

Czech nouns derived from verbs with an objective genitive: Their contribution to the theory of valency¹

Veronika Kolářová

Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Mathematics and Physics

kolarova@ufal.mff.cuni.cz

1 Valency of nouns in the framework of the Functional Generative Description

Our approach to issues of valency of deverbal nouns is based on the theory of valency (especially valency of verbs) as developed in the framework of the Functional Generative Description (Panevová 1974, 1975; Sgall et al. 1986).

The following complementations (i.e. the individual dependency relations) are able to fill individual slots of the valency frames of verbs:

a. inner participants or arguments (they can be obligatory or optional): Actor (ACT), Patient (PAT), Addressee (ADDR), Effect (EFF), Origin (ORIG);

b. obligatory free modifications or adjuncts, especially those with the meaning of location, e.g. DIR, LOC, and manner (MANN).

While treating the valency frames assigned to deverbal nouns denoting an action, the same set of complementations as with verbs is used (Piřha 1984; Panevová 2002). Such nouns are expected to inherit all participants that are present in the valency frame of their source verbs. Forms of the participants reflect typical shifts in surface forms of participants, e.g. ACC → GEN, cf. (1) (Karlík and Nübler 1998; Panevová 2002; Kolářová 2006).

(1) *Petr vrátil knihu kamarádovi*

‘Peter-NOM.SG returned book-ACC.SG friend-DAT.SG’

→ *vrácení knihy kamarádovi Petrem*

‘returning-NOM.SG book-GEN.SG friend-DAT.SG Peter-INS.SG’

There are two basic types of Czech deverbal nouns that in one of their meanings² can sometimes denote an action, i.e. nouns derived from verbs by productive means, i.e. by suffixes *-(e)ní/tí*, e.g. *honění* ‘hunting’ or *hubnutí* ‘losing weight’, and nouns derived from verbs by non-productive means

or by the zero suffix, e.g. *honba* ‘hunt’, *hon* ‘hunt’ (the differences between the two types of nouns are discussed e.g. in Dokulil 1982; Veselovská 2001; Karlík 2002; Procházková 2006; Kolářová 2006).

2 Czech nouns derived from verbs with an objective genitive

For the present study of valency properties of nouns derived from verbs with an object expressed by a prepositionless genitive (i.e. an adverbial genitive, GEN_{Adverb}), a representative corpus of contemporary written Czech was exploited, i.e. the Czech National Corpus (CNC), namely all morphologically annotated subcorpora of CNC, i.e. SYN2000, SYN2005, SYN2006PUB, SYN2009PUB and SYN2010.

Since Czech verbs with an object expressed by GEN_{Adverb} represent rather a small group of verbs (e.g. in comparison with verbs with an object expressed by a prepositionless accusative), Czech nouns derived from these verbs have not been in the focus of attention yet. Thus, we focus on four topics of the theory of noun valency and show that studying of the nouns can considerably contribute to the theoretical description of valency of Czech deverbal nouns. The topics are as follows: Correspondence $GEN_{Adverb} - GEN_{Adnom}$? (Section 3), Double post-nominal genitives (Section 4), Possessives corresponding to an adverbial objective genitive (Section 5), and Agents expressed by a prepositionless instrumental modifying nouns derived from intransitive verbs (Section 6).

3 Correspondence $GEN_{Adverb} - GEN_{Adnom}$?

An adverbial prepositionless genitive is a non-structural case and according to typical shifts in surface forms of participants it should be preserved with the derived noun. Thus the first task was to study adnominal counterparts of adverbial objects expressed by GEN_{Adverb} , e.g. PAT, cf. *obávat se čeho* ‘be-INF_afraid REFL sth-GEN.SG’, or ADDR, cf. *dotázat se koho* ‘ask-INF REFL sb-GEN.SG’).

First of all, the list of verbs with GEN_{Adverb} was created on the basis of several Czech valency dictionaries (esp. so-called VALLEX and PDT-VALLEX). The list contains approx. 150 lemmas of verbs. On the basis of the list of verbs, two lists of nouns were created: (i) the list of productively derived nouns, (ii) the list of non-productively derived nouns. After that, all the nouns were searched for, using the following query: ([lemma="..."] [!(tag="[Z|R|V|J].*")]{0,2} [tag="N...2.*"]); all found occurrences were manually checked. The intention was to find out whether Czech nouns derived from verbs with GEN_{Adverb} can be modified by PAT or ADDR

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² The differences in meanings are in literature mostly described as the difference between event and result nominals (Grimshaw 1991; Apresjan 1995; Alexiadou 2001; Melloni 2011).

expressed by GEN as well.

Concerning non-productively derived nouns, neither other papers nor valency dictionaries mention the genitive form of the respective participants. However, it has turned out that several nouns (namely *dotek* ‘touch’, *naděje* ‘hope’, *odvaha* ‘courage’, *památka* ‘memory’) modified by PAT in GEN_{Adnom} can rarely be found in the corpora, cf. (2) (Kolářová 2012). Other forms of PAT, i.e. prepositional groups (Jirsová 1966; Novotný 1980) and sometimes also an infinitive or an embedded objective clause, are more frequent. Factors that influence possibility or impossibility to be modified by PAT or ADDR in GEN_{Adnom} are typically connected with the type of the semantic class the noun belongs to; it concerns e.g. the difference between nouns denoting “positive” vs. “negative” mental state or dispositions, cf. (2) vs. (3), or the tendency to avoid syntactic homonymy of ACT and ADDR expressed by GEN_{Adnom}, which is typical of nouns of saying, cf. (4).

(2) *odvaha spolupráce*.PAT
‘courage cooperation-GEN.SG’

(3) **obava následků*.PAT
‘fear consequence-GEN.PL’

(4) *dotaz kamaráda*.ACT/*ADDR
‘question friend-GEN.SG’

Concerning productively derived nouns, approx. 50 lemmas of the nouns were found with PAT or ADDR expressed by prepositionless GEN_{Adnom} corresponding to GEN_{Adverb}, cf. (5). In contrast to non-productively derived nouns, the adnominal genitive form corresponding to GEN_{Adverb} is a typical form, while prepositional groups are rare, cf. (6). The nouns were also divided into the subgroups according to their valency frames and semantic classes.

(5) *dotýkání se předmětů*.PAT
‘touching REFL exhibit-GEN.PL’

(6) *zděšení z čeho*.PAT
‘horror from sth-GEN.SG’

4 Double post-nominal genitives

In addition to the adnominal genitive form, also combinations with other participants were observed. Special attention was paid to constructions in which two participants (actants, A₁ and A₂) are expressed by an adnominal prepositionless GEN (double post-nominal genitives; Alexiadou 2001). Up to now, the only Czech nominalized structure (NS) with double post-nominal genitives has been considered to be grammatical, i.e. NS₁, see (7), while the NS_{2A}, cf. (8), is ungrammatical (Karlík 2002).

(7) NS₁ in which A₁ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Ak) and A₂ (GEN_{Adnom} ← GEN_{Adverb})

zbavení ženy.ADDR *starostí*.PAT
relieving woman-GEN.SG worry-GEN.PL
‘relieving the woman of worries’

(8) NS_{2A} in which A₁ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Nom) and A₂ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Ak)

**zkoušení Petra*.PAT *Evy*.ACT
examining Peter-GEN.SG Eve-GEN.SG
‘examining Peter by Eve’

On the basis of material obtained from the CNC, we describe several other types of constructions that we consider to be grammatical, e.g. NS₃ and NS_{2B}, cf. (9) to (11). We claim that nominalizations of support verb constructions or other multi-word predicates (NSs marked by “B”, i.e. NS_{2B} and NS_{3B}) play important role for the possibility to use a NS with double post-nominal genitives in Czech. We also specified typical and specific word order of A₁ and A₂ within the studied constructions.

(9) NS_{3A}, in which A₁ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Nom) and A₂ (GEN_{Adnom} ← GEN_{Adverb})

dožití dítěte konce pojistné doby
living_to child-GEN.SG end-GEN.SG of
insurance period

‘living of the child to the end of insurance period’

(10) NS_{3B}, in which A₁ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Nom) and A₂ (GEN_{Adnom} ← GEN_{Adverb})

zanechání činnosti řady klíčových hráčů
quitting activity-GEN.SG array-GEN.SG key
player-GEN.PL

‘quitting of activity by the array of key players’

(11) NS_{2B}, in which A₁ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Nom) and A₂ (GEN_{Adnom} ← Ak)

sbírání zkušeností nejmladších závodníků
gaining experience-GEN.PL youngest-GEN.PL
competitor-GEN.PL

‘gaining of experiences by the youngest competitors’

5 Possessives (prenominal genitives) corresponding to an adverbial objective genitive

We also concentrate on a new topic that had arisen, i.e. the expression of the adnominal participant corresponding to GEN_{Adverb} by a possessive adjective or a possessive pronoun (POSS). Under certain conditions, POSS can correspond to adverbial accusative (Anderson 1977; Alexiadou 2001; Karlík 2002). However, usage of POSS (← GEN_{Adverb}) has not been studied yet. Thus, usage of POSS (← GEN_{Adverb}) was searched for; we used the lists of nouns mentioned in Section 3 and applied the following query: `((tag="PS.*") | (tag="AU.*"))`

[{0,1} [lemma="..."]]). All found occurrences were manually checked. The form of POSS (\leftarrow GEN_{Adverb}) was found with eight productively derived nouns, cf. (12), and with two non-productively derived nouns, cf. (13). Thus in addition to shifts POSS (\leftarrow NOM) and POSS (\leftarrow ACC) also the shift POSS (\leftarrow GEN_{Adverb}) is possible in Czech (Kolářová, to appear).

(12a) *zanechání studia*.PAT
'quitting one's studies'

(12b) *jeho*.PAT *zanechání*
'its quitting'

(13a) *dotyk volantu*.PAT
'touch of wheel'

(13b) *jeho*.PAT *dotyk*
'its touch'

6 Agents expressed by a prepositionless instrumental modifying nouns derived from intransitive verbs

On the basis of the language material obtained from the CNC, it has also turned out that some nouns derived from verbs with GEN_{Adverb} can be modified by Agent (Actor) expressed by prepositionless instrumental, even though their source verbs do not allow passive constructions. It concerns esp. nouns derived from reflexive intransitive verbs, cf. (14).

(14) *ujímání se zvířátek*.PAT *hodnými lidmi*.ACT
taking_charge REFL animal-GEN.PL good-
INS.PL people-INS
'taking charge of small animals by good people'

7 Conclusion

Czech nouns derived from verbs with an objective genitive contribute to the theory of noun valency in several aspects and it is useful to study their valency properties in detail. Corpus-based material obtained from the CNC provides a sufficient base for exemplifying even some marginal phenomena in Czech.

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