Configurational constraints on non-eventive nominalizations in Spanish[1]

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Abstract

This paper examines the structural and semantics properties of non-eventive nominalizations in Spanish. By applying the decomposition of verbs developed by Ramchand (2008), we identify several configurational constraints in the formation and interpretation of nominalizations. We propose that the notion of 'result' actually covers different structures, and that a distinction between objects and states is needed. Then, we observe that predicates that have ProcP and ResP can yield both eventive nominalizations and stative nominalizations, whereas those predicates that have ProcP and an internal argument in its complement position can give rise both to eventive nominalizations and to object nominalizations. An important generalization arises also from the position of internal arguments. Those internal arguments that occupy a specifier position can never be taken as the meaning of a given nominalization. Therefore, we arrive at the conclusion that a nominalization can take an eventive projection and whatever is in its complement position (either an internal argument or a new subeventive projection) but cannot lexicalize specifiers, which have to be independently spelt out.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to identify configurational restrictions on the meanings that a nominalization can show in Spanish. In particular, we are interested in the meanings that fall under the label of 'non-eventive' or 'result' nominalizations. Consider the following data:

(1)   a.   La construcción de la iglesia tuvo lugar en el siglo XV.
            'The construction of the church took place in the XVth century'

       b.   La construcción (*de la iglesia) es sólida.
            'The construction (*of the church) is solid'

(2)   a.   La desaparición de Juan tuvo lugar anoche.
            'The disappearance of John took place last night'

> b. La desaparición de Juan duró varios años.
> 'The disappearance of John lasted several years'

We see in (1) that an eventive predicate can give rise to both an eventive nominalization (1a) and a result nominalization (1b). A similar pattern holds in the case of (2), but there is an important difference. Whereas the result in (1b) is an object, the result in (2b) is a state, that is, an entity with aspectual properties. We understand (2b) as the state during which John was lost. As a consequence of that, only the nominalization in (2b) can take internal arguments, inasmuch as its syntactic structure belongs to a higher level. On the other hand, the nominalization in (1b), an object, *is* the internal argument and, to that extent, there is no structural space to take a new one. The analysis of data like (1-2) lead us to the following claims:

- There are two kinds of 'results': objects and states.

- The meanings that a nominalization can take depend on the syntactic configuration of the base predicate. That is, only predicates that contain a state will give rise to stative nominalizations, and only predicates that locate internal arguments in the right position will give rise to object nominalizations.

We will try to show that the different meanings of a nominalization can be reduced to the syntactic configuration from which it has been created. In order to do that, we will assume a verbal decomposition model as the proposed by Ramchand (2008). This model allow us to locate different levels at which one can add a nominal projection and, then, the meanings exemplified in (1) and (2) can be, in fact, syntactically derived. It is worth to mention that, as far as we are committed with a purely configurational approach, the notion of 'result' has to be seen as a pre-theoretical concept whose adequacy depends on the actual existence of a process in a given predicate (that is, a process that, indeed, leads to a result). But, from a wider point of view, it is expected to find predicates whose syntactic configuration allows them to provide a non-eventive nominalization, even though they lack a process, as we see in (3):

> (3) a. Juan teme a las arañas.
> 'John fear spiders'
>
> b. El temor de Juan por las arañas (duró muchos años).
> 'The fear of John to spiders (lasted several years)'
>
> c. Juan vivió acosado por sus temores.
> 'John lived beset by his fears'

In (3) we have a transitive stative predicate. The nominal version of the predicate shows both an aspectual reading (3b) and an object reading (3c).

Therefore, in this case the predicate give rise to a non-eventive nominalization, even though it is hard to see in which sense *temor* 'fear', in (3c), can be understood as a 'result', insofar as there is no process which could lead to it.

The main proposal developed in this paper is that a nominal projection can lexicalize a given eventive projection and whatever is below it in a complement position. Thus, depending on the syntactic height at which one attaches the nominal layer, the different meanings available in a structure are quite predictable. We identify the following structures (that correlates with their correspondent nominal meanings):

Verb structure		**Nominalization's meanings**
i.	[(InitP) [ProcP [DP$_{path}$]]] $\rightarrow$	event, object
ii.	[(InitP) [ProcP [ResP]]] $\rightarrow$	event, state
iii.	[InitP [DP$_{rheme}$]] $\rightarrow$	state, object

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we review the main approaches to nominalizations and examine how the problem of non-eventive readings has been resolved in each model. We synthesized, first, the proposals of the so-called lexicalist approach (Grimshaw 1990, Bisetto and Melloni 2007) and show the problems that arise when result nominalizations are defined in a negative fashion (that is, those lexical items that lack eventivity). Second, we resume the proposals of syntactic inspired models (Alexiadou 2001, Sleeman & Brito 2010). In that section, we introduce also the main features of Ramchand's (2008) proposal, which is important to explain some issues raised by Sleeman & Brito (2010) and that will be central to the following sections in our own proposal. Section 3 is the core part of the paper. In 3.1, we introduce the difference between objects and states and show how and why it is relevant to the study of nominalizations. Then, in 3.2, we provide a syntactic representation of these meanings based on Ramchand (2008). Finally, in 3.3, we inspect some syntactic constraints that provide important predictions on the possible meanings that a nominalization can take. This part is crucial, as far as it provides the empirical support that allows us to test the whole proposal. We include an additional section (4) where we deal with some problematic cases and evaluate the limits of the syntactic-configurational approach. We will see that there are cases where the syntactic approach provides us with the right generalizations, but there are other cases in which further notions are needed (specially, conceptual tools). A section with final remarks closes the paper.

2. Result nominalizations

2.1 The lexicalist approach

Without any doubt, Grimshaw 1990 is one of the most influential studies on deverbal nominalizations. From a lexicalist approach, this author established a distinction between eventive nominalizations and result ones, based on different diagnostics. The following table synthesized some of the contexts that, according to Grimshaw, indentify eventive nominalizations, as opposed to result nominalizations:

Context	Eventive noun	Result noun
Plural	*The constructions of the building took place…	The solid constructions.
Argument structure	The construction *(of the building) took place…	The solid construction (*of the building).
Determiners	{The / *that / *a} construction of the building took place…	{The / that / a} solid construction.
Temporal modification without preposition	The construction of the building last year.	The constructions *(of) last year.
Frequent modification	The frequent construction of churches in the XVth century.	The (*frequent) construction is solid.
By-phrases	The construction of the building by experts.	The solid construction (*by experts).
Control of infinitive clauses	The construction of the building in order to justify expenses.	The solid construction (*in order to justify expenses).

Table 1. Determination of eventivity in Grimshaw 1990.

However, as far as Grimshaw is interested in the eventive content of some lexical units, these contexts led to a purely negative analysis of results. A particular noun can be understood as result, insofar as its grammatical behavior contrasts with the grammatical behavior of eventive nominals. Nevertheless, several problems arise with this conception of the opposition between eventive and result nominals. The step from eventivity to result seems to hide certain semantic shades and some phenomena midway between both readings. We lack a foolproof way to show that every non-eventive nominalization has to be automatically classified as a

result nominalization, because we lack a clear concept of what 'result' means.

Since Grimshaw 1990, many authors have provided a more refined characterization of both classes of nominal.[2] Regarding result nominalizations, Picallo (1991) notes the existence of argument supporting nominalizations that lack eventive content (*Leímos la traducción de la novela* [*We read the translation of the novel*]). Other researchers have pointed out different kinds of nominalizations, in order to overcome the problems raised by Grimshaw's bipartite taxonomy. For instance, Van Hout (1991) distinguishes four types of nominals according to the verbal content that each type preserves. In this classification, the author formulates a scale from those nominals tightly related to the verb (*John's destruction of the city*) to those that are clearly 'nouny' (*The solid constructions*), depending on whether there is eventive structure inside the nominal or not.

Under the same lexicalist assumptions, Bisetto and Melloni (2007) focus on providing a formal representation of the difference between eventive and result nominalizations and also between nominalizations derived from result object verbs (*construction*) and nominalizations derived from resultative verbs of creation (*translation*). The authors use lexical-conceptual structures as those proposed by Lieber (2004), and arrive at the conclusion that the absorption of the resultant state in the resultative verbs of creation allows them to inherit the internal argument (*We read the translation of the novel*), as opposed to the result object verbs, where the nominalization lexicalizes the internal argument itself and cannot, then, inherit it as a syntactic complement.[3]

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[2] In what concerns eventive nominalizations, it has been pointed out that they can be pluralized without necessarily unleashing a result reading, against what Grimshaw (1990) claimed: *Las (reiteradas) tomas de Constantinopla por los ejércitos enemigos se sucedieron (una y otra vez) por espacio de varios siglos* [*The (repeated) captures of Constantinopla by the enemy armies took place (again and again) during several centuries*] (Varela in press).

[3] According to Bisseto and Melloni (2007), a nominalization like *construction* has the lexical structure in (i), and a nominalization like *translation*, the structure in (ii):

(i) $[\pm mat \, ([_i \,]_R, [+din \, ([x]_{E1}, [y_i]_{E2})])]$

(ii) $[\pm mat \, ([_i \,]_R, [+din \, ([x, y]_{E1}, [z_i]_{E2})])]$

That is, a result nominalization can refer or not to a material entity ($\pm mat$). The R(eferential) argument, introduced by the nominal suffix, is coindexed with the internal argument Y, belonging to the verb of creation, in the case of *construction*, and with the semantic argument Z, that corresponds to the incremental result in the resultative verbs of creation, in the case of *translation*.

2.2 The syntactic approach

Result nominalizations have also been studied from syntactic inspired models. For instance, in Alexiadou's proposal (2001), nominalizations are seen as elements holding verbal projections shared with lexical verbs. Following Grimshaw (1990), this author distinguishes between eventive and result nominalizations: the former include a verbal node (vP) and an aspectual node (AspP), while the latter lack both verbal projections.[4] Opposite to Grimshaw's claim, result nominals can take an internal argument, even though they are not eventive (*We read the definition of the word*). Nevertheless, while eventive arguments are licensed by verbal functional projections, result arguments are licensed by the root or, in Levin's (1999) terms, by the core meaning. By establishing a different syntactic status of both kinds of arguments, this approach may account for the obligatory nature of eventive arguments (*the construction *(of the house) last year*), which contrasts with the optional nature of result ones (*We read the definition (of the word)*). However, the question on why other nominalizations cannot take arguments remains unexplained, as far as, in principle, other core meanings could be able to license them. As we know, this option is forbidden for nominalizations derived from creation verbs (**the construction of the city fell down*). We should specify what properties in the meaning allow the appearance of an argument and, moreover, if that syntactic element should be called 'argument' at all.

2.2.1 Ramchand's (2008) verbal decomposition and nominalizations

In the constructionist approach followed by Sleeman and Brito (2010), different kinds of nominalizations are suggested, on the base of Ramchand's model (2008). As this model will be important in the development of our own proposal, we would like to provide a more detailed description both of Ramchand's theory and of Sleeman and Brito's use of this theory.

In contrast with lexicalist approaches, the grammatically relevant information does not have its source, in Ramchand's model, in the lexical entries by themselves, but in the interpretation of the verbal syntactic

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[4] Specifically, eventive nominalizations show a functional structure as the one depicted in (i), while result nominals adopt the form of (ii) (Alexiadou, 2001):
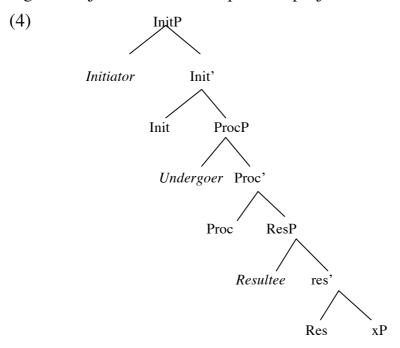
(i)   [DP [FP [AspP [vP [RootP]]]]]

(ii)   [DP [FP [RootP]]]

structure. According to this author, what we call a 'verb' is, in fact, a combination of the following three subeventive heads[5]:

- *Initiation Phrase* (InitP): This head defines what causes or starts a particular process.
- *Process Phrase* (ProcP): This head is the core of a dynamic predicate.
- *Result Phrase* (ResP): This head specifies the resultant state of a predicate.

Each projection can license an argument in the specifier position. We find therefore an external argument in [Spec, InitP], a theme or internal argument in [Spec, ProcP] and, finally, an argument in [Spec, ResP], subject of the resultant state. In (4), a hierarchical disposition of each argument, joined to its correspondent projection, is shown:

(4)

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                InitP
               /    \
         Initiator   Init'
                    /    \
                 Init     ProcP
                         /    \
                  Undergoer    Proc'
                              /    \
                          Proc      ResP
                                   /    \
                             Resultee   res'
                                       /    \
                                    Res      xP
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Depending on which subevents the verbal structure contains, different kinds of verbs may be distinguished. Thus, verbs with just ProcP are accounted (5a), as well as verbs with InitP above ProcP (5b). Cases in which the three subeventive heads are present are also a common possibility (5c):

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[5] Note that the different subeventive heads *are* the verb. Therefore, we do not need a further structural position in order to hold a V node. An actual verb is, then, the spell out of a finer structure: "[…] it is important to realize that this system is actually a splitting up of what we normally think of as V, in the same spirit as Rizzi's (1997) splitting up of the C node in order to show its finer structure, or Pollock's (1989) splitting up of Infl into T and Agree" (Ramchand 2008: 39).

(5) a. Flowers grow.

  b. John pushes the car.

  c. John put the book on the shelf.

An important feature of Ramchand's model (2008) is the distinction between two kinds of internal arguments. On the one hand, there are internal arguments that work only as 'subjects' of a particular subeventive projection and that do not 'measure' the length of the process; these arguments fill specifier positions (either [Spec, ProcP] or [Spec, ResP]). On the other hand, there are internal arguments that work as incremental themes and, therefore, measure the length of a given process; these are called *Path objects*, because of their interpretation as trajectories. A Path fills the complement position of ProcP. The syntactic position of internal arguments correlates, thus, with their ability to measure a process, in such a way that those arguments in a specifier position have no impact on the aspectual value of a given predicate. Consider, then, the following examples:

(6) a. John ate an apple {in five minutes / *during five minutes}.

  b. John ate apples {*in five minutes / during five minutes}[6].

(7) a. John pushes the car {*in five minutes / during five minutes}.

  b. John pushes cars {*in five minutes / during five minutes}.

In (6), the bounded or unbounded nature of the internal argument correlates with the telic or atelic interpretation of the whole predicate. Thus, a bare plural gives rise to an atelic eventuality (6b), whereas a definite object gives rise to a telic one (6a). On the other hand, the definiteness of the internal argument in (7) does not impact on the telicity of the eventuality. Even if we take *the car* as the internal argument, the predicate remains an atelic activity. This empirical difference is accounted for in Ramchand's

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[6] Note that in Spanish the grammaticality pattern of (6b) depends on the particular past form selected. Thus, the 'indefinido' (*comió*, perfective past) give rise to an ungrammatical sentence if the *in x time* phrase is used, but if the 'imperfecto' (*comía*, imperfective past) is chosen in the same context, then there is a reading under which (6b) is still grammatical. In the latter case, we can understand that there is a series of events that constitutes the habitual past of John, and that each one of these events took place in five minutes (each 'eating an apple' event). In fact, the combinatorial options are subtler: in both cases one can combine both modifiers, as far as they apply to different semantic levels (cf. *Juan {comió / comía} manzanas en cinco minutos durante dos horas*), but just in the case of the imperfective past the modification of the *in x time* phrase without the durative one is allowed (cf. **Juan comió manzanas en cinco minutos / Juan comía manzanas en cinco minutos*).

proposal by locating internal arguments in two different positions. Therefore, the object in (7) is an Undergoer, while the object in (6) is a Path. Only Paths establish with Proc what is called a monotonic relationship (Ramchand 2008: 50). That is, in virtue of its configurational position, the part-whole structure of a Path is mapped onto the part-whole structure of the process. As a consequence of that, if the object is definite, the event will be telic. Note that, according to this proposal, telicity is not a primitive notion encoded in the system, but a phenomenon that arises whenever some structural conditions are matched. Given the monotonic relationship between heads and complements, every element that could provide limits will give rise to the telic interpretation of the whole structure (DPs or PPs).

Following Ramchand's proposal, Sleeman and Brito (2010) distinguish five types of nominalization, according to the pieces of structure that the nominal lexicalizes from its verbal base. The first type takes the InitP and ProcP projections. This structure is reflected on the fact that both the Undergoer and the Initiator may be expressed in the nominal environment (*The destruction of the city by the troops*). The second type corresponds to those nominalizations that lexicalize the three projections (InitP, ProcP and ResP). As a consequence of that, the nominalization can hold both an Undergoer and an Initiator, although it has a result value (*The analysis of the text by the student enriched their classmates' knowledge*).[7] The third type corresponds to nominalizations that lexicalize just ProcP. As a result of that, they hold an Undergoer but, given that they lack InitP, cannot be modified by a *by*-phrase (*The flowering of roses (*by the gardener) takes place in April*). In the fourth type we find nominalizations that take ProcP and ResP (*The discussion of data will be published in the journal*). Finally, the last type groups those nominalizations that lexicalize just ResP (*The solid construction*). As we see, the difference between them comes from the number of projections they lexicalize and, therefore, the number of arguments they can license.

Although Sleeman and Brito's (2010) approach presents some advantages if it is compared to other proposals in which result nominalizations are seen just as a negation of the eventive ones (Grimshaw 1990), several problems arise. First, within result nominalizations it is possible to distinguish those referring to a state (*The disappearance of the*

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[7] This example was taken from Sleeman and Brito's article (2010). It's rather unlikely that this nominalization could be classified as resultative, to the extent that *to enrich* is a predicate that also selects eventive arguments (*The construction of the bridge last year enriched our lives*). So, as far as we can tell, there is no reason why we should assume that this sentence exemplifies a resultative use.

books during the summer) from those that refer to an object (*The construction fell down*) (cf. §3.1). The main difference lies in that only the first type can take arguments, as it preserves its aspectual nature. In Sleeman and Brito's model, the difference between objects and states cannot be properly represented, because what distinguishes the three kinds of result nominalizations is the existence or not of an Undergoer and an Initiator (a resultative structure, with ResP, can have InitP and ProcP, just ProcP or neither). This system assumes a rather vague version of Ramchand's model. In particular, the ResP projection has, in its original formulation, an aspectual structure. Therefore, the building of the result version of *construction* upon this projection seems very unnatural, unless one defines this head in a rather different way, option which is absent from the quoted work. It seems that the authors try to collapse into the ResP projection every meaning that happens to be 'non-eventive', which includes objects and some cases midway between eventive and result meaning (*The analysis of the text by the student enriched their classmates' knowledge*). But, as we see, this forces us to try a predicative structure (ResP) as the syntactic nest for an object (*construction*). Thus, we reject the idea that these types of nominalizations 'derive' from the verbal projections, at least as they are conceived in Ramchand (2008).

Second, if we focus on object result nominalizations, it is possible to distinguish between those that derive from creation verbs (*to build > building*) and those that come from a resultative verb (*to translate > translation*). In Sleeman and Brito's taxonomy, only those nominalizations that hold ResP lack eventive structure and, then, cannot take arguments. Nevertheless, there seems to be no clear difference between *The **discussion** of the data will be published* compared with *We read this **publication***, even though they belong to different types according to the authors' criteria ([ProcP [ResP]] for the former, [ResP] for the latter). As far as in the case of *publication* we can add the same internal argument (*We read this publication of the data*), the presence of ProcP seems to correlate with the wrong syntactic behavior.

Finally, there are many non-eventive nominalizations that refer to objects (Sp. *cerradura* 'lock', *envoltura* 'wrapper') or places (Sp. *desembocadura* '(river's) mouth', *aparcamiento* 'parking') whose values cannot be understood as results of a previous event. Those nominalizations are not included in this classification.

In what follows, we assume Ramchand's (2008) model, but we maintain distance from the results of Sleeman and Brito's (2010) article. In the following sections we will examine to what extent a syntactic account of non-eventive nominalizations is a plausible option.

3. Towards a syntactic account of result nominalizations

3.1 Resultant states and resultant objects

From a conceptual point of view, a predicate can lead to, at least, two kinds of results. The first is the one exemplified, in its non-eventive reading, by nominalizations like *building*, and refers to an object (that is, an entity without any aspectual property). The second corresponds to the resultant state to which a given predicate may lead. Insofar as this state is lexically encoded, it can be, as well, referred by the respective nominalization (as in *disappearance*, see below). The latter kind of result diverges from the former in that it corresponds, not to an object, but to an eventuality type (a state). Consider the following examples:

(8)   a.   Juan construyó una iglesia en dos años.
           'John built a church in two years'

       b.   Juan desapareció {en un instante / durante dos años}.
           'John disappeared {in an instant / during two years}'

The predicate in (8a) belongs, in Vendlerian terms, to an accomplishment. Its telic character allows modification with a delimited prepositional phrase (*en dos años*). Certainly this predicate 'ends', but it does not seem that a final state is encoded in its semantic structure. What we get once the process is over is just an object (a church). On the other hand, (8b) shows a telic predicate too, as the delimited temporal modification proves. However, in this case the final boundary is provided by a resultant state, not an object. Therefore, a durative temporal modifier (*durante dos años*) is allowed, as far as there is an aspectual entity that this modifier can measure. Let's see the nominalizations of these predicates:

(9)   a.   La construcción del edificio por parte de Juan en dos años.
           'The construction of the building by John in two years'

       b.   Una enorme construcción románica.
            'A large Romanesque construction'

(10) a.   La desaparición de Juan en un instante.
           'The disappearance of John in an instant'

       b.   La desaparición de Juan durante años.
           'The disappearance of John during two years'

As we see in (9), *construcción* can make reference to both the process of building (9a) and the object that this process leads to (9b). On the other hand, the aspectual complexity of *desaparecer* also finds expression in the nominal version (*desaparición*). Exactly as we did in the case of (8b), we can modify the noun either with a punctual temporal phrase or with a
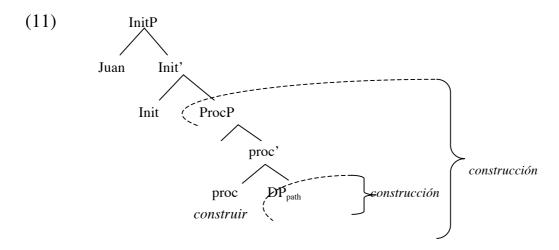
durative one. In the first case the noun refers to the event or process of disappearance, while, in the second, it refers to the resultant state. Note that, both in (9b) and in (10b), what the nominalizations refer to is a 'result', but the semantic type these results belong to are quite different. In the first case we find a physical object, whereas, in the second, we deal with an aspectual entity that is able to receive temporal modification. It seems, then, that a basic and fundamental distinction exists between these two kinds of results: objects and states. As one can observe in examples (9) and (10), this semantic distinction has clear consequences in the syntactic behavior of the respective nominalizations.

3.2 A syntactic representation based on Ramchand (2008)

As Sleeman and Brito's (2010) article points out, Ramchand's model has the advantage of providing enough syntactic structure to represent the basic conceptual distinctions that we can identify in nominalizations. By decomposing the eventive structure in a hierarchical array of syntactic heads, we have different levels where eventive and non-eventive nominalizations can be located. Furthermore, what is particularly interesting is that the difference between aspectual (namely, resultant states) versus non-aspectual (that is, objects) nominalizations finds a very natural way to be represented. For instance, the structure in (11) can account for nominalization possibilities of *construir* 'to build'[8]:

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[8] In the structure of (11) the possible pieces of structure that a nominal projection can take are represented, but we are not committed with a particular way in which this attachment actually takes place. Several options are available. On the one hand, we can assume that *-ción* provides nominal features and then allows the structure to be dominated by a DP. On the other hand, it can be said that this morphological piece just 'frustrates' the further development of the structure as an AspP and a TP, without providing specific nominal features. A DM-like approach (cf. Alexiadou 2001) would assume that a categorial but semantically empty layer is needed (namely, nP), and a nominalizer morpheme could be the head of this projection. We leave this discussion to further research. It is worth to mention, nevertheless, that the position that one takes regarding this issue does not affect the main proposals here developed.
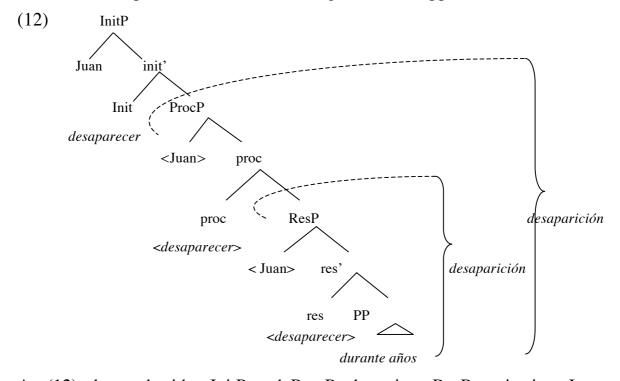
(11)

If we assume Alexiadou's (2001) proposal, according to which eventive nominalizations by themselves do not take the external argument, the eventive reading of *construcción* should take ProcP and whatever is below it and leave InitP outside. Under this approach, what licenses the agent is the PP (*por parte de Juan*, 'by John'), whenever the conceptual value of the root does not create a mismatch.[9] Once we go down to the following level, we find the internal argument, that is, a resultant object. In Ramchand's model, the complements of the eventive heads measure the process: if the object is delimited, the event will be delimited as well. In this case, the existence of a resultant 'state' is not required, inasmuch as an internal argument in the complement position of ProcP provides all the delimitation that we need to classify the predicate as telic. These characteristics are exactly those that allow us to predict the behavior of the nominalization, which can mean either a process, if it takes ProcP, or an object, if it takes the internal argument. Note that, in the latter case, it is impossible to modify the noun using a temporal modifier (**La enorme construcción durante años* 'The large building during years'). On the other hand, the expression of the internal argument is also forbidden (*La enorme construcción (*de la casa)* 'The huge building (*of the house)'), because the nominalization itself is occupying this position.

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[9] This would be another difference with Sleeman and Brito (2010). According to these authors, the exclusion or inclusion of InitP leads to different kinds of nominalization (cf. § 2.2). Our proposal is, in principle, compatible with both approaches. We adopt the ergative hypothesis just in order to simplify the analysis, but we leave a detailed discussion on this matter to further research. If a *by*-phrase is understood to be licensed by a functional projection, then a nominalization like *construcción* would have to include InitP. In that case, the nominal layer can lexicalize InitP and whatever is below (ProcP when it lacks a *by*-phrase, and the internal argument when it means an object). Under these assumptions, the basic mechanism developed further can be applied equally.

Let's see a possible structure for *desaparecer* 'disappearance':

(12)

As (12) shows, besides InitP and ProcP, there is a ResP projection. In addition to delimiting the process (as an internal argument would do), this projection forms a predication by itself. In this case the nominal projection has two predicative levels to which it can be attached (if, again, we leave InitP aside). This explains why we obtain, from the same predicate, two aspectual nominalizations: on the one hand, an event created above ProcP and, on the other, a resultant state created above ResP. The next structure is the PP (*durante años*).[10] It is interesting to note that, while a nominal projection can match the internal argument, as we see in (11), it cannot match a PP. That is the case in (12), where the minimal level to which the nominal projection is able to 'go down' is ResP. Therefore, the existence of

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[10] It is worth to mention that, according to Ramchand (2008: 77), a durative temporal modifier counts as evidence that there is *not* a ResP projection. However, this proof is valid if what we modify is the proc head, not res. Those predicates that contain ResP will reject durative temporal modifiers directed to ProcP, because of the telicity that arise in this configuration (cf. **Juan puso el tesoro en el salon durante horas* 'John put the treasure in the living room during a couple of hours'). Yet, as far as we can tell, a durative temporal modifier should be accepted by ResP, to the extent that its structural position is [comp, ResP]. Although this is not a possibility developed in the quoted work, it follows from the basic assumptions upon which the model is built, in particular, the fact that both init and res are stative heads. An additional assumption (Maienborn 2005, Rothmayr 2009, Jaque 2010, among others) is that states can receive temporal modification.
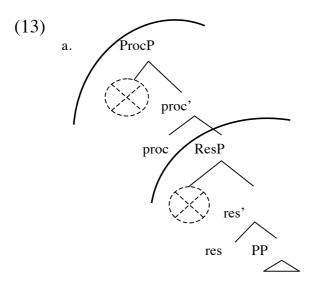
a categorial mismatch could be an important factor in deciding which elements within a certain domain could be expressed by a nominalization. Given that an internal argument is a nominal element, the nominal projection can coincide with it and fill this position, whereas a PP seems to require its syntactic independency.[11]
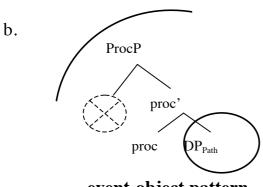
3.3 The specifier constraint

As we have seen, in those cases in which the predicate has an internal argument in the complement of ProcP, the nominalization can match this position and express, then, an object (*construcciones* 'constructions', *creaciones* 'creations', *escrituras* 'writings', and so on). Nevertheless, it seems that the nominal projection cannot move towards the specifier position excluding the remaining structure. In other words, the only path available follows the complement positions of the subeventive projections. By this constraint, there is no way in which *desaparición* (12) could mean 'what disappears', because this argument occupies a specifier position and not a complement one. Assuming that a nominal projection dominates ProcP, it can also nominalise whatever is in a complement position that does not create a categorial mismatch. This opens up two options: either we nominalise a Path (that is, an internal argument in the complement of ProcP) or we nominalise a ResP. It is impossible, then, to take those elements in the left side of the phrase. A specifier can belong to a bigger structure (the whole subeventive phrase), but cannot be the only syntactic material below a nominal projection. This constraint is represented in (13). The structure in (13a) represents a pattern in which the predicate yields both eventive and stative nominalizations (event-state pattern), whereas the structure in (13b) shows a pattern in which a predicate gives rise to both eventive and object nominalizations (event-object pattern)[12]. None of these structures can admit a nominalization that takes a specifier as its whole content, which is represented by the crosses:

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[11] This is a descriptive remark, however. It is not evident at all why Spanish prepositions reject acting as bases for derivative processes, while, for instance, English provides cases such as *aboutness* (which lacks a clear translation in Spanish).

[12] Actually, two options are collapsed in this pattern, depending on the aspectual nature of the predicative head. If the head is Proc, then the pattern will be event-object, but if we take into account stative projections (InitP), then the pattern will be state-object. We will mention this option in more detail below (cf. (20)).

(13)

a.

ProcP

proc'

proc   ResP

res'

res   PP

event-state pattern

b.

ProcP

proc'

proc   DP_Path

event-object pattern

From the specifier constraint several predictions follow. The main prediction is that, if an internal argument does not modify the aspectual nature of the event, then there will be no result reading which is able to match this argument. Recall that, according to Ramchand's (2008) proposal, only those internal arguments in a complement position establish a part-whole correspondence with the eventive head. Therefore, only the definiteness of Paths can affect the telicity of the whole structure. If we can show that a particular internal argument affects the telicity of the structure it belongs to, then we can conclude that this internal argument is located in a complement position and, then, we expect it to be a candidate in order to provide the meaning of the correspondent nominalization under its non-eventive reading. Otherwise, it will be in a specifier position and, therefore, we expect that it will not be lexicalized by the nominal projection. Let us assume that the distribution of *in x time* phrases, as opposed to durative

temporal phrases, show us the telic or atelic nature of the predicate.[13] Compare the following sentences:

(14) a. Juan creó un poema {en un instante / *durante años}
'John created a poem {in an instant / *during years}'

b. Juan buscó un poema {*en un instante / durante años}
'John looked for a poem {*in an instant / during years}'

In (14a), the delimited character of the internal argument triggers a telic interpretation of the event, as the rejection of the durative temporal modifier shows. On the other hand, the atelic nature of *buscar*, in (14b), remains unchanged even whit a delimited internal argument. Therefore, the structural position of *un poema* in (14a) has to be the complement of ProcP, while the same DP occupies the specifier in (14b); the former is a Path, the latter is an Undergoer. This pattern allows us to account for the behavior of the following nominalizations:

(15) a. La creación de Juan fue publicada este año.
'John's creation was published this year'

b. *Al fin apareció la búsqueda de Juan.
'At last we found John's search'

While the nominalization derived from *crear* can match the internal argument (*creación* = 'what is created, a poem'), if we attempt to force a similar reading with *búsqueda* (< *buscar*), the result is ungrammatical (*búsqueda* ≠ 'what is searched'). This contrast follows directly from the specifier constraint. That is, in (15b) we are trying to force a nominal projection to take an element in a specifier position leaving the remaining structure aside. On the other hand, in (15a) the nominal projection can take the internal argument as its whole meaning, because, in this case, we have

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[13] Other contexts yield similar results. For instance, we can use the periphrasis *seguir* +V*ndo* ('still do') coordinated with the same predicate under a perfective context: *Juan escribió un poema y sigue escribiéndolo* 'John wrote a poem and he is still writing it', as opposed to *Juan corrió de cinco a seis y sigue corriendo* 'John ran from five to six o'clock and he is still running'. Once a poem is written, there is no way to write it further, but regardless of how much someone has run, it is always possible to run further. Note that this test detects *telicity* and not the presence of every limit. As we see in the last example, the sentence is acceptable even though the event of running is provided with temporal limits. That is because the activity of running by itself does not lead to any natural endpoint. For a discussion on the different status of telicity compared to perfectivity, see Borik (2006) and the references there quoted. In what follows, we will employ the test based on temporal modification for the sake of the exposition.

an internal argument in the position of complement of ProcP and no categorial mismatch intervenes.

The presence of ResP blocks the introduction of a Path and, therefore, we find a similar restriction on the meanings that a nominalization can take. Consider the examples in (16-18):

(16) a.   Juan metió la carne al horno (durante dos horas).
          'John put the meat in the oven (during two hours)'

      b.   Juan ocultó el regalo en una caja (durante tres horas).
          'John hid the gift in a box (during three hours)'

(17) a.   La metida de la carne en el horno (*durante dos horas).
          'The putting of the meat in the oven (*during two hours)'

      b.   El ocultamiento del regalo en una caja {en un instante /
          durante tres horas}
          'The hiding of the gift in a box {in an instant / during three
           hours}'

(18) a.   *Ahí está la deliciosa metida de Juan.
          'John's delicious putting is there'

      b.   *¿Alguien ha visto el ocultamiento que dejé en la caja?
          'Has someone seen the hiding I left in the box?'

The examples (16-18) raise two issues. Let us assume that a PP denoting the length of time during which the resultant state holds counts as evidence that there is a ResP projection (16). If that is right, then it will be impossible to put the internal argument in the complement of ProcP, as far as it is filled by ResP. So, both internal arguments in (16) have to be Undergoers. As we have seen in examples (14-15), the specifier constraint predicts that the nominalizations of these predicates can mean neither 'the thing that is put' nor 'the thing that is hidden', which, as (18) shows, is borne out. The generalization that follows is that if a predicate gives rise to a stative nominalization, besides the eventive one, then it will lack an object nominalization.

The second issue is why, if both predicates have ResP, only one of them can refer to a resultant state. As (17a) shows, the attempt to modify the noun with a durative temporal phrase leads to an ungrammatical result, even though, as we see in (16a), measuring the length of time that the meat remains inside the oven is allowed when the predicate adopts its verbal form. This puzzle raises some problems to the syntactic mechanism represented in (13), to the extent that it is not true that whenever we find a predicate holding ProcP and ResP, we will also find a nominalization which will display both eventive and stative values. A possible solution lies

in the number of heads to which a given lexical entry is related. If a lexical entry has no forced relation with both ProcP and ResP, the nominal projection will be able to split the structure in two levels ([ProcP [ResP]] > [ResP]). *Ocultar* 'to hide', *desaparecer* 'to disappear', *unir* 'to join', among many others, follow this pattern. On the other hand, if a lexical item does have a forced relation with ProcP and ResP, it will be impossible to split the structure in order to obtain an impoverished lexical unit (*[~~ProcP~~ [ResP]]) and, then, a stative nominalization will be blocked.[14] *Meter* 'to put in' could be an example of this. We cannot go further in this direction here, but it is worth to note that *meter*, in addition to other predicates that behave in the same way (*sacar* 'to pull out', *poner* 'to put'), has little semantic content and tends to serve as a light verb (e.g. *meter prisa* 'to hurry', *meter miedo* 'to frighten'). Thus, once we reduce its structure to ResP, we lose what could be an essential part and leave just a related component (probably, an element similar to the copula).

The specifier constraint fits the predictions of other analyses in a very natural way. For instance, Fábregas (2010) provides a syntactic account for the affix rivalry between the Spanish suffixes *-miento*, *-do/da* and *-ción*, based in Ramchand (2008) too. It is interesting to note that, according to Fábregas, nominalizations taking *-miento* derive from predicates whose internal argument is an Undergoer, not a Path. Carrying this generalization into our analysis, we predict that there will be no *-miento* nominalization that will be able to mean the internal argument. As the data in (19) show, this prediction is borne out:
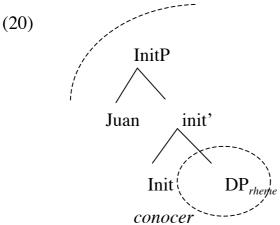
(19)   *aburguesamiento* 'adoption of bourgeois ways' ≠ 'something or someone that becomes bourgeois'; *enflaquecimiento* 'process of becoming thin' ≠ 'something or someone that becomes thin'; *florecimiento* 'flowering' ≠ 'something that is flowering'.

A possible counterexample to this pattern is represented by *conocimiento* 'knowledge' and *pensamiento* 'thought', that can mean, respectively, 'what is known' and 'what is thought'. However, the fact that these nominalizations take *-miento* is, as Fábregas (2010) points out, due to the properties that Experiencers share with Undergoers, not to the position that

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[14] A similar explanation is given by Ramchand (2008) to account for the inchoative-causative alternation. Those lexical entries that are related only to [proc] will allow a causative variant, by adding InitP to the basic inchoative structure in the syntax (e.g. *The glass broke / John broke the glass*). On the other hand, those lexical entries that are specified as [+init, +proc] cannot give rise to an inchoative variant, unless we use some morphosyntactic resource (e.g. *The army destroyed the city / *The city destroyed / The city was destroyed*).

the surface object fills in the subeventive structure. If this interpretation is right, then nominalizations are not expected to lexicalize Experiencers. In fact, neither *pensamiento* nor *conocimiento* can mean 'someone who thinks' or 'someone who knows', respectively. [15] On the other hand, given that the internal argument of these predicates (namely, the surface object) is in a complement position, there is no restriction by which we shouldn't expect that the respective nominalizations could mean 'what is thought' and 'what is known':

(20)

InitP

Juan   init'

Init   DP*rheme*

conocer

(20) follows the structural pattern in (13b). The nominal projection takes either the aspectual projection (in this case, InitP) or the next structure in a complement position (here, the internal argument). As the Experiencer is located in the specifier, the nominal projection skips it as candidate to be lexicalized.[16] If we take into account the set of constraints described, we can draw the conclusion that the notion of 'result' is not the proper concept to embrace the whole range of non-eventive nominalizations. If the structure in (20) accounts for transitive stative predicates, it is licit to ask in

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[15] Strictly speaking, if we assume the standard characterization of *conocer* as a stative verb, its Experiencer could not be attached to the specifier of proc, as far as ProcP is the core eventive projection. This argument should fill the specifier of *init*, which is, according to Ramchand (2008), a stative head. This alternative could set out some problems to Fábregas' generalization, but not to the specifier constraint (because the Experiencer would remain in a 'blind' position). Even so, *conocer* does not seem to be a 'pure' state, because it adopts eventive values in several contexts. These values would require the presence of ProcP (cf. *Juan conoció a su hermano en un programa de televisión* 'John met his brother in a TV show').

[16] Needless to say, there are several issues we are not taking into account here. For instance, the categorial selection varies from one predicate to another; *pensar* 'to think' can take either sentential arguments or nominal arguments (introduced by a preposition), while *conocer* 'to know' takes only nominal arguments. Nevertheless, we believe that the general approach can be sustained across these differences.

which sense *posesión* 'possession', *conocimiento* 'knowledge' or *creencia* 'belief' are the 'results' of *poseer* 'to own', *conocer* 'to know' (cf. fn. 15) and *creer* 'to believe', respectively.

From the data described in (19) it is possible to draw another interesting generalization. Note, in the first place, that several *-miento* nominalizations derive from unaccusative verbs or from verbs that undergo inchoative-causative alternation. According to Ramchand (2008: 77), the internal argument of unaccusative verbs fills the Undergoer position. Therefore, the specifier constraint predicts that there is no unaccusative verb, regardless of whether it shows a causative variant, which gives rise to a nominalization matching the internal argument. It is worth to mention that, even if there is a causative variant, the internal argument does not move to a complement position, insofar as the structural position of the new subject is at a higher specifier, that is, [spec, InitP]. In this sense, although the highest specifier is spelt out as surface subject while the lowest one as surface object, both syntactic elements are, at this level of representation, 'subjects':

(21)   Unaccusative variant: $[_{ProcP}\ X\ [proc\ zP]]$

                              ▼

         Causative variant: $[_{InitP}\ Y\ [init\ [_{ProcP}\ X\ [proc\ zP]]]]$

In conclusion, we do not find *llegada* 'arrival' = 'something or someone that arrives', *nacimiento* 'birth' = 'something or someone that is born' (unaccusatives without causative variant), or *engordamiento* 'fattening' = 'something or someone that becomes fat', *enrojecimiento* 'reddening' = 'something or someone that becomes red' (unaccusatives with causative variant).

4. Limits of the syntactic approach

4.1 Result nominalizations with and without arguments: Is this really an issue?

At the beginning of this study, we mentioned the distinction some authors identify between those result nominalizations that accept arguments (*The translation of Ulysses weighs 2 kilograms*) and those that do not accept them (**The construction of the church weighs 10 tons*) (cf. Bisetto y Melloni 2007). The question is: Does this distinction have some incidence in the approach developed here? Can our proposal, in some way, account for this distinction? The short answer is that a syntactic approach has little to say about this problem. Although we are aware of the distinction, we believe that the proper realm in which it finds its foundation is the

conceptual one. But these particular conceptual elements do not have, as far as we can tell, a clear effect on the syntactic representation.

The syntactic process by which an object nominalization is obtained is the same both with *traducción* 'translation', *definición* 'definition' or *descripción* 'description' and with *contrucción* 'construction' or *creación* 'creation'. In both cases, the nominal projection goes down to the deepest structural level available. The semantic interpretation of the noun results from the conceptual relation that the internal argument maintains with its correspondent event. The reason why an 'argument' can appear next to *traducción* has to be looked for in the conceptual features of the event of translation, but these features are not expected to influence in the noun's syntactic representation.

In other words, the result variant of *traducción* has the same syntactic structure as *construcción* in its object reading in what concerns the eventive/non-eventive opposition: namely, the structure of a noun without any aspectual property.[17] Recall that, according to Alexiadou (2001, see above §2.2), what licenses the internal argument in nouns like *traducción* is not some functional projection, but the root. This claim is very close to assert that, in what concerns syntax, such an argument has the status of a modifier.

What is, then, the conceptual peculiarity of predicates as *traducir* 'to translate', *describir* 'to describe' or *definir* 'to define'? According to the NGLE (2010: 868), the main peculiarity of these predicates lies in that, for every object, they may have more than one realization: there could be more than one translation of the same novel, more than one definition of the same concept, and so on. However, it is impossible to draw more than one creation of the same idea. Once an idea exists, a new object belonging to the same category could be created, but not, strictly speaking, the 'same' idea. Therefore, it is acceptable to say *Esa traducción de la novela* 'That translation of the novel' (as opposed to other potential translations), but not *Esa construcción de la catedral* 'That building of the cathedral'.[18]   If

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[17] It is important to bear in mind that, when a nominal projection 'goes down' and lexicalize, at last, the internal argument, the subeventive projections do not play a role anymore, because they are outside the nominalization's domain (that is, regarding the resultant lexical unit, they do not *exist*). At this point, therefore, the relation between the noun and the event is entirely a conceptual one.

[18] This explanation is similar to what Grimshaw (1990) suggests about the sentential arguments of some nominalizations. As defective argument licensers, nominalizations cannot license CPs. However, cases like *The assumption that races have a biological base* are attested. Grimshaw argued that those sentential elements are not real 'arguments', but phrases that expand the noun's propositional content. As opposed to

this approach is correct, then we do not need to provide a structural distinction between result nominals with and without arguments[19].

4.2 Other results: Other kinds of analysis?

There is a wide set of nominalizations whose values seem to lie beyond the analysis followed here. Let's mention, for instance, nouns that refer to places (*estacionamiento* 'parking', *desembocadura* 'river's mouth'), nouns that refer to objects that cannot be seen as the result of the related predicated (*cerradura* 'lock') and, finally, nominalizations that refer to results in a rather peculiar way. The third type includes cases like *cortadura* 'cut' or *quemadura* 'burn'. It seems that these nouns refer to the remains that a process leaves by affecting its object (Martín García 2011). The possibility that our analysis could be extended to cover these cases depends on the degree of regularity that the formations show. Furthermore, not every regularity has to be accounted for in syntactic terms, but only those that find a natural nest in structures as the examined.
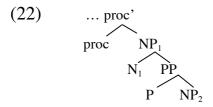
As far as we can tell, the only class that shows a proper regularity is the third type, both from a semantic point of view (all of them refer to 'remains of a process') and from a formal point of view (all of them have *-dura* as suffix). On the other hand, the remaining nouns do not refer to what would be expected regarding their morphological units. Most of *-miento* nouns refer to processes, regularity that seems to be broken in the case of *estacionamiento*, which refers to a place. This fact leads to the conclusion that this lexical unit behaves as a purely listed element and has lost internal compositionality.

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real arguments, these sentential complements do not force an eventive interpretation (e.g. *The assumption that races have a biological base was refuted*). In a similar way, the modifier of *The translation of Ulysses* specifies the content of the noun and do not force an eventive interpretation (*The translation of Ulysses is on the table*). This phrase may be seen as an 'argument', but just because of the semantic parallelism that shares with a real theme.

[19] Of course, what licenses a particular kind of modifier once we are dealing with the nominal domain is another issue. What we are trying to say here is that the kind of explanation given above for the differences between the meanings that a nominalization can take does not play any role in accounting for the ability of these nouns to take 'internal arguments'. We believe, therefore, that this ability is not determined by the presence or absence of some particular subeventive head, at least if we take into account Ramchand's (2008) decomposition. Note that in the structures given by us along this paper we leave the internal structure of DP untouched. We just admit that it can provide an object reading. A finer-grain approach to DP has to account for the differences in nominal modifícation, a task beyond the scope of this paper. We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this issue.

However, our analysis cannot be automatically applied to *-dura* nominalizations. We cannot establish that a nominal projection goes down from the subeventive head to which it is attached to the point where the internal argument is located. These nouns have lost their eventive value in almost all of the dialect variants and seem to be anchored to the argument level. As a consequence of that, they do not express aspectual entities as such, but participants integrated to a given process. It is perfectly possible to refer to one or several *cortaduras* 'cuttings', but *La cortadura tuvo lugar* 'The cut took place' is quite unacceptable.[20]

The fact that, in this case, the semantic regularity correlates with a morphological regularity suggests that there could be some impact in the syntactic structure. We propose that there is an additional nominal level between the nominal level represented by the surface object (*un dedo* 'a finger' in *me corté un dedo* 'I cut my finger') and the subeventive ProcP projection. Therefore, the structure to which these nominalizations belong has the following structure:

(22)　　　　… proc'

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & \text{proc} \quad NP_1 \\ & & N_1 \quad PP \\ & & P \quad NP_2 \end{array}$$

According to (22), a verb like *quemar* 'to burn' corresponds to, at some abstract level of representation, 'to make X on Y', where X is equal to N_1 and Y is equal to N_2. The noun *quemadura* 'burn' lexicalizes, then, the abstract noun incorporated in the verb (N_1). Where could the evidence in favor of this representation come from? First, the internal argument of some verbs that give rise to *-dura* nominalizations has two syntactic manifestations, either as a DP or as a PP:

(23)　a.　　Me quemé (en) la pierna.
　　　　　　'I burnt my leg'

　　　b.　　Me corté (en) el dedo.
　　　　　　'I cut my finger'

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[20] It is worth to mention that there are many differences between European Spanish and American Spanish in what concerns the interpretation of *-dura* nominalizations. In the latter variant it is possible to find eventive examples. In what follows, we will ignore this issue and will focus on European Spanish. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that while in the cases revised above the downward movement of a nominal projection belongs to a synchronic device, in the case of *-dura* could account for a diachronic process. Maybe there are regularities in the process of loss of functional material. Of course, this issue lies beyond the aims of this study.

The prepositional variant in (23) could be the manifestation of the structure in (22). On the other hand, note that when the insertion of a preposition is forbidden with these verbs, the -*dura* nominalization is also out:

(24)   a.   Los chicos malos quemaron (*en) la casa.
               'The bad guys burnt (in) the house'

         b.   ??Las quemaduras de la casa.
               'The burns of the house'

         c.   La quema de la casa.
               'The burning of the house'

(25)   a.   El carnicero cortó (*en) la carne.
               'The butcher cut (in) the meat'

         b.   ??Las cortaduras de la carne.
               'The cuttings of the meat'

         c.   El corte de la carne.
                'The cutting of the meat'

The normal interpretation of (24a) and (25a) is not that the object is just 'affected' by a process of burning or cutting; it is the 'whole' object that either disappears or becomes a set of new objects. Thus, the intermediate nominal level is missed. The surface object is the element that, actually, fills the complement position of ProcP and measures the event. Once the house is burnt the process of burning is over, and once the meat is cut the process of cutting is also over. Therefore, there is no syntactic element to which the -*dura* nominal could be attached and the nominalization cannot be interpreted properly.

Yet the same does not hold in the case of (23). Given that the complement of ProcP is not *la pierna* o *el dedo*, these DPs are not able to measure the length of the event (cf. *Me quemé (en) la pierna durante tres minutos* 'I burnt my leg during three minutes'). According to the specifier constraint, the nominalizations of (24) and (25) could refer to the internal argument, while the nominalizations in -*dura* could not refer to the surface object[21] (they are *already* referring to the internal argument):

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[21] The reason why *quema* 'burn' cannot mean 'what is burnt' could be conceptual. That is, if the object of the process disappears once the burning is over, there is no clear reference available. On the other hand, the noun *corte* 'cutting' can replace *cortadura* in many contexts, whereas the opposite does not occur. Thus, (23b) can be paraphrased by both *Me hice un **corte** en la pierna* and *Me hice una **cortadura** en la pierna* ('I made a cut on my leg'). In the former case, *corte* has reached the same structural level through the normal lexicalization device described in §3.3, but -*dura* is 'frozen' in this level.

(26) a.   *quemadura* ≠ 'what is burnt, the leg'
      b.   *corte* = 'what is cut' (*El corte está sobre la mesa* 'The piece of
            meat is on the table')

If it is true that *-dura* has reached this structural level by going down from
a subeventive head, then it is predictable that it cannot match the
complement of the PP. As we have seen, the nominal projection can take
whatever is in a complement position and that does not create a categorial
mismatch. The intervention of the PP in (22) has probably created this
mismatch, which could give rise to the 'anchorage' of *-dura* at the
intermediate nominal level. Thus, (26a) is expected. A nominal projection
can neither lexicalize a PP nor 'skip it' in order to take its complement.

5. Final remarks

The attempt to characterize result nominalizations as those elements that
lack eventive properties sets out several problems both to the lexicalist
models and to the syntactic models, because it is not possible to reduce
every non-eventive nominalization to result nominalizations. Furthermore,
regarding the notion of result, there appears only two kinds of
nominalizations: resultant objects (*The huge building*) and resultant states
(*The disappearance of John during three years*). While the former type has
no aspectual property and cannot take arguments, the latter type has
aspectual content and can take internal arguments. As we have seen (§ 3.3),
once we adopt a purely structural approach, the notion of result seems to be
the wrong concept to embrace the whole set of non-eventive
nominalizations. For instance, there are transitive stative verbs whose
nominalizations allow object readings (*posesión* 'possession' = 'what is
possessed', *creencia* 'belief' = 'what is believed'). The notion of result is
rather odd in this context, insofar as there is no process inside their
subeventive structure in virtue of which these objects could be understood
as results. The proper generalization of the specifier constraint covers these
cases in a very natural way.

The main proposal is that a nominalization can take every element that
is located in a complement position. That includes either new subeventive
projections or internal arguments. On the other hand, those elements
located in a specifier position cannot be lexicalized by the nominal
projection. This allow us to account for those cases in which a
nominalization cannot refer to the entity involved in a process, as in
desaparición 'disappearance' ≠ 'what disappears'. An additional restriction
is concerned with the number of subeventive projections that a particular
lexical entry is related to. If a structure includes a ResP projection, under
normal assumptions the nominalization will have a stative meaning besides

the eventive meaning. But, if the lexical entry has to be related to ProcP and ResP as a whole, then the structure cannot be split in order to create an impoverished lexical unit.

The asymmetry that Undergoers and Paths show regarding the object interpretation of nominalizations could be seen as a purely conceptual issue. In fact, the semantic properties associated with each syntactic position are stipulated by Ramchand. Therefore, the speficier constraint could be formulated as a semantic constraint in some approach that disregards the configurational assumptions of Ramchand's model. A possible hypothesis could be that only verbs with incremental themes will be able to give rise to object nominalizations, inasmuch as the ability to measure the process is a property of incremental themes regardless of the structural position that they could be given. That alternative approach would provide the correct predictions for contrasts like *construcción* 'building' (= 'what is built') / *desaparición* 'disappearance' (≠ 'what disappears'). However, both hypotheses would not have the same empirical scope. On the one hand, the notion of incremental theme does not account for the object reading of nominalizations derived from transitive stative verbs (in which sense could the object of *creer* 'believe' measure the 'process' of believing?). On the other, this notion could not account for the resultant state reading in those cases in which the object reading is not available (*El ocultamiento de Juan durante años* 'The hiding of John during several years' / *¿Alguien ha encontrado el ocultamiento?* 'Has someone found the hiding?'). The specifier constraint provides the right predictions in both cases. This wider empirical scope supports the election of a configurational approach instead of a purely semantic explanation.

Taking into account the semantic shades that other non-eventive nominalizations show, an interesting problem for the relation between syntax and lexicon arises. Given that our syntactic model cannot explain all the semantic differences, should we redefine the syntactic component or should we accept the incidence of other kinds of processes (pre or post syntactic processes)? We need to know how complex we want our syntax to be and whether a particular phenomenon should be dealt with in syntactic terms. In the case of *-dura*, we think that there is enough regularity as to justify its treatment from a configurational approach. However, our explanation is not intended to be definitive. We have tried to show what kind of evidence could lead the inquiry under the constraints that we have set. The limits of the syntactic approach to word formation has to be decided, ultimately, considering the empirical scope we obtain without losing conceptual simplicity.

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