

Latin verbal nouns in *-tio*: interpretations and selection restrictions

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on Latin verbal nouns in *-tio* and its main aims are as follows: (i) to determine what types of nouns are formed using this suffix and (ii) to establish the semantic/aspectual restrictions that operate in this derivational process. The first section discusses the aims of the study and establishes the principal assumptions upon which it is based. The second part of the paper describes and exemplifies the five interpretations of verbal nouns in *-tio* within the *corpus* studied. In the third section, I analyse the bases of these verbal nouns according to their Dynamism, Control, Duration and Telicity, that is, the most important features of the aspectual typologies proposed by Vendler (1957) and Dik (1997²).

1. INTRODUCTION

One of Latin's most productive suffixes in the nominalisation of verbs is *-tio*. Examples of its use can be seen in nouns such as *oppugnatio* "attack, assault" or *positio* "the action of placing", formed from the verbs *oppugno* "to attack" and *pono* "to place", respectively.

Traditionally, formations in *-tio* have been identified as *nomina actionis*; however, if we examine the use of nouns like *resectio* and *emptio*, derived from *resecō* "to cut back, prune" and *emo* "to buy, purchase" (see 1 and 2 below), this characterisation does not seem completely appropriate:

- (1) *deinde, ne sagittae sed ungulae similis fiat resectio.* (Colum. 4, 24, 15)

“Secondly, that the *cut* shall not be made like an arrow-point but hoof shaped rather”¹.

- (2) *sed uelim maneat Damasippus in sententia; prorsus enim ex istis emptioibus nullam desidero.* (Cic. epist. 7, 23, 2)

“Still I should like Damasippus to stick to his intention; for out of all your *purchases* there is absolutely not one that I should really prize”.

As these examples illustrate, in (1) *resectio* is identified with the result or effect that follows the action of cutting, not with the action itself. In a relatively similar way, in (2) *emptio* does not designate the action of buying, but refers to the thing or object that has been purchased.

The specific objectives this paper intends to pursue are as follows:

- i) to determine what types of nouns are formed using this suffix: whether these are just *nomina actionis*, or the typology must be broadened.
- ii) to establish which semantic/aspectual restrictions operate in this derivational process; this means that I will review if, in one way or another, the base verbs to which this suffix is attached respond to any of the features proposed by certain verb classifications.

For this purpose, I have chosen to carry out a detailed study of the nouns in *-tio* within a reference *corpus* that comprises the complete works of Plautus, the first and second books of Cicero’s *Philippicae*, books 1-4 of Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*, and Columella’s *De re rustica*.

¹ The translations have been taken from The Loeb Classical Library.

Thus, a total of 335 nouns in *-tio* documented in archaic and classical Latin are analysed².

My analysis, in particular as regards the selection restrictions, will be undertaken by using as a basis the most important features of the aspectual typologies formulated by Vendler (1957) and Dik (1997²).

The proposed structure of this paper is the following: in § 2, I present the nouns created using the suffix *-tio* according to their interpretations. In § 3, I review the aforementioned verb classifications in order to ascertain whether any of the features addressed by these typologies conditions this derivational process or not. Finally, in § 4, I discuss the main conclusions drawn.

2. VERBAL NOUNS IN *-TIO*: TYPES OF INTERPRETATION

From the point of view of their interpretation, the *Verbal Nouns* (VNs) in *-tio* documented in the *corpus* analysed respond to a varied typology³. Contrary to what we might expect according to the standard bibliography (Juret 1937, Leumann 1944, Benveniste 1975² [1948],

² The selection of this *corpus* aims to give an account, if only partially, of four representative literary genres (comedy, oratory, historiography and technical prose) in order not to condition the results of the study to a single stylistic and thematic register, and of two stages of the Latin language (archaic and classical Latin) to increase the generality of the results by considering a greater temporal range. Additionally, in order to extend the scope of this work the description of the verbal nouns in *-tio* and of their base verbs is illustrated frequently through examples extracted from other works which are dated in the period under scrutiny.

³ The polysemy of these formations has been recognised by Fruyt (1996, 2002, 2011). In these works, the nouns are basically classified into two large groups: *process nouns* and *concrete nouns*, where the latter group includes nouns denoting all type of entities (effected entities, affected entities, places where the processes take place, and different concrete entities). From this perspective, the original aspect of my contribution lies in offering a systematic and complete classification of the variety of nouns in *-tio*, categorising them in a way more consistent with some important typological studies on nominalisation (cf. particularly, Comrie – Thompson 2007).

Pultrová 2011, amongst other works), not all of the nouns refer to prototypical events, but rather they can be read at least in five different ways:

i) Firstly, a considerable number of VNs in *-tio* can be exclusively interpreted as *Event Nouns* (ENs)⁴. These nouns are never used to refer to a result. A good example of an EN can be seen in *dimicatio*, derived from *dimico* “to contend in battle, fight”, in (3):

(3) *In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant.* (Liv. 23, 33, 1)

“To this *conflict of the two richest peoples* in the world all kings and nations had turned their attention”.

In light of an example such as (3), it is evident that this type of VNs can reflect the argument structure of its *Base-Verb* (BV), although it does not always do so. So, for instance, in (3) the genitive *duorum opulentissimorum populorum* is identified with the *Argument 1* (Arg₁) /+animate/ of *dimico*.

ii) On the other hand, there are VNs in *-tio* that may refer to both the event and the result denoted by their BVs; thus, they constitute the group that is framed in ambiguity between ENs and *Result Nouns*

⁴ I do not take into consideration the distinction, initially proposed by Grimshaw (1990), between *simple event nominals* and *complex event nominals*, where both nominals describe the event associated with their base verb, but only the latter take internal arguments, in opposition to the former. The reason is that the empirical tests for disambiguation between one and another reading (cf., for example, Keir 2014) are not easily applicable to Latin, a *corpus* language, since the fact that a noun does not document an internal argument may be due to the relatively limited canon of preserved Latin texts.

(RNs)⁵. This is the case of *scariphatio*, derived from *scaripho* “to make scratches, scarify”, as seen in (4):

- (4) *Sed si sanguis adhuc supra ungulas in cruribus est, frictione adsidua discutitur uel, cum ea nihil profuit, scariphatione emittitur.* (Colum. 6, 12, 1)

“But if the blood is still in the legs above the hoofs, it can be dissipated by continual friction, or, if that has no effect, it can be removed by *scarification*”.

In (4), it is difficult to decipher whether the noun *scariphatio* should be read as an EN or as an RN. This is because the blood is released through the cut made as the result of scarification, but it can also be understood as the process that causes the blood to flow out. Despite the particular ambiguity of (4), there are cases in which the distinction between one reading or another is much clearer. In *aedificatio*, for example, although this noun can designate both “the process of building” and its result (“a building”), both readings are usually easily differentiated because the RN is an effected object and thus it has to be associated with verbs of making or creating⁶. What does seem clear is that this group of nouns can have two possible readings: as ENs or as

⁵ I consider RNs only those that denote the object or the state produced by the event described by their BVs. For an overview of some relevant studies on the event/result polysemy of actions nouns and a survey of certain properties of RNs, see Melloni (2015).

⁶ Examples of both readings of *aedificatio* are: (i) *Nunc mihi uidetur, tametsi non sint italicae consuetudinis, palastrarum aedificationes, traditae tamen, explicare et, quemadmodum apud Graecos constituentur, monstrare* “Although the building of the palaestra is not a usual thing in Italy, the method of construction has been handed down. It seems good therefore to explain it and show how the palaestra is planned among the Greeks” (Vitr. 5, 11, 1); (ii) *Domum tuam atque aedificationem omnem perspexi et uehementer probaui* “I have inspected your house and all the new building, and heartily approve” (Cic. *epist.* 5, 6, 3).

RNs – and even also as a kind of inextricable ambiguity between ENs and RNs –, as opposed to category (i), which only has one reading⁷.

iii) In the *corpus* analysed, a third small group of VNs in *-tio* can only receive a result reading. By way of example, take *fatigatio*, derived from *fatigo* “to weary, fatigue”, in (5):

- (5) *Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in uerticem montis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris affecti [...].* (Curt. 7, 11, 17)

“Nevertheless, through all these difficulties they [youths] mounted to the top of the mountain, all worn out by the *fatigue of constant toil* [...]”.

In relation to (5), there are two important aspects to take into account. Firstly, *fatigatio* can only be understood as a RN. In this way, the youths are worn out by the fatigue, understood not as the process of fatiguing (of the toil), but its result, that is, the state that occurs as a result. Secondly, despite being a RN, specifically a resultant state, *fatigatio* reflects a part of the argument structure of its BV⁸, as shown by the genitive *continuati laboris* that corresponds to the Arg₁ of *fatigo*⁹.

⁷ Bisetto – Melloni (2007) propose an explanation of why only some classes of transitive verbs yield semantic ambiguity in their derived nominals, while other classes only give unambiguous event nominals. In particular, they explore the possibility of predicting whether a verb can form a result noun on the basis of its lexical semantic analysis.

⁸ Contrary to Grimshaw’s (1990) claim, for whom this type of nominal lacks argument structure and other verbal properties.

⁹ In current semantic theories it is not expected that Arg₁ (the external argument) of a causative verb like *fatigo* be projected in a context without Arg₂ (the internal argument) (cf., for instance, Levin – Rappaport 2005). However, it seems that, in this particular case, the Arg₂ of *fatigatio* is not projected in the nominal structure, as it identifies with *omnes*, that is, with the Arg₂ of *affecti*, predicate to which this VN itself is subordinated. Thus, there is a sort of overlap between the constituents of the two underlying causative structures: *the fatigue wears out/affects all the*

iv) A fourth group of nouns in -tio has a meaning that, although still related to that of their BVs, cannot be identified either with the event or with its result. One example can be seen in *ambulatio*, from *ambulo* “to take a walk”, in (6):

- (6) *faciunda autem xysta sic uidentur, ut sint inter duas porticus siluae aut platanones, et in his perficiantur inter arbores ambulationes ibique ex opere signino stationes.* (Vitr. 5, 11, 4)

“The xysta ought to be so laid out that there are plantations or groves of plane trees between the two colonnades. Here *walks* are to be made among the trees with spaces paved with cement”.

In (6) *ambulationes* is interpreted as “places for walking”, that is, it denotes the place where the action of *ambulare* is carried out. In this way, this noun maintains a relationship with its BV, but not in the prototypical way, according to its suffix. In other languages, in cases like this one, it has been proven that the VNs seem to take on the function of some argument of their BVs; specifically, in (6), *ambulatio* corresponds to the default argument of Place of *ambulo* “to take a walk”¹⁰. A default argument is an implied participant in the scene of the verb (the path is always implied in walking)¹¹. Even if this information is not always explicit in the syntax, it appears as crucial for the correct

youths and *the constant toil fatigues all the youths*. For the analysis of the construction *fatigatio afficit*, see Mendózar (2019: 140, 156-157).

¹⁰ Examples of other nouns related to an argument of Place of their BVs are *aquatio* “a place whence water is brought, a watering-place”, *cenatio* “a dining-room” and *habitatio* “a dwelling, habitation”, derived from *aquor* “to bring or fetch water for drinking”, *ceno* “to have dinner (with place, host, or company indicated)” and *habito* “to dwell”, respectively.

¹¹ In words of Pustejovsky (1995: 63), default arguments are «parameters which participate in the logical expressions in the *qualia*, but which are not necessarily expressed syntactically».

interpretation of the VN. This is the reason why the place is considered a default argument of *ambulo*¹².

- v) The last group of nouns in *-tio* in the *corpus* is formed by lexicalised nouns designating realities that have little to do with their BVs. An example is *auctio* “auction”, derived from *augeo* “to increase”, in (7):

(7) *Auctio fiet Menaechmi mane sane septimi.* (Plaut. *Men.* 1157)

“*Auction...* of the effects of Menaechmus... one week from today in the morning, mind!”.

Auctio, understood as “auction”, has not completely lost its relationship with its BV because it designates an event in which, indeed, something (in particular, the bid) increases. Despite this, it is difficult to link this meaning with the verb in a regular and productive way. Notice that none of the meanings collected by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* for *augeo* are related to the act of participating in an auction by increasing a bid on the auctioned object. The closest meaning is “to increase in value or amount (money, possessions, etc.)”. It is interesting that, despite its lexicalisation, this VN continues to designate an EN.

So far, the set of interpretations that VNs in *-tio* can assume is (i) Event nouns, (ii) Event and Result nouns, (iii) Result nouns, (iv) nouns that adopt the reference of one of their arguments and, finally, (v) lexicalised nouns. The percentage of each group within the *corpus* is shown in Table 1:

¹² Some examples of nouns that assume the reference of other arguments are (i) *emptio* “a purchase, an article purchased”, *possessio* “a thing possessed, a property” and *sorbitio* “a drink” (associated with the argument of Object of *emo* “to buy, purchase”, *possideo* “to own, possess” and *sorbeo* “to drink”, respectively); (ii) *appellatio* “name, designation”, *munitio* “a means of fortification or defence” and *pastio* “a pasture” (related to the argument of Instrument of *appello* “to call, designate”, *munio* “to fortify” and *pasco* “to pasture”, respectively).

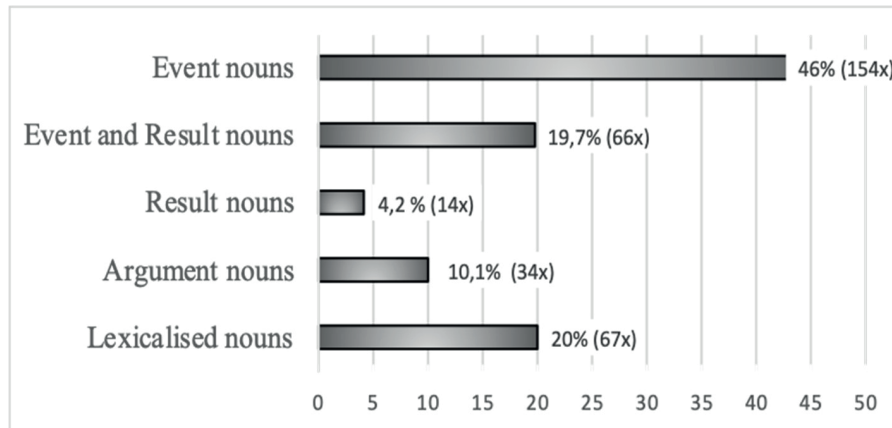


Table 1: Frequency of the different interpretations of VNs in *-tio*¹³.

As the table shows, nearly 50% of the nouns analysed are interpreted as ENs and this is to be expected according to the quoted bibliography. However, a substantial number of nouns – almost 20% – are identified as ENs and RNs. This fact, coupled with the existence of RNs, highlights the need to broaden the definition of VNs in *-tio* as *nomina actionis*, because it is clear that they can also describe the results of such events, for instance, referring to effected objects, resultant states, etc. This must have to do with the meaning, more precisely, with some properties or features of the BVs (cf. f. 7).

In the case of those nouns that refer to an argument of their BVs and lexicalised nouns, there is a clear difference. Despite the fact that these two groups represent around 30% of the nouns studied, they do not constitute productive formations in terms of semantic regularity: neither *ambulatio* “place for walking” nor *auctio* “auction” can be explained by a regular pattern of formation¹⁴.

Now that I have described the different interpretations of VNs in *-tio*, let me move on to address the selection restrictions that operate in this nominalisation process.

¹³ The number in brackets refers to the total number of occurrences of each group.

¹⁴ On the different concepts of morphological productivity, see Bauer (2001).

3. SELECTION RESTRICTIONS:

ASPECTUAL FEATURES OF BASE VERBS OF NOUNS IN *-TIO*

With regards to selection restrictions, I will now review the aspectual features addressed by two of the most important verb classifications: Vendler (1957) and Dik (1997²)¹⁵. For space constraints, I will focus on Dynamism, Control, Duration and Telicity¹⁶.

3.1. *Dynamism and Control*

Dynamism is associated with events requiring a development or change and, consequently, is not compatible with the description of static situations. See the BVs of the nouns *aedificatio*, *putatio* and *lignatio* in examples (8)-(10):

- (8) [...] *quia nec collegam subrogauerat in locum Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia*. (Liv. 2, 7, 6)

“[...] since he had not caused a colleague to be elected in the place of Brutus, and *was building* a house on the highest part of Velia”.

- (9) *Vineas arboresque mature face incipias putare*. (Cato agr. 32, 1)

“See that you begin early to *trim* vines and trees”.

¹⁵ Cf. Pinkster (2015: 22-24).

¹⁶ In this regard, it is worth noting that a large classification such as that proposed by the Generative Lexicon Theory does not seem to constitute a selection criterion: at first sight the VNs in *-tio* are formed from Processes (*erro* “to wander”), Transitions (*aedifico* “to build”, *scaripho* “to make scratches”) and States (*ueneror* “to venerate”). That is, the three groups of verbs described by this theory (cf. Pustejovsky 1995: 67-75) document their derivation into this suffix (cf. *erratio*, *aedificatio*, *scariphatio*, and *ueneratio*, respectively). This fact seems to corroborate the pertinence of the feature-based analysis proposed in this section.

- (10) [...] *equites in oliueto dum lignantur interfecti sunt aliquot.*
(*Bell. Hisp.* 27, 1)

“[...] a number of our cavalry were killed while *collecting wood* in an olive grove”.

The BVs *aedifico* “to build”, *puto* “to prune, cut back”, and *lignor* “to collect firewood” designate events that involve some kind of change (for example, the creation of a new entity in 8 or the modification of the vines and trees in 9), that is, prototypical dynamic events. Nevertheless, this does not constitute a selection criterion, since the nouns *-tio* can also derive from verbs such as the ones exemplified in (11) and (12):

- (11) *di procul a cunctis, qui te uenerantur amantque,*
huius notitiam gentis habere uelint. (*Ov. Pont.* 1, 7, 7-8)

“May the gods will that all who *show* you *respect* and love may have no knowledge of this race!”.

- (12) *Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te*
hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris
non adisses. (*Cic. Phil.* 2, 42)

“And yet this is what I *have* particularly *marvelled at*, your daring to mention inheritances when you yourself had not entered into your father’s inheritance”.

Verbs like *ueneror* “to venerate” and *admiror* “to be surprised or astonished (at)” are typified as States according to the typology mentioned above, mainly as non-inherent states denoting psychological states or emotions, so they describe events that have a very low degree of Dynamism. Despite this characterisation, they – just like prototypical dynamic verbs – can form nouns in *-tio* (cf. *ueneratio* and *admiratio*). Thus, it is clear that Dynamism does not condition this derivation process in a strict sense, although the absolute lack of this feature does.

Directly related to the previous feature, Control, understood as the capacity of a participant to determine the performance of the event, is

present in some BVs, but not in others. Compare *oppugno* and *obseruo* in (13) and (14), with *lito* and *claudico* in (15) and (16):

(13) *Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnauit et ex parte cepit.* (Liv. 26, 13, 10)

“Hannibal with immense forces of infantry and cavalry *besieged* and partly captured their camp”.

(14) *Obseruabo quid agat hominem.* (Plaut. *Men.* 465)

“I’ll *observe* what the fellow’s up to”.

(15) *ante paucos quam periret menses attendit et extispicio nec umquam litauit.* (Suet. *Nero* 56)

“A few months before his death he did attend an inspection of victims, but could not *get a favourable omen*”.

(16) *Percusso claudicat ille genu.* (Ov. *fast.* 3, 758)

“he *limped* on his hurt knee”.

Clearly, in (13)-(14) the verbs *obseruo* “to observe” and *oppugno* “to attack” have Control¹⁷: in both cases the Arg₁ function as a prototypical Agent (cf. *Hannibal* and the first person singular of the verb).

However, in (15) and (16) with the verbs *lito* “to obtain favourable omens” and *claudico* “to be lame, limp”, which also form VNs in *-tio* (cf. *litatio* and *claudicatio*), it seems that there is not Control present.

¹⁷ In relation to the Control feature, it is worth noting that – as has been suggested for other languages (cf., for example, Fernández 2005) – in Latin, verbs of physical perception can be associated with the description of at least two types of perception: a pure (automatic and spontaneous) one and an active (voluntary and controlled). Based on the above, I interpret that *obseruo* has an Agent as semantic role of the Arg₁, because in an example like (14) this participant intentionally seeks to perceive the event. Furthermore, note that *obseruo* forms an agent noun in *-tor* (*obseruator*), which proves – following Torrego’s (1996) claim – that some degree of Control does indeed exist.

Firstly, the first argument of *lito* is not an Agent, since nobody can control the obtention of favourable omens; it seems rather a sort of Beneficiary. In a similar way, in (16) the Arg₁ of *claudico* is an animate entity that functions as an Experiencer (cf. *ille*). Here, again, it is very difficult to have control over limping, especially when it is caused by an external event (cf. *percusso genu*)¹⁸.

In view of examples (8)-(10) and (13)-(14), apparently the BVs of the nouns in *-tio* tend to have some degree of Dynamism and Control. Nevertheless, given that this can be low – cf. examples (11) and (12) – or even non-existent – cf. (15)-(16) –, both features do not constitute a sufficient condition to restrict the derivation.

3.2. Duration and (A)telicity

A verb is defined as durative if its internal development lasts for a certain period of time. This means that it is not punctual (or instantaneous). For its part, a verb is said to be telic if it «involves unique and definite time instants» (Vendler 1957: 149); that is, if it denotes an event with an inherent start or endpoint. Considering both features from Vendler’s perspective, it seems clear that punctual or non-durative verbs are telic by definition¹⁹.

In general, BVs of nouns in *-tio* are durative and non-telic²⁰. As an illustration, consider the prototypically durative and atelic verbs of

¹⁸ BVs such as *amitto* “to fail to catch”, *offenso* “to meet with an obstruction” and *festino* “to act hurriedly, make haste” receive the same explanation.

¹⁹ Nevertheless, as Dini – Bertinetto (1995) note for Italian, a subclass of non-durative verbs (called *punctuals*) is non-telic, that is, they do not involve a resulting state as part of their semantic endowment (e.g. *incontrare* “to meet”, *accadere* or *succedere* “to happen”, *sfracellarsi* “to crash”, *esplodere* “to explode”).

²⁰ This characterisation is tentative since they can change their aspectual nature through different syntagmatic processes (e.g. according to the type of arguments and adjuncts that accompany their predication). From this perspective, some of these BVs can be made telic by composition. An example with the verb *scribo* “to write” and the nature of its Arg₂ is as follows: *scribo* + Arg₂ /+plural/ has an atelic

motion *ambulo* “to go on foot, walk” and *erro* “to wander about” in (17)-(18):

(17) *Oportet me ambulare: tunc demum ambulo cum hoc mihi dixi et adprobaui hanc opinionem meam.* (Sen. *epist.* 113, 18)

“Or suppose that I ought to *take a walk* : I *do walk*, but only after uttering the command to myself and approving this opinion of mine”.

(18) *errant in montibus una.* (Ov. *met.* 12, 416)

“Together they would *wander* on the mountain-sides”.

In terms of derivation, *ambulo* and *erro* behave in a different way to telic motion verbs like *abeo* “to go away”, *adeo* “to go to”, *exeo* “to go out”. The atelic durative series illustrated in (17)-(18) allows derivation into *-tio* in classical Latin (cf. *ambulatio* and *erratio*), whilst telic verbs of motion only produce derivate nouns in *-tio* in archaic Latin (e.g. *abitio* Plaut. *Rud.* 503; *aditio* Plaut. *Truc.* 622; *exitio* Plaut. *Truc.* 511), and in classical Latin their usual derivatives are in *-tus* (*abitus*, *aditus*, *exitus*). This difference points at (a)telicity as one of the features conditioning the derivation process in *-tio/-tus*²¹. This is also the case of, for instance, *curro* “to run”, which gives a noun in *-tus* (cf. *cursus*) under its punctual and telic reading, while *cursio* is an *hapax* in Varro (*ling.* 5, 11). The same trend could motivate the derivation of *accursus* from the telic *accurro* “to run to” and the lack of **accursio*, even if for other telic verbs (*excurro* “to run out”, *incurro* “to run into or towards”) both derivatives are attested (*excursio/excursus*; *incursio/incursus*).

interpretation (cf. *Scribebat tamen orationes, quas alii dicerent*, Cic. *Brut.* 206: “However he *wrote orations* for the others to deliver”), whilst *scribo* + Arg₂/+singular/ results in a telic reading (cf. *Pater enim et sibi et filio testamentum scripsit, dum is pupillus esset*, Cic. *inv.* 2, 62: “The father *made a will* for himself and for his son as long as he should be a ward”).

²¹ On the opposition between the suffixes *-tio* and *-tus*, cf. Marouzeau (1912), Benveniste (1975² [1948]), Fruyt (1996, 2002), Gennaro (2010) and Garzón (2018).

To sum up, in general, the suffix *-tio* is related to BVs that have: (i) some degree of Dynamism and Control (meaning that this in itself does not imply a selection criterion) and (ii) a prevalent Durative and Atelic meaning.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As regards the first objective, the original aspect of this study lies in the systematic classification of the types of VNs in *-tio*. As we have seen in § 2, there are five possible interpretations for the VNs found in the analysed *corpus*: (i) nouns with an event reading (*dimicatio* “combat, conflict”), (ii) nouns that can be interpreted as denoting either events or results (*scariphatio* “scarification”), (iii) nouns with a result reading (*fatigatio* “weariness”), (iv) nouns that take on the reference to one of their BVs’ arguments (*ambulatio* “a place for walking, walk”, *emptio* “a purchase, an article purchased”), and (v) lexicalised nouns (*auctio* “auction”). Although only the first three groups follow regular patterns of derivation, the contribution of this classification is to point out that the definition of the VNs in *-tio* as *nomina actionis* needs to be broadened, at least considering that they can refer to the result described by some types of events.

Regarding selection restrictions (§ 3), it may be argued that, in general, the BVs of nouns in *-tio* can possess a high or low degree of Dynamism and Control, so that these features do not function completely as a selection criterion; however, Duration and Atelicity do seem to condition the formation of VNs in *-tio* to linguistic phenomena²².

²² This study has been carried out as part of the research project “Interaction of lexicon and syntax in ancient Greek and Latin” (FFI2017-83310-C3-P-1), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. I am grateful to the reviewers for their comments and suggestions, which have helped to improve the paper.

Finally, given that these aspectual distinctions of the BVs are manifested only in terms of gradience, this study also highlights, as other works do, the relevance of this typical tenet of functionalist and cognitivist theories for the study of linguistic phenomena.

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