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LEXICALIZATION PATTERNS IN NOMINALS DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CREATION IN POLISH

Abstract: Action nominalizations are commonly acknowledged as being semantically ambiguous. Since the publication of Grimshaw's (1990) seminal monograph research on nominalizations has centered on the verb-like syntactic characteristics of Complex-Event nominals and therefore the area of Result nominals remains understudied. The present article provides an analysis of lexicalization patterns and the Event/Result meaning contrast displayed by the deverbal action nominals derived from creation and re-description verbs in Polish such as *kompozycja* 'composition', *konstrukcja* 'construction' and *tłumaczenie* 'translation'. The Polish data are also compared with other European languages. The proposed analysis adopts a Lexicalist approach to the analysis of action nouns (Bloch-Trojnar 2013) and is based on the Generative Lexicon model proposed by Pustejovsky (1995, 2005). The model is useful on account of its detailed representation of event structure (Pustejovsky 1991, 1995), the introduction of the notion of dot-objects – a formal mechanism which allows to account for cases of logical/complementary polysemy and the recognition of the so-called Qualia structure in the semantic representation, which is crucial in explaining the possible paths of lexicalization in action nominalizations, as demonstrated for Italian by Ježek (2008), Melloni (2011) and Ježek and Melloni (2011). A similar line of reasoning is applied to the Polish data.

Key words: action nominalizations, E-nominals, R-nominals, lexicalization, verbs of creation in Polish.

Introduction

Action nominalizations are commonly acknowledged as being semantically ambiguous. Among many interpretations they can display, the semantic distinction between the Action/Event and Result readings has been emphasized because of its remarkable syntactic corollaries. The first studies on this issue

include, among others, Anderson (1984), Walińska (1984), Zubizarreta (1987) and Malicka-Kleparska (1988). Since the publication of Grimshaw's (1990) seminal monograph research on nominalizations has centered on the syntactic verb-like characteristics of Complex-Event nominals and therefore the area of Result nominals remains understudied.

The present article offers an analysis of lexicalization patterns and the Event/Result meaning contrast displayed by the deverbal action nominals derived from creation and re-description verbs in Polish such as *kompozycja* '(action of) composing, composition', *kreacja* '(action of) creating, creation', *konstrukcja* '(action of) constructing, construction' and *tłumaczenie* '(action of) translating, translation'. The Polish data are also compared with other European languages, such as Italian and English. The proposed analysis adopts a lexicalist approach to the analysis of action nouns (Bloch-Trojnar 2013) and is based on the Generative Lexicon model proposed by Pustejovsky (1995, 2005). Sections 2 to 4 address the most important theoretical issues and pave the way for the analysis which is developed in the final section.

E and R-nominals

Action nominals have been extensively studied in linguistic theory and it is commonly acknowledged that verbal nominalizations display a close semantic and syntactic relation to their corresponding predicates (Comrie 1976, Comrie and Thomson 1985, Koptiejevskaja-Tamm 1993). According to Comrie (1976:178), action nouns may be defined as verbal nouns derived from verbs that have the general interpretation of an action or process. However, it is worth noting that when stative verbs are combined with the same transpositional affixes as action nominals, state nominals are derived (Malicka-Kleparska 1988, Melloni 2011).

Regarding their semantics, the Action or Event nominals denote both events and states. It can be observed that they are basically pure transpositions of the corresponding base verbs and therefore can be labeled as abstract nouns that name events or states expressed by their corresponding predicates. On the other hand, Result nominals commonly refer to the outcome of the event represented by the base verb and their semantics is referential. This contrast is illustrated in (1a) and (1b) below.¹

- 1)
 - a. *Brown's deft painting of his daughter*
 - b. *some paintings of Brown's*

¹ Example (1) comes from Quirk et al. (1985:1290-91). It is worth noting that counter to the proposal of Grimshaw (1990) *-ing* nominals are not confined to the argument taking class, but can also show the process-result ambiguity like e.g. *-ation* (Bloch-Trojnar 2013a:122).

Therefore, following Borer (2003) we will use the term R-nominals in this broader sense, where R- stands for referential.

Following Grimshaw (1990) and Borer (2003, 2014), we enumerate the differences between nominals with argument structure and with an event interpretation as opposed to non-eventive non-argument taking R-nominals in Table 1 below (Borer 2014:141).

E-nominals (Complex Event Nominals)	R-nominals
Event-related roles; direct arguments obligatory	No event related roles; complements optional
Event reading	Event reading not necessary
Agent-oriented modifiers	No agent-oriented modifiers
Subjects are arguments	Subjects are possessives
<i>by</i> phrases are arguments	<i>by</i> phrases are non-arguments
Implicit argument control	No implicit argument control
(A)telic modification possible	(A)telic modification impossible

Table 1. Properties of E-nominals and R-nominals

The focus of our attention are Referential nominals in Polish which lack argument structure and either have no event interpretation whatsoever or are semantically ambiguous between the result and actional interpretation.

Theoretical framework

In this study, the Generative Lexicon (GL) model is adopted as a theoretical framework. Pustejovsky assumes that the semantic representation of lexical items is layered and consists of four levels of semantic representation, i.e. an argument structure, an event structure, a qualia structure and a lexical inheritance structure.²

Following Weinreich (1964), Pustejovsky claims that both simplex and complex items are interpreted with the aid of the same mechanisms. He also distinguishes contrastive ambiguity from complementary or *logical polysemy*. One of the more unique aspects of the representational mechanisms of GL connected with the analysis of logical polysemy is the data structure known as a *dot-object*, i.e. *a type which necessarily incorporates the meanings (types) of its*

² Argument structure indicates the number and types of arguments that a lexical item carries; an event structure, defines the event type of the expression (Vendler 1967, Mourelatos 1978, Verkuyl 1972, 1993, Dowty 1979) and any subevental structure it may have; a qualia structure is a structural differentiation of the modes of predication for a lexical item; and a lexical inheritance structure specifies the relationship of a lexical item to other items in the dictionary.

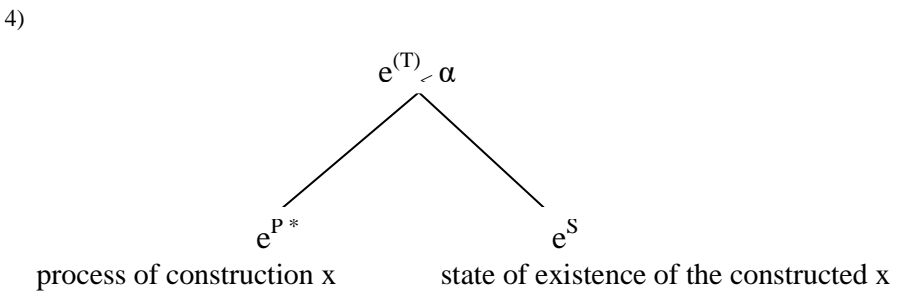
simple types into the complex objects (Pustejovsky 1995:149). This basically means that various meanings of a single word may interact in such a way that new interpretations are generated. For example, a noun such as *book* denotes two contradictory types since it can refer to physical form and informational content. However, in addition to these two senses it can have one more dot-object interpretation, which is general enough to subsume both. The distinct senses associated with a given lexical item are organized into a lexical conceptual paradigm (*lcp*). Consider the examples below after Pustejovsky (2013:31):

- 2)
 - a. *Mary doesn't believe the book.* ('information object')
 - b. *John bought his book from Mary.* ('physical object')
 - c. *The police burnt a controversial book.* ('physical object.information object', 'dot-object')

Pustejovsky claims that action nominalizations also present logical polysemy, and he analyses nominals derived from accomplishment verbs which show the process-result alternation, such as *construction*, *examination* and *merger*. In Pustejovsky's terms, a nominalization produces a complex type, and nouns derived from accomplishment verbs allow reference to the entire event of constructing, merging, and examining, as well as either process or result readings. However, he also adds that, contrary to nominals like *examination*, nominals derived from verbs of creation, e.g. *construction* or *development*, can denote both the resulting state and the individual that comes into existence as a result of the initial process. Consider the following examples (Pustejovsky 1998:334):

- 3)
 - a. *The construction was arduous and tedious.* ('process')
 - b. *The construction is standing on the next street.* ('result')
 - c. *The house's construction was finished in two months.* ('process.result')

The polysemy of this nominal parallels the complex event structure of the corresponding accomplishment verb, as shown in (4) below.



The meanings of the derived nominal reflect the event-structure of the base verb in that they can denote a process leading up to the resultant state (3a), the resulting state itself (3b) or the event which subsumes both – the dot.object in (3c) stands for an event.

Pustejovsky offers an interesting account of the emergence of multiple senses in action nouns. However, he does not address the issue of multiple derivatives with actional and non-actional semantics based on the same stem. This problem is dealt with in Bloch-Trojnar (2013a, 2013b, 2015) with reference to English action nouns. She contends that different construals of situations as entities can be expressed by the same lexical item, or may be distributed among distinct forms based on the same root. An *lcp* structuring the senses of action nominals in English has got three slots (process, event and result/object), which are filled by one or more lexemes, depending on the lexical root. The process and event meaning cannot be expressed by one and the same nominal if no result interpretation is available (e.g. *kicking* vs. *kick*). This pattern typifies semelfactive verbs (*bite*, *clout*, *cut*, *flick*, *hit*, *kick*, *lick*) and transitive activity verbs which take non-incremental themes and which lexicalize the manner of surface contact (*wipe*, *comb*, *sweep*, *polish*). Therefore, they have two corresponding nominals (5a). A logically polysemous item can combine all three senses (e.g. *building*, *construction*) (5b), or the meaning of event and object (e.g. *purchase*, *release*) (5c). In the latter case the missing slot can be filled with a regular *-ing* nominal (*purchasing*, *releasing*). Lexicalized items can be confined to the result reading (e.g. *information*, *commandment*, *revolution*), which means that they have become disengaged from their derivational source (5d), along the lines proposed by Beard (1987). The word formation component may generate items to fill these missing slots, i.e. *commanding*, *command*. If the base is a Latinate root, the formation of a corresponding zero-derivative may not be possible and the event slot will remain empty. Consider the examples below after Bloch-Trojnar (2015:67):

5)	process	event	result
a.	<i>kicking</i> <i>pushing</i>	<i>kick</i> ∅ <i>push</i> ∅	– –
b.	<i>building</i> <i>construction</i>	<i>building</i> <i>construction</i>	<i>building</i> <i>construction</i>
c.	<i>purchasing</i> <i>launching</i>	<i>purchase</i> ∅ <i>launch</i> ∅	<i>purchase</i> ∅ <i>launch</i> ∅
d.	<i>commanding</i> –	<i>command</i> ∅ –	<i>commandment</i> <i>revolution</i>

Nominals in Polish

Action nouns in Polish fall into two groups: *substantiva verbalia* and *substantiva deverbalia* (Puzynina 1969). The former are morphologically regular as they take regular suffixes *-anie*, *-enie* and *-cie* and can be formed from nearly all verbs, e.g.: *pisac* ‘write’ – *pisanie* ‘writing’, *mowic* ‘speak’ – *mowienie* ‘speaking’. The latter are formed from a fairly limited number of verbs and take as many as 70 different formal markers, of which only three, namely \emptyset , *-a* and *-acja*, are productive. The derivatives in *-acja* are related to verbs borrowed from Latin and French, which end in *-owac*, *-(fik)owac* and *-(iz)owac* and are unprefixated, e.g.: *siadac* ‘sit’ – *siad* ‘a sit’, *karac* ‘punish’ – *kara* ‘punishment’, *segregowac* ‘segregate’ – *segregacja* ‘segregation’.³

Polish nominals follow the cross-linguistic pattern in that they show the process-result contrast regardless of the formal marker, as shown in (6) below:⁴

- 6)
- a. *Rozpoczyna się złocenie herbów pod gzymsami.*
‘The gilding of coats of arms under the cornice begins.’
Poodpadały zaprawa i złocenie.
‘Mortar and gilt came off.’
 - b. *Ważna jest izolacja ryb od chorób i epidemii.*
‘It is important to isolate fish from diseases and epidemics.’
Falistą blachę pokryła izolacja cieplna.
‘The thermal insulation covered the corrugated sheet.’
 - c. *Generalnie uprawa ziemi miała charakter prymitywny*
‘In general, the cultivation of land was primitive’
Z poświęceniem nadal pielęgnuje swoje uprawy
‘He is still cultivating his crops’

Like in English, and even to a greater extent, we can observe multiple derivatives in Polish. For example, in addition to *izolacja* and *uprawa* in (6b) and (6c) above, there is also *izolowanie* ‘secluding, detaching’ and *uprawianie* ‘cultivating’. The verb *budowac* ‘build’ will be related to *budowanie* ‘building, construction’, *budowa* ‘building, construction site’ and *budowla* ‘building, edifice’.

Polish nominals also show great differentiation when it comes to the development of lexicalized senses. Examples of lexicalized *substantiva verbalia* and *substantiva deverbalia* are given in Table 2 below. Their emergence seems

³ For a more detailed exposition of the formation of action nouns in Polish the reader is referred to Puzynina (1969), Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina (1999), Waszakowa (1993, 1994), Szymanek (2010) and Bloch-Trojnar (2013).

⁴ The examples in (6) have been extracted from the IPI PAN Corpus (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012).

to follow the generally established paths with result, object, state, subject, agent, instrument and place being most prominent (Malicka-Kleparska 1988, Kastovsky 1986, Cetnarowska 1993).

	Nominals in <i>-anie, -enie, -cie</i>	Nominals in \emptyset ^{fem.}	Nominals in \emptyset ^{masc.}	Nominals in <i>-acja</i>
RESULT of V-ing	<i>powstanie</i> ‘uprising’, <i>jedzenie</i> ‘food’, <i>osiągnięcie</i> ‘accomplishment’	<i>rzeźba</i> ‘sculpture’	<i>odlew</i> ‘mould’	<i>dekoracja</i> ‘decoration’
OBJECT V-ed	<i>siedzenie</i> ‘a seat’, <i>nagranie</i> ‘recording’	<i>uprawa</i> ‘crop’	<i>odrzut</i> ‘reject’	<i>instalacja</i> ‘fittings’
STATE of being V-ed	<i>zesłanie</i> ‘exile’			
SUBJECT undergoing the process or state of V-ing	<i>wzniesienie</i> ‘promontory’	<i>ozdoba</i> ‘decoration’	<i>odprysk</i> ‘splinter’	<i>delegacja</i> ‘delegation’
AGENT of V-ing	<i>otoczenie</i> ‘surrounding’	<i>obstawa</i> ‘bodyguards’	<i>nadzór</i> ‘inspection’	<i>administracja</i> ‘administration’
INSTRUMENT of V-ing	<i>chłodzenie</i> ‘cooling’	<i>obejma</i> ‘clamping ring’	<i>dźwig</i> ‘crane’	<i>izolacja</i> ‘insulation’
PLACE of V-ing	<i>mieszkanie</i> ‘flat’, <i>pomieszczenie</i> ‘room’, <i>wejście</i> ‘entrance’	<i>budowa</i> ‘construction site’	<i>sąd</i> ‘court’	<i>fortyfikacja</i> ‘fortification’

Table 2. Lexicalized senses in Polish action nominals

In what follows we will concentrate on types of meanings displayed by nominals related to verbs of creation in Polish.

Verbs of creation

In Melloni’s (2011) analysis, the core semantics of R-nominals related to verbs of creation covers the PRODUCT, MEANS and ENTITY IN STATE readings. ENTITY IN STATE is put forward as a macro-category (available to states and transitions, in Pustejovsky’s classification) as it captures the state element of meaning shared by all of them.

The PRODUCT interpretation is associated with result nouns and refers to the entity or object coming into existence as a result of process denoted by the base verb, e.g. *construction*, *painting*. According to Melloni (2007:162) in order to obtain a nominal with PRODUCT interpretation, the base verb is expected to belong to one of the three subclasses of verbs:

- a) “Creation (Result-Object)” verbs, e.g. *costruire* ‘build’. A new object/entity (an effected object) is brought into being as a result of the action denoted by the base verb;
- b) “Creation by representation” verbs, e.g. *tradurre* ‘translate’. These verbs derive nominals expressing the coming into being of an entity which is a representation of the Source argument, typically mapped onto the direct object position;
- c) “Creation by modification” verbs, e.g. *correggere* ‘correct’. The situation describes a physical/tangible modification, which is realized as a new entity, on or in an existing entity (an affected object).

Result-Object (Creation) Verbs

Prototypical creation predicates describe events in which an Agent causes an entity to come into existence. They differ from Agent-Patient verbs since they do not take a Patient or affected object but an effected object (or object of result). An *effected object* is the one whose referent comes into existence as a result of the action described by the verb. It realizes incremental Themes or Paths, i.e. those LCS participants which measure out or delimit the event described by the verb (Melloni 2011, Bloch-Trojnar forthcoming).

The R-nominals obtained by the result-object class usually display the E-R polysemy. In particular, they exhibit the PRODUCT interpretation, as they denote effected entities of creation events. In Polish *konstrukcja* ‘construction’ – the nominal derived from the verb *konstruować* ‘construct, build’ stands for the PRODUCT of the process, i.e. the effected object which does not exist before the beginning of the event itself. Moreover, the effected entity is the referent of incremental arguments and *konstrukcja_R* can be said to measure out and delimit *konstrukcja_E*. Some more examples are provided in (7) below:

7)

Verb	R-nominal
<i>komponować</i> ‘compose’	<i>kompozycja</i> ‘composition, (action of) composing’
<i>konstruować</i> ‘construct’	<i>konstrukcja</i> ‘construction, (action of) constructing’
<i>kreować</i> ‘create’	<i>kreacja</i> ‘creation, (action of) creating’
<i>produkować</i> ‘produce’	<i>produkcja</i> ‘production, (action of) producing’
<i>formować</i> ‘form’	<i>formacja</i> ‘formation, (action of) forming’

Nominals in this class are primarily formed by means of the *-(a)cja* suffix. However, the product interpretation can be rendered by a derivative marked with some other less productive suffix.

8)

Verb	R-nominal with an unproductive suffix
<i>grawerować</i> 'engrave'	<i>grawerunek</i> 'carving'
<i>ładować</i> 'load'	<i>ładunek</i> 'charge, load, cargo'
<i>meldować</i> 'report'	<i>meldunek</i> 'report'

The selection of a suffix which is no longer productive, however, means that the nominal is deprived of an actional sense, which in turn is rendered by derivatives with productive affixes *grawerowanie*, *ładowanie*, and *meldowanie* respectively. Conversely, nominals with productive *-nie*, *-cie*, *-acja* and \emptyset will develop referential senses provided that it is not expressed by nominals with unproductive markers. This tendency follows from the operation of the mechanism of blocking (Aronoff 1976, Rainer 1988).

Creation verbs by representation

The predicates belonging to the class of creation verbs by representation are transitive accomplishments characterized by incremental Themes. The internal argument of such verbs denotes an already existing entity and thematically can be characterized as a Source and it is neither affected nor effected by the event. In Melloni's research the verb *tradurre* 'translate' is a characteristic example of this group.

Verbal nouns related to representation verbs which give rise to R-nominals derived by means of the suffixes *-acja* and *-nie* are exemplified in (9) below.

9)

Verb	R-nominal
<i>cytować</i> 'cite, quote'	<i>cytowanie</i> 'quotation, citation'
<i>ilustrować</i> 'illustrate'	<i>ilustracja</i> 'illustration'
<i>imitować</i> 'imitate'	<i>imitacja</i> 'imitation, (action of) imitating'
<i>rejestrować</i> 'register, record'	<i>rejestracja</i> 'registration, recording, (action of) enrolling'
<i>rekonstruować</i> 'reconstruct'	<i>rekonstrukcja</i> 'reconstruction, reengineering, (action of) reconstructing'
<i>relacjonować</i> 'relate'	<i>relacja</i> 'report, story, coverage'
<i>reprezentować</i> 'represent'	<i>reprezentacja</i> 'representation, sport. squad'
<i>reprodukować</i> 'reproduce, breed'	<i>reprodukcja</i> 'reproduction (a painting), (action of) making copies, breeding'
<i>potwierdzać</i> 'confirm'	<i>potwierdzenie</i> 'confirmation'
<i> tłumaczyć</i> 'translate'	<i> tłumaczenie</i> 'translation, (action of) translating'
<i>wspominać</i> 'remember, recall, reminisce'	<i>wspomnienie</i> 'reminiscence, flashback'
<i>wyjaśnić</i> 'explain, justify'	<i>wyjaśnienie</i> 'explanation, solution, (action of) solving, explaining'
<i>zapewniać</i> 'assure, guarantee, secure'	<i>zapewnienie</i> 'securing, provision, assurance, guarantee'

Creation by modification

Creation verbs by modification describe changes of state and events which affect and physically modify the object, which therefore corresponds to *an affected object*. According to Melloni (2007), the interpretation of the R-nominals corresponding to verbs which involve the addition of the material is the MEANS interpretation. Examples of this class are verbs like *correggere* ‘correct’ or *modificare* ‘modify’. Polish verbal nominals related to modification verbs which give rise to R-nominals are listed in (10) below. If the R-nominal is confined to a non-actional interpretation, the word formation component provides a regular *-nie/-cie* derivative with an actional interpretation. Other than that it is the *-nie/-cie* derivative that denotes the result or is logically polysemous between the event-result interpretation.

10)

Verb	R-nominal	E-nominal
<i>poprawiać</i> ‘enhance, correct, improve’	<i>poprawka</i> ‘modification, improvement, correction, re-sit’	<i>poprawianie</i> ‘marking, correction’
<i>złocić</i> ‘gild’	<i>złocenie</i> ‘gilding, gild’	
<i>wiązać</i> ‘tie, bind, bond’	<i>wiązanie</i> ‘tying down, binding, bonding’	
<i>łączyć</i> ‘join’	<i>łączenie</i> ‘join, conjunction’	
<i>połączyć</i> ‘join, combine’	<i>połączenie</i> ‘junction, conjunction’	
<i>nawozić</i> ‘fertilize’	<i>nawóz</i> ‘fertilizer’	<i>nawożenie</i> ‘fertilization’
<i>nauczać</i> ‘teach, instruct’	<i>nauczanie</i> ‘the profession of a teacher, teaching, instruction, pedagogy’ <i>nauczanie</i> ‘an address of a religious nature, sermon, discourse, preaching’	
<i>opakować</i> ‘pack, wrap’	<i>opakowanie</i> ‘packaging, wrapping’	
<i>wypełniać</i> ‘fill, fulfill, accomplish’	<i>wypełnienie</i> ‘filling, filler, fulfillment’	
<i>kolorować</i> ‘colour’	<i>kolorowanka</i> ‘colouring page’	<i>kolorowanie</i> ‘colouring’
<i>reformować</i> ‘reform’	<i>reforma</i> ‘reform’	<i>reformowanie</i> ‘reforming’
<i>ozdabiać</i> ‘decorate, adorn’	<i>ozdoba</i> ‘decoration, ornament’	<i>ozdabianie</i> ‘(action of) decorating’
<i>dekorować</i> ‘decorate’	<i>dekoracja</i> ‘decoration, the act of decorating’	<i>dekorowanie</i> ‘the act of decorating’
<i>instruować</i> ‘instruct’	<i>instrukcja</i> ‘instruction’	<i>instruowanie</i> ‘instructing’
<i>deformować</i> ‘deform’	<i>deformacja</i> ‘deformation’	<i>deformowanie</i> ‘deforming’
<i>transformować</i> ‘transform’	<i>transformacja</i> ‘transformation’	<i>transformowanie</i> ‘transforming’

Just like in Italian and Irish, in Polish events which tangibly modify the object are expected to give rise to product R-nominals providing that they give rise to the creation or modification that could be interpreted as a new entity. This class also subsumes degree achievements exemplified in (11) below.

11)

Verb	R-nominal
<i>obniżać</i> 'reduce, lower'	<i>obniżenie terenu</i> 'dip' <i>obniżka</i> 'reduction, lowering'
<i>osłabić</i> 'weaken, diminish'	<i>osłabienie</i> 'weakness, weakening'
<i>ogrzewać</i> 'heat'	<i>ogrzewanie</i> 'heating'
<i>wzrastać</i> 'grow, spring'	<i>wzrost</i> 'growth, gain, bulid-up, augmentation, height' <i>przyrost</i> 'growth, gain, increment, biol. accretion'
<i>powiększać</i> 'increase'	<i>powiększenie</i> 'enlargement, zoom'

Other verbs that form a subcategory within modification verbs are verbs like *romper* 'break' and *tagliare* 'cut'. The former is a pure change of state verb. The latter, on the other hand, also describes the manner of a change of state. However, taking into account their ability to have an associated product or result, these modification verbs create a change of state in the verbal object, which is associated with the creation of a new object/entity, corresponding to the by-product of the event denoted by the verb (Melloni 2007).

12)

Verb	R-nominal
<i>złamać</i> 'break, fracture'	<i>złamanie</i> 'fracture'
<i>separować</i> 'separate'	<i>separacja</i> 'separation, to cause a split, a cleavage, between people'
<i>pochylać</i> 'bow, lean'	<i>pochylenie</i> 'posture, dip'
<i>uginać się</i> 'bend, diffract'	<i>ugięcie</i> 'deflexion'
<i>przeginać</i> 'bend'	<i>przeięcie</i> 'inflexion, bend, bow'
<i>klaniać</i> 'bend'	<i>skłon</i> 'bend'
<i>zginać</i> 'bend, fold'	<i>zgięcie</i> 'fold, bend'
<i>wyginać</i> 'curve, bend'	<i>wygięcie</i> 'curve, bend'
<i>zakrzywiać</i> 'bend'	<i>zakrzywienie</i> 'wind'
<i>fałdować</i> 'corrugate, fold'	<i>fałdowanie</i> 'undulation'
<i>rozcinać</i> 'split, rip'	<i>rozcęcie</i> 'cutting up, rip'
<i>rozrywać</i> 'rend'	<i>rozdarcie</i> 'rip' <i>rozerwanie</i> 'tear'
<i>przedzierać</i> 'tear, rend'	<i>przedarcie</i> 'tear, rend'
<i>rozszczeniać</i> 'rend'	<i>rozszczenie</i> 'split'
<i>zniekształcić</i> 'distort, deform'	<i>zniekształcenie</i> 'malformation, distortion'
<i>skrzywić</i> 'distort'	<i>skrzywienie</i> 'skew, bent'
<i>wypaczać</i> 'misrepresent, distort'	<i>wypaczenie</i> 'misrepresentation, distortion, wrap'
<i>odkształcić się</i> 'distort'	<i>odkształcenie</i> 'deformation, wrap'
<i>zafalszować</i> 'distort'	<i>zafalszowanie</i> 'falsification'

<i>podcinać</i> ‘trim’	<i>podcięcie</i> ‘trimming’
<i>strzyc</i> ‘shear’	<i>strzyżenie</i> ‘pruning, hairstyle’
<i>wydrążyć</i> ‘excavate, hollow’	<i>wydrążenie</i> ‘hollow’
<i>wycinać</i> ‘cut’	<i>wycięcie</i> ‘excision’
<i>skrócić</i> ‘shorten’	<i>skrócenie</i> ‘shortening’

Conclusion

It can be observed that Polish nominals such as *konstrukcja*, *rekonstrukcja* or *tłumaczenie* are examples of logical polysemy. On the other hand, nominals derived from verbs *ozdabiać*, *dekorować*, *nawozić* illustrate the phenomenon of splitting the meaning into fully actional or strictly concrete. If the concrete meaning is marked by an unproductive suffix the good chances are that the actional and concrete meanings will be expressed by different markers.

As noted by Melloni (2011), it is impossible to predict the polysemy of nominals based only on their event-structure properties or formal marking. However, the paths of the development of meaning identified for Italian also hold for Polish, i.e. the meanings of nouns derived from creation verbs will come to denote effected objects, nominals derived from representation verbs will refer to the representation of the Source argument and those related to modification verbs will refer to a tangible modification resulting from the action expressed by the base verb. Further research aiming at establishing semantic restrictions on the emergence of non-actional senses in nominalizations in Polish should include deeper levels of their semantics, i.e. Qualia structure in Pustejovsky’s terms (1995) or body in the model of Lieber (2004).

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