NOMINAL PARTICIPLES, A CASE OF CATEGORIAL ALTERNANCE: EVENTIVE NOMINALIZATIONS IN -DA*

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present a first approximation to the description of the formation and behavior of a type of deverbal noun in Spanish, formed as of the suffixation of a morpheme -da (feminine '-ed') to a verbal base, which is very productive in Spanish. As it will be shown, the suffixation of this morpheme gives rise to eventive and resultative nominalizations as well as object nouns. Here, I focus on the first case and I assume that this kind of nominalization is a subset of deverbal nouns in -DO ('-ED'), given that both types share morphological, semantic and syntactic properties.

1. Introduction

In the 80's, within the framework of Generative Grammar, it was argued that grammatical categories could be axiomatically defined by means of a restricted number of binary features N and V. This was the case, for instance, of nouns, which were defined as elements with the features [+N, –V], or verbs, whose features were [+N, –V]. In this sense, the participle, which was not one of the four basic grammatical notions (N, V, A and P), was the object of many studies aimed at understanding the nature of grammatical categories and their grammatical behaviour. Examples of these studies are, among others, the work of Jaeggli (1986), where he argued the existence of a passive morpheme with the feature [+N], which absorbed the thematic role to be assigned to the external argument of the passive English sentence, and the work of Lefebvre and Muysken (1988), who, departing from the analyses of nominalizations in Quechua, assumed that participles could be defined in terms of features [+N, +V].

However, the past participle, generated from a verbal base to which a suffix is added, namely *-do* ('-ed') or its allomorphs *-to*, -so and *-cho*, and the corresponding feminine and plural forms (-DO) ('-ED'), may appear in several syntactic contexts and presents, in Spanish, different forms and different associated properties. Among these contexts we find the following in 1:

(1) (i)   *haber* (aux. 'to have') + past participle
           a. El partido de fútbol ha *causado* alboroto en la ciudad
               'The football match has caused disturbance in the city'
     (ii)   *ser* (aux. 'to be')+ past participle
           b. Los jinetes fueron *vencidos* por los toros salvajes
               'The riders were beaten by the wild bulls'
     (iii) *estar* (aux. 'to be') + past participle
           c. El agua está *contaminada*
               'The water is polluted'
     (iv)   Verbal participle in absolute clauses
           d. *Escritas* las declaraciones, partió al aeropuerto
               'Having written the statements, he left for the airport'
     (v)   Verbal participle in agreed clauses
           e. *Asustados* como estaban, se rindieron de inmediato
               'Frightened as they were, they surrendered immediately'
     (vi)   Adjective participle[1]
           f. Ese hombre es muy *decidido*
               'That man is very resolute'
     (vii) Nouns
           g. El *revelado* cuesta 10 euros
               'Developing costs 10 euros'

The purpose of this paper is to present a first approximation to the description of the formation and behavior of a type of deverbal noun in Spanish formed as of the suffixation of a morpheme *-da* (feminine '-ed') to a verbal base,[2] which is very

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[1] Varela (2001) and (2002) establishes a difference between verbal and adjectival participles departing from a dual aspectual projection of the *-do* suffix (a progressive and a stative one) and states that genuine *-do* adjectives are active and related to non-agentive verbs.

[2] For this paper, I will assume that deverbal nouns in *-da* (and also in -DO) derive from verbs. I believe that, for this especific case, the discussion about the base of the derivation of these nouns does not lead to a solution that takes into account how the past participle, that can appear in any of the constructions mentioned above in 1, can exhibit the different properties it shows in each case. For example, for the case of nouns in -DO (*-da* included), it could be possible to assume that this morpheme suffixes to a past participle, as has been sustained by Beniers (1977) and Bordelois (1993), for instance, to a kind of root, or to a verb (as I assume). If it is assumed that the past participle that constitutes a noun is the base of the derivation, then it would be necessary to suffix (some way) some kind of element that makes possible that this past participle, in a given case, behaves like a noun. If it is assumed that the base of the noun is a root, the suffix *-da* (or, in the general paradigm, the suffix -DO) should be, to some extent, responsible for the nominal behavior of the elements we study, that is, nouns in *-da* (and -DO), or any other particle that produces this effect. And if we assume that the verb is the base of these constructions, we also have to explain why, in

productive in Spanish. As it will be shown, the suffixation of this morpheme gives rise to eventive and resultative nominalizations as well as object nouns. Here, I will focus on the first case and I will assume that this kind of nominalization is a subset of deverbal nouns in -DO (1g), given that both types share morphological, semantic and syntactic properties.[3] The following examples seem to be ascribable to the general paradigm of deverbal nouns in -DO: Nouns referring to persons:

(2) a. El *herido* muestra señales de hipotensión
     'The [V 'wound' -*do*] (wounded) shows signs of hypo-tension'
   b. Tuvimos que acercarnos a ver a la *muertita*
     'We had to approach to see the [V 'die' -*t*- (dim. suf.) -*a*] (little dead woman)'
   c. Llegaron unos *abogados* trayendo la demanda contra la compañía
     'Some [V 'advocate' -*do* -pl] (lawyers) arrived, with the demand against the company'

Object nouns:

(3) a. A mí no me gusta el *cocido*
     'I don't like [V 'stew' -*do*] (stew)'
   b. El niño dejó toda la *comida*
     'The child left the whole [V 'eat' -*da*] (meal)'
   c. A todos engaña el *parecido* de Carlos con su hermano
     'Carlos' [V 'resemble' -*do*] (resemblance) to his father misleads everybody'
   d. Luis me regaló unas *entradas* para el cine
     'Luis gave me some [V 'enter' -*da* -pl] (tickets) for the cinema'
   e. Subraye el *predicado* de la oración
     'Underline the sentence's [V 'predicate' -*do*] (predicate)'
   f. Yo preparo la *picada* y vos hacés la ensalada
     'l prepare the [V 'niddle' -*da*] (snacks) and you make the salad'

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this case, the case of nouns in -DO, the suffix or some other element allow these formations to act like nouns.

[...	]	...]	-DO / -da]	?]
Root	V		p.p.	N

But any of these possibilities in itself allows us to explain how a formal past participle can act like a noun here (1g). Moreover, how (1a) it can al so act like a compound verb, or with an auxiliary *ser* ('to be'), that is, in a passive sentence (1b), with an auxiliary *estar* ('to be') (1c), in absolute or agreed clauses (1d, e), or like an adjective (1f). In other words, it seems always necessary to consider the presence of an extra element to describe the different structures where the past participle participates or, else, another process that can explain this multiple behavior of this element.

[3] Although the cases of deverbal nouns in -DO have got the form of past participles, I assume them to be nouns because of its syntactic and semantic behavior. I will leave aside the semantic arguments that lead me to consider them nouns, but from the syntactic point of view, these elements present the typical features of the nominal flexion (gender and number), appear inside DPs (specified by determinants and agreeing with them in gender and number also), and admit relative clauses. Furthermore, they distribute in the sentence along with the phrase they project in three typically syntactic argument position: the specifier of a VP (VP subject), the complement of a verb, and/or the complement of a preposition.

Resultative action nouns:

(4) a. El *lavado* del coche dura cuando no llueve
'The [V 'wash' -*do*] (washing) of the car lasts as long as it doesn't rain'
b. La reciente directora no podía hacerse cargo de todas las *llamadas*
'The new director couldn't look after all the calls [V 'call' -*da* -pl] (calls)'
c. La *llegada* del vuelo está anunciada para medianoche
'The [V 'arrive' -*da*] (arrival) of the flight is announced by midnight'
d. A esa hora, los *silbidos*[4] de la calle despiertan a los vecinos
'At that time, [V 'whistle' -*do* -pl] (whistles) on the street awake the neighbors'

Eventive action nouns in -DO:

(5) a. Ana está a cargo del *cuidado* de los niños durante las mañanas
'Ana is in charge of [V 'take care' -*do*] (caring for) the children during the mornings'
b. La *corrida* del domingo se prolongó hasta las nueve
'The [V 'run' -*da*] (bullfight) on Sunday lasted till nine'
c. Los cultivos se perdieron con la *crecida* del río
'Crops were lost due to the river's [V 'grow' -*da*] (flood)'
d. En su *venida* de setiembre, el Papa santificó a San Clemente
'In his [V 'come' -*da*] (visit) in September, the Pope sanctified St. Clement'

Eventive action nouns in -*da*:

(6) a. La *leída* del Quijote de Juana fue emocionante
'Juana's [V 'read' -*da*] (reading) of Don Quixote was moving'
b. Julia le dio una *calada* al cigarrillo
'Julia had a [V 'pull' -*da*] (pull) at the cigarette'
c. La *desaparecida* de Juan nos preocupó a todos al final
'Juan's [V 'disappear' -*da*] (disappearance) got all of us worried in the end'
d. Ayer me metí una *perdida* tal que casi no llego
'Yesterday I had such a [V 'loose' -*da*], I hardly managed to arrive'
e. La *nadada* lo ha dejado cansado
'The [V 'swim' -*da*] (swimming session) has left him worn out'
f. El rector se pegó una *bostezada* en medio de su propio discurso
'The rector had a [V 'yawn' -*da*] (yawn) in the middle of his own speech'

Sentences presented from (2) to (6) are intended to be examples of the complexity of the set of nouns in -DO. On the one hand, according to the nature of the referent they denote, we find nouns referring to people, nouns referring to objects and nouns referring to actions. More so, within this last group, and depending on the

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[4] *silbido* 'whistling', from *silbar* 'to whistle', as well as *chillido* 'screem', from *chillar* 'to screem', among others, seem to belong to a homogeneous semantic group that denotes noises and that change the thematic vowel -*a*- (from the first verbal conjugation in -*ar* in Spanish) to vowel -*i*- when there is a verbal base. Inside this group, we could also find the noun *alarido* 'outcry'.

type of predicate they constitute, we may distinguish between resultative nouns and eventive ones. On the other hand, focusing on the lexical and syntactic properties of the verbal base from which these nouns derive, it is remarkable that they come from either accusative or unaccusative verbs as well as from unergative ones, as figure (A) below shows:

REFERENT →	Ns referring to people	Ns referring to objects	ACTION NOUNS		
BASE VERB ↓			Resultative	Eventive -DO	Eventive -da
ACCUSATIVE	el/la herido, -da 'the wounded'	el *cocido* 'the stew'	el *lavado* 'the washing'	el *cuidado* (de los niños) 'the care' (of the children)	la *leída* 'the reading'
		una *comida* 'a meal'	una *llamada* 'a call'	una *corrida* (de toros) 'a bullfight'	una *calada* 'a pull' (at the cigarette)
UNACCUSATIVE	El/la *muerto*, -ta 'the dead'	el *parecido* (de Carlos con su padre) (Carlos') 'resemblance' (to his father)	la *llegada* 'the arrival'	la *crecida* (del río) (the river's) 'flood'	la desaparecida (de Juan) the 'disappea-rance'
	?	una *entrada* (billete) 'a tic-ket'	?	Una *venida* (del Papa) 'a visit (of the Pope)'	una *perdida* (mía) '(my getting) lost'
UNERGATIVE	el/la *abogado*, -da 'the lawyer'	el *predicado* (el elemento que precida) 'the predicate (the element that predica-tes)'	el *silbido* 'the whistle'	?	la *nadada* 'the swimming session'
		una *picada* (Arg. 'tapa') 'a snack'		?	una *bostezada* 'a yawn'

FIGURE (A)

2. Eventive nouns in *-da*

The extreme right column of figure A shows the cases of eventive action nouns in *-da* (feminine '-ed'), which I consider to be a subset of deverbal nouns in -DO ('-ED'). Nouns in *-da* differentiates from eventive nominalizations in -DO in that the first group can appear in constructions with light verbs and also has a more eventive reading, as we will see further on. This is the case of *leída* in sentences like (6a, c, and e) rewritten below:

(6) a. La *leída* del Quijote de Juana fue emocionante
         'Juana's [V 'read' -*da*] (reading) of Don Quixote was moving'
     c. La *desaparecida* de Juan nos preocupó a todos al final
         'Juan's [V disappear' -*da*] (disappearance) got all of us worried in the end'
     e. La *nadada* lo ha dejado cansado
         'The [V 'swim' -*da*] (swimming session) has left him worn out'

These nominalizations are very frequent in Spanish and, even though they are not socially marked, they are frequently found in informal speeches. However, in Peninsular Spanish, occurrences of these participles are less frequent than in the dialects of Latin America Spanish, and, though we find forms such as *lavada* 'washing', *colada* 'washing', or *pasada* 'the act of passing the iron, a rub, etc.' —sometimes frequently co occurring with the diminutive suffix -*it*- (as in *lavadita, pasadita*) also is present in Latin American Spanish—, most of these occurrences are apparently registered in the borders of the lexicon, in nouns such as *una chupada* (from accusative *chupar* 'to suck') or *una corrida* (from unaccusative 'to cum', 'to have an orgasm'), etc.

Nevertheless, morphology in these eventive nouns is regular, i.e. they always have resort to the suffix -*da*, as in *imprimida* 'printed', *limpiada* 'cleaned', or *vendida* 'sold', even when the system presents the irregular, the truncated or the Latin form (*impresa, limpio,* or *venta* correspondingly) for the rest of uses in the examples in (1) and presents the feminine morpheme -*a*.[5]

Furthermore, these nominalizations are derived from both accusative and unaccusative verbs in all the dialects of Spanish. Nonetheless, in the varieties of Latin American Spanish, these nouns may also be derived from unergative verbs,[6] i.e. they may be found in the whole set of verbs,[7] as it is shown below:

(6) a. La *leída* del Quijote de Juana fue emocionante
         'Juana's [V 'read' -*da*] (reading) of Don Quixote was moving'
         (accusative verbal base)

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[5] Even though, for the case of *venta*, it must be considered that the Latin feminine past participle was not transferred to Spanish as such.

[6] For example, in Argentina: *la corrida*, from unergative *correr* 'to run'; in Chile, *una dormida*, from *dormir* 'to sleep'; in Peru: *una nadada*, from *nadar* 'to swim', etc. The fact that this phenomenon is so frequent in Latin American Spanish and almost non existing in the peninsular dialect, requires an explanation that goes beyond the limits of this paper. However, a parallel solution could arise from the analysis of another phenomenon also absent in Peninsular Spanish exposed by Bartra y Suñer (1997). In cases like *El avión voló alto* 'The plain flew high', the authors proposed that verbs like *volar* 'fly', which seem to be unergative in the S-Structure, present a direct object in the D-Structure, meaning they are ergative verbs. Thus, what has been considered a truncated adverb that modifies the verb would actually be an adjective.

In this sense, one could think that a similar situation could be occurring with unergative eventive nouns in -*da*: the apparent unergative verbs that constitute these nouns in -*da* could be transitive or, at least, ergative ones, that is, with an internal argument or a quantifier. In this way, these would be bounded and, so, we would not be dealing with unergative verbal bases, but with ergative ones.

[7] It will remain unexplored here why these nominalizations are not possible with other type of verbs, such as causative verbs like *hacer* 'to do', or *causar* 'to cause', etc.

    c. La *desaparecida* de Juan nos preocupó a todos al final
      'Juan's [V disappear" -*da*] (disappearance) got all of us worried in the end'
      (unaccusative verbal base)
    e. La *nadada* lo ha dejado cansado
      'The [V 'swim' -*da*] (swimming session) has left him worn out'
      (unergative verbal base)

2. Syntactic formation of nouns in -*da*

Forms in -*da* share an important syntactic feature allowing their being grouped together under a well-defined type: syntactic contexts where they regularly occur, both in every Latin American and Peninsular dialects, are periphrasis with a light verb of the type of dar, *meter, echar, pegar, hacer* (English 'to give', 'to have', 'to put', 'to make'), and the corresponding forms with -*se* (3p pronoun). In fact, the possibility they have to appear in these contexts differentiates them from the set of eventive nouns in -DO. These are the cases in (6b, d, and f):

(6) b. Julia le dio una *calada* al cigarrillo[8]
      'Julia had a [V 'pull' -*da*] (pull) at the cigarette'
    d. Ayer me metí una *perdida* tal que casi no llego
      'Yesterday I had such a [V 'loose' -*da*], I hardly managed to arrive'
    f. El rector se pegó una *bostezada* en medio de su propio discurso
      'The rector had a [V 'yawn' -*da*] (yawn) in the middle of his own speech'

which can be paraphrased as:

(6) b'. Julia fumó del cigarrillo (una vez)
      'Julia smoked the cigarette (once)'
    d'. Ayer me perdí de tal manera que casi no llego
      'Yesterday I got so terribly lost, I hardly managed to arrive'
    f'. El rector bostezó en medio de su propio discurso
      'The rector yawned in the middle of his own speech'

These constructions may take the same arguments admitted by the verb from which the noun in -*da* is derived, since they are eventive nouns.[9] In other words, in (6f), where *bostezada* 'a yawn', derives from the unergative verbal root of bostezar, the derived noun can take the agent argument (*el rector* 'the rector'). And, in (6d) where *perdida* derives from *perderse* 'getting lost', the derived nominal will maintain the internal argument (pro, 1p, sg) and will also show a monadic argument structure.

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    [8] *dar una calada* 'to have a pull' seems to be so hardly lexicalized that it cannot be paraphrased as *Julia caló el cigarrillo* 'Julia pulled the cigarette'.
    [9] I assume, along with Grimshaw (1990), that eventive structures are the ones that can deploy an argument structure.
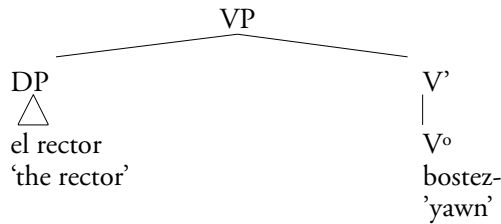
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                              VP
              _____
             |                                   |
            DP                                   V'
            △                                    |
        el rector                               V°
        'the rector'                          bostez-
                                              'yawn'
```

FIGURE 7

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                              VP
                               |
                              V'
                    _____
                   |                   |
                  V°                   pro
              perd- (se)              [1ps]
              'getting lost'
```
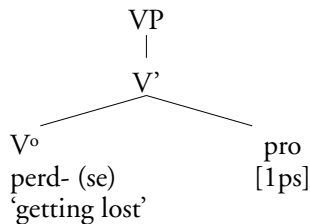
FIGURE 8

However, deverbal nouns in -*da* may also appear in syntactic contexts other than the one described above, i.e. without the presence of a light verb, in a nominal sentence which will take any of the argument positions of the syntactic derivation. This is the case, for instance, of (6a):

(6) a. La *leída* del Quijote de Juana fue emocionante
         'Juana's reading of Don Quixote was moving'

which may be paraphrased as 'by reading *D.Quixote,* Juana got the audience moved'. Unlike (7), as we may observe in this case, the nominalizations in deal, may also deploy a diadic argument structure, where, *Juana* has the agent role and *Don Quixote* has the theme role:[10]
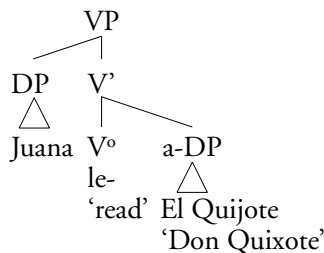
```
                      VP
               _____|
              |        |
             DP        V'
             △      _____
          Juana    V°        a-DP
                   le-        △
                  'read'  El Quijote
                          'Don Quixote'
```

FIGURE 9

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[10] In these respect, as it may be noticed in (6f), both theme and agent are introduced by the preposition *de* 'of', at least in the Spanish from Lima, Peru. However, it will be left for further research whether the preposition 'de' introduces the agent in every Latin American dialect or whether this is only characteristic of Andean Spanish, which reduces the possibilities of forming passive sentences and which, furthermore, does not admit the use of *por* 'by', for the case considered here.

Regarding the formation of nouns in *-da*, one possible explanation may arise from considering the possibility that these nouns are formed in the syntax from a verbal root (with an evident [eventive] feature) which, along the derivation, internally merges with the perfective suffix *-da* and check its eventive feature with a nominal category and, then, gives rise to partially deverbalized form with features [+N, +V] (*leída* 'the reading', *calada* 'pull', etc.). This form, at its turn, by merging with the functional features of the determiner (D), becomes determined and part of a DP in the derivation. The syntactic representation of this derivation could be the following:

```
                    DP
                     \
                      D'
                    /    \
                  Dº      NP
                  △        \
                 una        N'
                 'a'      /    \
                        Nº      PerfP
                        Cᵢ         \
                        [N]]        Perf'
                        [eventive]  /    \
                                 Perfº    VP
                                 {-(i)da}ᵢ  |
                                 [perfective] V'
                                 '-ed'       |
                                            Vº
                                            {le-} tᵢ
                                            [eventive]
                                            'read'
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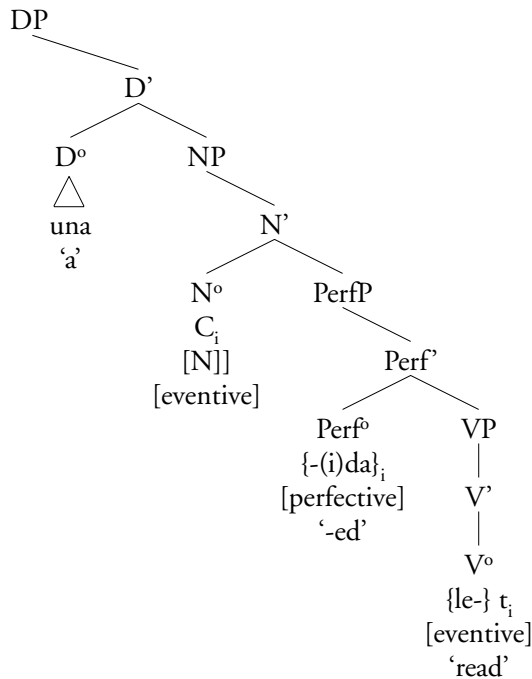
FIGURE 10

The double categorial nature I am assuming for this formation in *-da* may then constitute a sentence with a light verb, which will yield to the noun its functional and inflectional features allowing agreement with the subject, in case there is one. Moreover, it preserves the eventiveness in the meaning of the noun and makes the following construction possible:

(11) La *bostezada* del rector, en medio de su discurso, duró 10 segundos
     'The rector's yawn, in the middle of his speech, lasted 10 seconds'

According to these criteria, the following representation is a first approximation to the derivation of:

(12) Juan dio una *leída* al examen
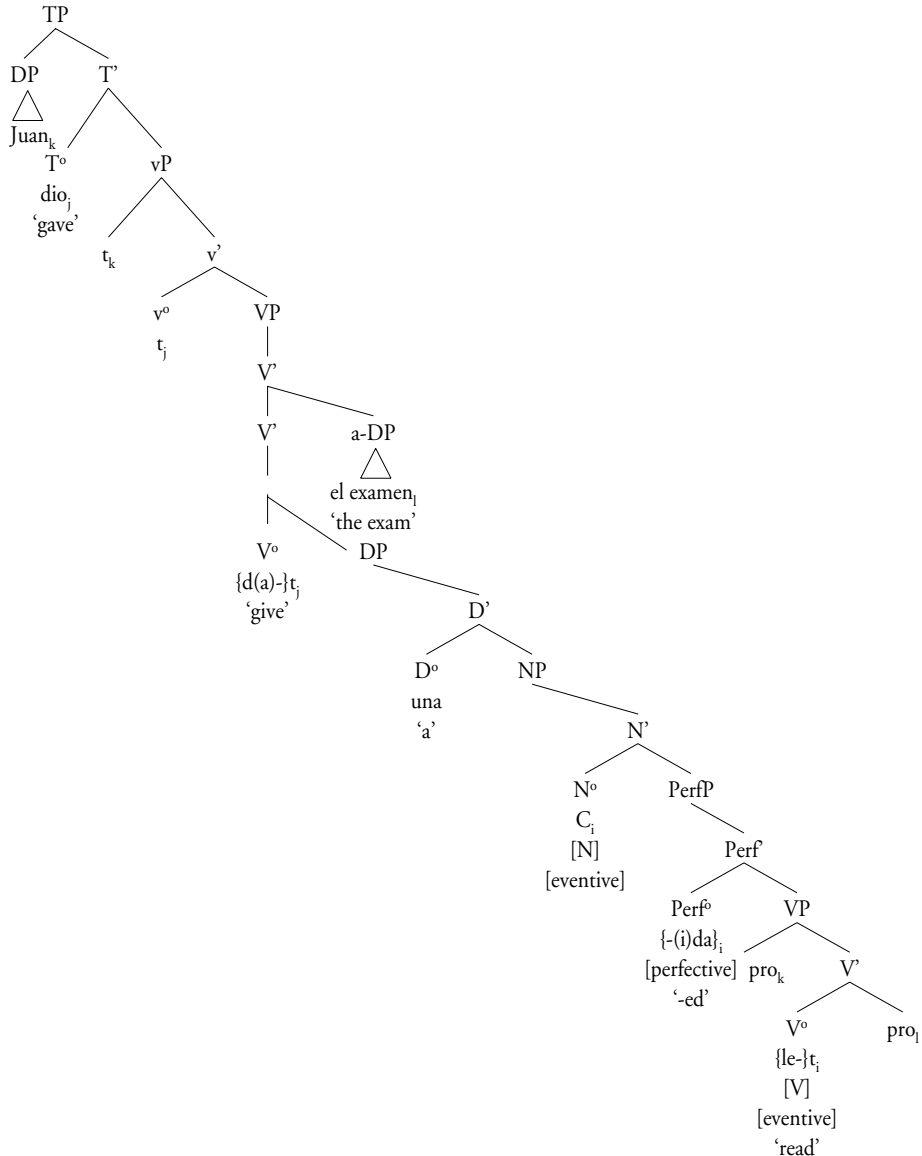'Juan had a reading at the exam'

FIGURE 13

In this derivation, the DP is inserted in a TP where *Juan* and *el examen* are generated as arguments of the light verb and are co indexed with two empty categories (pro), in the specifier and the complement of the last VP.

The assumption that nominalizations in -*da* are the result of a set of morphosyntactic operations rises from the belief that, in this way, it is possible to capture the fact that past participles can participate in any of the constructions shown in (1), on the one hand, and that speakers seem to be making use of a rather recursive and creative process to generate this type of nominalization, which is possible in many varieties and from almost any verbal base.

3. Semantics of nouns in -*da* and -DO

Finally I would like to make some reflections on the semantic relationship between the suffix -*da* and the rest of suffixes referred herein as -DO.

The contrast between the great number of eventive nouns in -*da* and the general paradigm of nominalizations in -DO, which exhibits a great amount of object nouns, give rise to a reflection on the existence of discrete limits between action nouns —both eventive and resultative—, object nouns, person nouns, etc. In other words, the difficulty in classifying these nouns within the borders of this semantic framework, on the one hand, and the different judgments on whether a noun in -DO is an eventive action noun, a resultative or even an object one,[11] on the other hand, are both factors which once again call for an argument about the real existence of such limits. Therefore, in my opinion, we should rather approach the classification of these nouns in terms of a semantic *continuum*.

In this sense, it is possible to observe that the boundaries fade in the case of some verbs which, by the suffixation of -*da*, results into eventive action nouns, which, at their turn, may be considered resultative nouns, or even object nouns. Here it turns out to be difficult to find a well-defined semantic parameter allowing the differentiation of one type of noun from the others. This is the case, for example, of:

(14) *llegada*
     V 'arrive' -*da*
     'arrival'

This noun may refer to:

(15) (i)   an event, as in:
         a. La *llegada* del nuevo profesor (ayer) se produjo de forma inesperada
            'The new professor's arrival (yesterday) was unexpected'
    (ii) a result, as in
         b. La *llegada* del nuevo profesor de ayer fue sorprendente
            'The arrival of the new professor yesterday was surprising'

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[11] For instance, speakers of Peninsular Spanish of Madrid, classified *lavado* 'washing', as an eventive noun, whilst speakers of American Spanish in Lima, Perú, considered the same noun to be a resultative one. Judgments were provided by speakers trained in metalinguistic thinking, and their remarks also varied depending on the dialect they spoke.

but it can also refer to:

> (iii) an object, or rather, a place, such as the finish line in a course, for instance.
> c. Todos sus amigos esperaron a Juan en la *llegada*
> 'All his friends waited for Juan at the *arrival* spot'

Therefore, although nouns like *llegada* may have an ambiguous behavior, the set of nouns in -da that we have been looking at do not seem to have the same possibilities.[12] That is, nouns like *leída*, *chupada*, *desaparecida*, *perdida*, *nadada* or *bostezada* cannot be used referring to object or results. Within a continuum of eventiveness to resultativeness of nouns in -DO, these seem extremely eventive.

The remarks above may also apply to the general paradigm of nominalizations in -DO. That is the case, for instance, of:

(16) *el encendido*
     [V 'ignite' -do]
     the ignition'

In a sentence like:

(17) El *encendido* falla todas las mañanas
     'The ignition fails every morning'

all the following interpretations are possible:

> (i)   Every morning, the process of switching on the car fails.
>   (eventive noun)
> (ii)   Every morning, the result of switching on the car fails (i.e. the car does not start on).
>   (resultative noun)
> (iii) Every morning, the set of items which make possible the ignition of the car (sparking plugs, battery, carburattor, fuel pump —which are known as a whole as 'the ignition') fails.
>   (object noun)

However, if we observe the data introduced in figure A for nouns in -DO, it does not seem possible to attribute the categorial properties of nouns in -*da* (i.e. [+N, +V]) also to object and person nouns in -DO. Clearly, the set of person and object nouns in -DO, and maybe also the set of resultative nouns, which exhibit a more lexicalized meaning, show nominal properties and excludes verbal ones.

In this way, it seems plausible to assume that the first step in the lexicalization of an eventive noun would be turning it into a resultative one. From this point of view, an eventive noun would stop having features [+N, +V] to have features [+N, –V], becoming then a resultative noun.

Finally, the contrast between the limited set of deverbal eventive nouns in -*da* in Peninsular Spanish and the great amount of such a formation in Latin American

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[12] In the same way, eventive nouns from the contiguous column (where *llegada* is included) cannot occur in the syntactic context previously mentioned.

Spanish leads to consider that, within a linguistic typology regarding these nominalizations, American dialects could be somewhere half the way between a language with [+nominal] nouns (with quite lexicalized meanings and abundance of object, person or resultative nouns) such as Peninsular Spanish,[13] and a language with abundance of [+verbal] nouns, i.e. a language with abundance of nominalizations, as is the case of Quechua, for instance.[14]

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[13] For example, *corrida de toros* 'bullfight', *calada/chupada al cigarro* 'pull at the cigarette', *pedida de mano* 'engagement', *calada*, in the sense of getting wet when it rains, etc.

[14] According to Lefevre and Muysken (1988), nominalized verbs in Quechua can be the head of a noun phrase or a clause and have obligatory subject. See also Sánchez (1999) for an analysis of [+verbal] Ns in Quechua.

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