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NEGATION, NOMINALIZATIONS AND STATES

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Abstract

The main goal pursued in this article consists in analysing the interaction of the negative particle *no* with those Spanish nouns that denote a state. Firstly, those nominals which possess a nominalizer are addressed. We show that they accept being preceded by *no* and we describe the interpretation that arises with them in this case. Then, whether negation modifies the aspectual properties of this class of nominals is studied. Next, we provide an explanation for the behaviour of these nominalizations which is based on the interaction of negation with their structural configuration. Secondly, those nouns that lack a nominalizer are scrutinised. It is concluded that they reject co-occurring with *no*, and that, depending on their syntactic structure, this incompatibility can arise from the interruption of the constituent by negation or from their non-possession of verbal nodes.

Keywords: negation; deverbal nominalizations; lexical aspect; states

NEGACIÓN, NOMINALIZACIONES Y ESTADOS

Resumen

El objetivo principal de este artículo consiste en analizar la interacción de la partícula negativa *no* con aquellos nombres en español que denotan un estado. En primer lugar, se abordan los sustantivos que poseen un nominalizador. Se muestra que estos aceptan ser precedidos por *no* y se describe qué interpretación emerge en este caso. Tras ello, se estudia si la negación modifica sus propiedades aspectuales. Finalmente, se proporciona una explicación basada en la interacción de la negación con la configuración estructural de este tipo de nombres que permite dar cuenta de su comportamiento. En segundo lugar, se examinan aquellos sustantivos que carecen de un afijo nominalizador. Se concluye que estos rechazan concurrir con *no* y que, en función de su estructura sintáctica, esta incompatibilidad puede obedecer a la ruptura del constituyente por parte de la negación o a la no posesión de núcleos verbales.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many authors have paid attention to the interpretation and properties of verbal predicates when they are preceded by the negative particle *no* (1) (Stockwell *et al.*, 1973; Higginbotham, 1983, 2000; Horn, 1989; Asher, 1993; de Swart, 1996; Cooper, 1998; de Swart & Molendijk, 1999; Przepiórkowski, 1999; Fábregas & González Rodríguez, 2020; Bernard & Champollion, 2023, a. o.). When it comes to the interaction of *no* with other categories, such as nouns, it has been attested that this negative particle can also co-occur with them. Among the linguists who have pointed out this fact for Spanish, the language under scope in this paper, we find Seco (1964, s. v. *no*), Lang (1990, p. 227), Sánchez López (1999, pp. 2566-2567), González Rodríguez (2009, §2.2.3) or RAE-ASALE (2009, §48). In parallel fashion to <*no* + VP> (1), the sequences in (2) present examples where negation is placed before different deverbal nominalizations. In (2a), an eventive deverbal nominalization is provided, whereas (2b) shows a case of stative deverbal nominalization.

(1)   a. El   ministro   no   destruyó   los   documentos.
          the   minister NEG destroyed the   documents
          'The minister did not destroy the documents.'

      b. Los   alumnos   no   conocen   las   normas.
          the   students   NEG know   the   rules
          'The students do not know the rules.'

(2)   a. La   no   destrucción   de los documentos por parte del   ministro.
          the NEG destruction of the documents   by   part of.the minister
          'The non-destruction of the documents by the minister.'

      b. El no   conocimiento de las normas por parte de los   alumnos.
          the NEG knowledge   of   the rules   by part of the students
          'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'

Recently, authors such as Ros García (2023, 2024) have studied in depth those cases in which negation interacts with event-denoting deverbal nominalizations in Spanish (2a), but we still lack a detailed description and analysis regarding the behaviour of stative nominals. This paper is precisely devoted to this issue. Following the classification of stative predicates according to their degree of stativity (Maienborn, 2003,

2005, 2007; Jaque, 2014), we will focus on one type of noun: those which denote a *pure* or *Kimian state*. To simplify the terminology used, we will refer to them as *stative nominals*. Examples of this kind of nouns are provided in (3).

(3)   a. El   conocimiento de las   normas por parte de los alumnos.
       the knowledge   of the rules   by   part   of the students
       'The knowledge of the rules by the students.'
      b. El amor de Luis hacia   la   ópera.
        the love of Luis towards the opera
       'Luis' love for opera.'

Thus, we will leave aside those nominals linked to predicates that denote a *Davidsonian state* (*brillar* '(to) shine', *esperar* '(to) wait', *resplandecer* '(to) gleam'…), which, as Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) has shown, possess several properties that bring them closer to events —although they do not properly refer to a dynamic eventuality[2], since they do not introduce any change[3]—. We will not study those nominalizations whose verbal bases have been associated to states, but which still lack a unified account regarding their aspectual properties and their structural configuration. On the one hand, this is the case of nominals such as *cubrimiento* 'covering' or *obstrucción* 'obstruction'. Their verbal bases have been treated by authors like Jaque (2014) as Davidsonian states, whereas others such as García-Pardo (2020) have proposed that they possess a stative meaning together with a locative component. On the other hand, there are also nominals such as *presidencia* 'presidency' or *vigilancia* 'surveillance', which have been analysed as Davidsonian states (Fábregas & Marín, 2012a), but also as causative states (García-Pardo, 2020). Finally, nominalizations like *aburrimiento* 'boredom' or *preocupación* 'concern' have been linked to the so-called *object-experiencer psychological verbs*. Similarly to what happens with the previous cases, there is no agreement regarding the aspectual nature and the configuration of this type of predicates either (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; van Voorst, 1992; Arad, 1999; Pylkkänen, 2000; Meinschäfer, 2003; Marín, 2011; Marín & McNally, 2011; Jaque, 2014; Fábregas & Marín, 2015; García-Pardo, 2020, a. o.).

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2.   The term *eventuality* is used in this paper in the sense of Bach (1986): it encompasses both dynamic and non-dynamic predicates. To specifically allude to dynamic predicates, the term *event* is employed, whereas to refer to non-dynamic predicates the term *state* is applied.

3.   See Pylkkännen (2000), Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007), Rothmayr (2009), Fábregas & Marín (2012a, 2015), Jaque (2014) or García-Pardo (2020), among many others, for different proposals regarding the lexical properties and the syntactic configuration of this type of predicates.

Therefore, in this article we will solely focus on those stative nominals for which the literature agrees on their aspectual and structural properties. Examples of them preceded by *no* are provided in (4). Observe that the results obtained are not uniform: whereas some of these nouns accept the presence of negation (4a), others reject it (4b).

(4) a. El   no   conocimiento de   las   normas   por   parte de los alumnos.
        the NEG knowledge   of   the   rules   by   part of the students
        'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'
     b. *El   no   amor   de   Luis hacia   la   ópera.
         the NEG love   of   Luis towards the opera
         'Luis' non-love for opera.'

This paper is organised as follows. In section 2 it is shown how a morphological criterion can account for the (in)compatibility of these nominals with negation. Then, in section 3 stative deverbal nominals with derivative suffix are addressed. We describe which readings arise with them in presence of *no* and whether negation modifies their lexical aspect. Then, a proposal of neoconstructionist analysis which can account for the data described is presented. In section 4 those nominals which express a state, but that lack a nominalizer affix are studied. We conclude that they reject co-occurring with *no*, and that this obeys to structural reasons. Finally, section 5 is devoted to the final remarks.

2. THE (IN)COMPATIBILITY OF STATIVE NOUNS WITH NEGATION

Stative predicates denote a non-dynamic eventuality which lacks natural boundaries and matches the strict (sub)interval property (Dowty, 1979; Krifka, 1989; Maienborn, 2003, 2005, 2007; Rothmayr, 2009; Alexiadou, 2011; Fábregas & Marín, 2012b; Jaque, 2014; Fábregas, 2016). For Spanish, Jaque (2014, ch. 5) uses the following lexical-conceptual classification of stative nominalizations as the empirical basis for his study[4]. Those nominals that denote a state can fall into the groups presented in (5), according to the different notions expressed by their verbal bases.

(5) a. Possession nominals: *tenencia* 'possession', *posesión* 'possession'…
     b. Measure nominals: *coste* 'cost', *peso* 'weight', *valor* 'value'…
     c. Existence nominals: *existencia* 'existence', *falta* 'lack', *permanencia* 'term'…

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4. This classification is similar to the one Alexiadou (2011) also takes as a point of departure for her analysis of stative nominals in Greek.

d. Subject-experiencer psychological nominals[5] (SEP nominals): *amor* 'love',
conocimiento 'knowledge', *creencia* 'belief', *temor* 'fear'…

We now examine if the conceptual classes in (5) shed light on the (in)compatibility of stative nominals with the negative particle *no*.

(6)   a. La   no   tenencia   de   armas   [*Possession nominals*]
          the   NEG   possession of   weapons
          por   parte   de   los   civiles.
          by   part   of   the   civilians
          'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians.'
       b. La   no   posesión   de   droga   por   parte de este delincuente.
          the   NEG   possession of   drugs   by   part   of   this criminal
          'The non-possession of drugs by this criminal.'

(7)   a. *El   elevado   no   coste   de   las   acciones. [*Measure nominals*]
          the   high   NEG   cost   of   the   shares
          'The high non-cost of shares.'
       b. *El   no   peso   de   los   libros.
          the   NEG   weight   of   the   books
          'The non-weight of the books.'

(8)   a. La   no   existencia   de   una   vacuna. [*Existence nominals*]
          the   NEG   existence   of   a   vaccine
          'The non-existence of a vaccine.'
       b. *La   no   falta   de   recursos.
          the   NEG   lack   of   resources
          'The non-lack of resources.'

(9)   a. El   no   conocimiento de   las   normas. [*SEP nominals*]
          the   NEG   knowledge   of   the   rules
          'The non-knowledge of the rules.'
       b. *El   no   amor   de Luis hacia   la   ópera.
          the   NEG   love   of Luis towards   the opera
          'Luis' non-love for opera.'

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5. Unlike what happens with object-experiencer psychological predicates (e.g. *fascinar* '(to) fascinate' > *fascinación* 'fascination', *indignar* '(to) outrage' > *indignación* 'outrage'), the literature agrees on the fact that subject-experiencer psychological predicates denote a state (Grimshaw, 1990; Meinschäfer, 2003; Fábregas & Marín, 2015, a. o.).

The data presented show that in principle possession (6) and measure nominals (7) display a homogeneous behaviour when it comes to their (in)compatibility with *no*: the former accept it whereas the latter do not. Nevertheless, from the sequences in (8) and (9) it follows that the same thing does not hold for existence (8) and subject-experiencer psychological nominals (9). Within the same class, some nominals allow the presence of *no*, whereas others reject it. Thus, it is not possible to conclude that a conceptual criterion can unravel the behaviour of stative nominals in presence of negation.

There is another criterion, of strict grammatical nature, which can straightly explain this matter. Note that these nominals can also be arranged in two groups on the base of their morphological nature, according to the presence or absence of (i) a nominalizer affix and (ii) a thematic vowel (10).

(10)   a. Group A: *conocimiento* 'knowledge', *creencia* 'belief', *existencia* 'existence', *tenencia* 'possession'...
   b. Group B: *amor* 'love', *coste* 'cost', *falta* 'lack', *odio* 'hate', *valor* 'value'...

We will refer to nominals that belong to group A as proper *stative deverbal nominalizations*, since it is possible to track a nominalizer affix, such as *-ción*, *-ncia* or *-miento*, as well as a thematic vowel within them (11).

(11)   pos-e$_{TV}$-sión$_{NMZ}$ (< pose-e$_{TV}$-r)
   b. exist-e$_{TV}$-ncia$_{NMZ}$ (< exist-i$_{TV}$-r)
   c. conoc-i$_{TV}$-miento$_{NMZ}$ (< conoc-e$_{TV}$-r)

On the opposite side, nominals from group B lack a derivative suffix and a thematic vowel. Their ending vowel corresponds to what the literature has named as *noun mark*[6] (12) (Corbett, 1991; Harris, 1991; Oltra-Massuet, 1999). We will name them *zero stative nouns*[7].

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6.   As Fábregas (2014) explains, noun marks are not real lexical categorisers, i.e. elements able to modify the category of the base they attach to. These elements need to attach to a nominalizer, which is a real lexical categoriser. This explains why an example such as (ia) is not grammatical, whereas an example such as (ib) is. If *-a*, *-e* and *-o* were real categorisers, we would expect that they could be adjoined to a verbalizer like *-eC-* and change the category of the word (ia). Nevertheless, since they are not lexical categorisers but noun marks, they are added once the lexical item has received the category of noun by means of adjunction of a real nominalizer affix like *-mient-* (ib).

(i)   a. *flor-eC$_{VBZ}$-{-a/-e/-o}$_{NM}$
      b. flor-eC$_{VBZ}$-i$_{TV}$-mient$_{NMZ}$-o$_{NM}$ ('blooming')

7.   The term *zero* adopted for these cases has already been used for those nominalizations of deverbal nature which denote an event but lack a nominalizer affix (e.g. *ataque* 'attack', *uso* 'use'...) (Alexiadou & Grimshaw, 2008; Fábregas, 2014, 2016; Iordăchioaia, 2020, a. o.).

(12) falt-a$_{NM}$ (~ falt-a$_{TV}$-r)
     b. cost-e$_{NM}$ (~ cost-a$_{TV}$-r)
     b. odi-o$_{NM}$ (~ odi-a$_{TV}$-r)

We now observe the behaviour these two classes of nouns display when they co-occur with the negative particle *no*. In this regard, sequences in (13) and (14) show a contrast of grammaticality: whereas stative deverbal nominalizations accept being preceded by *no* (13), zero stative nouns do not (14). Therefore, the morphological criterion sheds light on this issue and leads to the following generalization: only those nominals from group A, i.e. stative deverbal nominalizations, are compatible with *no*.

(13) a. La no   posesión   de   armas   por parte de los civiles.
        the NEG possession of   weapons   by   part of the civilians
        'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians.'
     b. La no   existencia de una vacuna.
        the NEG existence   of a   vaccine
        'The non-existence of a vaccine.'
     c. El no   conocimiento de las normas por parte de los   alumnos.
        the NEG knowledge   of the rules   by part of the   students
        'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'

(14) a. *La no   falta de recursos en   Suiza.
        the NEG lack of resources in   Switzerland
        'The non-lack of resources in Switzerland.'
     b. *El no   coste de los alquileres.
        the NEG cost   of the rents
        'The non-cost of the rent.'
     c. *El no   amor de Luis hacia   la   ópera.
        the NEG love   of Luis towards the opera
        'Luis' non-love for opera.'

In the following sections we delve into the behaviour and properties of these two groups of nominals when they are modified by negation. Firstly, stative deverbal nominalizations are addressed. Then, we move on to exploring why zero stative nouns are incompatible with this negative particle.

3. THE NEGATION OF STATIVE DEVERBAL NOMINALIZATIONS WITH DERIVATIVE SUFFIX

This section is devoted to stative deverbal nominalizations that possess a derivative affix. In §3.1 we propose that <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> refers to an eventuality which consists in inhibiting a state, the one denoted by the nominal. In §3.2 it is shown that negation does not modify the lexical aspect of these nouns. In §3.3 a neoconstructionist analysis which accounts for the interaction of *no* with these nominals is proposed. Finally, in §3.4 we address how this analysis can explain the aspectual behaviour of <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization>.

3.1. *Readings that arise in presence of negation*

In this section we claim that, similarly to what has been proposed for eventive verbal predicates and their corresponding nominalizations, stative deverbal nominalizations give rise to the inhibited eventuality reading. Taking the work of Schachter *et al.* (1973, pp. 250-251) as a point of departure, linguists such as Higginbotham (1983, 2000), Cooper (1998), Przepiórkowski (1999) and, more recently, Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) or Bernard & Champollion (2023) have claimed that <*no* + VP> gives rise to two different interpretations: the *negated eventuality reading* and the *inhibited eventuality reading*[8]. The negated eventuality reading is the one obtained by default. In these cases, it is denied that the content described by a sentence matches what has happened in the extralinguistic world. Therefore, for an example such as (15), the proposition denoted by the sentence will be true if at the reference time no eventuality instantiating the eventuality description, i.e. the-scientist-VERIFY-the data, occurs, whereas it will be false if at the reference time an eventuality that instantiates the eventuality description occurs.

(15) El científico no   verificó los   datos.
      the scientist   NEG verified the   data
      'The scientist did not verify the data.'

In terms of eventualities, (15) is then paraphrased as 'The eventuality that consists of the scientist verifying the data did not happen'. Thus, this reading

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8.   The name *inhibited eventuality reading* is the one adopted by Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) and the one used in this paper as well. However, other authors have referred to this interpretation as *negative event reading* (Stockwell *et al.*, 1973; Higginbotham, 1993, 2000; Cooper, 1998) or *negative eventuality reading* (Przepiórkowski, 1999).

entails denying that an eventuality that instantiates the eventuality description has taken place.

However, there is also a second interpretation available with (15). Namely, one in which it is affirmed that an eventuality has happened. This reading corresponds to the inhibited eventuality reading. In these cases, the described eventuality consists in the refrainment of the entity denoted by the external argument from carrying out the eventuality described by the verbal predicate, which was expected to formerly occur. Thus, in (15), the inhibited eventuality reading arises when it is expected that the scientist will verify the data, but in the end, he refrains from doing so. In other words, an eventuality that instantiates the eventuality description, i.e. the scientist-REFRAIN-verifying-the data, occurs. The paraphrasis (15) then receives is 'The eventuality that consists in the refrainment of the scientist from verifying the data has occurred'.

Authors such as de Swart (1996, p. 230), Cooper (1998), de Swart & Molendijk (1999, p. 5), Higginbotham (2000), Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020, p. 730) or Bernard & Champollion (2023, p. 605) have pointed out the existence of pragmatic factors which restrict the availability of this interpretation. In short, they claim that for this reading to arise, a condition of prior expectation is required. Specifically, it should be presumed that the entity denoted by the external argument is going to carry out the corresponding affirmative eventuality. As Cooper (1998, p. 12) essentially claims, the reasons that lead to this prior expectation are beyond the limits of grammar. This information is not provided by the sentence itself, but by the particular situation that happens in the extralinguistic world. For instance, for a sentence such as *No paró en el semáforo* '{He/she} did not stop at the traffic light', the inhibited eventuality reading arises in those contexts in which it is expected that the subject will stop at the traffic light (but (s)he finally refrains from doing so). As Cooper (1998) points out, this inhibited interpretation sounds natural since it is usual to expect that someone will stop at the traffic light, given that this is the rule.

Authors have not delved into this pragmatic requisite but systematized the syntactic and semantic properties of the eventuality described by <*no* + VP> when the inhibited eventuality reading arises. They have presented a series of tests which show how this reading is grammatically available, irrespectively of these pragmatic factors. We now introduce those diagnoses that can also be applied to the nominal domain and then show that the stative deverbal nominalizations studied here also

pass them. From the results obtained, it will be concluded that these nominaliza-tions also give rise to the inhibited eventuality reading.

Among the tests which bring to light the availability of this interpretation we find the co-occurrence with temporal modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for'. These modifiers measure the duration of an eventuality (16) (Asher, 1993; Higgin-botham, 2000).

(16) a. María   habló   durante dos   horas.
          Mary   talked   for   two   hours
          'Mary talked for two hours.'
      b. María   no   habló   durante dos   horas.
          Mary   NEG talked   for   two   hours
          'Mary did not talk for two hours.'
             [Examples adapted from Przepiórkowski (1999, (26)), *apud* Asher (1993)]

From the grammaticality of a sentence like (16b) it follows that, when negation precedes a VP in this context, the inhibited eventuality reading is the only inter-pretation available[9]. This is so because the negated eventuality reading cannot arise in this case, since with this interpretation it is denied that an eventuality which instantiates the eventuality description occurs, this is to say, it is denied that an eventuality with temporal extension exists. Crucially, as Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020, p. 735) put it, «if the existence of an eventuality is denied, it is not possible to assert that the eventuality has a particular temporal extension». Thus, in (16b), the interpretation obtained is the inhibited eventuality one: it is described that Mary has carried out the eventuality of refraining from talking, and the duration of this eventuality is measured by the modifier *durante dos horas* 'for two hours'[10]. In other words, the eventuality of Mary talking was inhibited for two hours.

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9. For our purposes here, in (16b), the interpretation in which the modifier *durante dos horas* 'for two hours' is the focus of negation should be discarded.

10. As one anonymous reviewer points out, authors such as Mittwoch (1977) or de Swart & Molendijk (1999) have claimed that negation is an operator which stativises predicates, precisely due to their behaviour when they co-occur with durative modifiers. This can be illustrated with a verb such as *destruir* '(to) destroy'. As the contrast in (i) shows, since *destruir* '(to) destroy' denotes a telic and punctual eventuality, its affirmative version rejects co-occurring with this modifier. On the contrary, its negative version is compatible with it. These authors propose that this contrast is explained because the presence of negation gives rise to a state. Since states are defined as durative eventualities, the compatibility of *destruir* '(to) destroy' with *durante* 'for' when preceded by *no* would follow from the fact that <*no* + VP> denotes a state. However, recently, linguists such as Fábregas & González Rodríguez

We now move on to the nominal domain and check the behaviour of stative deverbal nominalizations when they are preceded by *no* and co-occur with this type of modifiers. In this regard, the well-formedness of examples in (17) and (18) shows that, in presence of negation, the compatibility of these nominals with modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for' is not altered. The grammaticality of (18) proves that the interpretation available in these cases is the inhibited eventuality reading.

(17) a. La posesión de armas   por parte de los civiles   durante dos meses.
     the possession of weapons by part of the civilians for   two months
     'The possession of weapons by the civilians for two months.'

   b. La creencia de que la   Tierra es plana por parte de un sector
     the belief   of that the Earth is flat   by part of a   sector
     de la población durante unos   meses.
     of the population for   a.few months
     'The belief that the Earth is flat by a sector of the population for a few months.'

(18) a. La no posesión de armas   por parte de los civiles   durante dos meses.
     the NEG possession of weapons by part of the civilians for   two months
     'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians for two months.'

   b. La no   creencia de que la Tierra es plana
     the NEG belief   of that the Earth is flat
     por parte de un sector de la población durante unos   meses.
     by   part of a sector of the population for   a.few months
     'The non-belief that the Earth is flat by a sector of the population for a few months.'

At this point, a clarification regarding the terminology used is required. From now on, we will refer to the inhibited eventuality reading that arises with these nominalizations more accurately as *inhibited state reading*, and to the eventuality denoted by this construction as *inhibited state*. In these cases, it is expected that the state described by the nominalization will be ascribed to the entity denoted by the external argument, which corresponds to the holder of the state (Kratzer,

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(2020) have shown that <*no* + VP> does not properly denote a state, since it possesses stative properties, but some eventive ones too.

   (i) a. *El ministro destruyó los documentos durante diez minutos.
        the minister destroyed the documents   for   ten minutes
        'The minister destroyed the documents for ten minutes.'

      b. El ministro no destruyó los documentos durante diez minutos.
        the minister NEG destroyed the documents   for   ten minutes
        'The minister did not destroy the documents for ten minutes.'

1996; Ramchand, 2008; Husband, 2010; Alexiadou, 2011), but this affirmative state is inhibited in the end. This inhibited state is then ascribed to the holder of the corresponding (expected) affirmative state[11].

Taking all of this into account, a sequence like (18a), *La no posesión de armas por parte de los civiles durante dos meses* 'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians for two months', describes an eventuality, and this eventuality is an inhibited state, i.e. it consists in the inhibition of the state defined by the nominalization: to possess weapons. This inhibited state, as well as it happens with states in their affirmative version, is ascribed to a holder, which is introduced by the phrase *los civiles* 'the civilians'. The modifier *durante dos meses* 'for two months' measures the extension of time during which this inhibited state is ascribed to the holder. In other words, the state of the civilians possessing weapons was inhibited for two months. Similarly, in (18b), *La no creencia de que la Tierra es plana por parte de un sector de la población durante dos meses* 'The non-belief that the Earth is flat by a sector of the population for two months', it is the inhibited state, which consists in the inhibition of believing that the Earth is flat, which is ascribed to the holder *un sector de la población* 'a sector of the population' for two months, according to the temporal modifier.

Thus, the data presented bring to light that <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> gives rise to the inhibited state reading. As it has been previously highlighted, for this interpretation to emerge, to expect that the corresponding affirmative state will be formerly ascribed to a holder is needed. Note that this is similar to the condition of prior expectation proposed by different authors for the inhibited eventuality reading to arise with eventive predicates, which was explained at the beginning of this section. As it was pointed out, this condition is not encoded in the grammar but related to pragmatic factors. On this point, observe (19).

(19) El   no   conocimiento de   las normas por   parte de
      the   NEG   knowledge   of   the rules   by   part   of
      los   estudiantes sorprendió al   profesor.
      the   students   surprised   DOM.the   teacher
      'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students surprised the teacher.'

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11. Additionally, as it will be demonstrated in §3.2, negation does not change the lexical aspect of these nouns: when *no* is present, the nominalization keeps denoting an eventuality with stative properties. Because of these reasons, the term *inhibited state* is more precise.

For (19) to sound natural, a context which meets the described condition of prior expectation needs to be built. This happens, for instance, if (19) is pronounced in a context in which the teacher expects for the students to know the rules, since these are a set of very specific instructions which they need to be familiar with in order to carry out an activity at the laboratory later. However, they have not had access to the document in which these rules are contained, which they should have received in advance. Therefore, the corresponding affirmative state, which was formerly expected to be ascribed to *los estudiantes* 'the students', is inhibited in the end.

Additionally, note that we have argued that <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> can receive the inhibited state reading, but it has not been tested yet if the negated eventuality reading is available with these nominalizations. The reason for it is the following. Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) have linked the availability of the negated and the inhibited eventuality readings to the presence/absence of an initiator in terms of Ramchand (2008, pp. 33-37). This author defines the initiator as the entity whose behaviour or properties are responsible for making an eventuality come into existence, regardless of whether it triggers this eventuality (un)consciously and/or (non-)volitionally[12]. Essentially, she establishes two groups of predicates: the one formed by those predicates which already possess an initiator, and the one made up by those which do not. Crucially, she proposes a grammatical test based on causativisation to check if a predicate contains an initiator or not. In this regard, a predicate has an initiator if it cannot be further causativised. This is illustrated with the examples in (20). The contrast of grammaticality between the sequences in (20) lays bare that, given that *nadar* '(to) swim' already has an

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12. This means that, according to Ramchand (2008), in examples such as the ones in (i), the DPs *María* (ia), *la corriente de aire* 'the air flow' (ib) and *esta llave* 'this key' (ic) are all initiators, regardless of whether they correspond to prototypically conscious and volitional agents (ia), causes (ib) or instruments (ic). Crucially, this information is provided by extralinguistic knowledge, but it is not relevant for the grammar.

   (i)   a. María   cerró   la   puerta
               María   closed   the   door
               'María closed the door.'
         b. La   corriente   de   aire   cerró la   puerta
               the   flow   of   air   closed the   door
               'The air flow closed the door.'
         c. Esta   llave   cerró   la   puerta.
               this   key   closed   the   door
               'This key closed the door.'

initiator —introduced by the DP *Miguel* (20a)—, the sentence cannot be further causativised with the addition of the DP *Luis* (20b).

(20) a. Miguel nadó.
      Miguel swam
      'Miguel swam.'
    b. *Luis nadó a   Miguel.
      Luis   swam DOM Miguel
      'Luis swam Miguel.'

An example of the second group of predicates is provided in (21). The sentence in (21a) introduces the anticausative version of the verb *hervir* '(to) boil'. The grammaticality of (21b) shows that (21a) can be causativised: it licenses the addition of the DP *el cocinero* 'the cook', which is an initiator.

(21) a. La leche hirvió.
      the mik   boiled
      'The milk boiled.'
    b. El cocinero hirvió la   leche.
      the cook   boiled the milk
      'The cook boiled the milk.'

In short, taking this as a point of departure, what Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) have shown is that in those cases in which an initiator is not present, the negated eventuality reading is the only available interpretation with an eventive predicate. Their claim is supported by examples such as the following ones. The sequence in (22a) introduces the anticausative variant of the verb *hervir* '(to) boil', i.e. an initiator is not present. Crucially, this sentence is ill-formed. On the contrary, the sequence in (22b) provides the causative version of *hervir* '(to) boil', i.e. the initiator, introduced by the DP *el cocinero* 'the cook', is present. Unlike what happens with (22a), (22b) is grammatical.

(22) a. *Vi   (a)   la   leche no   hervir.
      I saw   DOM the milk NEG boil
      Intended: 'I saw that the milk did not boil.'
    b. Vi   al   cocinero no   hervir la   leche.
      I saw DOM.the cook   NEG boil   the milk
      'I saw the cook not boil the milk.'
      [Example (22a) taken from Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020, (43b))]

Essentially, what Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) have shown is that, although a sentence such as (22a) can be adapted to a context in which, for instance, a pot with milk has been placed in the fire and, after a short time, we see that the milk does not boil, the sentence is still ungrammatical. This is so because in (22a) the argument structure of the predicate *hervir* '(to) boil' lacks an initiator, and a perception verb such as *ver* '(to) see' coerces the inhibited eventuality reading, since it selects eventualities within its internal argument position (Higginbotham, 1983; Cooper, 1998; Przepiórkowski, 1999). Conversely, (22b) is grammatical because <*no* + VP> is introduced in a context that forces the inhibited eventuality reading and the predicate *hervir* '(to) boil' has an initiator in this case. Thus, (22b) can be paraphrased as 'I saw that an eventuality took place. This eventuality consisted in that the cook refrained from boiling the milk'.

Therefore, if a verb such as *hervir* '(to) boil' is introduced in a context which does not coerce the inhibited eventuality reading, but in which an initiator is present (e.g. *El cocinero no hirvió la leche* 'The cook did not boil the milk'), both the negated and the inhibited eventuality readings will be available. We will need additional information to conclude which of the two interpretations is the one that arises. On the contrary, when the initiator is not present (e.g. *La leche no hirvió* 'The milk did not boil'), only the negated eventuality interpretation will emerge.

Now observe a sentence such as (23). In this case, a predicate that does not take part in the anticausative alternation such as *nadar* '(to) swim' is introduced. (23) is grammatical given that the argument structure of *nadar* '(to) swim' already has an initiator. Thus, the inhibited eventuality reading will arise in this context.

(23) Vi   a   Miguel   no   nadar.
     saw   DOM Miguel   NEG   swim
     'I saw Miguel not swim.'

In a context that does not coerce the inhibited eventuality interpretation, the behaviour of a verb such as *nadar* '(to) swim' when preceded by negation will be the same as the one of *hervir* '(to) boil' when its initiator is present in the structure: both the negated and the inhibited eventuality readings will be available with a sentence such as *Miguel no nadó* 'Miguel did not swim'. To disambiguate the interpretation this sentence receives in the context of utterance, additional information will be needed. Conversely, in (23), the only available reading will be the inhibited eventuality one, since it is the interpretation coerced by the perception verb.

However, and crucially to our purposes in this paper, it is not possible to check if the nominalizations scrutinised here give rise to the negated eventuality interpretation based on the presence/absence of an initiator, since their external argument is not considered to be a proper initiator, but a holder of the state (this idea will be further developed in §3.3). Thus, at this point, tests that let us isolate the negated eventuality reading with stative nominalizations are lacked. We leave this issue open for further research, and from now on we will solely focus on the study of the inhibited state reading.

3.2. *Aspectual properties of <no + stative deverbal nominalization>*

In this section the Aktionsart of the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> is examined. Specifically, the goal in this section is to study whether negation modifies the aspectual properties of these nominalizations or not. The results obtained will lead us to conclude that negation does not change their lexical aspect.

Firstly, the behaviour of <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> regarding the predicate *tener lugar* '(to) take place' is addressed. This predicate selects eventive nominalizations within its subject position (24a), whereas it rejects stative ones (24b) (Grimshaw 1990, pp. 58-59; Fradin, 2011; Marín, 2011; Fábregas & Marín, 2012c; Fábregas, 2016).

(24) a. La aceptación   de la   propuesta por parte del
        the acceptance   of the   proposal   by   part   of.the
        comité   tuvo   lugar el   martes.
        committee   took   place the Tuesday
        'The acceptance of the proposal by the committee took place on Tuesday.'
    b. *El   conocimiento de las normas tuvo lugar el   lunes.
        the knowledge   of the rules   took place the Monday
        'The knowledge of the rules took place on Monday.'

As examples in (25) show, when the negative particle *no* precedes a stative deverbal nominalization, the results obtained are still ungrammatical. Thus, in presence of negation, the behaviour displayed by these nominals is not modified on this matter, i.e. they denote a non-dynamic eventuality.

(25) a. *El no   conocimiento de las normas por parte
        the NEG knowledge   of the rules   by part

de los estudiantes tuvo lugar el lunes.

of the students   took place the Monday

'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students took place on Monday.'

b. *La no tenencia de armas por parte de

the NEG possession of weapons by part of

los civiles tuvo lugar en 1936.

the civilians took place in 1936

'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians took place in 1936.'

A second test is related to perception verbs. Predicates such as *ver* '(to) see' or *presenciar* '(to) witness' select a dynamic eventuality within their internal argument position (26a) and reject non-dynamic ones (26b) (Higginbotham, 1983; Felser, 1999; Maienborn, 2003, 2005; Marín, 2011)[13].

(26) a. El ministro presenció la destrucción de los

the minister witnessed the destruction of the

documentos por parte de su secretario.

documents by part of his secretary

'The minister witnessed the destruction of the documents by his secretary.'

b. *Los periodistas presenciaron la posesión

the journalists witnessed the possession

de armas por parte de los civiles.

of weapons by part of the civilians

'The journalists witnessed the possession of weapons by the civilians.'

When negation interacts with these nominalizations, we get an ill-formed sentence (27). From this ungrammaticality it follows that the behaviour of <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> is parallel to the one of the affirmative version.

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13. As it was mentioned in the previous section, the co-occurrence with perception verbs is a test used by different authors to show the availability of the inhibited eventuality reading, since these are predicates which select eventualities within their internal argument position (Higginbotham, 1983; Cooper, 1998; Przepiórkowski, 1999). However, remember that the term *eventuality* is used in a broad sense here, i.e. to refer to both eventive and stative predicates. In fact, only predicates with eventive properties are compatible with these verbs, as the examples in (26) show. This is the reason why we have not used this diagnosis to check if the inhibited eventuality reading arises with stative nominalizations. Moreover, this is one of the tests applied by Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) to show that eventive predicates, when preceded by *no*, denote an eventuality with eventive properties.

(27) a. *Los   periodistas presenciaron la   no   posesión   de
         the   journalists   witnessed   the NEG possession of
         armas   por   parte de los   civiles.
         weapons by   part   of   the   civilians
         'The journalists witnessed the non-possession of weapons by the civilians.'

      b. *El   profesor presenció el   no   conocimiento de
         the   teacher witnessed the NEG knowledge   of
         las   normas por parte de los   estudiantes.
         the   rules   by   part of the   students
         'The teacher witnessed the non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'

The third test has to do with the subject position of the verb *parar* '(to) stop'. Events are compatible with this predicate (28a). On the contrary, states, since they are not dynamic, do not imply any development or progress, so they are incompatible with it (28b) (Dowty, 1979; de Miguel, 1999; Marín, 2011; Fábregas & Marín, 2012c).

(28) a. La construcción del   puente por parte de los
         the construction of.the bridge by   part of the
         obreros   ha   parado.
         labourers has stopped
         'The construction of the bridge by the labourers has stopped.'

      b. *La existencia de una vacuna ha   parado.
          the existence of a   vaccine has stopped
         'The existence of a vaccine has stopped.'

The negative versions of these nominalizations behave the same way as their affirmative counterparts: they reject occupying the subject position of this predicate (29).

(29) a. *La no posesión   de armas   por parte de los   civiles ha   parado.
          the NEG possession of weapons   by part of the civilians has stopped
         'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians has stopped.'

      b. *La no   existencia de una vacuna ha parado.
          the NEG existence of a   vaccine has stopped
         'The non-existence of a vaccine has stopped.'

Another diagnosis has to do with the co-occurrence with modifiers which measure the speed at which an eventuality develops, such as *lento* 'slow'. Dynamic

eventualities are compatible with them, independently of whether they are placed before or after the nominal (30a), whereas stative nominalizations, since they denote an eventuality which lacks dynamicity, reject them (30b) (de Miguel, 1999; Marín & McNally, 2011; Fábregas & Marín, 2012a).

(30) a. La   (lenta) construcción (lenta) del   puente.
         the slow   construction slow   of.the   bridge
         'The slow construction of the bridge'
      b. *El   (lento)   conocimiento (lento) de las normas.
          the   slow   knowledge   slow   of   the rules
          'The slow knowledge of the rules.'

   In parallel fashion to the results obtained from the previous diagnoses, the negative version of the studied nominalizations gives rise to the same results: an ungrammatical sequence (31).

(31) a. *El (lento) no   conocimiento (lento) por   parte de los estudiantes.
          the slow   NEG knowledge   slow   by   part of the students
          'The (slow) non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'
      b. *La (lenta) no   existencia (lenta)   de una vacuna.
          the slow   NEG existence slow   of a   vaccine
          'The (slow) non-existence of a vaccine.'

   The fifth test has to do with the strict (sub)interval property (Bennett & Partee, 1972; Taylor, 1977; Dowty, 1979, ch. 3; Maienborn, 2003, 2005; Rothmayr, 2009; Fábregas & Marín, 2012b). This test is essentially of conceptual nature and has raised a debate in the literature. However, within the nominal domain, it is the only one, to the best of our knowledge, passed by states, and not by events (contrary to what happens with the rest of diagnoses presented) (Marín, 2022). Essentially, states meet the strict (sub)interval property, whereas events do not. According to this test, if for a certain interval of time I it is true that, for instance, the students know the rules (32a), this will still be true for any subinterval of I, no matter how small it is. The reason for this is that stative predicates denote eventualities which do not entail any change or progress, and thus may be verified at instants. On the contrary, in (32b), if for a certain interval of time I it is true that the scientist verifies the data, this need not be true for any other subinterval of I, since we can find subintervals of I sufficiently small in which the scientist is

performing any other event different from verifying the data, such as, for instance, drinking water or checking his mail. Thus, the eventuality which consists in the scientist verifying the data cannot be verified at instants.

(32) a. El   conocimiento de las normas por parte de los estudiantes.
          the knowledge   of the rules   by part of the students
          'The knowledge of the rules by the students.'
      b. La   verificación de los datos por parte del   científico.
          the verification of the data   by part   of.the scientist
          'The verification of the data by the scientist.'

As in the affirmative version, in (33), if for a certain interval *I* it is true that the inhibited state denoted by *no posesión de armas* 'non-possession of weapons' is ascribed to *los civiles* 'the civilians', this will still be true for any subinterval of *I*, regardless of how small it is.

(33) La no   posesión de armas   por parte de los civiles.
      the NEG possession of weapons by   part   of   the civilians
      'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians.'

The results obtained from the different tests applied lead to conclude that the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> lacks dynamicity. Since the eventuality is not dynamic, this entails that it is not telic either. Therefore, the results obtained regarding its (in)compatibility with temporoaspectual modifiers introduced by *en* 'in' and *durante* 'for' (de Swart & Molendijk, 1999; García Fernández, 2000; Marín & Sánchez Marco, 2012) are the ones expected. The contrast of grammaticality in (35) exhibits that, as well as it happens in the affirmative version (34), when *no* precedes these nominalizations, they are compatible with an atelic modifier, whereas they reject the presence of a telic one.

(34) La posesión   de armas   por parte de los   civiles
      the possession of weapons by part   of the civilians
      {durante/ *en}   dos   semanas.
      for   in   two   weeks
      'The possession of weapons by the civilians {for/*in} two weeks.'
(35) La no posesión de armas   por parte de los civiles
      the NEG possession of weapons by   part   of the civilians

{durante/ *en}   dos   semanas.

for   in   two   weeks

'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians {for/*in} two weeks.'

Furthermore, as one reviewer points out, the compatibility with modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for' does not only confirm that the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> is atelic, but it also shows that it possesses durative aspectual content. In this regard, note that the incompatibility of <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> with the previous tests is also shared by simple event nouns such as *mesa* 'table' or *libro* 'book'. However, what is crucial is that the latter do not denote an eventuality, i.e. they lack aspectual content, since they are incompatible with these temporoaspectual modifiers (e.g. *{La mesa / El libro} {durante/en} una hora* 'The {table/book} {for/in} an hour'), contrary to what happens with the studied nominalizations.

Therefore, negation does not modify the lexical aspect of the nominal: <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> denotes a non-dynamic atelic eventuality. The results obtained from the diagnoses applied are summed up in Table 1.

Grammatical tests		<*no* + stative deverbal nominalization>
Predicate *tener lugar* '(to) take place'		*
Perception verbs		*
Predicate *parar* '(to) stop'		*
Modifiers associated to the expression of the velocity		*
Strict (sub)interval property		✓
Temporoaspectual modifiers	*durante* 'for'	✓
	en 'in'	*

Table 1. Lexical aspect of the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization>. Grammatical tests

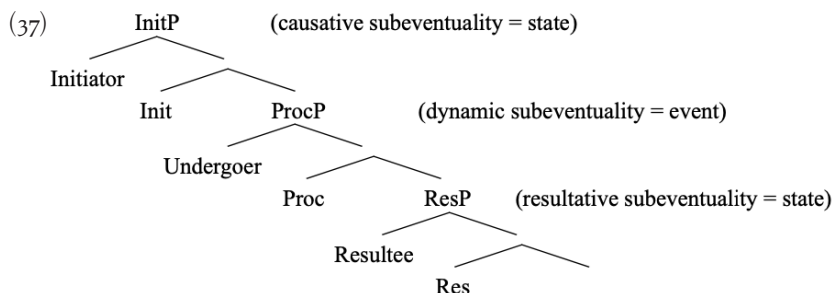### 3.3. *A syntactic analysis for* <no + *stative deverbal nominalization*>

In this section we propose a syntactic analysis for <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> that accounts for how the inhibited state reading arises, as well as for the aspectual properties of the eventuality described by this construction. To do this, firstly the syntactic structure of states is explained. Then, we detail how negation interacts with the configuration of stative deverbal nominalizations.

In line with authors such as Picallo (1991), Alexiadou (2001, 2011), Sleeman & Brito (2010), Borer (2013) or Fábregas (2016), we assume that nominalizations are generated at the syntactic component by means of the merge of the nominal projection N over certain verbal projections that make up the syntactic configuration of the verbal base. Moreover, the *aspect preservation hypothesis* (APH) is followed. This hypothesis states that deverbal nominalizations inherit the Aktionsart of their corresponding verbal base (Meinschäfer, 2003, 2005; Fábregas & Marín, 2012c; Marín & McNally, 2012). Linguists such as Fábregas & Marín (2012c) or Marín & McNally (2012) syntactically implement the APH as follows. The nominalization preserves the lexical aspect of the verbal base because its syntactic configuration inherits those verbal projections located at the lowest area of the verb's syntactic tree (VP), which are associated to the expression of the Aktionsart. NP takes this VP as a complement and nominalises the structure (36). Crucially, this nominal projection, which introduces the nominalizer, does not add any new information regarding the aspectual properties of the predicate. Its role is simply to change the category of the structure it takes as a complement.

(36)

```
      CP
     /  \
        TP
       /  \
         AspP  ──────────────▶  NP
        /  \                   /  \
          VP                     VP
```
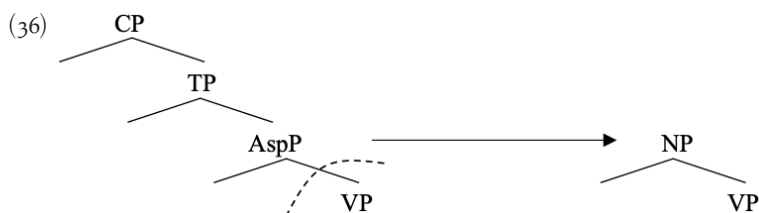
After having explained in general terms how a deverbal nominalization is syntactically built, we now delve into the specific structure of stative deverbal nominalizations. For this, we follow Ramchand (2008). This linguist further decomposes the VP into three functional projections: InitiationP (InitP), ProcessP (ProcP) and ResultP (ResP) (37). At this level, eventualities are abstract generalizations: they are described regarding their lexical aspect and the participants that take part in them, but they lack any information about the time and world in which they occur. Specifically, the heads of these projections are responsible for introducing a subeventuality which expresses certain information related to the aspectual semantics and the eventive structure of the eventuality. As for their specifiers, each of them contains an argument that takes part in the eventuality (37).

(37)   InitP   **(causative subeventuality = state)**

   Initiator

       Init   ProcP   **(dynamic subeventuality = event)**

         Undergoer

            Proc   ResP   **(resultative subeventuality = state)**

               Resultee

                   Res

Crucially, InitP, ProcP and ResP are not projected within the configuration of all predicates, but their presence depends on the predicate's aspectual type. Ramchand (2008) claims that there are two essential differences between dynamic and non-dynamic eventualities. The first one is the following. What eventive predicates have in common is that they refer to an eventuality which entails some internal change or progress. Consequently, ProcP, which is responsible for introducing a dynamic subeventuality that precisely expresses the change or progress associated to the development of an eventuality, is present within their syntactic structure. Since states are not dynamic, ProcP is not projected within their configuration, but only InitP is present.
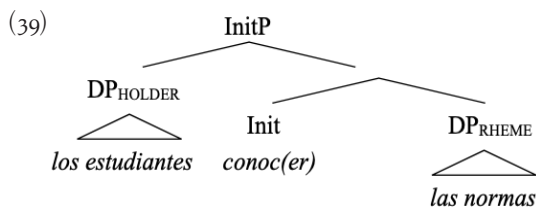
The second divergence between dynamic eventualities and states is precisely related to InitP. With dynamic predicates, InitP takes ProcP as a complement. In these cases, the subeventualities introduced by Init and Proc are related by means of a causal relation: Init introduces a causative subeventuality of stative nature which is responsible for the eventuality coming into existence. In other words, it is interpreted as a state which causes the development of the dynamic subeventuality associated to Proc (Ramchand, 2008, p. 44). On the contrary, as Ramchand (2008, pp. 55, 106) highlights, since stative predicates are non-dynamic, they do not project ProcP within their configuration, but only InitP[14]. Their structure is presented in (38).

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14. Ramchand (2008, p. 56) points out that she uses Init to refer to the functional projection present within the structure of a stative configuration to unify the ontology proposed. However, she claims that this node can receive other names: «we could simply assume an independent verbal head corresponding to an autonomous state». On this matter, for instance, Fábregas & Marín (2012c) adopt a State head which takes a PredP as a complement to provide with temporal validity the predication between a property and an individual, whereas Fábregas (2016) proposes a State head and Alexiadou (2011), similarly to Fábregas & Marín (2012c), claims that a v head takes a PP of central coincidence as a complement to express the temporal instantiation of a property.

(38)

```
              InitP
           ╱       ╲
      Holder        ╲
                 ╱      ╲
              Init      Rheme
```
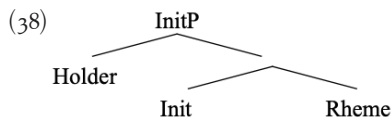
Crucially, since InitP does not take ProcP as a complement, the subeventuality introduced by Init is not interpreted in this case as a state which causes the development of the dynamic subeventuality associated to Proc, but simply as a state. As Ramchand (2008, p. 34) claims, «given that there are no subevents to be distinguished here, and no change to be caused or to culminate in any result, it is not surprising that the participant roles [initiator, undergoer, resultee] […] are not applicable here». Therefore, she concludes that the argument which occupies the specifier position of InitP is not an initiator, i.e. the causer of the eventuality, but the holder of the state (38), which is similar to the participant proposed by Kratzer (1996), Husband (2010) or Alexiadou (2011).
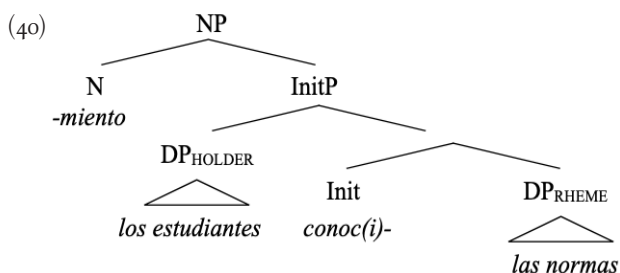
As for the complement position of InitP, Ramchand (2008, pp. 34, 36) explains that this position can be occupied by the stative predicate's internal argument. It receives the name of *rheme* or *rhematic object*, and its function is essentially that of describing the state in more detail. The structure of an example such as *Los estudiantes conocen las normas* 'The students know the rules' before receiving time and world parameters would then be the one in (39). Since the holder of the state that consists in knowing the rules is the DP *los estudiantes* 'the students', it occupies the specifier position of InitP. As for the rheme, the DP *las normas* 'the rules' helps to further describe the state. Thus, it is placed in complement position.

(39)

```
                   InitP
                ╱        ╲
       DP_HOLDER          ╲
          △           ╱       ╲
    los estudiantes  Init      DP_RHEME
                   conoc(er)      △
                               las normas
```

Note that (39) introduces the syntactic structure of a verb. Now it is shown how the configuration of the corresponding nominalization, *conocimiento* 'knowledge', is obtained. Essentially, according to the syntactic implementation of the APH,

the stative deverbal nominalization is the result of the merge of N, in charge of introducing the nominalizer affix, *-miento*, with InitP (40)[15].

(40)

```
                        NP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
             N                   InitP
         -miento          ┌────────┴────────┐
                     DP_HOLDER          ┌────┴──────┐
                        △             Init        DP_RHEME
                  los estudiantes   conoc(i)-        △
                                                  las normas
```
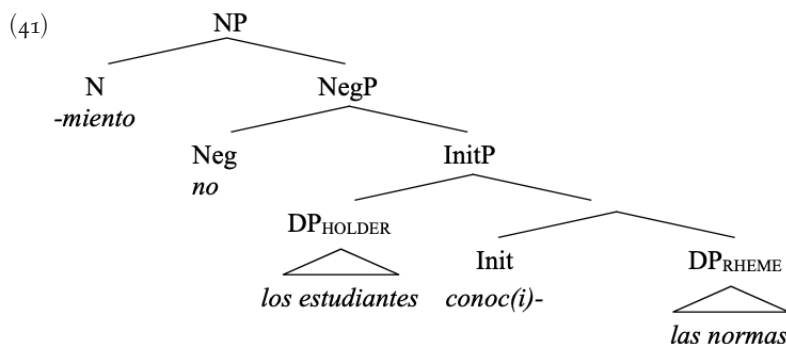
Once the general structure of stative deverbal nominalizations has been explained, we now address how negation interacts with it. This is illustrated with the sequence *El no conocimiento de las normas por parte de los estudiantes* 'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students'.

As it was argued in §3.1, <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> gives rise to the inhibited state reading. The presence of negation entails the description of an eventuality which corresponds to a state of the inhibited type, and this inhibited state is ascribed to a certain holder. Similarly to what Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) claim for eventive verbal predicates when they refer to an inhibited eventuality, since the presence of *no* involves the description of an eventuality, negation must be placed at the lower level of the nominal's configuration, this is, it must interact with those projections in charge of the eventuality's Aktionsart[16].

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15.   This paper does not focus on the syntactic realisation of the argument structure of nominalizations. However, observe that, as one anonymous reviewer points out, in the syntactic structure the most prominent argument is the external one, i.e. *los estudiantes* 'the students', whereas this is not what we get in the sequence *El conocimiento de las normas por parte de los estudiantes* 'The knowledge of the rules by the students'. The syntactic realisation of the argument structure entails that it is the DP *las normas* 'the rules', this is, the internal argument, the one which is placed in a more prominent position. Note that this happens provided that the nominalization receives a state reading. In this regard, compare this sequence with *El conocimiento de los estudiantes* 'The knowledge of the students', where the nominalization is interpreted as an object and, thus, the sequence is paraphrased as 'That which the students know'.

16.   Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) explain how there is no need to posit that inhibited eventualities are new members of the semantic ontology. Specifically, they show how an analysis based on the scope NegP has over the aspectual projections that make up the predicate's syntactic configuration can explain their nature and properties. We propose that the same idea can be extended to inhibited states: they are not new objects of the semantic ontology, but rather their properties can be syntactically derived.

The projection responsible for the expression of the nominalization's lexical aspect in this case is precisely (and only) InitP. Thus, we propose that Neg merges with it and projects as NegP. Since NegP acts at the descriptive level of the eventuality, its presence is not associated with denying that the eventuality has occurred, i.e. with denying the existence of an eventuality. Instead, at this level, the presence of *no* entails the inhibition of the state denoted by Init. The external argument, placed in the specifier of InitP, is the holder of the corresponding inhibited state (41).

(41)

```
                          NP
                  ┌────────┴────────┐
                  N              NegP
               -miento       ┌────┴──────┐
                            Neg         InitP
                            no      ┌────┴──────┐
                                 DP_HOLDER      Init        DP_RHEME
                                 los estudiantes conoc(i)-   las normas
```

Therefore, from this proposal it then follows that the possibility of *no* to appear with a stative deverbal nominalization is of structural nature, i.e. negation is merged with a particular verbal projection present within the configuration of the nominal: InitP.

As one of the anonymous reviewers points out, there is a crucial issue that arises from the proposed analysis: the linearisation of the exponents. Their syntactic order, i.e. «nominalizer-negation-verb», does not match the phonological order we get, i.e. «negation-verb-nominalizer». To assume head movement to explain this issue is problematic, since according to the head movement constraint (Travis 1984, p. 131), Neg blocks the movement of *conoc(i)-* from Init to N. A preliminary solution for this could be to propose that the reordering of the exponents does not take place in the syntax, but that it obeys some kind of prosodic or morphophonological readjustment. The negative particle *no* has clitic properties in Spanish. For instance, it cannot be placed between an auxiliary and a verb (e.g. compare *No han venido* 'They have not come' and *Lo han hecho* 'They did it' with *Han no venido and *Han lo hecho) and when it precedes a verb it does not receive any accent either. Following Fábregas (2018, pp. 269-170), *no* would constitute a prosodic unit together with the verb, so that they would behave as a single prosodic constituent. Additionally, nominalizer affixes are always suffixes

in Spanish, this is, they are placed at the right side of the base. Therefore, and assuming that this phonological information is stored within the lexical entry of the exponents, once they have lexicalised the structure, they would get reordered at the phonological form (PF) following these phonological conditions. Namely, the negation and the verb would form a single prosodic constituent, and the suffix would get attached to the right side of this constituent. We leave this issue open here now: future studies should delve into it to provide a more detailed solution.

In the following section we address how the proposed analysis accounts for the aspectual properties the eventuality described by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> possesses.

3.4. *The aspectual properties explained*

The tests run in §3.2 led us to conclude that <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> denotes a non-dynamic atelic eventuality. We now show how the proposed syntactic configuration can explain why negation does not modify the noun's Aktionsart.

Its non-dynamicity was brought to light by the fact that the following grammatical contexts gave rise to ungrammatical sequences: the co-occurrence with *tener lugar* '(to) take place' (42a), with perception verbs (42b), with the predicate *parar* '(to) stop' (42c) and with modifiers associated to the expression of the velocity (42d).

(42) a. *La   no   posesión   de armas   por parte de
         the   NEG possession of weapons by part   of
         los   civiles   tuvo lugar en 1936.
         the   civilians   took place in 1936
         'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians took place in 1936.'

     b. *El   médico presenció la   no   existencia de una   vacuna.
         the doctor witnessed the NEG existence of a   vaccine
         'The doctor witnessed the non-existence of a vaccine.'

     c. *El no   conocimiento de las normas   por parte de
         the NEG knowledge   of the rules   by part of
         los estudiantes ha parado.
         the students   has stopped
         'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students has stopped.'

    d. *La   (lenta)   no tenencia (lenta) de armas   por

        the   slow   NEG possession slow   of   weapons by

        parte de los soldados.

        part   of   the soldiers

        'The slow non-possession of weapons by the soldiers.'

The incompatibility of <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> with these constructions follows from the absence of the projection associated to the expression of dynamicity, namely, ProcP, within their structure. What all these constructions precisely have in common is that they are only compatible with eventive predicates, this is, with those predicates that project ProcP. This requisite they impose —to co-occur with an eventive predicate— is satisfied by eventive identification: if the predicate expresses and event, it will have ProcP within its structure and, therefore, the subeventuality expressed by this projection will be identified by the corresponding predicate or modifier. Given that stative nominalizations lack ProcP, none of the constructions it co-occurs with in (42) is able to identify this dynamic subeventuality. As a result, an ungrammatical sequence is obtained.

As for the strict (sub)interval property, it was claimed that <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> passes this test. A more detailed explanation for this is now provided. If it is true that for a certain interval of time I the inhibition of the state that consists of knowing the rules is ascribed to the students (43), this will continue to be true for any subinterval of I, no matter how small it is. This is so because there is no dynamic change along the interval for which the eventuality described by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> extends. Thus, any subinterval of the described inhibited state contained in I will be of the same type, regardless of how small it is.

(43) El no   conocimiento de las normas por parte de los estudiantes.

        the NEG knowledge   of the rules   by   part of the students

        'The non-knowledge of the rules by the students.'

Since it was shown that the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> is non-dynamic, its atelicity came as no surprise. This was laid bare by its compatibility with temporoaspectual modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for', but not with those introduced by *en* 'in' (44).

(44) La   no   posesión   de   armas   por   parte   de   los   civiles
the   NEG   possession   of   weapons   by   part   of   the   civilians
{durante/ *en}   dos   semanas.
for   in   two   weeks
'The non-possession of weapons by the civilians {for/*in} two weeks.'

Ramchand (2008) claims that telicity is obtained configurationally. A predicate will be telic if it possesses one of the following two syntactic structures. If it is inherently telic, i.e. an achievement, ResP will be present within its configuration and it will be taken as complement by ProcP. If it is an accomplishment, a path that delimits the event (PathP) will be ProcP's complement. Since stative nominalizations lack both ResP and ProcP, there will be an absence of telicity and, therefore, the eventuality described by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> will be atelic. This explains its compatibility with temporoaspectual modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for' and its incompatibility with those introduced by *en* 'in'.

4. THE NEGATION OF ZERO STATIVE NOUNS

In this section we focus on those stative nouns that lack both a nominalizer affix and a theme vowel. In §2 it was already shown that these items systematically reject co-occurring with *no* (45).

(45) a. *La   no   falta   de   comida.
    the NEG lack   of   food
    'The non-lack of food.'
 b. *El   no   coste   de   las   acciones.
    the NEG cost   of   the   shares
    'The non-cost of shares.'
 c. *El   no   amor   de   Luis   hacia   la   ópera.
    the NEG love   of   Luis   towards the opera
    'Luis' non-love for opera.'

The ungrammaticality of sequences such as the ones in (45) raises the following question: If these nouns also express a state, why do they, unlike the nominals analysed in the previous section, reject to co-occur with negation? We will propose that these nouns can be subclassified into two groups: the one constituted by those nominals which possess verbal projections, and the one made up by those which

lack this type of projections. Then, two different explanations that account for their incompatibility with *no* will be offered, one for each group of nouns. These two explanations rely on their different syntactic configurations. In a nutshell, what we claim is that those zero stative nominals that do possess verbal projections cannot be preceded by *no* because the interaction of negation with their syntactic configuration blocks the lexicalisation of their structure. As for those zero stative nouns that lack verbal projections, their incompatibility with *no* follows precisely due to the absence of this type of heads within their configuration.

Before each of the analyses is developed in detail, in the following section we offer an argument that shows how these nominals can be further divided in two groups, according to their (non-)possession of verbal projections.

4.1. *The (non-)presence of verbal syntactic structure*

Linguists such as Alexiadou (2011) or Fábregas (2016) highlight how the compatibility with temporoaspectual modifiers introduced by prepositions such as *durante* 'for' constitutes a sign in favour of the presence of verbal projections. The reason for this is that these items require this type of projections to be licensed. On this point, observe the following examples:

(46) a. La falta de comida durante varios meses.
      the lack of food   for   several months
      'The lack of food for several months.'

     b. El coste de las acciones durante varios días.
      the cost of the shares   for   several days
      'The cost of shares for several days.'

     c. *La sobra   de alimentos durante varios meses.
      the leftovers of food   for   several months
      'The food leftovers for several months.'

     d. *El amor de Luis hacia   la ópera durante varios años.
      the love of Luis towards the opera for   several years
      'Luis' love for opera for several years.'

The sequences in (46) offer dissimilar results when these nouns co-occur with temporoaspectual modifiers introduced by *durante* 'for'. This makes clear that the nominals that form the set of zero stative nouns display a different behaviour. From a syntactic point of view, the contrasts obtained point towards the following.

Those nouns that accept temporoaspectual modifiers do possess verbal projections and grammatically denote an eventuality of the stative type. On the contrary, these projections are missing within those nouns that reject these modifiers, and they do not grammatically denote a state either[17].

In the following sections we argue that the incompatibility of zero stative nouns with negation can be explained by means of this presence/absence of verbal structure.

4.2. *Zero stative nouns with verbal syntactic structure: interaction with negation*

The results from the previous section show that there are zero stative nouns, such as *falta* 'lack' or *coste* 'cost', which have verbal projections. According to the APH, these verbal nodes have been inherited from the corresponding stative verb (*faltar* '(to) lack', *costar* '(to) cost'). Therefore, these nouns properly correspond to deverbal nominalizations that denote a stative eventuality, as it is confirmed by the ungrammatical results obtained when the diagnoses run in §3.3 are applied to them (47). Their particularity resides in the fact that they lack a nominalizer and a thematic vowel.

(47) a. *La   falta de alimentos tuvo lugar en 1936.
           the   lack   of   food   took   place in 1936
           'The lack of food took place in 1936.'
      b. *Los ciudadanos presenciaron la   falta de alimentos.
           the   population   witnessed   the   lack   of   food
           'The population witnessed the lack of food.'
      c. *El   coste de las acciones ha   parado.
           the   cost   of   the shares   has   stopped
           'The cost of shares has stopped.'
      d. *El (lento) coste (lento) de las   acciones.
           the slow   cost   slow   of   the   shares
           'The slow cost of shares.'

Their behaviour is very similar to the one displayed by zero eventive deverbal nominalizations (*ataque* 'attack', *envío* 'shipment', *uso* 'use'…). As Fábregas (2014,

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17. Note that the incompatibility of a noun like *sobra* 'leftover(s)' with this modifier might obey to the fact that, at least in Peninsular Spanish —which is the variety spoken by the participants who were asked—, it does not seem to refer to a state, but rather to an object or a physical entity: it is interpreted as the remaining part of the total (*la sobra de {tarta/tela}* 'the leftover {cake/cloth}').
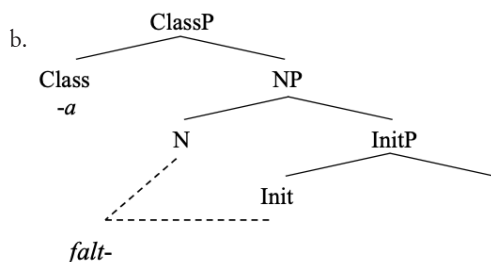
2016) has shown, the latter also lack a derivative affix and a thematic vowel, but they all pass the grammatical tests which demonstrate that (a) they denote an eventuality —dynamic in this case— and (b) they possess verbal projections. What is proposed in this paper is that Fábregas' (2014, 2016) account regarding the syntactic configuration of these nominals can be extended to the zero stative nouns studied in this section.

In short, this linguist claims that, although both nouns such as *ataque* 'attack' or *envío* 'shipment' and nominals like *aceptación* 'acceptance' or *comparecencia* 'appearance' are cases of eventive deverbal nominalizations, there is a crucial difference that holds between them. Whereas with the latter there is one independent morpheme that lexicalises the verbal projections (e.g. *acepta-* 'accept-') and another one which lexicalises the NP (e.g. *-ción* '-ance'), with the former there is one single morpheme that lexicalises the verbal projections together with the NP by means of phrasal spellout, according to the information stored within its lexical entry (Caha, 2009; Starke, 2009; Pantcheva, 2011).
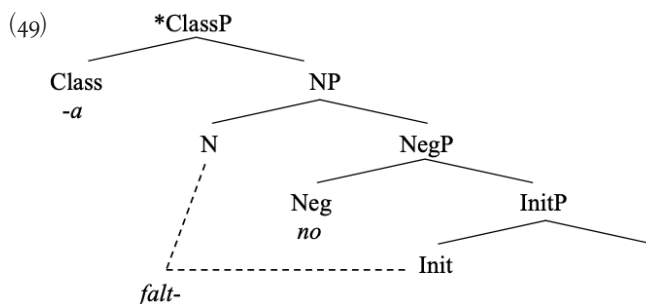
We now illustrate how Fábregas' (2014, 2016) analysis can be extended to the nominals studied in this section with a noun like *falta* 'lack'. Essentially, as it has been argued, this nominal has verbal projections and denotes a stative eventuality. This means that its syntactic structure will inherit the InitP projection from its verbal base. As it is the case with zero eventive deverbal nominals, according to the grammatical information that is stored within the lexical entry of *falt-* (48a), this morpheme will be selected to lexicalise the verbal projections together with NP (48b). This lexicalisation takes place by means of phrasal spellout. Note that in (48b) there is a mismatch between the number of heads and the number of morphophonological exponents. Nevertheless, and according to phrasal spellout, the structure is lexicalised the following way. By this principle, more than one node can be lexicalised by means of a single exponent (Caha, 2009; Starke, 2009; Pantcheva, 2011, a. o.). Thus, in (48b), once the syntax has built the configuration, the exponent *falt-* is inserted in the phrasal node NP, giving rise to the lexicalisation of the constituent formed by InitP and NP. Additionally, following Picallo (2008), the noun mark *-a* will be later introduced in the ClassifierP (ClassP).

(48)   a. falt-   <---> $[_{NP} \text{ N } [_{InitP} \text{ Init}]]$

b.

```
                    ClassP
           _____
        Class                    NP
         -a              _____
                      N                  InitP
                       ⁝            _____
                       ⁝         Init
                       ⁝
                      falt-
```

Crucially, for the lexicalisation of the structure by means of *falt-* to succeed, InitP and NP must (i) be ordered in the same way they are within the lexical entry of the morpheme, (ii) be adjacent and (iii) form a constituent. If any other head is placed between these projections, the lexicalisation will not succeed. This is of highest importance for our purposes due to the following reason. Note that if Neg is merged with InitP, so that the inhibited state reading could arise, the constituent formed by InitP and NP will be interrupted (49). This is so because negation breaks the constituent: InitP and NP are no longer adjacent, and there is no projection that dominates them without also dominating NegP. Consequently, the morpheme *falt-* will not be able to lexicalise the structure, and the derivation will fail.

(49)

```
                    *ClassP
           _____
        Class                    NP
         -a              _____
                      N                  NegP
                       ⁝            _____
                       ⁝         Neg              InitP
                       ⁝          no         _____
                       ⁝                  Init
                      falt-
```

Thus, extending Fábregas' (2014, 2016) proposal for the configuration and materialization of zero eventive deverbal nominals to stative deverbal nouns such as *falta* 'lack' can explain why the latter reject co-occurring with negation. In short, with these nominals there is a single morpheme that by means of phrasal spellout lexicalises the verbal together with the nominal projections. Any other node that is placed between them will entail the interruption of the constituent, hence the lexicalisation will not succeed.

### 4.3. *Zero stative nouns without verbal syntactic structure: interaction with negation*

In §4.1 it was concluded that among those items that have been identified as *zero stative nouns*, nouns such as *amor* 'love' or *sobra* 'leftovers' lack a verbal syntactic structure. This set of nouns can be further divided into the following groups: those that finish with the affix -*or* (*amor* 'love', *temor* 'fear'…), which are linked to subject-experiencer psychological verbs (*amar* '(to) love', *temer* '(to) fear'…), and the rest. Each of them is now addressed.

Those nouns that end in -*or* and are related to psychological verbs have recently been analysed by linguists such as Fábregas & Marín (2015) or Fábregas (2016) from a neoconstructionist perspective. Although their proposals are slightly different, both are aligned with our main claim: these nouns lack verbal structure. We now show how both analyses can be used to explain why these nouns do not accept negation. On the one side, Fábregas & Marín (2015, p. 203) affirm that these nouns are not deverbal. The reason is that, although -*or* was a productive nominalizer affix in Latin, it is no longer productive in Spanish. Thus, nominals like *amor* 'love' or *temor* 'fear' are lexical nouns: a single morpheme *amor* 'love' or *temor* 'fear' lexicalises a syntactic structure which lacks verbal projections. Remember that for a stative nominal to license negation, Neg should be able to merge with InitP. Therefore, the rejection displayed by these nouns towards *no* follows from the fact that they are underived elements.

On the other side, Fábregas' (2016, §IV.4) approach to -*or* is synchronic. He claims that it is an affix that gives rise to different types of nouns, among which we find those related to subject-experiencer psychological verbs. If nouns such as *amor* 'love' or *temor* 'fear' are derived following the same process as nominalizations like *conoci-miento* 'knowledge', i.e. by means of attachment of a nominalizer to a base, the following question arises: Are there any differences that explain why the former, but not the latter, reject co-occurring with *no*? The answer is affirmative.

Fábregas (2016, pp. 284-285) concludes that nouns such as *amor* 'love' or *temor* 'fear' lack verbal projections. He compares -*or* to other suffixes such as -*ción*, -*ncia* or -*miento* and observes that the former selects uncategorized —and not verbal— bases. Specifically, he claims that -*or* is a functional nominalizer introduced by means of the functional projection nP. Because it is a functional nominalizer, and not a lexical one such as -*miento*, -*ción* or -*ncia*, it is not able to attach to a verb and then change its category but requires an element compatible with it. Specifically, this linguist proposes that the element taken by nP as complement is a root (50), which is assumed to be an element that does not bear any grammatical

category and simply works as a phonological index (Borer, 2013). As he explains, «(a) given that it [the root] lacks a category, there is no crash between it and the functional projection; (b) the functional projection can contextually define the structure as a noun» (Fábregas, 2016, p. 284).

(50)
$$nP$$

n $\sqrt{}^n$
-or   am-, tem-
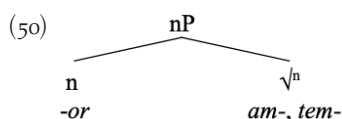
What is relevant to our purposes is that, according to Fábregas' (2016) analysis, these nouns, although they possess a suffix, do not count as real cases of deverbal nominalizations. Thus, if this approach is adopted, their incompatibility with negation follows from the fact that within their structure there are no verbal projections available for negation to assemble with.

Therefore, independently of following Fábregas & Marín's (2015) treatment of these nouns as underived items or Fábregas's (2016) account, what is key is that the fact that they reject to co-occur with negation can be explained because their configuration lacks verbal nodes.

To finish this section, we address those nouns such as *sobra* 'leftovers', which do not end in *-or*, but also lack verbal heads. What is proposed is that they are formed by means of the merge of the functional projection Class, which introduces the noun mark, with an acategorial root (51).

(51)
$$ClassP$$

Class $\sqrt{}^{15}$
-a   sobr-
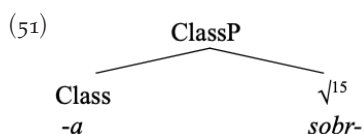
These nouns reject the presence of negation given that, similarly to what happens with nouns like *amor* 'love' or *temor* 'fear', there are no verbal projections present within their configuration negation can get attached to[18].

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18. Additionally, as one of the anonymous reviewers observes, further lines of research should delve into the link between the data studied in this paper and those cases in which the nominal is preceded by a negative prefix. This is the case of nominals such as *desconocimiento* ('ignorance, lack of awareness', intended: 'dis-knowledge') or *inexistencia* ('lack, absence', intended: 'un-existence'). Moreover, note that it is possible for the negative particle *no* and these prefixes to co-occur within the same sentence (e.g. *El no desconocimiento de las normas*, intended: 'The non-dis-knowledge of the rules'). This type of data might be pointing towards a difference between the interpretation that arises with *no* and the one

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper it has been shown that, among the different nominals classified by the literature as stative, only those that possess a derivative affix are compatible with negation. We have explained how, when *no* co-occurs with these nouns, the inhibited state reading arises. By means of this interpretation, an eventuality which consists in the inhibition of the corresponding affirmative state is described. Additionally, from the results obtained from a series of grammatical tests, it has been concluded that the eventuality denoted by <*no* + stative deverbal nominalization> is non-dynamic and atelic. Therefore, it has been argued that negation does not modify the nominal's Aktionsart. We have then introduced a proposal of analysis which accounts for these results. Essentially, we have claimed that, similarly to what Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) have proposed for inhibited eventualities within the verbal domain, Neg is merged with the projections responsible for the description of the eventuality regarding its participants and lexical aspect. Namely, NegP takes InitP as complement, so that the presence of negation entails the inhibition of the state expressed by the verbal projection, turning it into an inhibited state which is ascribed to the holder. The fact that this inhibited state is non-dynamic and atelic follows from the fact that ProcP and ResP are not present within the structure of these nominalizations.

Then, after concluding that the licensing of negation with stative nominals obeys a structural reason, we have introduced two different explanations that can account for the rejection of those stative nouns that lack a derivative affix to co-occur with *no*. On the one hand, we have extended Fábregas' (2014, 2016) account regarding the syntactic configuration and lexicalisation of zero eventive deverbal nominals to the subgroup of stative nouns that lack a derivative affix but that do possess verbal projections. It has been claimed that for these nouns there is a single morpheme that lexicalises these verbal projections together with the NP. The merge of Neg with InitP entails the breaking of the constituent formed by [NP [InitP]] and, as a result, the derivation fails. This explains why these nouns do not accept the negation. On the other hand, it has been shown that the incompatibility of those zero stative nouns that do not possess InitP with *no* is precisely due to their lack of verbal projections.

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that emerges with the so-called negative prefixes, together with the fact that these elements may occupy different positions within the syntactic configuration. Future studies should address this issue in depth. This will help to get a more complete vision on how negation interacts with the nominal domain.

However, there is a subtype of stative deverbal nominalization that has not been addressed in this paper. It concerns nominals such as *permanencia* 'permanence' or *persistencia* 'persistence'. The literature has attested how these nouns include a temporal presupposition (Jaque, 2014). Specifically, they denote a state that occurs at the reference time, but they presuppose that this state has also happened at a previous moment. This denoted and presupposed state is the same, and it has not changed along the time interval that encompasses the two moments of time. When it comes to their compatibility with negation, observe that a sequence such as *La no permanencia de María en la empresa* 'María's non-permanence in the company' is grammatical. Thus, future studies should explore the properties of these nominals together with the interpretation that is obtained in these cases, and whether it is affected by this temporal presupposition, so that it differs (or not) from the inhibited state reading.

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