

Approaching Results in Catalan and Spanish Deadjectival Verbs*

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to discuss the morpho-semantic variation in the lexico-syntactic derivation of deadjectival verbs in Catalan and Spanish formed with the suffix *-ejar/-ear*, such as *groguejar/amarillear* lit. yellow-*ejar/-ear*. Specifically, we address two types of questions. On the one hand, we are concerned with the cross-linguistic differences that *-ear/-ejar* deadjectival verbs exhibit in these two Romance languages. On the other hand, we deal with the theoretical implications of this distinct behavior for the grammar of deadjectival verbal formations. We argue that while Spanish *-ear* deadjectival verbs are change of state verbs that involve a transition with a terminal coincidence relation, i.e. a morpho-syntactic configuration that includes both a Place and a Path, Catalan *-ejar* deadjectival verbs are stative predications that include only a Place, headed by the abstract non-terminal coincidence preposition NEAR.

Keywords: deadjectival verbs; argument structure; telicity; causation; inchoativity; Catalan; Peninsular Spanish.

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1. Introduction

In this paper we discuss the morpho-semantic variation in the lexico-syntactic derivation of deadjectival verbs in Catalan and (Iberian) Spanish. Specifically, we focus on the structural derivation, semantic interpretation and morphological representation of *-ejar* / *-ear* deadjectival verbs (EDV hereafter) within the configurational model of syntactic argument structure proposed in Hale and Keyser (1993, 1998, 2002) as developed in recent work (e.g. Mateu 2002; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2010; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2011, 2013), which assumes a single generative mechanism for all structure-building (e.g. Distributed Morphology or Borer's 2005 framework). The analysis of these *-ejar*/*-ear* deadjectival verbs allows us to uncover a number of fine-grained structural and semantic distinctions within the grammar of deadjectival verbs.

We address two types of questions. On the one hand, we provide a detailed empirical description of an as yet unnoticed crosslinguistic variation between Catalan and Spanish with respect to EDV. On the other hand, we investigate into the grammatical difference between inchoative degree achievements [DA], which show variable telicity, and those EDV that can never entail the final endstate that the adjective expresses.

We show that whereas Cat. *-ejar* shows a rather systematic behavior with adjectival bases, in that it consistently expresses a stative attribution of a property and cannot be causativized, Sp. *-ear* verbs are change of state [COS] verbs that may license an external causer and show variable telicity (like regular DA), even if they present a higher degree of variation among speakers. This grammatical difference translates as a configurational difference: whereas Sp. *-ear* is structurally analyzed as an unaccusative event of change of state that expresses a transition, Cat. *-ejar* establishes a stative predicative relation that includes a central coincidence Place(NEAR).

2. Empirical overview

We are concerned with crosslinguistic morphological variation within the understudied *-ear*/*-ejar* verbs of the type in (1)-(3), which contrast with the well-studied resultative change of state verbs. As shown in (1)-(3), COS verbs generally appear with a prefix.

(1) a.	[sord] _A deaf	-	ensordir deafen		sordejar ¹ go.deaf	<i>Catalan</i>
b.	[groc] _A yellow	-	engroguir, to.yellow	esgrogueir, turn.yellow	groguejar go.yellow	

1. For perspicuity, we translate and gloss EDV as 'go-A' throughout the paper, with lower case *go*. By doing this we intend to remain theory-neutral until we present our proposal, while keeping faithful to the lexicographic definitions found in the dictionaries of the sort 'tend to/approach A, show some properties of A', and to their translations into other languages. Other *-ear*/*-ejar* verbs with definitions different from 'go-A', have been glossed either as '.EAR/.EJAR' or with their English translation.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (2) a. | [sordo] _A
deaf | - | ensordecen
deafen | sordear ²
go.deaf | Spanish |
| b. | [amarillo] _A
yellow | - | amarillecen
turn.yellow | amarillar
become.yellow | amarillear
go.yellow |
| (3) a. | [beneit] _{A/N}
dumb
'dumb, to fool about' | - | beneitejar
dumb.EJAR | | Catalan |
| b. | [holgazán] _{A/N}
idle | - | holgazanejar
to.idle | | Spanish |

In the remainder of the article, we concentrate on the properties of deadjectival verbs of the type in (1)-(2), since the examples in (3) are clearly agentive, as the well-known tests in (4)-(5) show (Kearns 2011:168):³

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------|
| (4) | Complement of <i>persuade</i> | Spanish |
| a. | Ha persuadido a Juan de holgazanejar todo el día.
has persuaded to Juan of to.idle all the day
'She has persuaded Juan to idle all day long.' | |
| b. | *Ha persuadido a Juan de sordear todo el día.
has persuaded to Juan of go.deaf all the day
'She has persuaded Juan to go deaf all day long.' | |
| (5) | <i>What x did</i> construction | Catalan |
| a. | El que ha fet en Joan ha sigut dropejar tot el dia.
the that has done the Joan has been to.idle all the day
'What John did was idle all day long.' | |
| b. | *El que ha fet en Joan és sordejar tot el dia.
the that has done the Joan is go.deaf all the day
'What John did was go deaf all day long.' | |

2.1. EDV in Catalan and Spanish

In this section we discuss a number of properties that distinguish Catalan and Spanish EDV with respect to (i) base selection, (ii) causation and morphological realization, (iii) telicity and result entailment, and (iv) sensitivity to perfective aspect.

2. *Sordear* 'go deaf' does not appear in the *DRAE/CREA*, even though it is used in Spanish with the interpretation 'go-A'. We leave aside some causative uses found in varieties of American Spanish.
3. The *-ejar/-ear* examples in (3) above have been characterized as denominal in Bernal (2000) or Gràcia et al. (2000), as based on nouns derived from recategorized adjectives in Rifón (1997), or as derived from A/N in RAE/ASALE (2009). In addition, whereas *-ejar/-ear* examples (1)-(2) are interpreted as 'go/turn-A', those in (3) have been paraphrased as 'behave in the manner of A/N' or 'behave as a N'.

2.1.1. Base selection

Table 1 and Table 2 provide two lists of adjectives that clearly show the contrast between Catalan and Spanish EDV. Catalan EDV can take color adjectives or other adjectives, such as *fosc* ‘dark’, which can be interpreted as the result of internal causation; e.g. in *fosquejar* ‘go dark’ the verb expresses an eventuality that cannot involve an external causer (see §2.1.2). The meanings ‘go-A’ or ‘be A-ish’ conveyed by Catalan EDV cannot be systematically expressed by Spanish EDV, as illustrated in Table 1, unless the adjectival base is a color, as shown in Table 2 (see §2.2 for a few exceptions to this general pattern). In other words, Spanish EDV can only take color adjectives as bases.

Table 1. Non-color verbs

A-base	Catalan		Spanish	
	COS	EDV	COS	EDV
‘clear’	<i>aclarir</i>	<i>clarejar</i>	<i>clarear</i>	<i>clarear</i>
‘sour’	<i>agrir</i>	<i>agrejar</i> ¹	<i>agriar</i>	?? <i>agrear</i> (not in use)
‘long’	<i>allargar</i>	<i>llarguejar</i>	<i>alargar</i>	* <i>larguear</i>
‘bitter’	<i>amargar</i>	<i>amarguejar</i>	<i>amargar</i>	* <i>amarguear/amargar</i>
‘wide’	<i>ampliar/eixamplar</i>	<i>amplejar</i>	<i>ampliar/ensanchar</i>	* <i>ampl(i)ear/*anchear</i>
‘raw’	<i>encruar-se</i>	<i>cruejar</i>	<i>encrudecer</i>	* <i>crudear</i>
‘rough’	<i>enaspir</i>	<i>asprejar</i>	<i>volver/poner áspero</i>	?? <i>asperear</i> ²
‘bald’	<i>encalbir</i>	<i>calbejar</i>	<i>encalvecer</i>	? <i>calvear</i> ³
‘sick’	<i>emmalaltir</i>	<i>malaltejar</i>	<i>enfermar</i>	* <i>enfermear</i>
‘high’	<i>enaltir</i>	<i>altejar</i>	<i>enaltecer</i>	* <i>altear</i> ⁴
‘sweet’	<i>endolcir</i>	<i>dolcejar</i>	<i>endulzar</i>	* <i>dulcear</i>
‘dark’	<i>enfoscir</i>	<i>fosquejar</i>	<i>oscurecer</i>	* <i>oscurear</i>
‘brilliant’	<i>enlluentejar/enlluentir</i>	<i>lluentejar</i>	<i>abrillantar</i>	* <i>brillantear</i>
‘rancid’	<i>enrancir</i>	<i>ranciejar</i>	<i>enranciar/rancier</i>	* <i>ranciear</i>
‘blond’	<i>enrossir</i>	<i>rossejar</i>	<i>enrubiar</i>	* <i>rubiear</i>
‘deaf’	<i>ensordir</i>	<i>sordejar</i>	<i>ensordecer</i>	<i>sordear</i>
‘short’	<i>escurçar</i>	<i>curtejar</i>	<i>acortar</i>	* <i>cortear</i>
‘cool’	<i>refrescar</i>	<i>fresquejar</i>	<i>refrescar</i>	* <i>fresquear</i>

1. Although the *DIEC* equates *agrejar* ‘go sour’, an EDV, with *agrir* ‘to sour’, a COS verb that can enter the causative alternation, as in (ib), we do not share this use, nor our informants.

- (i) a. La llet s’ha agrejat.
the milk SE-has gone.sour
‘The milk has turned sour.’
b. *La calor ha agrejat la llet.
the heat has gone.sour the milk
‘*The heat has turned the milk sour.’

2. *Asperear* (= *tener sabor áspero* ‘to have a sharp taste’ *DRAE*) is often rejected by non-bilingual Spanish native speakers.

3. *Encalvecer* ‘to make/become bald’ is intransitive only. *Calvear* ‘go bald’ is not listed in the *DRAE*, and we have found a single example with this verb in the *CREA*.

- (i) Empezaba a calvear, pero ...
began to go.bald but
‘S/he began to go bald, but ...’

[Javier Alfaya, *El traidor melancólico*, Alfaguara, 1991]

4. The verb appears in the *DRAE*, though not as ‘go-A, show some properties of A’. There is no example in the *CREA*.

Table 2. Color verbs

A-base	Catalan		Spanish	
	COS - DA	EDV	COS - DA	EDV
'grey'	<i>agrisar</i>	<i>grisejar</i>	<i>agrisar</i>	<i>grisear</i>
'white'	<i>emblanquir/blanquejar</i>	<i>blanquejar</i>	<i>blanquear/emblanquecer</i>	<i>blanquear</i>
'blue'	<i>emblavir</i>	<i>blavejar</i>	<i>azulear (some dialects)</i>	<i>azulear</i>
'black'	<i>ennegrir</i>	<i>negrejar</i>	<i>ennegrecer</i>	<i>negrear</i>
'green'	<i>enverdir</i>	<i>verdejar</i>	<i>enverdecer</i>	<i>verdear/(re)verdecer</i>
'red'	<i>envermellir</i>	<i>vermellejar</i>	<i>enrojecer</i>	<i>rojejar</i>

2.1.2. Causation and morpho-syntactic realization

Catalan EDV quite consistently express an attribution of a property (see §2.2 for exceptions), and cannot be causativized. The corresponding causative verb requires different morphology, generally involving the insertion of a prefix, as exemplified in (6).

- (6) a. [fosc]_A - enfosquir fosquejar Catalan
 dark darken go.dark
 'dark - darken/become-dark, approx. go dark'
- b. El dia {s'ha enfosquit / fosqueja}.
 the day SE-has darkened goes.dark
 'The day {has darkened / is going dark}.'
- c. Els núvols {han enfosquit / *fosquegen} el dia.
 the clouds have darkened go.dark the day
 'The clouds {have darkened / *are going dark} the day.'

The equivalent Spanish EDV can have an external causer, like *clarear* 'clear' in (7c). To express the meaning denoted by Catalan EDV, Spanish requires either an analytic expression with a light verb, such as **dulcear* 'go sweet' - *tirar a/saber a* 'tend to A / taste A' in (8); or a different morphological realization that performs all functions, like *oscurecer* 'darken' in (9).

- (7) a. [claro]_A - clarear aclarar Spanish
 clear to.clear to.clear
 'clear - to clear/go clear, to clear/go clear'
- b. El día ya clareaba. / El día aclaraba por detrás de la
 the day already cleared the day cleared by behind of the
 sierra.
 mountain.range
 'The day was already dawning. / The day was clearing behind the mountains.'
- c. Este tratamiento clarea / aclara la piel de forma natural.
 this treatment clears clears the skin of form natural
 'This treatment clears the skin in a natural way.'

(11) Causative *azulear* /**blavejar* ‘to make/become blue’

- a. La barba de un día le azuleaba el mentón. *Spanish*
 the beard of one day him turned.blue the chin
 ‘His one-day beard turned his chin blueish.’ [A. Pérez-Reverte, *La reina del Sur*, Alfaguara, 2002 (CREA)]

Catalan

- b. La barba d’un dia li {*blavejava / emblavia / feia tornar
 the beard of-one day him went.blue turned.blue made turn
 blava} la barbeta.
 blue the chin
 ‘His one-day beard {*was going blue / turned blue} his chin.’

Whereas Catalan EDV always obtain a unique interpretation, Spanish shows variation depending on the base. As shown in Table 1, only a few adjectives can trigger the same meaning as Catalan EDV, ‘go-A’, thus presenting a clear empirical contrast between the two languages.

2.1.3. *Telicity and result entailment*

Whereas Catalan EDV are always atelic, Spanish EDV behave as DA in showing variable telicity (Krifka 1998 and much subsequent work for the notion of telicity). DA such as *allargar* ‘lengthen’, *enfosquir* ‘darken’, *engroguir* ‘to yellow’ are based on gradable predicates whose theme is involved in a scalar change of state. Some authors (starting with Dowty 1979) argue that DA have variable telicity on the basis of examples like (12).

- (12) a. The soup cooled *in* 10 minutes. [TELIC]
 b. The soup cooled *for* 10 minutes. [ATELIC]

The atelicity of (12b) is described as the lack of entailment that coolness has been reached. In (13), however, the lack of culmination is not an entailment, but rather it is part of the denotation of the EDV that the t-shirt is on its way to becoming yellow, though it does not reach proper yellowness.

- (13) Aquesta samarreta grogueja. *Catalan*
 this t-shirt goes.yellow
 ‘This t-shirt is going yellow.’

Reaching yellowness might be seen as the natural endpoint of a transition, though it is not linguistically encoded. The typical telicity test to show the contrast is provided in (14) for Spanish and (15) for Catalan. Note that (14) parallels (15b).

- (14) La camisa amarilleó {en / durante} dos minutos. *Spanish*
 the shirt went.yellow in during two minutes
 ‘The shirt went yellow {in / for} two minutes.’

- (15) a. A l'hivern el dia fosqueja {*en / durant} mitja hora, mentre
 at the-winter the day goes.dark in during half hour while
 que ...⁴ *Catalan*
 that
 'In winter the day goes dark {*in / for} two half an hour, while ...'
- b. A Mart, el dia s'enfosqueix {en / durant} dos minuts.
 at Mars the day SE-goes.dark in during two minutes
 'On Mars, the day darkens {in / for} two minutes.'

The contrasts in (16)-(17) for Spanish and Catalan respectively, clearly show the differences with respect to result entailment. Whereas Spanish EDV can entail that the result has been achieved, as other change of state verbs, this is never possible with Catalan EDV. This difference is illustrated in the licensing of adjectival passives, which have been used as a diagnostic for result entailment, in (16)-(17). Even though Spanish examples like (16) are not so numerous, the key contrast is that they are completely impossible with Catalan EDV.

- (16) Las hojas basales están amarilleadas. *Spanish*
 the leaves basal are gone.yellow
 'The basal leaves are gone yellow.' (Junta de Andalucía, *Boletín oficial de información agraria*, 2013, 1168:9)
- (17) a. El dia està {enfoscit / *fosquejat}. *Catalan*
 the day is darkened gone.dark
 'The day is {darkened / *gone dark}.'
- b. El vi està {enrancit / *ranciejat}.
 the wine is become.rancid gone.rancid
 'The wine {has become rancid / *has gone rancid}.'

Note, in addition, that whereas the Spanish example in (18a) could be ambiguous between an interpretation of 'two days' as the time it takes for the event to culminate, or the time before the event initiates (Kearns 2007, 2011), the atelic Catalan example in (18b) could only be acceptable in the second interpretation as a sort of repair strategy.⁵

4. According to Kearns (2011:160), it is essential with the *in* adverbial test to use simple past sentences. As explained in §2.1.4 below, Catalan EDV are constrained to appear with imperfective tenses.

5. Although we find that the first reading is unavailable in Catalan EDV, there seems to be variation in acceptability judgments.

(18) Telicity *amarillear* /**groguejar*

- a. Las hojas del arce amarillean en dos días. *Spanish*
 the leaves of.the maple go.yellow in two days
 ‘Maple leaves turn/go yellow in two days.’
- b. * Les fulles de l’auró groguegen en dos dies. *Catalan*
 the leaves of the-maple go.yellow in two days
 ‘* Maple leaves go yellow in two days.’ (acceptable if ‘after two days’)

2.1.4. Sensitivity to perfective aspect

We have further noted that in general Catalan EDV show some incompatibility with perfective viewpoint aspect, a constraint that may disappear in the presence of an aspectually inceptive adverbial that focuses on the beginning of the state, as exemplified in (19).^{6,7} As shown in (20), Spanish does not show any constraints in this respect.

- (19) a. * L’any passat en Joan va calbejar. *Catalan*
 the-year past the Joan AUX go.bald
 ? En Joan va calbejar des dels 30 anys
 the Joan AUX go.bald from of.the 30 years
 ‘* Last year Joan went bald. / ? Joan started going bald since he was 30.’
- b. La camisa ha groguejat una mica #(des de la primera rentada).
 the shirt has gone.yellow a bit from of the first wash
 (cf. s’ha esgrogueït)
 SE-has turned.yellow
 ‘The t-shirt has gone yellow #(since the first washing).’ (cf. ‘has turned yellow’)

6. To get an impressionistic idea of this aspectual constraint, a very simple Google search performed on 08/21/2013 has retrieved the outcome in (i)-(ii).

- (i) a. 2 valid examples for Cat. *han groguejat* ‘have gone yellow’ (8 records); 1 for Cat. *va groguejar* ‘went.PERFECTIVE yellow’ (5 records)
 b. over 10,000 records for Sp. *han amarilleado* ‘have gone/turned yellow’, over 7,000 records for Sp. *amarilleó* ‘went.PERFECTIVE yellow’
- (ii) 2,930 records for Sp. *verdearon* ‘went.PERFECTIVE green’ versus 1 valid example for Cat. *van verdejar* ‘went.PERFECTIVE green’ (9 records)

As shown in (i)-(ii), Catalan examples have been filtered against repetitions, bad Google translations or simple dictionary translations. Since a careful inspection of the Spanish examples would be an outrageous time-consuming effort, we have conducted a limited manual survey of the first 70 records of *amarilleó*, and we have obtained 20 valid example sentences with intransitive uses. In our view, this is indisputable evidence of the kind of contrast we have identified in the main text.

7. But see the following example, which we barely accept in our varieties.

- (i) El caràcter del Manel es va agrejar com el iogurt.
 the character of.the Manel SE AUX go.sour like the yoghourt
 ‘Manel’s personality turned sour, like yoghourt.’ [Jaume Cabré (2009) *Les veus del Pamano*]

- (20) a. La camisa ha amarilleado por zonas. Spanish
 the shirt has gone.yellow by areas
 ‘The t-shirt has gone yellow in some areas.’
- b. Las mimosas hace ya mucho que verdearon.
 the mimosas does already a lot that went.green
 ‘It s been a long time since the mimosas went green.’

2.1.5. Catalan EDV vs. Spanish EDV: The general pattern

The contrasts between Catalan and Spanish EDV’s properties are summarized in Table 3. In section 5, we suggest an analysis that accounts for all of them.

Table 3. Crosslinguistic variation Catalan - Spanish with EDV

Catalan EDV	Spanish EDV
1. Can have color bases and other adjectives expressing a property that is interpreted as internally-caused.	Can have color bases and are constrained to a few other adjectives that are interpreted as internally-caused (although judgments vary with respect to the latter).
2. Cannot be causative (with some exceptions).	Are causative (with some exceptions).
3. Are atelic.	Show variable telicity.
4. Do not involve a final state.	May involve a final state.
5. Restricted to imperfective tenses.	Show no aspectual constraints.

2.2. Exceptions to the general pattern

There are a couple of *-ear/-ejar* deadjectival verbs that are exceptions to these patterns, notably Sp. *redondear* ‘round’, *sanear* ‘clean up/drain’ and Cat. *netejar* ‘clean/wipe’, *sanejar* ‘clean up/drain’, which are transitive verbs. In addition, there are a few EDV in both languages that would fit in the pattern of the other language. On the one hand, Cat. *blanquejar* ‘whiten’ and *humitejar* ‘dampen/wet’ appear in the causative-inchoative alternation, like their Spanish counterparts. On the other hand, Sp. *calvear* ‘go bald’, *flaquear* ‘weaken’, *flojea* ‘weaken’⁸ and *sordear* ‘go deaf’ behave like Catalan EDV, i.e. they show all properties of Catalan EDV (perhaps with the exception of the perfectivity constraints with verbs like *flojea* and *flaquea*).

3. Previous approaches

For Spanish, previous approaches to deadjectival verbs are either essentially descriptive and mainly lexicographic (e.g. Pena 1993, Rifón 1997, Serrano Dolader

8. As pointed out in Gumiel et al. (1999), the adjective *flojo* has a stage-level meaning ‘loose’ and an individual-level meaning ‘poor’. Whereas the COS verb *aflojar* takes the former as a base, the EDV verb *flojea* takes the latter.

1999, Gràcia et al. 2000) or have concentrated on the resultative properties of deadjectival change of state verbs of the type *engordar* ‘fatten’, *agrandar* ‘enlarge’, *ampliar* ‘widen’ (e.g. Gumiel et al. 1999). Likewise for Catalan, e.g. Gràcia et al.’s (2000) and Bernal’s (2000) chiefly descriptive works; or Padrosa’s (2005) analysis of denominal and deadjectival *en-* verbs within Reinhart’s theta system model.

Within a Jackendovian lexico-semantic approach to event structure, Gràcia et al. (2000) provide eight different Lexical-Conceptual-Structures (LCS) for Catalan *-ejar* and seven for Spanish *-ear*. In both languages, only two of them are deadjectival, which differ in their telicity, in their LCS’s, and in their semantic characterization. They suggest the LCS’s in (21)-(22) for Spanish and Catalan *-ear1/-ejar1*, which are characterized as expressing ‘a change of quality or state’.

- (21) *-ear1*: redondear sanear simultaneear [+telic] *Spanish*
 to.round healthy.EAR simultaneous.EAR
 ‘to round, to clean up/drain, to do two things simultaneously’
 $[_{event} \text{ CAUSE } ([_{thing} x], [_{event} \text{ BEGIN } ([_{thing} y]) ([_{state} \text{ base}])])]$

- (22) *-ejar1*: blanquejar sanear verdejar [atelic] *Catalan*
 whiten healthy.EAR go.green
 ‘to whiten, to clean up/drain, to go green’
 $[_{event} \text{ CAUSE } ([_{thing} x], [_{event} \text{ BECOME } ([_{thing} y]) ([_{property} \text{ base}])})]$

As shown in (23)-(24), they suggest a GO + Path analysis for their *-ear3*, i.e. for *escasear* ‘be scarce’, *sordear* ‘go deaf’, *cojear* ‘to limp’, *vaguear* ‘to laze around’, which is characterized as [-telic], as they assume that *-ear* adds this feature, even though this may contradict their characterization of Sp. *-ear1* as telic, and Cat. *-ejar1* as [atelic] in (21)-(22). Despite the different LCS, (23)-(24) are both characterized as expressing a ‘quality attribution or state’, i.e. ‘be A’ or ‘approach A’.

- (23) *-ear3*: escasear sordear cojear vaguear [-telic] *Spanish*
 scarce.EAR go.deaf lame.EAR laze.EAR
 ‘to be scarce, to go deaf, to limp, to laze around’
 $[_{event} \text{ GO } ([_{thing} x], [_{path} \text{ TO } ([_{property} \text{ base}])})]$

- (24) *-ejar3*: negrejar sordejar llunyejar [-telic] *Catalan*
 go.dark go.deaf far.EAR
 ‘to go black/dark, to go deaf, to be pretty far away’
 $[_{event} \text{ BECOME } ([_{thing} x], [_{property} \text{ base}])]$

We do not attempt to discuss this proposal nor the problems it poses for both the analysis of EDV and the contrast between the two languages. We include it here because it is the only theoretical approach to EDV that we have been able to find in the literature, and it contains some of the elements that we are going to provide empirical evidence for and against. Specifically, we show in §5.2 that Catalan *-ejar* predicates cannot be characterized as ‘become’ predicates, since they never entail

a result or endpoint; neither should verbs like Cat. *verdejar* ‘go green’ be included in the very constrained and exceptional set of causative verbs. On the other hand, we provide evidence for the treatment of Sp. deadjectival *-ear* verbs as COS that contain a PathP.

Even though they do not deal with EDV, Fábregas and Varela (2006) provide an interesting analysis of denominal *-ear* verbs that may contain an infix or not, e.g. *comisquear* ‘to eat in an irregular manner’ and *besuquear* ‘to kiss in an irregular manner’ with infix, as opposed to *burbujear* ‘to flow like bubbles’ and *bribonear* ‘to act like a crook’. All these verbs are decomposed into *v* + P manner, as shown in (25). That is, *-ear* is here “the result of the morphological merging of two heads, little *v* and P manner”, where the infix, if present, instantiates the manner relational head. The representation in (26) shows the structure of these words after morphological merger. Interestingly, note in (26) that the unique suffix *-ear* in *burbuj-Ø-e-Ø-a(r)* is here morphologically reanalyzed as containing two different zero phonological realizations of two functional heads P and *v*, which, following Oltra-Massuet (1999, 2000) take a theme vowel each (see §4.2 below), i.e. the suffix *-ear* is decomposed into five different elements that are inserted into five different terminal nodes.

(25) *comisquear* / *besuquear* ‘to eat / kiss in an irregular manner’

[_{vP} [_v Ø-a(r)] [_{pp} EA [_p {-isk-e / -uk-e}] [_{xP} {com- / bes-}]]]]

(26) *comisquear* ‘to eat in an irregular manner’, *burbujear* ‘to flow like bubbles’

[_v [_p [_x {com- / burbuj-}]] [_p {-isk-e / Ø-e}] [_v Ø-a(r)]]

Also Martín (2007) deals with denominal *-ear* and proposes the basic underspecified Jackendovian LCS in (27a) for the suffix *-ear*. Variation depends on the base N and the various ways in which they are incorporated into the structure, which may change the basic LCS as in (27b) for verbs like *banquetear* (lit. banquet.EAR ‘to banquet’) or *bordear* (lit. edge.EAR ‘to go along the edge of’) and the one in (27c) for verbs like *martillear* (lit. hammer.EAR ‘to hammer on’), *telefonear* (lit. telephone.EAR ‘to telephone’), *parpadear* (lit. eyelid.EAR ‘to blink’).

(27) a. [_{event} DO ([_{entity} x], [_{entity} Nbase])]

b. [_{event} MOVE ([_{entity} x], THROUGH ([_{entity} Nbase]))]

c. [_{event} DO (CON ([_{entity} x], ([_{entity} y], ([_{entity} Nbase])))]

Within the same lexico-semantic model, Cano (2011) suggests the even more underspecified LCS in (28) for a subset of *-ear* denominal verbs, verbs of movement, such as *rumbear* (ambiguous between lit. way.EAR ‘to follow a direction’ or lit. rumba.EAR ‘to dance rumba’), *serpentear* (lit. snake.EAR ‘to twist’), *balancearse* (lit. swing.EAR ‘to swing’), *cabecear* (lit. head.EAR ‘to shake one’s head’), or *tacnear* (lit. heel.EAR ‘to tap with the heel’).

(28) [_{event} DO ([_{entity} x])]

This brief summary of previous approaches seeks to show that EDV have not received much attention, beyond the description of the meanings they convey, and a multiplicity of LCS that cannot account for all the properties of EDV. And EDV cannot be easily integrated within the above-mentioned proposals. On the one hand, the usual diagnostics do not provide indisputable evidence for the status of EDV as either unaccusative or unergative;⁹ on the other hand, EDV do not seem to show a manner component, either.

4. Theoretical background

4.1. Argument structure

Our analysis is built within the configurational model of syntactic argument structure proposed in Hale and Keyser (1993, 1998) [H and K henceforth] as developed in recent work (e.g. Mateu 2002; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2010; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2011, 2013). Resultative inchoative deadjectival verbs were initially analyzed as in (29) in H and K's (1993) model.

(29) The screen cleared.
 [_{VP} [_{NP} [_N screen]] [_V V [_{AP} [_A clear]]]] [Hale and Keyser (1993:63)]

Gumiel et al. (1999) propose a reanalysis of causative-inchoative deadjectival verbs in Spanish such as *engordar* 'fatten', *ampliar* 'widen', *agrandar* 'enlarge' that treats them on a par with locative and location verbs, such as *to shelve the books* or *to saddle the horse*, illustrated in (30), together with resultative constructions of the type *John hammered the metal flat*. Both deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions differ from our EDV in that the former are always clearly resultative, i.e. the result 'BECOME A' is always entailed. Gumiel et al.'s proposal is as shown in (31)-(32).

(30) [_V V [_P [_{DP} the books/the horse]] [_P P [_N shelf/saddle]]] [Hale and Keyser (1998:86)]

(31) Juan engordó los pollos. 'Juan fattened the chicken.'
 [_{VP} Juan [_v [_v Ø]] [_{VP} [_V Ø]] [_{PP} [los pollos]] [_P [_P en/a/Ø]] [_{DegP/QP} [_{AP} gord(os)]]]]]]

(32) John pounded the metal flat.
 [_{VP} John [_v [_v Ø]] [_{VP} [_V pounded]] [_{PP} [the metal]] [_P [_P Ø]] [_{DegP/QP} [_{AP} flat]]]]]]

Hence, a verb like *engordar* 'fatten' is analyzed as containing a terminal coincidence preposition that results in a telic interpretation of the structure, and thus

9. See footnote 13 below.

captures the parallelism between such resultative deadjectival verbs and secondary resultative predication, since both get the same interpretation ‘(make something) become into A’.

Much recent work on prepositions and adpositional particles in general (e.g. Koopman, 2000; Zwarts 2005; Gehrke 2008; den Dikken 2010; Svenonius 2010, *inter alia*) decompose in the syntax the conceptual structure of such terminal coincidence prepositions into a complex configuration involving a PathP and a PlaceP. They build on Jackendoff’s (1973 and subsequent work) conceptual decomposition of PPs into the categories PATH and PLACE and functions such as TO, VIA, ON, etc. and Talmy’s (1975, and subsequent work) semantic concepts of Figure and Ground for arguments of prepositions, where the Figure is the entity that moves with respect to a potential Ground. As noted in Acedo-Matellán (2010), a PathP introduces a transition that encodes the change, and a PlaceP introduces a Figure/Ground configuration that establishes a location or state.

In a model of argument structure like Acedo-Matellán (2010) or Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013), the combination of different ‘flavors’ of eventive v and adpositional p (PlaceP and PathP) give rise to a set of possible argument structure configurations. With respect to the relational functional head p , if there is a single pP , it corresponds to a PlaceP that establishes a predicative relation that expresses a state, which is equivalent to H and K’s central coincidence relation, whereas if a second p is added, a PathP, it establishes a transition that expresses a change, and the structure corresponds to H and K’s terminal coincidence relation. As for the eventive head v , depending on whether it takes a specifier or not, we will obtain a causative or an unaccusative configuration. On the basis of the various combinations of the different flavors of these two heads through the application of the operation Merge, Acedo-Matellán (2010) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) establish five basic argument structure configurations for (i) unergative and transitive verbs of creation and consumption; (ii) atelic transitive events; (iii) transitive events of change of state or location; (iv) atelic unaccusative events; and (v) unaccusative events of change of state or location (see Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2013 for additional structures). For our purposes, we illustrate the latter two configurations in (33)-(34).

- (33) Atelic unaccusative event: *Dinosaurs existed*.

$[_{vP} v [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{Dinosaurs}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } \sqrt{\text{EXIST}}]]]$ [Acedo-Matellán (2010)]

- (34) Unaccusative event of change of state: *The sky cleared*.

$[_{vP} v [_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{The sky}] [_{Path'} \text{Path} [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{The sky}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } \sqrt{\text{CLEAR}}]]]]]$ [Acedo-Matellán (2010)]

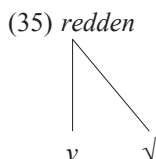
In this model, the semantic interpretation of arguments depends on the position they occupy in the structure. Importantly, a terminal Ground is defined as «a DP or root at Compl-Place when PathP is projected», e.g. *clear* in *The sky cleared (in five minutes)* or in *The strong winds cleared the sky*; whereas a central Ground is

«a DP or root at Compl-Place when no PathP is projected», e.g. *exist* in *Dinosaurs existed* or *Barcelona* in *Sue is in Barcelona*.¹⁰

4.2. Word formation: Distributed Morphology

The analysis is couched within the Distributed Morphology model (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, and related work) as a syntactic theory of word formation with Late Insertion that distinguishes between morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological features. Important for our analysis is the distinction between structural and conceptual semantics, i.e. word meaning combines structural meaning compositionally derived from a particular configuration and the morpho-syntactic features it contains, which is predictable, and conceptual meaning, which is idiosyncratic and unpredictable and contributed by the late insertion of morpho-phonological material.

We adopt the view that verbs consist of category-neutral roots that must merge with categorizing heads (Marantz 1997, 2001, 2007; Arad 2003) as illustrated in (35). These are little *v*, little *a*, or little *n*.



We further assume Oltra-Massuet's (1999, 2000) analysis of theme vowels according to which these are dissociated morphemes introduced in the morphological component as a result of a well-formedness condition on functional heads.

5. Syntax - semantics mapping

To the best of our knowledge, there is no analysis that contrasts such resultative causative-inchoative verbs, e.g. Sp. *enfriar(se)* 'cool', *ensordecer* 'deafen', to stative EDV verbs that entail that the result expressed in the base adjective has not been achieved, e.g. Sp. *calvear* 'go bald', *sordear* 'go deaf'. In this section, we propose an analysis that accounts for the different behavior of (certain) *-ear* verbs in Spanish and *-ejar* verbs in Catalan. While some *-ear* verbs in Spanish exemplify inchoative change of state verbs that focus on the ending of a situation, i.e. imply a result, we argue that *-ejar* verbs in Catalan illustrate a predication attribution and they are atelic. Our aim is to present a principled account for this distinction that is based on two different morpho-syntactic configurations.

10. We leave aside the manner interpretation of arguments, i.e. a root/DP directly merged with *v*, a possibility that may be helpful for cases such as Sp. *bribonear* / Cat. *dropejar* 'to idle' (see Acedo-Matellán 2010 for details).

5.1. Spanish COS *-ear* verbs

We have seen that Spanish EDV, like regular DA, show variable telicity, can license an external causer, entail a result, and show no restrictions with respect to perfective aspect. Hence, we suggest that Spanish EDV are verbs that involve change, i.e. they are COS verbs and therefore must be analyzed as Acedo-Matellán's (2010) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu's (2013) transitive/unaccusative events of change of state or location, (36).

(36) Unaccusative event of COS: The plane landed.

$[_{VP} \nu [_{PathP} Path [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} The\ plane] [_{Place'} Place \sqrt{LAND}]]]]$
[Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013)]

As we saw in (34) above, this is the structure proposed for resultative deadjectival verbs of the type *clear* in *The sky* cleared, which result from a process of conflation in a structure like (36), repeated in (37). This involves a bounded transition that corresponds to a terminal coincidence relation, with a resulting state (see Acedo-Matellán 2010 for further details).

(37) The sky cleared

$[_{VP} \nu [_{PathP} [_{DP} The\ sky] [_{Path'} Path [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \cancel{The\ sky}] [_{Place'} Place \sqrt{CLEAR}]]]]$
[Acedo-Matellán (2010:54)]

Thus, our proposal is that Sp. *amarillear* 'go/become-yellow' in Sp. *Las hojas amarillean* 'The leaves are turning yellow' derives from an unaccusative structure of change of state, as illustrated in (38), where an adjectival root is inserted in a configuration containing a functional head ν (=light ν) that takes a PathP as its complement, which further c-commands a PlaceP. As further pointed out in Acedo Matellán (2010), a ν taking a PathP as a complement will be interpreted as motion, and brings about a change of state.

(38) Las hojas amarillean. 'The leaves are turning/going yellow.'

$[_{VP} \nu [_{PathP} [_{DP} Las\ hojas] [_{Path'} Path [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \cancel{Las\ hojas}] [_{Place'} Place \sqrt{AMARILL}]]]]$

Following Fábregas and Varela (2006), we further assume that Sp. *-ear* is to be analyzed as $\emptyset$ -e- $\emptyset$ -a(r), where the two zero phonological exponents are inserted as default exponents for the functional heads Path+Place — which have been conflated into a single head — and ν , to which a theme vowel position has been adjoined in the morphology to meet Oltra-Massuet's (1999, 2000) well-formedness condition on functional heads.

5.2. Catalan stative EDV

Unlike Spanish EDV, Catalan EDV are not involved in causative constructions. The structure we propose is the one in (39) for stative atelic predications such

as *Sue is in Barcelona* or *Dinosaurs existed*, as proposed in Acedo-Matellán (2010).

- (39) a. $[_{VP} \nu [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{Dinosaurs}] [_{Place'} \text{Place} \sqrt{\text{EXIST}}]]]$
 ‘Dinosaurs existed (for a long time).’
 b. $[_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{Place'} [_{Place} \text{Place} \sqrt{\text{IN}}] [_{DP} \text{Barcelona}]]]$
 ‘Sue is in Barcelona.’

This difference in morpho-syntactic structure brings along a series of associated properties, namely, unlike Spanish EDV, Catalan EDV are not resultative, they do not denote transitions, they cannot be inflected in the perfective, and they do not admit a causer expressed as an external argument.

The fact that Catalan EDV cannot express a result and be inflected in the perfective is a clear indication that they do not denote transitions, i.e. they are not COS or DA. However, as will be shown below, Catalan EDV denote states that are eventualities. Along with Fábregas and Marín (2013), who follow Maienborn (2005, 2008), we assume that there are two types of states, Davidsonian and Kimian; while the former have some shared properties with eventive predicates, the latter do not. First of all, stativity is diagnosed via a series of tests. To begin with, EDV pattern with states with respect to their subinterval properties (Dowty 1979). That is, in spite of the possible contextual inferences that may arise, in *The wheat field is going yellow*, each of the subintervals are states of the wheat field having some properties of yellowness, so no change is involved. Also, Catalan EDV are quite marginal with *parar de* ‘stop’, which is expected if EDV are not dynamic predicates, (40).

- (40) ?? Els camps de blat han parat de groguitar.
 the fields of wheat have stopped of go.yellow
 ‘The wheat fields stopped going yellow.’

Another test that would indicate that EDV are not dynamic predicates is that they do not receive a habitual reading in the present tense. (41) means that the wine is bitter-ish or sharp-ish at the speech time.

- (41) Aquest vi agreja / aspreja.
 this wine goes.bitter goes.rough
 ‘This wine is going bitter / sharp.’

By contrast, in the sentence *John runs*, present tense has a habitual interpretation. As suggested above, while EDV are not dynamic, they denote eventualities. This has been argued for by Fábregas and Marín (2013) for verbs like *governar* ‘rule’ and *brillar* ‘shine’, and we want to show that EDV also have properties of D(avidsonian)-states. First, D-states can be located in time and space. Therefore, they are perceptible. As such, they can appear as infinitival complements of perception verbs, (42).

- (42) a. He vist fosquejar el dia.
 have seen go.dark the day
 'I've seen the day go dark.'
- b. He vist verdejar els camps.
 have seen go.green the fields
 'I've seen the fields go green.'

Second, Catalan EDV can license locative and temporal modification, (43).

- (43) a. El dia fosqueja a les 5.
 the day goes.dark at the 5
 'The day goes dark at 5pm.'
- b. Aquest vi agreja / aspreja en el paladar.
 this wine goes.bitter / sharp in the palate
 'This wine goes bitter / sharp in my palate.'

Third, they can combine with manner adverbials, (44).

- (44) a. La camisa nova grogueja a clapes.
 the shirt new goes.yellow at patches
 'The new shirt is going yellow in patches.'
- b. El dia fosquejava desagradablement.
 the day went.dark unpleasantly
 'The day was going dark unpleasantly.'

Therefore, we conclude that Catalan EDV belong to the set of D-states, i.e. dynamic stative verbs.¹¹

11. There are apparent counterexamples to this classification. There is speaker variation with respect to examples like (i), which seem to behave rather like (ii), thus showing properties of K-states. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, this cannot be due to a structural difference, but to the kind of relation established between the specific Figure and the Ground, witness the existence of examples like (iii).

- (i) a. Aquest verd grogueja.
 this green goes.yellow
 'This green is going yellow.'
- b. *He vist groguejar el verd.
 have seen go.yellow the green
 'I've seen green go yellow.'
- c. Aquest verd grogueja *a les 5 / *fàcilment.
 this green goes.yellow at the 5 easily
 'This green is going yellow at 5 / easily.'
- (ii) Aquest verd és grogós.
 this green is yellowish
- (iii) El verd de les fulles grogueja al començament de la tardor.
 the green of the leaves goes.yellow at.the beginning of the fall
 'The green of the leaves goes yellow in early fall.'

(45) a. El camp de blat grogueja.
the field of wheat goes yellow
'The wheat field is going yellow.'

b. El camp de blat és proper al groc.
the field of wheat is close to the yellow
'The wheat field is close to yellow.'

Thus, we suggest that Cat. *groguejar* ‘go yellow’ in Cat. *Les fulles groguegen* ‘The leaves are going yellow’ is to be analyzed as deriving from a stative structure of the form in (46), where an adjectival root is inserted in a configuration containing an eventive head *v* that takes a PlaceP as its complement, which is specified as P(NEAR).¹³

12. While comparing *-ós* in *grogós* 'yellowish' and *-ejar* in *groguejar* 'go yellow' should be the object of another study, we will just point out here that they both introduce the place preposition NEAR.
13. As suggested to us by J. Mateu (p.c.) and an anonymous reviewer, there is an alternative analysis, namely that *-ejar* predicates be unergative. On the one hand, according to Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995), unergative verbs, like Catalan EDV, are internally-caused, whether agentive or not. On the other hand, the lack of prefix realizing P in EDV could also indicate their unergative status, as pointed out by J. Mateu. Tests, however, are inconclusive. The typical diagnostic for unaccusativity is *ne*-cliticization. The examples in (i), though scarce, would suggest that EDV are unaccusative.
- (i) a. Del morú blat apenas en grogueja lo flonjo tronc
 of.the Moor wheat barely NE goes.yellow the soft stalk
 'From the corn, it is only the soft stalk that is going yellow.'
- (Catalunya. Revista literària quinzenal. 1904: 35/36)
- b. Ne groguegen unes quantes, de camises, amb l'ús d'aquest detergent.
 NE go.yellow some how.many of shirts with-the-use-of-this detergent
 'Of shirts, there are some that are going yellow, with the use of this detergent.'

Other unaccusativity tests refer to reduced participial clauses and auxiliary selection. The former is not a possible construction for EDV, since only achievements can appear in such constructions; the latter is not applicable to modern Catalan – and we have not been able to find examples in Old Catalan, where there was auxiliary selection. We leave this issue open for further research.

(46) Les fulles groguegen. ‘The leaves are going yellow.’

Catalan

[_{νP} *ν* [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} Les fulles] [_{Place} P(NEAR) √GROC]]]

Hence, we derive the stativity of EDV from the fact that they are realizations of a stative structure, i.e. a *ν* that takes a PlaceP as a complement. As for the apparent verbal motion present in the paraphrase ‘go-A’, this is derived from the presence of a particular P(NEAR), which is structurally parallel to a central ground. However, semantically it does not convey a central coincidence relation in a strict sense; neither does it express a terminal coincidence relation. As described above, it expresses a formal approaching relation.

As for the internal morphology of *-ejar*, we would like to hypothesize a parallel treatment to Fábregas and Varela’s (2006) analysis of *-ear*, i.e. as a decomposed *Ø-e-j-a(r)*, where the zero phonological exponent is inserted as a default exponent for the functional head P(NEAR) and *ν* is phonologically realized by *-j-*. As in Spanish, the vowels would correspond to the dissociated theme vowel position adjoined in the morphology. However, the internal constituent structure of Catalan EDV needs a deeper investigation that takes into account additional EDV minimal pairs of the type *amarguejar* ‘go sour/bitter’ - *amargotejar* ‘go a bit sour/bitter’, also in relation to deverbal *-ejar* with a manner infix, e.g. *parlar* ‘to talk’ - *par-lotejar* ‘to chat’, which may be crucial to determine the exact decomposition and realization of *-ejar*.

6. Conclusions and directions for further research

In this paper we have compared deadjectival verbs in Spanish and Catalan that are formed with the suffix *-ear/-ejar*, which we have named EDV. We have observed that Spanish and Catalan EDV do not show a parallel behavior, and have proposed that the crucial difference between Catalan and Spanish is to be located in their syntactic configuration.

Thus, both Sp. *-ear* and Cat. *-ejar* are structurally decomposed into two different functional heads, a little *ν* plus a relational functional head, which is complex in Spanish, as a result of a process of Path+Place conflation, but simple in Catalan. Whereas Sp. *-ear* contains a terminal coincidence relational structure, we have proposed that Cat. *-ejar* involves the abstract preposition P(NEAR). Therefore, while Spanish *-ear* is inserted in an unaccusative event of COS and can therefore appear in a configuration of a transitive event of COS, where the verbalizing head *ν* may take a Specifier, and convey a causative meaning, this structure is not available for Catalan *-ejar*, simply because it is inserted in a stative predicative configuration.

As was mentioned above, although denominal *-ear/-ejar* verbs have received some attention, EDV make a relatively new object of study, especially the cross-linguistic comparison and the analysis of Catalan EDV. This leaves us with a considerable number of issues that remain open and will have to be considered in future research. Let us point out a few of them.

An important question in such a late insertion model with uncategorized roots like DM is whether the deadjectival verb is formed on a root or on an already cate-

gorized root, i.e. an adjective (see Arad 2003 for such distinction with denominal verbs of the type *to hammer* vs. *to button*). With *ejar/ear* verbs derived from A/N such as Sp. *babosear* (lit. creep.EAR ‘to drool’) or *vagabundear* (lit. tramp.EAR ‘to drift’), we can find examples that could point to a root derivation, in (47). These verbs have been argued to receive the interpretation ‘behave in the manner of A/N’. If they were built on a categorized N root, one could in principle argue that the following attested examples should not exist at all. For EDV, we do not have at this point any syntactic or morphological evidence for either position.¹⁴

- (47) a. Baboseando como un borracho perdido. *Spanish*
 drooling like a drunken lost
 ‘Drooling (lit. behaving-like-a-creep) like a total drunk.’
- b. Vagabundéo como un perrillo perdido.
 tramped like a doggie lost
 ‘He tramped (lit. behaved-like-a-tramp) like a lost doggie.’
- c. Tontear como un idiota.
 stupid.EAR like a idiot
 ‘To behave-like-a-stupid like an idiot.’

The examples in (47) parallel those in (3) above, repeated in (48)-(49), for Catalan and Spanish respectively, with additional examples, which we would like to incorporate into the analysis. Note that most of them seem to be agentive activities. The investigation of these data is already in process.¹⁵

- (48) a. [beneit]_{A/N} - beneitejar *Catalan*
 dumb dumb.EJAR
 ‘dumb, to fool about’
- b. [droop]_{A/N} - dropejar
 iddle iddle.EJAR
 ‘iddle, to iddle’
- c. [tafaner]_{A/N} - tafanejar
 snoop snoop.EJAR
 ‘snoop, to snoop’
- d. [català]_{A/N} - catalanejar
 Catalan Catalan.EJAR
 ‘Catalan - behave as a typical A/N’

14. Cf. Harley and Haugen (2007) or Dowd (2010) against the use of instrumental adjuncts as a diagnostic for root- vs. noun-derived verbs.

15. For an analysis of French denominal verbs in *-er* like *robinsonner* (lit. Robinson.ER ‘to live like a Robinson’) or *-iser* like *diplomatiser* (lit. diplomat.ISER ‘to behave as a diplomat’), see Martin and Piñón (2013).

- (49) a. [bobo]_{A/N} - bobear *Spanish*
 dumb dumb.EJAR
 ‘dumb, to fool about’
- b. [holgazán]_{A/N} - holgazanear
 iddle iddle.EJAR
 ‘iddle, to iddle’
- c. [fisgón]_{A/N} - fisgonear
 snoop snoop.EJAR
 ‘snoop, to snoop’
- d. [español]_{A/N} - españolear
 Spanish Spanish.EAR
 ‘Spanish - behave as a typical A/N’

Although we have hypothesized the decomposition of Catalan and Spanish EDV along the lines of Fábregas and Varela (2006), a well-supported and detailed morphosyntactic analysis of EDV, its position and internal structure, must be developed.

Finally, we would also like to establish a more explicit analogy between *-ejar* and the suffixes *-ós/-enc* (English *-ish*), (50), and provide a morpho-semantic analysis of the latter (cf. Morris 2009, Sugawara 2012).

- (50) a. roig / vermell vs. rog-enc / vermell-ós *Catalan*
 red red reddish reddish
- b. red vs. red(d)-ish

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