I argue for the linguistic reality of dispositions in that Verbs of Emission denote the manifestation of a disposition and nominalizations of Verbs of Emission denote the instantiation of a disposition.

Verbs of Emission are mono-eventive...

(1) a. germinate, radiate, ulcerate, hibernate (in the original non-computer usage), oscil-
late, pullulate, vasculate, strutter, twinkle, flicker, stink, bubble, gush, proliforate...

b. keimen (to germinate), strahlen (to radiate), gluten (to bleed), wirken (to take effect),
strömen (to stream), knospen (to pullulate), quellen (to gush), wachsen (to grow)...

• Verbs of Emission (VoEs) are known to be problematic with respect to classification as either unergative or unaccusative (Perlmutter [1978], Zaenen [1993]).

• Weighing the cross-linguistic evidence from tests for unaccusativity, Rappaport Hovav and Levin [2000] conclude that VoEs are unergative and mono-eventive.

...but in nominalizations they are bi-eventive...

(2) a. the germination of the plant ("by-PP") (3) a. the hibernation of the bear ("by-PP")
b. the radiation of the caesium ("by-PP")
c. the oscilation of the pole ("by-PP")
d. the ulceration of the wound ("by-PP")
e. the pullulation of the seed ("by-PP")

(3) a. the hibernation of the bear (*by-PP)

• With respect to the disposition to hibernate instantiated in a bear, a bear is an internal argument undergoing a directed change into ‘hibernation when the disposition manifests itself but once the disposition manifests itself, the bear becomes the immediate cause of hibernation itself but once the disposition manifests itself, the bear becomes the immediate cause of hibernation.

• Minimalist UTAH Harley [2011]: Medium theta-role is assigned to DPs which are in the specifier of Voice and in the specifier of the complement XP of vP.

• Syntax all the way down à la Distributed Morphology: verbalizer " selects for Voice and Voice merges with the verbal root V.

• Root merge with Voice explains strong restrictions on possible fillers of the single argument slot of VoEs.

Syntactic relations of deverbal dispositions

In the simple Conditional Analysis (SCA) of dispositional adjectives (5a)="(5b) Choi [2012],
the bearer of a disposition is an internal argument of the manifest event.

Semantics of deverbal dispositions

Causal relation between VoE events and VoE nominalization dispositions (6c)="(6b):
(7) a. Drop of food supply leads from a state in which a bear would hibernate if food supply dropped (= a telic property) to a state of affairs in which the bear hibernates (= an atelic event).

b. p.medial[bear] (p) (x:C:=hibernate(p)) =⇒ p.medial[bear] (p) (x:C:=hibernate(p))

• Verbal properties are fixed linguistically: they can not be linked or masked without reducing verbal semantics to absurdity.

• Dispositions are necessary to exhibit the structure of meaning in VoEs and their nominaliza-

tions: dispositions are linguistically real.

The Medium Construction

(8) medium, (i) selects for property-denoting XP in nouns, (ii) selects for atelic event description verbs.

(9) mono-eventive, no un-arg non-empty " selects for atelic event description

(10) bi-eventive, un-arg, noun, empty " selects for state-
denoting XP

töten (to kill), sparen (to block), reifen (to ripen)

References