2. Nominalized participles

Marvin (2002):  
- *-nje/-njie nominalizations in Slovene built by adding a nominalizing suffix. *-nje to two kinds of verbal passive participles (a or -a) 
  (a) melanje (‘mixing’) = melan (‘mixed’) + je 
  b. odprtje (‘opening’) = odpri (‘opened’) + je (Marvin 2002) 
- Assumming that *-nje and *-njie are different atomic suffixes misses the generalization that *-nje correlates with *-participles and *-njie correlates with *-participle 
  The structure of *-njie nominal: [naP ... [PassP ... [VP ... [P ... ] ]] ] 
- Serbian exhibits the same pattern 
  (a) melanje (‘mixing’) = melan (‘mixed’) + je 
  b. napuknuće/napuknutje (‘crack’) = napuknut (‘cracked’) + je

3. Syntactic evidence

- Basic (2010): Following Grimshaw (1990), divides Serbian active nominalizations, regardless of the suffix, into CENS and RNs (3) 
  - CENS involve complete verbal structure:  
    [DP ... [NumP ... [AspP ... [VP ... [P ... ] ]] ]] 
  - RNs lack AspP and VP: [DP ... [NumP ... [PartP ... [ResP ... [VP ... ] ]] ]] 
  - Evidence: CENS license phrases meaning out the event routine but RNs do not (3) 
  (3) a. Potpisivanje dokumenata je dugo trajalo  
     ‘Signing the documents long’ 
  b. *Potpis je dugo trajao  
     ‘Signature AUX long’ 
  ‘The signature lasted long’ (Basic 2010 p. 42)

4. Phonological evidence

Simonovíc and Arsenijević (2014):  
- Focus on *-nje/-njie nominal only 
- *-nje nominal derived from imperfectives (–CENS) have full verbal structure 
- *-njie nominal (–RN) involve flat/tensed structure

Evidence: 
- nominals built from imperative stems, retain the prosodic shape of the stem & compositional semantics (4a) 
  - nominals built from imperative stems, prosodically faithful & semantically opaque (4b) 
  (4a) priznavan (‘admitting’) 
  (4b) priznavi (‘admitting’) 
- The presence of verbal structure (phrasal head) induces semantic compositionality and prosodic faithfulness

5. The licensing of event participles/modifiers

If *-nje nominal include pass. participles, syntactic tests should confirm it. Alexiadou et al. (2014): the distribution of by-phrases in English, German and Greek: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Adjunctive</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Adjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- BUT: *-by-phrases with non-referrential DP are fine in English and German 
- Alexiadou et al’s (2014) analysis of English, German and Greek passive participles:

6. Applying the licensing tests to *-nje nominal

In Serbian, CENS allow *-by-phrases across the board, while RNs allow only non-referential ones (1) 

(a) Prošao je saslušavanje od strane nadležnica lica  
    ‘He passed the investigation by the secondary authorized person’ 
(b) Prošao je saslušavanje od strane nadležnica lica  
    ‘He passed the authorized person’ 
(c) *Prošao je saslušavanje od strane nadležnica lica  
    ‘He passed the investigation’

Proposal: 
- Both CENS and RNs involve VoiceP structure as both can in principle license *-by-phrases
- NOTE: (5b) with referential modification improves greatly if investigator’s interrogation is construed as a special kind of interrogation 

7. Semantic compositionality

- Simonovíc and Arsenijević (2014): 
  - nominals from imperfectives (–CENS) are compositional; nominals from perfectives (–RN) are opaque 
  - The degree of opacity varies by varying degrees of opacity with RN 
  - As shown in (5), some RNs have event implications and show evidence of argument structure, others do not denote events at all and show no sign of argument structure: 
  (7) 

Not all RNs should be analyzed as semantically non-compositional, but they easily obtain more opaque meanings

8. What about phonological faithfulness?

- Simonovíc and Arsenijević (2014): the phonological faithfulness of CENS, as opposed to RNs, is due to the presence of verbal structure with CENS 
- The data from *-by-phrase licensing suggests that verbal structure is present with RNs as well 
- Q: Why are RNs phonologically unfaithful? 
  - A: The lack of event instantiation due to the absence of AspP with RNs undo the phasal status of vP disabling the faithfulness requirement 
  - Evidence: 
    - Non-eventive (static) CENS also have phonologically unfaithful and semantically non-compositional variants (8) 
    - Other examples include *božićan ‘suffering from an illness’ 
    - božićan ‘ill’ 
    - božićan ‘agitated from an illness’ 
    - *božićan ‘have’ 
    - *božićan ‘property’ 
    - *božićan ‘having’ 
    - Phonological unfaithful CENS also exhibit signs of the lack of richer argument structure 
    - inability to license genitive case in the complement position (8b) 

8b. Njegovo pustoštovanje oca/prema oca 
- *base (pčjovito ‘respect’ 
  - his father 
  - respecting father 
  - towards father 
  - ‘Him respecting (his) father’ 
  - *Njegovo pustoštovanje oca/prema oca 
  - ‘My father’ 
  - ‘Respecting (my) father’

The presence of a *-defective* that does not refer to an event opens up the possibility of non-compositional semantics and prosodic faithfulness with all *-nje nominal

References