Aspects of participial nominalizations in Romance

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This paper deals with the structure and the interpretation of three types of nominalizations based on the (past) participle in Italian, Romanian and French. It argues in favor of a compositional treatment of participial morphology in nominalizations, which is responsible for the inheritance of plural interpretation in participial nomina vicis in Romance. In view of a connection between the genuine habit (in Romanian, the supine) and the -*ata* nominalization, both relying on an internal plurality of events, this paper argues that participial morphology in derivational suffixes conveys internal plurality, which is carried out in the bounded participial nomen vicis, giving rise to an interpretation in which a bounded event is made up from multiple phases.

KEYWORDS: participial nominalizations, nomina vicis, argument structure, event, aspect.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Deverbal nominalizations, i.e. nominals derived from verbs, have been central to the study of argument and event structure due to their mixed status, in which verbal and nominal properties are conjoined. This paper deals with the structure and the interpretation of three types of nominalizations based on the (past) participle in Italian and Romanian (and French). First of all, participial nominalizations show up in these languages as dynamic eventive nominalizations. One may see in examples in (1) that these nominalizations host arguments and aspectual modifiers, which are verbal properties they supposedly inherit from the base verb:

(1) a. *La*   *sortie*   *des*   *véhicules*   *pendant*   *des*   *heures*   FR
         The   exit   of   vehicles   during   some   hours
         a   *bloqué*   *la*   *route.*
         has   blocked   the   road
         'Vehicles coming out for hours have blocked the road.'

     b. *L' entrata*   *del*   *Giappone*   *nella*   *seconda*   *guerra*   *mondiale*   IT
         The entrance   of   Japan   in.the   second   war   world
         fu   *un*   *evento*   *molto*   *significativo*
         was   an   event   very   significative
         'Japan's entrance in the WW2 has been a very significative event'

c.	*Băut-ul*	*timp*	*de*	*ani*	*de*	*zile*	RO
	drink.PRT-the	time	of	years	of	days	
	i-a	*distrus*	*ficat-ul*				
	him-has	destroyed	lever-the				
	'His drinking for years has destroyed his lever'						

Second, participial nominalizations show up as nomina vicis, which are names of occurrences of events.

(2)	a.	*Je*	*vais*	*te*	*donner*	*une*	*râclé-e*	FR
		I	will	you	give	a	scrap.PRT-FEM	
		'I will give you a spanking'						
	b.	*Gianni*	*ha*	*fatto*	*una*	*nuot-ata*	*in*	*piscina*	IT
		Gianni	has	done	a	swim-ATA	in	pool	
		'Gianni had a swim in the pool'							
	c.	*Am*	*fost*	*cu*	*băieţii*	*la*	*o*	*băut-ă*	RO
		Have	been	with	guys	at	a	drink.PRT-FEM	
		'I went to a drinking party with the guys'							

The case of *-ata* nominalizations in Italian is well documented. They have recently been studied by Donazzan & Tovena (2013, 2015) as being event nouns with special aspectual and argumental properties. French nominals in *-ée* have been addressed by Ferret & al (2009) which argue that inasmuch as they come in aspectual pairs with e.g. *-age* nominals, they encode perfective aspectual information.

It is interesting to note that Romanian has both the eventive supine nominalization based on a bare participial stem, and a feminine participial nominalization. Only the latter can be a nomen vicis. There is another nominalized participle, which is a referential noun, based on the adjectival participle (like *iubit* 'the loved one'). Here, we will consider the comparison between the supine and the nomen vicis as representing two different types of participial nominalizations.

According to many studies since Grimshaw (1990), there are two main classes of nominalizations, one called "Argument-Structure Nominals" or AS-Ns (see also Borer 2015), which have the full range of eventive properties, and another called "Referential Nominals" or R-Ns, which only denote objects and do not display these eventive properties. Some classical diagnostics are resumed in (3) and the two classes of nominals are illustrated in (4) and (5).

(3) Grimshaw (1990):

AS-NOMINALS	R-NOMINALS
i. event reading	no event
ii. obligatory arguments	arguments not obligatory
iii. compatible with aspectual modifiers like *in three hours*	not compatible with aspectual modifiers
iv. *constant, frequent* with the singular	constant, frequent possible only with the plural
v. by-phrase is an argument	by-phrase is not an argument
vi. do not easily pluralize	pluralize without problem

(4)   AS-NOMINALS
    a.   *the examination *(of the students) in three hours*

    b.   *the examination *(of the students) by the Professor*

    c.   *the frequent examination *(of the students)*

(5)   R-NOMINALS
    a.   *The examination / exam was on the table*

    b.   *The exam (*in three hours)*

In this perspective, the correlation between argument structure and aspectual modifiers indicates the presence of event structure. The event in the nominal has a grammatical dimension which is realized by the presence of functional layers inherited from the base verb. In (6) we exemplify a possible implementation in the syntactic tradition of word formation. According to the formal solution, the functional layer responsible for event properties can be labelled as EvP or AspP (see Alexiadou *et al.* 2010 among many others). For French, see also Fradin and Kerleroux 2009, who noted that the French *manifestation* is ambiguous between both readings, while its clipped form *manif* is restricted to the reading expressed by (6b).

(6)   a.   [DP [NP [EvP -ation [VP examine]]]
    b.   [DP [NP [RootP exam]]]

There is, however, a misunderstanding in the sense of 'event' between the syntactic tradition and the lexical-semantic tradition. A third class of nominals, called Simple Event Nominals by Grimshaw, also denote events (7). However, the event denoted by the nominal cannot come from the verb, as illustrated by the contrast in (8); Simple Event Nominals do not accept aspectual modifiers, unlike the verbal base. Besides, Simple Event Nominals may often be underived (like *movie, concert, crime* a.s.o.).

(7)   *The meeting   the play   the movie   the concert*

(8)   a.   *They played for three hours*

    b.   **The play for three hours*

The eventive character of Simple Event Nominals is often diagnosed by constructions like *take place, last x time, be interrupted, during the N*. According to Roy & Soare (2013), diagnostics such as *take place, last x time, be interrupted* or *during the N* do not identify the grammatical event in the nominal, but only a referential, ontological event denoted by the root. Therefore, one can identify two types of events: the first is grammatically represented while the second is not

(in terms of Roy and Soare, these are strong/grammatical *vs* weak/referential events). Nominals denoting weak/referential events pattern with referential nominals, for instance by accepting *frequent* modifiers only in the plural.

(9) a.   *The   frequent   concert*(s)*
     b.   *The   frequent   movie*(s)*

As a consequence, Simple Event Nominals pattern with Result/Referential Nominals and are based on a simple structure like the one in (6b). Given these diagnostics, nomina vicis also qualify as Result Nouns. However, as we will see, they have more verbal properties and as such one may hypothesize that they have a more complex structure.

1.2. Participial nominalizations and Aspect: A puzzle

Participial nominalizations seem to show the split between AS-Ns and R-Ns. In the examples in (1-2) above, we have indeed two classes of nominalizations: examples in (1) pertain to the AS-N class while examples in (2) pattern with the R-N class. However, it has been argued in the literature that participial nomina vicis do exhibit verbal properties and more precisely restrictions with respect to the aspectual properties and the argument structure.

How do we classify, then, participial nomina vicis? According to Donazzan & Tovena (2015), nomina vicis are event names and contain a semantically active (Cornilescu 2011) external argument, whose presence is supposedly due to the participial morphology, which contributes grammatical aspect and agentive meaning.

According to Iordăchioaia & Soare (2008), Alexiadou & al (2010), there is a difference between the supine in (1c) and the nominalizations in (2): the former is not fully nominalized, but is more verbal, while the latter are fully nominal. Supine nominalizations are sentential and inherit a large part of the verbal domain, which includes functional layers like AspP (grammatical aspect) and vP (the functional domain of the verb with its argument structure). In formal terms, they do not have a nominalizer affix but they are AspP projections (projections of grammatical aspect) nominalized via a definite Determiner. Nominalizations in (2) are predicted to be built on a simpler structure. This line of investigation has been represented in the generative literature on nominalizations following Grimshaw (1990), i.e. Borer (1999), Borer (2005), Alexiadou (2001) among many others. In this line of thought, the idea of a nomen vicis

(referential nouns) with a complex structure including verbal layers is highly problematic: they should pattern with referential nominals just like Simple Event Nominals and should be built on mere uncategorized roots.

However, even for result-referential nominals, some researchers have opened the way to a more fine-grained structure. For instance, Sleeman & Brito (2010) show that result nominals can still be eventive in some way, as they instantiate the effect of an event; according to them, the difference between result and process is aspectual. A similar question arises for nomina vicis like nominalizations in *-ata* (or Thematic.Vowel-*ta* henceforth -ThVw-*ta*); their special aspectual and argumental properties may justify a more complex structure than a simple one based on a root.

1.3. Participle vs derivational affix. A solution

In the view advocated for in this paper, participial nominalizations are heterogeneous. They instantiate different types of derivations with different levels of complexity, and participial morphology may have different statuses: an aspectual marker or a derivational affix. In nominalization patterns with derivational affixes (such as the feminine nominalization of participles in Romance mentioned above), argumental and aspectual properties like agency and iterativity can be semantically induced, while in patterns like the Romanian supine and the English gerund they are syntactically built-in, i.e. projected by means of functional projections (namely, AspP and 'little'v). The status of the morpheme in the latter is functional.

Semantically induced verbal properties are not the effect of functional layers in the structure, but come from the combination of features at different morphological levels. In the supine nominalization, the participial morphology instantiates grammatical Aspect and induces pluractionality. In the feminine participial nominalization, the participial morphology only acts at the level of boundedness, shifting the [-bounded] value of the verbal stem to a [+bounded] value. In this process, the phases of the event remain transparent: when we say that Gianni had a swim in the pool (Italian *nuotata*), we simultaneously see that the process is delimited and that it has internal phases.

2. A comparison between -ThVw-ta-nominalizations and the supine

It is interesting to consider the case of Romanian participial nominalizations, which can come in different flavors (neuter and

feminine) and illustrate the fact that participial nominalizations are heterogeneous. The question that arises then is how the participial morphology can give rise to the different interpretations we find. The answer, we suggest, is that it has a different value in each case.

In Romanian, we find nominalizations in which a grammatical event is instantiated, and is realized by functional layers such as AspP corresponding to participial morphology, and nominalizations in which the nominal only has inner-aspectual properties and does not instantiate a grammatical event, but only a conceptual one. In this case, the participial morphology becomes a derivational suffix, as shown by the fact that it bears feminine gender. We take here as a case study the supine nominalization and the feminine participial nominalizations, which we label –ThVw-*ta*-nominalizations (thematic vowel+ta); we claim that the structural complexity of nominalizations can be represented on a gradient scale, and that the two types of nominalizations realize different positions on the scale. We will first show that the supine nominal encodes a grammatical event which is instantiated by a functional layer in the shape of AspP (grammatical aspect). Diagnostics for grammatical aspect in nominalizations are, we propose, the presence of adverbials and a systematic aspectual shift introduced by the suffix. We will finally argue that the properties of the participial derivational suffix are reminiscent of the properties of participial morphology.

2.1. The supine

The supine is based on a participial stem but stays active, despite its past-participial morphology. It appears either as a full nominal and accepts determiners, or in verbal contexts such as reduced relatives, *tough*-constructions, motion adjuncts (like in *go fishing*), and deontic and aspectual verbal periphrases like *have to do*, *finish doing*, and so on. As a verb, the supine is preceded by a particle. Overall, the supine shows properties which are comparable to the ones of the English Gerund, with different combinations of mixed nominal and verbal properties. We base our presentation of the properties of the supine nominal on work by Iordăchioaia & Soare (2008, 2015) among others.

A first property of the supine nominal is that it lacks gender and number. As a result, it cannot take discrete determiners (10) and does not accept plural (11). In (11a), we can see that a referential participial nominalization can accept plural, while the supine in (11b) cannot. There is a difference in this between the supine and the nominalized participle in (11a).

(10) | *Prea* | *mult* | */*un* | *sp**ă**lat* | *al* | *rufelor* | *distruge* | țesătura |
      | Too | much | / a | washing | of | clothes | destroys | fabric.the |

(11) a. *venit* / *venit-uri*
          come   come-s
          'income'

      b. *cântat* / **cântat-uri*
          sing.SUP sing.SUP.PL

Secondly, the supine induces sentential anaphora and cannot admit an anaphoric referential personal pronoun, as illustrated in (12).

(12) | *Am* | *vorbit* | *despre* | *interpretatul* | *rolului* | *Hamlet…* |
      | Have | talked | about | interpreting | role-the | Hamlet |
      | *Se* | *pare* | *c**ă** | *aceasta* | */asta/ *el* | îi |
      | REFL | seems | that | this | /that/it | them |
      | *atrage* | *pe* | *actorii* | *tineri* | | |
      | attracts | pe | actors | young | | |

      'We talked about interpreting the role of Hamlet. It seems that this attracts young actors'

Further on, the supine does not take case declensions, unlike other productive eventive nominalizations in Romanian. Here, we briefly compare with the nominalized infinitive in *-re*.

(13) | *Alunec**ă**rile* | *de* | *teren* | *s-au* | *produs* | *din* | *cauza* |
      | Flows | of | earth | se-have | produced | by | cause |
      | **t**ă**iatului* | *p**ă**durilor* | */t**ă**ierii* | *p**ă**durilor* | | | |
      | cut.SUP.GEN | woods.GEN | /cut.INF.GEN | woods.GEN | | | |

Finally, the supine encodes AspP. It induces aspectual shift of the base verb from its basic value to a habitual interpretation. Iordăchioaia & Soare (2008, 2009, 2015) analyze this as the result of a pluractional operator instantiated in AspP. In support of this claim, they observe that the supine, which is normally out with stative bases, becomes grammatical once the stative base has been bounded by an *until*-modifier, and the supine denotes a habit (see 14a-b).

(14) a. | **Statul* | *lui* | *Ion* | */*iubitul* | *lui* | *Ion* |
          | stay.SUP | of | Ion | /love.SUP | of | Ion |
          'John's staying / John's loving'

      b. | *Statul* | *lui* | *Ion* | *la* | *Maria* | *pân**ă** | *seara* | *Târziu* |
          | stay.SUP | of | Ion | at | Maria | until | evening | late |
          'Ion's staying at Mary's until late in the evening'

Another pluractional diagnostic is that the supine does not allow singular objects with one-time events. The event is multiplied by the supine suffix, and thus becomes incompatible with the singular internal argument (a journalist cannot be killed more than once; see 15).

The same property has been documented for Spanish *andar*-periphrases by Laca (2006) and similar facts have been reported for West Greenlandic by Van Geenhoven (2004):

(15) | *Ucisul* | **unui* | *jurnalist* | */jurnalistilor* | *de* | *catre* | *mafia* | *politic*ă |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kill.SUP | a | journalist | /journalists | by | part | mafia | political |

'Killing a journalist/journalists by the political mafia'

(16) | *El* | *zorro* | *anduvo* | *matando* | **una* | *gallina* | */gallinas* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The | fox | went | killing | a | hen | /hens |

'The fox went killing a hen / hens'

One can also note that the supine is compatible both with short and with long intervals:

(17) | *Plantatul* | *de* | *copaci* | *timp* | *de* | *trei* | *ore* | */trei* | ani |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| plant.SUP | of | trees | time | of | three | hours | three | years |

'The planting of trees for three hours / three years'

When comparing with infinitive *-re* nominalizations in Romanian, we can see that the supine nominalizations are more verbal in structure. *-Re* nominalizations (*cântare* 'singing', *plantare* 'planting', *tăiere* 'cutting') are inflected for gender, take case declensions, and do not shift the aspectual value of the base. They also accept discrete determiners (*a*) and quantifiers. They have a more nominal structure, which comes from the *-re* suffix, an infinitive inflection which has been reanalyzed in a feminine derivational affix. For a detailed presentation, we refer the reader to Iordăchioaia & Soare (2008) among others.

Another important difference between the two nominalizations is the fact that the supine accepts adverbs while the nominalized infinitive does not. This is indicated by the position of *atent* 'careful/carefully' in the examples in (18-19). Seeing as in Romanian the form of the adjective and of the adverb are often the same, one can distinguish adjectives by the fact that they can take both a prenominal and a postnominal position. We can see in the contrast above that this is possible only with the *-re* nominalization and not with the supine nominalization. *Atent* 'carefully' is an adverb in the example in (18) but an adjective in (19).

(18) a. | *cititul* | *atent* | *al* | *ziarelor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| read.SUP | carefully | of | newspapers |

b. | **atentul* | *citit* | *al* | *ziarelor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| careful.the | read.SUP | of | newspapers |

(19) a. | *studierea* | *atentă* | *a* | *datelor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| study.INF | careful | of | data |

b. | *atenta* | *studiere* | *a* | *datelor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| careful.the | study.INF | of | data |

This difference is suggestive of the more verbal structure of the supine as compared to *-re* nominals. The two nominalizations thus illustrate two patterns, which can be analyzed as in (20-21). In this view, the supine has a more verbal construction with AspP, and the infinitive a more nominal one with ClassP and NumP. We can see then that the AS-N class can be represented by different patterns, from a more verbal to a more nominal one, and we have now three nominalization patterns (with R-Ns) instead of two.
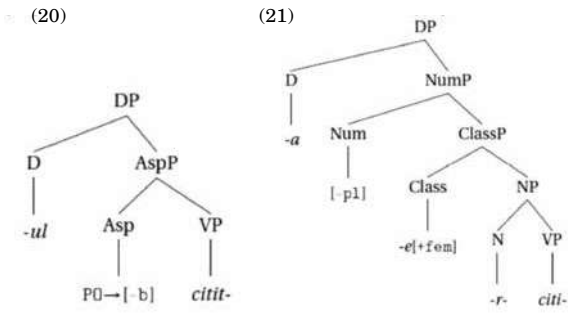
To conclude, we have seen in this section two patterns of nominalizations in event nominalizations (with or without Aspect). Aspect-inflected nominalizations have more verbal properties, while nominalizations with nominalizers have nominal properties. We thus overall have three nominalization patterns: the root-based nominalizations (6b), the VP-based nominalizations with an n-layer (21), and the Asp-based nominalizations without n (20). What is important to keep in mind is the verbal nature of supine-based nominalizations. In the next section, we will see that participial feminine nominalizations are closer to the infinitive nominalizations, although they share the participial stem with the supine, inasmuch as they are [+bounded]. In other respects, they nevertheless have common properties with the supine, which by hypothesis come from the underlying participial stem.

2.2. -ThVw-ta-*nominalizations*

Let us now see the properties of -ThVw-*ta* nominalizations. They are all feminine, and as such have a nominalizing affix (Class, cf. Kihm 2005). As a consequence, they have nominal properties, accept Number, allow discrete determiners and are +count (22a). They are [+bounded] (probably instantiate inner aspect) but do not have outer Aspect, as they do not allow genuine aspectual modifiers (see 22b), and in general they should have a very reduced structure. In sum,

these nominalizations only accept contexts identifying a conceptual event, not a grammatical event in the sense of Roy & Soare (2013), as illustrated by the contrast between (22b) and (22c); (22d) shows compatibility with 'last three hours', which is a diagnostic for conceptual events.

(22) a. *o*   *băută*
          a   drinking

      b. **o*   *băută*   *timp*   *de*   *trei*   *ore*
          a   drinking   time   of   three   hours
          'a drinking for three hours'

      c. *o*   *băută*   *de*   *trei*   *ore*
          a   drinking   of   three   hours

      d. *Băuta*   *a*   *durat*   *trei*   *ore*
          drinking.the   has   last   three   hours
          'the drinking lasted for three hours'

They do not have argument structure, and by-phrases are not allowed.

(23) a. **o*   *băută*   *de*   *whisky*
          a   drinking   of   whisky

      b. **o*   *băută*   *de*   *către*   *băieți*
          a   drinking   by   part   guys
          'a drinking by the guys'

However, they denote events (referential events) and seem to have agents: they can be part of light verb constructions and bring constraints on th-roles (see Tovena & Donazzan 2015). Moreover, they are always associated with events or event effects.

Given this, one could think that feminine participial nominalizations illustrate the third pattern of nominalization (the nominalization of a RootP). However, their verbal properties support the idea that they involve [+bounded] aspect in a lower (inner) Asp projection as proposed by Embick (2004) for eventive participials, and see also Sleeman & Brito (2010) for Result Nominals. As we will argue below, their agentive and inner-aspectual properties are the effect of some properties inherited from the former participial inflection which has been coerced into the derivational affix -ThVw-*ta*.

2.3. Semantic plurality and participial nominalizations

Interestingly, the supine and the -ThVw-*ta*-nominalizations also have common properties. They are dynamic and never allow stative bases (24-25).

(24)   a.   *cunoscutul*   *ştiutul*
            knowing.SUP   knowing.SUP
            'the knowing'

       b.   *mâncatul*   *băutul*
            eat.SUP   drink.SUP
            'the eating',   'the drinking'

(25)   a.   *o cunoscută*   *o ştiută*
            'a knowing'

       b.   *o băută*   *o bătută*
            'a drinking'   'a beating'

Another common property is the plurality of the event denoted. In the case of the supine, we already showed that the interpretation is pluractional. The supine nominal denotes a habit. In the case of the nomen vicis, despite its delimitedness, the event denoted is potentially plural. These nominals denote activities that rely on multiple phases. They all have in common delimitedness but also an internal plurality of events. Drinking is a potential habit: the nomen vicis *băută* is one instantiation of what is typically the habit of drinking denoted by the supine nominal *băut*. With a semelfactive like *a bate* 'to hit', the nomen vicis *bătută* denotes an activity in which the agent hits the ground on a multiple basis. We assume the same for Italian *-ata* nominals: in *una nuotata*, the nominal is externally delimited but internally plural: it denotes a bounded event made up of several intervals.

We take this to support the idea that there is a potential link in interpretation between the pluractional supine nominal, a habitual nominal, and the nomen vicis. This link can be made by saying that the derivational affix -Th.Vw.ta inherits properties from the participial inflection, as we will claim below.

The important question that arises is whether this plurality comes from the activity itself, from the verbal cumulativity (i.e. whether it is lexical), or whether it is induced by something else in the structure of the nominal. We take it that it is introduced by the derivational affix, which inherits a specific property from the participial morphology. There are two main reasons for this.

First, in the languages where they exist, -Th.Vw.ta nominals parallel other nominals denoting the respective activity; we may wonder why two (or more) deverbal nominals would denote the same thing in a language. The answer is that -Th.Vw.ta nominals are not simply names of activities but introduce another, more specific, denotation, which is a bounded plurality of events. This is also the difference between *il nuoto* and *una nuotata*: the first denotes the name of the activity, and the second several instances of 'swim' in a bounded plurality.

Second, note that the base verb, for instance the semelfactive *bate* 'to hit' is ambiguous between a one-event reading and a multiple-event reading, which is not the case in the participial nominal, where the denotation is only plural. So the participial morphology should introduce something that restricts the denotation of the verb to the plural interpretation, as proposed for the supine by Iordăchioaia & Soare (2015). An advantage to this view is that it allows us to keep the denotation of the participial morphology stable across its occurrences.

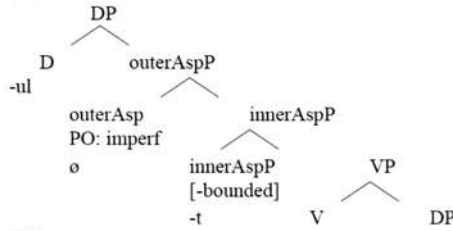## 3. *From participial inflection to derivational affix: Which properties are inherited?*

The link between the participle and the derivational affix, in our view, has to do with Aspect. However, we demonstrated that the participial nomen vicis does not encode grammatical Aspect, while the supine nominal does. Therefore, they cannot have a common grammatical aspect, such as perfectivity (pace Tovena & Donazzan 2015). On the one hand, the grammatical aspect instantiated in the supine is rather imperfective, as it gives rise to pluractional interpretation. On the other hand, the overall interpretation of the nomen vicis conveys boundedness; we have a plural event out of which we obtain a bounded event. Plurality still remains accessible, but the whole event is delimited.

We claim that what is inherited from the participial inflection in the derivational affix is the possibility to shift between a bounded and an unbounded interpretation, and not the property of instantiating grammatical aspect. In the derivational affix -ThVw-*ta*, the unbounded denotation of the participial stem is then bounded by the (+Fem) nominalizer. This [-bounded] denotation is the result of an inner Asp projection.
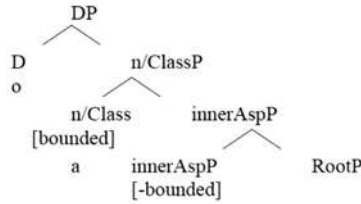
The participial stem in a nominalization contributes an inner-aspectual [-bounded] interpretation. It is a mere plural V. If this stem meets AspP hosting a Pluractional Operator (PO) in a structure which is nominalized by D, the obtained interpretation will be pluractional like in the supine nominalization. If this stem meets a nominalizer with [+bounded] features (we assume the feminine gender introduces this type of meaning), then the obtained interpretation is a bounded event involving internal phases like in the -*ata* nominalization. Importantly, the internal plural event denoted by the participial stem is carried out in the feminine participial nominalization by means of the coerced derivational affix.

These two nominalization patterns are illustrated in (26) and (27). In (26), we have the pattern of the supine, nominalized by D, and involv-

(26)

```
                        DP
                      /    \
            D            outerAspP
           -ul          /       \
                  outerAsp        innerAspP
                  PO: imperf      /      \
                   ø       innerAspP       VP
                           [-bounded]     /  \
                              -t        V     DP
```

(27)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
            D         n/ClassP
            o        /       \
                n/Class       innerAspP
                [bounded]    /        \
                   a    innerAspP      RootP
                        [-bounded]
```

ing the whole verbal layers with AspP encoding pluractionality. In the pattern in (27), we have the feminine participial nominalization, in which the derivational affix attaches to the inner aspectual layer, which is directly on top of a RootP. This implementation has various advantages. It first accounts for the verbal behavior of the supine nominalization, which is a AS-N encoding grammatical aspect and conveying pluractionality, as well as for the fact that the feminine participial nominalization does not show the same verbal properties. Secondly, it accounts for the restrictions on the inner aspect shown by the feminine participial nominalization as well as for the fact that the *-ata* suffix may attach to a non-verbal root.

4. Extending the perspective: -age *nominalizations*

The case studied above is not the only case in which derivational suffixes can inherit properties from a verbal stem. This is also the case for *-age* nominalizations in French (e.g. *montage* 'montage', *assemblage* 'assembling'), which according to Ferret *et al.* (2009) exhibit pluractionality, a property they share with the Romanian supine. The derivation of the two nominalizations is nevertheless different: only *-age* nominalizations are derived via a nominalizing suffix, while the supine is a bare AspP nominalized via a Determiner.

We claim that *-age* nominals are built on a [-bounded] stem to which they add [-count] features. They involve a nominalizer (*-age*, which is not an instance of Aspect but a genuine derivational affix), and thus instantiate nominal properties, including the fact that they accept Number (cf. 28, an example we take from Roodenburg 2006).

(28) *Les   désamorçages   de   bombes lourdes par   des   recrues*
      the   dismantlements   of   bombs   heavy   by   ART   young soldiers
      'The dismantlements of heavy bombs by young soldiers'

The nominalizations in *-age* are AS-Ns as shown by the fact that they exhibit argument structure in the presence of aspectual modifiers, as illustrated in (29).

(29) a. **Le   lavage   (de   la   chemise) pendant des   heures*
          The   washing of   the   shirt   for   some hours
          'The washing of the skirts for hours'

      b. **La   traversée (de   la   Manche)   en   quelques heures*
          the   crossing of   the   English Channel in   a.few   hours
          'The crossing of the English Channel in a few hours'

However, these nominals do not convey grammatical aspect as shown by the fact that they do not accept adverbs and that they do not shift the aspectual value of the base. The same conclusions hold for *-ée* nominals, which are also AS-Ns; the two types of nominals have mere nominal properties due to the status of their affixes, which are nominalizers and introduce Gender in a Class projection.

(30) **l'atterrissage de   l'avion   soigneusement*
      the.landing   of   the.plane   carefully

Moreover, *-age* and *-ée* in French may be attached to non-verbal roots. In this case, they still keep an interpretation which can be retraceable to an inner-aspectual level. *-Age* nominals convey the meaning of a collection, like in (31), while *-ée* nominals have a confined 'content' interpretation (32). This is also the case in Italian *-ata* nominalizations, see Acquaviva (2005).

(31) *branchage*   *feuillage*   *vitrage*
      branche.age   leaf.age   window.age
      'branches'   'foliage'   'glazing'

(32) *potée*   *cuillerée*
      pot.ée   spoon.ée
      'hotpot'   'spoonful'

We claim that *-age* and *-ée* are derivational affixes inheriting properties from a participial stem. In the first case, the value inherited is [-bounded], and the nominalizer also induces [-count] features. In the second case, the value inherited is shifted to [+bounded] by the feminine nominalizer.

There are also cases in which the *-age* suffix has a more lexicalized value, and it does not introduce a plurality of events. Such is the case of *arrivage(s)* which is countable, despite the fundamental [-bounded] value of the *-age* suffix in general. This nominal is a sim-

ple result noun, based on a root, denoting not an event but the former internal argument of the base verb. We propose to classify this case with the 'collection' nouns in (31) and (32).

This raises the further question of when the derivational affix inherits properties from a former inflection and when it does not: it looks like in some nominals these properties are still active while in others they are completely extinct, and the result is a fully nominal construction with a very simple structure, denoting an entity. This question has to be solved by further research.

5. Conclusion

We argued in favor of a compositional treatment of participial morphology in nominalizations, which might be responsible for inheritance of plural interpretation in participial nomina vicis in Romance. Arguing for a connection between the genuine habit (in Romanian, the supine) and the *-ata* nominalization which both encode event plurality, we argued that participial morphology in derivational suffixes introduces internal plurality, which is carried out in the bounded participial nomen vicis, giving rise to an interpretation in which a bounded event is made up from multiple phases: *una nuotata, o băută*.

In a nutshell, this view admits three types of participial nominalization in which the nominalization pattern instantiates different levels of complexity: event nominal with grammatical Aspect and no derivational affix, event nominal with derivational affix and verbal layers, and referential nominal which carries out properties of the participial inflection in the shape of an inner-aspectual layer, but does not involve genuine verbal layers.

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