Eventiveness in Agentive Nominals

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2. Agentive nominals are distinguished into two types in terms of eventiveness: event/nonevent, or stage-level/individual-level nominals.

3. We present an analysis of semantic interpretation of agentive nominals within the GL framework.

4. A close examination of agentive nominals in Japanese reveals that some agentive nominals are more like event nominals.
1. Introduction

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) claim that presence or absence of complements is assumed to correlate with the event interpretation of the noun.

(2) a. a grinder of imported coffees  (event nominal)

b. a grinder, a coffee grinder  (nonevent nominal)
Pustejovsky (1995) and Busa (1996) propose a semantic distinction between stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals in parallel with the distinction in predicates.

(4)  a. Individual-level nominals
     violinist, linguist, doctor, banker, teacher
b. Stage-level nominals
     passenger, customer, pedestrian, winner
The eventive interpretation of the noun is associated with the Agentive role whereas the noneventive interpretation is associated with the Telic role.

(5) a. Individual level

\[\text{violinist} \quad \text{Qualia} = \text{FORMAL} = x \]
\[\text{TELIC} = \text{play} (e, x, y:\text{violin})\]

b. Stage level

\[\text{pedestrian} \quad \text{Qualia} = \text{FORMAL} = x \]
\[\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{walk} \_\text{act} (e, x)\]
Questions

1. Are there any empirical differences between the two analyses of eventiveness in nominals?
2. How is the eventive interpretation of nouns correlated with the presence of complement structure and the interpretation of the noun?
A single –er form may be interpreted as an individual-level or stage-level noun in English.

(6) a. POLICE have arrested the driver of a double-decker coach that overturned on a motorway slip-road near London's Heathrow Airport.

b. Police officers pulled over the stolen car and arrested the driver.
The individual-level and stage-level readings of *driver* are associated with different qualia of a single lexical item.

(9) **driver**  \( AS = ARG = R \ (x) \)

\[ QS = \begin{align*}
\text{Formal} &= x \\
\text{Telic} &= \text{drive} \ (e, x, y: \text{vehicle}) \\
\text{Agentive} &= \text{drive} \ (e, x, y: \text{vehicle})
\end{align*} \]
In Japanese, the Telic driver and the Agentive driver are differentiated morphologically.

(8)  a. unten-shu (DRIVE-shu) ‘driver’
      Qualia = TELIC = drive (e, x, y)

     b. unten-sha (DRIVE-sha) ‘driver’
      Qualia = AGENTIVE = drive (e, x, y)
The *shu/sha* distinction of complex nominals does not completely correspond to the eventiveness distinction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Individual-level (Telic)</th>
<th>Stage-level (Agentive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>driver</td>
<td>unten-shu</td>
<td>unten-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performer</td>
<td>enshoo-ka</td>
<td>ensoo-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancer</td>
<td>odori-ko</td>
<td>odori-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Event/nonevent (or stage-level/individual-level) nominals differ in the selection of arguments.

(14)  a. *the novelist of this best-seller
       (Individual-level noun)

       b. the author/writer of children’s books
          (Stage-level nouns)
Stage-level nominals license the inheritance of arguments related with the Agentive role. Individual-level nominals do not license arguments from the Telic role.

(15) a. *novelist*

Qualia = FORMAL = x  
TELIC = write (e, x, y)

b. *author/writer*

Qualia = FORMAL = x  
AGENTIVE = write (e, x, y)
The same observation holds for the stage and individual-level nominals in Japanese.

(16) a. *kono hon-no shoosetsu-ka (individual-level)
    this book-GEN novelist
    ‘the novelist of this book’

   b. Kono hon-no saku-sha/hi-ssha (stage-level)
    this book-GEN author/writer
    ‘the author/writer of this book’
Individual-level nominals generally do not license complements.

(17)  a. *nihongo no gengogakusha
       Japanese GEN linguist
       ‘a linguist of Japanese’

     b. *kanja no kangoshi
       patient GEN nurse
       ‘a nurse of the patient’
Some individual-level nouns seem to license complements.

(17)  a. torakku no untenshu ‘a driver of a truck’
      truck GEN driver

     b. jambo jetto no pairotto ‘a pilot of a jumbo jet’
      jumbo jet GEN pilot

     c. ookestora no shikisha ‘a conductor of an orchestra’
      orchestra GEN conductor

But those nouns are not complements to the head noun.
Event interpretation and argument selection

Verbal Proto-roles : Proto-Agent, Proto-Theme
Nominal Proto-roles : Proto-Part, Proto-Whole

Barker and Dowty (1991)
If a noun denotes an event, the verbal proto-roles are relevant, but for those nominals whose denotation merely indirectly refers to an event, only nominal proto-roles are relevant.
In sum,

We have so far discussed...

Individual-level nominals (non-eventive)
Telic role $\rightarrow$ syntactically inert
“Complements” are in a meronymic relation with the head noun.

Stage-level nominals (eventive)
Agentive role $\rightarrow$ syntactically active
Stage-level nominals are further grouped into two in terms of eventiveness.

The agentive nominals in (22a) can cooccur with the verb *aru*, which normally requires an inanimate subject.

(22)  a. sanka-sha/ riyoo-sha/ mokugeki-sha ga aru.
       participant/ user /witness –NOM exist.
       ‘There are some participants in ...’

b.*unten-sha/ *ensoo-sha –ga aru.
       driver / performer –NOM exist.
Verbs of Existence in Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate (Event Nouns)</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(23)a. nakaniwa-ni gakuseitati-ga iru/*aru.
patio-LOC students-NOM iru/aru.
‘There are some students in the patio.’

(24)a. 3ji-ni kaigi-ga aru.
at 3 o’clock meeting-NOM aru
‘The meeting is at 3 o’clock.’
Eventive interpretation of event-related agentive nominals

(25) a. **ir** verb

toshokan-ni riyoo-sha-ga ita.
In the library users-NOM *iru*-PAST
‘There are some users in the library.’

b. **ar** verb

toshokan-ni riyoo-sha-ga atta.
In the library users-NOM *aru*-PAST
‘There was an event such that people use the library.’
Modification by adjuncts is possible in event-related nominals and in event nouns.

(26) Event-related nominals

kurumaisu-de-no toshokan-no riyoo-sha
wheelchairs-GEN library-GEN users
‘the users of the library in wheelchairs’
(27) Event nouns

a. gappeimondai-no giron
consolidation-GEN discussion
‘the discussion of consolidation’

b. kaigisitu-de-no giron
meeting room-LOC-GEN discussion
‘the discussion in the meeting room’
But modification by adjuncts is rejected in stage-level nominals.

(28) Stage-level nominals
   a. zikosha-no unten-sha
      crashed-car-GEN driver
      ‘the driver of the crashed car’
   b. *koosoku-dooro-de-no zikosha-no unten-sha
      freeway-LOC-GEN crashed-car-GEN driver
      ‘the driver of the crashed car on the freeway’
In this paper, we have seen three types of agentive nominals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Qualia</th>
<th>Complement</th>
<th>Adjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Nonevent</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Telic</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Event</td>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Event-related</td>
<td>Event-related</td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Event</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>