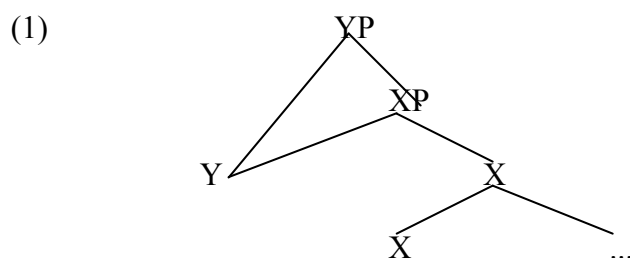


Evidence for multidominance in Spanish agentive nominalizations^{*}

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1. Relevance of the topic.

The multidominance approach to syntactic structure, developed in recent work (Gärtner 1997, 2002; Abels 2004; Citko 2005, this volume; Svenonius 2005; among others), takes to its last consequences the view that trees represent hierarchical organizations of sets (Chomsky 2004) such that each node, terminal or non terminal, stands for a set that contains its constituents as members. In the multidominance approach movement –understood as remerge– equals a situation in which a particular constituent belongs to more than one set –in such a way that displaced constituents are the intersection of two or more sets–. This allows subconstituents of a constituent XP to reproject in a further step of the derivation heading their own projection YP, imposing its category label to XP (1; see also Starke 2004).



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In the previous literature, several empirical phenomena have been argued to provide evidence for remerge, among them antecedent-free relatives and ATB-extractions. This paper argues that empirical evidence for multidominance also comes from the domain of word-formation processes, in the well-known phenomenon of affixation processes that at the same time require and cancel (part of) the argument structure of the base. At the same time, profiting from the detailed work on word formation processes which already exists in the literature, this paper attempts to establish some of the conditions under which remerge is allowed.

The paper is structured as follows: in section 2, the empirical phenomena are described and it is shown that some category-changing affixes require thematic positions of the base which, after affixation, get cancelled; in section 3, a multidominance analysis of this cases is proposed, with particular emphasis in delimiting the situation under which reprojection is necessary; section 4 shows that analysis which do not use reprojection are not able to predict the empirical patterns of the phenomenon under consideration and explores other advantages of the approach adopted in the article; general conclusions close the article in section 5.

2. Empirical data: affixes that cancel argument structure.

Several nominalizations involve affixation of a particular affix to a verbal base which, as a result of it, loses part of its argument structure. One well-studied instance of this situation is the case of suffixes that construct agentive nominalizations in the major European languages. (2) illustrates the pattern with the Spanish suffix *-dor*, roughly equivalent to English *-er*.¹

- (2) a. María limpia suelos de madera.

María cleans floors of wood, ‘María cleans wooden floors’

- b. La limpiadora de suelos de madera.

The cleaner of floors of wood, ‘The cleaner of wooden floors’

- c. #La limpiadora de María

¹ Although it is the most studied case, *-dor* is by no means the only case of suffix that requires a particular theta role which gets cancelled in the resulting nominalization. For some speaker, this situation is also illustrated by the suffix *-miento*, which forms event nominalizations from verbs. Fábregas (in press) argues that *-miento* selects verbal bases that have an available position for an incremental theme or, in general, a measurable path (cfr. Ramchand 2008 for the relationship between these notions), versus the participial nominalization, that requires that position to be satisfied and *-ción*, which is neutral with respect to the argument structure of the base. This case is similar to *-dor* in the sense that many speakers –among them myself– reject the realization of this same path in the resulting nominalization, and therefore have a contrast between the two sentences in (i) and also between the directional path and the temporal modifier introduced by the same preposition in (ii). Due to space limitations, we will not discuss this pattern in the article.

- (i) a. La persecución del sospechoso (por parte de los agentes) hasta el aeropuerto.
The pursuit of-the suspect (by the agents) to the airport.
b. *El segui-**miento** del sospechoso (por parte de los agentes) hasta el aeropuerto.
The tracking of-the suspect (by the agents) to the airport.
- (ii) a. *El seguimiento del sospechoso [hasta su casa].
The tracking of-the suspect [to his place]_{Dir}.
b. El seguimiento del sospechoso [hasta su fuga]_{Tem}.
The tracking of-the suspect [until his escape].

The cleaner of María

The suffix –dor is sensitive to the theta grid of the verbal base in a very specific way: it requires the verb to contain a position for the agent (in a wide sense that will be clarified below). There is general consensus that the nominalizations in (3) are ungrammatical because the verbal stems do not contain an agent theta role.

- (3) a. *nace-dor (vs. *naciente*, raising)
 born-er
 b. *mori-dor (vs. *muriente*, agonising)
 die-er

This situation raises many questions, which have been extensively discussed in the morphological literature. The main empirical problem is that the suffix requires the verbal stem to allow for a particular thematic position which, nonetheless, turns to be unavailable in the resulting nominalization. From a surface perspective, then, the suffix seems to be doing two jobs at the same time: changing the grammatical category of the word (from verb to noun) and cancelling a theta position which would have been otherwise

available. Several solutions, which will be discussed in section 3, have been proposed to cope with this situation.

We need to be more specific about the meaning of ‘agentive’ in ‘agentive nominalization’. The nominalizations in *–dor* can be used to denote agents – defined as volitional and conscient initiators of an action, as in the most salient reading of *James Moriarty infected Romania-*, but also to denote causers –non volitional initiators of an action, such as the subject in *The Black Peast infected Romania-* and instruments –entities used by an agent to trigger an action-. These three notions have in common that they represent the entity involved in the initiation of a particular event; we will use, therefore, the term Initiator as a cover term to refer to agents, causers and instruments (following Ramchand 2008).² In (4) the three possible Initiator-related interpretations of *–dor* nominalizations are represented.

(4) I. Agent.

a. *María atraca bancos.*

Maria robs banks.

² These three notions do not exhaust the possible interpretation of *–dor* nominalizations in Spanish. Locative meanings –X denotes the place where an event takes place- are also possible, and increasingly frequent in modern corpora: *comedor* (lit. ‘eater’) can be both the initiator of an eating event and the designated room for eating; the same with *intercambiador* –‘exchang-er’- and some others. These locative nominalizations with *–dor* will be disregarded in this analysis –with some minor observations in section 4.4.-, but notice that they also comply to the need that the verbal base contains an Initiator position (from *dormir*, ‘to sleep’, **dormi-dor* is ungrammatical, vs. *dormi-torio*, ‘sleeping room’).

a'. #La atracadora de María / La atracadora de bancos.

The robber of Mary / The robber of banks.

II. Instrument.

b. Esta crema tonifica los músculos.

This cream tones up the muscles.

b'. #El tonificador de la crema / El tonificador de los
músculos

The toner up of the cream / The toner up of the muscles.

III. Causer.

c. El plomo contamina el río.

Lead contaminates the river.

c'. *El contaminador del plomo / El contaminador del río.

The contaminator of-the lead / The contaminator of-the river.

The fact that *-dor* nominalizations can refer to a variety of Initiator-related notions automatically casts doubt on a possible explanation of the incompatibility between *-dor* and an independent initiator, namely that the presence of *-dor* makes the semantic contribution of the initiator semantically redundant. Notice in (5) that the grammar *-pace* case marking does not disallow several initiators in the same sentence, indicating either that this is not considered redundant or that redundancy is not enough to ban

the structure.³ (6), on the other hand, shows that, even in the context established by the sentence in (5), *-dor* is incompatible with any of the three initiators.

- (5) Moriarty_{Ag} contaminó Londres con plomo_{Caus} con unas bombas camufladas_{Instr}.
Moriarty contaminated London with lead by means of some camouflaged bombs.
- (6) a. *El contaminador de Moriarty.
b. *El contaminador del plomo.
c. *El contaminador de las bombas camufladas.

An analysis of *-dor* nominalizations should take in account also other properties that have been noticed in the empirical descriptions, although they may in principle be unrelated to the interaction between the suffix and the argument structure of the verbal base. One property that has been noticed is that *-dor* nominalizations require a verbal base. This property is so strong that, whenever a noun is taken as its base, it is turned into a verbal stem by addition of a theme vowel (by default, *-a-*, exponent of the

³ The following symbols are used: Ag=Agent, Ins=Instrument, Caus=Causer.

unmarked conjugation class in Spanish –cfr. Arregi & Oltra-Massuet 2005); in these cases, the corresponding verbal forms do not exist, but the verbal stem is required in the *–dor* nominalization (see 7 for these cases in Spanish and Italian).⁴

- (7) a. Sp. leñ-a-dor
wood-ThV-er, ‘woodsman’ (and **leñar*)
- b. It. cesoi-a-tore
shears-ThV-er, ‘man that works with a clipper’

This is not the case with the suffix *–ción*, which also differs from *–dor* in that it does not cancel any argument structure of the base (see footnote 1 for illustration). Among many other cases, the nominalizations in (8) are attested, where the base is not verbal and does not show the morphological shape of a verbal stem –in other words, there is no theme vowel-.

⁴ In the framework adopted in this article, Nanosyntax, allomorphy is taken as exponent of syntactic and semantic differences (see, among others, Jablonska 2007, Lundqvist 2008), not considered to be merely the result of a PF operation on lexical insertion. For this reason, we do not treat the suffix *–dor* and its allomorph *–tor* as phonological variants of the same morphosyntactic bundle of features, but assume that they are two lexical items corresponding to two different syntactic representations. Notice that all agentive nouns that appear without a theme vowel use the lexical item *–tor* (or, alternatively, *–(s)or*): *lec-tor*, ‘reader’; *profes-or*, ‘teacher’; *ac-tor*, ‘actor’, etc. The fact that *–dor* requires the theme vowel is not due to phonological reasons, as the segment /d/ can be preceded by some consonants in Spanish (for example, *mal-dad*, ‘evil’); alternatively, *–tor* can be preceded by a vowel (*audi-tor*, ‘tax official’). I must immediately admit, though, that I have not worked out an analysis of *–tor*.

- (8) fun-ción, ‘function, performance’
 aten-ción, ‘attention’
 emo-ción, ‘emotion’

Another property of the nominalizations with *-dor* is that the base requires to denote a dynamic event and the nominalization denotes an entity defined by its relation to an event. Thus, the interpretation of (9), where *-dor* is combined with the verb *conocer*, ‘to know’, which allows for a stative interpretation, is not just ‘someone who knows’, but denotes ‘someone who has acquired some particular knowledge through practice or study’. This particular reading of the verb is restricted to knowledge which implies a process of studying the object of knowledge, from which (9b)’s infelicity is explained –in the sense of ‘to know someone’ or ‘to know something’- unless it is implicitly understood that the person took care to study an object or person in depth, for example, by writing her dissertation about it –from where (9c) improves if this becomes pragmatically plausible-.

- (9) a. conoce-dor de vinos
 connoisseur of wines
 b. #conoce-dor de Juan / de inglés
 know-er of Juan / of English

c. conoce-dor de Napoleón / de la lengua inglesa

know-er of Napoleon / of the English language

This restriction does not affect *-ción*, which can give rise to names of states, properties or entities which do not entail the existence of any event (10).

(10) a. na-ción, ‘nation’

b. inten-ción, ‘intention’

c. inhibi-ción, ‘quality of being inhibited’

In the analysis that we propose in the next section, these additional properties of *-dor* –as opposed to suffixes like *-ción*– follow from the same principles that explain its interaction with argument structure.

3. How a multidominance account can explain these cases.

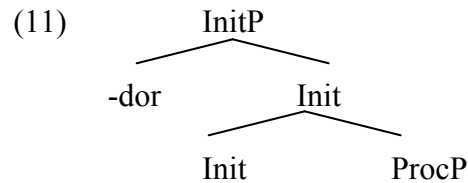
I will argue that the behaviour of the affix *-dor* –and, by extension, of affixes which at the same time change the grammatical category of the word and cancel part of the argument structure of the base– can be explained if the affix is merged in the relevant argument position and, in a further step, it remerges, heading its own phrase and dominating the structure that

introduced it. This class of affixes are the lexical spell out of a pronoun with an additional categorial nominal feature N. This additional N feature, not being dominated by any nominal functional structure in its base position, is still syntactically active and needs to project as soon as possible. It forces the affix to remerge as a head that takes the verbal structure as complement and, therefore, turns the whole construction into a (deverbal) noun.

3.1. How it happens.

In the following discussion, I assume Ramchand's decomposition of verbs, but nothing crucial in my analysis holds on that. Section 4.4. provides additional evidence that justifies my choice of the framework, but, as far as the remerge process is concerned, other assumptions about the decomposition of the verbal domain would work (Kempchinsky 2005, Kratzer 1996, Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995, among other possibilities where the causer is severed from the process).

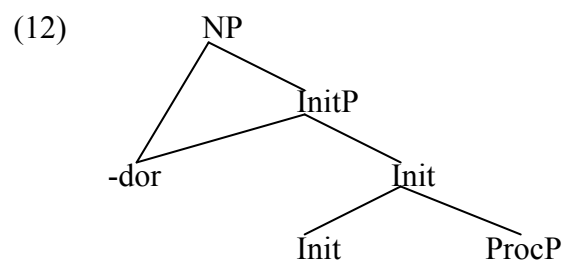
My proposal is that the affix *-dor* (as a lexical item) spells out a pronoun which is placed in the specifier position of InitiationP, the head responsible for the causing subevent of the verb. In this position, the pronoun is interpreted as an Initiator, which covers the agent, causer and instrument readings that the *-dor* nominalization allows (11).



Given the configuration in (11), it straightforwardly explains why any other initiator (agent, instrument or cause) is unavailable with *-dor* nominalisations (the data presented in 4): the position is already occupied by the affix, so it is not available for any other pronoun or DP. This DP would have to be introduced in a different position, where it would get a different thematic interpretation, explaining the availability of patients, themes and beneficiaries with *-dor* nominalisations.⁵ The structure also explains why *-dor* compulsorily selects verbs that have an Initiator position, explaining data such as those in (3). Indirectly, it also explains why the interpretation of a stative verb cannot be cannonic with *-dor*, accounting for (9) and similar data: InitP requires the presence of ProcP –the projection that denotes a dynamic activity- in the complement position of Init in order to be able to have a specifier, given Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995). This structure, however, is not enough to explain how *-dor* is able to turn the whole structure into a noun.

⁵ Remember, however, example (5), where, inside a clause, several DPs introduced by predicative prepositions can display different flavours of the Initiator role. We suggest that inside the fine-grained whole clausal structure, other positions to get causer and instrument entailments are available (VoiceP, for example) which are not available inside the more restricted nominal structure. We assume, following Baker (1988), that inside morphological words, functional projections are, at best, restricted, preventing the presence of VoiceP and similar heads that license different Initiators.

This is performed in the following step of the derivation. The pronoun that corresponds to *-dor* contains an additional feature N, that is, an additional categorial feature. This feature is still syntactically active, because it is not dominated by the nominal functional projections which nouns require in Spanish –perhaps universally- to be licensed as referential arguments: Gender, Number and Determiner (see 3.2.). The presence of these projections is impossible, given (11), for the structure is headed by a verbal element, which by its categorial requisites cannot be dominated by this set of projections. Therefore, the feature N needs to be satisfied by remerging on top of the structure and taking the whole verbal structure as its complement. Notice that in (11), *-dor* does not have any complement and, therefore, it is still ambiguous between a maximal and a minimal projection (through Bare Phrase Structure, again); this allows it to project as maximal projection, a possibility which is now unavailable for InitP. The result is (12).



In (12), the requisites of *-dor* can be satisfied, as its feature N can be dominated by the relevant set of nominal functional projections. This

straightforwardly explains why the whole structure is nominalised by *-dor*, without any need to propose zero affixes or to claim that nominalisation is obtained through merge of zero affixes or functional heads like Number or Determiner (see below on why this is a good result).

To summarize, the proposal is the following. Three properties of *-dor* nominalizations are explained in (11): *-dor* nominalizations denote Initiators; *-dor* nominalizations require bases that contain an Initiator position and *-dor* nominalizations are incompatible with an additional DP interpreted as an Initiator. One property is explained by (12): words with *-dor* are nouns and, as such, combine with gender, number, quantifiers and determiners. The relationship between (11) and (12) is explained by the need of *-dor* to satisfy all its features: one of them, N, is not licensed in the base position, so it is still active and remerges to get satisfaction.

3.2. Why it happens.

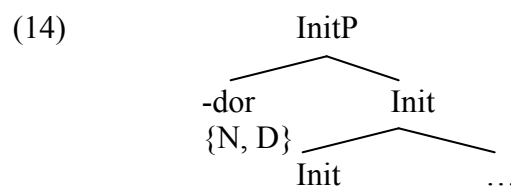
Let us be more precise about how (12) is obtained: why does exactly *-dor* project? As hinted before, my proposal is that it is due to a particular property of the bundle of features which this lexical item correspond to: they are pronouns which contain a N feature.

In short, the affix *-dor* is associated to the features $\langle N, D \rangle$. We assume that pronouns are themselves of category D, determiner (cfr. Longobardi 2001,

among others). We follow Longobardi (1994), who, based on previous suggestions by Stowell (1989), proposes that, in argument positions, noun phrases need to be dominated by determiner phrases; this is required for semantic reasons, related to the need to be a constant in order to saturate a variable, and presumably also for formal reasons related to the case filter. This principle can be formulated as (13).

- (13) A N in an argument position is not licensed if it is not dominated by D.

Given that a head cannot dominate itself, in (11) –repeated here as (14)– the N feature is not licensed according to the principle in (13), for it is in an argument position –Spec,InitP–.

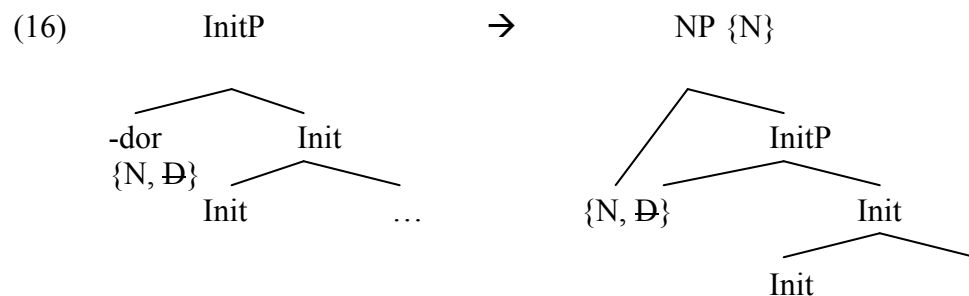


The feature D contained in *-dor* is satisfied, and allows *-dor* to get the theta role in situ, but N is not licensed because in that argumental position it is dominated by InitP, which does not contain a D feature. At this point, N requires to project again in order to get licensed by being dominated by a determiner. However, it is N which triggers remerge, for D is already

satisfied. This explains that the label of the projection headed by *–dor* in (12) is not D, but N. This follows from the condition of activity of grammatical constituents (Chomsky 2004). Notice, however, a crucial difference with respect to Chomsky’s proposal. Here we do not apply the activity condition to heads, but to single features: if inside a bundle of features, one feature is active and the other is inactive, only the active feature will count in further stages of the derivation (whence the category label of *–dor* after remerge). If the activity condition holds in the way that we propose here, then the following principles can be stated with respect to remerge (15).

- (15) a. Only heads with unlicensed features are allowed to remerge.
- b. Only unlicensed features are part of the head during remerge.

In any instance, assuming the existence of bundles of features, a weaker way of stating (15b) would be that the whole bundle of features remerges, but only the unlicensed features are allowed to trigger any structure-building operation. (16) shows the effect of the principle in (15) to our particular case.

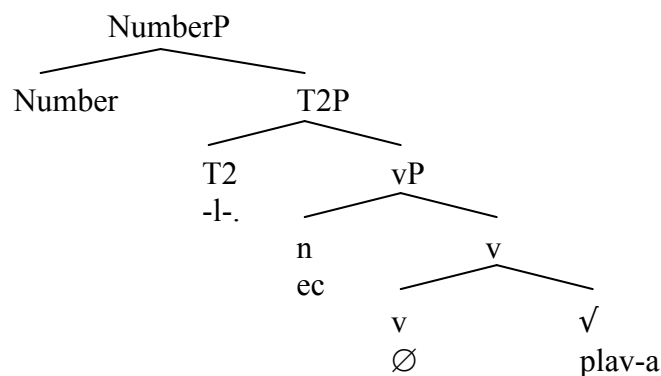


To summarize, given the Activity Condition –in this case, relativized to features and not to heads-, my proposal is that only active features can drive structure building operations and only these features are present in the head after remerge happens.

I will argue now that the proposal presented here can solve a problem of overgeneration that previous syntactic analysis of agentive nominalisations have run into. Consider the following structure, taken from Marvin's (2007: 206) analysis of Slovenian nominalizations.

(17) a. Slovenian *plava-l-ec*, 'swimmer'

swim-Part-er



The affix *-ec-* is in this account a manifestation of little *n*, that is, a functional projection that turns a root into a noun (Marantz 2001); the verbal structure contained inside the noun goes up to a temporal head which materialises as the past participle and the whole structure is nominalised by means of the higher functional projections, in this case, *Number*.

Notice that in Marvin's structure there is no direct connection between the lexical item merged in the agent position (*-ec-*) and the nominalization process; they are performed by different heads. The question that arises in this analysis, because of this disconnection, is why another noun merged as little *n* cannot be used to create a nominalisation -the noun corresponding to 'person' would, presumably, be underspecified enough to play this role; it has also been argued (Corver 1997) that 'one' is the default little *n*-. In our account, however, this problem does not arise, for the nominalization process and the theta role assignment.

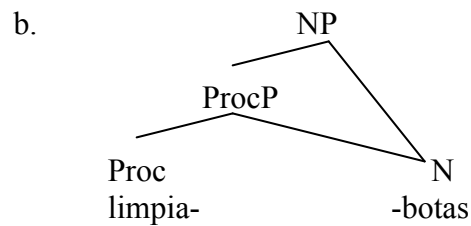
Let us see how our proposal blocks that agentive nominalizations are obtained by pronouns or whole noun phrases, something that Marvin's approach cannot block without additional assumptions.

If a pronoun such as *one*, *he* or the reflexive clitic is inserted in the argumental position then remerge is impossible, as normal pronouns contain only the feature *D* (cfr., for example, Longobardi 2001), which gets inactive in situ. Thus, there is no feature to trigger a structure building operation. A

similar situation takes place if a DP such as *the human, a person* or *the man* is inserted in the argumental position. There is no remerge, for the N feature contained in the noun is licensed by the DP that dominates it and D is licensed in situ.

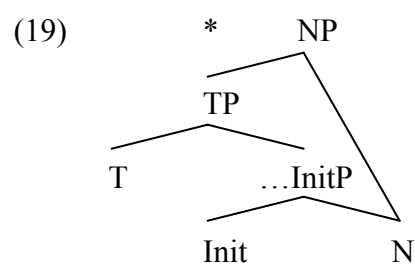
My proposal cannot prevent a bare noun to be inserted and, subsequently, to nominalize the whole structure, but notice that this situation could correspond to a class of word-formation processes. If a bare noun without a DP is introduced there, our proposal actually predicts that remerge would be necessary, in the form of the N feature heading its own NP in a further step of the derivation. Notice that this situation could actually take place, and it would explain the well-studied class of Romance VN compounds (18), where the noun, although not containing nominal markers, behaves as a noun in all relevant respects. Our proposal actually allows to treat this class of compounds as endocentric, in the sense that the noun taken by the verb as a patient would have to remerge to license its N feature, turning the whole compound into a noun. See Scalise, Fábregas & Forza (2009) for a detailed analysis of this class of compounds along these lines.

- (18) a. el limpia-botas
the clean-boots, ‘the boot-cleaner’



3.3. When it happens.

In this section we will explore the interaction between remerge and phases. If remerge is due to the need to satisfy a formal feature, then it follows that this remerge has to take place before a phase is completed. If the head containing the unlicensed feature remains in the domain of the phase when transference occurs, then the derivation will crash. This means that from inside the nominalization, verbal heads which define phases which transfer the whole verbal domain, such as Tense and Complementizer, must be missing. Their presence would produce the configuration in (19), impossible given the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001).



Indeed, Tense and Complementizer have been identified in some types of nominalizations, more in particular in English gerund nominalizations (van Hout & Roeper 1998). The argument put forward by these authors is that the

presence of Tense dominating the verb binds the event variable, resulting in a specific reading of the event (in other words, the event expressed by the verbal domain is factive, presupposed to have taken place). This allows us to treat factive nominal infinitives in Spanish as nominalizations that contain Tense (and, possibly, C). The prediction is, thus, that here the nominalization cannot be obtained by remerge and, by implication, that no argument structure can be cancelled inside infinitives or gerunds. The prediction is borne out; the factive infinitives in (20) maintain all the argument structure of the verbal phrase, including agents, and locative paths.

- (20) a. Este misterioso haber perdido las llaves de Juan va a causar problemas.

This mysterious to.have lost the keys of J. is going to cause trouble.

- b. Este frenético seguir a los sospechosos hasta su guarida de los policías

This frantic to.follow ACC the suspects to their hideout of the policemen.

In contrast, both *-dor* nominalizations and Romance VN compounds cannot be used to refer to single occurrences of events, showing that no T or C head are present in their internal structure.⁶

Notice that Marvin's analysis cannot account for this empirical generalization. These infinitives are nominalized either by a zero morpheme or by the nominal functional projections, Determiner, Number, etc., but this does not make the verb lose its verbal properties, such as accusative case assignment. Marvin's analysis of *-dor* nominalization already uses the extended functional projections of the noun to nominalize and allows Tense layers inside the noun, so she cannot predict any difference in her analysis.

4. Why a multidominance account is necessary.

In the previous section we have argued that a multidominance analysis of *-dor* nominalizations is possible; in this section we will argue that it is necessary, for the other available analysis are unable to give account of the data.

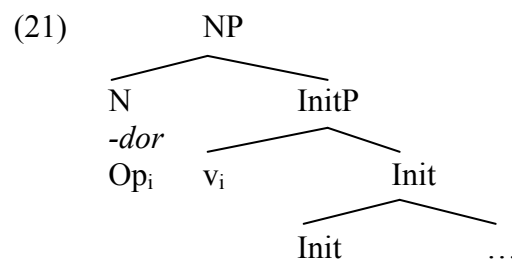
To the best of my understanding, there are other three possible solutions to explain the fact that the argument position gets cancelled inside the nominalization: the argumental position is bound –not occupied- by the suffix (4.1.), the argumental position is occupied by something other than

⁶ Contrast, for example, *el fumador de puros*, 'the smoker of cigars', where the event of smoking is taken as general, with **el fumador de este puro*, 'the smoker of this cigar' where a particular single occurrence of the event of smoking is described.

the suffix (4.2.) and the argumental position is not available inside the nominalization (4.3.). After having discussed these three possibilities, we will provide further empirical evidence for our proposal with multidominance and the decomposition of verbs assumed here (4.4.).

4.1. What if the argumental position is bound by the affix?

Assumes that *-dor* is never merged in the argumental position, but introduces an operator that binds the argumental variable contained in the specifier of InitP.

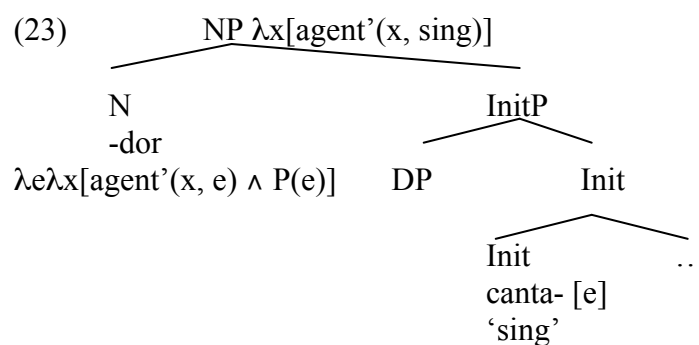


The question here would be why this variable cannot be syntactically realised as an indefinite DP which then would meet the Case Filter by getting the genitive case which is independently available inside the noun projection headed by the nominalization. This theory does not explain why (22) is ungrammatical (where the indefinite NP is interpreted as agent; discard a predicative reading in the line of *A jewel of a boy*):

(22) *corredor de un chico

runner of a boy

The situation does not improve if instead than treating *-dor* as containing an operator that links a variable we claim that it introduces a semantic function that takes a verb as input and denotes an agent.



The reason is, again, that this proposal still does not explain why DP cannot be expressed syntactically, given that satisfying a semantic formula does not prevent projection of syntactic structure. Qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1995), a system where semantic formulas are introduced in subsyntactic units, systematically allows constituents related by lambda abstraction to be syntactically expressed by independent constituents, for example, in adjective-noun configurations. The fact is that syntactic binding of any kind does not block a constituent form appearing in the structure (rather requires it to appear).

Precisely because of this, several authors have proposed that the operation whereby a suffix saturates an open argumental position of the base does not

take place in syntax, where the structure would still be available for projection, but takes place in the lexicon (see in particular Reinhart & Tal Siloni 2005 for this difference between lexical and syntactic operations). This is precisely the kind of analysis that DiSciullo & Williams (1987) suggest for suffixes such as *-dor*. These authors argue that the suffix binds the argument position before syntactic projection, in such a way that, when the base is introduced in the syntax, the position is not available. In (24), coindexation represents this lexical argument satisfaction operation.

(24) $-dor_i$ + V [Agent_i, Patient]

Notice that this account strongly assumes the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis and, in general, that morphological and syntactic operations are substantially different, so it will have to face the number of arguments that have been proposed against this division of labour (among many others, Marantz 1997, Embick 2000, Emonds 2000, Arad 2005). Assume for the time being, though, that the distinction is basically right. The problem is that, even in this case, DiSciullo & Williams (1987) cannot explain the data in (7), repeated here as (25).

(25) a. Sp. leñador, ‘wood-Agentive’, ‘lumberjack’

b. It. cesoiatore, ‘scissors-Agentive’, ‘a particular type of gardener’

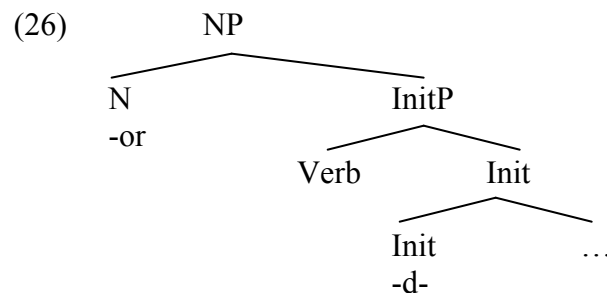
These forms are problematic for this theory, and in fact have been treated as exceptions by most lexicalist accounts, because they are constructed over nouns that as such do not have an argument structure and because the base taken by the suffix cannot show up as a verb (**leñar*, **cesoiare*). If the lexical selection of *-dor* performs an operation on argument binding, this would not be satisfied here; *-dor* would look for a particular thematic position which the lexicon cannot provide, for the base is a noun in the lexicon; if it is turned into a verb by addition of the theme vowel, though, the problem for the proposal is to explain why this verb is not stored in the lexicon and used normally.

A proposal such as Lieber’s (2004) –see also Booij & Lieber (2004) for the particular case of agentive nominalizations in English-, where the position that *-dor* binds is not fixed and this affix is able to bind other theta positions was designed, among other things, to overcome this problem, but at the same time has two dangerous consequences. The first one is that it gives up the relationship between semantics and structure, and the second one is that it vastly overgenerates, for it cannot explain why words such as those in (3) do not exist in Spanish: they all have a theta role that can be bound by the

affix, only that it is not an initiator one (**nace-dor*, **mori-dor*). Therefore, we conclude that the first alternative does not give account of the data and is therefore unavailable.

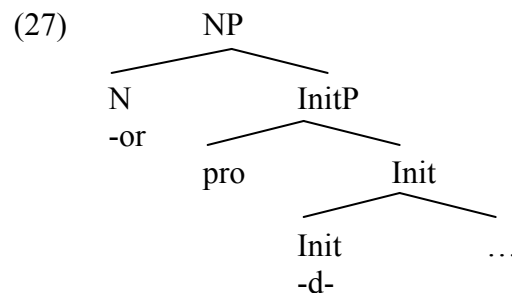
4.2. What if something else occupies the position of the agent?

Consider, first, what happens if the Initiator position is unavailable because the verb moves to the agentive position. We can assume that *-dor* is the lexicalisation of InitP and the structure is nominalised by a zero affix, or, alternatively, that the nominalizer is *-or* (as in other deverbal nouns in Spanish, such as *tem-or*, ‘fear’, from *tem-er*, ‘to fear’) and Init corresponds to a *-d-* which could be identical to the Spanish past participle; the lexical spell-out is not relevant here.



This proposal encounters severe problems. We will assume that movement of the verb to spec, InitP does not violate Antilocality (Abels 2003) – because, in a fine-grained decomposition such as Ramchand’s, intermediate projections could be argued for- and that the category selection requisites of

InitP do not hold, maybe because InitP is not dominated by TP, but by NP. Even if we grant these assumptions, the problem that remains is that the position of specifier of InitP imposes a particular reading to the entity denoted by the constituent merged there, namely that it is the initiator of the event. However, the interpretation of *corredor*, ‘runner’, is not that there is an event of *correr*, ‘run’, that has caused something –even though this can be conceptualized, as in *The running made all the athletes tired-*. This noun is interpreted as the someone (or maybe something) that initiates and controls an event of running. We conclude, then, that this position cannot be occupied by the verb because the semantic entailments do not follow. Assume, now, that the position is occupied by a nominal category, say a silent pronoun.

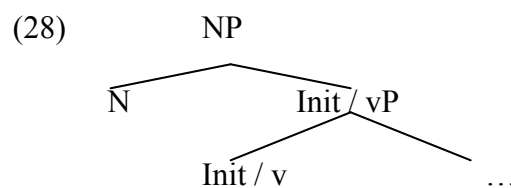


The question now is why this pronominal category cannot be expressed by a phonologically materialised DP; it could receive genitive case in the extended NP projection, so following standard assumptions about the

distribution of empty categories, it should be able to be materialized in the syntax, counterfactually.

4.3. What if the position of agent is not available inside the nominalization?

Notice, to begin with, that nothing prevents nominalizations to have agent-denoting complements, so agent theta roles cannot be excluded from all nominalizations in the general case. Assume, though, for the particular case of Spanish agent nominalizations that InitP inside a nominalization is unable to project a specifier position. This is plausible if InitP is considered as a notational variant for vP (something explicitly argued against in Ramchand 2008, but which we will assume here for the sake of the argument). Inside a nominalization vP would have to be weak, given the empirical fact that it does not assign accusative case. This is represented in (28).



In this account, the agent is not projected because there is no position for the agent inside the tree. The problem of this approach is that it predicts that –*dor* can take verbs which, by their lexical properties, always combine with a weak vP phrase and, therefore, do not take an agent at all. This prediction is not fulfilled by the data (remember the examples in 3) It also seems that,

which verbs that in principle do not take an agent, when *-dor* nominalizations are possible, a special reading is triggered where the verb takes an agent. In other words, if the verb allows a reading where it takes an agent, *-dor* will allow that reading only. Some examples are given now.

- (29) a. *entra-dor*, ‘go.in-er’, soccer player that often tries to steal the ball or person that flirts with girls, not #person that comes into some place.
- b. El delantero entra al defensa.
The forward tackles Acc-the defender.
- c. Juan entra a muchas chicas en la discoteca.
Juan chats ACC many girls up in the disco.
- d. Juan entra en casa.
Juan comes into his house.

As seen in the gloss in (29a), the *-dor* nominalization is associated to the reading of the verb in (29b) and (29c), where the initiator controls the event, but not to (29d), where the verb is unaccusative. Another example is given in (30), where the *-dor* nominalization takes the meaning in (30b), not the inherently directional one in (30c).

- (30) a. *sali-dor*, ‘go.out-er’, person that parties a lot during the night, no #person that goes out.
- b. Juan no puede salir hasta que no termine las clases’
Juan cannot go partying until he doesn’t finish his lessons.
- c. Juan sale de su cuarto’
Juan gets out from his room.

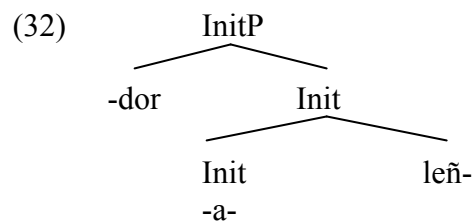
Verbs that allow that inchoative / causative alternation in Spanish without adding the reflexive-like form *se*, select the causative reading in *-dor* nominalizations (31).

- (31) hervidor
‘boil-er’: thing that makes something boil, not *thing that boils.

This shows that, if the analysis treats *-dor* as an head external to the verbal domain, it needs to give account of the fact that it selects a piece of structure that contains the specifier interpreted as agent, that is, weak vPs are not good enough for it. Therefore, this proposal is untenable, for it does not explain the data.

4.4. More on the advantages of the multidominance approach.

In this section we will see how our analysis faces some of the problems that we have presented, but not yet analysed. Notice, to begin with, that our analysis explains why *-dor*, a suffix that cancels argument structure, requires verbal bases, as opposed to *-ción*, which does not cancel argument structure and can combine with bare roots without a theme vowel (remember the cases presented in 10). This is explained by the fact that *-dor* requires to be introduced in a particular thema position, which bare roots or noun stems do not have by themselves. This also explains the cases in (25), where a noun is combined with a theme vowel in order to be the base for *-dor*.

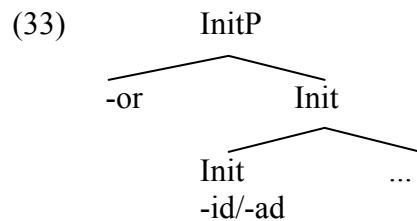


The configuration in (32) explains the interpretation of *leñador*, ‘woodsman’, as ‘someone that initiates an action on wood’; the theme vowel *-a-* provides the verbal skeleton needed for the theta roles to be available; *-dor* takes the Initiator and *leñ-*, ‘wood’, takes the theme. As opposed to DiSciullo & Williams, this operation takes part in the syntax, so in the lexicon the verbal stem *leñ-a-* does not exist. It is obtained

configurationally, but if the base with which the theme vowel combines does not contain the formal properties required by a verb –among others, the possibility to get tense operators-, it will never be used as a normal verb. These cases are not substantially different from other syntactic cases where a unit (here, the noun) requires another unit (here, the theme vowel) to be used in a particular construction, without the union of the two units having any special status in the lexicon (think, for example, in light verb constructions or auxiliary verbs).

Part of the initial appeal of Marvin's analysis of Slovenian nominalizations is that it attempts to explain a well-noticed property of agentive nominalizations cross-linguistically: they seem to be morphologically built on top of the (past) participle (see also Benveniste 1948). Our analysis also captures this relationship, given the nature of InitP in Ramchand's system. In Ramchand's system, InitP and the Result Phrase are substantively identical: they both denote a stative relationship between two entities. The causative state and the resultative state are differentiated configurationally by their relative position with respect to ProcessP, the head that introduces the dynamicity of the event. This has important consequences for the treatment of data. First of all, if InitP denotes a state, the presence of the participial morphology is explained, at least in the historical origins of the agent nominalization. Participles express states (Embick 2004), and, as

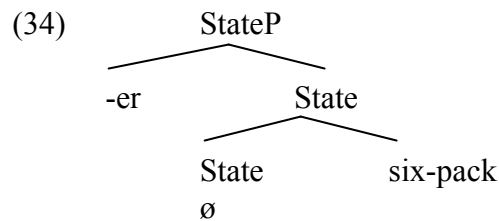
such, they are candidates to be associated to InitP in the absence of tense heads (33).



This may be a factor in the historical motivation of the choice of participial morphology to make agent nominalizations, but notice that it runs into empirical problems in a synchronic perspective, at least in Romance languages, because the base of *-dor* is not always identical to the participle: the participle of *correr*, ‘run’, is *corrido*, but the agentive nominalization is *corredor*, not **corridor*. Be it as it may, the association between InitP and states grounds the cross-linguistic similarity between these two morphological objects in semantic and syntactic principles.

Treating InitP as, roughly, a State phrase, also gives the first steps in the direction of explaining why some languages use the agentive suffix to express a variety of relationships. This is the case of English, where *-er* is used not only in agent-denoting nouns, but also in *Londiner*, *two-decker*, *six-packer*, *nine-grader*, etc. These words are explained –although its productivity is not properly restricted by this- if *-er* in English is merged in

the specifier of a state-denoting phrase, independently of its relationship with ProcessP (34).



The Spanish suffix *-dor* seems to be sensitive also to the relationship of the state head with Process –suggesting that the suffix may start lower and move from there to the Initiator position-, for these nominalizations are unavailable. However, in Spanish historical morphology it has been noticed that *-dor* formations in Spanish gave rise to *-dero* nominalizations which are interpreted as passive deverbal nouns -in the sense that they refer to the entity which becomes something as a result of something- (*casa-dera*, ‘marriageable’ = that may end up being married) (Pascual & Sánchez 1992). This relationship between causer and result becomes understandable if in a previous stage of Spanish the lexical item *-dor* behaved in a way similar to modern English *-er*, being able to combine with both kinds of states.

5. Summary and conclusions.

In this paper we have provided evidence for the multidominance approach to structure building, and more in particular for the possibility that a

constituent projects its own phrase after movement. We have argued that this operation takes place in the case of affixes that play the double role of changing the category of a structure and cancelling part of the argument structure of the base. Given the empirical facts, we have argued that remerge is motivated by unlicensed features, restricted to the active features contained in the displaced constituent, that it only happens when that constituent is, by Bare Phrase Structure, ambiguous between a head and a phrase and that it interacts with phases in the expected way for unlicensed features. We have argued that other approaches that do not use remerge are unable to give account of the empirical facts of the phenomenon under study. We have also suggested that a similar mechanism of remerge explains the case of Romance VN compounds, although we have not developed here the consequences of this claim.

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