



Modeling nominalization in frames

A case study of *-ment* suffixation on causative verbal bases

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Background

Affix polysemy

• Various readings formed by one affix (Bauer et al. 2013, ch. 10)

EVENT assessment

RESULT containment

STATE contentment

PRODUCT pavement

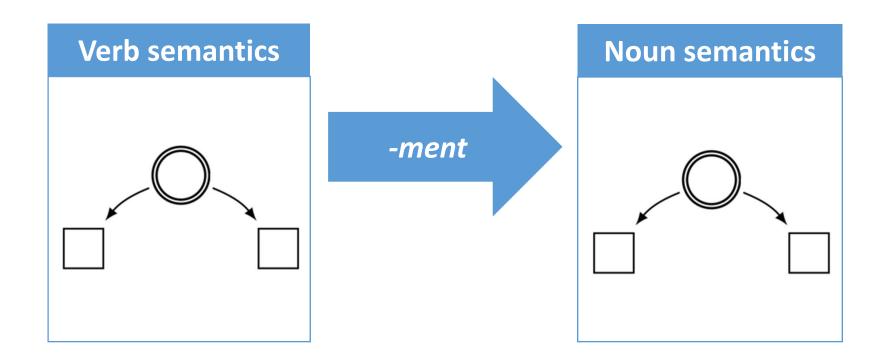
INSTRUMENT entertainment

LOCATION *embankment*

How do we get such readings?

- Certain base verbs evoke certain readings (Bauer et al. 2013, 212)
 - Verb requires instrument → Instrument nominalization
 - to wrap \rightarrow wrap
 - to refresh \rightarrow refreshment
- Shift to a syntactic argument of the verb John purchased a car. His wife approves of this purchase.
- Not restricted to syntactic arguments though
 My granny used to embroider pillowcases. I love the embroidery on this one.

An interplay of verb and suffix



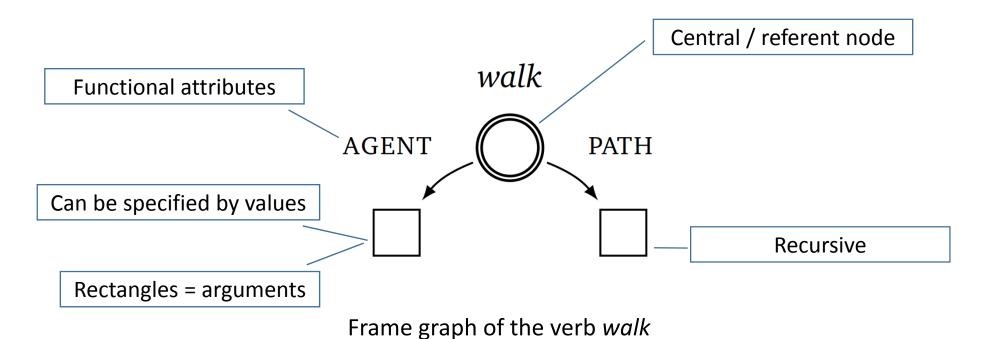
Frames

(e.g. Barsalou 1992 a,b; Löbner 2013; Petersen 2007)

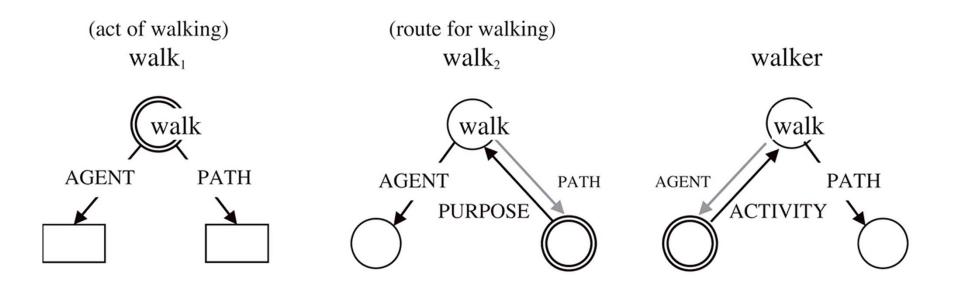
- a means to model mental representations of concepts as well as linguistic phenomena
- grounded in cognitive reality

Modeling semantics in frames

(e.g. Barsalou 1992 a,b; Löbner 2013; Petersen 2007)



Modeling semantic shifts in frames



Frame graphs for three nouns derived from the verb *walk* (Löbner 2013, Figure 12.9)

Our study

-ment

- Nominal suffix attaching mainly to verbal bases
- Very productive in Early Modern English (15th-17th c.); nowadays still somewhat productive (Bauer et al. 2013, 199)
- Many (often highly lexicalized) derivatives, e.g.:

movement 1393

department c. 1450

treatment 1560

Aim: synchronic analysis of the productive process
 Neologisms (1900-today)

Method: -ment data

- Data sources: Neologisms (*Oxford English Dictionary*) & Hapax Legomena (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*)
- 90 types derived from 24 verb classes (Levin 1993 / VerbNet)
- Largest classes: PSYCH verbs (N=16), CHANGE OF STATE verbs (N=13)
- Attestations from other sources (GloWbE, WebCorp, BNC, Twitter, Google)
- Semantic coding of derivatives

Semantic coding of derivatives

Starting point: Traditional semantic categories

(Beard 1995; Spencer 2010; Sil et al. 2010; Osswald 2005; Brandtner 2011; Ehrich & Rapp 2000, cf. also VerbNet semantic annotation)

- EVENT & STATE ('transposition')
- EXPERIENCER
- STIMULUS
- RESULT STATE

• ...

Psych verb bases

Definition of PSYCH verbs

- Semantically heterogeneous: psych states & changes of psych states (cf. Levin 1993, 188-193)
- Typically two arguments: STIMULUS & EXPERIENCER
- Traditional categories (Pesetsky 1995): OBJECT EXP & SUBJECT EXP
- Four subcategories following Levin (1993) / VerbNet:

| | Subject Experiencer | Object Experiencer |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| Transitive Verbs | ADMIRE verbs The tourists admired the paintings | Amuse verbs The clown amused the children |
| Intransitive Verbs with PP | Marvel verbs Megan marveled at the beauty of the Grand Canyon | Appeal verbs This painting appeals to Malinda |

• Amuse verbs = Complex events (causing subevent + caused subevent),

Some examples for attestations

PSYCH CAUSATION EVENT

Today's evangelicals dance, listen to popular music, partake in public amusements and diversions, and attend the theater. (COCA_ACAD_2010)

- RESULT STATE (of a PSYCH CAUSATION EVENT)
 I know a lot of our compatriots also feel the same angst, consternation and confoundment. (Glowbe_ART_2012)
- STIMULUS (in a PSYCH CAUSATION EVENT)
 No federal agency regulates portable amusements, and no state employee inspects mobile rides. (COCA_NEWS_2012)

Types in our dataset (N=16)

affrightment

approvement

bumfuzzlement

confoundment

dumbfoundment

endullment

enragement

enrapturement

nonplusment

perturbment

reassurement

upsetment

soothement

staggerment

marvelment

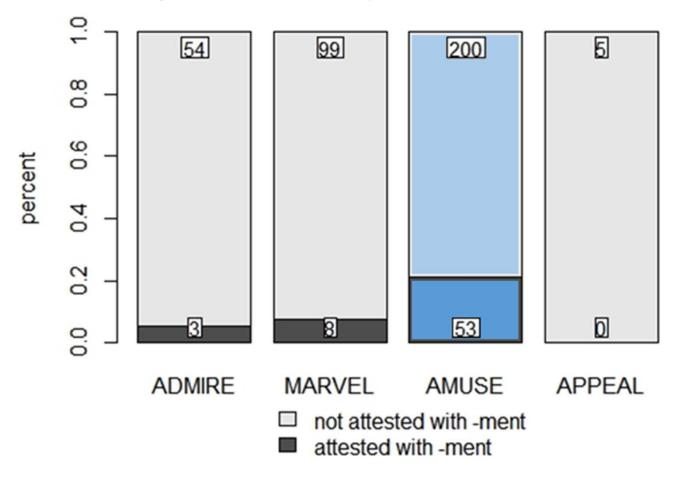
worriment

Results: Overview

- Amuse verbs are preferred over the other three subcategories
- Semantic output:
 - ◆ Psych causation event (Transposition)
 - ◆ STIMULUS ✓
 - RESULT STATE
 - ◆ ACTIVITY (causing subevent)
 - CHANGE OF PSYCH STATE (caused subevent)
 ✓ (probably)
 - EXPERIENCER

Base selection: AMUSE verbs are preferred

seems to be a general tendency



Base selection: AMUSE verbs are preferred

- Artefact of lexical distribution: Only five APPEAL verbs, three of which are very infrequent
- Preference for other derivational processes
 - MARVEL verbs: conversion (sorrow, freakout)
 - ADMIRE verbs: -ation (reaffirmation, adoration) and conversion (mistrust, grudge)

Output semantics: RESULT STATE is dominant

- Not surprising: has been observed by many (e.g. Marchand 1969)
- It has been stated that STIMULUS & EVENT nominalizations should be impossible
- Pesetsky (1995, 71):

Now consider the nominalizations that are related to causative Objexp verbs like annoy. These nominalizations uniformly lack all causative force (as observed first, perhaps, by Lakoff (1970:126)). The present analysis is

predicates. Thus, annoyance does not mean 'the process of making annoyed', but 'the state of being annoyed'. Amusement does not refer to something amusing someone, but to the state of being amused.

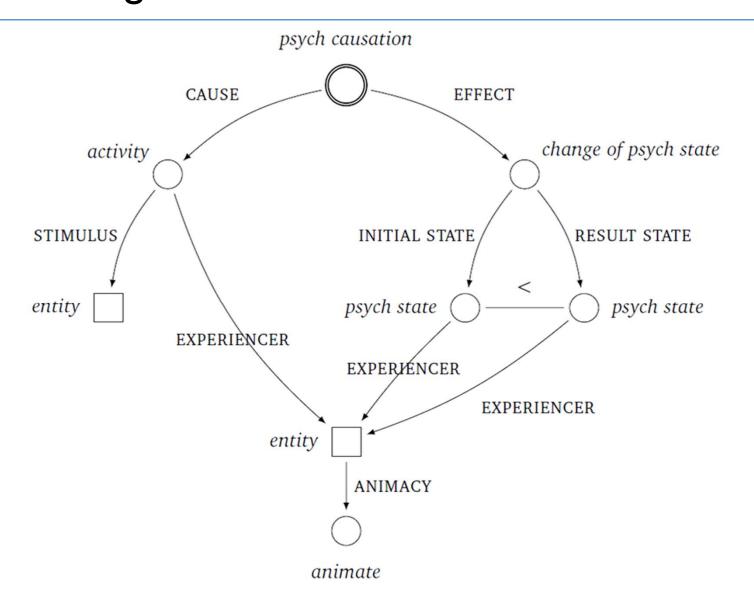
These name are not recult naminale (which may lack aroument etruc-

• Our data provide counter-evidence to these views (cf. e.g. Bauer et al. 2013; Melloni 2011 for Italian)

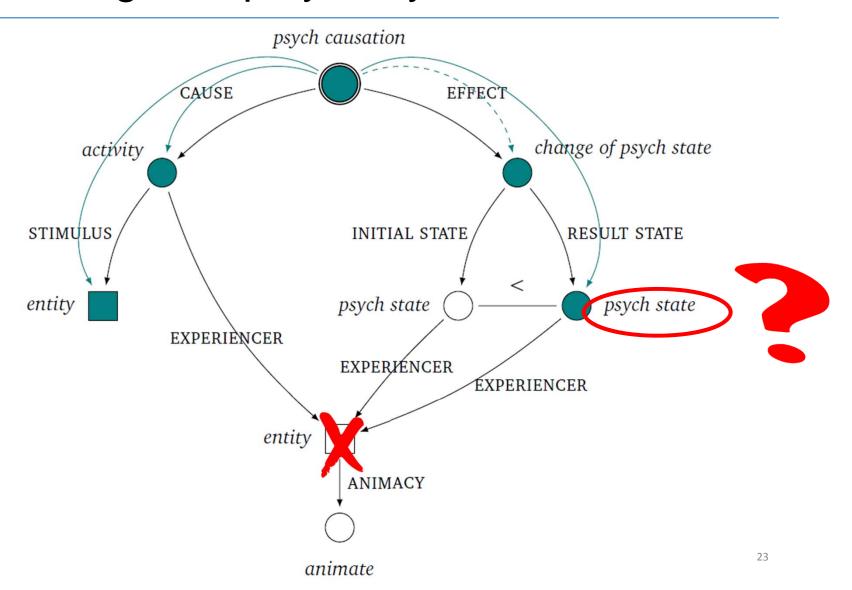
Output semantics: EXPERIENCER is not attested

- Affix rivalry
 - Suffix for experiencer and patient: -ee (or -er)
- Verb class might disallow it
 - Not convincing, cf. *soothee*, *testee*
- -ment might disallow it
 - EXPERIENCER isn't mentioned in the pertinent literature
 - Data set: no [+animate] readings (except, potentially, STIMULUS)
 - At least a preference for [-animate]!

Modeling PSYCH causation cf. Löbner 2013, Naumann 2013, Osswald & Van Valin 2014)



Modeling affix polysemy



CHANGE OF STATE verb bases

Preliminary Results

Definition of CHANGE OF STATE verbs

| OTHER ALTERNATING VERBS OF CHANGE OF STATE (LEVIN 1993: 244-6) | REMEDY verbs (VerbNet) | |
|---|--|--|
| Externally caused changes of (physical) state | | |
| NP V NP.patient Bill dried the clothes. | NP V NP.patient Bill repaired the tractor. | |
| NP V NP PP.instrument Bill dried the clothes with a hairdryer. | NP V NP PP.instrument Bill repaired the tractor with duct tape. | |
| NP V ADV-middle The clothes dried. | NP V ADV-middle New tractors repair easily. | |
| NP.patient V The clothes dried | *The tractor repaired. | |
| NP.instrument V NP The hairdryer dried the clothes | *The duct tape repaired the tractor. | |

Types in our dataset (N=13)

OCOS

congealment

decenterment

discolorment

embrittlement

increasement

progressment

redoublement

worsenment

REMEDY

bedragglement

befoulment

besmirchment

debauchment

embetterment

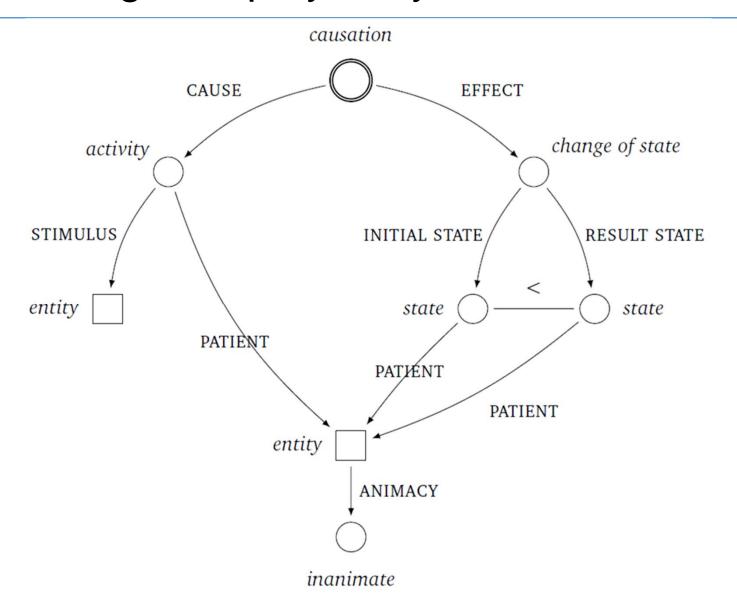
Results: Overview

- Five of the seven verb categories are not attested with -ment
- Semantic output:

• RESULT OBJECT

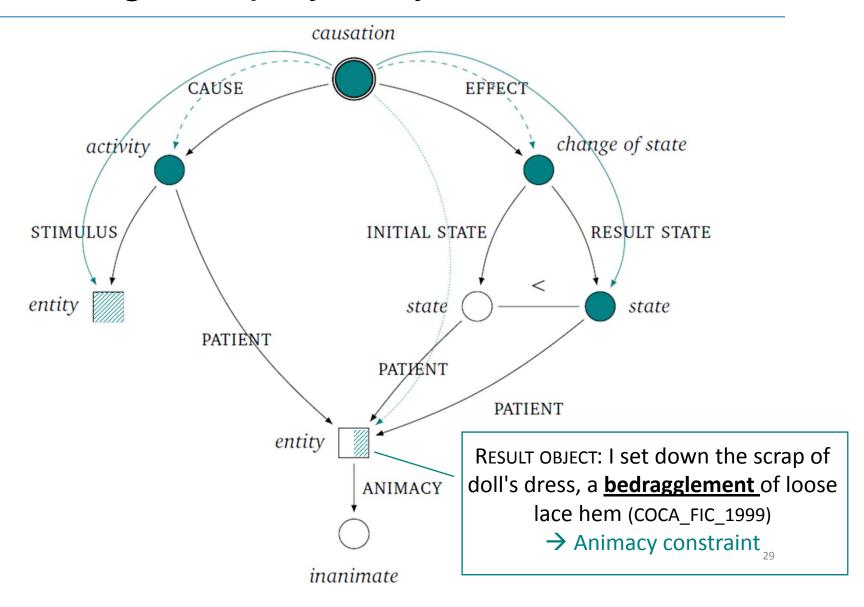
CAUSATION EVENT (Transposition)
 STIMULUS
 RESULT STATE
 ACTIVITY (causing subevent)
 CHANGE OF PSYCH STATE (caused subevent)
 PATIENT

Modeling affix polysemy



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Modeling affix polysemy



Open questions (cos verbs)

- Are there systematic semantic differences between the derivations of ocos verbs and those of REMEDY verbs?
- Can the change of state node be selected for all base verbs?
- Is the presence/absence of STIMULUS readings systematic?
- How exactly is the STIMULUS reading related to the RESULT OBJECT reading?

Summary

- -ment has clear preferences for certain types of base verb (AMUSE, OCOS, REMEDY).
- Resulting derivatives show a well restricted set of possible readings (e.g. transposition, RESULT STATE, STIMULUS; no EXPERIENCER).
- Shifts can target argumental and non-argumental components of the semantic representation.
- Shifts are governed by certain constraints and/or preferences.

Conclusion

Affix semantics:

The potential to induce particular kinds of shift in the semantic structure of the base

- Possible readings of *-ment* nominalizations emerge from the predictable interaction of base semantics with affix semantics
- Future work: finalize cos analysis and test modelling of semantically different verb bases (problem: far fewer types)

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Thank you very much for your attention!