

## The semantics of underived event nouns in French

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### Abstract

This paper deals with underived nouns that denote events in French (e.g. *crime* ‘crime’, *procès* ‘trial’, *émeute* ‘riot’, *séisme* ‘earthquake’). We compare the properties of these nouns with those of deverbal nominalizations, especially as regards complement structure and lexical aspect. The heterogeneity and specificities of underived event nouns (UENs) are brought out. First, the event denotation for UENs can have various semantic origins, and be derived metaphorically or metonymically from a non-event meaning. Second, some UENs are completely autonomous event nouns and never combine with participant-denoting complements, whereas others are role assignors and determine the semantics of their prepositional complements. Despite those specificities, UENs share many properties with deverbal event nouns, most notably regarding lexical aspect. UENs can denote durative or punctual, telic or atelic, foreseen or unforeseen events. We argue that lexical aspect is not primarily a property of verbs. It is a matter of semantic rather than grammatical categories, and fundamentally depends upon the denotation of eventualities.

**Keywords:** underived noun, event, polysemy, lexical aspect, argument structure

### 1. Introduction<sup>1,2</sup>

Nouns denoting events (i.e. dynamic eventualities) in French are mostly deverbal nouns, but there also are underived event nouns (UENs):

- (1) *crime* ‘crime’, *grève* ‘strike’, *repas* ‘meal’, *orage* ‘storm’, *émeute* ‘riot’, *kermesse* ‘charity fair’, *régime* ‘diet’, *baptême* ‘baptism’

The nouns in (1) are morphologically simple nouns, as opposed notably to deverbal nominalizations. It has been mentioned that such nouns could denote ‘events’, understood as things that occur or take place (Zucchi 1989, Grimshaw 1990, Borer 2003, Van de Velde 2006, Bittar 2010, *inter alia*). Still these nouns have been given much less attention than deverbal ones in the studies about event nominals. The main focus on nominalizations has determined the theory about event nouns, and one can wonder whether UENs do or do not fit into this theory.

In this paper, we investigate the semantics of UENs, with a focus on their lexical aspect as compared to that of deverbal event nouns (DENs). We first extract event nouns from a lexicon of French underived nouns, by using several linguistic tests. The polysemous properties of UENs are discussed in order to distinguish eventive senses from non-eventive ones. We then bring out both the heterogeneity and some specificities of UENs as regards complement structure and event denotation. Some UENs can take participant-denoting complements and

compare to DENs in this respect, whereas others cannot. It appears however that all UENs are very similar to DENs as far as lexical aspect (Aktionsart) is concerned. The study of the aspectual properties of UENs will lead us to the conclusion that:

- (i) lexical aspect is not restricted to nominalizations and argument-supporting nominals,
- (ii) lexical aspect fundamentally depends upon the denotation of eventualities, whatever the grammatical category of lexical items,
- (iii) some aspectual features of event delimitation are nonetheless strictly nominal, i.e. there are some structural differences between nominal and verbal Aktionsarten.

## 2. Inventory of French UENs

The study presented here is part of a broader project on underived nouns in French, for which we built a lexicon of underived nouns. The constitution of that lexicon, the linguistic tests used to identify event-denoting nouns, and the polysemy of UENs are detailed in this section.

### 2.1. Building a lexicon of underived nouns in French

Our lexicon of underived nouns is built upon the lexical resource *Lexique3* ([www.lexique.org](http://www.lexique.org)), which is a free lexicon containing 55,000 lemmas. Every morphologically simple noun was extracted from it, following a methodology described in Tribout *et al.* (2014). We consider a noun to be morphologically simple if it does not derive from any other lexeme by means of a morphological process, be it a regular grammatical process, such as prefixation, suffixation or compounding (2), or an extragrammatical process (Fradin *et al.* 2009), such as clipping, portmanteau word formation or acronymization (3).

- (2)
  - a. prefixation: *survêtement* ‘tracksuit’, *préretraite* ‘early retirement’
  - b. suffixation: *chanteur* ‘singer’, *construction* ‘construction’
  - c. compounding: *tournevis* ‘screwdriver’, *garde-côte* ‘coastguard’
- (3)
  - a. clipping: *démo* ‘demo’, *ciné* ‘cinema’
  - b. portmanteau word: *stagflation* ‘stagflation’
  - c. acronym: *OVNI* ‘UFO’, *ONU* ‘UN’

According to that definition of underived nouns, loanwords (4a) and antonomasia (4b) were included in our lexicon database.

- (4)
  - a. *feria* ‘feria’, *tsunami* ‘tsunami’
  - b. *poubelle* ‘bin’, *kleenex* ‘facial tissue’

On the contrary, nouns related to verbs or adjectives by means of conversion, like those in (5), were excluded — a decision supported by the fact that the directionality of conversion is generally uncertain (Tribout 2015).

- (5)
  - a. *scie* ‘saw’ / *scier* ‘(to) saw’
  - b. *marche* ‘walk’ / *marcher* ‘(to) walk’
  - c. *calme* ‘calm’ / *calme* ‘quiet’

The application of the above criteria generates a lexicon of 3,489 French underived nouns.

## 2.2. Identifying event nouns

UENs can be distinguished from other underived nouns by the combination of two characteristic properties of event-denoting nouns (ENs).

(i) ENs have a temporal denotation and can be used with temporal prepositions, such as *pendant* ‘during’, *avant* ‘before’, *après* ‘after’, *depuis* ‘since’ (Gross & Kiefer 1995, Godard & Jayez 1996, Anscombe 2000, Arnulphy 2012), as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. *pendant la conférence* ‘during the conference’  
b. *avant le séisme* ‘before the earthquake’  
c. *depuis son infarctus* ‘since his heart attack’

(ii) ENs combine with dynamic support verbs such as *effectuer* ‘carry out’, *accomplir* ‘perform’, *commettre* ‘commit’, *procéder* ‘proceed’, as in (7), or with eventive verbs such as *avoir lieu* ‘take place’ or *se produire* ‘happen’, as in (8) (Giry-Schneider 1987, Gross 1998, Gaatone 2004, Haas 2009, *inter alia*).

- (7) a. *Pierre a commis un crime.*  
‘Pierre committed a crime’  
b. *Marie a effectué un stage.*  
‘Marie carried out an internship’  
c. *Ils ont procédé à une expérience.*  
‘They proceeded to an experiment’
- (8) a. *Cette guerre a eu lieu il y a vingt ans.*  
‘That war took place twenty years ago’  
b. *Un orage s’est produit dans la soirée.*  
‘A storm happened in the evening’

ENs differ from both object-denoting nouns (e.g. *sac* ‘bag’, *arbre* ‘tree’, *manteau* ‘coat’) and state-denoting nouns (e.g. *joie* ‘joy’, *honte* ‘shame’, *misère* ‘misery’). The former can be used with the verb *se trouver* ‘be’ followed by a locative PP (Godard & Jayez 1996, Kleiber *et al.* 2012). The latter combine with stative support verbs such as *ressentir* ‘feel’, *éprouver* ‘experience’ and with the expression *être dans un état de* ‘be in a state of’ (Flaux & Van de Velde 2000, Goossens 2011).

We identified 283 underived nouns with at least one eventive meaning, according to tests (i)-(ii)<sup>3</sup>. These nouns are listed in the Appendix A of the paper.

## 2.3. Polysemy of UENs

Just like deverbal nominalizations, UENs frequently have multiple meanings. Almost half of them (134 nouns) have at least one other non-eventive meaning. The noun *atelier* ‘workshop’ for instance can denote an event (9a) or an object (9b).

- (9) a. *L’atelier se déroule sur deux jours.*  
‘The workshop runs two days’  
b. *L’atelier a pris feu dans la nuit.*  
‘The workshop caught fire during the night’

As is well-known, deverbal nouns are often ambiguous between an event and a result interpretation (Grimshaw 1990, Jacquy 2006, Melloni 2011, *inter alia*). But they may as well denote other entities related to the event (Jezek 2007, Kerleroux 2012), such as a collective

agent (*administration* ‘administration’), an instrument (*équipement* ‘equipment’) or a place (*location* ‘rental’). In each case, the transfer between the eventive and non-eventive meaning relies upon metonymy. Comparable semantic configurations can be observed among underived nouns. For instance, *bilan* ‘checkup’, *jury* ‘jury’, *barbecue* ‘barbecue’, *chantier* ‘construction work’ are UENs that can also denote respectively the result (10a), the collective agent (10b), the instrument (10c) and the place (10d) of the corresponding events.

- (10) a. *Le patient n’a pas apporté son dernier bilan sanguin.*  
 ‘The patient did not bring his last blood test form’  
 b. *Le jury a décidé de reporter sa réponse.*  
 ‘The jury decided to postpone its response’  
 c. *Ce barbecue fonctionne au gaz.*  
 ‘This barbecue runs on gas’  
 d. *Ils se sont retrouvés sur le chantier.*  
 ‘They met on the construction site’

Still, polysemy alternations involving UENs have particular characteristics when compared to those involving DENs. First, while the source of polysemy is almost exclusively the event meaning for DENs, the reverse situation is often found for UENs. The eventive meaning of UENs can be derived from a non-eventive meaning. Lexicographic resources such as *Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé*, *Petit Larousse* (2012) and *Petit Robert* (2013) order the object and event meanings of nouns like *vaisselle* (11a) and *cocktail* (11b) by preceding the event meaning with the object meaning in the lexical entry of each noun.

- (11) a. *vaisselle*: dishes > washing-up  
 b. *cocktail*: cocktail > cocktail party

Second, event meanings derived from non-event meanings may involve complex polysemy relations, relying on both metonymy and metaphor. For example, the non-military event sense of *campagne* (12a) is metaphorically derived from the military event sense, which is itself metonymically derived from the landscape sense. The eventive meaning of nominalizations does not result from such complex semantic transfers.

- (12) a. *campagne*: countryside > military campaign > commercial/political campaign  
 b. *scène*: stage > division of a play > fuss

It appears that DENs and UENs do not have the same polysemy structure. UENs can have an event meaning derived from a non-event meaning, and the semantic transfer between the different meanings is not necessarily metonymical but can also be metaphorical.

Additional meanings may result from homonymy (e.g. *régime* ‘diet’ and *régime* ‘regime’), polysemy (e.g. *pot* ‘pot’ and ‘drinks party’) or internal dot types (e.g. *transe* ‘trance’ denotes both an event and a state). Non-eventive meanings of UENs are listed in the Appendix B of the paper.

### 3. Complement structure

Complement structure constitutes another difference between UENs and DENs, as well as a heterogeneity factor for UENs. Some UENs take participant-denoting complements, whereas others do not. Indeed, some UENs combine with PPs introduced by *de* ‘of’ that denote elementary participants in the event (agent, patient, theme, experiencer, etc.) as in (13).

- (13) a. *le crime de Pierre* ‘Pierre’s crime’  
 b. *le rapt de la jeune fille* ‘the abduction of the young girl’  
 c. *une entorse de la cheville* ‘an ankle sprain’<sup>4</sup>

Other UENs combine with PPs introduced by *de* ‘of’ that can only refer to place or time, or possessors, or be based on contextual relations, like they would for any other noun, as in (14).

- (14) a. *le tsunami de 2004* ‘the 2004 tsunami’  
 b. *le festival de St Malo* ‘St Malo festival’  
 c. *la tombola de la fête de l’école* ‘the school raffle’

*De*-complements in (14), as opposed to those in (13), do not depend upon the semantic structure of the head nouns. By taking participant-denoting complements, the nouns in (13) seem to be closer to nominalizations than the ones in (14). Examples in (15) parallel those in (13).

- (15) a. *le cambriolage de Pierre* ‘Pierre’s burglary’  
 b. *l’enlèvement de la jeune fille* ‘the kidnapping of the young girl’  
 c. *une luxation de l’épaule* ‘a dislocation of the shoulder’

Just like nominalizations, UENs in (13) determine the semantic roles of their complements, what UENs in (14) cannot do. Two types of UENs can be distinguished on that basis: role-assigning and non-role-assigning UENs.

### 3.1. Role-assigning UENs

Examples of role-assigning UENs are given in (16).

- (16) *crime* ‘crime’, *grève* ‘strike’, *exode* ‘exodus’, *raid* ‘raid’, *séances* ‘mistreatments’, *esclandre* ‘rumpus’, *lapsus* ‘slip of the tongue’, *uppercut* ‘uppercut’, *diète* ‘diet’, *embargo* ‘embargo’, *striptease* ‘striptease’, *procès* ‘trial’, *campagne* ‘campaign’, *baptême* ‘baptism’, *obsèques* ‘funeral’, *duel* ‘duel’, *émeute* ‘riot’, *stage* ‘internship’, *culte* ‘cult’, *conférence* ‘conference’, *expérience* ‘experiment’, *moue* ‘pout’, *penalty* ‘penalty’, *bisbille* ‘squabble’, *trajet* ‘journey’, *oraison* ‘oration’, *agonie* ‘death throes’, *pénurie* ‘shortage’, *tollé* ‘outcry’

Nouns like *grève* ‘strike’, *procès* ‘trial’, *transe* ‘trance’, etc. can assign to their complements the role of agent (17a), patient (17b) or experiencer (17c).

- (17) a. *une grève des ouvriers* ‘a strike of the workers’  
 b. *le procès du détenu* ‘the trial of the prisoner’  
 c. *la transe du shaman* ‘the shaman’s trance’

These roles are made explicit in paraphrases (18).

- (18) a. *une grève des ouvriers* ≡ *les ouvriers font une grève*  
 ‘a strike of the workers’ ≡ ‘the workers go on strike’  
 b. *le procès du détenu* ≡ *le détenu subit un procès*  
 ‘the trial of the prisoner’ ≡ ‘the prisoner undergoes a trial’  
 c. *la transe du shaman* ≡ *le shaman est en transe*  
 ‘the shaman’s trance’ ≡ ‘the shaman is in a trance’

The nominal complements in (17) contrast with possessive modifiers (e.g. *le chien de Pierre* ‘Pierre’s dog’) in that they are determined by the lexical meaning of the head nouns — the meaning of nouns like *grève* ‘strike’ involves an agent whereas the involvement of a possessor is not in the meaning of *chien* ‘dog’<sup>5</sup>.

The fact that some UENs include eventive roles in their semantic structure is supported by several properties of the nouns. Agentive UENs for instance are compatible with dynamic support verbs that take an agent as subject (e.g. *commettre* ‘commit’, *accomplir* ‘perform’, *procéder* ‘proceed’). The compatibility of UENs with such semantically transparent verbs relies upon the presence of an agent in their semantic structure. Indeed there is a semantic correspondence between NPs like *le crime de Pierre* ‘Pierre’s crime’ or *une expérience du savant* ‘a scientist’s experiment’ and sentences like *Pierre a commis un crime* ‘Pierre committed a crime’ or *Le savant procède à une expérience* ‘The scientist proceeds to an experiment’.

Agentive UENs are also compatible with intentional adjectives, which presuppose agentivity:

- (19) a. *un esclandre délibéré* ‘a deliberate scene’<sup>6</sup>  
 b. *une moue involontaire* ‘an involuntary pout’  
 c. *un geste intentionnel* ‘an intentional gesture’

Some of them even derive ‘agent nouns’, i.e. nouns that denote their referent as being the agent of a given action, as in (20).

- (20) *gréviste* ‘striker’, *émeutier* ‘rioter’, *duelliste* ‘duellist’, *stagiaire* ‘intern’, *guerrier* ‘warrior’, *conférencier* ‘lecturer’

To some extent, these agent nouns are comparable to deverbal *-eur* nouns (*acheteur* ‘buyer’, *chercheur* ‘researcher’, *voleur* ‘thief’). The base nouns in (20) include an agent in their semantic structure, very similarly to the way verbs do<sup>7</sup>.

### 3.2. Non-role-assigning UENs

UENs in (21) differ from those in (16) in that they do not combine with participant-denoting *de*-complements. They do not assign semantic roles to their linguistic environment.

- (21) *séisme* ‘earthquake’, *incident* ‘incident’, *kermesse* ‘charity fair’, *orage* ‘storm’, *gala* ‘gala’, *événement* ‘event’, *chaos* ‘chaos’, *paroxysme* ‘climax’, *canicule* ‘heatwave’, *vêpres* ‘vespers’, *phénomène* ‘phenomenon’, *festival* ‘festival’, *cas* ‘case’, *peste* ‘plague’, *baccalauréat* ‘baccalaureate’, *mousson* ‘monsoon’, *apocalypse* ‘apocalypse’, *tombola* ‘raffle’, *cyclone* ‘cyclone’, *épidémie* ‘epidemic’, *tsunami* ‘tsunami’, *féria* ‘feria’, *corso* ‘corso’, *cataclysm* ‘cataclysm’, *barbecue* ‘barbecue’, *désastre* ‘disaster’, *carnaval* ‘carnival’, *forum* ‘forum’, *fléau* ‘scourge’, *symposium* ‘symposium’

These nouns denote autonomous events. They cannot be used as the internal argument of agentive support verbs, i.e. support verbs whose external argument is an agent (22), but only as the subject of eventive verbs, i.e. verbs whose unique argument is an event (23).

- (22) \**Ils ont {effectué / procédé à / commis / accompli} {un symposium / un festival / une épidémie / un désastre}*.  
 ‘They {carried out / proceeded to / committed / performed} {a symposium / a festival / an epidemic / a disaster}’

- (23) a. *{Ce symposium / ce festival / ce spectacle} aura lieu à Paris.*  
 ‘{This symposium / this festival / this show} will take place in Paris’  
 b. *{Cette épidémie / ce désastre / ce séisme} s’est produit(e) en 2012.*  
 ‘{This epidemic / this disaster / this earthquake} happened in 2012’

UENs in (21) are clearly dissimilar to DENs in lacking argument structure and not assigning thematic roles. They cover a large semantic variety of events. Some of them denote natural events, which are conceived as having no participant at all, hence their semantic autonomy. These can be weather events (*orage* ‘storm’, *canicule* ‘heatwave’), natural disasters (*séisme* ‘earthquake’, *tsunami* ‘tsunami’) or other adventitious events that are represented as *per se* events (*incident* ‘incident’, *apocalypse* ‘apocalypse’)<sup>8</sup>. But there are also autonomous UENs that refer to scheduled collective events (*festival* ‘festival’, *vêpres* ‘vesper’, *kermesse* ‘charity fair’). These nouns seem to integrate semantically all participants without being able to lexicalize them in complements. Their referential autonomy shows in their capacity to denote places when used in locative PPs:

- (24) a. *Je vais à {une kermesse / un barbecue / une tombola}.*  
 ‘I am going to {a charity fair / a barbecue / a raffle}’  
 b. *Où est Pierre? – Il est à {un colloque / un gala / un festival}.*  
 ‘Where is Pierre? – He is at {a colloquium / a gala / a festival}’

Other non-role-assigning UENs are relational nouns (*manche* ‘round’, *cycle* ‘cycle’, *épisode* ‘episode’). These nouns imply semantically a relation to some other term, but this relation is not one between an event and its participants. Some of them (*paroxysme* ‘climax’, *prémices* ‘signs’, *phase* ‘phase’) involve a part-whole relation, denoting a temporal part of an event that has to be specified (25a). Others (*séance* ‘session’, *épidémie* ‘epidemic’, *cas* ‘case’) are event conditioners, i.e. individuation operators: they denote event tokens for kinds of actions or phenomenons (25b). Relational UENs may also be event classifiers (*phénomène* ‘phenomenon’, *mystère* ‘mystery’, *fléau* ‘scourge’), and possibly indicate an evaluative judgement about a given event (25c).

- (25) a. *une phase du projet* ‘a phase of the project’  
 b. *un cas de harcèlement* ‘a case of harassment’  
 c. *le fléau de la grippe aviaire* ‘the scourge of avian flu’

None of the UENs in (21-25) includes in its semantic structure participants which can be lexicalized in a *de-* or *entre-*complement. This property appears to be a specificity of the corresponding UENs when compared to other event-denoting nouns.

#### 4. Lexical aspect

Besides complement structure and role-assigning properties, the diversity of UENs shows in their event structure and Aktionsart properties, which we investigate in this section.

By highlighting the aspectual properties of UENs, we find out that (i) within the nominal domain, Aktionsart is not restricted to items imported from the verbal domain — it is not even restricted to role-assigning event nouns —, and (ii) the same aspectual features apply to both DENs and UENs. Indeed the tests we use to bring out the different aspectual properties of nouns are valid for all ENs, be they deverbal or not.

As seen in examples (7-8), dynamicity is lexically marked for nouns and can be tested by the selection of dynamic support verbs or eventive verbs. Other nominal aspectual properties are tested below, and prove to be relevant for both DENs and UENs.

#### 4.1. (Non-)durative events

Duration is a property that applies to both verbs and nouns. UENs can or cannot denote durative situations, and then combine or not with duration modifiers (26) and with the verb *durer* ‘last’ (27):

- (26) a. *{un repas / une averse / une conférence} de deux heures*  
 ‘a two-hour {meal / downpour / conference}’  
 b. \**{un crime / un désastre / un putsch} de deux heures*  
 ‘a two-hour {crime / disaster / putsch}’
- (27) a. *{La séance / l’incident / le trajet} a duré une heure.*  
 ‘{The session / the incident / the journey} lasted one hour’  
 b. \**{Le but / le coup / l’entorse} a duré dix secondes.*  
 ‘{The goal / the punch / the sprain} lasted ten seconds’

This distinction among UENs is similar to the one between durative and punctual nominalizations in (28-29).

- (28) a. *{une conversation / une promenade / une réparation} de deux heures*  
 ‘a two-hour {conversation / stroll / repair}’  
 b. \**{une naissance / une démission / un déraillement} de deux heures*  
 ‘a two-hour {birth / resignation / derailment}’
- (29) a. *{L’entraînement / la réunion / le tournage} a duré deux heures.*  
 ‘{The training / the meeting / the shooting} lasted two hours’  
 b. \**{La capitulation / la crevaison / l’adoption} a duré dix secondes.*  
 ‘{The surrender / the puncture / the adoption} lasted ten seconds’

As far as duration is concerned, UENs in (26a) and (27a) are similar to activity and accomplishment nominalizations in (28a) and (29a). UENs in (26b) and (27b) are similar to achievement nominalizations in (28b) and (29b).

#### 4.2. (A)telic events

Telicity is less salient in the nominal domain than in the verbal domain, and subsequently less easy to outline. Punctual ENs can be assumed to be by definition telic, but as regards durative ENs, a proper diagnosis of (a)telicity has to be made.

Highlighting nominal telicity is problematic because the tests used in the verbal domain do not easily transpose to the nominal domain. The durative PPs introduced by *en* ‘in’ and *pendant* ‘for’ which are used to distinguish between telic and atelic verbs or VPs are not typical nominal modifiers. Nominals including *en* ‘in’ or *pendant* ‘for’ modifiers appear quite rarely in corpora, even when they support arguments — which is, according to Grimshaw (1990), Alexiadou (2001), Borer (2003), a condition for nominal aspectual modification.

And yet, out of context, speakers have an intuition as to whether ENs would rather be used with PPs introduced by *en* ‘in’ or *pendant* ‘for’. DENs such as those in (31) and (32) are expected to select respectively *pendant*- and *en*-modifiers.



- (31) a. *une {conversation / dispute} pendant deux heures*  
 ‘a {conversation / argument} for two hours’  
 b. *?une {conversation / dispute} en deux heures*  
 ‘a {conversation / argument} in two hours’
- (32) a. *une {démolition / liquidation} en trois jours*  
 ‘a {demolition / liquidation} in three days’  
 b. *?une {démolition / liquidation} pendant trois jours*  
 ‘a {demolition / liquidation} for three days’

ENs derived from activity verbs in (31) and accomplishment verbs in (32) are likely to preserve the (a)telic feature of their bases.

The intuition about the selection of *pendant-* or *en-*modifiers is also available for UENs. Out of context, UENs in (33-34) favour respectively the atelic and telic interpretation.

- (33) a. *un {séisme / conciliabule} pendant trente minutes*  
 ‘an {earthquake / confabulation} for thirty minutes’  
 b. *?un {séisme / conciliabule} en trente minutes*  
 ‘an {earthquake / confabulation} in thirty minutes’
- (34) a. *un {match / repas} en trois heures*  
 ‘a {match / meal} in three hours’  
 b. *?un {match / repas} pendant trois heures*  
 ‘a {match / meal} for three hours’

Nominals including aspectual modifiers are, as we said, quite rare in corpora. Some can be found though. For instance, DENs *fonctionnement* ‘functioning’ and *traversée* ‘crossing’ are used with *pendant-* and *en-*modifiers in (35-36), being respectively atelic and telic.

- (35) *La construction d’Iter doit coûter environ 5 milliards d’euros. Il faut en rajouter autant pour son fonctionnement pendant vingt ans.*  
 ‘The construction of Iter will cost about 5 billion euros. The same amount must be added to ensure its functioning for twenty years’  
 (<http://reacteur.iter.free.fr/canard.htm>)
- (36) *Pour un bateau de croisière, de plus en solo, une traversée en 25 jours est déjà une belle performance.*  
 ‘For a cruise ship, furthermore sailing solo, a crossing in 25 days is already a great performance’  
 (<http://www.hisse-et-oh.com/forums/forums-techniques/messages/676209-traversee-de-l-atlantique>)

Similarly, UENs can be encountered with aspectual modifiers, as is the case for *grève* ‘strike’, *embargo* ‘embargo’, *régime* ‘diet’, *bilan* ‘audit’ in (37-40).

- (37) *Hier, la société des journalistes (SDJ) du quotidien économique a publié un communiqué pour annoncer une grève des tweets pendant 24 heures à compter de ce vendredi 9 heures.*  
 ‘Yesterday the society of journalists of the economic daily newspaper issued a release announcing a 24 hour Twitter strike starting at 9 a.m. on friday’  
 (<http://www.arretsurimages.net/breves/2015-03-13/Publiredactionnels-courte-greve-des-tweets-aux-Echos-id18694>)

- (38) *Un embargo pendant une quinzaine d'années, quelques coups sévères portés par l'ennemi américain, ont isolé durablement Khadafi et la Libye.*  
 ‘An embargo for fifteen years or so, a few major blows inflicted by the American enemy, durably isolated Gaddafi and Libya’  
 ([http://dusanterre.typepad.fr/vonvon\\_le\\_terrible/2007/12/khadafi-paris.html?no\\_prefetch=1](http://dusanterre.typepad.fr/vonvon_le_terrible/2007/12/khadafi-paris.html?no_prefetch=1))
- (39) *Selon elle, la diététique est un peu complexe et, en tous les cas, ne se résume pas à un régime en trois semaines pour perdre dix kilos.*  
 ‘According to her, dietetics is a bit complex and does not come down in any way to a three week diet in order to lose ten kilos’  
 (<http://alimentation-generale.fr/ag/carnet-de-voyage/voyage-au-centre-de-la-france>)
- (40) *Il peut durer moins de 24 heures mais si on vous propose un bilan en trois heures, c'est du charlatanisme!*  
 ‘It can be done in less than 24 hours but if one offers you an audit in three hours, then it is charlatanism!’  
 (<http://www.emploiennous.fr/conseil-dexpert/histoires-conseils-demploi/bilan-orientation-est-quoi/>)

UENs in (37-38) and (39-40), similarly to DENs in (35) and (36), are respectively atelic and telic nouns. Additionally, examples in (36-40) show that the compatibility of event nominals with aspectual modifiers is not restricted to argument-supporting nominals, contrary to what is generally claimed — even by authors reconsidering the correlation between argument structure and eventivity (Moulton 2014).

Another test can be used to reveal the (a)telicity of ENs, which is adapted from the ‘imperfective paradox’ that exists in the verbal domain (Haas *et al.* 2008). It is well known that the past progressive tense entails the simple past for activity verbs or VPs, but that the entailment does not hold for accomplishment verbs or VPs. As a consequence, it can be said of interrupted activities that they did take place, which is not true for accomplishments. When used as a complement of *stop*, only activity verbs entail the simple past form (Vendler 1967: 100, Dowty 1979: 57):

- (41) a. *John stopped painting the picture* DOES NOT ENTAIL *John did paint a picture.*  
 b. *John stopped walking* ENTAILS *John did walk.*

The principle that the interruption of atelic events does not prevent them from having occurred also operates in the nominal domain. The construction of activity nominalizations with *être interrompu* ‘be interrupted’ entails that the event actually occurred, as in (42). This is not the case for accomplishment nominalizations in (43).

- (42) ATELIC EVENT  
*La manifestation a été interrompue* ENTAILS *Ils ont manifesté.*  
 ‘The demonstration was interrupted’ ENTAILS ‘The demonstration took place’
- (43) TELIC EVENT  
*L'accouchement a été interrompu* DOES NOT ENTAIL *Elle a accouché.*  
 ‘The labour was interrupted’ DOES NOT ENTAIL ‘She gave birth’

This adaptation of the imperfective paradox to highlight nominal (a)telicity applies to UENs with the same results as with nominalizations. UENs denote atelic events in (44) and telic events in (45).

(44) ATELIC EVENT

- a. *La grève a été interrompue* ENTAILS *Ils ont fait grève*.  
‘The strike was interrupted’ ENTAILS ‘They went on strike’
- b. *L’averse a été interrompue* ENTAILS *L’averse est tombée*.  
‘The downpour was interrupted’ ENTAILS ‘The downpour fell’
- c. *Leur idylle a été interrompue* ENTAILS *Ils ont eu une idylle*.  
‘Their romance was interrupted’ ENTAILS ‘They had a romance’

(45) TELIC EVENT

- a. *Le cycle du lave-vaisselle a été interrompu* DOES NOT ENTAIL *Le lave-vaisselle a effectué un cycle*.  
‘The dishwasher cycle was interrupted’ DOES NOT ENTAIL ‘The dishwasher completed a cycle’
- b. *Le baptême de Pierre a été interrompu* DOES NOT ENTAIL *Pierre a été baptisé*.  
‘Pierre’s baptism was interrupted’ DOES NOT ENTAIL ‘Pierre was baptised’
- c. *La troisième manche a été interrompue* DOES NOT ENTAIL *Ils ont disputé la troisième manche*.  
‘The third round was interrupted’ DOES NOT ENTAIL ‘They played the third round’

It appears that, even though telicity is not a salient nominal aspectual property, durative UENs can be telic or atelic event nouns.

One can notice that both telic and atelic ENs in (42-45) are count nouns, as opposed to mass action nouns like *jardinage* ‘gardening’, *natation* ‘swimming’, *jonglage* ‘juggling’. The existence of count atelic ENs, such as *manifestation* ‘demonstration’ and *grève* ‘strike’, contradicts the general assumption that the mass/count distinction parallels the atelic/telic one (Bach 1986, Krifka 1989, Jackendoff 1991, *inter alia*). The mass/count property of action nouns does not correlate with the description of (a)telicity, but rather with the ability to denote occurrences, i.e. individuated instances of actions. Mass action nouns do not denote such occurrences, and in particular do not combine with eventive verbs like *avoir lieu* ‘take place’. Furthermore, occurrentiality is a form of event delimitation that is lexically marked for nouns but not for verbs. As a consequence, the relevant aspectual features are not exactly the same for nouns and verbs, and Aktionsart does not have the same structure in the nominal and verbal domains (Huyghe 2011).

### 4.3. (Un)foreseen events

Another property that is lexically marked in the nominal domain but does not have an equivalent in the verbal domain has been pointed out by Gross & Kiefer (1995: 54-55). It is concerned with the denotation of foreseen or unforeseen events — ‘unforeseen’ indicating that the events are described as being unpredictable, at least for some of their participants or attendees. We consider this property to be an aspectual one as long as it is directly related to the way events occur or actualize in the world.

Only nouns that denote unforeseen events are compatible with the eventive verb *se produire* ‘happen’. DENs denote unforeseen events in (46a), but foreseen events in (46b).

- (46) a. *{L’explosion / la disparition / l’agression} s’est produite en fin d’après-midi*.  
‘{The explosion / the disappearance / the assault} happened in the late afternoon’

- b. \*{*L'inauguration / l'entraînement / le mariage*} *s'est produit(e) en fin d'après-midi.*  
 ‘{The inauguration / the training / the wedding} happened in the late afternoon’

Here again, UENs parallel DENs. They denote unforeseen events in (47a), but foreseen events in (47b).

- (47) a. {*Le séisme / l'infarctus / le cataclysme*} *s'est produit dans la matinée.*  
 ‘{The earthquake / the heart attack / the cataclysm} happened in the morning’  
 b. \*{*Le stage / le match / le périple*} *s'est produit l'an dernier.*  
 ‘{The internship / the match / the journey} happened last year.’

Unforeseen events, contrary to Gross & Kiefer's claim, are not restricted to natural events. They can also be what they call ‘created’ events, i.e. agentive events. In the latter case, ENs are compatible both with *se produire* ‘happen’ (48) and with agentive support verbs (49).

- (48) {*Le braquage / l'attentat / le putsch*} *s'est produit la première semaine d'octobre.*  
 ‘{The hold-up / the attack / the putsch} happened the first week of october.’

- (49) *Ils ont effectué {un braquage / un attentat / un putsch}.*  
 ‘They carried out {a hold-up / an attack / a putsch}’

Events in (44-45) are still denoted as unforeseen for they are in essence incidental and unexpected events. These agentive unforeseen events can be denoted by DENs (*braquage* ‘hold-up’) or UENs (*putsch* ‘putsch’).

What emerges from our analysis is that lexical aspect applies similarly to deverbal and non-deverbal event nouns. The different aspectual features we mentioned apply to all UENs, whether they are role assignors or not:

- (50) ROLE-ASSIGNING UENs  
 durative / punctual: *trajet* ‘journey’ / *entorse* ‘sprain’  
 telic / atelic: *genèse* ‘genesis’ / *émeute* ‘riot’  
 foreseen / unforeseen: *régime* ‘diet’ / *crime* ‘crime’
- (51) NON-ROLE-ASSIGNING UENs  
 durative / punctual: *incident* ‘incident’ / *désastre* ‘disaster’  
 telic / atelic: *manche* ‘round’ / *séisme* ‘earthquake’  
 foreseen / unforeseen: *festival* ‘festival’ / *cataclysme* ‘cataclysm’

## 5. Conclusion

Unlike deverbal nominalizations, underived nouns are not morphologically and semantically designed to denote events. The reference to events is a contingent property for them. As a consequence, UENs form a heterogeneous class regarding semantic structure and syntax, and they have some specificities when compared to DENs. First, the event meaning of UENs can have various semantic origins. It can be semantically primary, but also be derived by metonymy or metaphor from an object meaning. UENs are associated with different polysemy structures than DENs, and they can denote a broad range of dynamic eventualities, including actions, accidents, natural events, gestures, phenomena, collective events, etc. Second, UENs differ from nominalizations in their complement structure. Some of them are completely autonomous event nouns. They do not have semantic arguments and do not

combine with participant-denoting PPs. Autonomous UENs provide a description of dynamic situations that occur by themselves.

Despite those specificities, UENs share many properties with DENs. Many of them are role assignors, determining the semantics of their prepositional complements, and all of them have Aktionsart features that are similar to those of nominalizations. Just like DENs, UENs, whether they take participant-denoting complements or not, can denote durative or punctual, telic or atelic, foreseen or unforeseen events. It appears that the expression of lexical aspect in the nominal domain does not depend upon the existence of a complement structure or a verbal origin. Lexical aspect is not primarily a property of verbs. We argue that it is a matter of semantic rather than grammatical categories: a lexical item may have aspectual features as long as it denotes eventualities. Lexical aspect, as the description of inherent temporal structure, applies to nouns, be they deverbal or not, on the only condition that they denote states or events.

More research about the semantics of UENs can be carried out. The semantic analysis and the typology of UENs have to be refined. It can be asked what is the exact denotation of the different UENs, and whether these nouns can have semelfactive, degree achievement, disposition or habit readings. Furthermore, it has to be noted that underived nouns are just a subset of non-deverbal event nouns. ENs include denominal nouns (52a), nominal compounds (52b) and deadjectival nouns (52c).

- (52) a. *pèlerinage* ‘pilgrimage’, *bouffonnerie* ‘farce’, *championnat* ‘championship’  
b. *échographie* ‘ultrasound’, *électrochoc* ‘electroshock’, *vidéoconférence* ‘videoconference’  
c. *festivités* ‘festivities’, *infidélité* ‘infidelity’, *imprudence* ‘imprudence’

The properties of all these nouns should be taken into account in order to describe the overall semantics of non-deverbal event nouns.

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: EN = Event-denoting Noun; UEN = Underived Event Noun; DEN = Deverbal Event Noun.

<sup>2</sup> We are very grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. All remaining errors are obviously ours.

<sup>3</sup> These 283 UENs include 69 loanwords, some of which are related to a verb in their original language (e.g. *show* ‘show’, *rush* ‘rush’, *corrida* ‘corrida’). We consider such loanwords to be underived in French, as long as the corresponding verbs are not registered in the French lexicon.

<sup>4</sup> The eventive interpretation of *entorse* ‘sprain’ is found in sentences like *Une entorse de la cheville qui s'est produite le 30 août l'a obligé à rester presque deux mois absent* ‘An ankle sprain that happened on the 30th of august caused his absence for almost two months’ (<http://www.fcbarcelonaclan.com/actu/gabri-et-iniesta-optent-a-occuper-la-place-vacante/2473.html>).

<sup>5</sup> Participant-denoting complements may be introduced by *entre* ‘between’. This is notably the case for reciprocal events. *Entre*-complements occur with both DENs (*un affrontement entre deux états* ‘a confrontation between two states’, *une rencontre entre plusieurs diplomates* ‘a meeting between several diplomats’, *la rupture entre Pierre et Marie* ‘the split between Pierre and Marie’) and UENs (*une guerre entre deux états* ‘a war between two states’, *un litige entre plusieurs personnes* ‘a dispute between several people’, *le schisme entre les rebelles* ‘the split between the rebels’).

<sup>6</sup> As in *Il me fallait gagner du temps, quitte à provoquer un esclandre délibéré, avec tous les risques que cela comportait* ‘I had to play for time, eventually by making a deliberate scene, with all the risks involved’ (M. Goeldlin, *Panne de cerveau*, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> It can be observed that some UENs are compatible with complex complements that include an agent introduced by *par* ‘by’, which is a property of Grimshaw’s ‘complex event nominals’ (*le rapt de la jeune fille par trois ravisseurs* ‘the abduction of the young girl by three kidnappers’, *le blocus de Gaza par l’Egypte* ‘the blockade of Gaza by Egypt’). In Grimshaw’s theory, UENs are regarded as ‘simple event nominals’, i.e. nominals denoting events but devoid of argument structure, their selectional properties being determined by their lexical conceptual structure (Grimshaw 1990: 58-59). Yet even in this conception, the status of UENs might be discussed. One could argue for instance that the UENs listed in (16) can occur with event control modifiers, which is considered to be a test for argument-supporting nominals (*le régime de Pierre pour perdre cinq kilos* ‘Pierre’s diet in order to lose five kilos’, *une expérience du chercheur pour valider son hypothèse* ‘an experiment of the researcher in order to confirm his hypothesis’).

<sup>8</sup> Some weather or disaster nouns, though they are mainly used without any participant-denoting complement, can occur with *de*-complements that denote non-canonical participants (e.g. *une averse de neige* ‘a snow shower’, *une pluie de grêlons* ‘a hailstone shower’), most often in metaphors (e.g. *une avalanche de questions* ‘an avalanche of questions’, *un déluge de paroles* ‘a flood of words’).

## Appendix A: List of French underived event nouns

<i>ace</i> ‘ace’	<i>consensus</i> ‘consensus’	<i>fitness</i> ‘fitness’
<i>adultère</i> ‘adultery’	<i>corrida</i> ‘bullfight’	<i>fléau</i> ‘scourge’
<i>agonie</i> ‘death throes’	<i>corso</i> ‘parade’	<i>fonte</i> ‘melting’
<i>âid</i> ‘Aïd’	<i>corvée</i> ‘chore’	<i>footing</i> ‘jogging’
<i>anecdote</i> ‘anecdote’	<i>coup</i> ‘blow, trick’	<i>forcing</i> ‘pressure’
<i>anicroche</i> ‘hitch’	<i>cours</i> ‘course’	<i>forum</i> ‘forum’
<i>apocalypse</i> ‘apocalypse’	<i>crash</i> ‘crash’	<i>frasque</i> ‘escapade’
<i>atelier</i> ‘workshop’	<i>crémaillère</i> ‘house-warming party’	<i>frichti</i> ‘meal’
<i>autodafé</i> ‘book burning’	<i>crime</i> ‘crime’	<i>funérailles</i> ‘funeral’
<i>avalanche</i> ‘avalanche’	<i>critérium</i> ‘criterion’	<i>gag</i> ‘gag’
<i>averse</i> ‘downpour’	<i>culte</i> ‘cult’	<i>gala</i> ‘gala’
<i>baccalauréat</i> ‘baccalaureate’	<i>cure</i> ‘therapy’	<i>gamme</i> ‘scale’
<i>bacchanales</i> ‘bacchanal’	<i>cursus</i> ‘curriculum’	<i>genèse</i> ‘genesis’
<i>bamboula</i> ‘bash’	<i>cycle</i> ‘cycle’	<i>geste</i> ‘movement, gesture’
<i>banquet</i> ‘banquet’	<i>cyclone</i> ‘cyclone’	<i>gloria</i> ‘Gloria’
<i>baptême</i> ‘baptism’	<i>danger</i> ‘danger’	<i>grabuge</i> ‘ruckus’
<i>barbecue</i> ‘barbecue’	<i>déficit</i> ‘deficit’	<i>grève</i> ‘strike’
<i>barouf</i> ‘racket’	<i>dégât</i> ‘damage’	<i>guérilla</i> ‘guerrilla warfare’
<i>bide</i> ‘flop’	<i>délit</i> ‘offence’	<i>guerre</i> ‘war’
<i>bilan</i> ‘checkup, assessment’	<i>déluge</i> ‘deluge’	<i>happening</i> ‘happening’
<i>bingo</i> ‘bingo’	<i>départ</i> ‘departure’	<i>hécatombe</i> ‘slaughter’
<i>bisbille</i> ‘squabble’	<i>derby</i> ‘derby’	<i>hernie</i> ‘hernia’
<i>blocus</i> ‘blockade’	<i>désastre</i> ‘disaster’	<i>histoire</i> ‘story’
<i>boom</i> ‘boom’	<i>diatribe</i> ‘diatribe’	<i>homélie</i> ‘homily’
<i>bourde</i> ‘blunder’	<i>diète</i> ‘diet, fast’	<i>hymen</i> ‘marriage’
<i>break</i> ‘break’	<i>djihad</i> ‘jihad’	<i>hymne</i> ‘anthem’
<i>breakfast</i> ‘breakfast’	<i>doping</i> ‘doping’	<i>idylle</i> ‘romance’
<i>brunch</i> ‘brunch’	<i>drame</i> ‘tragedy’	<i>imbroglio</i> ‘imbroglio’
<i>brushing</i> ‘blow-dry’	<i>duel</i> ‘duel’	<i>incartade</i> ‘misdemeanour’
<i>buffet</i> ‘buffet’	<i>duo</i> ‘duet’	<i>inceste</i> ‘incest’
<i>bug</i> ‘bug’	<i>effet</i> ‘effect’	<i>incident</i> ‘incident’
<i>but</i> ‘goal’	<i>ellipse</i> ‘ellipsis’	<i>infarctus</i> ‘heart attack’
<i>campagne</i> ‘campaign’	<i>éloge</i> ‘praise’	<i>intifada</i> ‘intifada’
<i>canicule</i> ‘heatwave’	<i>embargo</i> ‘embargo’	<i>java</i> ‘party’
<i>cantate</i> ‘cantata’	<i>embolie</i> ‘embolism’	<i>job</i> ‘job’
<i>canular</i> ‘hoax’	<i>émeute</i> ‘riot’	<i>jury</i> ‘jury’
<i>carnaval</i> ‘carnival’	<i>entorse</i> ‘sprain’	<i>kermesse</i> ‘charity fair’
<i>cas</i> ‘case’	<i>épidémie</i> ‘epidemic’	<i>kidnapping</i> ‘kidnapping’
<i>casting</i> ‘casting’	<i>épiphanie</i> ‘Epiphany’	<i>lapsus</i> ‘slip of the tongue’
<i>cataclysme</i> ‘cataclysm’	<i>épisode</i> ‘episode’	<i>larsen</i> ‘feedback’
<i>cérémonie</i> ‘ceremony’	<i>équinoxe</i> ‘equinox’	<i>leçon</i> ‘lesson’
<i>césure</i> ‘break’	<i>escale</i> ‘stopover’	<i>lifting</i> ‘facelift’
<i>chantier</i> ‘construction work’	<i>escalandre</i> ‘rumpus’	<i>litige</i> ‘dispute’
<i>chaos</i> ‘chaos’	<i>eucharistie</i> ‘Eucharist’	<i>looping</i> ‘loop’
<i>cirque</i> ‘circus’	<i>événement</i> ‘event’	<i>loto</i> ‘lotto’
<i>clash</i> ‘clash’	<i>exode</i> ‘exodus’	<i>lubie</i> ‘whim’
<i>click</i> ‘click’	<i>expérience</i> ‘experiment’	<i>lunch</i> ‘lunch’
<i>cocktail</i> ‘cocktail party’	<i>famine</i> ‘famine’	<i>lutz</i> ‘lutz’
<i>collapsus</i> ‘collapse’	<i>farandole</i> ‘farandole’	<i>mambo</i> ‘mambo’
<i>comité</i> ‘committee’	<i>féria</i> ‘feria’	<i>manche</i> ‘round’
<i>concerto</i> ‘concerto’	<i>festival</i> ‘festival’	<i>match</i> ‘match’
<i>concile</i> ‘council’	<i>feu</i> ‘fire’	<i>méchoui</i> ‘lamb barbecue’
<i>conciliabule</i> ‘confabulation’	<i>fiasco</i> ‘fiasco’	<i>meeting</i> ‘meeting’
<i>conclave</i> ‘conclave’	<i>fiesta</i> ‘party’	<i>merveille</i> ‘wonder’
<i>conférence</i> ‘conference’	<i>finish</i> ‘finish’	<i>messe</i> ‘Mass’
<i>conflit</i> ‘conflict’		<i>miracle</i> ‘miracle’
<i>congrès</i> ‘congress’		<i>module</i> ‘module’



*moment* 'moment'  
*moue* 'pout'  
*mousson* 'monsoon'  
*mystère* 'mystery'  
*noël* 'Christmas'  
*nouba* 'party'  
*obsèques* 'funeral'  
*ode* 'ode'  
*ola* 'mexican wave'  
*opéra* 'opera'  
*orage* 'storm'  
*oraison* 'oration'  
*orgasme* 'orgasm'  
*orgie* 'orgy'  
*ouragan* 'hurricane'  
*pacte* 'pact'  
*panne* 'failure'  
*pâques* 'Easter'  
*paroxysme* 'climax'  
*party* 'party'  
*pas* 'step'  
*pataquès* 'confused situation'  
*pavane* 'pavane'  
*penalty* 'penalty'  
*pénurie* 'shortage'  
*périple* 'journey'  
*peste* 'plague'  
*phase* 'phase'  
*phénomène* 'phenomenon'  
*pièce* 'play'  
*piercing* 'body piercing'  
*planning* 'schedule'  
*pluie* 'rain'  
*pogrome* 'pogrom'  
*pot* 'drinks party'  
*prémices* 'signs'  
*pressing* 'pressure'  
*problème* 'problem'  
*procès* 'trial'  
*prodige* 'miracle'  
*protocole* 'protocol'  
*putsch* 'putsch'  
*quiproquo* 'misunderstanding'  
*quiz* 'quiz'  
*raid* 'raid'  
*rallye* 'rally, ball'  
*ramadan* 'Ramadan'  
*ramdam* 'hullabaloo'  
*raout* 'gathering'  
*rapt* 'abduction'  
*rave* 'rave'  
*récital* 'recital'  
*record* 'record'  
*référendum* 'referendum'  
*régime* 'diet'  
*remake* 'remake'  
*repas* 'meal'  
*rictus* 'grimace'  
*rite* 'ritual'  
*rix* 'brawl, fight'

*rodéo* 'rodeo'  
*round* 'round'  
*rush* 'rush'  
*safari* 'safari'  
*saison* 'season'  
*salon* 'exhibition'  
*salve* 'salvo, burst'  
*samba* 'samba'  
*sarabande* 'sarabande'  
*satire* 'satire'  
*saynète* 'skit'  
*scandale* 'scandal'  
*scène* 'scene'  
*schisme* 'schism'  
*séance* 'session'  
*séisme* 'earthquake'  
*séminaire* 'seminar'  
*sévices* 'mistreatments'  
*show* 'show'  
*simulacre* 'pretence'  
*sketch* 'sketch'  
*solo* 'solo'  
*sommet* 'summit'  
*spasme* 'spasm'  
*spectacle* 'show'  
*speech* 'speech'  
*stage* 'internship'  
*stase* 'stasis'  
*stratagème* 'stratagem'  
*striptease* 'striptease'  
*subterfuge* 'subterfuge'  
*succès* 'success'  
*suffrage* 'vote'  
*symposium* 'symposium'  
*tollé* 'outcry'  
*tombola* 'raffle'  
*toussaint* 'All Saints Day'  
*trajet* 'journey'  
*transe* 'trance'  
*travelling* 'tracking shot'  
*trêve* 'truce'  
*trial* 'scrambling'  
*trip* 'trip'  
*tsunami* 'tsunami'  
*typhon* 'typhoon'  
*uppercut* 'uppercut'  
*vaisselle* 'washing-up'  
*vêpres* 'vespers'  
*verdict* 'verdict'  
*vertige* 'dizziness'  
*veto* 'veto'

## Appendix B: UENs with additional non-eventive meanings

### Informational content

*anecdote* ‘anecdote’  
*bilan* ‘record’  
*bourde* ‘blunder’  
*cantate* ‘cantata’  
*canular* ‘hoax’  
*cas* ‘case’  
*concerto* ‘concerto’  
*conférence* ‘conference’  
*cours* ‘course’  
*diatribe* ‘diatribe’  
*éloge* ‘praise’  
*épisode* ‘episode’  
*esclandre* ‘rumpus’  
*fandango* ‘fandango’  
*gag* ‘joke’  
*gloria* ‘Gloria’  
*histoire* ‘story’  
*homélie* ‘homily’  
*hymne* ‘anthem’  
*imbroglio* ‘imbroglio’  
*java* ‘java dance’  
*lapsus* ‘slip of the tongue’  
*leçon* ‘lesson’  
*mambo* ‘mambo’  
*messe* ‘Mass’  
*mystère* ‘mystery’  
*ode* ‘ode’  
*opéra* ‘opera’  
*oraison* ‘oration’  
*pataquès* ‘pronunciation error’  
*pavane* ‘Pavane’  
*pièce* ‘play’  
*planning* ‘schedule’  
*problème* ‘problem’  
*quiz* ‘quiz’  
*récitation* ‘recital’  
*remake* ‘remake’  
*samba* ‘samba’  
*sarabande* ‘sarabande’  
*satire* ‘satire’  
*saynète* ‘skit’  
*scandale* ‘scandal’  
*séminaire* ‘seminar’  
*show* ‘show’  
*sketch* ‘sketch’  
*solo* ‘solo’  
*spectacle* ‘show’  
*speech* ‘speech’  
*stratagème* ‘stratagem’  
*succès* ‘success’  
*rite* ‘ritual’  
*verdict* ‘verdict’

### Natural Object

*bide* ‘tummy’  
*cyclone* ‘cyclone’  
*dégât* ‘damage’  
*entorse* ‘sprain’  
*feu* ‘fire’  
*hernie* ‘hernia’  
*hymen* ‘hymen’  
*merveille* ‘wonder’  
*orage* ‘storm’  
*ouragan* ‘hurricane’  
*pas* ‘footprint’  
*régime* ‘bunch’  
*sommet* ‘summit’  
*tsunami* ‘tsunami’  
*typhon* ‘typhoon’

### Location

*atelier* ‘workshop’  
*campagne* ‘country’  
*carnaval* ‘carnival’  
*chantier* ‘construction site’  
*cirque* ‘circus’  
*escale* ‘port of call’  
*festival* ‘festival’  
*forum* ‘forum’  
*gala* ‘gala’  
*grève* ‘shore’  
*kermesse* ‘charity fair’  
*opéra* ‘opera house’  
*pressing* ‘laundry’  
*pièce* ‘room’  
*salon* ‘living room’  
*scène* ‘stage’

### Artefact

*banquet* ‘banquet’  
*barbecue* ‘barbecue’  
*bilan* ‘assessment form’  
*break* ‘estate car’  
*breakfast* ‘breakfast’  
*brunch* ‘brunch’  
*buffet* ‘dresser, buffet food’  
*but* ‘goal’  
*cocktail* ‘cocktail’  
*corso* ‘parade’  
*crémaillère* ‘rack’  
*derby* ‘derby shoe’  
*fléau* ‘flail’  
*fonte* ‘cast iron’  
*frichti* ‘meal’  
*pièce* ‘coin’  
*repas* ‘meal’  
*loto* ‘lotto’  
*lunch* ‘lunch’

*méchoui* ‘mechoui’  
*manche* ‘sleeve’  
*merveille* ‘wonder’  
*module* ‘module’  
*piercing* ‘body piercing’  
*pot* ‘pot’  
*salon* ‘living room set’  
*simulacre* ‘fake’  
*trial* ‘trial bike’  
*vaisselle* ‘tableware’

### Animate

*cirque* ‘circus’  
*comité* ‘committee’  
*conclave* ‘Conclave’  
*concile* ‘council’  
*congrès* ‘congress’  
*duo* ‘duo’  
*guérilla* ‘guerrilla’  
*farandole* ‘conga’  
*jury* ‘jury’  
*prodige* ‘prodigy’  
*régime* ‘regime’

### Disease

*embolie* ‘embolism’  
*entorse* ‘sprain’  
*hernie* ‘hernia’  
*peste* ‘plague’

### Time

*césure* ‘break’  
*équinoxe* ‘equinox’  
*moment* ‘moment’  
*pâques* ‘Easter’  
*phase* ‘phase’

### Phenomenon

*barouf* ‘racket’  
*boom* ‘boom’  
*infarctus* ‘heart attack’  
*ramdam* ‘hullabaloo’

### Activity

*corrida* ‘bullfight’  
*footing* ‘jogging’  
*rodéo* ‘rodeo’  
*samba* ‘samba’

### State

*déficit* ‘deficit’  
*transe* ‘trance’