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Description de la mission :

Titre de la communication : The polysemy of deverbal nouns in French in light of *-age* suffixation

Résumé

Polysemous deverbal nouns can be analysed in two different ways: either (i) morphological rules are polysemous and can form different meanings simultaneously (Plag 1999, Bonami & Tribout 2012, Fradin 2012) or, (ii) morphological rules are monosemous and polysemous lexemes have undergone post-morphological semantic shifts (for example, Booij 1986, 2005, Corbin & Temple 2004 for the agent/instrument polysemy, Kerleroux 2012 for resultative nouns).

Recent works on French deverbal nouns have brought arguments supporting analysis (i): morphological rules that form nouns out of verbs can form nouns denoting either the same event as the base verb, or any participant in that event, such as the agent, the patient, the instrument or the location (Dal 1999, Plénat 2005 for *-ette* and *-on* suffixations, Villoing (2009) for VN compounding, Tribout 2010 for V>N conversion). The main argument is that those deverbal nouns denoting an object often appear without being related to any eventive reading. For example, VN compounds and converted nouns can denote agents (GUIDE 'guide', GARDE-CÔTE 'coastguard'), patients (AFFICHE 'poster', GOBE-MOUTON 'plant') or instruments (RÉCHAUD 'camping stove', ESSUIE-GLACE 'wind-screen wiper'), and are not related to a homophonous event noun. Since there is no homophonous event nouns from which these nouns could derive by means of a semantic shift, they can be regarded as directly formed by the morphological rules, therefore supporting analysis (i). In this paper we study French deverbal nouns suffixed with *-age* (henceforth Nage) in order to further examine the origin of polysemy for deverbal nouns in French. Nouns suffixed with *-age* are interesting candidates for the issue because they always have an eventive reading (FICELAGE 'tying up', LAVAGE 'cleaning'), but can also have other, mainly unexplored, meanings, such as result (ASSEMBLAGE 'assembly'), patient (HÉRITAGE 'inheritance', REPASSAGE 'ironing'), instrument (AIGUILLAGE 'railroad switch', BARRAGE 'dam'), or location (GARAGE 'garage', MOUILLAGE 'anchorage').

We looked at 482 deverbal nouns suffixed with *-age* that we found in the French *TLFi* dictionary. On the basis of this corpus, we observed that no Nage denoting an object is found independently of an eventive meaning, thus supporting the (ii) analysis of polysemy. However, when looking more carefully at nouns having a resultative or a "means" reading (Fradin 2012), we found out that these interpretations depend on semantic properties of the base verb, thus corroborating what has been shown by Bissetto & Melloni (2007) or Fradin (2011) for others deverbal nouns. We also observed that the instrumental meaning is determined by morpho-semantic constraints: only transitive causative verbs with external causation, whose meaning includes a manner component (in the sense of Levin & Rappaport 1995) can produce an instrument noun, thus confirming Ferret's 2012 findings for deverbal nouns suffixed with *-oir*. Consequently, we can argue that these three Object interpretations of Nage do not derive from the event reading by means of a semantic shift; rather, they

stem from semantic and argumental properties of the base verb. We therefore conclude that these constraints are specific properties of the morphological rule, such that some of the Object Interpretations of French Nage could be analysed as directly formed by the rule (confirming analysis (i)), instead of derived from the event meaning through metonymy.

Bénéfice de la mission (pour le chercheur/l'enseignant-chercheur, pour le laboratoire) :

Contribution aux actes du colloque, à paraître en juin 2014.

Invitation à participer au Workshop *Semantics of derivational morphology: Empirical evidence and theoretical modeling*, organisé par Ingo Plag à Düsseldorf les 30 juin et 1^{er} juillet 2014.