nominal Categories

Noun classifier (CL) > Number (NB) > Possessive (POS) > Determiner (DET) >

Case

(Malchukov 2006:978-979)

I will describe Malchukov's typology of nominalization in Sect.3.2.3; for the purpose of the present study, I will take into account the following nominal parameters, which elaborates on Malchukov's parameters:

- gender;
- nominal aspect;
- number;
- deictic relations between nouns;
- definiteness;
- syntactic role.

2.1.1 Nominal Aspect

Rijkhoff's classification of the Noun Phrase includes in the most internal layer, the quality layer, grammatical parameters that are inherent to the lexical item i.e., parameters that are associated to the root when it is coded as a lexical item.

Parameters include gender and nominal aspect, and cannot be generally modified by the grammatical environment, say, by more external nominal parameters such as number or syntactic roles. However, as I will demonstrate for Italian de-Adjectival Nouns, under some circumstances the gender and the nominal aspect may be changed.

Since the parameter of gender and number are of little interest for Italian de-Adjectival Nouns, I will focus here on the parameter of nominal aspect, which is introduced by Rijkhoff 2002 as the nominal counterpart for the verbal aspect.

A distinction pertaining the nominal aspect is traditionally made in grammars, which distinguish between the category of count nouns and the category of mass nouns, with the possible addition of a third category, collective nouns, which somewhat stands in between the former two categories. According to Pelletier 2012:10, the following combinations between number and quantification can be taken to account in English for such distinction:

- count nouns have plural forms and thus can agree with plural verbs, while mass nouns do not have plural forms and thus all verb agreement is singular;
- count nouns can occur with numerals and counting phrases, while mass nouns can occur with measure phrases like *liters of*, *amount of*;
- singular count nouns, employ the quantifiers *each*, *every*, (stressed quantifier) *some*, and indefinite *a(n)*, while mass nouns employ the quantifier *much*, *little*;
- plural count nouns employ the quantifier *few*, *several*, *many*, while mass nouns employ the unstressed *some* and the quantifier *most*.

which corresponds to the following English phrases: *two suggestions*, *a program* (count nouns); *liters of water*, *amount of generosity* (mass nouns). Moreover, a concept which is generally considered as a count noun can be 'massified' by using degree markers¹, as in *He has more car than garage*, in which the object concept CAR is intensified by *more* and is inflected for singular number; on the other way round, a concept considered as a mass noun can be counted by marking it for the count parameters, as in *Three beers on the table*, where the concept BEER is counted by the quantifier *three* and is inflected for plural number. (Pelletier 2012:14 and the end of this section)

¹I address here strategies massifying a count noun as 'degree markers', since I reserve the term 'quantifier' to the parameter of quantification, whereas 'lexical quantifiers' such as *much* or *little* pertain to the parameter of degree; see Sect.2.2.2.

Apart from the parameter of agreement, which is a verbal parameter, two markers are mentioned in Pelletier's definition of English count and mass nouns: the inflectional plural, the morpheme *-s*, and the lexical quantifier, the numeral *three*, which are both expression of the number parameter.

Cross-linguistically, we find languages which employ classifiers *in lieu* of plural markers; accordingly, Rijkhoff 2002:29 proposes the following types of combination between quantifiers (numeral) and plural/classifier markers:

1. numeral;
2. numeral and plural;
3. numeral and classifier;

A (logical) possible fourth type combining quantifiers with both plural and classifier markers is very scarcely attested. A language marking the quantification parameter on nouns with only lexical numbers is for instance Oromo, as in example (8a); example (8b) from French shows the second type, in which *deux* 'two' is combined with the irregular plural of *cheval* 'horse'; finally, examples (8c)-(8d) from Cantonese show the combination between numerals and classifiers.

- (8) a. Oromo (Stroomer 1987:59, cited in Rijkhoff 2002:29)

gaala lamaani
camel two
'two camels'

- b. French (Own knowledge)

deux chevaux
two cheval.PL
'two horses'

- c. Cantonese (Foong Ha Yap, p.c.)

loeng5 go3 jan4
two CLF.person person
'two persons'

- d. Cantonese (Foong Ha Yap, p.c.)

yat1 bui1 seoiz
one CLF.cup/glass water
'a glass of water'

The type exemplified by Oromo describes the 'set noun' sub-category, since bare nouns in languages such as Oromo seem "to denote a set of individuals" (Rijkhoff 2002:46); the type exemplified by French, which is common in European languages, describes the 'singular object noun' sub-category: when nouns of this type appear without modifier they must refer to a single entity, while

when they refer to plural entities, they must be marked for plural. Cantonese examples show two types of classifiers: the sortal classifier, coding properties applicable to discrete objects, for instance SHAPE, and the mensural classifier, denoting properties such as VOLUME. Nouns marked by the sortal classifier are called ‘sort nouns’, while nouns marked by the mensural classifier ‘mass nouns’. (Rijkhoff 2002:47-48)

Elaborating on the classifier type, Rijkhoff 2002:48-50 adds to his typology another two nominal sub-categories: the ‘collective noun’ and the ‘general noun’. Collective nouns are marked by a sub-type of the sortal classifier, the ‘collective classifier’, which specifically marks discrete entities in group or the group itself, as in example (9a) from Burmese; general nouns are marked by a type of classifier that is neither sortal nor mensural, which Rijkhoff 2002:49 suggests to address as ‘general’. An example of this general classifier is found in Yucatec Maya, in which bare nouns are underspecified both for sortal and mensural properties, as opposed to languages in which bare nouns are underspecified for one of the two properties; the bare noun *há’as* means in Yucatec Maya something like ‘the concept of banana’, encompassing all banana-related things: the fruit, the leaf, the plant, the bunch and even a bit of the fruit; in order to construct one of the meanings, the speaker has to choose the corresponding classifier, as in examples (9b)-(9c).

- (9) a. Burmese (Stroemer 1987:59, cited in Rijkhoff 2002:29)

pàñ hnă sì
flower two CLF.bunch
‘two bunches of flowers’

- b. Yucatec Maya (Lucy 1992:74, 2000:329, cited in Rijkhoff 2002:47)

’un-tz’ít há’as
one-CLF.1dimension banana
‘banana fruit’

- c. Yucatec Maya (Lucy 1992:74, 2000:329, cited in Rijkhoff 2002:47)

’un-wáal há’as
one-CLF.2dimension banana
‘banana leaf’

According to Rijkhoff 2002:50-52, there are two semantic properties governing the classification of noun into the above discussed sub-categories: shape and homogeneity. Similar parameters are invoked by Corbett 2000:80 which, elaborating on previous works by Jackendoff (Kibort and Corbett 2008), justifies the distinction between nominal categories, more specifically, between mass nouns and count nouns, with the two parameters of boundedness and internal homogeneity.

This distinction is not pre-lexically, as the existence of mass nouns such as *water* or *sand* in our European languages leads to presume, but concerns how references to an object i.e., nouns are coded in languages’ lexica. In some languages’ lexica, nouns are conceived as unbounded entities, without

an exact outline like liquids, gases or non-countable solid substances; in these languages, nouns are treated as mass and sort nouns.

The parameter of internal homogeneity accounts for a further distinction between the two nominal sub-categories: mass nouns have internal homogeneity - without specific instruments, you cannot distinguish a component from another in a mass noun - while sort nouns do not have internal homogeneity - sort nouns are made of different components.

In other languages' lexica, nouns are represented as bounded entities occupying a delimited portion of space, describing the two nominal sub-categories of collective nouns and singular object nouns; the distinction between the two sub-categories is again a question of internal homogeneity: collective nouns have internal homogeneity, while singular object nouns do not.

Finally, in some languages the distinction of internal homogeneity simply do not apply; nouns are represented as having or not having an exact shape; a negative boundedness characterizes general nouns, while a positive boundedness set nouns.

According to boundedness/shape and (internal) homogeneity the following six nominal sub-categories are described: (Rijkhoff 2002:54)

- general noun: -shape;
- sort noun: -shape, -homogeneity;
- mass noun: -shape, +homogeneity;
- set noun: +shape;
- singular object noun: +shape, -homogeneity
- collective noun: +shape, +homogeneity.

The six nominal sub-categories are values of a new parameter introduced by Rijkhoff, the 'nominal aspect'; as a parallel to the 'verbal aspect', concerning how actions are represented in the temporal dimension, the nominal aspect deals with the representation of objects in the spatial dimension, along the axes of shape and homogeneity. (Rijkhoff 2002:57-59, 101-117)

As mentioned above, the parameter of nominal aspect is intrinsic to the lexical item; as with lexical categories, languages vary with respect to the (un)marked nominal sub-categories. For instance, Malagasy is a language lacking both classifier and number inflection; the number parameter is shown only by personal pronouns and determiners; compare example (10a) with example (10b).

(10) Malagasy (Rajemisa-Raolison (1971):54, quoted in Paul 2012:101)

- a. Omeo ahy itsy boky itsy
 give:IMP 1SG:ACC this:DEF.SG book this:DEF.SG
 'Give me that book.'

- b. Omeo ahy iretsy boky iretsy
 give:IMP 1SG:ACC those:DEF.PL book those:DEF.PL
 ‘Give me those books.’

The system of Malagasy determiners is particularly complex, revolving around parameters such as visibility and proximality; such determiners are definite. Whenever a nominal is employed without determiners or with the general determiner *ny* (Malagasy Bare Nominal construction), the phenomenon known as ‘general number’ arises, as in examples (11a)-(11b); moreover, this construction is possible only with nominals in non-subject position.² Malagasy Bare Nouns are examples of ‘set nouns’, as in Oromo: set nouns represent the unmarked coding of Malagasy Nouns.

(11) Malagasy (Paul 2012:100)

- a. Manolotra penina izy.
 offer.ACT.PRS pen 3SG.NOM
 ‘She offers one or more pens.’
- b. Rakofana kopy ny tsaramaso.
 cover.PASS.PRS cup DET bean
 ‘The beans are covered with one or more cups.’

Single object nouns are realized in Malagasy by constructing concepts with quantifiers, as in examples (12a)-(12b).

(12) Malagasy (Paul 2012:108)

- a. Novidiny ny boky tsirairay.
 buy.PASS.PST;3SG DET book each
 ‘She bought each book.’
- b. Roa/vitsy ny boky.
 two/few DET book
 ‘There are two/few books.’

According to Paul 2012:108 only set nouns can be counted in Malagasy, while another nominal sub-category, mass nouns, cannot; accordingly, Paul treats as ungrammatical forms such as those in examples (13a)-(13b).

(13) Malagasy (Paul 2012:108)

- a. ?Novidiny ny lafarina tsirairay.
 buy.PASS.PST;3SG DET flour each
 ‘She bought each flour.’

²Paul discusses other parameters which are generally believed to interact with general number: definiteness, anaphora, negative implicature, scope, number, however finding that these parameters are not relevant for Malagasy’s parameter of general number; see Paul 2012:101-107.

- b. ?Roa/vitsy ny lafarina.
two/few DET flour
'There are two/few flours.'

However, some evidences accounting for the opposite situation can be found; for instance, the WATER concept is indeed treated as a singular object noun in example (14), which is found in the Malagasy edition of Wikipedia.

- (14) Malagasy (Malagasy edition of Wikipedia - entry: 'North Sea')

Vitsy ny rano lalina ao amin'ny ranomasina avaratra
few.QUANTIF DET water deep there in_the sea north

'There are few deep waters in the North Sea.'

Other strategies to mark a concept with a different sub-category from which is attributed to unmarked nouns include the use of classifiers, which function as 'individualizers' (Rijkhoff 2002:50) in languages such as Cantonese, Burmese and Yucatan Maya and affixes such as singulative, abstractivizer and collective.

- (15) a. Oromo (Stroemer 1987:84-85, cited in Rijkhoff 2002:103)

nam-ica
man-INDV

'a man'

- b. Italian (Own knowledge)

argent-eria
silver-CLL

'silverware'

In example (15a), the lexical root *nama*, an unmarked set noun: 'set of man', is marked by the singulative *-(i)ca* and is constructed as a singular object noun; in Italian, the lexical root *argento*, an unmarked singular object noun: 'the silver', is marked as a collective with the suffix *-eria*.

Nominal aspect markers do not in principle change the number of nouns; the nominal aspect parameter is then distinguished from the number parameter, which is a more external parameter in the hierarchy of nominal parameters. The two parameters are however closely related and strategies of number marking can induce changes in the nominal aspect marker, as in the English sentence *I drink two wines*, where *wine*, which is coded in the English lexicon as a mass noun, is forced as a singular object noun by the numeral *two* and the obligatory plural marking.

2.1.2 Deictic relations between nouns

In this section, I present some parameters that are related to the identification of the referent in the discourse through the relation with other nouns; Rijkhoff 2002:173-178 assigns these parameters to the locational layer, since they help the hearer to locate the referent and permit the speaker to introduce a new referent in the discourse.

I discuss here two types of deictic relations between nouns, the possessive relation and the attributive relation; a third deictic relation will be discussed in Sect.3.2.2. Deictic relations such as possession or attribution are distinct from the predicate-argument relation characterizing the predication or the modification function, which requires the filling of a valency slot (see Sect.2.2.1 and Beck 2002:86-90).

The possessive relation can be marked by the following strategies:

- possessor pronouns;
- adpositions and cases.

as in the following examples from Dutch:

(16) Dutch (Rijkhoff 2002:200-201, 203)

- a. mijn boek-en
my book-PL
'My books'.
- b. Peter-s boek
Peter-GEN book
'Peter's book.'
- c. Het boek van Peter
the book of Peter
'Peter's book.'
- d. dat meisje dər fiets
that girl her bike
'that girl's bike'

in example (16a), the possessive relation is marked by the first person pronoun *mijn* 'my', in example (16b) by the genitive case marked by the suffix '-s' attached to the possessor *Peter* and in example (16c) by the preposition *van*. In some languages or language varieties, possessor pronouns co-occur with the possessor, as in colloquial Dutch (example (16d)), where a reduced form of the pronoun *haar* 'her', co-references the bike's possessor. The Colloquial Dutch construction for possessive is however limited to animate, mostly human, possessors (Rijkhoff 2002:201); similarly, some languages employ different constructions according to the semantic properties of the possessed object, a phenomenon

which is addressed in the literature as ‘alienable vs. inalienable’ possession. For instance, in example (17a) from Warndarang, the inalienable kinship relation is marked by the possessive pronoun *ng*, while other types of relations are marked by the possessive pronoun *ngini*.

(17) Warndarang (Heath 1980b: 28-29, cited in Nichols and Bickel 2013)

- a. *ng-baba*
POSS.I-father
‘My/Our father.’
- b. *wu-radburru ngini*
M-country 1SG.GEN
‘My country.’

As for the attributive relation, consider the examples (3a)-(3b) from Quechua languages, which I repeat here for the sake of convenience:

(18) a. Imbabura Quechua (Cole 1985:73, cited in Beck 2002:147)

rumi jan
stone.ATRB road
‘stone road’

b. Ancashino Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:300, cited in Beck 2002:147)

hara čakra rumi
[corn field].ATRB stone
‘stone of/from the cornfield’

We have seen in Sect.1.2 that nouns such as *rumi* ‘stone’ and *hara čakra* ‘corn field’ are only apparently ‘nouns used as adjectives without further measure’, since they do not modify anything, but rather establish “a conventionalized or contextually-understood relation” (Beck 2002:178) between themselves and the nouns. Moreover, attributive relations are different from the possessive relation, since the latter expresses a relation of association between nouns, while in the former the relation is often conventionalized or dependent from the context, and can be of different kinds: instrumentality, as in *steak knife* ‘knife used for cutting steak’, origin, as in *California wine* and part-whole relation, such as *computer screen*. (Beck 2002:86-87, 172-178)

Languages such as Quechua and English then make a formal distinction between the two types of deictic relations, while they formally neutralize the distinction between modification and attribution; a different pattern is found in languages such as Hausa, which marks with the same strategy the two deictic relations of attribution and possession, and with a different strategy the modification function. As seen in Sect.1.2, property concepts are coded as nouns in Hausa i.e., ‘Hausa Quality Nouns’ and are constructed in the modification function by the means of the marker *mái*, as in example (6a), which I repeat here for the sake of convenience:

- (19) Hausa (Schachter and Shopen 2007:15)

mutum màì alheri/arziki/hankali
 person MDF kindness/prosperity /intelligence
 ‘a kind/prosperous/intelligent person’

The *màì*+Quality Nouns construction is often glossed as a possessive relation, but the relation between the two nouns is actually an argument-predicate relation; in example (19), *mutum* ‘person’ is the subject argument (see Sect.2.2.1) of the property concept. The *màì* marker then codes the argument structure of the property concept, an adjectival/verbal parameter that we will encounter in Sect.3.2.1.

The actual possessive construction is marked in Hausa by the *n* linker, as in example (20a), in which the book is identified through its possessor, *Audu*. The *n* linker is a multifunctional morpheme also coding other deictic-related functions, such as attribution and anaphora; for instance, in example (20b), a conventionalized relation is established between *gida* and *àšana*, which in English is rendered by the nominal compound *matchbox*. (Beck 2002:174-180)

- (20) Hausa

- a. (Smirnova 1982:28, cited in Beck 2002:176)

litta:fì+n Audù
 book+POSS Audù
 ‘Audu’s book’

- b. (Paul Newman, p.c., cited in Beck 2002:177)

gida+n àša:na:
 house+ATR match
 ‘matchbox’

- c. (Cowan & Schuh 1976:101, cited in Beck 2002:178)

na: saukè do:yà dàgà mo:to:čì+n
 1SG:CMPL unload yam from trucks+ANAPH
 ‘I unloaded the yams from the trucks (that I already mentioned).’

Finally, in example (20c), the *n* linker indicates that the truck was previously mentioned in the discourse; this kind of function i.e., the anaphoric function does not longer indicate relations between nouns, but already belongs to the discourse layer, which I am about to discuss in the following section.

2.1.3 Definiteness and Syntactic Roles

In the typological-functional literature, the following implicational hierarchy is often employed to describe the parameter of definiteness: (among others: Croft 2003:132)

- definite < specific < non-specific

which predicts that non-specific referents are at least marked with many morphemes and/or grammatical parameters as specific referents and specific referents are at least marked with many morphemes and/or grammatical parameters as definite referents. For instance, in Turkish only definite nouns take accusative marking in the syntactic role of direct object, while non-definite nouns do not:

(21) Turkish (Comrie 1982:132, cited in Croft 2003:132)

- a. Hasan öküz-ü aldı
Hasan ox-ACC bought
'Hasan bought the ox.'
- b. Hasan öküz aldı
Hasan ox bought
'Hasan bought an ox.'

As explained by the rich literature on the differential object marking (DOM), other factors account for the accusative marking of a definite referent, including the animacy of the referent, as in the example from Turkish. I will discuss the animacy hierarchy in Sect.3.3.1.

For the sake of the present discussion, I will examine the following other parameters, which are found in the literature to be related to definiteness:

- anaphora;
- deixis;
- specificity.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, it is noteworthy that these parameters are coded in some languages with dedicated markers; for instance, a language may have a set of 'general' definite marker and a set of 'specific' definite markers.

The parameters of anaphoric and deictic reference, as well as of specificity, are correlated to the following semantic features of definiteness: (Lyons 1999:2-15)

- familiarity: the definite nominal has to be familiar to both speaker and hearer;
- identifiability: the definite nominal has to be identifiable by the hearer;
- uniqueness: the definite nominal has a single referent;
- inclusiveness: alternatively, the definite nominal refers to all the (contextually) possible referents.

The first feature presented above, familiarity, often involves anaphora, as the definite nominal may be subjected to anaphoric reference; according to Hawkins 1978, anaphoric reference constitutes one of the possible shared sets between the speaker and the hearer, along with immediate or larger situation.

A language showing a specific marker for definite anaphoric reference is Lakhota; a specialized article, *k'ŭ*, contrasts with the generic definite *k̥i*; compare example (22a) with example (22b). (Lyons 1999:53-54)

(22) Lakhota (Lyons 1999:54)

- a. He wicaśa k̥i ksape'.
that man the:DEF wise
That man is wise.
- b. He wicaśa k'ŭ ksape'.
that man the:DEF.ANAPH wise
That man (previously mentioned) is wise.

As for the second parameter, a correlation may be found between the parameter of identifiability and the parameter of deictic reference; in other words, identifiable nominals may be deictically referenced.

As with anaphoric reference, in some languages the determiner system shows a full realization of both parameters of deictic reference and definiteness. For instance, in Bella Coola both definite and indefinite determiners are marked for deictic reference; deictic reference is coded by prefixes, while definiteness by suffixes, which are omitted (zero-marking) for indefinite values. Compare *tsi-PROX.FM.SG-cnas:woman-o:INDF* 'a woman (proximal)', *lha-DIST.FM.SG-cnas:woman-o:INDF* 'a woman (distal)' vs. *tsi-PROX.FM.SG-cnas:woman-tsc:DEF.FM.SG* 'the woman (proximal)', *lha-DIST.FM.SG-cnas:woman-ilh:DEF.FM.SG*; note that a different definite marker is employed for proximal and distal markers. (Lyons 1999:56-57)

Finally, as for complex strategies of definiteness marking, Bella Coola again offers an example of a determiner system in which both simple determiners i.e., article and complex determiners i.e., demonstratives are marked for definiteness; see the table below, which is reproduced from Lyons 1999:57.

	female	non-female	plural
PROX DEF	tsi-N-tsc	ti-N-tc	wa-N-ts
PROX DEM	tsi-N-ts'ayc	ti-N-t'ayc	wa-N-ʔats
DIST DEF	lha-N-ʔilh	ta-N-tx	tu-N-txw
DIST DEM	lha-N-ʔilhaʔilh	ta-N-t'ax	tu-N-t'axw

I will now turn to the last parameter involved with definiteness, specificity; as earlier mentioned, definite markers are implicitly considered as specific, while indefinite marker as non-specific.

Counter-examples to this claim, which appears valid for many languages, are the determiner systems of some Malayo-Polynesian languages, such as Samoan, Maori and Mavea (Lyons 1999:57-60), which oppose specificity to non-specificity in both values of definiteness. For instance, Mavea shows the following determiner system: (Guérin 2007:541)

	SPEC	NSPEC
DEF	(le)	o
INDF	aite	te ... aite

in which each determiner realizes a different value of both definiteness and specificity; as in less exotic languages (see Sect.5.1.2 on Italian), indefiniteness markers can be either specific or non-specific; in example (23a), the old Tutuba man is mentioned for the first time (indefinite) but, as a speaker's fellow native of the island of Tutuba, is known to the speaker (specific); in example (23b), the marking of non-specificity and non-definiteness by *te ... aite* implies that the nominal represents "a prototypical representative of a notion/genius" (Guérin 2007:543). The same opposition of specificity is also found in definiteness markers; in example (23c), the determiner *le* marks the nominal *paura* 'tamanu tree' as both definite and specific; the tamanu tree has been introduced in the former sentence and is known both to the speaker and to the hearer. Finally, bare nominals are definite, but with a lesser degree of specificity than nominals marked by *le* (Guérin 2007:549-550); their definiteness can be due to world/common knowledge, as for the first presentation into the discourse of *paura* in example (23c) or to their identifiability, as in example (23d), where *pasura* is repeated in its bare form after it has been formerly introduced with the indefinite determiner *aite*; the lesser degree of specificity is accounted by Guérin as a matter of genericness: in examples (23c)-(23d), the bare nominals *paura* and *pasura* do not refer to a specific instantiation of the given tree or fruit.

(23) Mavea (Guérin 2007:542, 548-549)

- a. OK, me ro ka-var sur tamlesea ta-tuva aite.
OK FUT then 1SG.IRR-talk about elder man-Tutuba one:INDF.SPEC
Ok, I will talk about an old Tutuba man.
- b. Me ko-tar te aka du aite ro, ko-las
FUT 2SG-chop some:INDF.NSPEC canoe good one:INDF.NSPEC then 2SG-fasten
te aka du aite ro ko-sua.
some:INDF.NSPEC canoe good one:INDF.NSPEC then 2SG-paddle
You will hew a canoe, lash a canoe, then paddle.
- c. Ra-onta-i momos pere-n paura, paura aro mo-vä ro
3PL-look.after-TR good branch-3SG.POSS tamanu tamanu here 3SG-go then
ra-ontavse ra-v "paura le, paura aro mo-sopo Tevo."
3PL-know 3PLsau tamanu the:DEF.SPEC here 3SG-NEG Tevo
They observed the branch of the tamanu tree, then they understood and said, "The tamanu, this tamanu here, it is not from Tevo".
- d. Ra-r-la pasura aite ro ra-r-songo pasura.
3PL-DU-take papaya one:INDF.NSPEC then 3PL-DU-split papaya

They took a papaya, then split the papaya.

Syntactic role is the least relevant parameter for the lexical category of noun, but it is of the highest importance for the discourse function of reference, since it expresses, either through case marking, adpositions or ordering of constituents, the semantic role of nouns within the discourse. For instance, in the following example from Latin:

(24) Latin (Schachter and Shopen 2007:7)

Femin-a mal-um puell-ae dedit
woman-NOM.SG apple-ACC girl-DAT gave

‘The woman gave an apple to the girl’

the nominative case codes the semantic role of agent, the accusative case the semantic role of patient and the dative case the semantic role of recipient; in the following example from Japanese:

(25) Japanese (Schachter and Shopen 2007:7)

Onna ga shojo ni ringo o ataeta
woman SBJ girl DAT apple OBJ gave

‘The woman gave an apple to the girl’

the same semantic roles are marked by adpositions.

2.2 Adjectival parameters

As we have seen in Sect.1, adjectival categories share across languages a number of parameters with either nominal or verbal categories; however, even in languages with ‘nouny’ languages, adjectives share an essential semantic parameter with verbs. This is addressed by Croft 1991, 2001 as ‘relationality’ and implicitly contained in the definition provided by Hengeveld 1992 of adjectives as ‘syntactic predicates’ and by Beck 2002 as ‘semantic predicates’.

It seems, then, that adjectives are much closer to verbs, despite the claim that adjectives can also be ‘nouny’ (Bhat 1994, Wetzler 1996). I have referred before as valency as the grammatical parameter coding relationality; the other parameter that is present in every adjectival category is gradation, which exclusively characterizes property concepts and appears as degree markers in comparative and augmentative/diminutive/approximative constructions. The two parameters of valency and gradation then represent the most basic version of a list of adjectival parameters, which can be used as a comparative concept in order to compare language-specific adjectival categories and parameters. Each language adds to this comparative hierarchy other parameters. In a given language, a lexical category of adjective can be ‘verby’ or ‘nouny’ to the extent of how much its hierarchy of adjectival parameters

is filled with verbal or nominal parameters; inception of other parameters starts after valency, since this parameter cannot be overridden by other parameters.

In the next two sections I briefly discuss from a cross-linguistic perspective the two ‘essential’ parameters of valency and degree; moreover, I will discuss together with valency the non-essential parameter of agreement, as it represents the overt marking of valency,

2.2.1 Valency, Subject Agreement and Adjunct Coding(s)

Adjectives are generally monovalent, verbally behaving as intransitive predicates (Dixon 2004a:10) and showing as their single argument the possessor of property. A definition of the adjective single argument is provided by Haspelmath in his grammar of Lezgian: “[the] subject argument, i.e., the argument toward which they are oriented and which they modify”. (Haspelmath 1993:264)

The subject argument can be covertly marked, as in languages such as English, when the adjective does not agree with the modified noun: *black dog* vs. *black dogs* or overtly marked through the parameter of agreement, as in the following examples from Russian and Tariana:

- (26) a. Russian (Zemskaja (1973:233), cited in Corbett 2004:201)
- | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Kak-aja | interesn-aja | stat’j-a! |
| what-F.SG.NOM | interesting-F.SG.NOM | article.F-SG.NOM |
- ‘what an interesting article!’
- b. Russian (Zemskaja (1973:248), cited in Corbett 2004:200)
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Katja | ocen’ krasiv-aja |
| Katja.(F.SG.).NOM | very beautiful-F.SG.NOM |
- ‘Katia is very beautiful.’
- c. Tariana (Aikhenvald 2004:113)
- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| heku-na | matʃa-na |
| wood-CL.VERT | proper/good-CL.VERT |
- ‘a right, appropriate or good tree’

where adjectives agree for gender, number and case in both modificative (example 26a) and predicative function (example 26b: in Russian, the copula is normally not expressed in the present tense, Corbett 2004:200-201); in Tariana (Aikhenvald 2004:112-114), adjectives agree with the modified noun for number/animacy - the two parameters are intertwined - and/or class/classifier, as in example (26c).

Besides the subject argument, a number of property words may also display additional arguments, or ‘adjuncts’; in a study on Norwegian adjective argument structure, Haugen 2013 suggests to address adjectives with multiple valency as ‘polyvalent adjectives’. A distinction can be thus drawn between monovalent and polyvalent adjectives; moreover, a question in point is whether adjectival polyvalency depends on function for which a given property word is employed. This is for instance the position

taken by Haugen 2013:39-41 for Norwegian adjectives, claiming that there is a considerable variation of valency between modificative adjectives and predicative adjectives:

- (27) Norwegian (Haugen 2013:39-40)
- a. Mannen er redd ulven
 Man.DEF is afraid wolf.DEF.GEN.OBJ
 ‘The man is afraid of the wolf.’
 - b. *en redd ulven mann
 an afraid wolf.DEF.GEN.OBJ man

In example (27a), the adjective *redd* ‘afraid’ is employed predicatively, showing a multiple valency: the subject argument *manner* ‘man’ and the adjunct *ulven* ‘of the wolf’; when employed in the prenominal position (modification function), *redd* cannot take adjuncts, as shown in example (27b).

Adjective adjuncts receive their coding through different strategies, including cases, as in the above-cited example (27a) from Norwegian, where *ulv* is in the genitive case, or adpositions, as in English *He is afraid of the wolf*.

A semantic classification of adjuncts involved in adjectival valency has been proposed for English by Herbst 1983:64-172 (see also Haugen 2013:42-43 on ‘participant roles’ in Norwegian adjectival valency); semantic functions (German *semantische Funktionen*) are shown along with the corresponding English prepositions:

- recipient: *to, towards, with*;
- judge: *to*;
- beneficiary: *for, to*;
- experiencer: *on*;
- relator: *to, with*;
- norm: *to*;
- term of comparison: *in*;
- basis: *by*;
- potential influencer: *to*;
- potential recipient: *to, for*;
- purpose: *for*;

- resultative recipient: *to*;
- locative: *to*.

Semantic functions are shown in examples (28a-28m):

(28) English (Herbst 1983:74-91)

a. Recipient

He was grateful to her.

b. Judge

She is unpleasant to him.

c. Beneficiary

That was good for her.

d. Experiencer

The punishment was severe on her.

e. Relator

A sergeant is inferior to an inspector.

f. Norm

She is equal to the task.

g. Term of comparison

They are equal in rank.

h. Basis

They are related by marriage.

i. Potential influencer

He is open to suggestions.

j. Potential recipient

The college is open to visitors.

k. Purpose

The shop is open for the sale of newspapers.

l. Resultative recipient

Valency theory is familiar to many linguists.

m. Locative

She was new to university.

Furthermore, English adjectives can be constructed with infinitive clauses introduced by the preposition *to*, representing the following semantic functions: (Herbst 1983:98-145)

- predicate;
- purpose;
- factual activity;
- causer;
- specifier;
- expectation;
- goal;
- suggestion;
- capability.

and exemplified by sentences in (29a-29i).

(29) English (Herbst 1983:129-145)

a. Predicate

The language is difficult to learn

b. Purpose

The letters are ready to be posted.

c. Factual activity

She was bold to help the smugglers.

- d. Causer
She was happy to be able to go to Cornwall.
- e. Specifier
She is prompt to react.
- f. Expectation
It can be expected that she will pass the exam.
- g. Goal
He is keen to see the film.
- h. Suggestion
He is glad to help.
- i. Capability
The meat is fit to be eat.

Finally, adjectival adjuncts can be also represented by finite clauses introduced by *that* or *if*. (Herbst 1983:145-174) I will not discuss here these semantic functions, restricting myself to noun phrases and non-finite clauses.

Despite their name, Herbst's 'semantic' functions include a series of features which are better analyzed as syntactic and morpho-syntactic. First and foremost, these semantic functions encompass at least three different type of constructions, namely:

- adjective plus noun phrase;
- adjective plus non-finite clause;
- adjective plus finite clause.

Second, Herbst gives a number of criteria to distinguish semantic functions; as I will further show, these criteria either concern a specific property word meaning or involve morpho-syntactic parameters.

Starting from nominal adjuncts, the distinction between a 'recipient' and a 'judge' function is due to the different semantics of *grateful* and *unpleasant* (examples (28a) and (28b)); in a similar way, in examples (28i), (28j) and (28l), the 'potentiality' of 'influencer', 'recipient' and 'resultative' is triggered by the specific meaning of *open*; moreover, the semantic functions of 'relator', 'norm' and 'term of comparison' all involve the grammatical parameter of gradation (Sect. 2.2.2): examples (28e)-(28g).

Finally, according to Herbst 1983:89-90 and the English sentence given in example (28k), the purpose function often shows as its adjunct a nominalization, which is a structurally marked construction with an higher degree of sententiality (among others, cfr. Lehmann 2011:14-15); accordingly, this semantic function most likely involve clause-like adjuncts.

As for non-finite clausal adjuncts, according to Herbst 1983:130, the semantic function of factual activity depends on the stativity of infinitive verb: cfr. example (29c) with **She was bold to resemble her brother*, where the verb *resemble* is non-stative; the expectation function of example (29f) is constructed by the modal *can* as well as by the verb *expect*, while the capability function of example (29i) and the goal function of example (29g) are due to the individual meaning of property words and both can be considered as a purpose function, as in example (29b).

Moreover, as far as grammatical parameters are concerned in defining a semantic function, the factual activity function requires that clausal arguments are not passive infinitive and predicative adjectives have to be in the present tense. (Herbst 1983:130)

Once eliminated non-semantic parameters and individual meanings from Herbst 1983's semantic functions, it is possible to propose a slightly different semantic typology for adjectival adjuncts, which is organized into nominal and clausal adjuncts.

As for the nominal adjuncts, semantic functions are as follows:

- experiencer;
- beneficiary;
- recipient;
- basis;
- location;
- term of comparison.

while for non-finite clausal adjuncts, the following semantic functions are given:

- predicate;
- purpose;
- specifier.

2.2.2 Degree

Following the semantic characterization of concepts discussed in Sect.1, gradation appears to be an exclusive parameter of property concepts; accordingly, degree markers are taken as a diagnostics to identify adjectival categories through languages. (Dixon 2004a:11)

However, despite its centrality, in some languages the degree parameter can be partially or totally absent. Generally speaking, this is probably due to the fact that property words already categorize a property for its position on the scale of quantity and degree markers are only needed in order to modify such position (Croft 1990:254-255). Moreover, in other languages the degree parameter is shared with non-adjectival categories; in several cases it is possible to address non-property concepts in comparative constructions as cases of semantic shift, in which only a single concept feature is selected (Bhat 1994:25 and Sect.1); moreover, as mentioned in Sect.2.1.1, some nominal sub-categories, most notably, mass nouns, can be modified by degree markers.

In this work, I will distinguish four types of constructions for the parameter of degree; the first three constructions correspond to the three degrees that are traditionally assumed for the adjective: normal, comparative and superlative (Cuzzolin and Lehmann 2004:1212), while the fourth construction corresponds to the augmentative, diminutive, approximative³ degrees, which I collectively refer as the Augmentative-Diminutive-Approximative (ADA) degree.

The positive construction corresponds to the basic form of the adjective; as it commonly does not take special markers (but see cases of languages in which the adjectival category is lexically derived: cfr. Sect3.3.3), it is not commonly taken as a diagnostics for the adjectival category.

The occurrence of words in comparative constructions is taken as a parameter to distinguish an adjectival category from a nominal category; for instance, Bhat 1994:26 points out that in Kannada comparative constructions are restricted to adjectives, as in example (30a), while verbs and nouns can only compare in such constructions when they are modified by adverbs, such as *ja:sti* ‘much/more’ in examples (30b) and (30c).

(30) Kannada (Bhat 1994:26)

- a. idu adakk-inta doḍḍa mane
 this that:DAT-CMPR big house
 This is a bigger house than that one.
- b. avanu nanag-inta ja:sti o:d-idda:ne
 PRO.₃SG.MS PRO.₁SG:DAT-CMPR much read-has
 He has read much more than me.
- c. allig-inta ja:sti jana illi se:ridda:re
 there:DAT-CMPR more people here gathered
 More people have gathered here than at that place.

³I take this terminology from Aikhenvald’s description of the adjectival category in Tariana. (Aikhenvald 2004:105)

In other languages, the comparative construction is found with lexical items belonging to the nominal category, as in Sanskrit:

(31) Sanskrit (Bhat 1994):182

govinda:d ra:mo vidvat-tarah
Govinda-ABL Rama-NOM learned-CMPR

‘Rama is more learned than Govinda’

However, according to Bhat 1994:182, in example (31) only one property of the object is selected, configuring *vidvat* ‘learned’ as a property-like lexical item i.e., an example of semantic shift.

On the other hand, a few languages do not have a comparative construction, hence making impossible to use the comparative value of degree as a diagnostics for the adjectival category. Hayek 2004:353 reports that only one out of the eleven languages sampled in Dixon and Aikhenvald 2004, Jarawara, does not have a comparative construction.

An ADA construction is however reported for Jarawara; this is one of the diagnostics taken by Dixon 2004b in order to identify a small adjectival category:

(32) Jarawara

a. (Dixon 2004b):194

haaha bani howe mee ama-ke
this:F animal.M large.type AUGM be-DECL:F
‘these are animals of a large type’

b. (Dixon 2004b):196

aba mee kahi to-ha awine-ke
fish.M AUGM be.roasted:NOM AWAY-become:F SEEMS:F-DECL:F
‘It seems that there is roasted fish’

According to Dixon 2004b:193-194, the augmentative marker *mee* follows a property word (adjective), as in example (32a) but precedes an object word (noun), as in example (32b); when constructed with an adjective, *mee* intensifies the property, while constructed with a noun it serves as a quantifier.

Other examples of ADA degree markers as diagnostics are given by Beck 2002:166-168 for distinguishing predicative adjectives from predicative nouns; in Upper Necaxa Totonac, the augmentative marker *tunká* ‘very’ is employed for intensifying adjectives, as in example (33a); conversely, nouns in Upper Necaxa Totonac are not modifiable by *tunká*, as in example (33b).

(33) Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2002:167)

a. kit ša+s’álaš tunká šak+wan+ní:
PRO.1SG DET+intelligent AUGM PST:1SG+become+PFT
I was very intelligent.

- b. *šla ma:ʔeɬtawaʔe:ní tunká iš+o+wan+ní:
 he teacher AUGM PST+3SG+become+PFT
 He was very teacher.

As with comparative degree markers, in several languages ADA degree markers are the same for verbs and adjectives. (Bhat 1994:72-74) For example, in Kannada adjectives and verbs share the same augmentative *bahaḷa* ‘very, much’, as in examples (34a) and (34b).

(34) Kannada (Bhat 1994:73)

- a. adu bahaḷa doḍḍa mara
 it AUGM big tree
 It is a very big tree.
- b. avanu bahaḷa be:ga banda
 he AUGM quickly came
 He came very quickly.

The same is true for Upper Necaxa Totonac; however, the augmentative marker *tunká* ‘very’ of examples (33a-33b) is restricted to intransitive verbs designating states, which are very close to property concepts - as in examples (35a-35b).

(35) Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2002:167)

- a. ma:šanán tunká
 ashamed AUGM
 ‘He is really ashamed.’
- b. makata:ya:nán tunká
 stuck.full.of.spines AUGM
 ‘He is really stuck full of spines.’

In some languages, ADA degree markers can be shared between adjectives and nouns; for instance, in Tariana the diminutive markers =*tuki.DIM.SG*/=*tupe.DIM.PL* are employed with adjectives and nouns, albeit an allomorphic variant for the singular is sometimes employed with nouns, as in examples (36a) and (36c):

(36) Tariana (Aikhenvald 2004:114)

- a. tsū-ite=tiki
 small-NCL.ANIM=DIM.SG
 ‘teeny-weeny (one)’
- b. tsū-ita-peni=tupe
 small-NCL.ANIM=DIM.PL
 ‘teeny-weeny (ones)’

- c. inaru=tuki, inaru=tiki
 woman=DIM.SG woman=DIM.SG
 ‘little woman’
- d. i:na=tupe
 woman=DIM.PL
 ‘little women’

Finally, the superlative construction shall be distinguished from constructions involving the augmentative markers; some languages, such as English, use different strategies for the two constructions: *Zembo is the laziest.SUP of all the chimps at the zoo* vs. *a very.AUGM old tree* (Cuzzolin and Lehmann 2004:1213).

2.2.3 Types of property concepts

I have discussed in Sect.1 the characterization of property concepts as given by Croft 2001, which is based upon the four semantic features outlined in Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar; a more fine-grained distinction can be given according to the type of property that is denoted by the concept - and, ultimately - by the lexical item. According to Dixon 1982:36-60, 2004:3-4, the following four core semantic types of property concepts can be identified:

- DIMENSION: English *big, small, tall, long, ...*;
- AGE: English *new, young, old, ...*;
- VALUE: English *good, bad, fair, odd, ...*;
- COLOUR: English *black, white, red,*

Core properties, or DAVC (Dimension Age Value Color) properties, are predicted to be cross-linguistically coded as adjectives, thus displaying the grammatical parameters that I reviewed in the above sections, even in languages with small and closed adjectival categories. For instance, Dixon 1982:4 shows that the very small adjectival category of Igbo consists of four antonymic pairs belonging to each of the four semantic types of property concepts:

- DIMENSION: Igbo *úkwu* ‘large’, *ńtá* ‘small’;
- AGE: Igbo *óburú* ‘new’, *ócyè* ‘old’;
- VALUE: Igbo *óma* ‘good,’ *ójó* ‘bad’;
- COLOUR: Igbo *ojii* ‘black, dark’, *óça* ‘white, light’.

Furthermore, languages with medium or large adjectival categories include the following three semantic types:

- PHYSICAL PROPERTY: English *hard, soft, heavy, wet, ...* and ‘corporeal properties’ such as *well, sick, alive, dead, ...*;
- HUMAN PROPENSITY: English *jealous, happy, cruel, proud, ...*;
- SPEED: English *fast, quick, slow, ...*

When not coded as adjectives, properties of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY type are generally coded as lexical items belonging to a verbal category, while properties of the HUMAN PROPENSITY type can be either verbs or nouns (Dixon 2004a:4); for instance, Japanese is traditionally recognized as having two adjectival categories: Inflected Adjectives (Adjective construction), which behave as intransitive predicates and show (reduced) verbal parameters such as tense and mood inflections (Backhouse 2004:51-53) and non-Inflected Adjectives (Nominal Adjective construction), displaying a nominal behavior such as the attributive (adnominal) marker *na* and the predicative (copula) marker *da* (Backhouse 2004:59).⁴ According to Backhouse 2004:69, concepts of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY type are mainly coded in Japanese by Inflected Adjectives, which is also the preferred way of coding basic DAVC properties, while concepts of the HUMAN PROPENSITY type have lexical items belonging to both Inflected and non-Inflected Adjectives.

Finally, languages with very large adjectival categories may also include the following six semantic types:

- DIFFICULTY: English *easy, difficult, hard, simple*;
- SIMILARITY: English *like, strange, other*;
- QUALIFICATION: English *definite, true, possible*;
- QUANTIFICATION: English *all, many, few*;
- POSITION: English *near, northern, right*;
- CARDINAL AND ORDINAL NUMBERS: *one, first, last*.

The lexicon of natural languages is not entirely governed by semantics and adjectival categories make no exceptions here. Several facts may influence how a language code property concepts; for instance, lexical items created by the means of derivational processes i.e., marked adjectives are often

⁴Cases of lexical items showing multiple membership of lexical categories are however attested with a certain frequency (Backhouse 2004:63-65); see Sect.3.3.2 for the discussion of a semantic map representing Japanese Nominal, Nominal Adjectives and Adjective constructions, as proposed by Croft 2001:95.

peripheral items in the adjectival category, lacking a number of adjectival parameters; for instance, Italian Relational Adjectives cannot be usually graded nor predicated: *?Il composto è molto chimico* ‘The compound is very chemical’. Another case in point is represented by loans; according to Backhouse 2004:51, recent property words borrowed from English into Japanese belong to non-Inflected Adjectives.

Another important aspect concerns the polysemy of property words; due to its usage over time and across different language varieties, a property word may have acquired additional meanings, eventually belonging to different semantic types. Earlier I have mentioned that word polysemy can be displayed through multidimensional representations; before going into further details in Sect.3.3.2, I propose here to distinguish between the central meaning(s) and the extended meaning(s) of a lexical item. Semantic extensions such as metaphors and metonymy account for the connections between the central meaning(s) and the extended meaning(s), as it is proposed for instance by Jurafsky 1996 to model the semantics of diminutive. For instance, some concepts of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY are coded in English adjectives with a HUMAN PROPENSITY semantic type as well, as in *a bitter story* or *an hard woman*.

Chapter 3

Nominalizations

The term ‘nominalization’ is commonly employed in the literature to address all phenomena instantiating a reference. From a European perspective, scholars often think of nominalization as a change in the category membership of a lexical item (trans-categorial operation: Malchukov 2004), moving the lexical item into a nominal category; moreover, a certain degree of lexicalization is generally assumed in the change of membership category, configuring nominalization as a derivational process.

In the following sections, I will discuss how the term nominalization is in fact a broader term employed to address a number of phenomena, ranging from attributing a reference function to concepts, to non-reference functions, such as modification marking.

3.1 Lexical nominalization and grammatical nominalization

According to Genetti 2011:164-166, the following two types of nominalization can be recognized with respect to the domain of application and the outcome of nominalization:

- derivational/lexical nominalization: it applies on lexical, non-nominal items (non-nouns) and results in new, derived lexical, nominal items (nouns);
- clausal/grammatical nominalization: it applies on syntactic clauses and results in noun phrases.

A third type of nominalization, action nominalization, is defined as an hybrid between the first two types; as in derivational/lexical nominalization, action nominalization derives a noun serving as the syntactic head of a NP; as in clausal/grammatical nominalization, it can apply on syntactic predicates along with argument and adjuncts.

Here are some examples:

- (37) a. Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007: 237, cited in Genetti 2011:165)
- mùŋsən-əɿ tə-khəlem-pàʔ
Mongsen-POSS NMLZ-worship-NMLZ

‘Mongsen person’s manner of worship’.

- b. Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007: 237, cited in Genetti 2011:165)

tsə̀hɲi ku hwaŋ-əkə mən-pà? i au-ə̀-ù?
sun LOC roast-SIM sit-NMLZ PROX be.good-PRES-DEC

‘This sitting (and) bathing in the sun is good’.

- c. Chamorro (Topping 1973:221, cited in Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013)

i ginimen Juan ni tuba
DEF.ART drink.NMLZ Juan OBL tuba

‘Juan’s drinking of the tuba’.

In example (37a) from Mongsen Ao, the lexical item *khəlem* is nominalized by the circumfix *tə...pà*, resulting in a derived noun showing nominal parameters, such as the possessive construction; in example (37b), again from Mongsen Ao, the suffix *-pà* nominalizes the entire clause headed by the verb *mən*, which serves as the subject argument of the predicative adjective *au* ‘be.good’. Finally, in example (37c), the action nominal *ginimen* ‘drinking’ is derived along with the subject argument *Juan* and the object argument *tuba* ‘a traditional drink’.

According to this distinction, the first two types of nominalization work in a single component of grammar: derivational/lexical nominalization in derivational morphology/lexicon and clausal/grammatical nominalization in syntax. The third type instead works first in syntax and then in derivational morphology; moreover, the third type presupposes, as in transformationalist approaches to nominalization, an underlying clause which is then ‘transformed’ into a lexical item.

As I have discussed in the previous section, I prefer to not assume a componential perspective on grammar and opting for a constructional perspective, in which components of grammar are simultaneously intertwined in constructions; moreover, I assume that the speaker’s knowledge of a language is made up of a grammar resting on constructions and of a full-entry mental lexicon, in which a certain number of constructions, most notably for my purpose: lexical items and grammatical/lexical categories, are stored. (among many others, see Baayen 2007) The third and final element that I assume is represented by the discourse, in which the speaker exerts her knowledge of a language.

In this perspective, I suggest to reorganize the three types of nominalization into two types of nominalization, which I describe as follows:

- lexical nominalization: it switches the language-specific, unmarked function of concepts to the reference function. The resulting construction gets a more or less stable entry in the lexicon and enters in a lexical category;
- grammatical nominalization: it attributes to constructions a reference function as well as other non-reference functions, such as relativization and pragmatic marking (see further). The resulting construction is employed for the purpose of the current discourse i.e., it is not stored in the lexicon and does not enter in a lexical category.

As for the first type of nominalization, no previous membership in a given lexical category is assumed here and ‘nominalization’ signifies that a concept which is normally coded in a language as something different from a noun, say, a verb or an adjective, is constructed as a noun; note that I have chosen ‘lexical’ between the two previous terms in order to stress out that lexical nominalizations make contribution to the lexicon, while grammatical nominalizations do not; the other term, ‘derivation’, can be misleading, since not every lexical nominalization construction employs a derivational strategy. As for the second type of nominalization, this type of construction applies to constructions; in other words, grammatical nominalization is a construction of a construction. I find the previous term ‘clausal’ ambiguous, since nominalizations of the first type may apply to clauses as well - think of complex words such as English *forget-me-not* or Italian *menefreghista* ‘uncaring (person)’ ← *me ne frego* ‘I do not care’; moreover, I advance here that grammatical nominalization can apply to other constructions, in addition to clausal constructions (see further).

What about action nominalization? In my perspective, the third type of nominalization can be either a lexical nominalization that is able to show the parameter of argument and adjunct coding or a grammatical nominalization, in which the argument coding is the norm.

A similar perspective on nominalization is taken by Malchukov 2004, 2006, which describes the cross- and inter- linguistic variety of nominalization as the competition between a lexical function and a pragmatic function. As Malchukov 2006:974-975 points out, this perspective is compatible with the Radical Construction Grammar theory, which takes semantic classes and propositional acts as the two main motivations for parts of speech. Accordingly, lexical nominalization and grammatical nominalization may be better described as ‘semantic’ and ‘discourse’ nominalization, but I refrain from adding other terms here.

We have seen in Sect.1 that linguists researching parts-of-speech systems treat grammatical nominalizations as evidences of languages with property concepts as unmarked nouns; in other words, these linguists have recognized examples as (4b) from Quechua and (5a)-(5b) from Upper Necaxa Totonac as *bona fide* nouns, that is, property concepts with a nominal entry in the lexicon. As argued above, this is incorrect, since grammatical nominalizations do not make contribution to a language’s lexicon.

In discussing ‘noun phrases (NP) with only modifying words’, Dryer 2007 does not explicitly address these constructions as ‘grammatical nominalizations’, but his arguments against treating them as lexical items are similar to the ones discussed above. For instance, he writes that:

It is important to distinguish cases like these where the construction is possible for any adjective from phenomena like English the poor, which is possible only with certain adjectival words (cf. *the wide) and has a different range of meanings from that found with adjectives modifying nouns; note that one cannot use the poor in (147a), but must say the poor one, as in (147b).

(147)

- a. *All of the students in the class were very good except for one, and the poor was failing
- b. All of the students in the class were very good except for one, and the poor one was failing

Furthermore, the poor in English is grammatically plural (The poor are forgotten, *The poor is forgotten). It is probably best to treat English poor as a word that is sometimes an adjective and sometimes a noun, with distinct meanings.

(Dryer 2007:194-195)

As we can see from the quoted example, constructions of the first type have an anaphoric/deictic function, making reference to someone/something which was previously mentioned or can be deictically identified. (see also Sect.5.1.1 for examples from my Italian data) Finally, the semantic criterion i.e., ‘has a different range of meanings’ is very similar to the semantic shift advocated by Croft against Hengeveld’s flexible languages, as seen in Sect.1.1.1.

This also extends to ‘NP with only modifying words’ showing an overt marking strategy, as in the first example discussed in Dryer’s passage quoted above; we have seen in Sect.1 the example (7) from Hausa, which I repeat here for the sake of convenience:

(38) Hausa (Kraft & Kraft 1973, cited in Beck 2002:182)

nawà ne: màì àràha:
how.much COP MDF inexpensiveness

‘How much is the cheap one?’

In example (38), the *màì* marker is used for a grammatical nominalization, since the Hausa Quality Noun *àràha:* has a deictic reference.

Another example comes from Koyra Chiini, where adjectives employed as the head of a noun phrase show an additional, ‘absolute’ prefix, which is not used with nouns (example 39). (Dryer 2007:196)

(39) Koyra Chiini (Heath 1999, cited in Dryer 2007:196)

i-jeeno di
ABSOL-old DEF

‘The old one’.

More examples of grammatical nominalizations are found in map no. 61 of the World Atlas of Language Structure (WALS) (‘Adjectives without nouns’: Gil 2013), which collects 124 languages. Here are some examples: ¹

¹I would like to thank the LingTyp mailing list for discussing this point with me.

(40) (All examples are from Gil 2013)

a. English

I want the red one.

b. Semelai

Jon yɛ mə=raʔ-thəy.
give 1SG REL=CMPR-big
'Give me the big one.'

c. Kolyma Yukaghir

Pojne-j-ben lew-din erd'-ije.
white-PTCP-NMLZ eat-INF want-1SG.INTR
'I want to eat the white one.'

d. Iraqw

Ar ʊr a hláa.
NMLZ.F.SG big OBJ.FOC want.1SG
'I want the big one.'

e. Mandarin

Wǒ yào hóng de.
1SG want red NMLZ
'I want the red one.'

f. Eastern Kayah Li

Vɛ̃ sɿju ʔa-bɛ̃ tə-plɔ.
1SG want NMLZ-yellow one-CLF
'I want the yellow one.'

Example (40a) from English employs *one* to mark the adjective *red* as the head of a NP². A similar construction exists in other European languages as well, for instance, Spanish *el blanco* 'the white one (masculine)' (Dryer 2007:194). A dummy word is also employed in the example from Iraqw, in which *ar*, a construct state marker, appears before the adjective and agrees for gender and number with the referred object, which grammatically corresponds to the adjective's subject (see Sect.2.2.1).

In addition to 'dummy' words such as the English *one* and the Iraqw *ar*, marking strategies for 'NP with only modifying words' constructions include affixes, particles, classifiers, determiners (as in the Spanish example above) and different combinations of these markers. Examples from Semelai (40b) and Kolyma Yukaghir (40c) employ affixes as markers; it is worth to note that Semelai property words appear in their comparative degree and Kolyma Yukaghir property words are inflected as past participle verbs, thus showing adjectival and verbal parameters, respectively.

²In some languages, it can be speculated that adjectives in this construction are predicative adjectives in a zero-copula construction. See Sect.5.1.1 for examples from Italian.

The Mandarin particle *de* is a polyfunctional marker, coding for modification function a property concept and serving as a nominalization marker, as in example (40e). Finally, in Eastern Kahay Li, the nominalization is marked by a nominalizing prefix followed by the word for ‘one’ and a classifier, as in example (40f).

As I will argue in the next section, the grammatical parameters shown by the nominalization across different distributions i.e., its distributional potential may help to distinguish between a lexical and a grammatical nominalization; a similar position is taken in the above Dryer’s quotation, in which one of the criteria assumed to distinguish *the poor* i.e., “a word that is sometimes an adjective and sometimes a noun” (Dryer 2007:195) from *the poor one* is the nominal parameter of number: in English the word *poor* in *The poor are forgotten* is grammatically plural, showing its belonging to the lexical category of English Nouns. (Dryer 2007:194)

3.2 Grammatical parameters

In this section, I discuss how the distributional potential has been employed in the literature to describe typologies of nominalization that are based on acquisition, loss or retention of grammatical categories such as ‘valency’ or ‘aspect’ for verbs or ‘gender’ and ‘number’ for nouns. Since ‘grammatical category’ is a broad term which also includes lexical category, I prefer to use here the more specific term ‘grammatical parameter’.

In Sect.3.2.1 I discuss the parameter of argument coding, on which Koptjevskaja-Tamm’s typology of action nominalization is based, while in Sect.3.2.2 I present a type of deictic relation that is found with some property nominalizations and has been recently investigated by linguists working within the Distributed Morphology framework.³ Finally, in Sect.3.2.3 I examine the typology of action nominalization proposed in Malchukov 2004, 2006, on which I further elaborate a typology of Italian property nominalizations.

3.2.1 Coding of argument structure

Koptjevskaja-Tamm’s typology of action nominalization (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013) is based on the retention of the verbal parameter of agreement - especially, subject and object agreement, as opposed to the coding of argument structure by the means of the same marker(s) coding a possessive construction. The former type of argument structure coding is called ‘sentential type’, while the latter ‘nominal type’.

In the ‘sentential type’, all arguments of an action nominalization are coded as in verbal clauses; in example (41) from Godoberi, the action nominalization retains the verbal coding of the ergative subject (A), *aHmadi-di*, of the absolutive object (P), *rec’i* and of the dative recipient, *maHamadi-li*.

³Halle & Marantz’s Distributed Morphology is a formal and generative type of morphology. I will not deal here with this theory.

(41) Godoberi (Kazenin 1996, cited in Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013:5)

aHmadi-di maHamadi-li rec'i ik-ir
 Ahmad-ERG Mahamad-DAT bread.ABS give-NMLZ
 Ahmad's giving bread to Mahamad.

The 'nominal type' is further articulated into the following types:

- 'double-possessive construction type': all major arguments are coded by possessive NPs;
- 'ergative-possessive construction type': the transitive subject (A) receives an ergative marking and the direct object/the intransitive subject (S/P) is coded as a possessive NP;
- 'possessive-accusative construction type': the transitive/intransitive subject (A/S) is coded by a possessive NP, while the direct object (P) is coded as in verbal clauses.

As for the 'double-possessive construction type', in example (42a) from *Tukang Besi*, both transitive subject (A), *nu La Petrus* and direct object (P), *nu boku* are marked by a possessive NP; as for the 'ergative-possessive construction type', in example (42b) from Russian, the transitive subject (A) is marked by the instrumental case (akin to ergative) and the direct object is marked by a possessive marker, the genitive case; finally, example (42c) from *Meadow Mari* demonstrates the 'possessive-accusative construction type', in which the transitive subject is marked by the genitive case, while the direct object is marked by the accusative case as in verbal clauses.

(42) a. *Tukang Besi* (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013:5)

te basa-'a nu La Petrus nu boku
 CORE read-NMLZ POSS.SBJ PROP.M Peter POSS.OBJ book
 'Peter's reading of the book.'

b. Russian (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013:5)

ispoln-enij-e sonat-y pianist-om
 perform-NMLZ-NOM sonata-GEN.OBJ pianist-INS.SBJ
 'the performance of the sonata by the pianist'

c. *Meadow Mari* (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013:5)

moj-oñ pis'ma-m voz-oñ-em
 I-GEN.SBJ letter-ACC.OBJ write-NMLZ-1SG.POSS.SBJ
 'my writing of the letter'

The four types describes a continuum, in which the double-possessive type represents the most nominal construction and the sentential type the most verbal construction; with respect to the other two types, the ergative-possessive type is less nominal than the double-possessive but more nominal than the accusative-possessive type.

Different types of argument coding can be attested in a single language; for instance, according to Gaeta 2015:1210, Romance languages have a preference for the nominal type construction, but they can also employ the sentential type construction.

As I will discuss in Sect.3.2.3, the contrast between the nominal and sentential coding of arguments is a diagnostic parameter for different degrees of nominalization; in both Mackenzie's and Malchukov's typologies of nominalization, the possessive parameter, which is a nominal parameter, is contrasted to the 'subject/object agreement' parameter, which is a verbal parameter. If the nominalization shows a nominal coding of arguments, it has acquired the possessive parameter, becoming more similar to a noun (re-categorization: substantivization); on the contrary, if the nominalization shows a sentential coding of arguments, it has retained its subject/object agreement and then it is still more similar to a verb (no de-categorization: no de-verbalization). In other words, in Mackenzie's and Malchukov's perspective, the possessive parameter and the subject/agreement parameter are two aspects or values of the same parameter; this is consistent to one of the FG's tenets, that is, the structure of the noun phrase parallels the structure of the clause, as for instance outlined in Rijkhoff 2002:223-224.

It could be that the semantic parameter of relationality discussed in Sect.1 has two grammatical counterparts: the nominal possessive, which is not compulsory, and the argument structure, but discussing this topic is probably a book in itself; I only make the point here that the term 'possessive' applied to argument coding is misleading, as the formal strategy marking the two construction can be identical - and, sometimes, it is not, as in the ergative-possessive and accusative-possessive types - but the function is different.

As discussed in Sect.2.1.2, the possessive function - as well as other noun-noun relations - establishes a deictic relation between nouns, while the argument coding describes - as the name implies - an argument-predicate relation, in which a noun phrase codes one of the arguments. In order to characterize a construction coding an argument-predicate relation I introduce the term 'argument coding', which parallels the predication function in property and action nominalizations.

In addition to action and property nominalizations, the argument coding characterizes a sub-set of lexical items belonging to the nominal category, corresponding to what logicians address as 'second order entities', i.e. temporal entities: *the wedding of Federica is today* and 'third order entities' "i.e., a propositional content, which is true or false, and which can be asserted or denied, remembered or forgotten" (Rijkhoff 2002:19): *the opinion of Renzo is wrong*.

To the best of my knowledge, the coding of argument structure in property nominalization is poorly investigated; in languages such as English, the coding of argument structure is formally marked as a possessive relation, as in *No doubts John's sincerity* leading to a potential ambiguity on the syntactic role of John: possessor or subject argument?, as well as on the semantics of the property nominalization. I will come back to this point in Sect.3.3.1.

3.2.2 The meronymic relation

The meronymic relation characterizes a type of property nominalization that has been so far described for some Western Indo-European languages, such as Spanish (Villalba 2009), Serbo-Croatian (Arsenijevic 2011), German, Modern Greek and Romanian (Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014).

In this construction, a zero-marked property nominalization acts as the part in a part-whole relation, in which the whole is introduced by a partitive marker (PTV) and marked by specific cases, as in Modern Greek, example (43b), and in Serbo-Croatian, example (43c).

(43) a. Spanish (Villalba 2009:140)

Lo interesante-o del libro es el primer capítulo.
the.DEF interesting-NMLZ.M.SG of_the.PTV book is the first chapter
‘The interesting part of the book is the first chapter.’

b. Modern Greek (Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014:68)

To hideo-o me tin katastasi.
the.DEF vulgar-NMLZ.N.SG with.PTV the.ACC.F.SG situation.ACC.F.SG
‘The vulgar (part) of the situation.’

c. Serbo-Croatian (Arsenijevic 2011:66)

Iskreno-o u čoveku.
honest.NMLZ.N.SG in.PTV human
‘The honest aspects of a/the human.’

d. German (Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014:74)

Das Blödere-o / Blödste-o an der Sache
the.DEF stupid-NMLZ.CMPR / stupid-NMLZ.SUP of.PTV the thing
‘The more stupid/most stupid part of the thing’.

Formal strategies marking this type of relation may vary from language to language, but the type of argument structure shown in the nominalization is the same i.e., a whole to which the nominalized property is part of.

Moreover, note that the distributional potential of property nominalization involved in a meronymic relation slightly varies from languages to languages; for instance, the German property nominalization may accept degree markers, while other languages cannot. On the other hand, a constant value in this type of construction is the mass nominal aspect of property nominalization.

3.2.3 Hierarchies of verbal and nominal parameters

If Koptjevskaja-Tamm’s typology focuses on a single parameter, Malchukov’s typology of nominalization (Malchukov 2004, 2006) is broader in its scope, considering several parameters belonging to two hierarchies of verbal and nominal parameters; in Sect.2.1, I have presented a modified version of

the hierarchy of nominal parameters, which I report here in its original form, along with the hierarchy of verbal parameters:

Hierarchy of Verbal Categories

Valency (VAL) > Aspect (ASP) > Tense (TE) > Mood > Subject Agreement (AGR-S) > Illocutionary Force (IF)

Hierarchy of Nominal Categories

Noun classifier (CL) > Number (NB) > Possessive (POS) > Determiner (DET) > Case
(Malchukov 2006:978-979)

Malchukov employs the two hierarchies in order to analyze what he addresses as ‘trans-categorical operations’; according to Malchukov 2006:974, the term ‘nominalization’ conflates two trans-categorical operations: substantivization and de-verbalization; the first operation describe the acquirement of nominal parameters from a verbal item (re-categorization: Bhat 1994), while the second operation the loss of verbal parameters (de-categorization: Hopper and Thompson 1984). In order to account for lexical items losing parameters of their own category and acquiring parameters of another category, Malchukov postulates the existence of two competing motivations acting on lexical items: a ‘lexical’ motivation, which assigns to lexical items parameters according to their semantic class of belonging (objects, actions, properties) and a ‘functional’ motivation, which assigns to lexical items parameters according to their corresponding discourse function (reference, predication, modification). Lexical motivation then works as a ‘conservative’ force, maintaining parameters of the lexical category of belonging and avoiding de-categorization, while functional motivation as an ‘innovative’ force, favouring the losing of original parameters and pursuing re-categorization through the acquirement of new parameters. (Malchukov 2006:975-981)

Depending on which motivation applies, two sub-hierarchies are described for each hierarchy, for a total of four sub-hierarchies; hierarchies given above - indeed, sub-hierarchies - are oriented for the lexical motivation, while the functional motivation works the hierarchies in the reverse ordering; when the sub-hierarchy is oriented from the left to the right, innermost parameters are of the highest relevance to the semantic/lexical class, while when the sub-hierarchy is oriented from right to the left, innermost parameters are of the highest relevance to the discourse function:⁴

Deverbalization

Functional motivation: *IF » *AGR-S » *Mood » *Tense » *Aspect » *Voice »
*Valency Lexical motivation: *-Valency » *-Voice » *-Aspect » *-Tense » *-Mood »
*-AGR-S » *-IF

⁴In the remaining of this section, I follow Malchukov’s convention in representing sub-hierarchies: (i) functionally-motivated sub-hierarchies are given first, (ii) the ‘»’ sign indicates sub-hierarchy orientation, (iii) the ‘-’ sign indicates a parameter loss.

Substantivization

Functional motivation: *-Case » *-Det » *-Pos » *-Nb » *-CL Lexical motivation:

*CL » *Nb » *Pos » *Det » *Case

(Malchukov 2006:981-984)

Sub-hierarchies predict that outermost parameters are more readily acquired or lost in nominalization processes. Motivations are formalized by Malchukov 2006 as Optimality Theory constraints: FUNCFAITH for discourse motivation and LEXFAITH for lexical motivation. For each of the process of de-verbalization and substantivization, the outcome of conflicts between the two constraints is given by the interpolation of the two sub-hierarchies; in the example below, FUNCFAITH outranks LEXFAITH for the subject agreement parameter:

Deverbalization

*IF » *AGR-S » LexFaith » *Mood » *Tense » *Aspect » *Voice » *Valency

Not only the subject agreement parameter is lost, but the illocutionary force as well, while LexFaith prevents the other parameters from being lost. Instances of this de-verbalization process are for examples attested in Even:

(44) Even (Malchukov 2006:987)

D'ajučin' min-u med-uke-t-če-vu-n d'oŋčiram
secretly I-ACC learn-CAUS-IPFV-PERF.PTV-ACC-3SG remember.AOR.3SG

'I remember her warning me secretly.'

where the verb *med* 'to learn' retains tense, aspect, voice and valency parameters but not the subject agreement parameter.

As for substantivization, in the example below FUNCFAITH outranks LEXFAITH for the Determiner parameter:

Substantivization

*-Case » LexFaith » *-Det » *-Pos » *-Nb » *-CL

In this case, only the parameter of case is acquired during substantivization; LEXFAITH prevents the nominalized verb to acquire further nominal parameters, such as the possibility of taking possessors and changing number and classifier. This type of substantivization process is for instance attested in Mangarayi:

(45) Mangarayi (Merlan 1982:21, cited in Malchukov 2006:990)

Ya-ø-yaŋ-gu-wana wa-ŋa-ŋaya-wu
SUB-3SG-go-INT-ABL IRR-1SG->3SG-cook-INT

'After he goes, I want to cook it.'

where a grammatical nominalization applies to the verb *yan*, which retains all verbal parameters and gets only the ablative case.

Along with the competition between lexical and discourse functions, Malchukov's model includes other two functional motivations, again in competition between each other: iconicity and economy.

As for the first functional motivation, hierarchies of grammatical parameters can be iconically motivated, since they reproduce the layered and parallel structure of noun phrases and verbal clauses, as argued in the FG framework (Malchukov 2006:1000); moreover, iconicity also influences structural factors, such as the affix ordering in complex words and the constituent ordering in phrases or clauses; the more a morpheme or a lexical expression is semantically inherent, the more it will be formally closer to the lexical root or head. (cfr. Bybee 1985 and Sect.2 on structural organization of inflected verbs) Accordingly, in trans-categorial operations external affixes are lost prior than internal affixes (Malchukov 2006:995), a motivation that it has also been described for derivational affix combinations (among others: Hay 2002).

The functional motivation of iconicity is invoked by Malchukov to justify violations of hierarchies. For instance, in Limbu nominalized forms lose aspect prior to tense, a violation of the hierarchy of verbal parameters, as in example (46b):

- (46) Limbu (all examples from van Driem 1987, cited in Malchukov 2006:994)

- a. Finite clause (van Driem 1987:90)

Ke-ips-e-tchi-ba-i
2-sleep-PRET-DU.ABS-IPF-Q
'Have you been sleeping?'

- b. Grammatical nominalization (van Driem 1987:196)

thun-e-tch-u-ge-be-n th i
drink-PRET-DU-3P-EXCL-NMLZ-ABS beer
'beer that we drank'

However, as shown in example (46a), the verbal clause displays a non-iconic suffix ordering i.e., the aspect - and mood, which is also lost in nominalized forms - marker is more external than the tense marker; the hierarchy of verbal parameters is then violated in order to iconically maintain the ordering of suffixes as found in verbal clauses. (Malchukov 2006:994)

As for economy, this motivation does not play the same, important role played in complex sentences that has been unveiled in studies on subordination; according to the ‘principle of information recoverability’ (Cristofaro 2003), aspectual, tense and modal parameters may not be expressed on the subordinate clauses, since these parameters are recoverable from the matrix clause. However, Malchukov 2006:1001 argues, this principle, which is an expression of the more general motivation of

economy, influences nominalization to a lesser degree; since nominalization is essentially a substantivization process, which does not depend on the matrix clause parameters.

This is certainly true for lexical nominalization, but not for grammatical nominalization, which may serve as a subordinating device, as earlier mentioned; I will not come back on this thorny issue, which is clearly beyond the scope of the present work; I can only speculate here that in languages coding property concepts as verbs, the grammatical nominalization of property concepts may be influenced by the verbal parameters of the matrix clause.

3.3 Semantics and Functions

As I have discussed in the previous section, nominalization functions account for a differentiation between lexical and grammatical nominalization, the former making contribution to the lexicon with nominal items and the latter instantiating dependent clauses in the discourse. In this section I will deal with some issues concerning the semantics and functions of nominalization: semantic types and lexical categories, different representations of multifunctionality of nominalization constructions and relations between lexical and grammatical nominalizations.

3.3.1 Semantic Types and Grammatical Categories

In Comrie and Thompson 2007:334 we found the following distinction for the semantics of nominalization:

- name of activity/state;
- name of argument.

The distinction is based on what is semantically referenced by the nominalization; nouns belonging to the first type instantiate a reference to the action or property expressed by the nominalized concept, while nouns in the second type to one of the arguments involved in the action or property. As the name implies, the terms ‘name of activity’ and ‘state’ refer to nominalized action concepts; since these terms encompass nominalized property concepts as well, a better distinction is probably between non-argument and argument nominalizations.⁵

Moreover, Comrie & Thompson refer to these two semantic types as ‘lexical nominalization’; however, the two types can be also applied to ‘grammatical nominalization’. For instance, we can state that example (47a) from Mongsen Ao and example (47b) from English, which I repeat here for the sake of convenience, are non-argument and argument grammatical nominalizations, respectively:

- (47) a. Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007: 237, cited in Genetti 2011:165)

⁵I own to Caterina Mauri this terminology distinction.

tsə̀hŋi ku hwaŋ-əkə mən-pà? i aɯ-əɻ-ù?
 sun LOC roast-SIM sit-NMLZ PROX be.good-PRES-DEC
 ‘This sitting (and) bathing in the sun is good’.

b. English

I want the red one.

In the remainder of this section, I will focus on the semantics of nominalization of the lexical type; several sub-types have been traditionally used, especially in word-formation related studies, further articulating the two major semantic types of non-argument and argument:

- non-argument: action, state, result, quality, ...noun;
- argument: agent, instrument, patient, locative, collective, ...nouns.

As we can see, type labels reflect the semantic properties of the nominalizations, focusing on internal features such as transitoriness (action vs. state nouns) or the semantic roles played by argument (agent vs. patient noun, instrument vs. locative noun); in other cases, the type label signals the external semantics of nominalization, for instance designating the result of the nominalized action/property (result noun) or stating that the noun refers to a collectivity of items sharing a common property or performing the same action (collective noun).

The exact definition of a universal conceptual space for nominalization i.e., of a series of comparative concepts that can be employed in cross-linguistic analysis is still a *desideratum*; in the second part I will try to show that formal strategies and distributional potential of different patterns of property nominalization in Italian may be accounted on semantic grounds; I address these types of nominalization as ‘lexical categories of nominalization’, in order to stress their similarity with other major lexical categories such as noun, adjective and verb.

At least one universal distinction can be claimed here i.e., the distinction between non-argument and argument lexical categories of property nominalization. A positive parameter of valency in a property nominalization describes the non-argument category, while a negative value the argument category.

Note, however, that this criterion is only watertight when the argument coding of property nominalization is formally different from the coding of noun-noun deictic relation; as I have discussed in Sect.3.2.1, languages such as English neutralize the distinction between argument coding and possessive relation, eventually leading to the ambiguity between the non-argument and the argument reading of property nominalization.

According to Reichl 1982:221, the property nominalization in example (48a) represents a ‘general quality’, while the property nominalization in example (48b) “rather denotes something of the fact-like or propositional order and where the case for supplying a transformational history which includes the propositional clause ‘John is sincere’ seems very strong”.

(48) English (Reichl 1982:221)

a. Sincerity is dangerous.

b. No one doubts John's sincerity.

As mentioned above, I do not assume here any propositional clause underlying a nominalization; however, the transformationalist claim put forward by Reichl contains a correct insight: a fact-like property nominalization like *John's sincerity* is functionally similar to the *that John is sincere* clause.

The general quality is expressed by a non-argument nominalization, which however does not overtly express its argument coding; according to the quoted passage by Reichl, we can describe property nominalization of the type exemplified in (48a) as a 'quality nominalization' and property nominalization of the type given in (48b) as a 'fact-like nominalization'.

Fact-like property nominalizations also belong to the non-argument type, expressing their valency through argument coding; however, in example (48b), the subject argument of *sincerity* is coded by the Saxon Genitive construction, which also marks a possessive relation. In languages such as English, a fact-like nominalization may be thus ambiguous with an argument property nominalization, which refers to a specific kind of the general quality.

By contrast, there are languages employing different strategies in order to mark the argument coding and the possessive relation; as we have seen in Sect.3.2.1, the argument coding in Hausa Quality Nouns corresponds to the modification function, which is differently marked from deictic noun-noun relations such as possession and attribution. In languages such as Hausa, it is always possible to disambiguate a fact-like, non-argument property nominalization from a specific, argument property nominalization. For instance, in example (49), the Hausa Quality Noun *kyā* is unambiguously an argument nominalization, since it shows the *n* linker, which marks a noun-noun deictic relation.

(49) Hausa (Cowan & Schuh 1976:99, cited in Beck 2002:180)

kyā+n ya:ɾinyà
beauty+POSS girl

'The beauty of the girl'.

Finally, I introduce here a semantic distinction between referents of nominalization; the classification is based on the scale of animacy (Dixon 1979:85), to which I have added the two macro semantic classes of CONCRETE and ABSTRACT:

CONCRETE

human < animate < inanimate <

ABSTRACT

abstract entity

3.3.2 Representations of Multifunctionality

As with other language constructions, the semantics and function of nominalization display different conventional (senses) and contextual (uses) meanings. Following Haspelmath 2003:212-213, I use multifunctionality as a neutral term between multiplicity of senses and multiplicity of uses, as it is often hard to distinguish between the conventional and contextual meanings of a construction.

We have seen in the previous section that English non-argument property nominalization with argument coding are formally identical to argument property nominalization displaying a deictic relation with another noun; we can ask whether the identity in formal marking of constructions with different meaning is only accidental or rather has some explanations in the representation of the speaker's knowledge of her own language.

In the domain of lexical nominalization and word-formation, a recurrent example is the agentive/instrumental (and, to some extent, locative) multifunctionality of argument nominalization markers in European languages, such as English/Dutch *-er*, French *-eur*, Italian *-(t)ore*, ... For instance, according to Booij 1986:510, the Dutch suffix *-er* marks deverbal nouns belonging to the following semantic types: personal agent, such as *arbeider* 'worker', impersonal agent, such as *zender* 'radio/tv station' and instrument, such as *brandmelder* 'fire-alarm'.

According to Haspelmath 2003:212-213, we can distinguish three types of explanation for multifunctionality: the homonymist explanation, the monosemist explanation and the polysemist explanation.

The first type of explanation assumes that constructions employ semantically different but formally homonymic markers; however, the 'separation of form and meaning' (Booij 1986) sheds poor light on the language structure, missing a potential relation between the different functions of the construction marker.

The second type of explanation tries to catch a potential relation by attributing to the construction marker a vague and general abstract meaning (German *Gesamtbedeutung*) and then deriving different functions based upon the context in which the marked construction appears and/or upon encyclopedic knowledge; as seen in Sect.2.1.2, the monosemist explanation is for instance taken by Beck 2002:178 to address Upper Necaxa Totonac Noun+Noun constructions, in which the exact meaning of the attributive relation between the two nouns depends from context. However, the monosemist approach is at the same time too narrow, since it offers only a very superficial recognition of the relation between the different functions of the construction marker and too broad, since its vagueness may lead to the prediction of unattested functions. For instance, a monosemist definition of the English nominalization marker *-er* is as follows "the semantics of *-er* should be described as rather underspecified, simply meaning something like person or thing having to do with X." (Plag 2003:89, cited in Rainer 2014:342). However, as Rainer 2014:342-343 stresses out, Plag's definition implies that the suffix *-er* can mark, among others, English constructions referring to the 'dialect spoken in X', as in **Bostoner*, **Sussexer* or to the 'tree bearing the fruit X', as in **peacher*, which in fact it is not.

Finally, the third type of explanation sees the different functions of a construction marker linked together by semantic extensions, such as metaphoric or metonymic relations. The simplest way to represent the connection between different functions appears to be the implicational hierarchy, as described for instance by Booij 1986 for agentive/instrumental multifunctionality of the Dutch marker *-er*:

Personal Agent > Impersonal Agent > Instrument
(Booij 1986:509)

which reads as follows: ‘If a construction marked with *-er* has an instrumental meaning, then it also has an impersonal agent meaning, and if it has an impersonal agent meaning, then it also has a personal agent meaning’. This for instance accounts for the three readings of the Dutch noun *sender*: ‘person who sends’, ‘radio/tv station’ and ‘transmitter’; the origin of the multifunctionality is then traced back to the personal agent function, which is semantically extended to the impersonal agent meaning and eventually becomes the instrument meaning.

However, given an implicational hierarchy of the type $A > B > C$, the one-dimensional nature of the representation does not allow to directly link a function A to a function C, without also including the function B. For instance, if we assume that the implicational hierarchy is language-independent (Booij 1986:511) or at least valid for Dutch cognate languages, we find English nouns such as *runner* skipping the Impersonal Agent meaning and covering only the Personal Agent meaning: ‘a person who runs’ and the Instrument meaning: ‘a type of shoes used for running’; again, the provided explanation assumes constructions that in fact do not exist in the lexicon.

An alternative way to catch the connections between different functions is using a multi-dimensional representation, as suggested for instance in Croft 2001:93. We find three types of multi-dimensional representations in the literature: the hierarchically-ordered constructional schema, the radial network or categories and the semantic map. Note that the three types of representation permit to fruitfully combine the vagueness of the monosemist explanation with the specificity of the polysemist explanation.

Hierarchically-ordered constructional schemas have been proposed in the framework of Construction Morphology (Booij 2010); as the name implies, the framework stems from constructionist approaches to languages, in particular Goldberg’s Construction Grammar, assuming that morphological formations such as inflected forms, derived words and compounds are constructions.

In the Construction Morphology perspective, a language lexicon is populated by hierarchies proceeding from abstract constructional schemas to specific constructional subschemas; according to the principle of ‘default inheritance’, constructional subschemas inherit properties from dominating constructional schemas. (Booij 2013:255-260) For instance, Arcodia 2014 shows that constructions marked by the Mandarin bound morpheme *bā*, which is derived through analogy by the English word *bar* in the hybrid word *jiǔbā* ‘alcohol-bar’, have the general, abstract meaning of a ‘place (actual or virtual) where a service/information related to SEM_i is offered /exchanged’, where SEM_i indicates

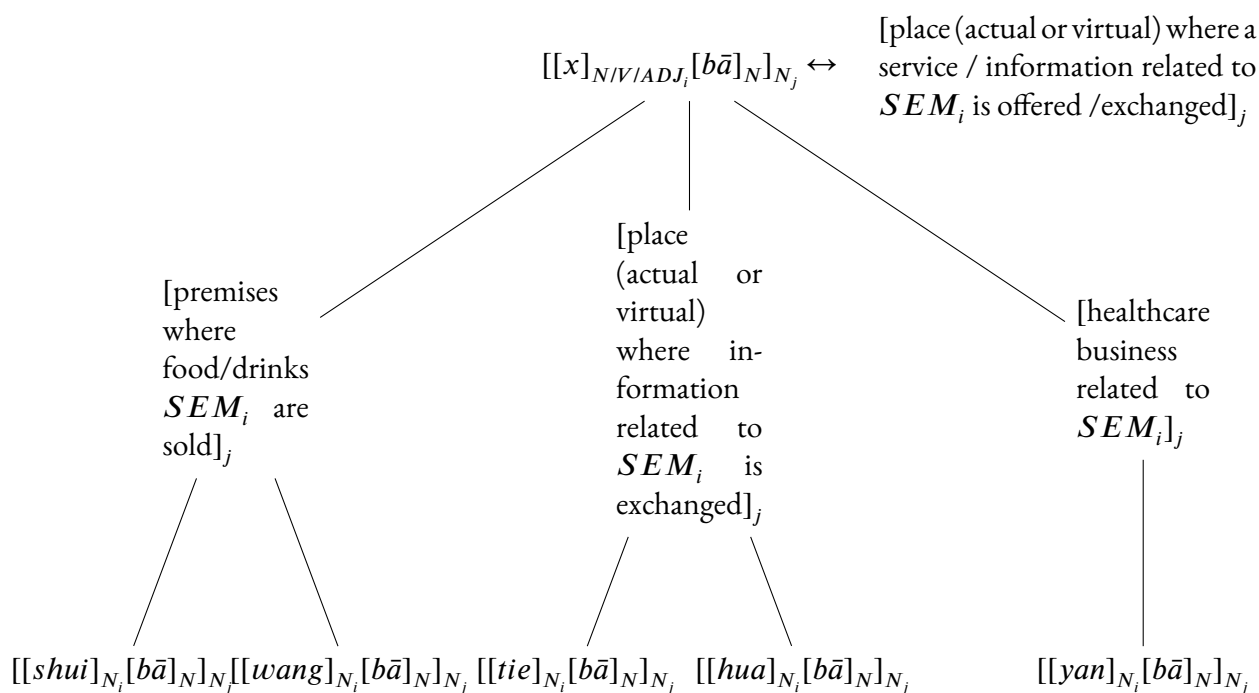


Figure 3.1: A hierarchically-ordered constructional schema for the Mandarin marker *bā*. (reproduced by Arcodia 2014:133)

the concept involved in the construction: *shuǐbā* ‘water-bar i.e., soft-drink bar’, *wǎngbā* ‘net-bar i.e., internet café’, *tiēbā* ‘post-bar i.e., online forum’, *huàbā* ‘talk-bar, call shop’. Furthermore, the first two Mandarin lexical constructions share the same, additional meaning of ‘premises where food/drinks SEM_i are sold’, while the other two lexical constructions do not necessarily imply the selling of food or drink, but, rather, a ‘place (actual or virtual) where information related to SEM_i is exchanged’; a third meaning is found in complex words such as *yǎnbā* ‘eye-bar i.e., a kind of optometry clinic’, in which the meaning conveyed by the construction is an ‘healthcare business related to SEM_i ’. The relation between the first general meaning and the three specific meanings is captured by a hierarchy in which the constructional schema with the general meaning dominates three constructional sub-schemas constructions, as reproduced in Figure 3.1 (other sub-schemas are possible as well, but not reproduced here; see Arcodia 2014:130-133).

At the lowest level of the hierarchy we find single lexical constructions, or lexical items; along with information on semantics, which are given through co-indexed glosses onto the input (i) and output (j), constructional schemas also show information on the phonological shape of the marker and the syntactic category of input and output; furthermore, constructional schemas also provide information on the internal syntactic structure of morphological constructions. For instance, in the Mandarin examples above, the marker *bā* is found on the right of the more general constructional schema, $[[x]_{N/V/ADJ_i}[bā]_N]_{N_j}$, a property that is inherited by all dominated sub-schemas; as Arcodia

2011:127 points out, when *bā* is found as the left-hand constituent of compound words such as *bāniǔ* ‘bar-woman i.e., barmaid’ and *bātái* ‘bar-counter’, it retains its original meaning of ‘bar’.

According to Rainer 2014:348, it is however unclear how the default inheritance can solve the problem of the potential overgeneration of lexical items, which is due to the vagueness of the general schema; see Booij 2017 for a thorough discussion of this issue.

Furthermore, given its commitment to the internal structure of words, a morphological approach to the multifunctionality of nominalization offers little insights on the distributional potential of these constructions, which is traditionally the domain of (morpho)-syntax. As mentioned before, a constructionist approach, as the one followed in this work, is meant to overcome the traditional distinction between components of grammar which Booij’s Construction Morphology - despite its name - however implicitly seems to assume; on the other side, note that the ‘morphological aspect’ of constructions is poorly developed in other constructionist theories, including Croft’s Radical Constructional Grammar on which the approach followed here is loosely based. In the second part of this work, I will try to show that a better characterization of nominalization constructions from a morphological perspective is indeed possible, without sacrificing the holistic nature of constructions.

The second multi-dimensional type of representation, the radial network, does not seem to offer a better view on the different grammatical environments in which related constructions are found; as mentioned in Sect.1.3, a radial network or categories is better suited for the representation of semantic relationships between constructions and in that is superior to hierarchically-ordered schemas, also solving the problem of overgeneration of lexical items raised above. (Rainer 2014:347-349) In a radial network there is no need to assume a single construction with a general and vague meaning, but rather a series of constructions with specific meanings that are linked to one or more constructions with a general meaning.

The multifunctionality of the Mandarin marker *bā*, which is represented above as a hierarchically-ordered constructional schema, is interpreted through a radial network in Arcodia 2011:124; in this representation, ‘Public premises where beverages are sold’ is assumed as the central meaning and is surrounded by connected specific meanings such as ‘Virtual meeting places’, which is exemplified by *tiēbā* ‘archive of posts related to a popular topic’ and ‘Food and drinks industry’, which features lexical items such as *kǎobā* ‘barbecue bar’.

How can one represent functional/semantic relationships between constructions also including grammatical parameters? The answer is in the multi-dimensional representation provided by a semantic map, which we have introduced in Sect.1.3; semantic maps have been employed in the functional-typological literature in order to represent the multifunctionality of a number of grammatical morphemes across languages; a sample list is given in Haspelmath 2003:220-230 and includes: indefinite pronouns, with functions ranging from ‘specific known’ to ‘free choice’ or ‘direct negation’; reflexive and related functions, such as ‘passive’ and ‘antipassive’; instrumental and related functions, such as ‘comitative’ and ‘beneficiary’.

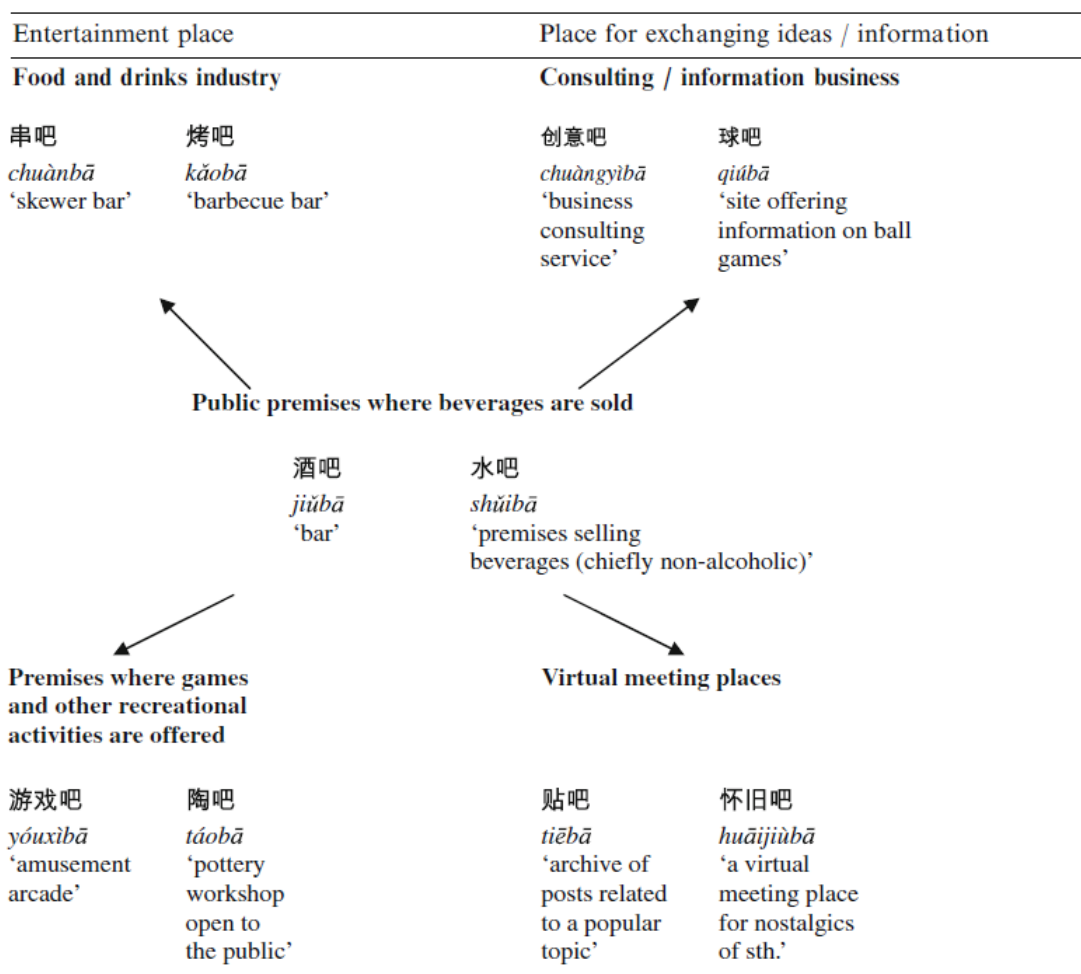


Figure 3.2: A radial network for the Mandarin marker *bā*. (Arcodia 2011:124)

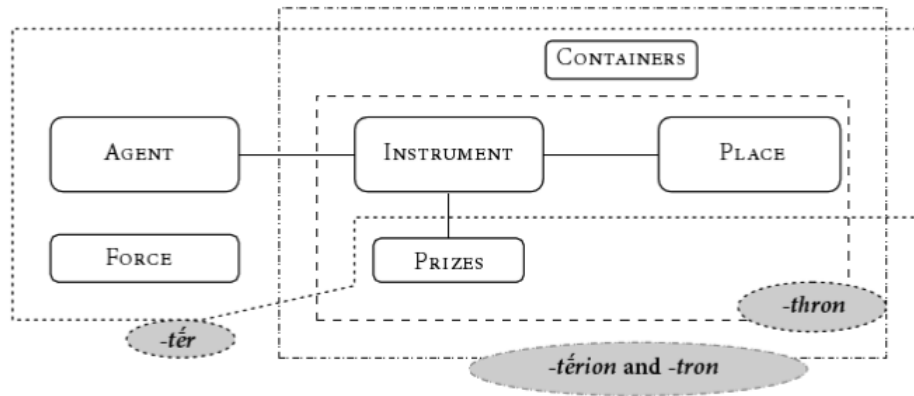


Figure 3.3: A semantic map for four Ancient Greek argument nominalization markers. (Luján and Abad 2014:263)

There are few studies employing semantic maps to represent lexical categories and related phenomena, such as nominalization and other derivational processes. In Luján 2010, Luján and Abad 2014 it is proposed that word-formation patterns, such as argument nominalization, can be represented in a semantic map, whose topography is composed by semantic roles such as the ones employed in semantic map representing the multifunctionality of morphemes marking syntactic roles. The two studies surveyed the de-verbal argument nominalization in Ancient Greek, mapping constructions marked by suffixes such as *-tēr*, *-thron/tron*, *-ten* onto a semantic map featuring semantic roles such as AGENT, INSTRUMENT and PLACE, as illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Similar to the hierarchically-ordered schemas and the radial network discussed above for the Mandarin marker *bā*, semantic maps proposed for representing the multifunctionality of Ancient Greek argument nominalizer suffixes represent the structural coding as well as part of the multifunctionality, however missing important information about the distributional potential of constructions under scrutiny. For instance, we are told that the suffix *-thron* is found in complementary distribution with the suffix *-tron* i.e., that the two suffixes constitute allomorphies of the same suffix, with the latter allomorph being more productive than the former; we are also told that the two suffixes have a prototypical instrument meaning, as in *kleîthron* ‘bar for closing a door’, with semantic extensions to other meanings such as ‘prizes’, as in *epîbathron* ‘passenger’s fare’ or ‘location’, as in *ptoliêthron* ‘citadel’. (Luján and Abad 2014:257-258) However, it is not made clear whether these nouns mostly appear in a specific case or with specific adpositions, have definiteness markers such as demonstrative or articles, or are mostly found as singular or plural forms.

As we have seen in Sect.1.3, semantic maps for parts of speech discussed by Croft 2001 in the Radical Construction Grammar represent both the structural coding and the distributional potential of constructions. Croft does not discuss nominalization constructions, but the representation of different type of nominal, adjectival and verbal constructions in Japanese and Lango; in the remainder

	no Mod	na Mod	i Mod	da Pred	i Pred
<i>hon</i> , etc.	✓	*	*	✓	*
<i>kirei</i> , etc.	*	✓	*	✓	*
<i>yasu</i> , etc.	*	*	✓	*	✓
<i>atataka</i> , etc.	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>tiisa</i> , etc.	*	✓	✓	*	✓
<i>heiwa</i> , <i>kenkoo</i> , etc.	✓	✓	*	✓	*

Figure 3.4: Distribution patterns of six Japanese lexical categories. (Croft 2001:83)

of this section, I discuss the representation of Japanese nominal and adjectival constructions, which serves as a starting point for the representation of Italian de-Adjectival Noun constructions that will be given in Sect.6.3.2.

The building of a semantic map begins with a distributional analysis i.e., the observation of the greatest number of occurrences of the phenomenon under scrutiny. This is the traditional method of the structural linguistics and usually yields a great number of distribution patterns; for instance, in Figure 3.4, Croft 2001:83 lists the distribution patterns of constructions belonging to six Japanese lexical categories: Noun, such as *hon* ‘book’, Nominal Adjective, such as *kirei* ‘pretty’, Adjective, such as *yasu* ‘cheap’, Type I Nominal Adjective/Adjective, such as *atataka* ‘warm’, Type II Nominal Adjective/Adjective, such as *tiisa* ‘small’ and Nominal Adjective/Noun, such as *heiwa* ‘peaceful’.

The distribution patterns correspond to the structural coding and distributional potential of constructions; for instance, lexical roots belonging to the Noun category are marked for the predicative function by the copular marker *da*, and for the modificative function i.e., as possessed object (but see Sect.3.2.1 for a further distinction between modification and possession) by the *no* genitive marker, as in examples (50a)-(50b); lexical roots belonging to the Type I Nominal Adjective/Adjective category are marked for the predicative function either by the *da* copular marker or by the adjectival inflection *-i*, and for the modificative function either by the *na* linker or by the adjectival inflection *-i*, as in examples (50c)-(50d). Finally, lexical roots belonging to the Adjectival category are inflected through the *-i* morpheme when constructed for the predicative or modificative function, as in examples (50e)-(50f). (Croft 2001:81-83)

(50) Japanese (Uehara 1998:64, 65, 89 cited in Croft 2001:81-82)

- a. *Hon da.*
book COP
‘It is a book’.
- b. *Ainu-go no kenkyuu*
Ainu-language GEN research
‘(the) study of the Ainu language’.

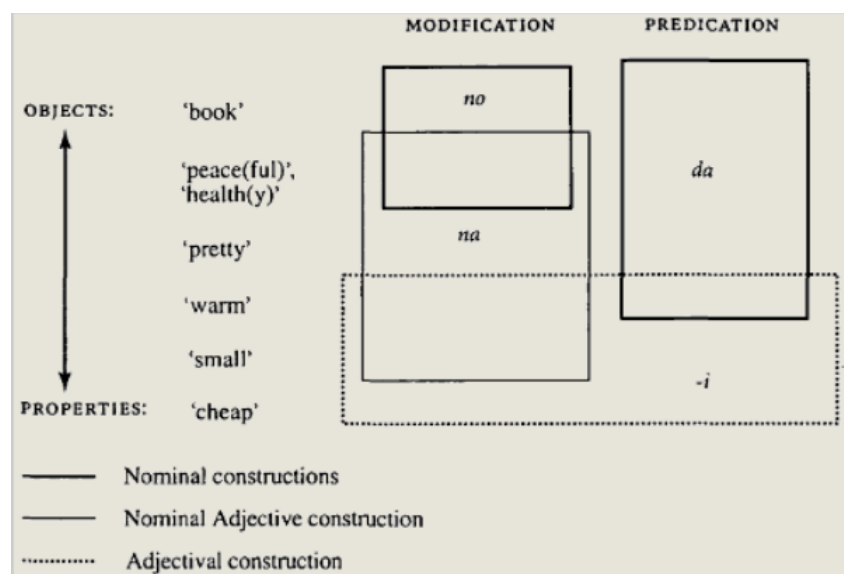


Figure 3.5: The semantic map for the Japanese Nominal, Nominal Adjective and Adjective constructions. (Croft 2001:95)

- c. Atataka-i. / Atataka da.
warm-INFL / warm COP
'It is warm'.
- d. atataka-i hi / atataka na hi.
warm-INFL day / warm LNK day
'a warm day'.
- e. Yasu-i.
cheap-INFL
'It is cheap'.
- f. yasu-i hon
cheap-INFL book
'a cheap book'.

In Figure 3.5, a semantic map for the Japanese constructions described in Figure 3.4 is given; on the vertical dimension of the map, we find a lexical continuum between Japanese Nouns such as *hon* 'book', Nominal Adjectives such as *atataka* 'warm' and Adjectives such as *yasu* 'cheap'; as predicted by the Grammatical Category Structure Hypothesis (Sect.1.3), the endpoints of the vertical axis are represented by the cardinal points of OBJECTS and PROPERTIES. According to Croft 2001:94, the vertical dimension could in principle hosts semantic classes corresponding to the single lexical roots.

The two propositional acts/discourse functions of modification and predication are given on the horizontal dimension; according to Croft 2001:94, the horizontal dimension of the semantic map could be elaborated as well, including other types of discourse functions. The structural coding and

the distributional potential of constructions are captured by displaying the four morphemes and the three distribution patterns of Nominal, Nominal Adjective and Adjectival constructions as different and sometimes overlapping boxes; for instance, the lexical root *atataka* ‘warm’ is found in the semantic region where the Nominal Adjective construction marked by *na* and the Adjectival Construction marked by *-i* overlap, representing the structural coding and the distributional potential observed in examples (50c)-(50d).

3.3.3 The continuum between grammatical and lexical nominalization

It probably goes without saying that lexical and grammatical nominalizations represent a continuum, which is however not so clear outside languages in which grammatical/clausal nominalization plays a major role, such as Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 2011, Ha Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011) as well as for Uto-Aztecan languages (Gonzalez 2012 on Yaqui, Thornes 2012 on Northern Paiute), other languages from America (among others, Jany 2009 on Chiricahua), one South Semitic language (Soqotri: Shibatani and Makhachen 2009) and some Turkic languages (for instance, Sakha: Baker 2011).

Moreover, in these languages it can be shown that grammatical nominalization constitutes the diachronic source for lexical nominalization; for instance, in Tibeto-Burman languages, lexical nominalization serves to derive adjectives from adjectival verbs, as in example (51).

(51) Dolakha Newar (Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan: Genetti 2011:178)

hēga-u sona
red-NMLZ flower

red flower; flower that is red

According to Genetti 2007:206-207, a number of ‘nominalized’ de-verbal adjectives has entered the Dolakha Newar lexicon, eventually creating a lexical sub-set or a minor lexical category of adjectives; the connection to the original verbal base is however not entirely lost, as it is still possible to employ the adjectival verb in the original predicative function, as in example (52a). However, the more common form employs a copular construction with the nominalized de-verbal adjective, as in example (52b).

(52) Dolakha Newar (Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan: Genetti 2011:178)

- a. sona hēgar-a
flower red-3SG.PST
the flower reddened; became red
- b. sona hēga-u jur-a
flower red-NMLZ become:COP-3SG.PST
the flower reddened; became red

From a diachronic perspective, Genetti 2011 shows that in these languages grammatical and lexical nominalizations are closely correlated, feeding each other in a cyclic way; the pivot around these two phenomena occur is represented by the relative clause, which is one of the reading available for nominalized deverbal adjectives, as in example (51). Relative grammatical nominalizations are reanalyzed as lexical adjectives, while lexical adjectives are sometimes placed in relative clauses, where they are expanded to include arguments, eventually becoming clauses.

The ultimate origin of lexical nominalizations is poorly investigated in European languages, since the great majority of derivational affixes are not indigenous and the origin of inherited affixes is mostly unclear even in the parent languages; however, the so-called ‘conversion’ of a lexical item to another lexical category, as in the English example *poor* → *the poor*, in several cases may be a reconstructible process, which originates in instances of ‘NP phrases with only modifying words’.

According to Shibatani and Makhashen 2009:9-10, 22-24, a number of constructions appearing in the European languages can be indeed recognized as examples of grammatical nominalization; along with the above mentioned ‘NP phrases with only modifying words’, Shibatani & Awadh propose to address as ‘grammatical nominalizations’ possessive constructions, e.g., *Your car is nice, but John’s is nicer* and headless relative constructions, e.g., *What I bought yesterday*. As discussed in Sect.3.1, it can be speculated that these constructions are functionally similar to some property - and action - nominalizations.

As a final note to this introductory section, I would like to propose here the following taxonomy for constructions entering the lexicon, which distinguishes between three degrees of entrenchment:

- nonce-formation: a given concept is constructed in the discourse with a specific purpose function;
- institutionalization/conventionalization: the construction has a specific meaning, which is however confined within a specific lexicon;
- lexicalization: the construction gets a more or less stable entry in the basic/general lexicon.

As I will show with respect to the Italian data, lexical constructions of the nonce-formation type have a strong affinity with constructions addressed by Shibatani and Makhashen 2009 as ‘grammatical nominalizations’, as suggested above in discussing the English examples; for instance, the lexical construction *ham sandwich* usually refers to a ‘sandwich whose main ingredient is ham’, but the same construction uttered in the very specific context of a restaurant kitchen may refer to a ‘customer who has ordered a ham sandwich’ (Booij 2017), which is borderline between a lexical nonce-formation and a grammatical, discourse-driven construction.

An institutionalized (Hohenhaus 2005) or conventionalized (Beck 2005) lexical construction is a construction whose meaning is still bound to the context, but it has already entered the lexicon

of a specific language variety; for instance, the English Agentive Nominalization construction *stapler* conventionally refers to a ‘mechanical device that joins pages of paper by driving a thin metal staple through the sheets and folding the ends’ (Wikipedia), rarely referring to ‘someone who staples’ (Beck 2005) and the German Noun+Noun Compound construction *Mäusebibel* ‘mice bible’ is a compound useable in the German variety of a family “who all know about a past incident in which a bible showing teeth marks of mice (who had apparently nibbled at it) was found by the family in a barn” (Hohenhaus 2005:361), rather than a unspecified attributive relation between mice and Bible.

Finally, the third degree describes a construction that is broadly institutionalized i.e., it has a conventional meaning outside of context or specific language varieties. Note that the three degree of lexicon entrenchment do not necessarily coincide with the semantic transparency of constructions; for instance, the Italian agent noun *amatore* ‘amateur’ has the broadly conventional meaning of “someone aiming at pursuing something without formal training and with no profit”, whereas its transparent meaning ‘one who loves’ is possible, but much less common. (see Talamo, Celata, and Bertinetto 2016 for a similar perspective on Italian derivatives)

Part II

Italian de-Adjectival Nouns: Data and Analysis

In the present part I apply to a sample of Italian property words the model outlined in the first part; moving from constructionist theories of parts of speech, I see Italian de-Adjectival Nouns as language-specific and marked constructions of property concepts with reference function.

For the purpose of the present study I have employed twenty basic Italian adjectives, which are looked up on the *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso* dictionary (henceforth: GRADIT, GRADIT 2007) for their meaning and corresponding nouns. The lexicographic source gives an overview of the meanings of the de-adjectival nouns and of contexts or language varieties in which de-adjectival nouns are used; however, even a huge dictionary as GRADIT cannot cover all the possible meanings and usages and, on the contrary, it may sometimes include obsolete meanings or usages found only in literary, specialistic texts, or in very specific contexts. Moreover, dictionaries do not cover at all the distributional potential of lexical items, which - as we have seen - is a necessary tool in describing lexical categories.

Computer-searchable collections of texts, or 'linguistic corpora', overcome the shortcomings of dictionaries, allowing to study constructions in actual contexts; accordingly, lexicographic data from GRADIT are integrated with queries from the LA REPUBBLICA corpus; corpus queries are crafted in order to assess all the possible combinations between nominal and adjectival parameters that I have presented from a cross-linguistic perspective in the first section and that I will discuss in Sect.5.1.2 with respect to the relevant lexical categories of Italian Nouns, Adjectives and de-Adjectival Nouns.

In Chapter 4, I present the data gathered from the GRADIT dictionary, discussing the sample of Italian Adjectives (Sect.4.2) and of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns (Sect.4.3). In Chapter 5, I discuss the data from the LA REPUBBLICA corpus; I first introduce some criteria employed in the analysis (Sect.5.1) and then I analyze the constructions one by one (Sect.5.2.) Finally, in Chapter 6 I advance a series of patterns of Italian property nominalization that is based upon the data discussed in Chapter 5; as a mean of representation of the different functions of patterns of Italian property nominalization, I will discuss and employ a semantic map.

Chapter 4

At first glance: Data from the dictionary

4.1 The GRADIT dictionary

The GRADIT dictionary is the largest lexicographic source available for Italian, featuring nearly 270,000 lemmas; along with the lemma definition, a comprehensive set of information is given. The following types of information on lemma are especially needed when establishing a reliable sample of a language's lexicon:

1. semantic relation with other words in the lexicon;
2. synchronic morphological structure;
3. diachronic information;
4. usage.

The first point is a straightforward matter: any decent dictionary gives a list of synonyms and antonyms; as for the second point, each lemma on GRADIT is morphologically analyzed according to a list of 91 prefixes and 316 suffixes (GRADIT 2007), ensuring that all Italian words chosen for the list are simple, mono-morphemic word (see below).

As for the third point, GRADIT gives the lemma's origin and the date of first establishment in written sources, allowing to exclude recently borrowed words from the list of concept.

Finally, the lemma's usage is given by the means of lexicographic glosses. Relevant glosses are:

- *fondamentale* 'essential' (ESS). 2,000 high frequency words, which constitutes the 90% of all the words found in Italian written texts and oral discourses;
- *alto uso* 'high usage' (HIGH). 2,500 high frequency words, totalizing the 6% of all the words found in Italian written texts and oral discourses;

- *alta disponibilità* ‘high profitability’ (PROF). The lemma is not often employed, but it refers to common concepts;
- *comune* ‘common’ (COM). The lemma is understandable by an average Italian speaker, regardless of her/his profession;
- *basso uso* ‘low usage’ (LOW). The lemma is rare, or seldom employed;
- *obsoleto* ‘obsolete’ (OBS). Outdated lemma;
- *termine specialistico* ‘specialistic term’ (SPEC). The lemma belongs to specialistic jargons, as those employed in professions;
- *uso solo letterario* ‘literary usage’ (LIT). The lemma is only found in literary texts.

Taken together, ‘essential’, ‘high usage’ and ‘high profitability’ lemmas build up the basic Italian lexicon, which was published in 1980 as *Il vocabolario di base della lingua italiana*, ‘The basic Italian dictionary’, a dictionary aimed at educational purposes. (Lorenzetti 2010)

4.2 A sample of Italian Adjectives

In his seminal, cross-linguistic study on the adjectival category, Dixon investigates how a three dozen concepts (Dixon 1982:36), which are representatives of the seven semantic types discussed in Sect.2.2.3, are coded in seventeen unrelated languages; Dixon’s list is given in Table 4.1. Moreover, according to Dixon 1982:fn.35, a longer list of about 150 property concepts was employed as well; unfortunately, the list is not fully disclosed.

Dixon’s comparative list of property concepts constitutes the starting point for my research; however, as I will further make clearer, I have decided to slightly modify Dixon’s list, in order to better suit the Italian lexicon.

Dixon’s list, enriched with other concepts, is employed by Beck 2002 in order to define an adjectival category for Upper Nexaca Totonac. As expected, Beck finds that not every property concept in Dixon’s list is coded as an adjective in Upper Nexaca Totonac (Beck 2002:150-153). For instance, the COLD concept is coded in this language by the abstract noun *lónni* formed by participial derivation from the verb *lóna* ‘be cold’ (Beck 2002:151), that is, by a polymorphemic, derived deverbal noun.

This also holds true for Italian, despite its strong similarity and genetic affiliation to English, on which Dixon’s list has been established. Moreover, as I will further detail, I wanted to establish a sample with mono-morphemic words, belonging to the basic Italian lexicon; according to the GRADIT dictionary, Italian does not have a word that satisfies above-given criteria for the following property concepts:

property concept	type	Italian word
BLUNT	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	spuntato, arrotondato, ottuso
HEAVY	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	pesante, duro, greve, grave
NARROW	DIMENSION	stretto, angusto
SHALLOW	DIMENSION	basso, poco profondo, superficiale

The BLUNT concept is coded by the participial forms of two parasynthetic verbs: *spuntare* ‘to trim’, litt. ‘to remove the edge of something’ and *arrotondare* ‘to round’, litt. ‘to make something round’ or by *ottuso* ‘blunt’, which is glossed as low usage, as in the expression *lama ottusa* ‘blunt edge’.

The HEAVY concept is coded by the present participle of the verb *pesare* ‘to weigh’, *pesante*. Other lexical codings, albeit less precise and with possible extended meanings (see below), are the hyperonym *duro* ‘hard’, already present in the list, and the two adjectives *greve* ‘oppressive, hard’, which is glossed as literary usage and *grave* ‘severe, very hard’, which as a PHYSICAL PROPERTY means ‘very hard’.

The NARROW concept is coded by the past participle of the verb *stringere* ‘to tie’, *stretto*. The other lexical coding is *angusto* ‘narrow’, which is marked as ‘common usage’ by the GRADIT dictionary.

Finally, the SHALLOW concept does not have a suitable lexical coding in Italian, since *basso* ‘low’ is an hyperonym and is already present in the list, *poco profondo* ‘little deep’ is a syntagmatic word, as in the expression *acque poco profonde* ‘shallow waters’ and *superfici-ale* ‘superficial’ derives from the word *superficie* ‘surface’.

A detailed list of Italian adjectives is given in Table 4.2 and is organized into four columns.

The first column gives the equivalent English word for the property concept, as found in the original works by Dixon.

The second column contains the Italian adjective encoding the concept; needless to say, the adjective is not a rough translation of the English word, as each Italian adjective was chosen among not only the possible translations, but also among the several synonyms and antonyms found on the GRADIT dictionary. For instance, suitable Italian translations for the English word *dry* are *arido*, *asciutto* and *secco*. The first Italian adjective was discarded because *arido* better encodes another property concept in Dixon’s list, ARID (English *arid*); moreover, the antonym of *arido* is *fecondo* ‘fertile’, which is not included in the list. The second Italian adjective was not included because is a past participle of the verb *asciugare* ‘to dry’; its antonym is *bagnato* ‘wet’, which is again a past participle of the verb *bagnare* ‘to wet’. The selected word, *secco* ‘dry’, meets all the criteria stated above.

The third and the fourth column provide the central and the extended meaning of adjectives; as already observed in Sect.2.2.3, lexical items oscillate between a ‘central’ meaning and an ‘extended’ meaning. For instance, the adjective *freddo* has its core meaning in ‘cold’, referring either to a PHYSICAL PROPERTY of an object, or to the weather; in its extended meaning, it expresses a HUMAN PROPENSITY, e.g., *una persona fredda* ‘an indifferent person, one who lacks of humanity’. The central and the extended meaning are classified according to one of the semantic types discussed in Sect.2.2.3; word’s

Semantic Type	Property Concepts
SPEED	QUICK, SLOW
DIMENSION	BIG, SMALL, LONG, SHORT, WIDE, NARROW, DEEP, SHALLOW
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	SHARP, BLUNT, HOT, COLD, WET, DRY, WHOLE, HEAVY, LIGHT
COLOUR	BLACK, WHITE, RED
HUMAN PROPENSITY	FIERCE, CRUEL, KIND, JEALOUS, PROUD, HAPPY, CLEVER, GENEROUS
VALUE	GOOD, BAD

Table 4.1: The list of property concepts employed by Dixon 1982.

usage, as found on GRADIT dictionary, is given inside round brackets.

Property Concept	Italian Adjective	Central Semantic Type (usage)	Extended Semantic Type (usage)
BAD	<i>cattivo</i>	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
BEAUTIFUL	<i>bello</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
BIG	<i>grande</i>	DIMENSION (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
BITTER	<i>amaro</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (HIGH)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (HIGH)
BLACK	<i>nero</i>	COLOUR (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
CLEVER	<i>intelligente</i>	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
COLD	<i>freddo</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
CRUEL	<i>crudele</i>	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
DRY	<i>secco</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
FOOL	<i>stupido</i>	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
GOOD	<i>buono</i>	VALUE (ESS)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)
HOT	<i>caldo</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (COM), HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
KIND	<i>gentile</i>	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (COM)
NEW	<i>nuovo</i>	AGE (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
OLD	<i>vecchio</i>	AGE (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
QUICK	<i>rapido</i>	SPEED (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
SLOW	<i>lento</i>	SPEED (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
SMALL	<i>piccolo</i>	DIMENSION (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
SWEET	<i>dolce</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
UGLY	<i>brutto</i>	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
WHITE	<i>bianco</i>	COLOUR (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)

Table 4.2: A list of Italian adjectives coding the 20 property concepts.

As for the composition of the list, several of the adjectives in Table 4.2 appear in the examples given by Dixon 1982 for the 17 languages, as well as in data employed by Beck 2002 to investigate the Upper Necaxa Totonac lexical categories.

As a general rule, I have introduced antonymic pairs, such as *brutto/bello* ‘beautiful’/‘ugly’, or added missing antonyms, such as *stupido* ‘fool’ vs. *intelligente* ‘clever’; nearly the totality of the list is built up by antonymic pairs. Moreover, I have also managed to balance the semantic types; the majority of property concepts belongs to the HUMAN PROPENSITY (7/20) and PHYSICAL PROPERTY (7/20) semantic type, while the other half is divided between VALUE (1/20), AGE (2/20), SPEED (2/20), COLOUR (2/20) and DIMENSION (2/20). VALUE and HUMAN PROPENSITY account for the totality of the extended semantic type, the former representing the most common extended semantic type.

Only words whose central semantic belong to the basic Italian lexicon were selected; indeed, 19 adjectives not only belong to the basic Italian lexicon, but are glossed as ‘essential’ by GRADIT lexicographers. Moreover, only three concepts fall outside the basic lexicon when employed in extended meaning: *freddo* ‘cold (of person)’, *caldo* ‘friendly, warm’ and *gentile* ‘exquisite, fine’.

4.3 A sample of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns

Given the rich derivational morphology of Italian, a great wealth of nouns is attested in the GRADIT dictionary resulting from the lexical nominalization of property concepts. Two strategies are found in Italian to mark property concepts with reference function: affixation and zero-marking.

As for the first type of strategy, Rainer 1989:227 lists 34 different suffixes for the derivation of quality nouns from Italian adjectives: *bell-ezza* ‘beauty’, *cattiv-eria* ‘evilness’, *stupid-ità* ‘foolishness’, ...; moreover, according to Rainer 2004, an handful of additional suffixes, especially evaluative suffixes, derives nouns from adjectives, e.g., *dolc-etto* ‘candy’, *stupid-ario* ‘collection of stupid sentences’. As we will see in Sect.4.3.1, many de-adjectival nouns of the latter type are attested in the GRADIT dictionary.

The second type of strategy is traditionally known as ‘conversion’ (for instance, Thornton 2004), as it allegedly involves a change of lexical category from adjective to noun, a view that I however saw as untenable in Sect.3.2; in the constructionist perspective taken here, I do not assume pre-existent lexical categories, but only concepts constructed within a specific context, eventually assuming a set of grammatical parameters. ‘Converted de-adjectival nouns’ will be then addressed here as ‘zero-marked de-adjectival nouns’; as I will discuss in Sect.4.3.2, the GRADIT dictionary lists a great number of zero-marked de-adjectival nouns.

A number of criteria will be discussed in the following two sections in order to deal with the great amount of data; generally speaking, I have tried to avoid here very specific constructions. The term ‘specific’ applies on both formal and functional side of constructions; for instance, on the formal side, I have not considered property concepts marked by obsolete suffixes, while on the functional side I

did not take into account nominalizations denoting a very specific referent or giving to the referent some peculiar features.

4.3.1 Affixation

I have summed up in Table 4.3 affixed (suffixed) de-adjectival nouns found in the GRADIT dictionary; the first column gives the property concept in English name, the second column the Italian adjective and the third column the Italian de-adjectival noun.

Property Concept	Italian Adjective	Italian Noun
BAD	cattivo	cattivaggio, cattivanza, cattivista, cattivismo, cattiveria, cattivello, cattivezza
BEAUTIFUL	bello	bellezza, bello, belluria, beltà
BIG	grande	grandezza, grandigia
BITTER	amaro	amaracciola, amarello, amaretto, amarezza, amarina, amaritudine, amaroide, amarone, amarore, amarume
BLACK	nero	nerellina, nerellino, nerello, neretto, nerezza, nerità, nerore, nerume
CLEVER	intelligente	intelligentone, intelligenza
COLD	freddo	freddezza, freddiccio, freddoloso, freddura
CRUEL	crudele	crudeltà
DRY	secco	seccaggine, seccaia, seccaiolo, seccaione, seccareccio, secchereccio, seccherello, secchezza, sechina, secchino, secchità, secchitudine, seccore, seccume, seccura
FOOL	stupido	stupidaggine, stupidario, stupidata, stupidezza, stupidità
GOOD	buono	bontà, buonismo
HOT	caldo	caldana, caldano, caldezza, caldino, calduccio, caldura, calore
KIND	gentile	gentilezza, gentilotto
NEW	nuovo	novità, nuovismo, nuovista
OLD	vecchio	vecchiaccio, vecchiaia, vecchiezza
QUICK	rapido	rapidezza, rapidino, rapidismo, rapidità
SLOW	lento	lentaggine, lentezza, lentore
SMALL	piccolo	piccolaggine, piccoletto, piccolezza, piccolotto
UGLY	brutto	brutteria, bruttezza, bruttura
WHITE	bianco	biancaccio, biancame, bianchello, biancherella, biancheria, bianchetto, bianchettone, bianchezza, bianchino, bianchista, bianchitudine, biancola, biancolella, biancolina, biancone, biancore, biancuccio, biancume

Table 4.3: The 20 Italian adjectives listed in the GRADIT dictionary as affixed de-adjectival nouns.

As it is clear from the table, several suffixed nouns are attested for each adjective; however, many of these nouns represent specific constructions and were excluded from the sample of suffixed de-adjectival nouns according to the following criteria:

1. usage: suffixed nouns marked on GRADIT as ‘low usage’, ‘specialistic term’, ‘obsolete’ and ‘literary usage’, as well as more common nouns with a very specific meaning;
2. semantics and pragmatics: nouns marked by suffixes which do not (only) code function-indicating morphosyntax; for instance, evaluative suffixes.

As for the usage criterion, the sample of affixed Italian de-adjectival nouns is made of lexical items belonging to the basic lexicon, plus lemmas marked on GRADIT as ‘common usage’. For instance, the GRADIT dictionary reports 14 derived nouns for the adjective *amaro* ‘bitter’: the first two derived nouns, *amar-acciola* and *amar-ello* are two fitonyms identifying, respectively, *Cytisus Scoparius* and *Gentiana Amarella*, two herbs named after their bitter leaves; *amar-ina*, *amar-oide* and *amar-one* identify two chemical substances obtained from bitter taste vegetables; finally, *amar-itudine*, *amar-ore* and *amar-ume* are obsolete/literary words for *amar-ezza*, which is an high usage lemma expressing with abstract meaning (see further) the reference function of the BITTER concept, that is, ‘bitterness’. As for obsolete/literary words, note that several forms are the exact synonyms of the form that is currently employed. According to the theory of morphological blocking (among many others, Rainer 1988), some forms were, at different periods of the Italian language history, blocked by a synonymic word-formation (type blocking) that eventually gave rise to the common term. For instance, *amar-itudine* was the common word for ‘bitterness’ at the beginning of the Italian language history; on the TLIO corpus, a corpus of Old Italian (11-15th centry) texts, *amar-itudine* has 448 occurrences, while *amar-ezza* only scores 10 late occurrences, all attested in the 14th and 15th centuries. At the present time, the situation is reversed, with only 2 occurrences of *amar-itudine* and 4861 of *amar-ezza* on the LA REPUBBLICA corpus.

By the same token, some highly used or common derived nouns were excluded due to their idiosyncratic meaning. For example, the affixed noun *fredd-ura* ‘joke, wisecrack’ is only loosely connected to the property concept COLD and *stupid-ario* is a journalistic expression to indicate a book containing a collection of stupid sentences.

As for the second criterion, I have tried to maintain the sample of de-adjectival nouns as neuter as possible with respect to the semantics and pragmatics of marking strategies; in other words, suffixes marking property concepts have to just make a reference to the suffixed property, hence morphologically encoding what Croft addresses as a ‘function-indicating morphosyntax’ (see Sect.1.3). For instance, the noun *ner-ume* ‘black layer’ is marked by the suffix *-ume*, which not only attributes to concepts a mass nominal aspect, but also a pejorative meaning (Grossmann 2004); accordingly, the meaning of *nerume* is no longer just a reference to the ‘black’ property concept, as in ‘collection of black thing’ or ‘blackness’ - two meanings glossed as ‘obsolete’ on GRADIT - but corresponds to ‘a black

layer due to dirtiness or oxidation'. Moreover, evaluative suffixes contain an illocutionary force, often including a judgement or expressing a negative or positive affection toward the derived item. (Merlini Barbaresi and Dressler 1994, Merlini Barbaresi 2004, 2015). For instance, *pover-etto* and *pover-ino* reference a person causing compassion and pity for her/his miserable condition, while *intelligent-one* refers to a person considering herself/himself intelligent (but s/he is actually not).

Table 4.4 reports the final sample of de-adjectival nouns containing suffixes; the first column lists the Italian adjective, while the second column the suffixed de-adjectival nouns. In four cases, *stupido* 'fool', *vecchio* 'old', *brutto* 'ugly' and *bianco* 'white', multiple de-adjectival nouns are attested for one property concept; italicized items found in the second column correspond to words that are not derived with native morphological devices in Italian, but are inherited from Latin. For instance, *felicità* 'happiness' *can* be derived through a word-formation process affixing the suffix *-ità* to the lexical root *felic-e* 'happy' (Rainer 1989:311, Rainer 2004), but it is actually inherited from Latin *felicitāte(m)* 'happiness'.

Other inherited lexical items require some adjustments in order to be formed in Italian; *bon-tà* 'goodness' presupposes a suppletive stem for *buono* 'good' and an allomorph for the suffix *-ità*; *cal-ore* contains the suffix *-ore*, which is no longer productive in Italian and is found in a handful of action nouns denoting physical and emotional feelings (Gaeta 2004:349-350) with synchronically non-reconstructible bases: *am-ore* 'love', *boll-ore* 'boil', *sud-ore* 'sweat'. I will not deal with morphological issues here, I only make clear that these words are structurally marked in Italian, as they contain synchronic reconstructible affixes. Finally, note that the latter remark probably extends to all derivatives in Table 4.4, since all these words are most likely found in the Italian lexicon of an average native speaker, of which the considered section of the GRADIT dictionary constitutes the best approximation. (Hohenhaus 2005:358 and Sect.3.3.3).

In the third column I have classified suffixed nouns according to the scale of animacy discussed in Sect.3.3.1; all affixed de-adjectival nouns show the semantics of 'an abstract entity', more specifically, a quality noun; moreover, there is one case of state noun, instantiated by the *-aia* suffix: *vecchiaia* 'old age'; finally, half of the affixed de-adjectival nouns are also glossed in the dictionary with the additional meaning of 'abstract single entity', such as *crudeltà* 'an act of cruelty', and, in one case, of 'a concrete single entity': *bellezza* 'beautiful woman'.

Finally, the fourth and fifth column contain information on the semantic type and usage of affixed de-adjectival nouns; both the central and extended semantic types of de-adjectival nouns are very similar to the semantic types of the adjectives listed in Table 4.2; as for usage, only one half (9/20) of the de-adjectival nouns belongs to the basic lexicon, while the other half is marked as common words i.e., words that are understandable by an average native speaker. As predicted, concepts with extended function show a lower frequency, as indicated by the lexicographic glosses of GRADIT.

¹The other nominalization in *-ore*, *bianc-ore* 'whiteness', contains a synchronically reconstructible base. However, the nominalization dates back to the XIV century and it is perhaps borrowed from the ancient Lombard *blanchor*. (TLIO: s.v. *biancore*, Leonardi et al. 2015)

Adjective	Suffixed Noun	Semantics	Central Semantic Type (usage)	extended Semantic Type (usage)
cattivo	cattiveria	abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)	-
bello	bellezza	abstract entity, human, inanimate	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
grande	grandezza	abstract entity	DIMENSION (HIGH)	VALUE (HIGH)
amaro	<i>amarezza</i>	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (PROF)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (PROF)
nero	nerezza	abstract entity	COLOUR (COM)	VALUE (COM)
intelligente	<i>intelligenza</i>	abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (HIGH)	VALUE (OBS)
freddo	freddezza	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (PROF)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (PROF)
crudele	<i>crudeltà</i>	abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)	-
secco	sechezza	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (COM)	VALUE (COM), HUMAN PROPENSITY (LOW)
stupido	stupidaggine, stupidità	abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)	-
buono	<i>bontà</i>	abstract entity	VALUE (HIGH)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (HIGH)
caldo	<i>calore</i>	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (COM)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
gentile	gentilezza	abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (PROF)	-
nuovo	<i>novità</i>	abstract entity	AGE (ESS)	VALUE (COM)
vecchio	<i>vecchiaia</i> , vecchiezza	abstract entity	AGE (COM)	VALUE (COM)
rapido	<i>rapidità</i>	abstract entity	SPEED (PROF)	VALUE (PROF)
lento	lentezza	abstract entity	SPEED (COM)	-
piccolo	piccolezza	abstract entity	DIMENSION (COM)	VALUE (COM), HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
brutto	bruttezza, bruttura	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (COM)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
bianco	bianchezza, biancore	abstract entity	COLOUR (COM)	-

Table 4.4: A list of Italian affixed de-adjectival nouns as found in the GRADIT dictionary.

4.3.2 Zero marking

All but one of the selected Italian adjectives are attested without marking on the GRADIT dictionary i.e., they have an additional dictionary entry as a noun. Table 4.5 summarizes the information given by the dictionary; the first column gives the property concept in English, the second column the equivalent Italian adjective and the third column the meaning, including information on the grammatical behaviour and usage of lemma.

Two property concepts are listed as nouns only in specific language varieties, i.e. literary texts and specialistic usage:

- *crudele* ‘cruel’ is attested both with the meaning of ‘cruel act’ and ‘cruel person’ in literary texts;
- *gentile* ‘kind’ has the highly specialized meaning of ‘scion’ in the agricultural jargon.

Other two terms, *rapido* ‘quick’ and *lento* ‘slow’ are listed as ‘common usage’; the first term has the two meanings of ‘high-speed train’ and ‘rapids’, while the second term means ‘slow dance’. These and other meanings such as *bianco* for ‘white wine’, *amaro* for ‘bitter alcoholic drink’, *nero* for ‘non-taxed income’ are however restricted to very specific contexts.

Property concept	Zero-marked Noun	Meaning (Usage)
BAD	cattivo	bad person, bad part of something, bad smell
BEAUTIFUL	bello	beautiful person, beauty, beautiful/interesting part of something
BIG	grande	adult or great person, bigness, noble man (SPEC)
BITTER	amaro	bitterness, bitter alcoholic drink
BLACK	nero	black colour, darkness, black person, non-taxed income, black stone (SPEC), coal powder (SPEC), black welp (SPEC), black chess piece (SPEC), sooty mold (SPEC)
CLEVER	intelligente	-
COLD	freddo	cold weather, coldness
CRUEL	crudele	cruel act (LIT), cruel person (LIT)
DRY	secco	dry weather, dry part of a vegetable (SPEC)
FOOL	stupido	fool person
GOOD	buono	good person, goodness
HOT	caldo	hot weather, ardour
KIND	gentile	scion (SPEC)
NEW	nuovo	newness, collection of new goods
OLD	vecchio	old or seasoned person, old, father/parent
QUICK	rapido	high-speed train, rapids
SLOW	lento	slow dance
SMALL	piccolo	young person: child, person of short stature
UGLY	brutto	ugly person, ugliness, bad weather
WHITE	bianco	white part of something, whiteness, white person, white wine, chemical compound (SPEC), silver coin (SPEC), monarchist (SPEC), white welp (SPEC), blank character (SPEC), a type of dough (SPEC), a type of wheat (SPEC), powdery mildew (SPEC), white chess piece (SPEC)

Table 4.5: The 20 Italian adjectives listed in the GRADIT dictionary as nouns.

Zero-marked Noun	Semantic Categories	Central Semantic Type (usage)	extended Semantic Type (usage)
cattivo	human, abstract entity	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
bello	human, abstract entity, abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
grande	human, abstract entity	DIMENSION (ESS)	VALUE (COM)
amaro	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (PROF)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (PROF)
nero	abstract entity, human	COLOUR (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
freddo	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (PROF)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (COM)
secco	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (COM)	-
stupido	human	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)	-
buono	human, abstract entity	VALUE (ESS)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)
caldo	abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	HUMAN PROPENSITY (ESS)
nuovo	abstract entity	AGE (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
vecchio	human, abstract entity	AGE (ESS)	VALUE (ESS)
piccolo	human	DIMENSION (ESS)	-
brutto	human, abstract entity	PHYSICAL PROPERTY (ESS)	-
bianco	inanimate, abstract entity, human	COLOUR (ESS)	-

Table 4.6: A list of Italian zero-marked de-adjectival nouns as found in the GRADIT dictionary.

In Table 4.6, I give a list of zero-marked de-adjectival nouns with general, non-specific meanings; the number of adjectives listed as nouns drops to 15. As for the table listing affixed de-adjectival nouns, I have classified zero-marked nouns according to the scale of animacy presented in Sect.3.3.1. The majority of nominalizations identifies a human referent, which is attested for 9 nouns out of 15; the other meaning that is largely attested is ‘abstract entity’, with 8 nouns. The usage of zero-marked de-adjectival nouns is very similar to the corresponding adjectives listed in Table 4.2; nearly the totality of nouns (12/15) belongs to the essential stock of the Italian lexicon, both in the central and extended semantic type; exceptions are represented by nouns glossed as ‘common’ or ‘high profitability’.

Chapter 5

A deeper probe: Data from the corpus

In this chapter, I take a deeper probe into Italian property nominalization by looking at the corpus occurrences of the Italian de-Adjectival Nouns discussed in the previous chapter. In Sect. 5.1, I present some criteria for the corpus query and the analysis of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns, including a distinction between lexical property nominalization and other phenomena in which adjectives are attested without nouns; in Sect. 2.2.2 I discuss the two implicational hierarchies for de-adjectivalization and substantivization, which are inspired by Functional Grammar works on nouns and nominalizations and will be used to measure the degree of nominalization of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns.

5.1 Criteria and Methodologies

5.1.1 Lexical property nominalization vs. Noun phrases with only modifying words

I have introduced in the first chapter the criterium of external reference to distinguish a lexical nominalization from what Dryer 2007:194 refers to as ‘Noun phrases with only modifying words’ (Sect. 3.1). Furthermore, we have also seen that grammatical behaviour turns out in many cases to be a useful diagnostic tool.

As mentioned in Sect. 3.3.3, Shibatani and Makhashen 2009 recognize NP without nouns as instances of grammatical nominalization, thus including the NP with only modifying words. However, I leave to further works the assessment of these constructions as grammatical nominalizations and thus akin to phenomena of ‘clausal nominalizations’ in Asian and American languages.

We can conveniently divide NP with only modifying words into two types: constructions involving complex determiners i.e., demonstrative pronouns and constructions using simple determiners i.e., articles.

In the first type, the syntactic head may be attributed to the demonstrative pronoun, although there are some issues with this approach, including the fact that demonstrative pronouns are treated quite elsewhere in the literature as modifiers; however, the crucial point here is that the demonstra-

tive pronoun refers to something that is anaphorically or deictically identifiable i.e., an external referent that is recoverable from the co(n)text. For instance, in example (53a)¹, the property word *neri* is marked by the anaphoric pronoun *quelli*, which refers to *scialle* ‘shawl’, while in example (53b), the anaphoric pronoun *quello* marks the property word *grande* ‘big’, as a discourse strategy to disambiguate which son the speaker is referring to.

Furthermore, note that the NP with only modifying words involving demonstrative pronouns can also be considered as instances of predicative adjectives without an overt copula; for instance, in example (53b), *quello-that.ANAPH.M.SG grande-big.M.SG* is functionally equivalent to the relative clause construction *che.REL è.COP grande.BIG.M.SG, Giuseppe*.

- (53) a. Me la figuravo avvolta in uno scialle veneziano, di quelli
 I her imagine wrappen in a shawl.M.SG Venetian of that.ANAPH.M.PL
neri con ricami di fiori rosa.
 black.M.PL with embroidery of flowers pink
 ‘I imagined her wrapped in a Venetian shawl, those black (shawl) with embroidered pink flowers.’
- b. Volevo sapere notizie di mio figlio. Quello grande, Giuseppe.
 wanted know news of my son that.ANAPH.M.SG big.M.SG PROP.N
 ‘I wanted to have news of my son. The old one, Giuseppe.’

Constructions of the second type are more difficult to distinguish from genuine lexical constructions and most likely represent the diachronic sources from which lexical constructions develop, following the pattern drafted in Sect.3.3.3.

Here are some examples; in example (54a), the property word *nuovo* ‘new’ is employed without an apparent nominal head, showing nominal parameters such as definiteness and possession; the referent is however recoverable from the context, since the construction *il nuovo* refers to ‘record, long play, album’ and the like, as in *il nuovo album* ‘the new album’. In example (54b), the writer/speaker precises that *nuovo* refers to the ‘person who is new to cycling’; note that without the writer’s statement, *nuovo* is ambiguous between at least three different readings: (i) a mass noun referring to NEW abstract things, which is a lexical nominalization; (ii) a construction with an external referent i.e., a referent that is recoverable from the context, as in the anaphoric constructions seen before; (iii) a deictic reference, as in *quello nuovo* ‘the new one, that one who is new’.

In example (54c) we have a case of nominal ellipsis, in which the property word *grande* ‘big’ is used in the relative superlative and suppletive form without the standard of comparison, which however is found in the same sentence: *meriti* ‘merits’. (see Dryer 2007:195-196 on the distinction between nominal ellipsis and other phenomena)

¹Whenever the source of the example is not stated, data come from the LA REPUBBLICA corpus.

- (54) a. S' intitola History il nuovo di Michael Jackson che sarà
 PASS called PROP.N the.DEF new.M.SG of.POSS PROP.N PROP.N that will_be
 pubblicato il 15 giugno.
 published on 15 june
 'The new (album) by Michael Jackson is called History and will be published on the 15th
 of June.'
- b. Di qui un certo scherno per il nuovo, per il nuovo
 from here a certain scorn for the.DEF new.M.SG for the.DEF new.M.SG
 del ciclismo, voglio dire.
 of_the.POSS cycling want say
 'Hence, a certain scort for the new (one), for the new (one) of cycling, I mean.'
- c. Uno dei meriti, forse il maggiore, del regime di Burghiba...
 one of_the merits perhaps the.DEF big.M.SG.SUP of_the regime of PROP.N
 'One of the merits, perhaps the greatest, of the Bourguiba regime.'
- d. E, riassumendo i pareri raccolti, non mancano i crudeli:
 and summing.up the opinion.M.PL collected not lack the.DEF cruel.M.PL
 'And, summing up the opinions collected, there are cruel.'

Finally, in the example (54d), the nominal head of *i crudeli* 'the cruel' can either refers to *pareri* 'opinions', as signalled by the agreement, or to a deictic, non-syntactic head, as seen in example (54b): *quelli crudeli* 'the cruel ones, that ones who are cruel'; however, as I will further discuss, the construction appears with the same distributional potential as the corresponing lexical nominalization. Examples of the latter type show how the boundary between lexical nominalization and other non-nominal head constructions is sometimes very subtle.

5.1.2 Degrees of nominalization

Following previous proposals by Mackenzie and Malchukov, which I have discussed in Sect.2.1, I treat nominalization here as a phenomenon involving the two parallel processes of substantivization and de-adjectivalization. Using the nominal and adjectival parameters introduced in the first part, in the following two sections I discuss the two hierarchies of substantivization and de-adjectivalization; I first present each parameter with respect to its major lexical category i.e., Italian Noun or Italian Adjective, and I then discuss the parameter with respect to the mixed lexical category of Italian de-Adjectival Noun.

Hierarchy of substantivization

The hierarchy of substantivization features the following seven degrees, ordered from the least to the maximum degree of relevance to the lexical category of Italian Noun:

- first degree: acquisition of the syntactic role;

- second degree: acquisition of the positive value of definiteness;
- third degree: acquisition of a deictic noun-noun relation;
- fourth degree: acquisition of the negative value of definiteness;
- fifth degree: acquisition of plural number;
- sixth degree: modification of the nominal aspect;
- seventh degree: acquisition of gender.

When a property concept is constructed with reference, it acquires the first two degrees of substantivization; since the syntactic role is intrinsic to the Italian discourse function of reference, I will not further discuss this type of parameter².

As for the parameters acquired in the second and in the fourth degree, Italian does not have a fully-fledged system of definiteness markers, conflating with definiteness the parameters of anaphora, specificity, and, to a certain extent, deixis.

To begin with anaphora, Italian definite article, such as *il* ‘the.DEF.M.SG’, *la* ‘the.DEF.F.SG’, can be additionally employed as anaphoric markers. The anaphoric reference can be either explicit i.e., previously referenced in the context, as in example (55a) or implicit, as in example (55b), as we assume that a sculpture requires an author, to whom a prize has been awarded; for this reason, in example (55c) the employment of the indefinite article sounds awkward. (Renzi 1993:383-384, Grandi 2010)

(55) (Renzi 1993:383-384)

- a. Era stato annunciato l’ arrivo di un nuovo inquilino. E oggi
AUX:was been announced the.DEF arrival of a.INDF new tenant and today
il nuovo inquilino è arrivato.
the.DEF.ANAPH new tenant AUX.is arrived
‘The arrival of a new tenant has been announced. Today, the new tenant has arrived.’
- b. È stata premiata una scultura. L’ autore ha ricevuto una
AUX.is been awarded a sculpture the.DEF.ANAPH author AUX.has received a
somma.
sum
‘A sculpture has been awarded. The author has received a prize.’
- c. ??È stata premiata una scultura. Un autore ha ricevuto una somma.
AUX.is been awarded a sculpture. a.INDF AUX.has received a sum
‘A sculpture has been awarded. An author has received a prize.’

²It would interesting to investigate how the different values of syntactic role e.g., subject, direct and indirect object correlate with other parameters involved with nominalization; however, in some preliminary tests, I have not found any evidence supporting syntactic role as a predictive parameter.

- d. ?Era stato annunciato l' arrivo di un nuovo inquilino. E
 AUX.was been announced the.DEF arrival of a.INDF tenant and today
 oggi quel nuovo inquilino è arrivato.
 that.(DEF).DEM.ANAPH new tenant AUX.is arrived
 'The arrival of a new tenant has been announced. Today, that new tenant has arrived.'

Moreover, anaphoric marking can be signalled by another set of inherently defined markers (see Lyons 1999:107-123 for a thorough discussion and Renzi 1993:364 on Italian demonstratives), i.e., demonstrative pronouns, as in example (55d); however, the employment of demonstratives as anaphoric markers is not entirely accepted by Renzi 1993:384, as the anaphoric nominal is easily identified as the referent; rather than marking anaphoric reference, the set of demonstrative pronouns, such as *questo* 'this.(DEF).DEM.PROX.MS.SG' and *quelle* 'these.(DEF).DEM.DIST.FM.PL', conveys the opposition between proximal and distal distance of the referred object from the speaker, thus marking one of the parameters involved with definiteness, that is, deixis.

As mentioned above, demonstrative pronouns are inherently defined; the opposition of definiteness i.e., DEF vs. INDF, is realized in Italian by simple articles. Definite articles, for instance *il* 'the.DEF.M.SG' or *le* 'the.DEF.F.PL', come from the Latin³ demonstrative pronoun *ille* 'yonder, far from both speaker and hear', while indefinite articles, for instance *uno* 'a.INDF.M.SG', come from the Latin cardinal number *unus* 'one'.

As for the parameter of specificity, a positive value is marked by the indefinite article *uno* 'a' and the partitive article *dei* 'of' along with relational nominal modifiers, such as the relative clause in examples (56a)-(56b), where *libro/libri* 'book(s)' is introduced in the discourse as a new, non-anaphoric referent (see also examples (55c)-(55d)), however known to the speaker. A negative value of specificity is marked by the same articles without relational nominal modifiers, as in example (56c), or by bare plural nominals, as in example (56d).

(56) (Grandi 2010)

- a. Ho finalmente trovato un libro che cercavo da tempo.
 AUX:have finally found a.SPEC.SG book.SG that looking for time
 'I finally found a book I was looking for a long time.'
- b. Ho finalmente trovato dei libri che cercavo da tempo.
 AUX:have finally found of.SPEC.PL book.PL that looking for time
 'I finally found some books I was looking for a long time.'
- c. Per il mio appartamento vorrei trovare un inquilino affidabile.
 for the my flat would.want find a.NSPEC.SG tenant.SG reliable

³Latin has a three-term person-based system for demonstrative pronouns: *hic* 'this, near to the speaker (1st person)', *iste* 'that, near to hearer (2nd person)' and *ille* 'yonder, far from both speaker and hear (3rd person)'. The Latin system has evolved into a second-term distance-based system; the second and third person term gave rise to the two Italian demonstratives *questo* and *quello*, which were reanalyzed as proximal and distal markers, respectively; moreover, the Latin demonstrative *ille* has become the Italian definite article *il*, losing its status of deictic marker and indicating anaphoric reference. (Grandi 2010).

‘For my flat I want to find a reliable tenant.’

- d. Per il mio appartamento vorrei trovare o inquilini affidabili.
for the my flat would.want find NSPEC tenant.PL reliable

‘For my flat I want to find reliable tenants.’

In conclusion, Italian definite determiners are specific and anaphoric - and, in the case of demonstratives, either proximal or distal - while Italian indefinite determiners can be either specific or non-specific.

By intersecting the two parameters of definiteness and specificity, values employed in the two and fourth degree of the hierarchy of substantivization correspond to the following nominal constructions (‘Nouns’):

- Italian Definite Noun: definite and specific;
- Italian Specific Noun: non-definite and specific;
- Italian non-Specific Noun: non-definite and non-specific.
- Italian Generic Noun: definite and non-specific;

Nominalized properties of the second degree are Definite or Generic Noun, while nominalized properties of the fourth degree are Specific or non-Specific Noun. The two parameters of positive and negative definiteness are separated by the third degree of substantivization, corresponding to a deictic relation with other nouns.

As for the second degree, in example (57a), the BEAUTIFUL property concept is coded as a Definite Noun, *bellezza* ‘beauty’, which is known to both the speaker and the hearer (familiarity); since the Italian Definite is also specific, in example (57a) the nominalized property is referential, indicating a type of beauty (specific) i.e., a fashion-related beauty. In example (57b), the BITTER property concept appears as a Generic Noun, *amarezza* ‘bitterness’; Italian Generic nouns do not refer to a type of referent i.e. they are non-specific, but either encompass all possible referents (inclusiveness) or refer to a single referent (uniqueness). (see also Renzi 1993:384 on Italian abstract nouns)

- (57) a. L’ automobile come moda, ufficialmente coniugata con la
the car as fashion officially combined with the.DEF
bell-ezza.
beautiful-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘The car as a fashionable object, officially combined with the beauty.’
- b. Molto o amar-ezza nei commenti di fine riunione.
much.QUANTIF GNRC bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG in_the comments of end meeting
‘Much bitterness in the comments at the end of the meeting.’

As for the third degree of substantivization, in Sect.2.1.2 I have described two types of deictic noun-noun relation, possession and attribution, and in Sect.3.2.2 I have discussed a third type, the meronymic relation. In Italian, the relation of possession is coded by the possessive marker *di* ‘of’, as in example (58a), where the nominalized property concept is associated to the noun *trattoria* ‘restaurant’. The relation of attribution can be marked by different prepositions⁴, including the preposition *di*, as in example (58b), where *stupidaggine* ‘foolish act’ entails an attributive relation with the city of Turin, that is, ‘a foolish act which took place in Turin’; finally, a few nominalized property concepts can alternatively display a meronymic construction, as in example (58c), where the BEAUTIFUL property concept is nominalized as the ‘beautiful (great) thing about/of something’.

- (58) a. Quando usciranno dal caldo-o della trattoria
 when go.out.FUT from_the.DEF hot-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.POSS restaurant
 nel gelo dell’ inverno padano.
 in_the frost of_the winter Po.ATRB
 ‘When they will go out from the warmth of the restaurant in the winter frost of the Po Valley.’
- b. Sinisa sta pagando la stupid-aggine di Torino.
 PROP.N is paying the.DEF fool-NMLZ.(F).SG ATRB Turin
 ‘Sinisa is paying the foolish act which took place in Turin.’
- c. Il bello-o di questo mestiere è che ti fa
 the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.PTV this job is that you makes
 crescere.
 grow
 ‘The great thing about this job is that it makes you grow up.’

As for the fourth degree, in example (59) the DRY property concept is introduced as a new, unfamiliar type of referent i.e., a Specific Noun, which is explained in the modifying relative clause and thus known to the speaker.

- (59) Daniel Harding attacca con una furia e una secch-ezza che non
 PROP.N PROP.N starts with a fury and a.SPEC dry-NMLZ.(F).SG that.REL not
 associamo al capolavoro mozartiano.
 associate to_the masterpiece Mozart’s
 ‘Daniel Harding starts (to play) with a fury and a dryness that we do not associate with Mozart’s masterpiece.’

Up to the fourth degree, nominalized property concepts are treated as mass nouns.

Italian mass nouns can be modified by ADA degree markers and lexical expressions akin to mensural classifiers (see Sect.2.1.1 and 2.2.2, cfr. below), as *vino* ‘wine’ in example (60a), *birra* ‘beer’ and

⁴Italian N+N constructions such as *riunione fiume* and *pesce cane* also entail an attribution relation: a meeting, *riunione*, long as a river, *fiume*, and a fish, *pesce*, resembling a dog, *cane*. See Grandi 2009 for a discussion.

caffè ‘coffe’ in example (60b); when pluralized and/or quantified, as in examples (60c)-(60d), they denote a kind of referent. (Lorenzetti 2011, Simone 2011)

(60) a. (Simone 2011)

Beve molto vino.
 drink much.AUGM wine.(M).SG
 He drinks much wine.

b. Un sorso di birra e uno di caffè
 a sip of beer.F.SG and one of coffee.(F).SG
 A sip of beer and a sip of coffee.

c. (Simone 2011)

Beve molti vini.
 drink many.QUANTIF wine.(M).PL
 He drinks many (kinds of) wines.

d. (Lorenzetti 2011)

Ogni.QUANTIF sangue.(M).SG è buono per le trasfusioni.
 every blood is good for the transfusions
 Every blood (every type of blood) is good for transfusions.

In the fifth degree, nominalized property concepts acquire the parameter of number (plural), as in example (61), where the nominalized property concept COLD, is pluralized.

(61) Tra il clima mite del giorno e i freddi-o intensi
 among the climate mild of_the day and the.DEF cold-NMLZ.(M).PL intense.AUGM
 della notte.
 of_the.POSS night
 ‘Among the mild climate of the day and the intense cold weather of the night.’

In the sixth degree, nominalized property concepts display a single object nominal aspect *in lieu* of the mass nominal aspect, which characterizes earlier degrees; the diagnostics here is the presence of a numeral modifying a property nominalization; cfr. example (62), in which the BAD property concept is nominalized as a quantified singular object noun. Other instances of sixth-degree property nominalizations are represented by quantifiers modifying pluralized property nominalizations, as *diversi* ‘several’ in example (63) and by definite quantifiers modifying singular property nominalizations, as *ogni* ‘each’ in example (64).

(62) Dopo aver vessato Lucia con mille cattiv-erie spaventose.
 after has harassed Lucia with thousand bad-NMLZ.(F).PL horrible
 ‘After he has harassed Lucia with a thousand horrible nasty things.’

- (63) Cinque Piero Manzoni e un Castellani e un Fontana bianchi su un bianco più
 five PROP.N PROP.N and a PROP.N and a PROP.N white on a white more
 bianco. Diversi bianc-ori mutanti dovunque
 white several.QUANTIF white-NMLZ.(M).PL changing everywhere
 ‘Five Piero Manzoni and a Castellani and a white Fontana on a whiter white. Everywhere,
 several things of a changing white.’
- (64) Qualcuno ha calcolato che per ogni nero-o arrivato vivo nelle
 someone has calculated that for each.QUANTIF black-NMLZ.M.SG arrived alive in
 Americhe altri dieci erano morti.
 _the Americas other ten were dead
 ‘Someone has calculated that for each black came alive in the Americas ten others were dead.’

Finally, in the seventh degree nominalized property concepts acquire the parameter of gender; so far, I have glossed the gender of nominalized property concepts as inherent, putting the gender gloss into round parenthesis, while examples (65a)-(65b) shows nominalized properties with the overt parameter, as in a sub-set of Italian nouns e.g., *asina* ‘jenny, female donkey’ vs. *asino* ‘jack, male donkey’.

- (65) a. La comunità non accetta che a dirigere sia una bianca-o.
 the community not accepts that to manage is a.SPEC white-NMLZ.F.SG
 ‘The community does not accept that a white is in charge.’
- b. Rosa Parks non cedette il posto sul bus a un bianco-o.
 PROP.N PROP.N not gave the seat on_the bus to a.SPEC white-NMLZ.M.SG
 ‘Rosa Parks did not gave her bus seat to a white.’

As we have seen in Sect.5.1.1, zero-marked lexical nominalizations of the sixth and the seventh degree of substantivization may be ambiguous with NP phrases with only modifying words.

Summing up, with respect to property concepts with reference function, the following implicational hierarchy will be verified on Italian data:

Implicational Hierarchy of Substantivization
 (syntactic role, +definite) < deictic noun-noun relation < -definite < +number < +numeral < +gender

The implicational hierarchy reads as follows “In a process of nominalization, if a property concept acquires a *n* nominal parameter, then it also acquires all the parameters to the left of the *n* nominal parameter”.

Hierarchy of de-adjectivalization

The other process involved in property nominalization works in the opposite direction, describing a hierarchy of de-adjectivalization:

- zero degree: no loss of adjectival parameters;
- first degree: loss of valency and argument/adjunct coding;
- second degree: loss of gradation;

In the zero degree of de-adjectivalization, nominalized property concepts retain all the adjectival parameters of valency and gradation.

As discussed in Sect.3.2.1, the valency parameter can be overtly marked by the coding of the argument structure.

As the coding of adjectival arguments in Italian de-adjectival nouns is not discussed in the literature, I make some references to the coding of verbal arguments in Italian de-verbal nouns (Italian Action Nouns); according to Gaeta 2015:1210-1211, argument coding in Italian Action Nouns can be both of the nominal and the sentential type; example (66a) shows a double-possessive construction in Italian; the double-possessive construction is however semantically restricted in Italian, being available only with a direct object (P) that is not affected by the consequence of the event: **Il distruggere della città dei Romani* ‘The Romans’ destruction of the town’.

(66) Italian (Gaeta 2015:1210-1211)

- a. Il rifiuto di Gianni della verità.
the refuse.NMLZ of.A Gianni of.P truth
‘Gianni’s refusal of the truth.’
- b. La destru-zione della città da parte dei Romani.
the destroy-NMLZ.FM.SG of.P town from.A part of.DET Romans
‘The Romans’ destruction of the town.’
- c. L’ aver Gianni rifiutato la verità.
the have.INF Gianni.A refuse.PTCP.PST the truth.P
‘Gianni’s having refused the truth.’
- d. L’ aver rifiutato la verità da parte di Gianni.
the have.INF refuse.PTCP.PST the truth.P from.A part of Gianni
‘Gianni’s having refused the truth.’

When the transitive subject (A) semantically affects the direct object (P), a less nominal construction is used, as in example (66b), which marks the transitive subject (A) with an ergative construction, *da parte dei Romani*, and the direct object (P) with a possessive construction, *della città*. Albeit less common, the sentential type is attested in Italian, as in example (66c); finally, example (66d) shows a minor/mixed type, with the ergative marking of the transitive subject (A), *da parte di Gianni*, and the accusative coding of the transitive object (P), *la verità*. (Gaeta 2015:1211-1212)

The adjectival argument structure is much simpler, often involving just one argument, the subject argument (SBJ), which is marked by the agreement with the modificative adjective as well as with the

copular verb in the case of predicative adjectives; the relation between additional arguments (adjuncts: ADJN)) and - mostly predicative - adjectives is marked by prepositions coding a variety of grammatical roles: *per* ‘for’, *con* ‘with’, *in* ‘in’, as in examples (67a)-(67c); furthermore, additional arguments can be represented by infinitive clauses introduced by prepositions such as *a* ‘to’, as in example (67c). (Salvi and Vanelli 2004:170)

- (67) a. Soprattutto chiedo alla stampa di avere pietà e di non essere
 above_all ask to press.(F).SG.SBJ to have mercy and to not COP.INF
 troppo crudele con me.
 too.much.AUGM cruel.F.SG with.ADJN me
 ‘But, above all, I ask press to have mercy and do not be too cruel to me.’
- b. Siamo gli unici bianchi in faccia.
 COP.PRS.IPL the only_ones.M.PL white.M.PL in.ADJN face
 ‘We are the only ones with a white face.’
- c. Ma sono un po’ lenti a reagire.
 but COP.PRS.IPL a bit.DIM slow.PL to.ADJN react
 ‘But they are a bit slow to react.’

I have given in Sect.2.2.1 a slightly modified version of Herbst 1983’s typology of adjectival adjuncts; since I have not taken into account the distinction between type of adjuncts in the present hierarchy of de-adjectivalization, I leave to further works a thorough discussion of the argument structure of the Italian adjective, as well as its implication on de-categorization of property concepts in extended function.

Given the simplicity of adjectival argument structure, just one type of coding is attested in Italian i.e., the possessive type, which codes the subject argument (SBJ), as in example (68a). Furthermore, adjectival adjuncts are often coded as in the predicative use of property concepts; cfr. example (68b), in which the causative adjunct (ADJN) is coded as in the predicative adjective: *Eriksson è amaro per l’intervento di Sarpi* ‘Eriksson feels sorrow for Sarpi’s intervention’. (see Rainer 2015:1278 for a brief discussion)

- (68) a. La troppa bell-ezza di Giulia Boschi che
 the.DEF too.much.AUGM beautiful-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ PROP.N PROP.N who
 incarna Ada Zambon.
 embodies PROP.N PROP.N
 ‘The excessive beauty of Giulia Boschi, who plays the role of Ada Zambon.’
- b. L’ amar-ezza di Eriksson per l’ intervento di Scarpi.
 the.DEF bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ Eriksson for.ADJN the intervention of Sarpi
 ‘Eriksson’s bitterness for Sarpi’s intervention.’

Between the zero and the first degree we find the most crucial cut-off point in the hierarchy of de-adjectivalization; the first degree sees the loss of the most relevant parameter for the adjectival category

i.e., valency; as discussed in the previous section, this type of property nominalization i.e., argument property nominalization does not longer display argument structure, but can be involved in a deictic noun-noun relation.

In Sect.3.2.1 we have seen that in languages formally neutralizing the argument coding and the deictic noun-noun relation non-argument nominalization can be ambiguous with argument nominalization. As just mentioned, Italian employs possessive markers in order to code the subject argument of a property nominalization; when it is attested as a definite singular mass noun i.e., in the second degree of substantivization, an argument property nominalization can be ambiguous with a non-argument property nominalization coding the argument structure; for instance, in example (68a), *bellezza* ‘beauty’ can also be interpreted as a specific instance of the BEAUTIFUL abstract quality, which is possessed by - and not predicated of - *Giulia Boschi*. The semantics of the nominalization can be disambiguated by the context and by paraphrasing the property nominalization as a predicative construction with a fact-like or state reading: *(Il fatto) che Giulia Boschi sia troppo bella...* ‘(The fact) that Giulia Boschi is too much beautiful...’. This is the hallmark of the very close relation between the predicative and the referential function of property concepts, as already observed by Rainer 1989; the referential function of a property concept implies that the property concept can be also employed in the predicative function i.e., as a copular adjective.

In the first degree of de-adjectivalization, nominalized property concepts can still take degree markers, such as ADA markers and comparative markers, as in examples discussed below; degree markers are the same as those employed with adjectives, similarly to what observed in Sect.2.2.2 for other languages, and with a sub-set of Italian nouns i.e., mass nouns, as discussed in the previous section. The only value degree that is apparently missing is the superlative. For instance, the augmentative marker *troppo* ‘too.much’ is employed with the HOT concept both in the predicative function, as in example (69a) and in the referential function, as in example (69b); the diminutive marker *poco* is used with the COLD concept in the modificative function, as in example (69c), as well as in the referential function, as in example (69d).

- (69) a. Il mare per loro è troppo caldo.
the sea for them COP.PRS.3SG too.much.AUGM hot
‘Sea is too much hot for them.’
- b. Il troppo caldo-o ha fatto anticipare la
the.DEF too.much.AUGM hot-NMLZ.(M).SG AUX.has made anticipate the
maturazione.
ripening
‘Too much heat did anticipate ripening.’
- c. Con l’ inverno poco freddo che ci accompagna.
with the winter little.DIM cold that us accompanies
‘With the not very cold winter that accompanies us.’

- d. Cieli grigi, ma poco freddo-o sull' Europa centrale.
 skies grey but little.DIM cold-NMLZ.(M).SG on_the Europe central
 'Grey skies, but little cold on central Europe.'

Finally, in examples (70a)-(70b), the HOT property concept appears in a comparative construction both in its predicative and referential function.

- (70) a. A Torino il sole è meno caldo di una lampadina.
 in Turin the sun COP.PRS.3SG less.CMPR hot of a light.bulb
 'In Turin, the sun is less hot than a light bulb.'
- b. La terra assorbe meno cal-ore durante il giorno.
 the earth absorbs less.CMPR hot-NMLZ.(M).SG during the day
 'The earth absorbs less heat during the day.'

In the second, final degree of de-adjectivalization nominalized property concepts do not show adjectival parameters and their distributional potential is similar to the majority of Italian nouns i.e., count nouns.

The following implicational hierarchy, which I verify in the next section on Italian de-adjectival nouns, appears as follows:

Implicational Hierarchy of de-Adjectivalization
 -valency (subject and adjunct argument coding) < -degree

The implication reads as follows: "In a nominalization process, if a property concept loses the degree parameter, then it also loses the valency parameter".

5.2 The constructions, one by one

The simplest type of construction corresponds to each occurrences of a lexical root constructed with a given function, marked by a given strategy and found in a given context; however, an unsorted list of these constructions will be perhaps useful to enrich the entries of a dictionary or a thesaurus (Sect.1.3), but it is of a little use for the grammatical theory. Nevertheless, in the absence of grammar or monographies detailing the grammatical parameters and strategies of the phenomenon under scrutiny, the careful analysis of a great number of occurrences of a construction is a necessary task.

The constructions I am about to discuss constitute an elaboration of thousands of occurrences of the Italian de-Adjectival Nouns given in Tables 4.4-4.6; occurrences have been extracted from the the LA REPUBBLICA corpus (Baroni et al. 2004), a 330 million token corpus of written Italian containing twenty years (1980-2000) of the national daily La Repubblica. As the LA REPUBBLICA corpus is automatically tagged for parts of speech and contains some morphological information such as gender or number, it was quite easy to retrieve occurrences of de-Adjectival Nouns according to the grammatical

parameters discussed for the hierarchy of de-adjectivalization and substantivization; however, I have had some difficulties in retrieving zero-marked de-Adjectival Nouns, since these constructions often appear in the corpus tagged as adjectives. For this practical reason, I restrain myself from providing quantitative data here.

Constructions are evaluated according to the following parameters:

- lexical root;
- type of marking strategy: zero or affixation;
- grammatical type of nominalization: non-argument or argument;
- degree on the hierarchy of de-adjectivalization;
- degree on the hierarchy of substantivization;
- semantic type of property concept: one or more of the seven semantic types discussed in Sect.2.2.3;
- concreteness/animacy of the referent: one or more of the four semantic types discussed in Sect.3.3.1.

The structural coding of a construction is given through the following notation:

$$[concept_{root} affix/zero_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg/Arg}$$

The notation is quite similar to the one used by the framework of Construction Morphology, which I have mentioned in Sect.3.3.2; however, I do not assume here a previous category membership for lexical items, but I simply label lexical items through their lexical root; furthermore, I have chosen to label the strategy marker with the nominalization gloss (NMLZ), while the whole construction is notated by an index representing the two broadest types of nominalization, non-argument and argument.

In the perspective followed here a construction is represented by the structural coding, the distributional potential and the semantic information; however, for the sake of clarity, the distributional potential, represented by the degrees on the two hierarchies, and the semantic information are not encoded in the notation, but are given separately. Finally, a starred degree value (*) indicates a violation in the hierarchy.

5.2.1 *cattivo*: BAD

The lexical root *cattivo* ‘bad, nasty, evil’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *cattiv-eria* and *cattivo*.

The affixed construction *cattiveria* is a non-argument nominalization, referring to the fact of ‘being BAD’ and the abstract quality of BAD, as in examples (71a)-(71b), respectively; the construction can be either definite, as in example (71a), or generic, as in example (71b). It can take ADA degree markers, as the diminutive degree marker in example (71b), and can code subject and adjunct arguments, as in example (71a).

- (71) a. La cattiv-eria di Flaiano nei confronti dei moderni oggetti
the bad-NMLZ-(F).SG of.SBJ Flaiano towards.ADJN towards of_the modern objects
di culto è stupefacente.
of worship is astounding.
‘The nastiness of Flaiano towards modern objects of worship is astounding.’
- b. Un po’ di o cattiv-eria avrebbe reso meglio del
a DIM of GNRC bad-NMLZ.(F).SG would_have expressed better of_the
caricaturale ritratto di due insopportabili mariti.
grotesque portrait of two unbearable husbands
‘A bit of nastiness would have expressed more than the grotesque portrait of two unbearable husbands.’

Another affixed construction in *-eria* is represented by an argument nominalization, which conveys the meaning of ‘bad abstract entities’; these abstract entities can be actions, such as committing penalties during a soccer match, as in example (72a) or nasty remarks - often gratuitous - about someone, as in example (72b). The construction can be modified and can appear in a possessive construction, as in example (72a), can be either definite (example (72a)) or non-specific (example (72b)), and can be quantified, as in example (72c).

- (72) a. Dimentichiamo allora il forcing mortificante e le ricorrenti cattiv-erie
forget then the forcing humiliating and the recurring bad-NMLZ.(F).PL
dei madridisti.
of_the.POSS madrid_players
‘We forget then the humiliating forcing as well as the recurring nasty actions of the Madrid players.’
- b. Non voglio sentire o cattiv-erie su Al.
not want hear NSPEC bad-NMLZ.(F).PL about Al
‘I do not want hear nasty remarks about Al.’
- c. Avevo anche letto tutte le cattiv-erie non autorizzate della
had also read all.QUANTIF the.DEF bad-NMLZ.(F).PL not authorized of_the
sua ex compagna.
his ex girlfriend
‘I have also read all unauthorized nasty remarks by his ex-girlfriend.’

As for the zero constructions, I have found *cattivo* as an argument nominalization referring to human beings, as in examples (73a)-(73b). The construction shows an high degree of substantivization;

it can be non-definite and can take modifiers, as in example (73a) and can be quantified, as in example (73b). As it is often found referring to fictional characters, as in the examples below, the construction is probably institutionalized.

- (73) a. Bisogna inventare un cattivo più cattivo-o di tutti.
 be._necessary invent a.SPEC bad-NMLZ.(M).SG more bad than all
 ‘It’s necessary to invent the nastiest villain.’
- b. Gli aveva chiesto se recitare un buono, dopo tanti
 3SG.DAT have asked if play a good after many.QUANTIF
 cattivi-o...
 bad-NMLZ.(M).PL
 ‘She asked him whether playing a good character, after many villains...’

I summarize in the table below the three constructions with *cattivo* as a noun; in all constructions, the property concept BAD has the central meaning of the corresponding adjective *cattivo* i.e., HUMAN PROPENSITY.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[cattivo_{root}eria_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[cattivo_{root}eria_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[cattivo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	human

5.2.2 *bello*: BEAUTIFUL

The lexical root *bello* ‘beautiful, handsome’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *bell-ezza* and *bello*.

The affixed construction is a non-argument nominalization showing the PHYSICAL PROPERTY meaning: the fact of ‘being physically BEAUTIFUL’ and the physical BEAUTIFUL abstract quality; it is found as a generic or definite noun, can code the subject argument and can take degree markers, as in example (68a) given above, which I repeat here as example (74).

- (74) La troppa bell-ezza di Giulia Boschi che
 the.DEF too.much.AUGM beautiful-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ PROP.N PROP.N who
 incarna Ada Zambon.
 embodies PROP.N PROP.N
 ‘The excessive beauty of Giulia Boschi, who plays the role of Ada Zambon.’

The affixation strategy also marks two types of argument nominalization; the first type of argument nominalization refers to single and specific instances of the abstract quality, as in example (75a), where the BEAUTIFUL property concept appears first as a definite noun and then as a specific noun; the second type of argument nominalization ranges from abstract objects (example (75b)), to concrete inanimate objects (example (75c)), as well as human beings (example (75d)). The high degree of substantivization is signalled by quantification markers, as in example (75b), possessive constructions, as in example (75c), and relational adjectives, as in example (75d). The argument nominalization shows a PHYSICAL PROPERTY meaning.

- (75) a. A tavola, la bell-ezza è servita: una
 at table the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.(F).SG AUX.is served a.SPEC
 bell-ezza da gourmet che ruba i suoi ingredienti alla dieta
 beautiful-NMLZ.(F).SG POSS gourmet that steals the its ingredients from_the diet
 mediterranea.
 Mediterranean
 ‘At the table, beauty is served: a gourmet beauty, which steals its ingredients from the Mediterranean diet.’
- b. Ha decantato ieri mattina di fronte a un centinaio di nuovi imprenditori
 has praised yesterday morning in front of a hundred of new entrepreneurs
 della perestrojka le tante bell-ezze del
 of_the perestrojka the.DEF many.QUANTIF beautiful-NMLZ.(F).PL of_the.POSS
 sogno americano.
 dream American
 ‘Yesterday morning, in front of a hundred of new Perestrojka entrepreneurs he has praised the many beautiful objects of the American dream.’
- c. La smania europea di godere delle bell-ezze artistiche e
 the yearning European of enjoy from_the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.(F).PL artistic and
 architettoniche della Città Eterna.
 architectural of_the.POSS City Eternal
 ‘The European yearning of enjoy artistic and architectural beauties of the Eternal City.’
- d. Fotomodelle un po’ povere, un elogio delle bell-ezze
 fashion_models a bit poor, a praise of_the.SPEC beautiful-NMLZ.(F).PL
 partenopee.
 Neapolitan
 ‘Poor fashion models (title of a song), a praise of Neapolitan beauties.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found two types of argument nominalizations.

The first type of argument nominalization behaves as a mass noun and is involved in a meronymic construction; it is found as a singular, definite noun, as in example (76a), where it is glossed as ‘great things’.

The second zero-marked argument nominalization is reserved for human beings; the construction shows the highest degree of substantivization, as it is not only found with plural markers, as in example (76b), but it can also inflect for gender, as in example (76c).

- (76) a. E anche la pluralità, la diversità, cooperando strettamente, è il
and as_well the plurality the diversity cooperating closely is the.DEF
bello-o dell' Europa.
beautiful-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.PTV Europe
'And plurality, diversity, closely cooperating, are the great things about Europe.'
- b. Interpretato da Matthew McConaughey, uno dei nuovi
played by PROP.N PROP.N one of_the.DEF new
belli-o di Hollywood.
beautiful-NMLZ.M.PL of Hollywood
'(It is) played by Matthew McConaughey, one of the Hollywood new beauties.'
- c. Come si fa a mandare fiori alla bella-o se il
how REFL can to send flowers to_the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.F.SG if the
presidente non ha mezzi di pagamento personali?
president not has means of payment personal?
'How does one send flowers to the beauty if the president does not have his own private means of payment?'

I summarize in the table below the five constructions with *bello* as a noun.

construction	degrees of nominalization		semantics	
	de-adjct.	substant.	property	referent
$[bello_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	abstract entity
$[bello_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[bello_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity, inanimate, human
$[bello_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	VALUE	abstract entity
$[bello_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	human

5.2.3 *grande*: BIG

The lexical root *grande* ‘big’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *grand-ezza* and *grande*.

The suffix *-ezza* marks a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being BIG’ and the BIG abstract quality; the construction shows argument structure, as in example (77a), where the subject argument (possessor) is coded; it can take degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (77b) and can be either definite, as in example (77a), or generic, as in example (77b).

- (77) a. La grand-ezza della tua tribù si misura sulla
the.DEF big-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ 2SG.POSS tribe it measures on_the.DEF
grand-ezza del tuo nemico.
big-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ 2SG.POSS enemy
‘The greatness of your tribe is measured on the size of your enemy.’
- b. Lo yen ha conosciuto un contraccolpo forse da troppa
the yen has experienced a backlash perhaps from too.much.AUGM
grand-ezza.
big-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘The yen has experienced a backlash perhaps due to too much bigness.’

The affixation strategy also marks an argument nominalization, which refers to BIG abstract objects. When it shows the DIMENSION meaning, the construction is institutionalized in the basic lexicon as ‘size’, as in example (78b); when it displays the VALUE meaning, it refers to important parameters and values in a specific field. For instance, in examples (78a) and (78c), the argument nominalization is institutionalized as ‘economic variables’. As for the grammatical behaviour, the construction shows an high degree of substantivization, as it can be either definite, as in examples (78a)-(78b) or non-definite, as in example (78c); furthermore, it can take plural markers and can be quantified, as in examples (78a)-(78b).

- (78) a. Il successo dell’ impresa bancaria si compendia nelle due
the success of_the enterprise banking it summed_up in_the.DEF two
grand-ezze critiche della saldezza patrimoniale e della
big-NMLZ.(F).PL critical of_the.POSS soundness financial and of_the.POSS
capacità di reddito.
capability of profit
‘The success of the banking enterprise is summed up in the two critical variables of financial soundness and profit capability.’
- b. Corde di chitarra, cordame marino, corde di tutte
strings of.ATRB guitar ropes marine strings of_the.ATRB all.QUANTIF
le grand-ezze.
the.DEF big-NMLZ.(F).PL
‘Guitar strings, marine ropes, strings of all sizes.’

- c. Alcune grand-ezze sono agganciate direttamente proprio al costo
 some.NSPEC big-NMLZ.(F).PL are connected directly precisely to_the cost
 della vita: parlo delle pensioni.
 of_the living talk of_the pensions
 ‘Some values are precisely connected directly to the cost-of-living index: I am talking
 about pensions.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found two types of argument nominalizations.

The first type of argument nominalization mostly refers to human beings characterized for their significance in political or cultural fields, as in example (79a), in which the de-adjectival noun refers to two important Italian politicians, and in example (79d). Similarly to the affixed argument nominalization, the meaning of the zero argument nominalization may however depend on the context; in the sport jargon, it is often institutionalized as ‘the best teams’, as in example (79b), and in the economic jargon as the ‘the major companies’; in the family/child language, it assumes the AGE/DIMENSION semantic type, meaning ‘adults’, as in example (79c). The construction shows the highest level of substantivization; it can take numerals, as in example (79a), can inflect for gender, as in example (79b) and can be either definite, as in the first three examples or non definite, as in example (79d).

- (79) a. Stia assumendo il tono di uno scontro tra i due grandi-o,
 is taking_on the tone of a clash between the.DEF two big-NMLZ.M.PL,
 tra Natta e De Mita.
 between PROP.N and PROP.N PROP.N
 ‘It is taking on the tone of a clash between two bigs (politicians), between Natta and De Mita.’
- b. Vivono ancora gli entusiasmi della promozione fra le grandi-o.
 live still the enthusiasm of_the promotion among the.DEF big-NMLZ.F.PL
 ‘They still live the enthusiasm of the promotion among the bigs.’
- c. I bambini esprimono le loro opinioni sul mondo dei grandi-o.
 the children express the their opinions on_the world of_the big-NMLZ.M.PL
 ‘Children express their opinions about the world of adults.’
- d. Com’è la vita di uno che poi diventa un grande-o?
 how is the life of one who then become a.SPEC big-NMLZ.M.SG
 ‘How is the life of someone eventually becoming a big?’
- e. Andiamo alla ricerca del significato del grande-o nel
 go in_the search of_the meaning of_the.GNRC big-NMLZ.(M).SG in_the
 microscopico.
 microscopic
 ‘We seek the meaning of the big in the microscopic.’

The second type of zero-marked argument nominalization is attested with the lowest degree of substantivization - it can only be definite and singular - and the highest degree of de-adjectivalization,

as in example (79e).

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *grande* as a noun.

construction	degrees of nominalization		semantics	
	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[grande_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	DIMEN- SION,VALUE	abstract entity
$[grande_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	DIMEN- SION,VALUE	abstract entity
$[grande_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	DIMEN- SION,VALUE	human, inanimate
$[grande_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	2/7	DIMENSION	abstract entity

5.2.4 *amaro*: BITTER

The lexical root *amaro* ‘bitter’ as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *amar-ezza* and *amaro*.

The affixed construction is attested as a non-argument nominalization, whose meaning is the fact of ‘being BITTER’ and the BITTER abstract quality; the nominalization often shows the extended, HUMAN PROPENSITY meaning of ‘being sorrow’; the construction is found showing a positive value of definiteness and the coding of adjectival structure, as in example (80a), where both subject argument and causative adjunct are coded; moreover, in line with the de-adjectivalization hierarchy, the construction can take degree markers, as in example (80b).

- (80) a. (Il presidente) manifesta il suo rammarico e la sua amar-ezza
the president expresses the his regret and the.DEF his.SBJ bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG
per gli attacchi ricevuti.
for.ADJN the attacks suffered
‘(The president) expresses his regret and bitterness for the suffered attacks.’
- b. Nelle sue parole c’è più amar-ezza che rabbia.
in his words there is more.CMPR bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG than anger
‘In his words there is more bitterness than anger.’
- c. Tra gli ufficiali c’è un’ amar-ezza comprensibile.
among the officials there is a.SPEC bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG understandable
‘There is an understandable bitterness among the officials.’

The affixation strategy also marks the BITTER property concept as two different types of argument nominalization.

The first type of argument nominalization shows a medium level of substantivization (4/7) and is completely de-adjectivalized; it refers to ‘a single instance of bitterness’, as in example (80c). The construction is attested both in its core and extended meaning.

The second type of argument nominalization refers to abstract objects which denote or cause bitter feelings, as in examples (81a)-(81b). In both examples, note the negative value of definiteness, as well as the quantification parameter and the absence of adjectival parameters.

- (81) a. Chiappucci avrebbe una vittoria in meno, Ghirotto e Unzaga un’
 PROP.N would_have a victory in less PROP.N and PROP.N one
 amar-ezza in meno.
 bitter.NMLZ.(F).SG in less
 ‘Chiappucci would be short of a victory, Ghirotto and Unzaga of a disappointment.’
- b. Dopo tante amar-ezze, sono arrivati i segnali positivi.
 after many.QUANTIF bitter-NMLZ.(F).PL are arrived the signals positive
 ‘After many disappointments, positive signals have come.’

As for the zero strategy, the argument nominalization refers to the BITTER PHENOMENON, with both the meanings of PHYSICAL PROPERTY and of HUMAN PROPENSITY; the core meaning of PHYSICAL PROPERTY is also attested in the idiomatic expression *rimanere con l’amaro in bocca* ‘left with a bitter taste in mouth’, which is a metaphorical expression for ‘being left disappointed’. The construction can be either generic or definite, it can take ADA degree markers, as the diminutive degree marker in example (82a) and can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (82b).

- (82) a. Ma agli operatori è rimasto un po’ di amaro-o in bocca.
 but to_the operators AUX.is remained a DIM of bitter-NMLZ.(M).SG in mouth
 ‘But operators are left with a bitter taste in mouth.’
- b. Si sente l’amaro-o del fondo.
 PASS feels the.DEF bitter-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.POSS bottom
 ‘You feel the bitterness of bottom.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *amaro* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[amaro_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[amaro_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[amaro_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY	abstract entity
$[amaro_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	PHYSICAL PROP- ERTY/HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity

5.2.5 *nero*: BLACK

The lexical root *nero* ‘black’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *ner-ezza* and *nero*.

Property nominalizations marked by the affixation strategy are scarcely attested in my data, with only five occurrences in the LA REPUBBLICA corpus; all constructions are non-argument type of nominalization, referring to the ‘state of being BLACK’ and to the BLACK colour; the construction is found with the subject argument, as in example (83a), but without degree markers, thus apparently violating the hierarchy of de-adjectivalization; it can be either definite, as in example (83a), or generic, as in example (83b). In the latter example, *nero* is shifted to the HUMAN PROPENSITY semantic type, where it evokes something horrific and disturbing.

- (83) a. (Kipketer è) un senza colore nonostante la sua ner-ezza.
 PROP.N is a without colour despite the.DEF 3SG.SBJ black-NMLZ.(F).SG
 ‘(Kipketer is) a colourless despite his blackness.’
- b. Ma se manca un fondo di ner-ezza, di orrore, c’è solo un prodotto.
 but if lacks a bottom of black-NMLZ.(F).SG of horror there is only a product
 ‘But if there is not a fund of darkness, of horror, we are only left with a product.’

The zero strategy marks two types of argument nominalization.

The first type refers to the BLACK colour, both in the semantic types of COLOUR and HUMAN PROPENSITY. The nominalization can be either a Generic Noun, as in example (84a), a Definite Noun, as in example (84b) or a Specific Noun, as in example (84c); it can take degree markers and can show possessors, as in example (84b).

- (84) a. Il viaggio di Marco si tinge di o nero-o.
the journey of PROP.N REFL paints of GNRC black-NMLZ.(M).SG
'Marco's journey is painted with black.'
- b. Il nero-o intenso della terra seminata a
the.DEF black-NMLZ.(M).SG intense.AUGM of_the.POSS land sown with
grano.
wheat
'The intense black of the land sown with wheat.'
- c. Il torrente Kedron, enorme profondità di un nero-o funereo.
the stream PROP.N huge depth of a.SPEC black-NMLZ.(M).SG funereal
'The Kedron stream, a huge depth of a funereal black.'

Another argument nominalization is reserved to human referents, as in examples (85a)-(85b); the construction shows the highest degree of substantivization, as it can be quantified, as in example (85a) and can inflect for gender, as in example (85b).

- (85) a. Qualcuno ha calcolato che per ogni nero-o arrivato vivo
someone has calculated that for each.QUANTIF black-NMLZ.M.SG arrived alive
nelle Americhe altri dieci erano morti.
in _the Americas other ten were dead
'Someone has calculated that for each black came alive in the Americas ten others were dead.'
- b. Le atlete della Germania est in questi anni sono andate veloce quanto
the athletes of_the Germany East in these years AUX.are gone fast as
le nere-o.
the.GNRC black-NMLZ.F.PL
'In these years, athletes from the East Germany have run fast as much as blacks.'

I summarize in the table below the three constructions with *nero* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[nero_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	1/2*	2/7	COLOUR, VALUE	abstract entity
$[nero_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[nero_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	COLOUR	human

5.2.6 *intelligente*: CLEVER

The lexical root *intelligente* ‘clever, smart, intelligent’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy:⁵ *intellige-nza* and the zero strategy: *intelligente*.

The affixed non-argument nominalization refers to the fact of ‘being CLEVER’ and the CLEVER abstract quality; the construction can be either a Definite or a Generic Noun and display an argument structure: see the specifier clausal argument in example (86a); moreover, it can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (86b).

- (86) a. Ebbero il coraggio e l’onestà di riconoscere i propri errori e l’
 had the courage and the honesty of recognize the own errors and the.DEF
intellige-nza di cercare vie nuove.
 clever-NMLZ.(F).SG of seek ways new
 ‘They had the courage and the honesty to recognize their own mistakes and the intelligence to seek new ways.’
- b. Cosa che fu fatta con molta o *intellige-nza* e molta fatica in
 thing which was done with AUGM GNRC clever-NMLZ.(F).SG and lot_of effort in
 presenza di 31 mila miliardi di debiti.
 presence of 31 thousand billion of debts
 ‘which it was done with great intelligence and a lot of effort in the presence of 31,000 billion in debt.’

The affixation strategy marks three type of argument nominalizations as well; the first type refers to a kind of cleverness, as in example (87a), where the intelligence is specified as ‘tactical’. The construction is attested either as a definite or non-definite noun and can take ADA degree markers.

The second type refers to the abstract entity related to cleverness, as the human mind; the construction can show plural markers, as in example (87b).

Finally, the third type refers to animate referents, most notably human beings, as in in example (87c); the construction shows an high degree of substantivization, as it can take quantifiers.

- (87) a. Penso anche di avere una certa *intellige-nza* tattica.
 thin also of have a.SPEC certain.AUGM clever-NMLZ.(F).SG tactical
 ‘I think I also have a certain tactical intelligence.’
- b. C’è bisogno di nuove energie, nuove mentalità, nuove *intellige-nze*.
 there is need for new energies, new thinking, new clever-NMLZ.(F).PL
 ‘There is need for new energies, new thinking, new intelligences.’

⁵From a theoretical perspective, it is perhaps better to treat *intelligenza/intelligente* as an instance of affix alternation, which is for instance nicely handed in the Construction Morphology framework as a paradigmatic relation between two morphological schemas: $\langle ([x - nza]_{N_i} \leftrightarrow SEM_i) \approx \langle [x - nte]_{A_j} \leftrightarrow [property\ of\ SEM_i]_{A_j} \rangle$, where SEM_i represents the meaning of the word in *-nza* and the $\approx$ sign the paradigmatic relation. See Booij 2010:31-36

- c. Quello di Valery e di Guillén è l' incontro di due intelligenze
 that of PROP.N and of PROP.N is the meeting of two clever-NMLZ.(F).PL
 mediterranee.
 Mediterranean
 'The meeting of Valery and Guillén is the meeting of two Mediterranean intelligences.'

Finally, the zero strategy is found with an argument nominalization, whose referent is human, as in example (88).

- (88) E si lanciano appelli a tutti gli intelligenti-o.
 and PASS launch appeals to all.QUANTI the.DEF clever-NMLZ.M.PL
 'And they make appeals to all the intelligent people.'

The construction shows definiteness, plural markers and quantifiers; it is however scarcely attested and most likely borderline with instances of NP with only modifying nouns, as discussed in Sect.5.1.1.

I summarize in the table below the five constructions with *clever* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[intelligente_{root}nza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN	abstract
$[intelligente_{root}nza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	PROPENSITY	entity
			HUMAN	abstract
$[intelligente_{root}nza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	5/7	PROPENSITY	entity
			HUMAN	abstract
$[intelligente_{root}nza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	PROPENSITY	entity
			HUMAN	human
$[intelligente_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	PROPENSITY	
			HUMAN	human

5.2.7 *freddo*: COLD

The lexical root *freddo* 'cold, cool, indifferent' is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *fredd-ezza* and *freddo*.

The affixed strategy marks a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of 'being COLD' and the COLD abstract quality, both in the central, PHYSICAL PROPERTY meaning and the extended, HUMAN PROPENSITY meaning. It can take degree markers, as in example (89a), and can code the subject and adjunct arguments, as in example (89b).

- (89) a. Avesse più fredd-ezza in zona-gol, sarebbe un mostro.
 had CMPR cold-NMLZ.(F).SG in goal_area would_be a monster

‘If he had more coolness in goal-area, he would be a monster.’

- b. La fredd-ezza del tono generale del libro di fronte alla portata
the cold-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ the general tone of the book with.ADJN respect
davvero tragica dei più recenti casi di intolleranza razziale.
to_the scale really tragic of_the most recent cases of racial intolerance.
‘The coldness of book’s general tone with respect to the really tragic scale of the most recent cases of racial intolerance.’
- c. Anche una certa fredd-ezza del pubblico, mettiamoci.
even a AUGM cold-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.DET.POSS audience add
‘Even a certain indifference of the audience, let’s add’.

An affixed argument nominalization is attested as well and refers to a specific instance of COLD abstract quality, as in example (89c), where the construction is involved in a possessive relation, displays non-definiteness and is modified by ADA degree markers.

A second affixed argument nominalization refers to singular pluralities of COLD abstract entities; for instance, signs of diplomatic indifference, as shown in examples (90a)-(90b); the construction can take modifiers, plural markers and possessors, as in example (90a), as well as quantifiers, as in example (90b).

- (90) a. Quella Germania e quell’ Europa anglosassone le cui crescenti
that Germany and that Europe Anglo-Saxon the.DEF whose.POSS rising
fredd-ezze europeistiche potrebbero alla fine avverare il vero incubo
cold-NMLZ.(F).PL europhile can in_the end realize the true nightmare
della Francia.
of_the France
‘That Germany and that Anglo-Saxon Europe whose rising indifferences toward Europe may eventually realize France’s true nightmare.’
- b. Rari entusiasmi, molte fredd-ezze, diffusa stima.
rare enthusiasms several.QUANTIF cold-NMLZ.(F).PL widespread respect
‘Rare enthusiasms, several indifferences, widespread respect.’

As for the zero strategy, an argument nominalization is found with the core meaning of PHYSICAL PROPERTY; the nominalization refers to COLD abstract entities, usually to the cold weather or climate. The construction can be non-definite, as in example (91a), can be graded, as in example (91b) and can display plural markers, as in example (91c).

- (91) a. Un freddo-o polare per buona parte del periodo invernale.
a.SPEC cold-NMLZ.(M).SG polar for good part of_the period winter
‘A polar cold for most of the winter.’
- b. Il freddo-o così intenso e diffuso, durerà ancora due giorni.
the.DEF cold-NMLZ.(M).SG very AUGM and scattered last.FUT still two days
‘The cold so intense and scattered will last two more days.’

- c. Un buon bicchiere di vodka per affrontare i primi freddi-o.
 a good glass of vodka to address the.DEF first cold-NMLZ.(M).PL
 ‘A good glass of vodka to address the arrival of the cold weather.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *freddo* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[freddo_{root}ezzaz_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[freddo_{root}ezzaz_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[freddo_{root}ezzaz_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[freddo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	5/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity

5.2.8 *crudele*: CRUEL

The lexical root *crudele* ‘cruel’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *crudel-tà* and with the zero strategy: *crudele*.

The affixation strategy is found marking a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being CRUEL’ and the CRUEL abstract quality. The construction shows the argument structure, as in example (92a) and can be graded, as in example (92b). As for the nominal parameters, the construction displays the positive value of definiteness, as in in examples (92a)-(92b).

- (92) a. La leggerezza con cui viene giocata la crudel-tà dei
 the ease with which comes played the.DEF cruel-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ
 sentimenti.
 feelings
 ‘The ease with which it is played the cruelty of feelings.’
 b. Combattuta con molta crudel-tà e pochi prigionieri.
 fought with much.AUGM cruel-NMLZ.(F).SG and few prisoners
 ‘Fought with great cruelty and few prisoners.’

The affixation strategy also marks two argument nominalizations; the first type is a Specific Noun and refers to a kind of cruelty, as in example (93a); the second type can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (93b), and can take quantification markers, as in example (93c), referring to an (abstract) act of cruelty.

- (93) a. Un despota nel quale traspare una crudel-tà paternalistica.
 a despot in which shines a.SPEC cruel-NMLZ.(F).SG paternalistic

- ‘A despot in which shines a paternalistic cruelty.’
- b. Scrive Camilla Pisana a Francesco Del Nero, lamentandosi dell’
 writes PROP.N PROP.N to PROP.N PROP.N PROP.N complaining of_the.DEF
 ennesima crudel-tà dell’ amante.
 umpteenth cruel-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.POSS lover
 ‘Camilla Pisana writes to Francesco Del Nero, complaining of the umpteenth cruelty of
 the lover.’
- c. Gli sciiti hanno vinto, tra mille o crudel-tà.
 the sciites have won among thousands NSPEC cruel-NMLZ.(F).PL
 ‘Shiites have won, among countless cruelties.’

The zero strategy is found with an argument nominalization, which is attested as either definite, as in example (94b) or non-definite, as in example (94a); since it can take plural markers and can change gender, as in example (94b), it shows the highest degree of substantivization. The construction exclusively refers to human beings, more specifically, to fictional characters, such as film or book characters. Given its specific contexts, the construction is institutionalized; note also in example (94b) *belle e crudeli* ‘beautiful and cruel’, a fixed expression.

- (94) a. Con Dennis Hopper nella parte di un crudele-o totale.
 with PROP.N PROP.N in_the role of a.SPEC cruel-NMLZ.M.SG total
 ‘With Dennis Hopper in the role of a total cruel’.
- b. Come capitava alle belle e crudeli nei film neri
 as happened to_the.DEF beauties and cruel-NMLZ.F.PL in_the movies noir
 americani degli anni ’50.
 american of_the 50s
 ‘As it happened to the beautiful and cruel women in American film noirs of the 50s.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *crudele* as a noun; all constructions show the core semantic type of HUMAN PROPENSITY.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[crudele_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[crudele_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[crudele_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[crudele_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	human

5.2.9 *secco*: DRY

The lexical root *secco* ‘dry, arid, blunt, abrupt’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *secch-ezza* and with the zero strategy: *secco*.

The construction marked by the *-ezza* suffix is a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being DRY’ and the DRY abstract quality, both in the PHYSICAL PROPERTY meaning, as in example (95a) and in the VALUE meaning, as in examples (95b)-(95c). The construction can be either definite, as in example (95a), or generic, as in example (95b); it can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (95b), and can code arguments, as in example (95a).

- (95) a. Le può guastare la luce, la secch-ezza dell’ aria.
 them can spoil the light the.DEF dry-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ air
 ‘The light can spoil them as well as the dryness of air.’
- b. Ambientando qui con molta secch-ezza le brevi scene che
 settling here with very.AUGM dry-NMLZ.(F).SG the short scenes that
 ritmano lo spettacolo.
 punctuate the show
 ‘Settling here with very bluntness the short scenes that punctuate the show.’
- c. Già il titolo indica il proposito di una certa secch-ezza
 already the title indicates the objective of a.SPEC certain.AUGM dry-NMLZ.(F).SG
 di espressione.
 of.POSS expression
 ‘The title already indicates the objective of a certain bluntness of expression.’

The affixation strategy also marks an argument nominalization, which refers to a kind of DRY abstract entity; the construction is a Specific Noun and can take degree markers, as in example (95c), where the augmentative marker *certa* ‘certain’ is employed.

As for the zero strategy, I have found the construction as an argument nominalization, which refers to DRY abstract entities, such as the dry weather or the dry climate. As shown in example (96a)-(96b), the construction displays a low degree of substantivization, since is attested only as a Definite Noun, in the singular form and in a possessive construction; the construction does not show adjectival parameters.

- (96) a. È maggiore la probabilità che continui il secco-o piuttosto che
 is more the likelihood that continues the.DEF dry-NMLZ.(M).SG rather than
 inizino le piogge.
 start the rains
 ‘It is more likely that the dry (weather) continues, rather than rains start.’
- b. Dove il secco-o del deserto conserva bene le
 where the.DEF dry-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.POSS desert preserves well the
 lamiere.
 metal_sheets

‘Where the dry (climate) of the desert preserves well the metal sheets.’

I summarize in the table below the three constructions with *secco* as a noun; the affixed constructions are polysemous between the PHYSICAL PROPERTY and the VALUE semantic types, while the zero-marked construction shows the PHYSICAL PROPERTY semantic type only.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[secco_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	abstract entity
$[secco_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	abstract entity
$[secco_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	3/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity

5.2.10 *stupido*: FOOL

The lexical root *stupido* ‘fool, stupid’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *stupid-ità*, *stupid-aggine* and with the zero strategy: *stupido*.

The construction marked by the *-ità* suffix is a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being FOOL’ and the FOOL abstract quality; the construction can display an argument structure, as in (97a), where the third plural possessive pronoun marks the subject argument in the argument coding; it can also take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (97b), and can be either a Definite Noun, as in example (97a), or a Generic Noun, as in example (97b).

- (97) a. Troppo impegnati dalla loro stupid-ità, gli ultras non hanno visto
too busy by_the.DEF 3PL.SBJ fool-NMLZ.(F).SG the ultras not have seen
chi stesse parlando.
who was speaking
‘Too busy with their stupidity, the ultras did not see who was speaking.’
- b. C’è molta o stupid-ità nel calcolo che si sta
there is much.AUGM GNRC fool-NMLZ.(F).SG in_the evaluation that it AUX.IMPF
facendo in queste ore sui dissidenti.
doing in these hours on_the dissidents
‘There is much stupidity in the evaluation that is being done in these hours on dissidents.’

The construction marked by the *-ità* suffix is also found in two types of argument nominalizations; the first type denotes a kind of QUALITY, as in in example (98a), where the construction is a

Specific Noun; the second type of construction refers to ‘fool acts or things’, such as chattering or spoiling the environment: cfr. examples (98b)-(98c), where the nominalized property concept shows plural markers and is quantified.

- (98) a. Non penserete che io possa ammettere che Ridge è di una stupid-ità
 not think.IRR that I can admit that PROP.N is of a.SPEC fool-NMLZ.(F).SG
 agghiacciante.
 terrible
 ‘You do not think I can admit that Ridge is of a terrible stupidity.’
- b. Osserva Natta che anche alle bugie e alle stupid-ità c’è un
 observes Natta that even to_the lies and to_the.DEF fool-NMLZ.(F).PL there is a
 limite.
 limit
 ‘Natta observes that even to the lies and nonsense there is a limit.’
- c. A me sembra che inquinare e uccidere la natura sia una
 to me seems that pollute and kill the nature is a.QUANTIF
 stupid-ità e un suicidio.
 fool-NMLZ.(F).SG and a suicide
 ‘It seems to me that polluting and killing nature is a foolish thing and a suicide.’

However, it seems that the latter type of meaning is covered by the nominalized property concept marked by the means of the other affixation strategy i.e., the suffix *-aggine*. This is clearly a case of type blocking, with the [*stupido*_{root} *aggine*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} construction blocking the [*stupido*_{root} *ità*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} construction i.e., a construction with the same distributional potential and the same meaning. The construction signifies ‘stupid/foolish abstract objects’, referring to nonsense talking/writing or foolish acts. The construction can be non-definite and non-specific, can inflect for number and can take quantifier markers, as shown in example (99a); it can also be definite and specific, and can take attributive markers, as in (99b).

- (99) a. Non ho mai letto tante stupid-aggini in appena otto cartelle.
 not have never read many.QUANTIF fool-NMLZ.(F).PL in just eight pages
 ‘I have never read so many stupid things in just eight pages.’
- b. Sinisa sta pagando la stupid-aggine di Torino.
 PROP.N is paying the.DEF fool-NMLZ.(F).SG ATRB Turin
 ‘Sinisa is paying the foolish act made in Turin.’

The zero-marked construction is attested as an argument nominalization, referring to human referents; the construction shows the highest degree of substantivization, since it can be pluralized and quantified, as in example (100a) and can inflect for gender, as in example (100b).

- (100) a. Quattro stupidi-o che si firmano col nome di uno dei
 four fool-NMLZ.(M).PL who REFL sign with_the name of one of_the
 peggiori assassini del fascismo.
 worst murderers of_the fascism
 ‘Four fools who sign with the name of one of the worst fascist murderers.’
- b. Non mi piace che le modelle vengano rappresentate come delle
 not 1SG.DAT like that the models are depicted as the.GNRC
 stupide-o.
 fool-NMLZ.(F).PL
 ‘I do not like that supermodels are depicted as fools.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *stupido* as a noun; the four constructions show the HUMAN PROPENSITY semantic type.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[stupido_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[stupido_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[stupido_{root}t\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[stupido_{root}aggine_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[stupido_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	human

5.2.II *buono*: GOOD

The lexical root *buono* ‘good, kind’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *bon-tà* and with the zero strategy: *buono*.

The affixed non-argument nominalization refers to the fact of ‘being GOOD’ and the GOOD abstract quality; the construction displays the core meaning of VALUE, as in example (101a), but, as with the modification and predication function, is commonly extended to attitudes towards other human beings (HUMAN PROPENSITY), as in example (101b). The nominalization can code arguments, as in example (101a), it can be graded, as in example (101b) and can be either a Definite Noun, as in example (101a), or a Generic Noun, as in example (101b).

- (101) a. Ma noi crediamo nella bon-tà dell’idea.
 but we believe in the.DEF good-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ idea

‘But we believe in the effectiveness of the idea.’

- b. *Pensa di aver perduto il titolo negli ultimi tre anni più per troppa*
 think of have lost the title in_the last three years more to AUGM
bon-tà (...)?
 good-NMLZ.(F).SG

‘Do you think you lost the title in the last three years more to too much goodness (...)?’

The affixation strategy also marks two types of argument nominalization; the first type refers to a kind of abstract quality, as in example (102a), where the construction is a Specific Noun; the second type of argument nominalization refers to concrete, non-animate objects; more precisely, to good food; the construction shows plural markers and can be related to other objects, as in example (102b), where the nominalization is modified by a relational adjective and is involved in a possessive construction.

- (102) a. *Vincenzo è troppo buono, di una bon-tà infinita.*
 PROP.N COP.is AUGM good of a.SPEC good-NMLZ.(F).SG infinite
 ‘Vincenzo is too good, he has an infinite goodness.’
 b. *Sarò fiero di farLe apprezzare le bon-tà*
 COP.will_be proud of let_you.HON appreciate the.DEF good-NMLZ.(F).PL
culinarie di questa terra.
 culinary of.POSS this land
 ‘I will be proud to let you appreciate the culinary delights of this land.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found two types of argument nominalization.

The first type refers to human beings and can be quantified, as in examples (103a)-(103b), but it is not found inflecting for gender in the corpus.

- (103) a. *Era un buono-o, una persona di grande buonsenso.*
 COP.was a.SPEC good-NMLZ.(M).SG a person of great good_sense
 ‘He was a good (person), a person of great good sense.’
 b. *In tutti i buoni-o c’è una venatura cattiva.*
 in all.QUANTIF the.DEF good-NMLZ.(M).PL there is a trace nasty
 ‘In every good, there is a nasty trace.’

The second type can only be definite and behaves as a mass noun involved in a meronymic construction, as in example (104)-(105); in the last example, the superlative suppletive form is employed.

- (104) *La Chiesa vuole cogliere anche il buono-o di questa esperienza.*
 the Church wants seize also the.DEF good-NMLZ.(M).SG of.PTV this experience
 ‘The Church also wants to seize the good of this experience.’

- (105) Fondere in un solo programma il meglio-o di ogni
 merge into a single show the.DEF good-NMLZ.(M).SG.SUP of.PTV each
 genere.
 genre
 ‘Merge into a single show the best of each genre.’

I summarize in the table below the five constructions with *buono* as a noun; the first two constructions are polysemous between the VALUE and the HUMAN PROPENSITY semantic types, while the other three constructions specialize in one of the two semantic types.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[buono_{root} t\hat{a}_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[buono_{root} t\hat{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[buono_{root} t\hat{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	5/7	VALUE	inanimate
$[buono_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	human
$[buono_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	VALUE	abstract entity

5.2.12 *caldo*: HOT

The lexical root *caldo* ‘hot, warm’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both strategies: *cal-ore* and *caldo*.

The affixation strategy marks a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact and quality of ‘being warm’ in the extended, HUMAN PROPENSITY meaning; the construction is attested with degree markers, as in example (106a), and can code its subject argument, as in example (106b).

- (106) a. Il papa non voleva mostrargli troppo cal-ore quando
 the pope not wanted show=him too.much.AUGM hot-NMLZ.(M).SG when
 doveva incontrarlo.
 had meet=him
 ‘The pope did not want to show him too much warmth when he had to meet him.’
 b. C’era lì tutto il cal-ore degli ispanici
 there was there all the hot-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.SUBJ hispanic
 ‘There was all the hispanic warmth’

The affixation strategy marks two types of argument nominalization as well.

The first type denotes a single instantiation of the above-described abstract quality, as in example (107a), where the nominalization refers to the ‘warmness of sympathy’ toward another human being.

The second type refers to the heat arising from natural or artificial sources, as in example (107b); in its extended meaning, the construction refers to positive or negative human feelings (HUMAN PROPENSITY), as in example (107d). This type of argument nominalization displays an high degree of substantivization; it can be a Definite Noun, as in example (107b), and a non-Specific Noun, as in example (107d); at the same time, similarly to the $[freddo_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ construction, the nominalization can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (107c), and plural markers, as in example (107d).

- (107) a. e un cal-ore di simpatia per quell’ unicum che è l’
and a hot-NMLZ.(M).SG of. sympathy.POSS for that unicum who is the
individuo.
individual
‘and a warmness of sympathy toward that unicum who is the individual.’
- b. Con un satellite si può rilevare il cal-ore di un tetto.
with a satellite it can detect the.DEF hot-NMLZ.(M).SG of.POSS a roof
‘With a satellite the heat of a roof can be detected.’
- c. Stando attenti a non distruggere la plastica con troppo
being careful to not destroy the plastic with too_much.AUGM
cal-ore
hot-NMLZ.(M).SG
‘Being careful to not destroy plastic with too much heat.’
- d. Michele Trotta che incarna stupendamente il disgraziato Stefanino, con
PROP.N PROP.N who embodies beautifully the unfortunate PROP.N with
o cal-ori e sbuffi di forte istinto.
NSPEC hot-NMLZ.(M).PL and puffs of.ATRB strong instinct
‘Michele Trotta who beautifully plays the unfortunate Stefanino, with heats and puffs of strong instinct.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found an argument nominalization whose meaning largely overlaps with the second type of affixed argument nominalization described above. It can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (108a), plural markers and possessors, as in example (108b) and can show non-definiteness, as in example (108c).

- (108) a. Il troppo caldo-o ha fatto anticipare la
the too_much.AUGM hot-NMLZ.(M).SG has done.CAUS anticipate the
maturazione.
ripening
‘Too much heat did anticipate the ripening.’

- b. In effetti, è più adatto alla stagione e ai suoi
 in fact is more suitable to_the season and to_the.DEF 3SG.POSS
 caldi-o.
 hot-NMLZ.(M).PL
 ‘Actually, it is more suitable for the season and for its hot (temperatures).’
- c. A Torino un caldo-o così non si registrava da 100 anni.
 in Turin a.SPEC hot-NMLZ.(M).SG kind_of not it record for 100 years
 ‘In Turin, that kind of heat has not been recorded for 100 years.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *caldo* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[caldo_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[caldo_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[caldo_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	5/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity
$[caldo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	5/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY	abstract entity

5.2.13 *gentile*: KIND

The lexical root *gentile* ‘kind, polite’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy only: *gentil-ezza*.

As an affixed non-argument nominalization, the construction refers to the fact of ‘being kind’ and the KIND abstract quality; the construction displays the subject argument coding, as in example (109a) and shows ADA degree marker, as in example (109b), where an augmentative degree marker is used.

- (109) a. Il parroco di San Babila ha ricordato la gentilezza di Edy
 the parish.priest of San Babila has recalled the kind-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ PROP.N
 Campagnoli.
 PROP.N
 ‘The parish priest of San Babila has recalled the kindness of Edy Campagnoli.’

- b. Ed è dalla stanza del sindaco che, con un po' di balbuzie e molta
and is from_the room of mayor that with a DIM of stammer and AUGM
gentil-ezza, spiega...
kind-NMLZ.(F).SG explains
'And from the mayor's room, with a little stammer and a lot of kindness, explains...'

The affixation strategy also marks two types of argument nominalization; the first type refers to a kind of abstract quality, which can be made explicit by deictic constructions, as the attributive construction in example (110a); the construction can also take ADA degree markers, as in example (110b).

The second type refers to multiple abstract entities, most specifically, to act(s) of kindness such as compliments, gifts, nice words; the construction is often found as a pluralized non-Specific Noun, as in example (110c) and is sometimes quantified, as in example (110d).

- (110) a. Mi resta una riconosciuta gentil-ezza di toni e di
1SG.DAT have a.SPEC recognized kind-NMLZ.(F).SG of.ATR tones and of
modi.
manners
'I only have a recognized kindness of tones and manners.'
- b. E vi circola anche una certa gentilezza, delicatezza
and here circulates also a.SPEC certain.AUGM kind-NMLZ.(F).SG delicacy
quasi.
almost
'It also circulates a certain kindness, almost delicacy.'
- c. Secondo scambio di complimenti, gentil-ezze e inviti
second exchange of.NSPEC compliments kind-NMLZ.(F).PL and invitations
reciproci fra le due first ladies planetari.
reciprocal between the two first ladies planetary
'Second exchange of compliments, kindnesses and invitations between the two planetary first ladies.'
- d. E lei aveva girato felicemente da sola, fra bei paesaggi e
and she had gone_around happily on her_own between nice landscapes and
mille gentil-ezze.
thousand kind-NMLZ.(F).PL
'And she had gone happily around on her own, between nice landscapes and a thousand kindnesses.'

I summarize in the table below the three constructions with *gentile* as a noun; all constructions display the core semantic type of HUMAN PROPENSITY.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[gentile_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY	abstract entity
$[gentile_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY	abstract entity
$[gentile_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPEN- SITY	abstract entity

5.2.14 *nuovo*: NEW

The lexical root *nuovo* ‘new’ is found as noun marked by the means of both strategies: *nov-ità* and *nuovo*.

The affixed construction is found as a non-argument nominalization, referring to the fact of ‘being NEW’ and the NEW abstract quality; the construction is attested as a Definite or Generic Noun, as in examples (111a)-(111b), respectively. As for the adjectival parameters, the construction can code the subject argument, as in example (111a) and can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative degree markers in example (111b).

- (111) a. La risposta non può essere che incerta, anche per la nov-ità
the answer not can be only uncertain even for the.DEF new-NMLZ.(F).SG
della situazione.
of_the.SBJ situation
‘The answer can only be uncertain, even for the novelty of the situation.’
- b. Se non c’è troppa nov-ità, c’è abilità da vendere.
if not there is too_much.AUGM new-NMLZ.(F).SG there is ability to sell
‘If there is not too much novelty, there is a lot of ability.’

The affixation strategy also marks two types of argument nominalizations.

The first type refers to a kind of abstract quality; the construction is a Specific Noun and can take ADA degree markers, as the augmentative in example (112a).

The second type refers to abstract entities and concrete objects, depending on the context. It may signify news, as in example (112b) or goods, such as books, as in example (112c). The construction shows an high level of substantivization; it can be a non-Specific Noun, as in example (112b), and can be quantified, as in example (112c).

- (112) a. Perché si colloca in una prospettiva politica di una certa
because it fits in a perspective political of a.SPEC certain.AUGM
nov-ità.
new-NMLZ.(F).SG

‘Because it fits into a certain new political perspective.’

- b. Nov-ità si preannunciano per i compensi dei magistrati.
 new-NMLZ.(F).PL PASS for the salaries of_the judges
 ‘There will be news on judges’ salaries.’
- c. Nella classifica di questa settimana si registrano due sole nov-ità.
 in_the chart of this week PASS recorded two only new-NMLZ.(F).PL
 ‘In this week’s chart there are only two new entries.’

The zero strategy marks an argument nominalization, which behaves as mass noun; it can be a Definite Noun, as in examples (113a)-(113b), or a Generic Noun, as in example (113c). The argument nominalization is involved in a meronymic construction, as in example (113b), and shows ADA degree markers, as the augmentative-diminutive degree marker in example (113c).

- (113) a. Nella sua capacità d’ inventare il nuovo-o, che sia veramente
 in_the its ability to invent the.DEF new-NMLZ.(M).SG that is actually
 il nuovo-o.
 the.DEF new-NMLZ.(M).SG
 ‘In its ability to invent the new, that is actually the new.’
- b. Tutto il nuovo-o della Juve ricomincia dal
 All the.DEF new-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.PTV PROP.N restart from_the
 vecchio.
 old
 ‘All it is new about Juve restarts from what is old.’
- c. Offre così poco di nuovo-o e così tanto di vecchio.
 offers so.AUGM little.DIM of.GNRC new-NMLZ.(M).SG and so much of old
 ‘It offers so little of novelty, and so much of old.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *nuovo* as a noun, all displaying the core semantic type of AGE.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[nuovo_{root} it\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	AGE	abstract entity
$[nuovo_{root} it\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	AGE	abstract entity
$[nuovo_{root} it\grave{a}_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	AGE	inanimate, abstract entity
$[nuovo_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	AGE	abstract entity

5.2.15 *vecchio*: OLD

The lexical root *vecchio* ‘old’ is found as noun marked by the means of both types of strategy: *vecchiezza*, *vecchi-aia* and *vecchio*.

The first suffix, *-aia*, marks a non-argument nominalization, referring to the ‘state of being OLD’; the construction is found coding its subject argument, as in example (114b), but is attested neither in comparative/superlative constructions nor with ADA markers. However, example (114a), in which the expression *grado di* ‘degree of’ is employed, leads to presume that the construction is actually gradable.⁶ Furthermore, note that the non-argument nominalization is not a quality noun, but, rather, a second order entity, referring to a temporal entity. As mentioned in Sect.2.1.2, second order entities may display argument coding, as in example (114b), but not degree markers, since actions (and objects) are generally incompatible with gradation (Sect.1).

- (114) a. (...) viene applicato in base alla vetustà dell’ immobile (cioè al suo grado di (...)) is applied on basis at_the age of_the property i.e. at_the its degree of vecchi-aia).
old-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘(it) is applied depending on the age of the property (i.e., its degree of oldness).’
- b. La scarsa manutenzione e lo stato di vecchi-aia della nave siano the poor maintenance and the condition of old-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ ship are alla base della tragedia at_the base of_the tragedy
‘The poor maintenance and the oldness of the ship are at the base of the tragedy.’

The same suffix marks an argument nominalization construction, which refers to the ‘old age’. As for the nominal parameters, the construction can be a Definite Noun, as in example (115a), a Specific Noun, as in example (115b), and a Non-Specific Noun, as in example (115c), which also displays plural markers.

- (115) a. I muli che il mulattiere rimpiange nella sua menomata the mules that the mule.herder regrets in_the.DEF 3SG.POSS crippled vecchi-aia.
old-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘The mules that the mule herder regrets in his crippled old age.’
- b. Nel patetico tentativo di sconfiggere una vecchi-aia che arriverà in_the pathetic attempt to defeat an old-NMLZ.(F).SG that will_arrive comunque inesorabile. nonetheless inexorable
‘In the pathetic attempt to defeat an old age that will arrive nonetheless inexorable.’

⁶ A Google search (15/10/2018) of *vecchiaia* with three ADA markers reports the following hits: *molta vecchiaia*: 326, *poca vecchiaia*: 10, *troppa vecchiaia*: 398.

- c. Ma esistono anche o vecchi-aie eccezionali.
 but there.are also NSPEC old-NMLZ.(M).PL exceptional
 ‘But there are also exceptional old ages.’

The second suffix, *-ezza*, marks a non-argument nominalization; similarly to the affix rivalry between the [*stupido*_{root}*aggine*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} and [*stupido*_{root}*ità*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} constructions, the construction is blocked by the *aia*-marked construction described above, meaning that there are few occurrences of the *ezza*-marked non-argument nominalization on the corpus. The construction displays the same distributional potential of the [*vecchio*_{root}*aia*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} construction: it is attested as Definite Noun with argument structure, as in example (116), but is found without degree markers. However, its semantics seems to be more similar to a quality noun i.e., the OLD abstract quality.

- (116) Un seduttore che già sente la maturità sua e la vecchi-ezza
 a seducer who already feels the maturity his and the.DEF old-NMLZ.(F).SG
 degli altri.
 of_the.SBJ others
 ‘A seducer who already feels his maturity and the oldness of the others.’

The *-ezza* suffix also marks two types of argument nominalizations.

The first type denotes a kind of abstract quality and is found as a Specific Noun, as in example (117a).

The second type refers to abstract things, more specifically, the sort of things that come with old age, as in example (117b), or, in a metaphorical, extended and derogatory meaning (VALUE), practices associated to the oldness of political system, as in example (117c). The construction can show non-definiteness, as in example (117b), as well as definiteness, as in example (117c). It can take plural markers, but it is not found with quantification markers.

- (117) a. La muffa di una vecchi-ezza assolutamente reale e però creata in
 the mold of a.SPEC old-NMLZ.(F).SG extremely real and though created in
 laboratori artigiani.
 workshops artisanal
 ‘Mold of an extremely real oldness, although created in artisanal workshops.’
 b. ARRIVATI al terz’ atto della vita, fra arteriosclerosi e altre
 come to_the third stage of_the life between arterioscleroris and other.NSPEC
 vecchi-ezze.
 old-NMLZ.(F).PL
 ‘Come to the third stage of life, between arterioscleroris and other aging-associated things.’
 c. Nella classe dirigente della pubblica amministrazione italiana si riscontrano
 in_the class ruling of_the public administration Italian PASS find
 le vecchi-ezze più radicate.
 the.DEF old-NMLZ.(F).PL more rooted

‘In the ruling class of the Italian public administration are found the most deeply rooted old practices.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found two types of argument nominalization attested in the corpus.

The first type of argument nominalization has a mass nominal aspect and may be involved in a meronymic construction; example (118a) shows how the OLD property concept is nominalized as a definite mass noun acting as a part of a whole, the Christian Democratic (DC) party, and modified by the intensifier *tutto* ‘all’. The construction shows the same distributional potential of the zero non-argument construction featuring the antonym of *vecchio* i.e., *nuovo*, as in example (113c), which I repeat here as example (118b).

- (118) a. Era come se tutto il vecchio-o della Dc avesse fabbricato una
 was as if all the.DEF old-NMLZ.(M).SG of_the.PTV DC had made a
 gabbia di ferro.
 iron of.ATRB cage
 ‘As though all members of the DC party had made an iron cage.’
- b. Offre così poco di nuovo e così tanto di vecchio-o.
 offers so.AUGM little.DIM of new and so much of.GNRC old-NMLZ.(M).SG
 ‘It offers so little of novelty, and so much of old.’

The second type of argument nominalization refers to human beings and is attested either as a non-Specific, Definite or Specific Noun, as in example (119), (120) and (121), respectively; it can be quantified, as in example (119), and inflect for gender, as in example (121).

- (119) E sono arrivati tanti vecchi-o, vestiti come allora.
 and AUX.are arrived many.QUANTIF old-NMLZ.M.PL dressed as then
 ‘And many old men arrived, dressed as then.’
- (120) Il vecchio-o di trentun anni ha ancora una volta vinto!
 the.DEF old-NMLZ.M.SG of.POSS 31 years AUX.has again one time won
 ‘The thirty-year-old ‘old’ man has once again won!’
- (121) Ecco la parodia di Venere e degli amorini trasformati rispettivamente in una
 here the parody of Venus and of_the cupids transformed respectively in a.SPEC
 vecchia-o e in nani.
 old-NMLZ.F.SG and in dwarves
 ‘Here is the parody of Venus and cupids transformed in an old lady and in dwarves, respectively.’

I summarize in the table below the seven constructions with *vecchio* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de-de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[vecchio_{root}aia_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	1/2*	2/7	AGE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}aia_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	5/7	AGE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	1/2*	2/7	AGE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	AGE, VALUE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	5/7	AGE, VALUE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	AGE, VALUE	abstract entity
$[vecchio_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	AGE	human

5.2.16 *rapido*: QUICK

The lexical root *rapido* ‘quick’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy only: *rapid-ità*.

The affixed construction is found as non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being QUICK’ and the QUICK abstract quality. The construction can take degree markers, as the augmentative degree marker in example (122a) and can show argument structure, as in example (122b), where the basis adjunct is coded. As for the nominal parameters, the construction does not inflect for plural and is either found as a Generic Noun, as in example (122a), or a Definite Noun, as in example (122b).

- (122) a. Ha fatto quasi tutto con troppa rapid-ità.
 AUX.has done almost everything with too_much.AUGM quick-NMLZ.(F).SG
 ‘He did almost everything with too much rapidity.’
- b. La rapid-ità nelle decisioni e la flessibilità della
 the.DEF quick-NMLZ.(F).SG in_the.ADJN decisions and the flexibility of_the
 gestione sono gli elementi vincenti.
 management are the elements winning
 ‘The rapidity in decision making and the management flexibility are the winning elements.’
- c. Si contrappone un’ estrema rapid-ità di cambiamenti
 it contrasts a.SPEC extreme.AUGM quick-NMLZ.(F).SG of.POSS changes
 delle tecniche.
 of_the techniques
 ‘It contrasts with extreme rapidity of the technical changes.’

The affixation strategy also marks an argument nominalization, referring to a kind of abstract quality; the nominalization is a Specific Noun, can display degree markers and can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (122c).

I summarize in the table below the two constructions with *rapido* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[rapido_{root} ità_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	SPEED	abstract entity
$[rapido_{root} ità_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	SPEED	abstract entity

5.2.17 *lento*: SLOW

The lexical root *lento* ‘slow’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy only: *lent-ezza*.

The affixation strategy marks a non-argument nominalization, which denotes the SLOW abstract quality; the construction is found as a Generic or a Definite noun, as in examples (123a)-(123b), respectively. It shows no signs of de-adjectivalization, as it is found coding the subject argument, as in example (123a), and with degree markers, as in example (123b).

- (123) a. La *lent-ezza* della burocrazia lascia dopo tre anni i
the.DEF slow-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ bureaucracy leaves after three years the
terremotati ancora nei container.
earthquake.victims still in_the containers
‘After three years, the slowness of the bureaucracy leaves the earthquake victims still in the containers.’
- b. Abbiamo cercato di guidare la gara ma con troppa *lent-ezza*.
AUX.have tried to lead the race but with too.much slow-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘We have tried to lead the race, but with too much slowness.’

An argument nominalization is also attested, referring to a kind of abstract quality; the nominalization is a Specific Noun, as in example (124a), which can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (124b), and can take ADA degree markers, as in example (124c).

- (124) a. Il risultato è che parecchi mezzi viaggiano con una *lent-ezza*
the result is that several vehicles travel with a.SPEC slow-NMLZ.(F).SG
esasperante.
maddening
‘The result is that several vehicles travel with a maddening slowness.’
- b. Sono errori che nascono da una *lent-ezza* di riflessi.
are errors that arise from a slow-NMLZ.(F).SG of.POSS reflexes
‘These are errors arising from a slowness of reflexes.’
- c. Una certa *lent-ezza* nell’organizzazione del partito.
a.SPEC certain.AUGM slow-NMLZ.(F).SG in_the organization of_the party
‘A certain slowness in party’s organization.’

I summarize in the table below the two constructions with *lento* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[lento_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	SPEED	abstract entity
$[lento_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	SPEED	abstract entity

5.2.18 *piccolo*: SMALL

The lexical root *piccolo* ‘small, little’ is found as a noun marked by the means of both types of strategy: the affixation strategy: *piccol-ezza* and the conversion strategy: *piccolo*.

The affixation strategy marks a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the fact of ‘being SMALL’ and to the SMALL abstract quality; the construction is found as a Definite Noun and can code the subject argument, as in example (125a), and is found with lexical degree markers, as in example (125b).

Two types of argument nominalization are marked by the affixation strategy as well.

The first type of argument nominalization refers to a kind of abstract quality and is coded as a Specific Noun, as in example (125c), and without adjectival parameters, perhaps due to the very low number of tokens (7) in the corpus.

- (125) a. Posso a volte citare una battuta come segno della grandezza o della
 can some times quote a joke as sign of_the greatness or of_the.DEF
piccol-ezza di un testo.
 small-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ a text.
 ‘I can sometimes quote a joke as a sign of the greatness or the smallness of a text.’
- b. Una creatura di estrema *piccol-ezza* e fragilità.
 a creature of extreme.AUGM small-NMLZ.(F).SG and fragility
 ‘A creature of extreme smallness and fragility.’
- c. Erano contenitori provvisori e spesso di una *piccol-ezza* anche
 were containers provisional and often of a.SPEC small-NMLZ.(F).SG also
 scomoda.
 uncomfortable
 ‘They were provisional containers and often of an also uncomfortable small size.’

The second type of argument nominalization denotes abstract entities characterized by their insignificance, with a semantic shift from the DIMENSION to the VALUE semantic type; the argument nominalization is constructed either as a definite, as in example (126b), or non-definite noun, as in example (126a). It can take quantifier markers, as in example (126a), and can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (126b).

- (126) a. Possono sembrare tutte piccol-ezze, ma è in base a queste e
 may look all.QUANTIFIF small-NMLZ.(F).PL, but is on basis on these and
 molte altre considerazioni analoghe...
 many other considerations similar
 ‘They may look all trifles, but it is on the basis of these and many other similar considera-
 tions...’
- b. Si rimette a parlare delle piccol-ezze di questo
 REFL goes.back to talk.about of_the.DEF small-NMLZ.(F).PL of.POSS this
 mondo
 world
 ‘He goes back to talk about the world’s pettinesses.’

As for the zero strategy, I have found an argument nominalization, which refers to human beings, most notably, children; the construction shows the highest degree of substantivization, since it can be quantified and inflect for gender, as in example (127a). The construction is sometimes extended to non-human referents, such as companies, sport teams or unions, as in example (127b); the construction is not a nonce-formation, but it is institutionalized to the economical, sportive and political jargon.

- (127) a. Hanno soccorso le piccole-o e poi hanno rintracciato i
 have rescued the.DEF small-NMLZ.F.PL and then AUX.have track.down the
 genitori.
 parents
 ‘They have rescued the children and then they have tracked down their parents.’
- b. Le tre piccole si regolarono sulla base degli iscritti.
 the three small REFL settle on_the basis of subscribers
 ‘The three small (unions) settled on the basis of subscribers.’

I summarize in the table below the four constructions with *piccolo* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[piccolo_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	DIMENSION, VALUE	abstract entity
$[piccolo_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	DIMENSION, VALUE	abstract entity
$[piccolo_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	VALUE	abstract entity
$[piccolo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	DIMENSION	human, inanimate

5.2.19 *brutto*: UGLY

The lexical root *brutto* ‘ugly’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *bruttezza*, *brutt-ura* and with the zero strategy: *brutto*.

The first suffix, *-ezza*, marks a non-argument nominalization, referring to the physical quality of ‘being UGLY’, or physical ugliness (PHYSICAL PROPERTY); the construction is a Definite or a Generic Noun, can display degree markers, as in example (128b), and can code the subject argument, as in example (128a), where the nominalization is shown together with its nominalized antonymic property, *bellezza* ‘beauty’.

- (128) a. Lo spettacolo più impressionante di questo Festival è il contrasto fra l’
the show most impressive of this Festival is the clash between the
estrema bellezza della città e la bruttezza senza rimedio
extreme beauty of_the city and the.DEF ugly-NMLZ.(F).SG without remedy
della gente.
of_the.SBJ people
‘The most impressive show of the festival is the clash between the extreme beauty of the
city and the ugliness without remedy of the people.’
- b. Un senso di gelo alla vista di tanta brutt-ezza.
a sense of cold at_the sight of so.much.AUGM ugly-NMLZ.(F).SG
‘A chill at the sight of so much ugliness.’

The suffix *-ezza* marks two types of argument nominalization as well.

The first type of argument nominalization refers to a kind of physical ugliness; it is constructed as a Specific Noun and is attested without degree markers, as in example (129a).

The second type of argument nominalization denotes countable abstract entities that are characterized by their ugliness, mostly in an extended, non physical, sense of meaning i.e., VALUE. The construction often appears with plural markers, as in example (129b), and is sometimes quantified, as in example (129c).

- (129) a. Questi disegni sono di una brutt-ezza così rara.
these drawings are of a.SPEC ugly-NMLZ.(F).SG so rare
‘These drawings are of a such rare ugliness.’
- b. Ma da sola doveva raccontare una storia, (...) mettere a nudo vizi,
but by itself had tell a story (...) put to naked vices
brutt-ezze, miserie, volgarità.
ugly-NMLZ.(F).PL miseries vulgarities
‘But by itself had to tell a story, (...) to expose vices, ugliness, miseries, vulgarities.’
- c. Contro l’ avanzare prepotente di tutte le brutt-ezze.
against the advance bullying of all.QUANTIF the.DEF ugly-NMLZ.(F).PL
‘Against the bullying advance of all the ugliness.’

As with other property nominalizations marked by more than one suffix (see FOOL: *stupido*, OLD: *vecchio* and WHITE: *bianco*), the last type of argument nominalization suffers from the affix rivalry with the argument nominalization marked by the suffix *-ura*, which occupies quite the same semantic niche and displays the same distributional potential. The construction has the nominal aspect of a singular object noun; accordingly, it can take quantifiers, as in examples (130a)-(130b) and can denote either abstract or concrete inanimate referents, as in examples (130b) and (130a), (130c), respectively.

- (130) a. Una cosa orribile, una brutt-ura talmente scandalosa da non
a horrible thing, a.QUANTIF ugly-NMLZ.(F).SG so outrageous that not
riuscire a trovare le parole.
can to find the words
'A horrible thing, an eyesore so outrageous that I cannot find the words.'
- b. Il risultato di una gara dove non sono mancate sorprese, emozioni, colpi geniali
the result of a race where not are lack surprises, thrills, shots brilliant
e non poche brutt-ure.
and not few.QUANTIF ugly-NMLZ.(F).PL
'The result of a race where there have been surprises, thrills, brilliant shots and not a few
ugly things.'
- c. In un giro organizzato delle brutt-ure architettoniche della nuova
in a tour organized of_the ugly-NMLZ.(F).PL architectural of_the.POSS new
Londra.
London
'In an organized tour of the architectural eyesores of the new London'

The zero strategy marks an argument nominalization, which shows a mass nominal aspect and is involved in a meronymic construction, as the argument nominalization featuring the antonym of *brutto*, *bello*; it is found as a Definite Noun, as in examples (131a)-(131b) and shows degree markers, as in example (131b).

- (131) a. Ha preso il bello-o, ma anche il
AUX.has taken the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.(M).SG but also the.DEF
brutto-o di Napoli.
ugly-NMLZ.(M).SG of.PTV Naples
'He took the beautiful things, but also the bad things of Naples.'
- b. Tutto il bello-o e il brutto-o
all.AUGM the.DEF beautiful-NMLZ.(M).SG and the.DEF ugly-NMLZ.(M).SG
di un anno comunque da ricordare.
of.PTV a year however to remember
'All the beautiful and ugly things about a year in any case to remember.'

I summarize in the table below the five constructions with *brutto* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[brutto_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[brutto_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[brutto_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	VALUE, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
$[brutto_{root}ura_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	VALUE, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity, inanimate
$[brutto_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	3/7	VALUE	abstract entity

5.2.20 *bianco*: WHITE

The lexical root *bianco* ‘white’ is found as a noun marked by the means of the affixation strategy: *bianch-ezza*, *bianc-ore* and with the zero strategy: *bianco*.

The first suffix, *-ezza*, marks two types of nominalization, both of which are scarcely attested in the corpus.

The first type of nominalization is a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the state of ‘being WHITE’ and to the WHITE abstract quality; the construction shows argument coding, as in example (132a), but it is found without degree markers.

The second type of nominalization is an argument nominalization, which denotes a kind of abstract quality, as in example (132b), where the construction is a Specific Noun.

- (132) a. La bianch-ezza della balena messa al mondo da Melville.
the.DEF white-NMLZ.(F).SG of_the.SBJ whale brought into world by PROP.N
‘The whiteness of the whale brought into the world by Melville.’
- b. La pelle di una bianch-ezza irreale
the skin of an white-NMLZ.(F).SG unreal
‘The skin of an unreal whiteness’

Constructions marked by the suffix *-ezza* are blocked by constructions marked by the other suffix, *-ore*; as a consequence, the suffix marks constructions with the same meaning and the same distributional potential as the two constructions discussed above; (i) a non-argument nominalization, which refers to the WHITE abstract quality and shows argument coding, as in example (133a), and lexical

degree markers, as in example (133b); (ii) an argument nominalization, which denotes a kind of abstract quality, as in example (133c), where the property concept is constructed as a Specific Noun and is modified by an attribute.

- (133) a. Il bianc-ore tenebroso della neve d' inverno.
 the.DEF white-NMLZ.(M).SG gloomy of_the.SBJ snow of.ATR.B winter
 ‘The gloomy whiteness of the winter snow.’
- b. E, dopo tanto bianc-ore, mi sembrava opportuno, anche per
 and after so.much.AUGM white-NMLZ.(M).SG me seems appropriate also for
 un fatto cromatico, avere con noi un personaggio come Cannelle
 a fact chromatic have with us a character like N.PROP
 ‘And, after so much whiteness, it seems to me appropriate, also for a chromatic fact, having
 with us a character like Cannelle.’
- c. Lunghe spiagge di un bianc-ore lucente.
 long beaches of a.SPEC white-NMLZ.(M).SG shining
 ‘Long beaches of a shining whiteness.’

Moreover, the suffix *-ore* also marks a second type of argument nominalization, which is attested as a quantified singular object noun, as in example (134), where it refers to the white appearances of drawings.

- (134) Cinque Piero Manzoni e un Castellani e un Fontana bianchi su un bianco più
 five PROP.N PROP.N and a PROP.N and a PROP.N white on a white more
 bianco. Diversi bianc-ori mutanti dovunque
 white several.QUANTIF white-NMLZ.(M).PL changing everywhere
 ‘Five Piero Manzoni and a Castellani and a white Fontana on a whiter white. Everywhere,
 several things of a changing white.’

The zero strategy marks two types of argument nominalization.

The first type refers to the WHITE colour and is constructed as a Generic Noun, as in example (135a), a Definite Noun, as in example (135b) and as a Specific Noun, as in example (135c); the construction shows degree markers, as in example (135a), and can be involved in a possessive construction, as in example (135b).

- (135) a. Anche qui un camino e molto bianco-o.
 also here a fireplace and lot.of white-NMLZ.(M).SG
 ‘Here, too, a fireplace and a lot of white.’
- b. Il bianco-o di una pasta ai formaggi.
 the.DEF white-NMLZ.(M).SG of.POSS a pasta ATR.B cheese
 ‘The white of a cheese pasta.’

- c. La comparsa all' orizzonte di questa chiesa barocca di un
 the appearance on_the horizon of this church Baroque of a.SPEC
 bianco-o accecante
 white-NMLZ.(M).SG blinding
 'The appearance on the horizon of this Baroque church of a blinding white'

The second type of argument nominalization exclusively denotes human beings; the construction can inflect for gender, as in example (136a) and can take quantifier markers, as in example (136b).

- (136) a. Sono contento che Ruud abbia sposato una bianca-o.
 COP.be happy that PROP.N has married a white-NMLZ.F.SG
 'I am happy that Ruud has married a white.'
- b. A consegnare la maglia al Presidente sono stati due bianchi-o.
 in handing the shirt to_the President AUX.are been two white-NMLZ.M.PL
 'In handing the shirt to the President were two whites.'

I summarize in the table below the seven constructions with *bianco* as a noun.

construction	degree of nominalization		semantics	
	de- adject.	substant.	property	referent
$[bianco_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	1/2*	2/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}$	0	2/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	4/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	6/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	1/2	4/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
$[bianco_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$	2/2	7/7	COLOUR	human

Chapter 6

Toward a typology of Italian property nominalizations

The analysis conducted so far, featuring twenty property concepts and two marking strategies, has revealed the existence of eighty-three different constructions for Italian property nominalization. As already mentioned, I have considered as a construction the co-occurrence of different values for the following parameters: property concept, strategy and distributional potential, while allowing multifunctionality in the semantic type of properties and in the concreteness/animacy of referents.

In the present chapter, I first sort out in Sect.6.1 a series of distribution patterns by clustering together similar constructions; in Sect.6.2, I show that the simple distribution analysis already reveals a series of boundaries between patterns, which correspond to cut-off points in the two implicational hierarchies of substantivization and de-adjectivalization, as well as a further articulation of the distinction between non-argument and argument lexical categories of nominalization. In Sect.6.3.2, I advance a series of (minor) lexical categories and I propose a semantic map for Italian property nominalizations, which elaborates on Radical Construction Grammar semantic maps discussed in the first and third chapters.

6.1 Cluster of constructions

In Table6.1 I have clustered together constructions into four patterns according to the following parameters:

1. strategy;
2. valency;
3. nominal aspect;
4. gender;

5. nominalization degree: degree of substantivization and degree of de-adjectivalization.

The first parameter, strategy, is concerned to what is addressed in the literature as ‘further measure’ (Hengeveld), ‘structural complexity’ (Beck) and ‘structural coding’ (Croft), as we have seen in Sect.1; according to this parameter, I have divided the construction pattern into two sub-patterns: affixed constructions and zero-marked constructions.

For instance, I have classified as two different sub-patterns, 6a and 6b, two constructions that feature the CLEVER property concept, $[intelligente_{root} nza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ and $[intelligente_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$, and show exactly the same parameters with the exception of strategy.

As with property concepts marked by more than one affix, I have treated different affixes as instances of the same affixation strategy; for instance, I have classified as the same sub-pattern, 4b, two constructions featuring the WHITE property concept, $[bianco_{root} ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ and $[bianco_{root} ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ and showing exactly the same parameters with the exception of suffix: *ezza* and *ore*. Note that the formal difference between affixes may have some consequences on construction markedness; in Sect.5.2 I have cursorily mentioned the phenomenon of type blocking in the rivalry between affixes, which is reflected in the frequency of constructions. The latter aspect is captured in both Beck’s contextual markedness and Croft’s behavioral potential; in the above example, we can speculate that the $[bianco_{root} ezza_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ construction is more marked than $[bianco_{root} ore_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ construction in terms of distributional potential. As already discussed in Sect.5.2, technical difficulties in retrieving constructions stop me from providing productivity data; hence, construction frequency is unfortunately not included here into the distributional potential (see Gaeta and Ricca 2006 for an overview of morphological productivity in Italian).

The parameters of valency, nominal aspect and gender describe a series of boundaries between different lexical categories of property nominalization, which corresponds to cut-off points in the implicational hierarchies of substantivization and de-adjectivalization.

6.2 Boundaries and cut-off points

6.2.1 The valency boundary

As we have seen in Sect.2.2.1 and 3.3.1, the parameter of valency marks the most important boundary between patterns of property nominalizations: non-argument, corresponding to pattern 1 in Table6.1 vs. argument nominalization, which includes all the other patterns. Property nominalizations following the non-argument pattern show a positive value of valency and are akin to modificative and predicative properties i.e., unmarked Italian adjectives and copular Italian adjectives, respectively; by contrast, property nominalizations of the argument type display a negative value and are similar to referential objects i.e., unmarked Italian nouns.

The valency boundary is reflected by the cut-off point found between the null degree and the first degree of the implicational hierarchy of de-adjectivalization; sub-pattern 1*, showing a 1/2* value, represents an apparent violations to this hierarchy, as the four constructions following this sub-pattern lose degree markers prior to argument coding. Let's take a closer look to these constructions:

- [*bianco*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}
- [*nero*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}
- [*vecchio*_{root}*aia*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}
- [*vecchio*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}

Some of these constructions are scarcely attested in the corpus and the lack of degree marking is probably due to the low number of occurrences; the [*bianco*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} construction is attested with nine occurrences and the [*nero*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} construction only scores four occurrences. As for the two constructions featuring the OLD property concept, [*vecchio*_{root}*aia*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} and [*vecchio*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg}, I have pointed out in the previous chapter that the 'state' semantics of these constructions is most likely incompatible with degree marking. We can address the semantic point covered by constructions such as [*vecchio*_{root}*aia*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} and [*vecchio*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{non-Arg} with the STATE lexical category.

Overall, the twenty-five non-argument nominalizations following pattern 1 display degrees of substantivization lower than the third degree; they cannot be involved in deictic noun-noun constructions and can be only Definite Nouns i.e., definite and specific or Generic Nouns i.e., definite and non-specific.

When specific, non-argument nominalizations show the coding of the argument structure, most notably, of the subject argument and corresponds to a fact-like or propositional order, as suggested by Reichl 1982 for English abstract de-adjectival nouns. We can address this type of construction with the lexical category of FACT. Note that a property nominalization covering this lexical category is functionally similar to a subordinate clause featuring the same property concept with the predicative function, as in the example (68b) discussed in the previous chapter, which I repeat here for the sake of convenience:

- (137) a. L' amar-ezza di Eriksson per l' intervento di Sarpi.
the.DEF bitter-NMLZ.(F).SG of.SBJ Eriksson for.ADJN the intervention of Sarpi
'Eriksson's bitterness for Sarpi's intervention.'
- b. (Il fatto) che Eriksson sia amaro per l'intervento di
(the fact) that Eriksson.SUBJ COP.SBJ bitter for.ADJN the intervention
Sarpi.
of Sarpi
'(The fact) that Eriksson feels sorrow for Sarpi's intervention.'

The construction in example (137b) is an headless relative construction; as mentioned in Sect.3.1, we can recognize this type of construction as a grammatical nominalization. The lexical property nominalization of the FACT type is thus functionally similar to a grammatical nominalization.

When non-specific, non-argument nominalizations do not show argument coding and display the other meaning proposed by Reichl 1982 for English abstract de-adjectival nouns, the general quality; accordingly, I will address the semantic point covered by this type of construction with the QUALITY lexical category.

6.2.2 Between the valency and the nominal aspect boundaries

Within the valency boundary and the nominal aspect boundary we find nine sub-patterns of argument nominalizations, ranging from the second to the fifth degree of substantivization; all these nominalizations are characterized by a mass nominal aspect. When combined with these mass nominalizations, adverbs such as *molto* ‘much/many’, *poco* ‘few’ work as ADA degree markers rather than as quantitative markers; these sub-patterns of argument nominalization thus may show the first degree of de-adjectivalization.

In the lowest degree of substantivization (second degree) we find only one argument nominalization, [*grande*_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}, which is attested without degree markers and is only found as a Definite Noun; the construction is the only member of sub-pattern 2a. However, the construction probably configures as a nominalization that can be involved in a deictic construction (third degree), as reported in one of the GRADIT dictionary entries for the lemma *grande* ‘big’ and exemplified as follows:

(138) (GRADIT: s.v. grande)

c’ è del grande nelle sue trovate.
there is DEF big-NMLZ.(M).SG in_the.PTV 3SG.POSS gimmicks

‘There is something big in her gimmicks.’

The seven constructions belonging to the third degree of substantivization, sub-pattern 2b and sub-pattern 2c, are all marked by the zero strategy and display the first degree of de-adjectivalization, with exception of the sub-pattern 2c, featuring one construction showing the second degree of de-adjectivalization: [*secco*_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}; accordingly, they can be involved in deictic noun-noun constructions and can take degree markers, including the superlative degree as in their German counterpart seen in Sect.3.2.2. With the exception of the [*secco*_{root} 0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} construction, which is involved in an attributive or possessive relation, all these argument nominalizations are mass nouns participating in a part-whole (meronymic) relation; accordingly, I address the lexical category covered by this type of construction as PART.

The fourth degree of substantivization features twenty constructions, which is the second highest number of constructions after non-argument nominalization; all the constructions are marked by

the affixation strategy (sub-pattern 2d), with the exception of two constructions involving COLOUR terms: [*nero*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} and [*bianco*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}, corresponding to sub-pattern 2e. The constructions are singular mass nouns that can be either definite or indefinite, designing a specific kind of abstract quality; I then refer to the lexical category covered by these constructions as KIND; as I have mentioned in Sect.5.1.2, definite KIND argument nominalizations involved in a deictic noun-noun relation can be ambiguous with FACT non-argument nominalizations. As for the scale of de-adjectivalization, this type of argument nominalization is divided between twelve constructions showing degree markers, corresponding to sub-patterns 2d and 2e, and eight constructions that lack any adjectival parameters, corresponding to sub-pattern 2f. The latter sub-pattern of KIND argument nominalization include two constructions that are either scarcely attested, such as [*bianco*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}, or feature concepts that are incompatible with degree markers, such as [*vecchio*_{root}*ezza*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}.

Finally, the last three sub-patterns contain seven constructions, which still behave as mass nouns but are able to take plural markers (fifth degree of substantivization). Two of these constructions are zero-marked (sub-pattern 2g) and feature the antonymic pair *caldo/freddo* ‘hot/cold’: [*caldo*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg} and [*freddo*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}; together with a third, affixed construction: subtype 2h, again featuring the HOT property concept: [*caldo*_{root}*ore*_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}, the three constructions show the first degree of de-adjectivalization. By contrast, the five constructions belonging to the subtype 2i do not take degree markers. Since the seven constructions refer to physical and/or psychological phenomena such as *cold*, *heat* and *intelligence*, I address the lexical category covered by these constructions as PHENOMENON.

Type	Property Word	Strategy	Distributional Potential					Semantics	
			valency	nom. aspect	gender	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
1a	<i>cattivo, bello, grande, amaro, intelligente, freddo, crudele, secco, stupido, buono, caldo, gen-tile, nuovo, rapido, lento, pic-colo, brutto, bianco (-ore)</i>	affixation	yes	mass noun	no	o	2/7	all	abstract entity
1*	<i>nero, vecchio (2 suff), bianco (-ezza)</i>	affixation	yes	mass noun	no	1/2*	2/7	AGE, COLOUR, VALUE	abstract entity
Continued on next page									

Table 6.1 – continued from previous page

Type	Property Word	Strategy	Distributional Potential					Semantics	
			valency	nom. aspect	gender	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
2a	<i>grande</i>	zero	no	mass noun	no	2/2	2/7	DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
2b	<i>bello, amaro, buono, nuovo, vecchio, brutto</i>	zero	no	mass noun	no	1/2	3/7	AGE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	abstract entity
2c	<i>secco</i>	zero	no	mass noun	no	2/2	3/7	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	abstract entity
2d	<i>bello, in- telligente, freddo, crudele, secco, caldo, gentile, nuovo, rapido, lento</i>	affixation	no	mass noun	no	1/2	4/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, SPEED, VALUE	abstract entity
2e	<i>nero, bianco</i>	zero	no	mass noun	no	1/2	4/7	COLOUR	abstract entity
Continued on next page									

Table 6.1 – continued from previous page

Type	Property Word	Strategy	Distributional Potential					Semantics	
			valency	nom. aspect	gender	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
2f	<i>amaro</i> , <i>stupido</i> (-ità), <i>buono</i> , <i>vec-</i> <i>chio</i> (-ezza), <i>piccolo</i> , <i>brutto</i> , <i>bianco</i> (2 suff)	affixation	no	mass noun	no	2/2	4/7	all	abstract entity
2g	<i>freddo</i> , <i>caldo</i>	zero	no	mass noun	no	1/2	5/7	PHYSICAL	abstract entity
2h	<i>caldo</i>	affixation	no	mass noun	no	1/2	5/7	PROPERTY PHYSICAL	abstract entity
2i	<i>intelligente</i> , <i>buono</i> , <i>vecchio</i> (2 suff)	affixation	no	mass noun	no	2/2	5/7	PROPERTY AGE, COLOUR, VALUE	abstract entity, inanimate
Continued on next page									

Table 6.1 – continued from previous page

Type	Property Word	Strategy	Distributional Potential					Semantics	
			valency	nom. aspect	gender	de-adject.	substant.	property	referent
3a	<i>cattivo, bello, grande amaro, intelligente, freddo, crudele, stupido</i> (2 suff), <i>gen-tile, nuovo, piccolo, brutto</i> (2 suff), <i>bianco cattivo, intel-ligente, good</i>	affixation	no	single object	no	2/2	6/7	AGE, DIMENSION, HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	abstract entity, inanimate, human
3b		zero	no	single object	no	2/2	6/7	HUMAN PROPENSITY	human
Continued on next page									

Table 6.1 – continued from previous page

Type	Property Word	Strategy	Distributional Potential				Semantics	
			valency	nom. aspect	gender	de-adject.	substant.	
4	<i>bello,</i> <i>grande,</i> <i>nero,</i> <i>crudele,</i> <i>stupido, vec-</i> <i>chio, piccolo,</i> <i>bianco</i>	zero	no	single object	yes	2/2	7/7	property AGE, COLOUR, DIMENSION, VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY referent human, inanimate

Table 6.1: Distribution patterns and sub-patterns of Italian
property nominalizations.

6.2.3 The nominal aspect and the gender boundaries

As we have seen in Sect.2.1.1, the nominal aspect is a parameter introduced by Rijkhoff 2002 in order to describe in which way concepts are spatially characterized when they are coded as nouns; in Sect.5.1.2, I have mentioned that the great majority of Italian nouns are characterized by a single object nominal aspect and take adverbs such as *molto* ‘many’ and *poco* ‘few’ as quantification markers. Accordingly, singular object nouns are incompatible with ADA degree markers and mensural classifiers, thus configuring themselves as count nouns.

The change of nominal aspect in property nominalization is marked by the cut-off point between the fifth and the sixth degree of the scale of substantivization; the eighteen constructions belonging to the sixth degree can be quantified by quantification adverbs and numerals and do not show any adjectival parameters. According to the marking strategy, this type of argument nominalization is divided into two sub-patterns; the majority of the constructions belongs to the sub-pattern 3a, which employs the affixation strategy, while three zero-marked constructions are classified under the sub-pattern 3b.

The semantic space covered by this type of construction is densely populated; depending on the concreteness/animacy of the referent (see further) we can distinguish between the following three lexical categories: ACT, THING and HUMAN.

Finally, the last type of property nominalization is characterized by the acquisition of the parameter of gender, which is the highest degree in the scale of substantivization; the eight constructions belonging to this type are all marked by the zero strategy and refer to the HUMAN lexical category, with some metaphorical extensions to the THING lexical category.

It can be argued that since Italian derivational suffixes, with the important exception of evaluative suffixes, do not overtly inflect for gender, it is straightforward that only zero-marked property nominalization can acquire the gender parameter. However, we have seen before that there are several zero-marked constructions that do not inflect for gender (and for number) and, probably more crucial, in Italian the gender parameter is overtly marked on modifiers through agreement.

In the previous chapter I have expressed some perplexities on the lexical status of some constructions of the type 3b and 4, which I list here for the sake of convenience:

- [*cattivo*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}
- [*grande*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}
- [*intelligente*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}
- [*crudele*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}
- [*buono*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}
- [*piccolo*_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}

Five of these constructions have a referential meaning depending on the context and/or specific language variety; the $[cattivo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$, $[crudele_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ and $[buono_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ constructions often refer to fictional characters, while the $[grande_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ and $[piccolo_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ constructions are institutionalized to the family, sport and business jargon. Finally, the $[intelligente_{root}0_{NMLZ}]_{Arg}$ construction is scarcely attested and is very close to constructions with deictic/anaphoric references. Moreover, the lemma *crudele* ‘cruel’ is attested on the GRADIT dictionary with a literary usage only, while *intelligente* ‘clever’ does not even have a nominal entry on the dictionary.

These argument nominalizations represent the first stages of lexicalization i.e., nonce-formation or institutionalization to a specific context (Sect.3.3.3) of the ‘NP with only modifying words constructions’ seen in Sect.5.1.1.

6.3 A semantic map of Italian property nominalizations

6.3.1 Lexical categories

In the previous section I have advanced some lexical categories for the analysis of the part of lexicon covered by Italian property nominalizations; these lexical categories follow the same principle of RCG’s definition of major parts of speech such as noun, adjective and verb, as they are found at the intersection of semantic classes such as ‘event’, ‘abstract entity’ and ‘human being’ and the propositional act of reference:

- STATE: the reference of a property concept denoting an event which takes place in a precise time span i.e., a logical second order entity;
- FACT: the reference of a property concept denoting an assertive fact which can be denied, remembered or forgotten i.e., a logical third order entity;
- QUALITY: the reference of a property concept;
- KIND: the reference of a property concept denoting a specific instance of the quality;
- COLOUR: the reference of a COLOUR property concept denoting a colour abstract entity;
- PART: the reference of a VALUE property concept denoting an abstract entity which is a part of a whole;
- PHENOMENON: the reference of a PHYSICAL PROPERTY concept denoting an abstract entity;
- ACT: the reference of a property concept denoting a countable abstract entity;
- INANIMATE: the reference of a property concept denoting a concrete thing;

- **ANIMATE**: the reference of a property concept denoting an animate being;
- **HUMAN**: the reference of a property concept denoting a human being.

However, with respect to major parts of speech such as the ones discussed by Dixon, Hengeveld, Beck and Croft, the lexical categories discussed in this work are only verified on a single language, that is, Italian. In other words, these lexical categories are descriptive categories and (still) not comparative concepts in the sense of Haspelmath 2010.

In Table 6.2 I list the four main distribution patterns for Italian property nominalization, along with the covered lexical categories; with respect to Croft's analysis of the Japanese lexical categories discussed in Sect.3.3.2, I have not distinguished distribution patterns at the single lexical root level, but I have considered the semantic type of property concepts. As discussed in Sect.2.2.3, lexical roots often display additional (extended) meanings, which are impossible to display in a two-dimensional table.

The semantic type of property concepts do not seems to be a good predictor of the variation encountered in Italian property nominalizations; the first two distribution patterns cover all the semantic types of property concept, while the third pattern miss the **COLOUR** and the **SPEED** semantic type, and the fourth type only the **SPEED** semantic type.

However, there are some exceptions; the semantic type of property concept has an exclusive relation with the reference function in three lexical categories of property nominalization: **PHENOMENON**, which is constructed by a **PHYSICAL PROPERTY** semantic type, **COLOUR**, which is constructed by a **COLOUR** semantic type and **PART**, which is constructed by a **VALUE** semantic type.

Construction	Type of Property Concept	Strategy	Degree of Nominalization	Lexical Category
1-AFFIX	all	affixation	2/7	non-argument
2-AFFIX	all	affixation	4/7 ÷ 5/7	argument
2-ZERO	AGE, COLOUR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	zero	2/7 ÷ 5/7	argument
3-AFFIX	AGE, DIMENSION, HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE	affixation	6/7	argument
3-ZERO	HUMAN PROPENSITY, VALUE	zero	6/7	argument
4-ZERO	AGE, COLOUR, DIMENSION, VALUE, HUMAN PROPEN- SITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY	zero	7/7	argument

Table 6.2: Distribution patterns of Italian property nominalization along with lexical categories.

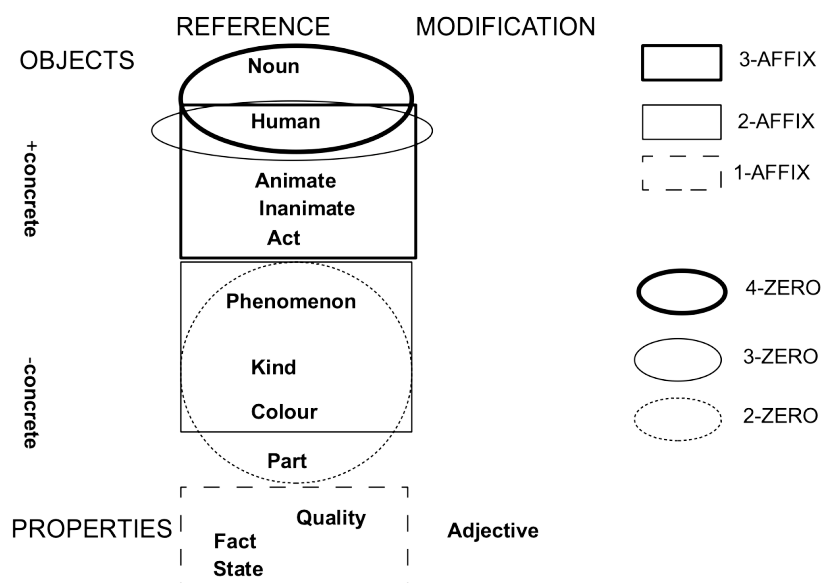


Figure 6.1: The semantic map of Italian de-Adjectival Noun categories.

6.3.2 Semantic map

The topography of Italian de-Adjectival Nominalization is unveiled by the structural coding and the distributional potential of property nominalization constructions; this information is captured by the semantic map given in Figure 6.1, which is a better representation of the distribution patterns of Italian property nominalization given in Table 6.2.

The vertical dimension of the semantic map features the two cardinal points of objects and properties, with a distinction between less concrete semantic classes such as abstract entities and more concrete semantic classes such as inanimate and animate entities; as mentioned above, a more fine-grained division could in principle be used, listing semantic classes at the lowest level of lexical roots, but this would require a third dimensional representation in which the semantic shift of lexical roots can be accounted.

The horizontal dimension of the semantic map includes the two propositional acts of reference and modification; since I am dealing with property nominalization, only the reference sector of the map is populated by lexical categories, with the exception of the intersection between modification and properties, in which we find the lexical category of Italian Adjective. As the semantic map shows, the prototypical lexical category of Italian Noun shows the same distributional potential and structural coding (pattern 4, zero marking: 4-ZERO construction) of the lexical category of HUMAN, which includes semantic classes with the highest degree of animacy. By contrast, the lexical categories of QUALITY, FACT and STATE, which are the closest categories to Italian Adjective in terms of distributional potential, are overtly marked (pattern 1, affixation: 1-AFFIX construction).

Overlappings in the semantic map indicate that a lexical category can be realized by different constructions; for instance the three lexical categories of KIND, COLOUR and PHENOMENON can be either constructed by a 2-ZERO construction or by a 2-AFFIX construction, while HUMAN lexical category can be realized by three different constructions: 3-AFFIX, 3-ZERO and 4-ZERO. By contrast, the PART lexical category can only be constructed by a 2-ZERO construction.

Constructions with different distributional potential cannot overlap, as the result of the two implicational hierarchies of de-adjectivalization and substantivization; an exception is represented by the HUMAN category, which can be either marked by a 4-ZERO construction or a 3-AFFIX construction. However, the second construction is scarcely used to denote human beings and is only found in my data in two instances: *bellezza* ‘a beautiful person, especially a woman’ and *intelligenza* ‘an intelligent person’.

Conclusion

In this work I have tried to shed light on the poorly investigated phenomenon of de-adjectival nominalization, or the construction of property concepts with reference function. Seeking the explanation of grammatical phenomena in the communicative function of the language, I have assumed here a functionalist perspective and framed my investigation in the long-standing problem of parts of speech.

In the first chapter, I reviewed from a critical perspective the more recent typological-functional contributions to the parts of speech problem, eventually opting for the theory of parts of speech proposed by Croft 2001 in the framework of Radical Construction Grammar; in this perspective, parts of speech are constructions of semantic classes and propositional acts. Croft's theory of parts of speech is however only sketched, taking into account and explaining only a few lexical categories of the world's languages, more specifically, the ambiguous nature of the adjectival category; other minor lexical categories, such as the de-adjectival noun category under scrutiny here, are only cursorily discussed. One of the aims of the present work was then to test the framework on new data, especially the theory of markedness that informs Radical Construction Grammar perspective on parts of speech and, more in general, constructions.

There are two key notions in Radical Construction Grammar's theory of markedness: the structural coding and the distributional potential. The structural coding concerns the amount of grammatical machinery i.e., morphemes used to mark a construction, as in the opposition between *bello* 'beautiful (adj.)' and *bell-ezza* 'beauty'. The distributional potential is meant to capture the grammatical behavior of a construction in each of its occurrences; for instance, the Italian de-Adjectival Noun *bellezza* may appear inflected for number, as in *bellezze artistiche* 'artistic beauties', as a specific noun, as in *una bellezza da gourmet* 'a gourmet beauty' or coding the subject argument, as in *la troppa bellezza di Giulia Boschi* 'the excessive beauty of Giulia Boschi'. In the second chapter, I have presented a series of grammatical parameters that can be used to measure the distributional potential of constructions; since I was concerned here with de-adjectival nominalization, I have discussed the adjectival and nominal parameters, following the perspective suggested by Dixon 1982, 2004 and Bhat 1994 on adjectives and by Rijkhoff 2002 on the structure of the Noun Phrase.

In the third chapter, I have discussed previous functional-typological approaches to nominalization; these works are focused on action nominalization and provide typologies that are essentially

based on the acquirement (re-categorization), the loss (de-categorization) or the retainment of verbal and nominal parameters. The typology proposed by Malchukov 2004, 2006, which analyzes nominalization through the implicational hierarchies of de-verbalization and substantivization, has served as the starting point for my investigation of property nominalization in Italian, which is presented in the second part.

The fourth chapter sees the beginning of my journey into the *terra incognita* of Italian property nominalization; elaborating on a list of property concepts used by Dixon 1982 to cross-linguistically investigate the category of adjective, I have compiled with the aid of the most comprehensive Italian dictionary, the GRADIT dictionary, a list of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns. The list features twenty Italian basic property words marked as nouns by different affixes and by zero-marking.

In the fifth chapter I have presented two implicational hierarchies for the analysis of property nominalization, the hierarchy of substantivization and the hierarchy of de-adjectivalization; the former hierarchy is based on Malchukov's hierarchy of nominal parameters discussed in the third chapter, while the latter hierarchy constitutes a new proposal. Both hierarchies have been successfully evaluated against a big number of corpus occurrences of Italian de-Adjectival Nouns belonging to the list discussed in the fourth chapter.

Finally, in the sixth chapter I have organized the data extracted from the corpus in order to obtain a series of distribution patterns, which are constrained by the implicational hierarchies discussed in the fifth chapter; along with the two different strategies of affixation and zero-marking, these distribution patterns disclose the topography of Italian de-adjectival nominalization, describing a number of lexical categories, which has been represented in a semantic map.

As a concluding remark, I would like to suggest here some further developments of the present research.

First and foremost, the analysis conducted here is strictly of a synchronic nature; in order to fully understand the phenomenon of Italian property nominalization, it would be necessary to investigate how the synchronic constructions have evolved from diachronic sources. For instance, I have mentioned that zero-marked nominalization with high degree of substantivization, as in *Era un buono* 'He was a good person', most likely derives from constructions in which the adjective modifies a noun that is recoverable from the context; such a type of investigation will probably shed a further light on the continuum between lexical and grammatical nominalization. Furthermore, a related issue concerns the development of the multifunctionality of a construction; how and when, for instance, a property non-argument nominalization denoting a QUALITY has started to additionally indicate 'the reference of a property concept denoting a countable abstract entity' i.e., an ACT, as in *c'è più amarezza* 'there is more bitterness' vs. *dopo tante amarezze* 'after many disappointments'? Is it just an incidental fact, as argued for instance by Rainer 2011 on the alleged multifunctionality of agentive/instrumental nominalizers in Romance languages or is it justifiable in terms of universal cognitive processes, such as the concretization of abstract entities?

Second, I have focused here on the basic lexicon of Italian and I have chosen only monomorphemic and qualitative adjectives as the starting point for the nominalizations. As noted by Rainer 1989:356-368, some recurrent functions of property nominalization in Italian are references to collective entities, such as *cristianità* ‘Christianity, the entire population of Christians’, or quantities, such as *alcolicità* ‘degree, quantity of alcohol’; however, this function is triggered only when a relational adjective is nominalized: *crist-iano* ‘related to Christ’ and *alcol-ico* ‘related to alcohol’. By including other lexical roots as well as other marking strategies, it is likely that the number of lexical categories described by Italian property nominalization will be extended.

Third, although it has been conducted with methodological tools originally developed for cross-linguistic research, the present study investigates a single language, that is, Italian. It would be then interesting to explore with the methodology proposed here the topography of property nominalization in other languages. For instance, we have seen that there are very few languages providing an unambiguous interpretation of the equivalent of the Italian nominalization *la troppa bellezza di Giulia*, in which *Giulia* can be either interpreted as the subject argument, as in *Giulia è troppo bella* ‘Giulia is too much beautiful’ or as the possessor of a kind of quality, as in *Giulia ha troppa bellezza* ‘Giulia has an excessive beauty’. Furthermore, the implicational hierarchy of de-adjectivalization that I have presented and evaluated against Italian data does not contain verbal parameters, with the exception of the core parameter of valency; in languages that attributes more verbal parameters to adjectives, it would be expected that the implicational hierarchy of de-adjectivalization is much more similar to the hierarchy of de-verbalization.

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Index of Languages

- Ancashino Quechua (Amerind, Quechuan),
12, 31
- Ancient Greek (Indo-European, Greek), 69
- Bemba (Niger-Congo, Atlantic Congo), 8, 9,
17
- Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Lolo-Burmese), 26,
29
- Cantonese (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese), 25, 26, 29
- Chamorro (Austronesian,
Malayo-Polynesian), 50
- Chimariko (Isolate), 72
- Dolakha Newar (Sino-Tibetan,
Tibeto-Burman), 72
- Dutch (Indo-European, Germanic), 30, 64, 65
- Eastern Kayah Li (Sino-Tibetan,
Tibeto-Burman), 53
- English (Indo-European, Germanic), 8–10, 14,
18, 19, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32, 37–40, 42,
46–48, 51–54, 56, 61–65, 73, 74, 80,
81, 85, 90, 149, 150
- Even (Tungusic, Northern Tungusic), 59, 121
- French (Indo-European, Romance), 25, 64
- German (Indo-European, Germanic), 57, 74,
150
- Godoberi (Avar-Andic, Andic), 54, 55
- Hausa (Afroasiatic, Chadic), 13, 14, 31, 32, 52,
63
- Imbabura Quechua (Amerind, Quechuan),
12, 31
- Iraqw (Afroasiatic, Cushitic), 53
- Japanese (Japonic, Japanese), 18, 36, 47, 48,
69–71, 159
- Jarawara (Isolate, Arawan), 44
- Kannada (Dravidian, Southern Dravidian),
43, 45
- Kolyma Yukaghir (Isolate, Yukaghir), 53
- Koyra Chiini (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay), 52
- Lakhota (Siouan, Western Siouan), 34
- Lango (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic), 69
- Latin (Indo-European, Italic), 36, 88, 99
- Limbu (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman), 60
- Lushootseed (Salishan, Coast Salish), 9, 17
- Malagasy (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian),
27–29
- Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese), 53, 54,
65–69
- Mangarayi (Arnhem, Marram), 59
- Mavea (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian), 35
- Meadow Mari (Uralic, Mari), 55
- Modern Greek (Indo-European, Greek), 57
- Mongsen Ao (Sino-Tibetan, Ao), 49, 50, 61

Northern Paiute (Uto-Aztecan, Numic), 72	Spanish (Indo-European, Romance), 53, 57
Norwegian (Indo-European, Germanic), 37, 38	Tariana (Arawakan, Northern Arawakan), 37, 43, 45
Oromo (Afroasiatic, Chadic), 25, 28, 29	Tukang Besi (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian), 55
Romanian (Indo-European, Romance), 57	Turkish (Altaic, Turkic), 33
Russian (Indo-European, Slavonian), 37, 55	Upper Necaxa Totonac (Totozoquean, Totonacan), 12–14, 44, 45, 51, 64, 84
Sakha (Altaic, Turkic), 72	Warndarang (Arnhem, Marran), 31
Sanskrit (Indo-European, Indo-Aryan), 44	Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan, Taracahitic), 72
Semelai (Austroasiatic, Aslian), 53	Yucatec Maya (Mayan, Yucatecan), 26
Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European, Slavonic), 57	
Soqotri (Afroasiatic, Semitic), 72	

Index

- Abad, César Ruiz, 69
- adverbs, 43, 150, 157
- affix rivarly, 136, 143
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., 37, 43, 45
- Alexiadou, Artemis, 57
- anaphora, 23, 28, 32–34, 52, 96, 98–100, 158
- animacy, 2, 22, 30, 33, 37, 63, 88, 89, 92, 93, 108,
 111, 112, 115, 119, 128, 129, 134, 141, 143,
 144, 147, 154–161
- Arcodia, Giorgio F., 65–68
- Arsenijevic, Boban, 57
- aspect
 nominal, 22–24, 27, 29, 57, 87, 98, 102,
 137, 143, 147, 148, 150, 157
 verbal, 24, 27, 54
- attribution, 30–32, 47, 63, 64, 74, 101, 126, 132,
 150
- Baayen, Harald R., 50
- Backhouse, Anthony E., 47, 48
- Baker, Mark, 72
- Baroni, Marco, 107
- Beck, David, 1, 7, 9–14, 18, 30–32, 36, 44, 45,
 52, 63, 64, 73, 74, 80, 84
- behavioral potential, *see* distributional
 potential
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco, 74
- Bhat, D. N. S., 1, 22, 36, 43–45, 58, 163
- Bickel, Balthasar, 31
- Booij, Geert, 64, 65, 67, 73, 119
- Bybee, Joan, 21, 60
- Celata, Chiara, 74
- coding
 argument structure, 51, 54, 56, 62–64, 104,
 106, 107, 125, 131, 135, 144, 149, 150
 structural, 17–19, 69–72, 148, 161, 163
- Comrie, Bernard, 61
- Construction Morphology, 65, 67, 108, 119
- conventionalization, *see* institutionalization
- Corbett, Greville, 26, 37
- Cristofaro, Sonia, 22, 60
- Croft, William, 1, 7, 9, 10, 14–19, 21, 32, 33, 36,
 43, 46, 47, 65, 69–71, 163
- Cuzzolin, Pierluigi, 43, 46
- de-adjectivalization (implicational hierarchy
 of), 3, 95, 97, 103–108, 114, 115, 117, 139,
 147–151, 162, 164, 165
- de-verbalization (implicational hierarchy of),
 22, 59, 164, 165
- definiteness, 13, 21–23, 28, 32–35, 69, 96,
 98–101, 115–117, 119–122, 124–128, 130,
 132–140, 142–145, 149, 150
- deixis, 23, 30–34, 52, 54, 56, 62–64, 96–101,
 103, 106, 132, 149–151, 158
- Distributed Morphology, 54
- distribution pattern, 1, 19, 70, 72, 147, 156,
 159–161, 164
- distributional potential, 17–20, 54, 57, 62, 67,

- 69, 70, 72, 77, 97, 107, 108, 126, 136,
137, 144, 147, 148, 161–163
- Dixon, Robert M. W., 18, 37, 43, 44, 46, 47,
63, 80, 82, 84, 163, 164
- Dressler, Wolfgang U., 88
- Dryer, Matthew S., 51–54, 95, 96
- Frege, Gottlob, 15
- Functional Grammar, 1, 7, 22, 23, 56, 60, 95
- Gaeta, Livio, 56, 88, 104, 148
- gender, 2, 21–24, 37, 53, 54, 98, 103, 107, 112,
114, 118, 123, 126, 128, 137, 141, 146–148,
152–157
- Genetti, Carol, 49, 50, 61, 72, 73
- Gil, David, 52, 53
- Givón, Talmy, 10
- Gonzalez, Albert A., 72
- gradation, 24, 36, 43–46, 57, 96, 101, 106, 109,
110, 113, 115–117, 119–121, 124, 125,
128–130, 132–136, 138–140, 142–145,
149–151, 157
- GRADIT, 77, 79
- Grandi, Nicola, 98, 99, 101
- Grossmann, Maria, 87
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen, 72
- Guérin, Valérie, 35
- Ha Yap, Foong, 72
- Haspelmath, Martin, 21, 37, 64, 67, 159
- Haugen, Tor Arne, 37, 38
- Hawkins, John, 34
- Hay, Jennifer, 60
- Hayek, John, 44
- Hengeveld, Kees, 1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 21, 36
- Herbst, Thomas, 38–42, 105
- Hohenhaus, Peter, 73, 74, 88
- Hopper, Paul, 7, 15, 22, 58
- institutionalization, 73, 74, 113, 114, 123, 141, 158
- Iordăchioaia, Gianina, 57
- Jany, Carmen, 72
- Jurafsky, Dan, 48
- Kibort, Anna, 26
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria, 50, 54, 55
- Langacker, Ronald N., 15
- Lehmann, Christian, 21, 42, 43, 46
- Leonardi, Lino, 88
- lexical categories, 1, 2, 7–9, 11, 14, 16, 18–21, 27,
36, 47, 50, 51, 54, 58, 61, 62, 69, 70, 72,
73, 77, 84, 97, 147–151, 157–164, *see*
also parts of speech
- lexicalization, 12, 49, 73, 158
- linguistic corpora, 1, 2, 77, 87, 95, 96, 107, 108,
117, 128, 136, 137, 140, 144, 149, 164
- Lorenzetti, Luca, 80, 102
- Luján, Eugenio R., 69
- Lyons, Christopher, 33–35, 99
- Mackenzie, J. Lachlan, 21–23
- Makhashen, Khaled Awadh Bin, 72, 73, 95
- Malchukov, Andrej, 2, 21, 23, 49, 51, 54, 57–60,
164
- Mauri, Caterina, 61
- Merlini Barbaresi, Lavinia, 88
- meronymic (relation), 57, 101, 111, 128, 134, 137,
143, 150
- modification, 2, 7, 14–16, 18, 30, 31, 37, 38, 49,
54, 58, 63, 70, 71, 98, 104, 106, 127,
148, 161
- Nichols, Johanna, 31
- nominalization
- action, 49, 51, 54, 56, 163
- grammatical, 2, 49–52, 54, 60, 61, 72, 73,
95, 150, 164

- lexical, 2, 49–51, 61, 64, 72, 73, 84, 95–97,
103
- property, 1–3, 19, 54, 56, 57, 62–64, 73, 77,
95, 102, 103, 106, 143, 147–150,
156–161, 164, 165
- nonce-formation, 73, 141, 158
- nouns
- abstract, 14, 80, 100
 - action, 62, 88
 - agent, 18, 62, 64, 65, 69, 74, 164
 - collective, 24, 26, 27, 62
 - count, 24
 - instrument, 18, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 164
 - locative, 62, 64
 - mass, 22, 24–29, 43, 96, 101, 106, 111, 128,
134, 137, 150–154
 - patient, 62
 - quality, 62, 84, 88, 109–111, 113, 115,
119–122, 124, 125, 127, 129–131, 133, 135,
136, 138, 144
 - result, 62
 - singular object, 25, 27, 29, 102, 143, 145, 157
 - state, 62, 88
- number, 2, 21–25, 27–29, 37, 47, 50, 53, 54, 59,
70, 84, 93, 98, 99, 102, 103, 107, 126,
140, 149, 150, 157, 163, 164
- Optimality Theory, 59
- parts of speech, 1, 2, 7–12, 14–21, 51, 69, 77, 107,
158, 159, 163, *see also* lexical categories
- Paul, Ileana, 27, 28
- Pelletier, Francis J., 24
- possession, 22, 23, 30–32, 50, 54–56, 62, 63, 70,
73, 96, 101, 104–106, 109, 111, 116, 121,
122, 124, 125, 128, 138–140, 145, 150
- Prandi, Michele, 15
- predication, 2, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 21, 30, 37, 38, 42,
44, 47, 50, 53, 56, 58, 70–72, 96,
105–107, 127, 148, 149
- quantification, 24, 25, 47, 102, 109–111, 113, 116,
118, 122, 126, 128, 132, 133, 136, 137, 141,
142, 145, 157
- radial network, 19, 65, 67–69
- Radical Construction Grammar, 1, 14, 15, 18,
19, 51, 69, 147, 158, 163
- Rainer, Franz, 64, 67, 84, 87, 88, 105, 106, 164,
165
- Ramat, Paolo, 1, 21
- reference, 1, 2, 7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30, 33,
34, 36, 49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 61, 77, 84, 87,
95, 96, 98–100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 148,
158, 159, 161, 163, 165
- Reichl, Karl, 62, 63, 149, 150
- Renzi, Lorenzo, 98–100
- Ricca, Davide, 148
- Rijkhoff, Jan, 22–27, 29, 30, 56, 157, 163
- roles
- semantic, 36, 62, 69
 - syntactic, 21, 23, 24, 33, 56, 69, 97, 98, 103
- Salvi, Giampaolo, 105
- Schachter, Paul, 9, 12, 13, 32, 36
- semantic maps, 2, 3, 14, 16, 18, 19, 47, 65, 67,
69–71, 77, 147, 158, 161, 162, 164
- Shibatani, Masayoshi, 72, 73, 95
- Shopen, Timothy, 9, 12, 13, 32, 36
- Simone, Raffaele, 102
- Smith, Mark, 7, 15
- substantivization (implicational hierarchy of),
3, 59, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 106, 108,
109, 111–114, 116, 118, 119, 123, 124, 126,
130, 133, 141, 147–151, 157, 162, 164
- Talamo, Luigi, 74

Tesnière, Lucien, 15	107, 147–150, 152–156, 165
Thompson, Sandra A., 7, 15, 22, 58, 61	Vanelli, Laura, 105
Thornes, Tim, 72	Villalba, Xavier, 57
Thornton, Anna, 84	
type blocking, 87, 126, 148	Wetzer, Harrie, 36
valency, 2, 15, 30, 36–38, 54, 59, 62, 63, 104, 106,	Wrona, Janick, 72