

RESULT NOMINALIZATIONS IN ROMANIAN LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to analyze the class of Romanian nominalizations which enter light verb constructions with the light verbs *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’. We show that such nominalizations are not event, but result. In order to test this hypothesis, we have chosen two of the most productive suffixes which appear with these nominalizations in light verb constructions, namely *-ție* and *-re*. As will be seen, the two suffixes may attach to the same verb stems, giving rise to doublets (e.g. from *a afirma* ‘state’: *afirmație* vs. *afirmare*). The syntactic analysis of these doublets proves that *-re* is specialized for event readings, while *-ție* generally gives rise to result nominals. Returning to light verb constructions, when a verb has both *-ție* and *-re* nominalizations available, the light verb will always select the result deverbal noun, the one ending in *-ție*, while its *-re* counterpart will have an event reading and thus will be banned from the light verb construction.

Keywords: light verb constructions, result nominalizations, Romanian, *-ție* suffix, *-re* suffix.

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that, at least in some languages such as English or Romanian, light verb constructions (LVCs henceforth) are formed by a light verb with the nominalization of another verb, i.e. a deverbal noun. There is general consensus (Wierzbicka 1982, Catell 1984, Butt 2010, Grimshaw and Mester 1988, Samek-Lodovici 2003, Harley 2003, a.o) that for constructions like those in (1) the light verb is semantically bleached and therefore has little descriptive content, but provides the syntactic skeleton for the LVC and a complete functional structure. On the other hand, the nominalization is the one providing both the theta-structure and the descriptive content of the entire construction, as shown by the equivalence of LVCs with lexical verbs.

- (1) a. a face o plimbare < a se plimba
to make a walk < to walk
‘to take a walk’
b. a avea o conversație < a conversa
to have a conversation < to converse
‘to have a conversation’

Focusing on the nominalizations which occur in LVCs, the starting point of our analysis is the theory of nominalization put forth by Grimshaw (1990) and further refined by Alexiadou (2001, 2010, etc.) and later by Borer (2011). These studies show that there are fundamental syntactic differences between result nominals (RNs) and complex event nominals (CENs).

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Perhaps the most important distinction between these two classes of nominalizations is that only CENs have a-structure which they inherit from the underlying verbs. Therefore, in the case of transitive verbs, the internal argument is obligatory, since it activates the a-structure and gives rise to an event reading. This is not the case with RNs which do not take obligatory arguments, as can be seen in the contrast between the two examples below:

- (2) a. Bombardarea *(orașului) de către armată a durat
bomb-INF-the city-GEN-the by army has lasted
trei zile
three days. (CEN)
'The bombing of the city by the army lasted three days.'
- b. Afirmația lui Ion ne-a uimit. (RN)
state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Ion 1PL.ACC has amazed
'Ion's statement amazed us.'

Unlike English, Romanian has been argued to have only one Genitive position (Cornilescu 2001, 2004, Iordachioaia and Soare 2008, a.o.). Thus, with Romanian transitive CENs, which require the overt presence of the underlying verb's internal argument, the only Genitive structural case position is occupied by the obligatory internal argument, see *orașului* in (2a), and there is not enough functional structure left to license a second argument. Consequently, the external argument can only be introduced as an adjunct, with a *by*-phrase, see *de către armată* in (2a). In the case of RNs, which do not obligatorily express the internal argument, the Genitive case position is free and occupied by the external argument, see *lui Ion* in (2b).

Other syntactic properties that distinguish between CENs and RNs are the ones showing evidence (or lack respectively) of grammatical event structure, such as: occurrence with aspectual modifiers, with agent-oriented modifiers or implicit argument control.

Borer (2011) argues that all nominalizations have a verb projection in their structure, but only event nominalizations have verbal functional structure (e.g. the Apect projection) and this is apparent in the following examples where CENs allow aspectual modifiers (3a), while RNs do not (3b):

- (3) a. Inspectarea spitalului în două luni (CEN)
inspect-INF-the hospital-the.GEN in two months.
'The inspection of the hospital for two months'
- b. ?Inspecția spitalului în două zile (RN)
inspect-ȚIE-the hospital-the.GEN in two days
*'The inspection of the hospital in two days'

For Romanian, Iordăchioaia and Soare (2008) argue that aspectual modifiers like *frequent/constant* may occur with both types of nominalizations. The difference is that they can occur with both singular and plural CENs (4a-b), but only with plural RNs (4c-d):

- (4) a. Examinarea constantă a elevului de către
 examine-INF-the constant OBL student-the.GEN by
 profesor (CEN)
 teacher
 ‘The constant examination of the student by the teacher’
- b. Demolările frecvente ale cartierelor vechi de către
 demolish-INF-the.PL frequent OBL quarter-the.GEN old by
 comuniști (CEN)
 comuniști
 ‘The frequent demolitions of the old quarters by the communists’
 (Iordăchioaia and Soare 2008:194)
- c. *Acuzația frecventă a celor care au fost
 accuse-ȚIE-the frequent OBL those-GEN who have been
 martori ai crimei (RN)
 witnesses OBL murder-the.GEN
 *‘The frequent accusation of those who have been witnesses to the
 murder’
- d. Întrebările frecvente ale mămicilor (RN)
 ask-INF-the.PL frequent OBL mommy-the.GEN
 ‘The frequent questions of mommies’
- (Google)

A second syntactic difference is that CENs (5a), unlike RNs (5b), exhibit implicit argument control in purpose clauses, as the subject from the subordinate clause is controlled by the implicit agent of the nominalization:

- (5) a. Afirmarea adevărului pentru PRO a jigni pe cineva (CEN)
 state-INF-the truth-the.GEN for to offend PE someone
 ‘Stating the truth in order to offend someone’
- b. *Afirmația lui Ion pentru PRO a jigni pe cineva (RN)
 state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Ion for to offend PE someone
 *‘Ion’s statement in order to offend someone’

Last but not least, CENs may occur with agent-oriented modifiers (6a), while RNs cannot (6b):

- (6) a. Demolarea intenționată a unei clădiri de către
 demolish-INF-the deliberate OBL a-GEN building by
 constructori (CEN)
 constructors
 ‘The deliberate demolition of a building by the constructors’
- b. *Declarația intenționată a lui Ion (RN)
 state-ȚIE-the deliberate OBL the.GEN Ion
 *‘Ion’s deliberate statement’

We adopt Borer's (2011) position in our analysis of Romanian nominalizations and use the above syntactic properties as tests in order to distinguish between result and event nominalizations.

The aim of our analysis is two-fold. Firstly, we offer a first tentative description of result nominalizations in Romanian. To this end, we have chosen two suffixes, *-ție* and *-re*. The reasons why we have chosen these two suffixes are that they are in general two of the most productive suffixes in Romanian and *-ție* may enter minimal pairs with the infinitive suffix *-re*, giving rise to doublets of the type:

- (7) a. a acuza → acuzație, acuzare
to accuse → accuse-ȚIE accuse-INF
Ion a făcut o acuzație gravă.
Ion has made an accuse-ȚIE serious
'Ion made a serious accusation.'
- b. a imagina → imaginație imaginare
to imagine → imagine-ȚIE imagine-INF
Dan are o imaginație bogată.
Dan has an imagine-ȚIE rich
'Dan has a vivid imagination.'

Furthermore, these doublets are very frequent and we can use them to understand the specific semantic contribution of each affix. Thus, we show that there is a partial semantic specialization where *-re* is specialized for an event reading (8a), while *-ție* gives rise to result nominals (8b):

- (8) a. Afirmarea / *Afirmația adevărului (CEN)
state-INF-the / *state-ȚIE-the truth-the.GEN
'Stating / *The statement of truth'
- b. Afirmația lui Mihai a șocat pe toată lumea. (RN)
state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Mihai has shocked PE all people-the
'Mihai's statement shocked everyone'

Secondly, our main hypothesis is that in Romanian light verbs select only result nominals. If this generalization is correct, in the case of doublets where *-ție* nominals are results (with limited exceptions, as will be discussed below) and *-re* events, the light verb will always select the result deverbal noun, the one ending in *-ție*, while *-re* nominals will be banned from the LVC.

The present paper is structured as follows: section 2 focuses on the distribution of the affix *-ție* in Romanian, reviewing the morpho-syntactic properties of the verbal bases it attaches to. Section 3 aims at providing evidence that *-ție* is generally associated with a result reading, while *-re* nominals may have both result and event readings. Section 4 presents our corpus analysis of *a face* 'make, do' and *a avea* 'have' LVCs, proving that the nominalizations which enter such constructions are indeed result nominals. The last section includes the final conclusions and some further research questions.

2. The distribution of the suffix *-ție*

The aim of this section is to account for the distribution of the affix *-ție* in Romanian in terms of morpho-syntactic properties of the verb stems such as: transitivity (number of arguments of the base verb), lexical aspect, and conjugation group (for a detailed description of the affix *-ție* in Romanian see Oprea 1992-1993, Pană-Dindelegan 2008, Sala et al 2015, a.o.).

Thus, our corpus analysis has evidenced that *-ție* is one of the most productive nominalizing affixes in Romanian. It does not show any selectional restrictions with respect to the conjugation group, or the lexical aspect of the base verb (i.e. it may attach to all classes of predicates: states, activities, achievements and accomplishments).

As mentioned before, both *-ție* and *-re* have a wide distribution and they may often enter minimal pairs as they attach to the same verb stem and give rise to doublets. However, we have found an interesting contrast as far as transitivity is concerned. It has been observed (Cornilescu, 2001, 2004, Iordachioaia and Soare 2008, a.o) that *-re* does not attach to unergative verbs, a matter of telicity (the infinitive is [+telic], see Cornilescu 2001). As unergatives are activities, they do not have an internal argument, while *-re* nominalizations are mainly events and CENs require the presence of an overt IA. Hence, they are not compatible (Cornilescu 2001).

-ție is not subject to this restriction because it appears in result nominals which do not necessarily take an overt IA and thus it may also attach to unergatives. Consequently, there can be doublets only for transitive and unaccusative verbs, but not for unergatives:

Table 1. Number of arguments of the base verb *-ție* vs. *-re*

Verb Stems	<i>-ție</i>	<i>-re</i>
Transitives		
a consulta 'consult'	consultație consult-ȚIE	consultare consult-INF
a dona 'donate'	donatie donate-ȚIE	donare donate-INF
Unaccusatives		
a fermenta 'ferment'	fermentație ferment-ȚIE	fermentare ferment-INF
a interveni 'intervene'	intervenție intervene-ȚIE	intervenire intervene-INF (Dragomirescu 2010: 277-338)
Unergatives		
a conversa 'converse'	conversație converse-ȚIE	*conversare *converse-INF

3. Interpreting *-ție* nominals: A comparison with *-re* nominals

The third section of this paper aims at providing evidence that in Romanian the affix *-ție* is specialized for a result reading, while *-re* specializes for an event one. Our main claim is that *-ție* nominalizations are in general result nominals. This is apparent in the fact that whenever there are *-ție/-re* doublets, *-ție* nominalizations occur in contexts where a result nominal is needed, while their *-re* counterparts are used with an event reading (see also Cornilescu et al. 2014).

More often than not *-ție* nominalizations are neologisms borrowed from Romance languages (French, Italian, etc.), see Oprea (1992-1993), Sala et al (2015), a.o. What is interesting is the fact that in such languages the correspondent affix *-tion* has both an event and a result reading, as in English:

- (9) a. Cette construction de Le Corbusier est un chef d'oeuvre (RN)
 this construction of Le Corbusier is a masterpiece
 'This construction of Le Corbusier is a masterpiece'
- b. La construction de cette maison a eu lieu il y a
 the construction of this house has had place it there has
 deux ans (CEN)
 two years
 'The construction of this house took place two years ago'
- (Tavalati and van de Velde 2014: 142-143)

However, Romanian also has the infinitive grammatical nominalization (i.e. *-re*). Therefore, *-ție* nominals tend to be results and the grammatical nominalization with the affix *-re* develops the event reading for transitive and unaccusative verbs, a sign of affix specialization.

Furthermore, we have also found examples where the affix *-ție* is blocked for some verbs (unknown reasons so far) and *-re* can lead to both an event and a result reading and instances where both *-ție* and *-re* nominalizations have an event reading, but we will argue that the latter represent instances of semantic specialization.

3.1 Result interpretations

This subsection focuses on the syntax of *-ție* and *-re* nominalizations, arguing that there are fundamental syntactic differences between the two, as we show that *-ție* nominals are generally RNs, while their *-re* counterparts are CENs. Additionally, we discuss cases where the affix *-ție* is blocked and *-re* nominalizations develop both an eventive and a resultative reading.

3.1.1 RN properties of *-ție* nominalizations: A comparison with *-re* CEN nominals

-Tie nominalizations exhibit all the syntactic properties of result nominals. By examining *-ție/-re* doublets, one can notice that *-ție* nominalizations are usually used in

contexts which require RNs, while their *-re* nominalizations take their place whenever CENs are needed.

Thus, one first characteristic of *-ție* nominalizations is that they do not obligatorily require internal arguments. Therefore, they are not compatible with overt Genitival IAs:

- (10) a. *Donația banilor a fost o idee foarte bună (RN)
 *donate-ȚIE-the money-the.GEN has been an idea very good
 *‘The donation of money was a very good idea.’
- b. Donarea *(banilor) de către Ion a avut loc ieri. (CEN)
 donate-INF-the money-the.GEN by Ion has had place yesterday
 ‘The donation of money by Ion took place yesterday’

As previously discussed, in Romanian RNs the Genitive position is occupied by the external argument, as they do not need an internal argument. This is also what happens in the case of *-ție* nominalizations, proving that they are result (11a). On the other hand, *-re* nominalizations have an obligatory internal argument (see also Grimshaw 1990) which is assigned the Genitive case, while the external argument is an adjunct and is introduced by *de către* (10b and 11b):

- (11) a. Afirmația lui Dan a fost un șoc pentru toată lumea. (RN)
 state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Dan has been a shock for all people
 ‘Dan’s statement shocked everyone.’
- b. Afirmarea / *Afirmația adevărului de către Dan (CEN)
 state-INF-the / *state.ȚIE-the truth-the.GEN by Dan
 ‘Stating / *The statement of truth by Dan’

Secondly, *-ție* nominalizations do not show aspectual properties either for lexical or for viewpoint aspect, therefore they do not occur with aspectual modifiers (12a) or with modifiers such as *frecvent/constant* ‘frequent’/‘constant’, unless pluralized (13a). *-Re* CENs do allow aspectual modifiers, proving that they have an additional Aspectual projection (Borer 2011), as in (12b) and (13b):

- (12) a. *Inspecția în trei luni / timp de trei luni (RN)
 *Inspect-ȚIE-the in three months / time of three months
 ‘The inspection in three months/for three months’
- b. Inspectarea spitalelor timp de trei luni (CEN)
 inspect-INF-the hospital-PL-the.GEN time of three months
 ‘The inspection of the hospitals for three months’
- (13) a. *Donația frecventă a lui Ion către spital (RN)
 donate-ȚIE-the frequent OBL the.GEN Ion to hospital
 ‘Ion’s frequent donation to the hospital’

- b. Donarea frecventă a banilor pentru orfani. (CEN)
accuse-INF-the frequent OBL money-GEN for orphans
'The frequent donation of money for the orphans'

Thirdly, *-ție* nominals do not show control into purpose clauses, again a characteristic of RNs (14a). Control in purpose clauses would imply the presence of an EA of the nominalization which controls the subject of the subordinate clause, i.e. evidence of argument structure and according to Grimshaw (1990) RNs do not have an a-structure. On the other hand, as CENs, *-re* nominals exhibit control in purpose clauses (14b):

- (14) a. *Afirmația lui Ion pentru PRO a impresiona
*state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Ion for to impress
masa electorală. (RN)
mass-the electoral
'Ion's statement in order to impress the electoral mass'
- b. Afirmarea adevărului pentru PRO a impresiona masa
state-INF-the truth-the.GEN for to impress mass-the
electorală (CEN)
electoral
'Stating the truth in order to impress the electoral mass'

Additionally, *-ție* nominals (15a), unlike *-re* nominalizations (15b) cannot occur with agent-oriented modifiers:

- (15) a. ??Afirmația intenționată a lui Ion (RN)
state-ȚIE-the intentional OBL the.GEN Ion
'Ion's deliberate statement'
- b. Afirmarea intenționată a unor neadevăruri (CEN)
state-INF-the intentional OBL some untruth-PL-the.GEN
'The deliberate statement of lies'

Last, but not least, it is a well-known fact that nominalizations which come from verbs of propositional attitude are able to take CP complements, again a sign of an r-reading (Stowell 1981, Grimshaw 1990). It has been argued (Cornilescu et al. 2014) that *-ție* nominals take CPs as complements (16a), while *-re* nominals do not (16b), showing that the former are RNs, while the latter are CENs:

- (16) a. Afirmația lui Ion că școlile sunt închise (RN)
state-ȚIE-the the.GEN Ion that school.pl-the are closed.
'Ion's statement that schools are closed.'
- b. *Afirmarea că el e curajos (CEN)
state-INF-the that he is brave
*'The statement that he is brave'

Taking all of the above properties into consideration, we may draw the conclusion that *-ție* nominals are more often than not results, while *-re* nominals occur as CENs. Thus, we may say that the affix *-ție* is specialized for a result reading, while *-re* specializes for an event reading. But a new question arises: what happens when the affix *-ție* is blocked and the only available nominalization is the infinitive one? As will be seen in the next subsection, the answer is that *-re* nominalizations may also develop an r-reading in such cases.

3.1.2 RN instances of *-re* nominals

An important empirical generalization observed by Grimshaw (1990) is that nominalizations which have event readings may also develop result readings. For Romanian, the affix *-re* conforms to this generalization. Thus, it has been shown (Cornilescu 2001, Iordachioaia and Soare, 2008, a.o) that *-re* nominalizations can receive both event and result interpretations. As a result, the *-re* suffix may have RN properties as well. In what follows we will briefly discuss the properties of result *-re* nominalizations, that have no *-ție* counterparts.

The first RN property is that *-re* nominals that come from transitive verb stems do not take obligatory internal arguments:

- (17) Prezentarea a impresionat publicul.
 present-INF-the has impressed audience-the
 ‘The presentation impressed the audience’

(Iscrulescu 2002: 14)

Secondly, *-re* RNs lack properties that show the presence of further verbal functional structure. Thus, just like *-ție* nominals, they do not occur with aspectual modifiers (18) or with modifiers such as *frecvent/constant* ‘frequent/constant’ (19):

- (18) ??Prezentarea în două ore
 present.INF-the in two hours
 ‘the presentation in two hours’

(Iscrulescu 2002: 16)

- (19) *Introducerea frecventă a criticului la roman a
 introduce.INF-the frequent OBL critic-the.GEN to novel has
 plăcut mult.
 pleased much.
 ‘The frequent introduction to the novel by the critic was well liked by everybody.’

(Cornilescu 2001: 477)

Additionally, *-re* RNs do not show control into purpose clauses:

- (20) ??Prezentarea pentru PRO a impresiona publicul nu a avut succes.
 present-INF-the for to impress audience-the not has had success
 ‘The presentation in order to impress the audience was not a success’

Again sharing the behaviour of *-ție* nominalizations, *-re* RNs do not accept agent-oriented modifiers:

- (21) ??Prezentarea intenționată a fost o greșeală
 present-INF-the intentional has been an error
 ‘The intentional presentation was an error.’

(Iscrulescu 2002: 13)

The fact that *-re* nominals may develop r-readings as well is essential to our analysis as we will show that, whenever the affix *-ție* is blocked, *-re* nominalizations may enter LVCs, but with a result interpretation.

3.2 Event interpretations

In the previous section we have seen that *-ție* RNs can be considered regular instances of *-ție* nominalizations and that, in the case of doublets, *-ție* provides result nominals, while *-re* gives rise to event nominalizations.

As announced, with a limited number of verbs *-ție* may have an event reading, producing CENs. So far, we have also found 13 cases where *-ție* nominals are, in fact, events. The aim of this section is to discuss the syntactic properties of *-ție* CENs. Since some of these verbs also have *-re* CEN counterparts, we argue that there is a semantic specialization for these suffixes.

Let us consider the following examples:

- (22) a. Extracția molarilor de minte va elimina multe
 extract-ȚIE-the tooth.PL- the.GEN wisdom will eliminate many
 alte probleme.
 other problems
 ‘The extraction of the wisdom teeth will eliminate many other problems.’
- b. Execuția prizonierului a avut loc ieri.
 execute-ȚIE-the prisoner-the.GEN has had place yesterday
 ‘The execution of the prisoner took place yesterday.’

(Google)

The *-ție* nominals from the examples above pass all the tests which Grimshaw (1990) proposed for CENs. First, as they are derived from transitive verbs, they take an obligatory internal argument, which is assigned the Genitive case. This internal argument occupies the only structural Genitive case position and the external argument, if added, will be an argument-adjunct and will be introduced by the *by*-phrase *de către*). Also, the internal argument is an obligatory argument, as its absence may lead to ungrammatical sentences:

- (23) a. Extracția *(molarilor de minte) de către dentist
 extract-ȚIE-the wisdom tooth-PL-the.GEN by dentist
 ‘The extraction wisdom teeth by the dentist’
 b. Execuția *(prizonierului) de către armată
 execute-ȚIE-the prisoner-the.GEN by army
 ‘The execution of the prisoner by the army’

(Google)

Second, *-ție* CENs may pass other tests that show the presence of verbal functional structure and of argument structure, such as aspectual modifiers (24), and control into purpose clauses (25):

- (24) a. Extracția frecventă a dinților poate cauza
 extract-ȚIE-the frequent OBL tooth-PL-the.GEN may cause
 dureri.
 pain-PL
 ‘The frequent extraction of teeth may cause pain’
 b. Au avut loc execuții frecvente de prizonieri.
 have had place execute-ȚIE-PL frequent of prisoner-PL
 ‘There have been frequent executions of prisoners.’
- (25) a. Extracția molarilor de minte pentru PRO a evita
 extract-ȚIE-the wisdom tooth-PL-the.GEN for to avoid
 complicațiile.
 complication-PL-the
 ‘The extraction of wisdom teeth in order to avoid complications’
 b. Execuția prizonierului pentru PRO a da un exemplu.
 Execute-ȚIE-the prisoner-the.GEN for to give an example
 ‘The execution of the prisoner in order to set an example’

(Google)

However, we have also found *-re* CEN counterparts for these *-ție* nominals, but they are used in specialized language and can be argued to be instances of affix semantic specialization:

- (26) a. Extragerea cărbunilor de către mineri .
 extract-INF-the coal-PL-the.GEN by miners
 ‘The extraction of coal by the miners’
 b. Executarea silită a actriței pentru recuperarea
 execute-INF-the forced OBL actress-the.GEN for recovery-the
 sumelor
 sum-the-PL
 ‘The enforced execution of the actress to recover the sum of money’

(Google)

3.3 Interim conclusions

The conclusion we have reached so far after examining the behaviour of nominalization doublets *-ție/-re* is that the affix *-ție* is specialized for a resultative reading and such instances pass all tests for a resultative interpretation. On the other hand, we have seen that *-re* is specialized for an eventive reading, as it surfaces instead of *-ție* in the contexts where CENs are required. Another important fact to note is that *-re* may as well develop a resultative reading whenever the suffix *-ție* is blocked. We have also found 13 exceptions where *-ție* gives rise to CENs, but all these examples have *-re* CEN counterparts and are instances of affix specialization.

4. *-Tie* and *-re* nominalizations in LVCs: *a face* / *a avea*

After the long excursion into the properties of nominalizations, we return to LVCs and our main hypothesis: the task of the light verb is to offer eventhood and a functional structure, while the nominalization provides the a-structure and meaning. Since there cannot be two events in the same clause, we propose that all nominalizations in Romanian LVCs are RNs. Thus, this section focuses on providing evidence that in Romanian light verbs select RNs and ban CENs. As part of this endeavor, we will examine combinations of *a face/a avea* ‘make, do’/‘have’ LVs with *-ție/-re* nominals in order to see which is the preferred affix.

4.1 Hypothesis

Our hypothesis is that in Romanian nominalizations which appear in LVCs are result nominals. Given what we have shown in the previous section, at least the following predictions should be borne out:

Firstly, in the case of *-ție-re* doublets, the light verb will always select the result deverbal noun, the one ending in *-ție*, while the infinitive counterpart will receive an event interpretation and will be banned from the LVC.

Secondly, as previously shown, the suffix *-ție* may be blocked. In such cases, we expect the affix *-re* to appear in LVCs, but with a result reading (remember that *-re* may develop both readings).

4.2 The corpus

The analysis is based on 104 authentic Romanian examples with both the LVs *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’ which we have found in several Romanian dictionaries, such as *Dicționarul Limbii Române* (DLR) (2010), Dobrescu (2008), Trofin (1996), Hulban (2007), and from the internet, using Google as a search engine.

4.3 Description of the procedure

The analysis presented in this section involved three main steps. First, we collected the 104 examples of LVCs with both the light verbs *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’ followed by either *-ție* or *-re* nominalizations or both using the aforementioned sources. 58 of these nominalizations were *-ție/-re* doublets. Thus, the second step was to decide for each pair which member of the doublet is possible in the LVCs and verify our examples using dictionaries and Google. The final step involved the refining of the generalization apparent in the data and the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

4.4 Results of the analysis

The corpus analysis in these three steps revealed that our predictions were correct and our hypothesis was confirmed, as can be seen in Table 2 where the results are summarized.

The relevant situation is that of *-ție/-re* doublets. Our previous discussion has revealed that when the two affixes attach to the same base verb, *-ție* has a result reading, while *-re* may have an event reading. According to our hypothesis, the light verb should always select result nouns, in this case the ones derived with *-ție*. This is indeed what happens with all the 58 examples involving doublets: both in the case of *a face* ‘make, do’ (27) and *a avea* ‘have’ (28), the LVs select *-ție* over *-re*. Here are some examples:

(27) *a face*

- a. complicare → complicație, complication
În urma operațiilor, pacientul a făcut o complicație /
following surgery-PL-the.GEN, patient-the has made a complicat-ȚIE
*complicare
*complicate-INF
‘After the surgeries, the patient developed a complication.’
- b. consultare → consultație ‘conversation’
doctorul face consultații / *consultări
doctor-the does consult-ȚIE-PL / *consult-INF-PL
‘The doctor offers consultations.’

(28) *a avea*

- a. satisfacere - satisfacție, satisfaction
Am avut o satisfacție / *satisfacere imensă când a luat
have had a satisfy-ȚIE / *satisfy-INF immense when has taken
examenul.
exam-the
‘I had a tremendous satisfaction when he passed the exam.’
- b. obiectare → obiecție, objection
avocatul are mai multe obiecții / *obiectări.
lawyer-the has more many object-ȚIE-PL / *object-INF-PL
‘The lawyer has several objections.’

As shown in section 2, the affix *-re* is blocked for unergatives, while *-ție* does not show such a restriction. What follows is that in the case of unergatives there are no doublets available, but only *-ție* deverbal nouns. Thus, we have also found 5 examples of LVCs where the LV combines with *-ție* nominalizations that have no *-re* counterparts:

- (29) a face erupție: to make erupt:
 Copilul a făcut o erupție / *erupere pe piele.
 child-the has made a erupt-ȚIE / *erupt-INF on skin
 ‘The baby developed a rash on his skin.’

A third pattern is that of nominalizations where the affix *-ție* is blocked (for yet unknown reasons) and the verb can combine only with the infinitive affix. As we have previously argued, in such cases, *-re* nominals may also develop a result reading. This allows them to enter LVCs with both the LV *a face* ‘make, do’ (30) and a *avea* ‘have’ (31) and we have found 39 examples:

- (30) *a face*
 S- a oprit și nu a făcut nicio mișcare / *mișcație.
 REFL has stopped and not has made no move-INF / *move-ȚIE
 ‘He stopped and did not make any more moves.’
- (31) *a avea*
 Am o presimțire / *presimție rea.
 have a feel-INF / *feel-ȚIE bad
 ‘I have a bad feeling.’

The corpus analysis has also evidenced 2 instances of affix specialization, where both *-ție* and *-re* may enter LVCs, but are used in different contexts. Here are the examples:

- (32) a. S- a făcut extragerea numerelor loto.
 REFL has made extract-INF number-PL-the.GEN lottery
 ‘The draw of the lottery numbers has been done.’
- b. Doctorul a făcut două extracții de molari.
 doctor-the has made two extract-ȚIE-PL of molars.
 ‘The doctor did two extractions of molars.’
- c. Am făcut o rezervare la restaurant.
 have made a reserve-INF at restaurant
 ‘I made a reservation at the restaurant.’
- d. În Delta Dunării s- a făcut o rezervație naturală.
 In Delta-the Danube-the.GEN REFL has made a reserve-ȚIE natural
 ‘The Danube Delta has made a natural reservation.’

The table below contains our results so far:

Table 2. Results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis

A face + -<i>ție</i>	63
a afirma → afirmație ‘statement’ to state state-ȚIE Scriitorul a făcut o afirmație interesantă. writer-the has made a state-ȚIE interesting The writer made an interesting statement	
a (-și) imagina → imaginație ‘imagination’ to REFL imagine → imagine-ȚIE Copiii au o imaginație bogată. children-the have an imagination rich ‘Children have a vivid imagination.’	
Both suffixes	2
a extrage → extragere, extracție ‘extraction’ to extract extract-INF extract-ȚIE a face o extragere / extracție to make an extract-INF / extract-ȚIE ‘to make an extraction’	
A face + -<i>re</i> / -<i>ție</i> blocked	39
a (se) plimba → plimbare, *plimbație to REFL walk walk-INF walk-ȚIE Am făcut o plimbare prin parc have made a walk through park ‘I took a walk in the park.’	
Total	104

At the end of our analysis we may draw the conclusion that in Romanian light verbs indeed select result nominalizations. The data have shown that in the case of *-re/-ție* doublets both the light verb *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’ always select the affix which gives rise to RNs, i.e. *-ție*. When this affix cannot attach to a certain verb base, *-re* takes its place and may appear in LVCs with a result reading.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have tried to analyze the class of nominalizations that enter Romanian LVCs with the verbs *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’ and to argue that these nominals are result, and never event. We started the discussion by briefly presenting the standard definition of LVCs together with the theory of nominalization as put forth by Grimshaw (1990) and further developed by many other linguists (Alexiadou 2001, 2010, Borer 2011, a.o.). The second section has revealed the fact that the affix *-ție* is very productive in Romanian, that it shows no selectional restriction with respect to the verb

base and that it more often than not enters minimal pairs with the infinitive affix, i.e. *-re*. We have also evidenced the fact that such doublets may appear only in the case of transitive and unaccusative verb bases, as *-re* cannot attach to unergatives (Cornilescu 2001). The third section has dealt with the interpretation of both *-ție* and *-re* nominalizations and we have provided evidence that the two suffixes are specialized. Thus, regular instances of *-ție* are RNs, while *-re* deverbal nouns are their CEN counterparts. However, *-re* nominalizations may develop r-readings whenever *-ție* is not available for a verb base. The last section of the paper is focused on our analysis of Romanian LVCs with the light verbs *a face* ‘make, do’ and *a avea* ‘have’ and *-ție/-re* nominalizations. As we have seen, in all the relevant cases where doublets are available, the light verb selects the result nominalization, the one derived with the suffix *-ție*, proving that in Romanian LVCs always contain a result nominalization, and not an event one. Even though there are cases where *-ție* is blocked, we can argue that *-re* is allowed in the LVC, but again with a result interpretation as it has been observed that *-re* nominals can receive an e-reading and an r-reading as well.

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