

Stative passive nominals. A view from Spanish

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In a nutshell: This talk focuses on the nominalization patterns of a set of understudied stative verbs in Spanish (the *conservar*-type). I show how their associated nominals are consistently stative and have a passive argument structure. These findings challenge the received view that only eventive nominals can be passive, and provide further support for a syntactic approach to nominalizations, which preserve the argument structure and *Aktionsart* of the base verb.

Conservar-verbs: I focus on the nominalizations of the verbs below, recently analyzed in García-Pardo (in press), building on a prior classification by Fábregas & Marín (2017).

- (1) *Conservar* ‘preserve’, *controlar* ‘control’, *coordinar* ‘coordinate’, *dirigir* ‘direct’, *gobernar* ‘govern’, *mantener* ‘keep’, *presidir* ‘presidir’, *proteger* ‘protect’, *vigilar* ‘surveil’...

In García-Pardo (in press), these verbs are analyzed as stative causatives, i.e. as stative predicates with a causative component that allows for agent-oriented modifiers. For the relevant tests and discussion, the reader is referred to the aforementioned work.

Conservación-nominals: The nominalizations of *conservar*-verbs can be divided in two classes: those that have argument structure (AS-nominals, e.g. (2a)) and those that are only referential, typically referring to an institution or an administration (R-nominals, e.g. (2b)). I base my classification on Borer’s (2003) recasting of Grimshaw’s (1990) typology.

- (2) a. *conservación* ‘preservation’, *coordinación* ‘coordination’, *mantenimiento* ‘maintenance/keeping’, *protección* ‘protection’, *vigilancia* ‘surveillance’...
b. *dirección* ‘administration’, *gobierno* ‘government’, *presidencia* ‘presidency’...

Conservación-nominals have passive argument structure: These nominals take obligatory *internal arguments* and optional EXTERNAL ARGUMENTS by means of a *por parte de* ‘by’-phrase.

- (3) La conservación *(*del medio ambiente*) (POR PARTE DE TODOS NOSOTROS) es necesaria.
the preservation of.the environment by part of all of us is necessary

The argument configuration is passive, which has been argued to be impossible with nominals derived from stative verbs (e.g. (4)) (Picallo 1999 for Spanish, Alexiadou 2011 for Greek).

- (4) *La admiración de Perales por parte de Marta. (cf. Marta admira a Perales)
the admiration of Perales by part of Marta Marta admires Perales

In Spanish, there is a strong preference for human agents (introduced by a *por* ‘by’-phrase) in the verbal passive (Jiménez & Marín 2000). Note that the same restriction carries over to our nominals in question: Just like the verbal passives of *conservar*-verbs require a human agent (e.g. (5a)), *conservación*-nominals require human agents also (e.g. (5b)).

- (5) a. Las instalaciones son protegidas por {el guarda/ *los rayos infrarrojos}.
the facilities are protected by the guard the infrared light
b. La protección de las instalaciones por parte de {el guarda/ *los rayos infrarrojos}
the protection of the facilities by part of the guard the infrared light

Conservación-nominals are stative. They cannot appear as subjects of *take place*, they do not accept dynamic modifiers, they do not pluralize, cannot be subjects of the verb *parar* ‘to

stop', cannot be complements of *durante* 'during' and cannot take the modifier *en curso* 'in progress' (see Fábregas et al. 2012 for an overview of the main tests).

- (6) *La conservación del medio ambiente tuvo lugar {en Brasil/ el año pasado}
the preservation of the environment took place in Brazil/ the year past (last year)
- (7) El (*rápido) mantenimiento de las instalaciones por parte de los trabajadores...
the quick maintenance of the facilities by part of the workers
- (8) *Las frecuentes vigilancias de los alumnos por parte de los profesores...
the frequent surveillance of the students by part of the professors
- (9) *La protección del testigo por parte de la policía ha parado.
the protection of the witness by part of the police has stopped
- (10) *Durante la conservación del museo...
during the preservation of the museum
- (11) *La coordinación de los actores en curso...
the coordination of the actors in progress

The proposal: I argue that *conservación*-nominals are derived from a complex stative structure. This structure involves the two stative heads in Ramchand's (2008) system, *initP* and *resP*, which combined give rise to a stative causative predicate, i.e. two states that are causally related (García Pardo in press). The internal argument is the subject of *resP*, while the external argument is realized as an adjunct of a *PassP* projection that derives both verbal and nominal passives (Bruening 2013). The overt nominalizer *-ción* heads a nominalizing projection *nP* above *PassP*.

- (12) a. La conservación del medio ambiente por parte de la ciudadanía...
the preservation of the environment by part of the citizens

b. [DP La [_{nP} -ción [_{PassP} [por parte de la ciudadanía] [_{PassP} [*initP* <conserva-> [*resP* del medio ambiente [*res*' <conserva->]]]]]]]]]

Main contributions: For Romance linguistics, this talk fills a gap in the empirical inquiries in Spanish nominalizations and opens the door for exploring these types of nominals for other Romance languages. It also advances the study of the *conservar*-class of verbs, adding further support for their analysis as stative causative predicates. For the general linguistic theory, this talk presents further support for the claim that nominalizations inherit the aspect of the base verb (Grimshaw 1990) and both events and states may have argument structure in nominals (Borer 2003). More importantly, it also challenges previous assumptions that only eventive nominals may be passive (see Picallo 1999 for Spanish).

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