

## On two types of deadjectival nominals in Serbo-Croatian

**Data.** Derived nominals in Serbo-Croatian (S-C) cluster into two groups with respect to their stress pattern: one in which the stress falls on the last syllable before the nominalizing suffix (Post-stem Stressed Nominals, PSN), and the other in which the stress is the same as in the motive word (Stem Stressed Nominals, SSN) (see Marvin 2002 for similar patterns in Slovenian).

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|--------|---|---|---|---|
| (1) a. | opás-n-ost,<br>danger-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'danger'       | solidár-n-ost,<br>solidar-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'solidarity' | ljubáz-n-ost,<br>kind-Ajd- <i>ost</i><br>'kindness' | praz-n-ì-na<br>empty-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'emptiness' |
| b.     | òpas-n-ost<br>danger-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'dangerousness' | ùče-n-ost<br>solidar-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'solidarity'      | ljùbaz-n-ost<br>kind-Ajd- <i>ost</i><br>'kindness'  | pràz-n-ost<br>empty-Adj- <i>ost</i><br>'emptiness'  |

(Diacritics mark the stress and tone; a stressed vowel *e* is marked *è* with a falling tone and *é* with a rising one.)

In the history of the S-C stress system, there was a period during which wherever it was possible, the stress moved one syllable to the left, developing thereby a rising tone in place of the earlier falling tone, (hence falling tones survived only in words where the stress was on the initial syllables). The nominalizing suffix *-ost* is older than the shift of stress, which implies that the rising stress of PSNs comes from the suffix.

The two classes of nominalization, when available for the same stem, carry different meanings. I argue that the proper generalization is that in such cases, SSNs only denote tropes (see Moltman 2004, although I use this term only descriptively), and PSNs may denote events, properties, or also tropes to the extent that the elsewhere-effect is overcome. In (2), a battery of tests is applied to support this generalization (appearing in contexts suggesting a trope interpretation, temporal modification and quantification indicating event interpretation, respectively).

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|--------|---|--|
| (2) a. | Njegova òpasnost/*opás-n-ost<br>his dangerousness.SSN/ PSN  | ne dovodi se u pitanje.<br>not lead Refl in question   |
|        | 'His dangerousness does not come into question.'            |  |
| b.     | česta opásnost,<br>frequent danger.PSN<br>'frequent danger' | nekadašnja rudarska solidárnost<br>earlier.Adj miners' solidarity.PSN<br>'miners' solidarity from the older times' |
| c.     | *česta òpasnost,<br>frequent dangerousness.SSN              | *nekadašnja rudarska sòlidarnost<br>earlier.Adj miners' solidarity. SSN  |
| d.     | nekoliko Jovanovih<br>several Jovan's                       | ljubáznosti/*ljùbaznosti<br>kindnesses.PSN/kindnesses.SSN  |
|        | 'several events instantiating Jovan's kindness'             |  |

For a number of stems, only SSNs are possible, and in that case SSNs have the unrestricted interpretation (tropes, events or properties). Symptomatically, only nominalizations of deverbal adjectives (i.e. participles) fall in this class.

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|--------|--|---|
| (3) a. | úvreden-ost vs. *uvredén-ost,<br>offended- <i>ost</i> .SSN offended- <i>ost</i> .PSN | óčuvan-ost vs. *očuván-ost<br>preserved- <i>ost</i> .SSN preserved- <i>ost</i> .PSN |
|        | 'offendedness' 'preservedness'   |   |
| b.     | pósustal-ost vs. *posustál-ost,<br>go_away- <i>ost</i> .SSN go_away- <i>ost</i> .PSN | ùtihl-ost vs. *utíhl-ost<br>go_silent- <i>ost</i> .SSN go_silent- <i>ost</i> .PSN   |
|        | 'awriness' 'silence(dness)'  |   |

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**Prosody.** I propose that a simple rule regulates the prosodic pattern of derived words in S-C: the projecting head bears stress. This is fully compatible with Inkelas & Zec (1988) standard account of S-C stress pattern, unifying their two rules (Post-Stem Rule and Compound Rule) into; it entails that in PSNs, the suffix is the projecting head in the derivation, while in SSNs, the stem acts as the projecting head.

- (4) a. PSN: [<sub>NP</sub> suffix<sub>n</sub> Stem<sub>Adj</sub>]                      b. SSN: [<sub>NP</sub> suffix<sub>n</sub> [... [<sub>AdjP</sub> Stem<sub>Adj</sub>] ... ]]

**Syntax and semantics.** I propose an analysis at the syntax-semantics interface, in which what nominalizes in a default case is a PredP (Roy 2010). When the stem is adjectival, there is an adjective in the complement of PredP, and PredP is the only available functional projection. The nominal receives the interpretation of the predication, which is the only one available, and which corresponds to a trope: the property the adjective denotes as manifested in the individual in the subject position.

- (5) [-òst [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Jovan] ljuvenan [<sub>AdjP</sub> ljuvenan]]] → Jovanova ljuvenost  
 -ost                      J                      kind.Adj                      kind.Adj                      ‘Jovan’s kindness’

No other interpretation is available because the predicate does not supply any additional ‘handle’ – there is no event argument and no temporal interval in the nominalized structure. PredP looks for additional specification of the verbal domain (AspP, TP), but as a nominal is derived, only nominal categories can be projected (e.g. CIP and #P after Borer 2005).

In SSNs derived from participles, PredP embeds an aspectual projection AspP (responsible for the aspectual properties of the original VP and probably also the generation of the internal argument). PredP involves an event argument and a temporal interval, and hence can have more readings next to the trope interpretation.

- (6) [-òst [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>AspP</sub> vid-en [<sub>VP</sub> vid-[<sub>DP</sub> Jovan]]]]] → Jovanova videnost  
 -ost                      see-Ptcl                      see                      J                      ‘Jovan’s being seen’

This pattern leaves a semantic gap: the event and property interpretation for nominals derived from real adjectives. I argue that in order to derive expressions with this type of interpretation, truncation of the functional structure takes place, turning PredP into a bare adjectival stem with no syntactic structure. The only projecting head is the suffix, and hence it bears the stress, which subsequently moves one syllable to the left. Due to the lack of functional structure, no restrictions are imposed as to what projects on top of the derived nominal, and what interpretations can be made available.

- (7) [-òst ljuvenan] → ljuvenost  
 -ost                      kind                      ‘kindness’

**Conclusion.** The analysis accounts for the intriguing regularities across the grammar of S-C at the levels of syntax, semantics and phonology. At the same time, it unifies the two stress-assignment rules from Inkelas & Zec (1988) into one syntax-sensitive rule.

### References

- Borer, H. 2005.** *Structuring Sense*. An Exo-Skeletal Trilogy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Inkelas, S. and Zec, D. 1988.** “Serbo-Croatian pitch accent: the interaction of tone, stress, and intonation.” *Language* 64. 227-248. **Marvin, T. 2002.** “Topics in the Stress and Syntax of Words.” Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Ma. **Moltmann, Frederike 2004.** “Properties and kinds of tropes: New linguistic facts and old philosophical insights.” *Mind* 113, 1–43. **Roy, I. 2010.** “Deadjectival nominalizations and the structure of the adjective.” To appear in M. Rathert & A. Alexiadou (eds.) *Nominalizations across Languages and Frameworks*, Mouton.