

Evidence for multi-dominance in Spanish word formation*
 Antonio Fábregas
 CASTL-Universitetet i Tromsø / MorBo-Università di Bologna

1. Affixes that cancel argument structure.

- (1) Compare event nouns constructed with *-miento* and *-ción*.
- a. Los agentes persiguieron al sospechoso al aeropuerto.
The agents chased Acc-the suspect to the airport.
 - b. Los agentes siguieron al sospechoso al aeropuerto.
The agents followed Acc-the suspect to the airport.
 - c. La persecución del sospechoso (por parte de los agentes) hasta el aeropuerto.
The pursuit of-the suspect (by the agents) to the airport.
 - d. Persecución hasta el ferry! (Google)
Pursuit to the ferry!
 - e. La posterior persecución al interior del *Hogar Las Encinas* (Google).
Sp. The subsequent pursuit to the inside of the *Hogar Las Encinas*.
 - f. El segui-**miento** del sospechoso (por parte de los agentes) (*al aeropuerto).
The tracking of-the suspect (by the agents) to the airport.

In fact, the sequence *seguimiento + hasta + LOC* is unattested in any corpus, including Google.

Contrast: *hasta* taken as a directional P and as a temporal P.

- (2) a. */?? El seguimiento del sospechoso [hasta su casa]_{Dir}.
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].

Generalisation (Fábregas *in press*):

- (3) *-miento* is incompatible with an incremental theme or another semantic notion assimilable to path (Ramchand 2008).
- (4) Verbs with require an argumental path -spatial or not- cannot nominalise with *-miento* (Fábregas *in press*).

Contrast:

- (5) Verbs of movement which denote induced movement on an object.

<i>desplazar</i> , 'to displace'	desplaza-miento
<i>mover</i> , 'to move'	movi-miento
<i>asentar</i> , 'to settle'	asenta-miento
<i>deslizar</i> , 'to make something slide'	desliza-miento
<i>lanzar</i> , 'to throw'	lanza-miento
<i>posicionar</i> , 'to position'	posiciona-miento

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(6) Inherently directional verbs.

<i>llegar</i> , 'arrive'	llega-da
<i>ir</i> , 'go'	i-da
<i>venir</i> , 'come'	veni-da
<i>caer</i> , 'fall'	caí-da
<i>entrar</i> , 'come in'	entra-da
<i>salir</i> , 'come out'	sali-da

Also, contrast:

(7) Incremental theme verbs (Krifka 1989)

<i>barnizar</i> , 'to varnish'	Barniza-do
<i>esquilar</i> , 'to shear'	Esquila-do
<i>pintar</i> , 'to paint'	Pinta-do
<i>sembrar</i> , 'to seed'	Sembra-do
<i>comer</i> , 'to eat'	comi-da
<i>pelar</i> , 'to peel'	pela-do
<i>bordar</i> , 'to embroider'	borda-do

(8) Verbs of change of state without an incremental theme (=the internal argument does not codefine the aspectual properties of the predicate).

<i>procesar</i> , 'to prosecute'	Procesa-miento (vs. Procesa-do, from the meaning of 'to process')
<i>someter</i> , 'to subjugate'	Someti-miento
<i>acoger</i> , 'to take in'	Acogi-miento
<i>silenciar</i> , 'to silence'	Silencia-miento
<i>ocultar</i> , 'to hide'	oculta-miento
<i>enmascarar</i> , 'to mask'	enmascara-miento
<i>recibir</i> , 'to receive'	recibi-miento

A theory about morphology, syntax and structure must give account of this difference between *-ción* and *-miento*. But *-miento* is not the only affix that blocks the syntactic realisation of an argument in Spanish.

(9) Referential nominalisations with *-dor* and unavailability of an initiator of event.

I. Agent.

a. María atraca bancos.

Maria robs banks.

b. *La atracadora de María / La atracadora de bancos.

The robber of Mary / The robber of banks.

II. Instrument.

c. Esta crema tonifica los músculos.

This cream tones up the muscles.

d. *El tonificador de la crema / El tonificador de los músculos

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

III. Cause.

e. El plomo contamina el río.

Lead contaminates the river.

f. *El contaminador del plomo / El contaminador del río.

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

Notice that it is not just that a semantic notion is redundant. For example, agents, instruments and causers can co-occur without problems in sentences.

- (10) Moriarty_{Ag} contaminó Londres con plomo_{Caus} con unas bombas camufladas_{Instr}.
Moriarty contaminated London with lead by means of some camouflaged bombs.

And yet none of them can appear if the nominalisation is in *-dor*.

- (11) a. *El contaminador de Moriarty.
b. *El contaminador del plomo.
c. *El contaminador de las bombas camufladas.

1.1. Other properties of *-miento* and *-dor*.

Both affixes require the presence of a verbal base. The need is so strong that when there is no verbal base, it is built for the occasion:

- (12) a. leñ-a-dor
wood-ThV-er, ‘woodsman’ (and **leñar*)
b. histori-a-dor
story-ThV-er, ‘historian’ (and **historiar*)
c. It. mur-a-tore
wall-ThV-er, ‘builder’ (and **murare* in this meaning).
d. It. cesoi-a-tore
shears-ThV-er, ‘man that works with a clipper’

This is not the case with the suffix *-ción*, which does not cancel argument structure. Among many others, we have:

- (13) fun-ción, ‘function, performance’
rela-ción, ‘relation’
aten-ción, ‘attention’
emo-ción, ‘emotion’

Also, the suffixes *-miento* and *-dor* require the base to be interpreted related to an event; in the particular case of *-dor* this event needs to be initiated and therefore cannot be a state. Thus, the interpretation of (14) is not just ‘someone who knows’, but implies ‘someone who has taken care to know something in depth’; it is also restricted to knowledge which implies an action on the object, from which (14b)’s ungrammaticality is explained.

- (14) a. conoce-dor de vinos
connoisseur of wines
b. *conoce-dor de inglés
know-er of English.

This does not affect to *-ción*, which can give rise to names of states, properties or entities unrelated to any event.

- (15) a. na-ción, ‘nation’
b. inten-ción, ‘intention’
c. inhibi-ción, ‘quality of being inhibited’

In our analysis, these properties are related to the fact that *-miento* and *-dor* cancel argument structure of the base.

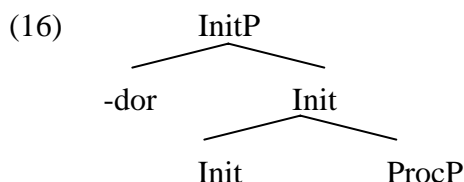
2. How remerge explains these cases.

Our proposal is that the affixes *-dor* and *-miento* are the lexical spell out of pronouns with an additional categorial nominal feature N. These pronouns occupy argument positions inside the verbal structure, but they contain an additional feature N which, not being dominated by any nominal functional structure in its base position, is still syntactically active and needs to project as soon as possible. This feature 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.

2.1. How does it happen.

In the following discussion, I assume Ramchand's decomposition of verbs, but nothing crucial in my analysis holds on that.

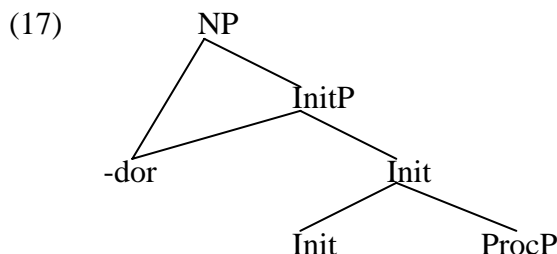
I. The affix *-dor* spells out a pronoun in the specifier position of Init.



This straightforwardly explains why any initiator (agent, instrument or cause) is unavailable with *-dor* nominalisations: the position is already occupied by the affix.

It also explains why *-dor* selects verbs that have an Initiator and, also, why the interpretation of a stative verb cannot be canonical with *-dor*: it requires ProcP –the projection that denotes a dynamic activity- in the complement position of Init in order to be able to have a specifier position available.

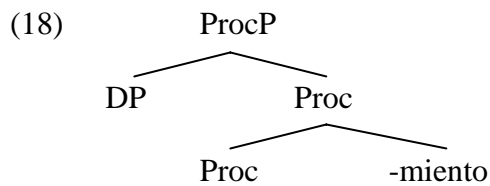
II. The pronoun that corresponds to *-dor* contains a feature N. This feature is syntactically active, because it is not dominated by the nominal functional projections. Therefore, it needs to be satisfied by remerging on top of the structure and taking the whole verbal structure as its complement. Notice that this pronoun does not have any complement and, therefore, it is still ambiguous between a maximal and a minimal projection (through Bare Phrase Structure, Chomsky 1995).



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 functional heads like Number or Determiner (cfr. Marvin 2007).

The same two steps take place in the case of *-miento*, only that in a different starting position.

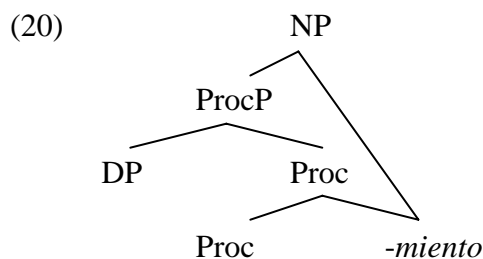
I. The affix *-miento* is introduced as the complement of Proc, position occupied by Incremental Themes and Paths.



Appart from explaining that a path cannot co-occur with a *-miento* nominalisation, this structure also explains another property of *-miento* nominalisations. Notice that *-miento* occupies a position which otherwise could be used to introduce a Result Phrase in Ramchand's system. As *-miento* is there, this means that ResP is not introduced. This explains that the canonical interpretation of an event noun in *-miento* is dynamic and atelic (noticed also by Martin in press for French nominalisations).

- (19) *sacudida* vs. *sacudimiento*
 one shake vs. shaking

II. From this position, *-miento*, which contains an active N feature, remerges and takes the whole construction as a complement, nominalising it.



We assume that the position of the affixes to the right of the verbal structure derives from phonological conditions connected to the fact that the lexical items *-dor* and *-miento* require to receive stress.

2.2. Why. Restricting productivity of the operation.

Let us be more precise about the second step of the account: why does *-dor* and *-miento* exactly project? Our proposal is that it is due to a particular property of the bundles of features which these lexical items correspond to: they are pronouns which contain a N feature.

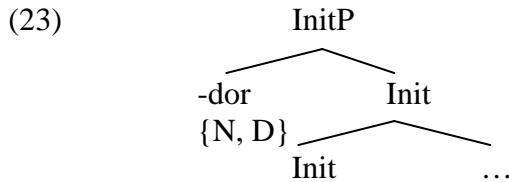
- (21) a. *-dor* <N, D>
 b. *-miento* <N, D>

Assume, for explicitness, that pronouns are categorially D.

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. We propose to formulate this principle in the manner of (22).

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

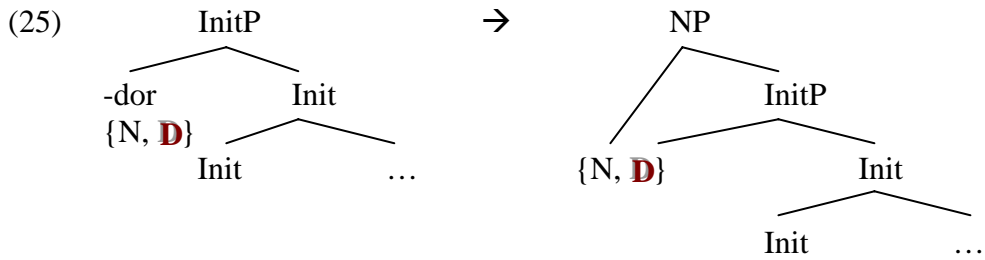
Given that a head cannot dominate itself, in (23) the N feature is not licensed according to the principle in (22).



The feature D contained in *-dor* is satisfied, because it is in an argumental position, but N is not licensed because it is in an argumental position, but it is not dominated by a projection which contains a D feature; *InitP* 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 only N which requires to project, for D is already inactive.

(24) Only unlicensed features are allowed to remerge.

(24) can be read as a particular version of Chomsky’s activation condition relativised to features and not to heads, although it does not presuppose that the features which are active are necessarily unvalued or uninterpretable. In any instance, assuming the existence of bundles of features, the whole bundle of features remerges, but only the feature N is active at this point of the derivation.

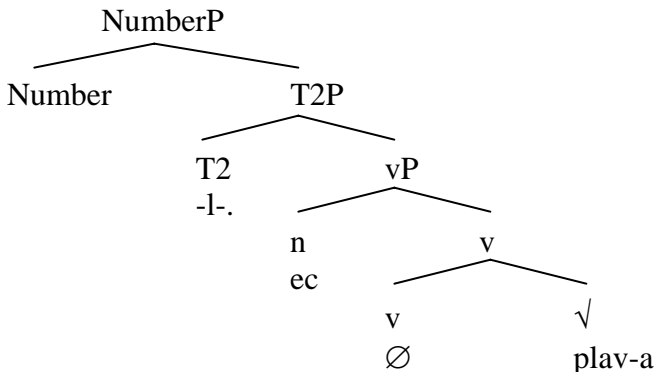


Therefore:

- Remerge is triggered by an independent condition on the licensing of N inside argument positions.
- Remerge only involves unlicensed features.

This proposal can actually solve a problem of overgeneration that previous syntactic analysis of agentive nominalisations run into. Consider the following structure, taken from Marvin (2007: 206).

(26) 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, the verbal structure 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 of the noun.

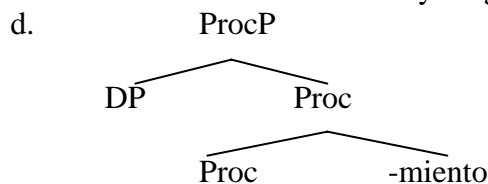
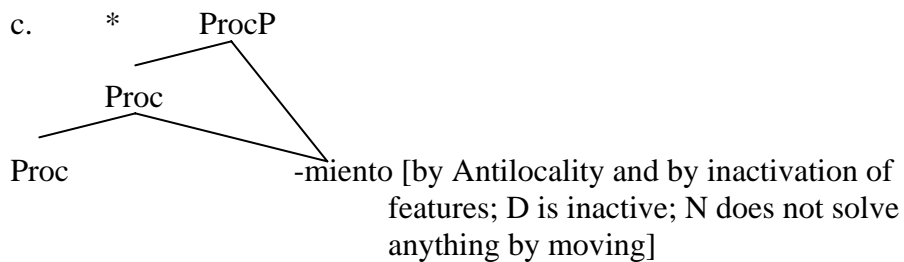
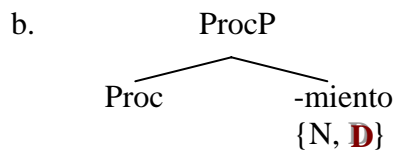
The question that arises in this analysis is why cannot another noun be used to create a nominalisation in Slovenian, say, the noun corresponding to ‘person’, or why cannot a pronoun, like the one corresponding to ‘one’, be used for the nominalisation. In our account, however, this problem does not arise.

- If a pronoun such as ‘one’, ‘he’, etc., is inserted in spec, InitP, then there is no remerge, because there is no N feature to license, pronouns corresponding to D’s (cfr., for example, Longobardi 2001).
- If a DP such as ‘my wife’ is inserted, there is no remerge, for the N feature contained in ‘wife’ is licensed by the DP that dominates it in the argument position.
- If a NP without a DP is inserted, such as ‘woman’, then... Wait until the last section!

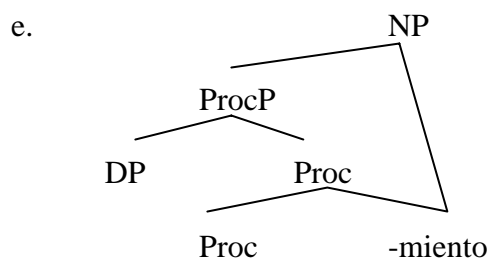
2.3. When.

If remerge is due to a need to satisfy a formal feature, then it follows that this remerge has to take place as soon as possible, that is, as soon as the projection that introduces the pronoun and cannot license the N feature is introduced.

Consider: (27) a. Proc -miento

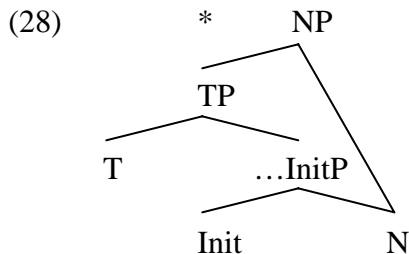


This because Proc being the head, it still imposes its s-selection, if it still has something to select.



- The pronoun cannot wait to the next step; it needs to do it as soon as possible. Therefore, no T or other functional projections if Rmerge needs to happen.

Prediction: in Infinitival nominalisations in Spanish, or gerundive nominalisations in English, where there is evidence that aspect and maybe also T are present (van Hout & Roeper 1998), no argument structure can be cancelled.



- (29) a. Este constante haber perdido las llaves de Juan va a causar problemas.
 This constant to.have lost the keys of J. is going to cause trouble.
 b. Este constante seguir a los sospechosos hasta su guarida de los policías
 This constant to.follow ACC the suspects to their hideout of the policemen.

Notice, also, that this kind of structure with nominalised infinitives is a further counterexample to Marvin's analysis. These infinitives are dominated by the nominal functional projections, Determiner, Number, etc., but this does not make the verb lose its verbal properties, such as accusative case assignment. This difference between this kind of nominalisation and nominalisations such as *-miento* and *-dor* is unpredicted in Marvin's analysis.

Also notice that, as Marvin's analysis is that the nominaliser in agentive nominalisations in Slovene are the functional layers, as in these other cases, the question would be why infinitival / gerundive nominalisations in Spanish and English never cancel argument structure of the base.

3. Why no other alternative can explain these cases.

Rmerge explains the unavailability of the argument position because it is occupied by the suffix. However, there are other logical possibilities and in this section we will discuss why they cannot explain these data. In this section, we will concentrate on the suffix *-dor* (Sp.) and *-tore* (It.), given that its empirical properties are described much more in detail than those of *-miento*.

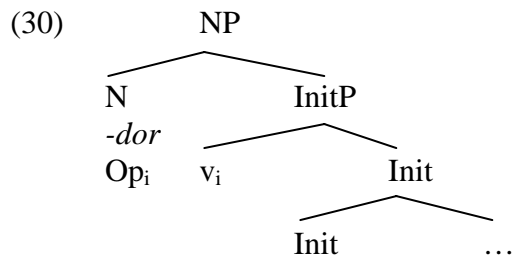
Three other logical possibilities to explain the unavailability of the position:

- 3.1: It is bound by the suffix.
- 3.2: It is occupied by something other than the affix.
- 3.3: Init (or vP) is defective and the agent specifier is not available.

Let's proceed.

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

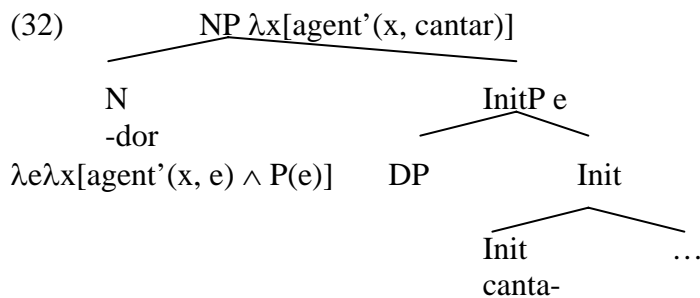
Imagine that *-dor* introduces an operator that binds a variable contained in the specifier of InitP.



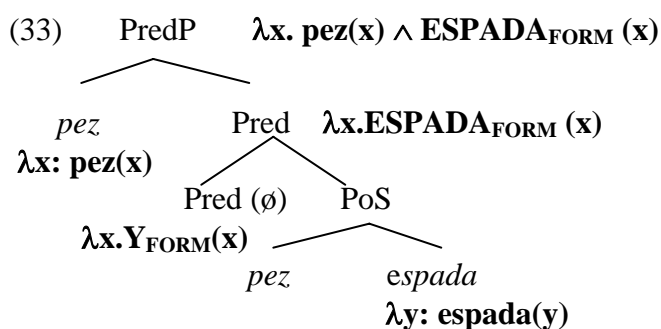
The question would be why this variable cannot be syntactically realised as an indefinite DP which then would be licensed by genitive case inside the noun projection. That is, this theory does not explain why (31) is ungrammatical:

(31) *corredor de un chico

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. Think about qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1995), which can be linked by lexical information and syntactically projected.



[From Delfitto, Fábregas & Melloni 2008]

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 suggested for these cases.

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

Assume that Reinhart & Tal Siloni's theory is correct and an operation which links arguments in the lexicon blocks the projection of the position in syntax. Then, this lexical operation explains that, when the form in *-dor* is projected into syntax, the agent position is not available for syntactic projection because the agent has been linked by the affix.

However, this theory predicts that the forms in (35) shouldn't exist or that the corresponding verbs should.

- (35) a. Sp. leñador, 'wood+er', 'woodsman'
b. Sp. aguador, 'water+er', 'person that sells water'
c. Sp. historiador, 'history+er', 'historian'
d. It. muratore, 'wall+er', 'construction worker'
e. It. cesoiatore, 'scissors+er', 'a type of gardener'

These forms are problematic for this theory, and in fact have been treated as exceptions by most lexicalist accounts, because:

- (36) They are constructed over nouns that as such do not have an argument structure. If the lexical selection of *-dor* performs an operation on argument binding, this would not be satisfied here.

-dor?? + agua

- (37) Or, alternatively, if we assume that the Theme Vowel which combines with the noun introduces the argument structure required by *-dor*, then the question is why the verbal base of derivation, which would be inside the lexicon, cannot be used on its own. That is, why these verbs are not words of Spanish or Italian, if they are in the lexicon?

*leñar, #aguar (not 'to sell water'), *historiar, It. #murare (not 'to construct a wall'), It.*cesoiare

It is also a problem for this alternative that *-dor* and *-tore* have locative readings occasionally.

- (38) a. intercambia-dor, 'exchange-er', 'interchange'
b. corre-dor, 'runn-er', 'corridor'
c. comedor, 'eat-er', 'dining room'

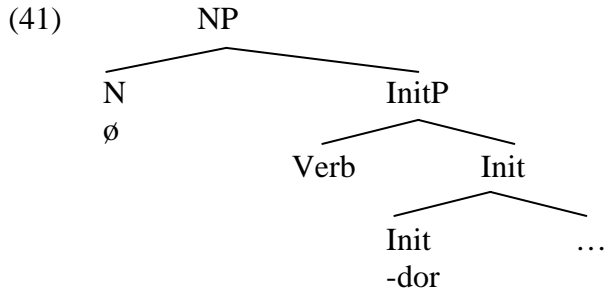
A proposal such as Lieber's (2004), where the position that *-dor* (*-er* in her analysis) binds is changeable and this affix simply does not require to bind the initiator was designed precisely to overcome this problem, but at the same time has two dangerous consequences:

- (39) It gives up the relationship between semantics and structure.
(40) It vastly overgenerates and cannot explain why words such as these do not exist in Spanish; they all have a theta role that can be bound by the affix, only that not an initiator one:
*nace-dor, 'born-er'
*mori-dor, 'die-er'
*esta-dor, 'be-er'

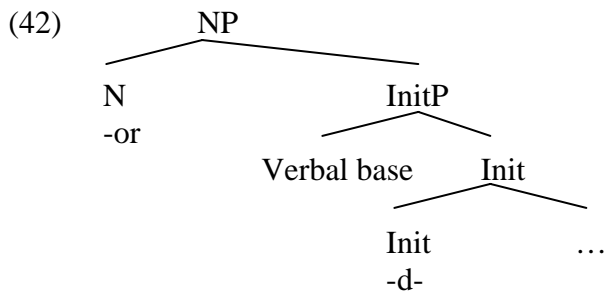
Therefore, we conclude that the first alternative does not give account of the data and is therefore unavailable.

3.2. What if something else occupies the position of the agent?
 [This part is built on an alternative suggestion by an anonymous reviewer]

Consider, first, what happens if the verb moves to the agentive position. Imagine that *-dor* is the lexicalisation of InitP and the structure is nominalised by a zero affix.

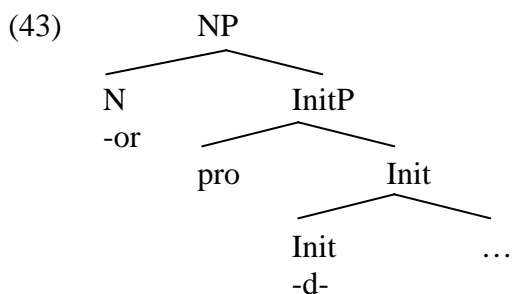


Alternatively, to avoid the use of the zero affix and the claim that *-dor* is verbal, you can assume the alternative distribution of (42), where *-d-* is the participle affix of verbal nature and *-or* is the nominaliser independently found in words like *am-or*, ‘love’. Both claims could be in principle plausible.



The problem of this proposal are others. One is that movement of the verb to InitP (alternatively, vP) strongly infracts the categorical selection of this head, which requires specifiers of nominal category. However, assume that categorical selection does not exist or maybe that it is not met here and other properties, such as absence of accusative case assignment, follow. Assume, also, that movement of the verb does not violate Antilocality for independent reasons. The problem with movement of the verb to that position is that the position of specifier of InitP (or the position of first specifier of strong vP) takes entailments of the entity occupying the position being initiator of the event. However, the interpretation of *corredor* is not that there is an event of *correr*, ‘running’, that has caused something, but that there is someone (or maybe something) that initiates and controls an event of running.

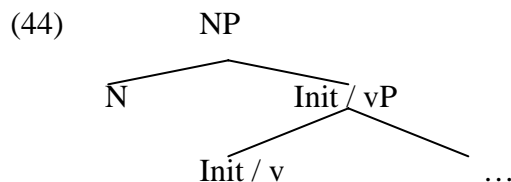
So this position cannot be occupied by the verb because the semantic entailments do not follow. Assume, however, that it is occupied by a nominal category, say a tacit pronoun.



The question 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 it could be realised in the syntax, against the data.

3.3. The position of agent is not available.

Assume that InitP is just another name for vP and what happens inside a nominalisation is that v cannot be strong (Chomsky 2001, 2004) because it is not dominated by T (or another relevant functional head) and therefore the position of the agent is just not projected.



Therefore, the agent is not projected because there is no position for the agent in the tree. The problem of this approach is that it predicts that *-dor* can take verbs which do not take an agent at all and verbs which may take it or not in the reading where there is no agent. This prediction is not fulfilled by the data (remember 40 supra), but also, in a stronger sense, with verbs that contain ‘weak’ initiators, *-dor* formations are possible provided that a stronger agentive reading is available.

- (45) Verbs that contain a non agentive initiator, but where the reading of *-dor* is agentive.
 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.

→ ‘El delantero entra al defensa’
 The forward tackles Acc-the defender.
 ‘Juan entra a muchas chicas en la discoteca’
 Juan chats ACC many girls up in the disco

Not : ‘Juan entra en casa’
 Juan comes into his house.

b. *sali-dor*, ‘go.out-er’, person that parties a lot during the night, no #person that goes out.

→ ‘Juan no puede salir hasta que no termine las clases’
 Juan cannot go out until he doesn’t finish his lessons.

Not: ‘Juan sale de su cuarto’
 Juan gets out from his room.

c. *vivi-dor*, ‘live-er’, freeloader, person who is too fond of the good life and acts accordingly.

→ Tú sí que sabes vivir.
 You certainly know how to live.

Not: Vivió hasta los 25 años.
 She.lived until she was 25.

- (46) Verbs that take part in the causative / inchoative alternation, but always in the causative reading.

- a. hervidor, ‘boil-er’: thing that makes something boil, not *thing that boils.
- b. cresci-tore, ‘grow-er’, ‘educator, trainer’

→ Ho cresciuto i bambini di mia sorella.
Have.1sg. raised the children of my sister.

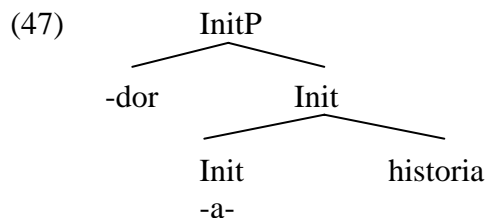
Not: I bambini di mia sorella sono cresciuti.
The children of my sister have grown-up.

Never verbs which cannot take an initiator, which means that *-dor*, if taken as an head external to the verbal domain, selects a piece of structure that contains the specifier interpreted as agent. Therefore, this proposal does not explain the data.

4.4. Why the multi-dominance approach is good.

How these problems are solved by the multi-dominance approach.

a) Accounts for why a verbal structure is necessary even when the lexical entry of the item does not contain a verbal structure: the affix is introduced by the verbal structure, so it is necessary (contrast with formations in *-ción*, which do not require a verbal base *emo-ción*, *fun-ción*, etc.).



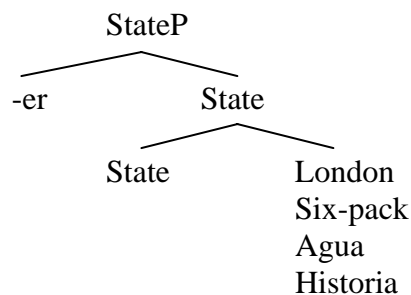
historiador = ‘X is initiator of history’

b) Accounts for the fact that verbs that take *-dor* require to be interpreted in the version that contains an Initiator.

c) Accounts for the productivity of the affix even with nouns and, in fact, relates it to some other cross-linguistic properties of agentive formations.

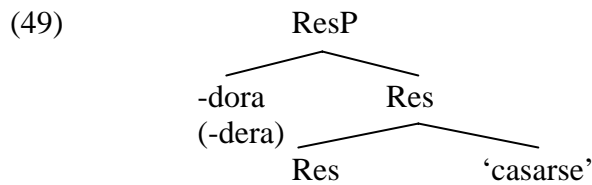
(48) In Ramchand’s system, *Init* and *Res* are the same head, denoting a stative relationship between two entities; the causative state and the resultative state are differentiated configurationally by their relative position with respect to *Proc*. Therefore, assume that *-dor* is not introduced necessarily as the spec of *InitP*, but as the spec of the stative relationship projection which is underspecified between *ResP* and *InitP*. Then:

- Eng. Londiner
- Eng. Six-packer
- Sp. Historia-dor
- Sp. Agua-dor, etc.



The difference between *-dor* and *-er* seems to be that the later admits any kind of relationship (locative, instrumental, constitutive, etc.) and *-dor* in Spanish seems to prefer just subject-predicate relationships.

Not only that, but also, the fact that ResP and InitP are the same category explains that historically *-dor* formations in Spanish also gave raise to *-dero* (Pascual & Sánchez 1992) nouns which actually 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*, ‘marriable’ = that can end up being married). This is straightforwardly explained if Init and Res are the same head and *-dor* just cares about the type of head, and not about the configuration where it is introduced.

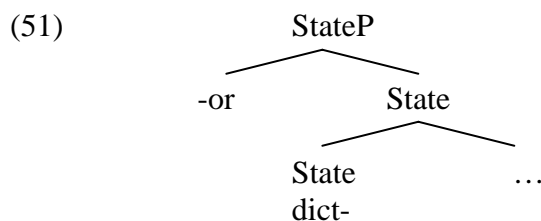


casadora / casadera = ‘X results into the state of being married’

Also, it has been noted (cfr., for example, Benveniste 1948) that agentive nominalisations are typically constructed over a (past) participle. Appart from the cases noticed by Benveniste in ancient Indo-European languages, consider these data:

- (50)
- a. Sp. participial marker *-do* / agentive marker *-do-r*
 - b. It. participial marker *-to* / agentive marker *-to-re*
 - c. Fr. Participial marker *-e* / agentive marker *-eur*.

Agentive nouns were in general derived from the *participium* (*dico – dicis – dicere – dixi – dictum: dict-or*) also in Latin. Assume that the State of a particular event is expressed by a participle. Then, these data follow: the stem of the participle is used –maybe not the affixes– because StateP, that introduces the agentive affix, satisfies its conditions of insertion.



If the participial morpheme in Slovene *-l-* is the realisation of State°, then the presence of the participial form inside the agentive nominalisation is explained without having to use tense heads and nominalisation through functional heads (against Marvin 2007).

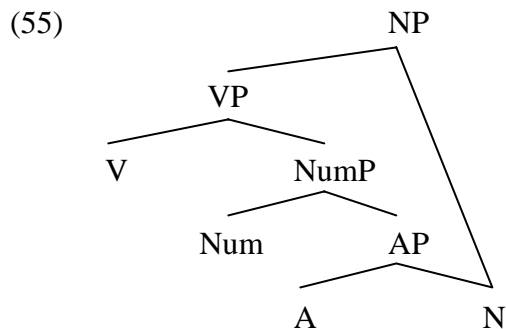
d) It derives the analysis from straightforward properties of argument selection in Romance (the fact that a D is required when an N is in argumental position).

e) It explains categorisation without need of a zero affix.

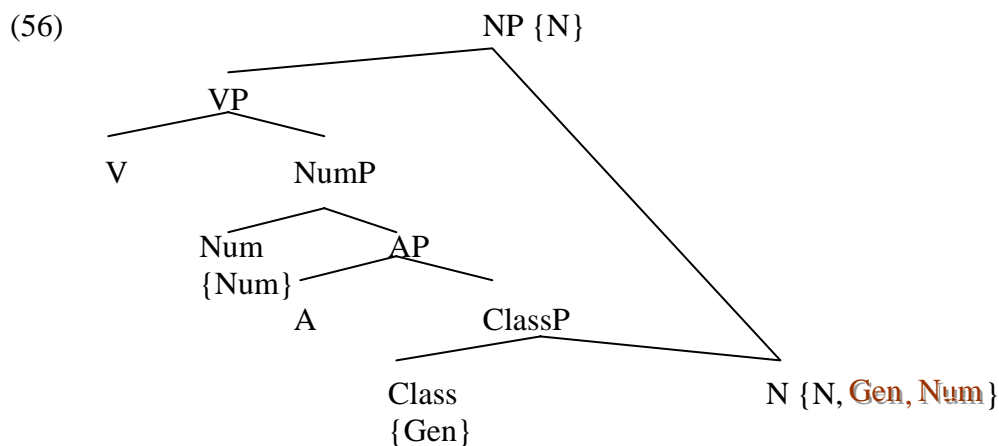
f) It also explains VN compounds in Romance without the need to consider them exocentric.

5. More on why this perspective is good: VN compounds in Romance.

VN compounds have been classified as exocentric in the traditional morphology, and some author needed to appeal to zero morphemes of kinds (Marchand 1969, Varela 1990, Bisetto 1995) to explain the categorisation of the whole compound. We will show how our approach solves these problems.



- Gender and number of the N inside the compound do not get transmitted to the whole compound because they have been licensed inside the structure:



Crucially, then, the N will remerge, but will only project its N categorial features, because the other features have already been satisfied inside the compound and as they do not need to remerge, they cannot remerge. Consequently, the gender and the number of the N internal to the VN will not be transmitted to the whole compound; only the category will be transmitted.

The prediction is that a language where the relationship between V and N is not argumental will have the verb projecting its category label, as N will not need to remerge. This seems to be the case. A structure where V and N combine and the label projected is V is the typical structure of noun incorporation in polysynthetic languages (Baker 1988). These languages, as analysed by Baker himself (Baker 1996) are ‘non configurational’ because the arguments are the pronouns merged as agreement markers of the verb and the N is, actually, a predicate that modifies the argument. Thus, the principle that N needs to be dominated by D is not violated, because N is not in an argumental position, and N does not need to remerge.

(57) waʔ- ke- nakt- a- hninu- '
 FACT- 1.SG- bed- EPEN- buy- PUNC
 'I bought a bed.', Oneida

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