Revisiting *-ej(ar)* verbs in Catalan: Argument and event structure

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Abstract

We explore the properties of the Catalan verbalizing suffix *-ej(ar)*, centering on intransitive verbs. After presenting the rich variety of outputs that this suffix allows, we focus on two generalizations. The first one has to do with the consistent eventive nature of verbs derived with this suffix, even from bases that count as individual-level predicates, like colour adjectives or proper names. Importantly, their eventivity is orthogonal to their dynamic/non-dynamic status. The second one is the robust unergative status of intransitive *-ej(ar)* vebs. We show that previous work on *-ej(ar)* has failed to capture these two properties. Adopting a Ramchandian, nanosyntactic perspective, we propose that this suffix is the spellout of the subeventive structure of a caused process, i.e., the heads Init and Proc. The (non-)dynamic interpretation of the verbs is claimed to emerge from interactions among the contents of the roots involved in the predicate, at the

conceptual, non-grammatical level. We finally extend the proposed analysis to account for the behaviour of transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs.

Keywords: verbalizing suffixes, Catalan, argument structure, event structure, neoconstructionism, *qualia* structure.

1. Introduction

In this paper we explore the event and argument structure properties of the Catalan verbalizing suffix *-ej(ar)* (*-a-r* corresponds to the theme vowel and the infinitive marker), focusing on intransitive verbs. In spite of its very interesting grammatical properties, this suffix has received scarce attention in the literature. Beyond Bernal's (2000), Gràcia Solé et al.'s (2000), and Cabré's (2002) mainly descriptive studies, Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo's (2013) (from now on O&C) is centred on deadjectival verbs suffixed with *-ej(ar)* and how they compare with Spanish deadjectival verbs derived via the cognate suffix *-e(ar)*.[1] O&C review the event-structural properties of deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs and provide an analysis thereof in terms of Acedo-Matellán's (2010) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu's (2013) neoconstructionist theory of argument structure.

 In this paper we show the consistently eventive, that is non-stative, nature of verbs derived with the suffix *-ej(ar)*, even from bases that count as non-eventive, as was preliminarily explored by Acedo-Matellán (2019). Importantly, it will be shown with tests that *-ej(ar)* verbs are eventive regardless of their dynamic or non-dynamic status. Another robust conclusion is the lack of *-ej(ar)* suffixed unaccusative verbs. As regards both findings, we part ways with O&C's conclusions and analysis. Adopting Ramchand's (2008) theory of argument and event structure and the nanosyntactic model of the syntax-lexicon interface, we propose that the suffix is the spellout of the syntactic heads associated with a caused process: Init and Proc. This predicts both the eventive nature of the verbs and the status of the subject as an external argument.

 Borrowing ideas from Silvagni (2017), among other authors, the difference between dynamic and non-dynamic intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs is shown not to be grammatically represented. Importantly, we follow authors like Jaque (2014), Fábregas & Marín (2017), and Silvagni (2017), who distinguish eventivity from dynamicity. The former is the property of involving an event, a spaciotemporal entity that can be perceived, can be located in space, and can vary in time (Maienborn 2007). By contrast, dynamicity depends on the notion of action, i.e., "the performance of an entity's ability to carry out an event" (Silvagni 2017:167; our translation). We deal with the difference between dynamicity and non-dynamicity via Pustejovsky's (1995) *qualia* structure formalization, as applied to the roots involved in the configuration, following a non-canonical approach to the Generative Lexicon Theory, to wit, the one that is proposed in Gibert-Sotelo (2017, 2018).

 Finally, we consider the class of the less well represented transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. We show that they can be found in activity predicates or gradual change of state predicates, and that they also involve the subeventive heads Init and Proc.

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[1]   For a thorough description and analysis of Spanish *-e(ar)* verbs, see Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014) and references therein.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we present a basic characterization of *-ej(ar)* verbs in terms of the kind of bases that this suffix takes and their argument and event structure profile. Section 3 delves deeper into the event and argument structure properties of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs, against the backdrop of O&C's claims and theoretical proposal. Section 4 presents our analysis of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. First, we apply a Ramchandian, nanosyntactic perspective to understand their grammatical properties. After that, we indicate how Pustejovsky's theory of *qualia* structure can help us understand the distinction between dynamic and non-dynamic intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. Section 5 presents a brief sketch of the proper analysis of transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. Section 6 concludes.

2. The heterogeneity of *-ej(ar)* verbs

One of the peculiarities of the verbs formed with the suffix *-ej(ar)* is their heterogeneity, both in terms of the type of bases that they exhibit as well as the type of verbs themselves.[2] From an observational (theory-neutral) perspective, *-ej(ar)* attaches to bases of different categories. It is productively used with nominal bases (e.g., *feinejar* 'work, do chores', built on the noun *feina* 'work, chore'), including proper names (e.g., *obamejar* 'be or act like Obama', built on *Obama*), but also with adjectival bases (e.g., *brutejar* 'look dirty', built on the adjective *brut* 'dirty'), verbal bases (e.g., *menjotejar* 'eat little and with no appetite', built on the verb *menjar* 'eat' and the evaluative suffix *-ot*),[3] and adverbial bases (e.g., *sovintejar* 'happen frequently', built on the adverb *sovint* 'often, frequently'), and it is even attested with bases corresponding to quantifier elements (e.g., *seixantejar* 'look like sixty, be around sixty', built on the numeral *seixanta* 'sixty', or *poquejar* 'have little, be scarce', built on *poc* 'little'); cf. Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2016: 404) (from now on GIEC).

Regarding the argument structure of the derived verbs, *-ej(ar)* produces both transitive (1) and intransitive (2) outputs. Within the intransitive class we even find atmospheric predicates, traditionally considered zero-valent (3) (examples from *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana*, from now on CTILC, and Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2007, from now on DIEC2).

(1)   Arribàvem   a migdia i   air-ej-àvem   la   casa.   (CTILC)
        arrive.IPFV.1PL at noon   and air-*ej*-IPFV.1PL the   house
        'We would arrive at noon and air the house.'

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[2]   Due to this heterogeneity, Bernal (2000) distinguishes three homonymous *-ej(ar)* suffixes, each of them related to different argument and event structure properties. In our paper, we will try to show that there is no need to postulate the existence of a series of homonymous *-ej(ar)* suffixes, since the different uses that this affix shows can be structurally derived.

[3]   Some *-ej(ar)* verbs involve a verbal base but not an evaluative suffix: *palpejar* 'touch with one's hand, palpate' (cf. *palpar* 'feel, palpate'), *toquejar* 'touch repeatedly' (cf. *tocar* 'touch'). However, the vast majority of deverbal verbs that we have identified contain an evaluative suffix in addition to the suffix *-ej(ar)* (cf. *vol-et-ejar* 'flutter around', *plor-iqu-ejar* 'cry plaintively', *parl-ot-ejar* 'chat away'). The interaction of *-ej(ar)* with evaluative morphology is an issue that deserves a more in-depth examination, which is beyond the scope of the present paper.

(2)   El glaç blanqu-ej-a   pel   camí.   (CTILC)
       the ice   white-*ej*-PRS.3SG on.the   path
       'The ice shines white on the path.'

(3)   Fa   tres dies que vent-ej-a.   (DIEC2)
       do.PRS.3SG three days that wind-*ej*-PRS.3SG
       'It's been windy for three days.'

As for their event structure, -*ej*(*ar*) verbs typically encode activities (4) and non-dynamic eventualities (5), but a few -*ej*(*ar*) verbs are also attested that denote gradual change of state events (6).[4]

(4)   Gairebé tothom   guerr-ej-ava   o treballava
       almost   everybody war-*ej*-IPFV.3SG or work.IPFV.3SG
       de manera servil   al   camp.   (CTILC)
       of manner slavish at.the countryside
       'People either fought in the war or worked slavishly in the countryside.'

(5)   Aquesta   carn cru-ej-a.   (DIEC2)
       this   meat raw-*ej*.3SG
       'This meat tastes raw.'

(6)   Aquesta crema t'=ha   blanqu-ej-at   una mica la   pell.
       this   cream DAT.2SG=has white-*ej*-PTCP   a   little the   skin
       'This cream has whitened your skin a bit.'

Even if -*ej*(*ar*) verbs can enter different argument and event structure configurations, they respect certain constraints and regularities. For instance, verbs derived on proper names typically encode a manner of being or behaving and are never transitive. The verb *pujolejar* 'be or act like Pujol' (cf. Jordi Pujol, president of Catalonia, 1980–2003) is a clear example of this: as illustrated in (7), this verb is necessarily intransitive (7a) and cannot be transitivized (7b, 7c).

(7)   a. Montilla pujol-ej-a   en el   seu discurs.   (Google)
          Montilla Pujol-*ej*-PRS.3SG in the   his   speech
          'Montilla shows Pujol-like features in his speech.'
       b. *Montilla pujol-ej-a   el   seu discurs.
          Montilla Pujol-*ej*-PRS.3SG the   his   speech
          (Intended: 'Montilla makes his speech Pujol-like', 'Montilla provides his speech with Pujol-like features')

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[4]   For the distinction between eventivity and dynamicity, see section 1. See section 3 for diagnostics on (non-)dynamicity and section 5 for diagnostics showing that causative -*ej*(*ar*) verbs encode gradual change and exhibit variable telicity.

　　c. *Montilla　ha　pujol-ej-at　els　membres del　seu　partit.
　　　Montilla　has　Pujol-*ej*-PTCP the　members of.the　his　party
　　　(Intended: 'Montilla has made the members of his party to become Pujol-
　　　like')

Denominal -*ej*(*ar*) verbs (i.e., those built on common nouns) can be intransitive or transitive, but they overwhelmingly correspond to atelic eventualities, not to telic (or change of state) ones, as diagnosed by the fact that they admit temporal modifiers that focus on the duration of the event and not on their culmination:

(8)　　a. Podem　　fein-ej-ar　　*durant　molt　de temps*　sense
　　　　can.1PL　work-*ej*-INF　during　a.lot　of time　　without
　　　　aconseguir　res.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(CTILC)
　　　　achieve.INF　anything
　　　　'We can work for a long time but achieve nothing.'
　　b. Deixeu-lo　　grap-ej-ar el　　vestit　*tant　com　vulgui*.　(CTILC)
　　　　let-him　　paw-*ej*-INF the　dress　as.much as　want.SBJV.3SG
　　　　'Let him paw the dress as much as he wants.'

Verbs derived from adjectives are intransitive, but some admit transitive uses. When intransitive, they typically encode non-dynamic eventualities (9), as also observed by O&C. When transitive, they encode a gradual change of state (10).

(9)　　a. La neu　　　blanqu-ej-a　　pel　　sender.
　　　　the snow　　white-*ej*-PRS.3SG on.the　path
　　　　'The snow looks white on the path.'
　　b. Aquest vi　agr-ej-a.　　　　　　　　　　　　(DIEC2)
　　　　this　　wine sour-*ej*-PRS.3SG
　　　　'This wine tastes sour.'

(10)　a. Aquesta　pasta blanqu-ej-a　　　les　dents a poc a poc.
　　　　this　　　paste white-*ej*-PRS.3SG the　teeth slowly
　　　　'This paste whitens the teeth slowly.'
　　b. No descansar bé　agr-ej-a　　　　el　　caràcter.　　(Google)
　　　　not rest.INF　well sour-*ej*-PRS.3SG the　character
　　　　'Lack of rest sours one's character.'

This generalization has one exception, but this exception is also systematic: verbs built on adjectives describing properties which can only be predicated of an animate entity, such as dispositional evaluative adjectives (i.e., adjectives which describe a characteristic trait of the behaviour of a volitional individual; cf. Arche & Stowell 2019 and Arche et al. 2021), are regularly intransitive but allow for dynamic readings in which the subject is understood to act or behave in a particular manner; cf. *dropejar* 'laze around' in (11). This is in contrast with *blanquejar* 'look white' and *agrejar* 'taste sour' in (9), which do not denote activities, in the sense that the subject is not understood to perform any action, but just to manifest a property. Notice, in addition, that the dynamicity of *dropejar* 'laze around' in (11) is made evident by the

fact that it is coordinated with other activity verbs, namely *menjar* 'eat' and *beure* 'drink'.

(11)   Passem   quasi   quinze   dies   menjant, bevent   i   drop-ej-ant. (CTILC)
         spend.1PL almost fifteen days eat.GER drink.GER and lazy-*ej*-GER
         'We spend almost fifteen days eating, drinking, and lazing around.'

As for the less productive patterns featuring a quantifier base, they typically involve intransitive configurations and non-dynamic readings:

(12)   a. Els aliments ja   fa   dies que poqu-eg-en.   (DIEC2)
            the food.PL already do.PRS.3SG days that little-*ej*-PRS.3PL
            'Food has been scarce already for days.'
         b. Noi,   no   vinguis   a fer   el   jove,
            boy   not   come.SBJV.2SG to do.INF the   young
            que ja   cinquant-eg-es.   (DIEC2)
            that already fifty-*ej*-PRS.2SG
            'Boy, don't you come here acting as if you were young, cause you're already around fifty.'

Besides, and as will be explored in sections 3 and 4, intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs can either be dynamic (13a) or non-dynamic (13b).

(13)   a. La parella no parava   de fein-ej-ar   construint el niu. (Google)
            the couple not stop.IPFV.3SG of work-*ej*-INF   building   the nest
            'The couple didn't stop working, building the nest.'
         b. La   platja   brut-ej-a.   (CTILC)
            the   beach   dirty-*ej*-PRS.3SG
            'The beach looks dirty.'

Transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs, however, are systematically dynamic, encoding either activities (14a) or events of gradual change (14b).

(14)   a. Un home [...] que   martell-ej-a   el   ferro.   (CTILC)
            a   man   who hammer-*ej*-PRS.3SG the   iron
            'A man who hammers (at) the iron.'
         b. Les gotes que es   desprenen   blav-eg-en
            the drops that REFL.3 detach.PRS.3PL blue-*ej*-PRS.3PL
            el   paper gradualment.   (Adapted from CTILC)
            the paper gradually
            'The drops that fall off gradually dye the paper blueish.'

In sum, *-ej(ar)* verbalizations show great heterogeneity: they may involve different types of bases; they can enter transitive and intransitive configurations (including zero-valent ones); and they can encode dynamic activities, non-dynamic eventualities, and gradual change of state events. We observe, though, that certain restrictions and generalizations are in order: 1) *-ej(ar)* verbs derived from a proper name are always intransitive; 2) those built on nouns can be transitive or intransitive

but tend to be atelic; 3) verbs involving a qualifying adjective encode either a non-dynamic eventuality (if found in intransitive structures) or a gradual change of state (if found in transitive structures), whereas those built on a dispositional evaluative adjective are systematically intransitive and give rise to a dynamic reading; and 4) transitive verbs are dynamic and intransitive ones can either be dynamic or non-dynamic.

In what follows, we will try to account for this heterogeneous but systematic behaviour. We will first focus on intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs (sections 3 and 4), which show the peculiarity of allowing for both dynamic and non-dynamic uses. Transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs will be addressed in section 5.

3. Intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs are eventive and unergative

In this section we explore the event- and argument-structure properties of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. We claim that they are always eventive and always unergative. As regards intransitive deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs, while we agree with O&C's claim that they involve (atelic) Davidsonian states, and are hence eventive, we do not think that the analysis that they propose captures this characterization. In addition, and *pace* these authors, we present evidence that intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs are always unergative.

We deal first with the event structure properties of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs. Many *-ej(ar)* verbs are straightforwardly eventive. For instance, *feinejar* 'do work, do chores', *bromejar* 'joke', *gatzarejar* 'cheer, utter shouts of joy', based on the eventive nouns *feina* 'work', *broma* 'joke', and *gatzara* 'cheer, jubilation', respectively, very evidently denote an activity. Deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs are not so openly eventive. Thus, for instance, at first sight it is not clear what an event *groguejar* 'look yellow' could denote. O&C take, correctly in our view, deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs to involve atelic Davidsonian states, in the sense of Maienborn (2007). Maienborn distinguishes two kinds of non-dynamic predicates, those that involve a Davidsonian event argument, i.e., Davidsonian states, like *shine* or *sit*, and those that do not, and that she calls Kimian states, like *know* or *weigh*. In fact, Davidsonian states are shown by Maienborn to really be events, in spite of their name. O&C use a battery of tests to show the eventive nature of deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs. Using naturally occurring examples taken from CTILC, we will apply the following tests: licensing of eventuality-related locative modifiers, licensing of manner adverbials, and embeddability under a perception predicate.

In many cases of deadjectival verbs, the bases are stage-level predicates, which, at least according to authors like Kratzer (1995), involve an event. For instance, the verb *brutejar*, built on *brut* 'dirty', may appear with a locative expression and a manner adverbial, as in (15). Following Maienborn's tests, we take the adverbial *al costat de les senyores* 'next to the ladies' and the manner adverbial *francament* 'openly' to indicate that *brutejar* behaves as eventive.

(15)   Va   tan   neta   com pot   però, al costat de
        go.PRS.3SG as   clean as   can.PRS.3SG but   next.to
        les senyores,   brut-ej-a   francament.   (CTILC)
        the ladies   dirty-*ej*-PRS.3SG   openly
        'She goes around as clean as she can, but, next to the ladies, she looks openly
        dirty.'

More interesting, however, are those -*ej*(*ar*) verbs that cannot be said to embed a base with any eventive interpretation, be it an eventive noun or an adjective encoding a stage-level predicate. Indeed, verbs with -*ej*(*ar*) are eventive even when they take bases that are typical individual-level predicates, such as colour adjectives. This is evidenced when a verb like *groguejar* 'look yellow' is submitted to standard eventivity diagnostics. Again we are following Maienborn (2007) here. In (16), we see that the infinitive *groguejar* can be embedded under the perception verb *vèiem* 'we saw'. Being perceptible is clearly a property of events.

(16)   Vèiem   grogu-ej-ar   una   vinya.   (CTILC)
        see.IPFV.1PL yellow-*ej*-INF a   vine.
        'We would see a vine shining yellow.'

In (17) we see that this verb can appear with the eventuality-related locative modifier *allà baix* 'down there', also, as shown above, a property of eventive predicates.

(17)   El   poble   que   grogu-ej-a   allà   baix   (CTILC)
        the village   that yellow-*ej*-PRS.3SG there down
        amb   el   sol   ponent.
        with the   sun   setting
        'The village glowing yellow down there in the setting sun.'

Finally, in (18), we witness the acceptability of the manner modifier *amb llustre de mel* 'with the brilliance of honey' with the verb *groguejar*. Again only eventive predicates admit manner modification,[5] in this case a specification of the yellowness of the grapes.[6]

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[5]   See Ernst (2016) for a different view. See also footnote 6.

[6]   García-Pardo (2018:71–74) has cast doubt on the ability of the locative/manner modifier tests to tease apart states from events, based on the alleged existence of sentences (in Spanish) involving stative predicates combined with either locative or manner modifiers. We believe that his sentences do not amount to counterexamples. First, one of them is ungrammatical to our ears (136d, p. 74). Second, in two of them the predicate is a copulative sentence headed by *estar* 'be', combined with a locative (cf. his examples (135a) and (135b), on p. 72). Whether the *estar* copula involves an event argument or is rather a state (like *ser*) is an unsettled issue. In particular, Silvagni (2017: 296–299) provides evidence that *estar* (unlike *ser*) may create events. Since the matter remains controversial, we do not believe that these examples are clear evidence that states can accept eventuality-related locatives. In the rest of the cases, the modifier that García-Pardo uses does not seem to be the right one for the test. In particular, he sometimes uses frame-setting rather than eventuality-related locative modifiers (cf. his examples (135c) and (135d), on p. 73), while Maienborn (2005, 2007) warns that this

(18)   Les pomposes raïmades grogu-eg-en   amb llustre   de mel.   (CTILC)
       the opulent   grapes   yellow-*ej*-PRS.3PL with brilliance of honey
       'The opulent grapes shine yellow with the brilliance of honey.'

We have seen that *-ej(ar)* verbs can also be formed on proper names, which can hardly be said to involve any eventive variable. In spite of this, these verbs are also eventive. In (19) for instance, we see that the verb *pujolejar*, 'be or act like Pujol', based on the proper name *Pujol*, a former president of Catalonia, admits the manner adverb *a l'inrevés* 'the other way around'.

(19)   Aquest govern   pujol-ej-a   a l'=inrevés.   (Google)
       this   government   Pujol-*ej*-PRS.3SG at the=inverse
       'This government acts in a Pujol-like fashion the other way around.'

It is important to emphasize that our claim is about the systematic eventive nature of *-ej(ar)* verbs, not about their dynamicity (see section 1). In section 4.2, we will propose how (non-)dynamicity can be shown, within a *qualia*-based perspective, to emerge from relations between conceptual properties of the roots involved in the particular configuration. For the time being, we wish to provide evidence of the dissociation of eventivity and dynamicity in non-dynamic *-ej(ar)* verbs via some diagnostic tests gathered from Silvagni (2017: 168–173). Take, for instance, *groguejar* 'look yellow'. This verb has been shown to be eventive, but it is indeed also non-dynamic, much like *gleam* (see Maienborn 2007). Thus, this verb does not license *do*-proforms, as we see in the next anomalous sentence:

(20)   #El que fa   el   poble   és grogu-ej-ar.
       what does the village is yellow-*ej*-INF
       'What the village does is to shine yellow.'

It is also anomalous in the imperative, as we see in (21).

(21)   #Grogu-ej-a!
       yellow-*ej*-IMP

Finally, Kenny (1963) showed that only dynamic verbs licensed a habitual interpretation in the present simple, by default. In fact, verbs like *groguejar* do not license this interpretation by default. Thus, the following sentence is perfectly

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test should be used with eventuality-related locatives, since states readily allow frame-setting ones. Similarly, he uses degree adverbs (in his example 136a) or high, sentential adverbs that target the whole proposition (in his examples 136b, c), instead of adverbs really describing manner.

In conclusion, we do not think that there is evidence to dispute that admissibility of *bona fide* locative and manner modifiers is a robust property of events and not of states. Since verbs like *groguejar* come out as events according to these tests and, independently, as non-dynamic (see below), we conclude, *pace* García-Pardo (2018:75), that events can be dynamic or non-dynamic, as also argued for by Jaque (2014:12), Fábregas & Marín (2017), and Silvagni (2017:118).

felicitous with the interpretation that the fields are *now*, rather than habitually, looking yellow:

(22)   Els camps   grogu-eg-en.
        the fields   yellow-*ej*-PRS.3PL
        'The fields shine yellow.'

In sum, *-ej*(*ar*) verbs are eventive, even if some of them can be non-dynamic. Importantly, this eventivity must be contributed by the suffix itself, since the base may be an element not involving any eventive variable, as is the case with proper names.

While O&C do conclude that intransitive deadjectival *-ej*(*ar*) verbs are Davidsonian states, and hence, eventive (rather than stative, as they sometimes label them), we believe, however, that their analysis makes the prediction that these verbs should behave like Kimian states. Following Acedo-Matellán's (2010) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu's (2013) syntactic theory of argument structure, O&C propose that intransitive *-ej*(*ar*) verbs like *groguejar* 'look yellow' share the same configuration as pure (Kimian) states like *be* (*in a place*) or *exist* (apud O&C: 147):

(23)   a. Dinosaurs existed (for a long time).
            [$_{vP}$ v [$_{PlaceP}$ Dinosaurs [$_{Place'}$ Place $\sqrt{EXIST}$]]]
        b. Sue is in Barcelona.
            [$_{vP}$ v [$_{PlaceP}$ Sue [$_{Place'}$ [$_{Place}$ Place $\sqrt{IN}$] Barcelona]]]

The configurations above correspond to stative, unaccusative predicates where the subjects are, consequently, internal arguments. Their stativity is encoded by the simple adpositional projection Place, which establishes a predicative relation between its specifier, that is, the internal argument of the verb, and its complement, which in turn can correspond to a mere root, as $\sqrt{EXIST}$ in (23a), or an entity, as *Barcelona* in (23b). A further difference between (23a) and (23b) above is that in (23b) a root is merged as an adjunct to Place, providing it with the conceptual (and phonological) content of the preposition *in*. In the specific application of this analysis to the case of intransitive deadjectival verbs like *groguejar* 'look yellow' (which O&C dub 'go yellow'), Place is said to correspond to an abstract preposition with semantics akin to that of *near* (O&C: 150):

(24)   Les fulles   grogu-eg-en.
        the leaves   yellow-*ej*-PRS.3PL
        'The leaves are going yellow.'
        [$_{vP}$ v [$_{PlaceP}$ Les fulles [$_{Place'}$ P(near) $\sqrt{GROC}$]]]

In (24), this NEAR Place would articulate, again, a predicative relation between *les fulles* 'the leaves' and the verbal root $\sqrt{GROC}$ 'yellow', paraphrasable as 'the leaves are close to yellowness'.[7] Importantly, however, in Acedo-Matellán's

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[7]   As an aside having to do more with the conceptual content of these verbs, we dispute that the NEAR semantics proposed by O&C is applicable to all (deadjectival) *-ej*(*ar*) verbs or all instances thereof. Thus, it is hard to see how in (18), repeated below as (i), *groguejar* is expressing anything but full yellow sheen, rather than yellowishness, all the more when that intensity is specified via the manner adverb *amb llustre de mel* 'with honey-like brilliance'.

(2010) neoconstructionist framework, it is the mere configuration that dictates the event-structural properties of the predicate. Since the configuration assigned by O&C to *groguejar* 'look yellow' is exactly the same as that assigned to truly stative verbs (i.e., Kimian state verbs) like *existir* 'exist', the prediction is made that the two classes of verbs will behave in the same way as far as event and argument structure are concerned. But as we have shown above and as O&C themselves show in their study, *-ej(ar)* verbs do not behave like Kimian states, but like Davidsonian states.[8]

O&C's analysis makes a further prediction that allows us to explore the argument-structure properties of deadjectival non-dynamic *-ej(ar)* verbs: they predict that these verbs are unaccusative. This is because in the configuration adapted from Acedo-Matellán (2010), the subject is merged internally to the eventive head v. That this is the right analysis for verbs like *existir* is suggested by their licensing of postverbal bare NP subjects, one of the classical unaccusativity tests in many Romance languages (cf., e.g., for Catalan, Rosselló 2002: 1891):

(25)   Existeixen   espècies   d'=aranyes aquàtiques.   (CTILC)
       exist.PRS.3PL   species.PL   of=spiders aquatic
       'There exist species of aquatic spiders.'

While the prediction made by O&C's analysis is inescapable, these authors show hesitancy when attributing unaccusative status to intransitive deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs (O&C:149). They actually provide only two examples, based on *en*-cliticization, to support the alleged unaccusative character of these verbs. While *en-* (or *ne-*) cliticization has been disputed as an unaccusativity test (Borer 2005: 208), we find the uncontroversial postverbal bare NP subject test to be quite robust. Intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs, whether deadjectival or not, simply do not license this kind of subject, which indicates that they are unergative:

(i)   Les pomposes   raïmades grogu-eg-en   amb llustre de mel.   (CTILC)
      the opulent   grapes   yellow-*ej*-PRS.3PL with brilliance of honey
      'The opulent grapes shine yellow with honey-like brilliance.'

To use another *-ej(ar)* verb based on a colour adjective, consider the following example involving *blavejar*, 'look blue', in which the eyes cannot possibly be approaching blueness or be bluish, but are actually shining with a fully blue shine:

(ii) Els ulls li   blavegen   amb assossec rera   les ulleres d'=or. (CTILC)
      the eyes DAT.3SG blue-*ej*-PRS.3PL with serenity behind the glasses of=gold
      'His eyes shine blue with serenity behind the gold glasses.'

While it is true that speakers frequently paraphrase deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs as 'be kind of A or be A-ish', more research is necessary in order to accommodate the interpretations in (i) and (ii) above in a unified description.

[8]   Note that we are not entering into the discussion whether Acedo-Matellán's (2010) analysis is sound or not. What we point out is that O&C, assuming this author's theory of argument and event structure, allocate his analysis of stative predicates (like *existir*) to verbs like *groguejar*, generating a series of incorrect predictions.

(26) a. *Grogu-eg-en   camps.
          yellow-*ej*-PRS.3PL   fields
      b. *Brut-ej-av-en   nens.
          dirty-*ej*-IPFV-3PL   children
      c. *Fein-ej-av-en   obrers.
          work-*ej*-IPFV-3PL   workers
      d. *Pujol-eg-en   polítics.
          Pujol-*ej*-PRS.3PL   politicians
      e. *Poqu-eg-en   aliments.
          little-*ej*-PRS.3PL   food
      f. *Escass-ej-av-a   menjar.
          scarce-*ej*-IPFV-3SG   food
      g. *Sovint-eg-en   queixes.
          often-*ej*-PRS.3PL   complaints

It is interesting to note how the last three verbs, *poquejar* 'be few, little', *escassejar* 'be scarce', and *sovintejar* 'be frequent', are in stark contrast with the semantically similar verbs *restar* 'be left' and *faltar* 'be missing', which, as unaccusatives, do allow postverbal bare NP subjects:

(27) Resta/   Falta   menjar.
      be.left.PRS.3SG/ be.missing.PRS.3SG food
      'Food is left/missing.'

Importantly, that dynamic intransitive verbs like *feinejar* 'work, do chores' and *pujolejar* in its sense of 'behave like Pujol' are unergative has already been argued for; see, for instance, Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014) for Spanish verbs such as *fanfarron-ear* 'talk like a braggart (*fanfarrón*)' and Martin & Piñón (2020) for so-called behaviour-related verbs in French, like *merkel-iser* 'behave like Merkel'. We want to emphasize that our claim that intransitive -*ej*(*ar*) verbs are unergative applies whether they are dynamic, as *feinejar* 'work, do chores', or non-dynamic, as *groguejar* 'look yellow', the latter taken to be unaccusative by O&C, as pointed out above.

4. Analysis

In this section, we present our analysis of intransitive -*ej*(*ar*) verbs. In section 4.1, we focus on their grammatical representation, within a neoconstructionist framework. Section 4.2, in turn, is dedicated to the non-grammatically represented dynamic vs non-dynamic status of -*ej*(*ar*) verbs and how the difference can be captured within Pustejovsky's theory of *qualia* structure as applied to the roots.

4.1. The First Phase syntax of intransitive -ej*(*ar*) verbs*
The general framework that we use in order to analyse the syntax and relational semantics of intransitive -*ej*(*ar*) verbs is Ramchand's (2008) theory of argument and event structure. In a nutshell, Ramchand proposes that the so-called First Phase syntax, i.e., the syntactic domain expressing argument and event structure, is articulated via subeventive heads, an eventive one, and a stative one. These heads combine yielding

the different argument and event structure configurations. Importantly, the particular interpretation of the two fundamental subeventive heads depends on the configuration. Thus, the stative head taking as complement the eventive head is interpreted as a causing eventuality, Init(iation), whereas the eventive head is labelled Proc(ess). A stative head embedded under Proc is interpreted as the result of the eventuality, Res(ult). Each subeventive head, in turn, introduces an argument at its specifier that is interpreted accordingly:

(28)   Structure of the First Phase (Ramchand 2008)
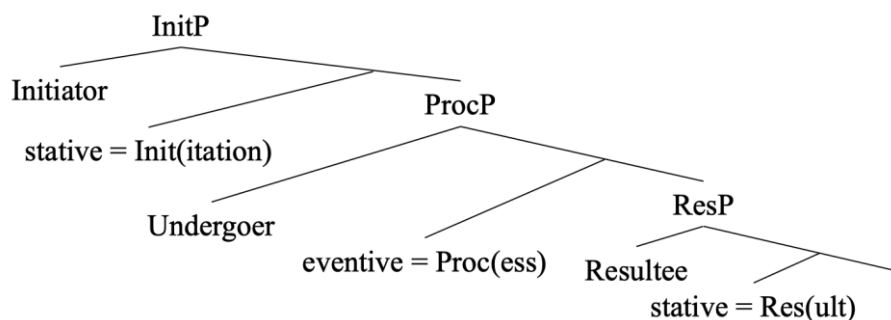
Thus, Ramchand's (2008) model is remarkably parsimonious in its ontology and yet able to account for the panoply of argument and event structure possibilities. An important difference between Ramchand's model and ours is that we allocate a place in the syntax for roots, that is, units endowed with phonological and conceptual content but no grammatical information (see also Marantz 1997, Borer 2005). Ramchand does not use roots as such; rather, the conceptual information of the linguistic expression is provided exclusively by lexical items at the interface between the syntax and the lexicon. These lexical items are endowed with diacritics that refer to particular nodes of the syntactic configuration.

This view of the syntax of the first phase is coupled with the theory of the syntax-lexicon interface involved in the Nanosyntax framework (cf. Baunaz & Lander 2018 for a recent in-depth overview). According to Nanosyntax, the abstract configurations yielded by syntax are interpreted at the interface via lexical items that may associate with whole subtrees of the structure. Thus, in (29), the lexical item labelled as *a* is programmed to be inserted in a subtree projected from the heads Y and Z.

(29)   Phrasal Spell-Out
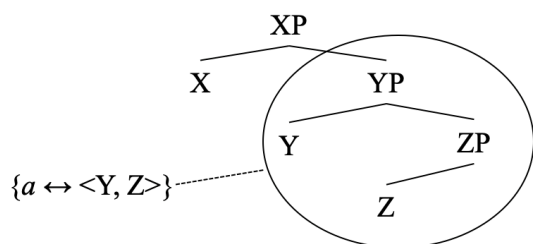
This illustrates one of the main features of Nanosyntax, namely Phrasal Spell-Out, whereby lexical items can spell out phrasal nodes containing multiple terminals.

The evidence presented in the previous sections shows that the eventiveness of *-ej*(*ar*) verbs depends on the suffix itself. We propose, accordingly, that this suffix spells out the subeventive nodes Init and Proc, that is, an occurrence of the stative node embedding an occurrence of the eventive node, in a causative relation:

(30)   Lexical item for *-ej*
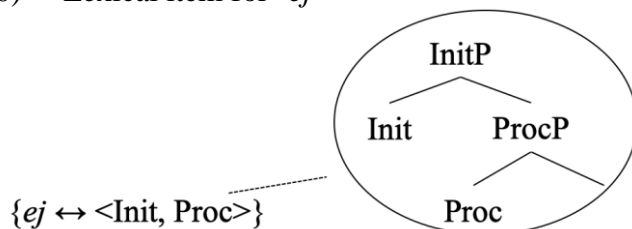
All *-ej*(*ar*) verbs are predicted to involve, therefore, a caused event, in the Davidsonian sense, be this dynamic or not. A first prediction thereof is that these verbs are not unaccusative: they always involve an external argument, the Initiator. And indeed this is what we showed in section 3.

We take the head Proc to merge directly with the mere verbal root. This configuration corresponds to an unergative predicate and is illustrated here with the analysis of *La neu blanqueja* 'The snow shines white':

(31)   Lexicalization of intransitive *blanquejar* 'look white'
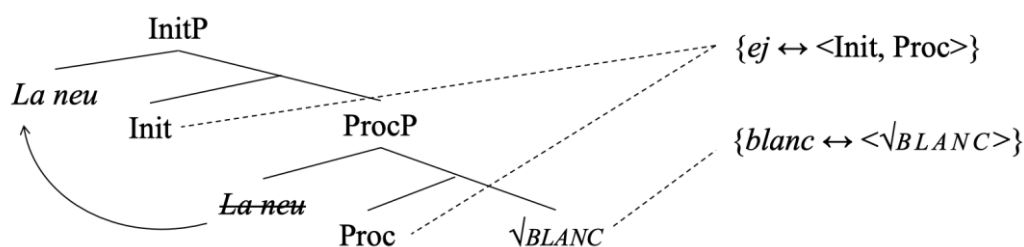
La neu 'the snow' is first merged as the specifier of Proc and is therefore understood as an Undergoer. From this position it raises to the specifier of Init, since it is also interpreted as the Causer (or Initiator) of the event. Following Ramchand's (2008) proposals for unergative verbs like *run*, we take *-ej*(*ar*) verbs to force the raising of the Undergoer to the Initiator position. The root at the complement of Proc is a co-predicator: it labels the kind of event involved. We take this configuration to be compatible with either non-dynamic events, as *blanquejar* 'look white', and with dynamic events, as in *feinejar* 'work, do chores'.

4.2. Deriving (non-)dynamicity from qualia *structure*
We have seen that intransitive *-ej*(*ar*) verbs always involve the Init and Proc subevents but, however, may encode dynamic and non-dynamic values. In order to account for the different interpretations of these predicates, we adopt a non-canonical approach to Pustejovsky's (1995) *qualia* structure (QS) formalization, as developed by Gibert-Sotelo (2017, 2018). Such a non-canonical approach involves the assumption, contrary to Pustejovsky's theory of the Generative Lexicon, that argument and event structure are not lexically determined, but built in the syntax, which is in accordance with the

neoconstructionist system adopted in this paper (cf. section 4.1). It also associates roots, which are the locus of conceptual content, with a basic QS that contains their most relevant semantic information organized in the four modes of predication (or *qualia*) defined by Pustejovsky: (1) the formal *quale*, which is the basic semantic type and specifies what distinguishes an object, event, or property within a larger domain; (2) the constitutive *quale*, which specifies the relation between this object, event, or property and its constituent parts; (3) the agentive *quale*, which specifies the factors involved in its origin; and (4) the telic *quale*, which specifies its purpose or function.[9]

When lexical exponents are combined in the syntax, the QSs associated to their roots interact, which explains the various meanings a lexical item may acquire when used in context. Therefore, the precise meaning of intransitive -*ej*(*ar*) verbs, and hence their dynamic or non-dynamic interpretation, depends on the QS of their root and the interaction it establishes, at the conceptual level, with the QS of the (root of the nominal) external argument.[10] Specifically, and following insights in works that have used QS to account for the polysemy of derived verbs (Batiukova 2008, 2016; Pujol Payet 2014; Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet 2015; Gibert-Sotelo 2016, 2017, 2018; see also Schroten 1997), we assume that the verbal root exploits certain pieces of information contained in the QS of the argument it coappears with —a mechanism known as *selective binding* (Pustejovsky 1995) or *exploitation* (Pustejovsky 2013).

Our basic representations of QS will follow the following conventions. In the formal *quale* we will specify the basic semantic type (which we will try to accommodate to the system used in the Brandeis Semantic Ontology [BSO]; cf. Pustejovsky et al. 2006) followed by the particular value assigned to it. Even though in our structures the constitutive *quale* is not specified (since its value is not relevant for the verbs here analysed), the formalization used would be parallel to the one used by Batiukova (2016) (also adopted in Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet 2015 and Gibert-Sotelo 2017, 2018): the function "contain" would be used to specify the parts of an object and the function "be in" would be used to specify what the object is part of. Finally, the agentive and telic *qualia*, which specify, respectively, the event by means of which an object comes into being and the event an object is able to perform, will be formalized in the shape of an eventive verbal predicate. The following example, adapted from Pustejovsky (1995: 78), illustrates:

(32)   *novel* (contains the root √NOVEL)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [phys\_object] book} \\ \text{constitutive: [contain] narrative} \\ \text{agentive: write} \\ \text{telic: read} \end{bmatrix}$$

---

[9]   According to Pustejovsky (1995: 76), not all lexical items must necessarily have a value for all *qualia*. Hence, lexical items that denote natural (or simple) types do not carry a value for the agentive and telic *qualia*.

[10]   An anonymous reviewer wonders whether we are proposing that dynamicity is encoded in a particular *quale*. As will be made clear in what follows, dynamicity as such is not a value of a particular *quale*, even though those roots that carry a value for their agentive and/or telic *qualia* usually give rise to dynamicity when embedded in -*ej*(*ar*) predicates. Rather, dynamicity emerges as the effect of the way in which the QS of the root of the verb and that of the (root involved in the NP or DP) external argument interact.

It has been shown that intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs containing a root expressing a property (described as deadjectival in section 2, since property-denoting roots are generally realized as qualifying adjectives) typically give rise to non-dynamic values. Such is the case of *blanquejar* 'look white' in (33).

(33)   La neu   blanqu-ej-a.
        the snow white-*ej*-PRS.3SG
        'The snow shines white.'

Roots denoting basic properties, like √BLANC 'white', are specified for their formal *quale*, which in this particular case makes explicit that √BLANC refers to a colour: white. When this root is combined with the argument *la neu* 'the snow', the formal *quale* of the root accesses the formal *quale* of the argument, and so the snow is understood to be identified with the property 'white':

(34)   Non-dynamic intransitive *blanquejar* 'look white'

        a. Verbal root: √BLANC 'white'

           QS = $\left[\,\text{formal: } [\text{colour}]\ \text{white}\,\right]$

        b. External argument: *la neu* 'the snow' → involves the root √NEU 'snow'

           QS = $\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{formal:} & [\text{entity}]\ \text{snow} \\ & [\text{colour}]\ \text{white}\end{array}\right]$

What we observe, therefore, is that when the formal *quale* of the root exploits the formal *quale* of the external argument, a relation of identification emerges between the two and, crucially, a non-dynamic reading is obtained.[11] This is so because the formal *quale* is the one that corresponds to stative predicates, since it describes a "state of affairs which exists, without reference to how it came about" (Pustejovsky 1995: 79). Since the suffix *-ej(ar)* mediating in between encodes an initiated process (Init + Proc; cf. section 4.1), the stative relation of identification established between the argument and the root cannot be a mere attribution, and accordingly the meaning that arises is not 'be white' (Kimian state), but rather 'look white' or 'shine white' (Davidsonian state).

Some intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs described as denominal also give rise to non-dynamic readings because the root identifies a property of the subject. For example, in (35) it is understood that the mutton tastes like *llana* 'wool'. Other descriptive types of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs, like those built on numerals, produce non-dynamic semantics as well, since the root also defines a property of the subject: that of looking like a person who has the age specified by the numeral; cf. (36).

(35)   Aquesta carn de xai   llan-ej-a.
        this   meat of lamb wool-*ej*-PRS.3SG
        'This mutton tastes like wool.'

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[11]   We follow Gruber (1965) and Jackendoff (1990) in the use of the label *identification* to refer to the ascription of properties.

(36)   La Lluïsa   seixant-ej-a.
        the Lluïsa   sixty-*ej*-PRS.3SG
        'Lluïsa looks around sixty.'

By contrast, a root of type event will typically give rise to a dynamic reading, since it not only contains information in its formal *quale*, but also in its agentive *quale* (it makes reference to its bringing about). This is the case of the root √*FEIN* 'work, chore' in intransitive *feinejar* 'work, do chores', which expresses something ('work, chore') that only exists if someone or something brings it about (which means that it must carry a value in the agentive *quale*). When this root combines with an animate (+ human) subject, like *l'home* 'the man' in (37), the information of its agentive *quale* exploits the telic *quale* of this argument, and so the subject is understood as a human being whose function is 'to work' or 'to do chores', which produces the dynamic reading of this type of predicate (38).

(37)   L'=home fein-ej-ava   mig ensopit.   (CTILC)
        the=man work-*ej*-IPFV.3SG half   asleep
        'The man worked/did chores half asleep.'

(38)   Dynamic intransitive *feinejar* 'work, do chores'

        a. Verbal root: √*FEIN* 'work, chore'

        QS = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [event] work/chore} \\ \text{agentive: do chores} \end{bmatrix}$

        b. External argument: *l'home* 'the man' → involves the root √*HOM* 'man'

        QS = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [human being] man} \\ \text{telic: do chores} \end{bmatrix}$

Roots identifying a created or effected object or entity (e.g., √*FRESS* 'noise' in *fressejar* 'make noise') will also yield dynamicity, since, just like event-denoting roots, they include information on their bringing about in their agentive *quale*, and, when combined with an appropriate argument, they access the telic *quale* of this argument (in a parallel way to that represented in (38)).

A dynamic reading is also obtained when the root denotes an object with a given function, i.e., an instrument. In this case, the root contains information in its telic *quale* in addition to its formal *quale*. An example of an intransitive *-ej(ar)* verb including an instrument-denoting root is *teclejar* 'type', built on √*TECL* 'key'. As represented below, in a sentence such as *La noia tecleja* 'The girl types' (39), the telic *quale* of the root (√*TECL*) exploits the telic *quale* of the external argument (*la noia* 'the girl') and hence defines it as a human being whose purpose is 'to type' (40).

(39)   La noia tecl-ej-a.
        the girl   type-*ej*-PRS.3SG
        'The girl types.'

(40)   Dynamic intransitive *teclejar* 'type'

    a. Verbal root: √*TECL* 'key'

      QS = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [instrument] key} \\ \text{telic: type} \end{bmatrix}$

    b. External argument: *la noia* 'the girl' → involves the root √*NOI*

      QS = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [human being] girl} \\ \text{telic: type} \end{bmatrix}$

Intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs created on roots referring to a location (e.g., *ramblejar* 'walk through the boulevard') or to a particular time of the year (e.g., *estiuejar* 'go on vacation during the summer') would receive a parallel analysis. In these cases, the root denotes a place with a particular function ('walk through' in the case of √*RAMBL* 'boulevard') or a time of the year associated with a particular purpose ('go on vacation' in the case of √*ESTIU* 'summer'), which amounts to information contained in their telic *qualia*. When these roots are converted into unergative *-ej(ar)* verbs and interact with the external argument, they exploit the telic *quale* of this argument (the referent of which is understood to be devoted to walking through the boulevard in the former case and to going on vacation during the summer in the latter).

    Finally, intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs built on roots denoting evaluative properties, like *dropejar* 'laze around' (cf. *dropo* 'lazy'), are usually dynamic (41). In these cases, the formal *quale* of the root exploits the telic *quale* of the external argument, as in (42), and so the property defined by the root is understood to be predicated of the manner of behaving of the subject.[12] The same mechanism would also apply to verbs involving a root related to a proper name (e.g., *pujolejar* 'act like Pujol'; cf. examples (7) and (19)), which describe a manner of behaving of the subject that is typically associated with a well-known person (in these cases, therefore, the proper name basically corresponds to a common noun, since it has a series of lexical-semantic values associated with it), as well as to verbs involving a root denoting an animate entity (a human or an animal) that behaves or moves in a characteristic manner (e.g., *caciquejar* 'act like a cacique', *papallonejar* 'move like a butterfly').[13]

(41)   El teu fill   drop-*ej*-a   tot el   dia.
        your   son   lazy-*ej*-PRS.3SG   all the   day
        'Your son lazes around all day.'

(42)   Dynamic intransitive *dropejar* 'laze around'

    a. Verbal root: √*DROP* 'lazy'

      QS = $\begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [property] lazy} \end{bmatrix}$

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[12]   See De Miguel (2012: 196) for the suggestion that properties such as *nice* are not predicated of the formal *quale* but of the telic one.

[13]   Martin & Piñón (2020: 2) also observe, for French, that behaviour-related verbs can be derived from common nouns or proper names that denote individuals that exhibit typical behavioural patterns, as well as from evaluative adjectives.

b. External argument: *el teu fill* 'your son' → involves the root √*FILL* 'son'

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{formal: [human being] son} \\ \text{telic: act lazy} \end{bmatrix}$$

From the data just analysed, an important generalization arises: when the QS of the root embedded within an *-ej(ar)* unergative verb exploits the formal *quale* of the (root of the nominal) subject that it combines with, the predicate has a non-dynamic reading (the subject is understood to show the property defined by the root of the verb), whereas when the QS of the verbal root exploits the telic *quale* of the (root involved in the) verb's subject, then the reading obtained is dynamic (the subject is understood to be committed to performing a particular activity).[14]

5. On transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs

The majority of *-ej(ar)* verbs are intransitive, and this format is the one that we have focused on for our proposed analysis. In their study of deadjectival *-ej(ar)* verbs, O&C already note the notably lesser productivity of this suffix in yielding transitive deadjectival verbs. In particular, they mention four deadjectival verbs that admit the transitive, causative construal: *netejar* 'clean' (on *net* 'clean'), *sanejar* 'clean up, drain' (on *sa* 'healthy'), *blanquejar* 'whiten' (on *blanc* 'white'), and *humitejar* 'dampen' (on *humit* 'damp') (see also Gràcia Solé et al. 2000). GIEC (p. 405) insists on the low number of causative transitive verbs involving this suffix and adds psychological verbs like *fastiguejar* 'revolt', *neguitejar* 'disturb', and *anguniejar* 'disgust'. In addition, as was shown in section 2, we find other transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs that denote atelic activities, like *martellejar* 'hammer' or *grapejar* 'paw'. In this section we extend the analysis proposed for intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs in section 4.1 to the two kinds of transitive verbs just mentioned.

Let us begin with causative verbs like *humitejar* 'dampen'. Our claim is that these verbs denote a gradual change and do not involve a Res head, that is, they do not necessarily entail a final resultative state. Evidence for this is provided by the fact that they allow both telic (43a) and atelic (43b) construals, as shown below.[15]

(43)   a. La rosada   ha   humit-ej-at   la   gespa   en poques   hores.
           the dew   has   damp-*ej*-PTCP   the   grass   in few   hours
           'The dew has dampened the grass in a few hours.'

[14]   As noticed by an anonymous reviewer, which *quale* of the subject is exploited to give rise to dynamicity or non-dynamicity seems to coincide with whether or not the subject is an Agent. In fact, when the telic *quale* of the subject is exploited (which, as proposed here, produces a dynamic interpretation), such an argument is conceived as an entity whose function is to perform a given activity, which gives rise to its interpretation as an Agent.

[15]   An anonymous reviewer interprets (43b) as entailing that the grass has been in a resultative state of dampness for hours. This could indeed warrant the presence of Res in the configuration. We do not concur with this reviewer's interpretation. For us, the *durant*-adverbial in (43b) refers to an hours-long dampening activity.

b. La   rosada   ha   humit-ej-at   la   gespa   durant   hores.
   the dew   has   damp-*ej*-PTCP the   grass   during   hours
   'The dew has dampened the grass for hours.'

The analysis that we propose for these verbs is essentially the same as the one entertained for intransitive -*ej*(*ar*) verbs in section 4.1:

(44)   Lexicalization of transitive *humitejar* 'dampen'
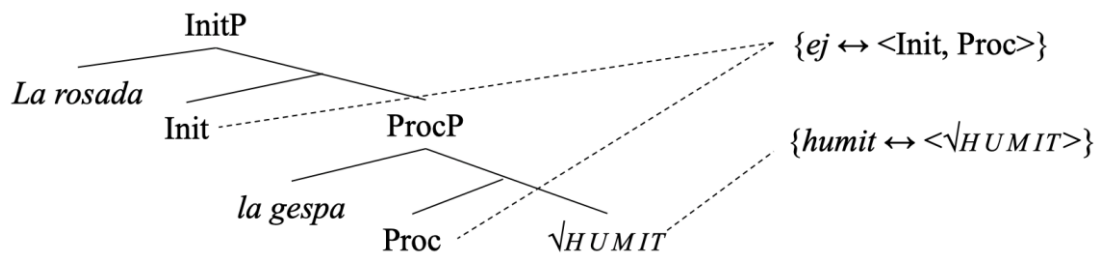
The suffix identifies the subevents Init and Proc, and the root is still a complement of Proc. Since there is no Res head involved in the configuration, there is no grammatically encoded resulting state. Hence, whether the process entailed to affect the referent of the internal argument involves a culmination (cf. (43a)) or not (cf. (43b)) is calculated pragmatically and on the basis of the quantificational properties of the internal argument. For instance, a quantized DP object (in the sense of Krifka 1992, Borer 2005) as *la gespa* 'the grass' in (43a) is able to induce a telic reading of the predicate, whereas the bare NP *gespa* 'grass' could not induce such a reading. In this sense, these verbs behave like so-called degree achievements in general, such as English *dry*, as analysed by Ramchand (2008: 27, 90). The difference with respect to monoargumental -*ej*(*ar*) verbs is that in the former cases there are two different arguments for Spec-Init and Spec-Proc, i.e., the Initiator is different from the Undergoer.

We deal now with transitive activity verbs. The following examples from CTILC have been enlarged with a durative adverbial headed by *durant* 'during'. The fact that the verbs license a monoeventive interpretation should demonstrate their atelic, activity character:

(45)   Un   home [...]   que   martell-ej-a   el   ferro   durant   dies.
        a   man   who   hammer-*ej*-PRS.3SG the   iron   during   days
   'A man who hammers (at) the iron for days.'

(46)   Colp-ej-aven   els   escuts   durant   hores.
        blow-*ej*-IPFV.3PL   the.PL   shields   during   hours
        'They hit (at) the shields for hours.'

Importantly, as these examples show, this atelicity does not depend on the unboundedness of the object, unlike in the case of -*ej*(*ar*) verbs denoting a gradual change, like *humitejar* 'dampen'. Thus, in (46) *colpejar* 'hit' takes a quantized object, *els escuts* 'the shields', but is however atelic. We think that this is a piece of evidence of the different status of the objects involved in *humitejar*-verbs and the ones taken by

colpejar-verbs. In fact, the proper analysis of the latter kind of objects has been a matter of controversy in the literature. For instance, Marantz (2005) points out how Levin (1999) is forced to use a bespoke formalism to integrate the objects of activity verbs (labelled *patients* by Marantz) into her lexical-conceptual structures.

Following Marantz (2005), we would like to propose that transitive activity verbs are basically unergative verbs, the direct object being in fact a PP adjunct in disguise headed by a null adposition. In particular, we take this PP to be an adjunct to the head Proc. Being an adjunct, this PP in disguise is correctly predicted not to induce a telic reading of the predicate, as shown in (46).[16] This is represented below in the analysis of example (46):

(47)   Lexicalization of transitive *colpejar* 'hit'
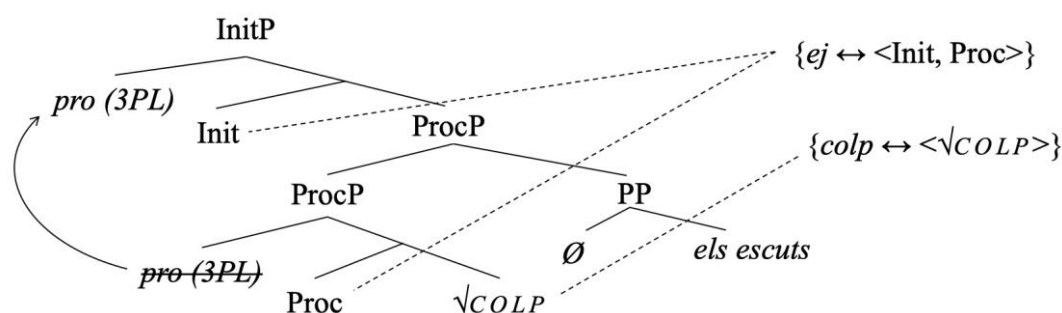
A nice piece of evidence for the above analysis, also used by Marantz (2005), is that verbs such as *colpejar* 'hit' very often allow an intransitive construal with a PP (*damunt de la taula* 'on the table' in (48), *en el buit* 'in the emptiness' in (49)) instead of the direct object. In these cases, the prepositional nature of the "Patient" argument is overt.

(48)   Ella començà   de martell-ej-ar   damunt de la   taula.   (CTILC)
        she began   of hammer-*ej*-INF on   of the   table
        'She began hammering on the table.'

(49)   Desig de no   colp-ej-ar infructuosament en el   buit.   (CTILC)
        desire of not blow-*ej*-INF vainly   in the   emptiness.
        'Desire of not hitting vainly in the emptiness.'

All in all, the analysis we proposed in section 4.1 for intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs has been shown to be applicable to the different types of transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs.

At this point, the question could be raised of how QS would work in transitive *-ej(ar)* predicates. In the particular case of *-ej(ar)* verbs yielding a gradual change of state reading, as in (44), we assume, following works which have analysed transitive change of state verbs in terms of QS (see Batiukova 2008, 2016, as well as Pujol Payet 2014, Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet 2015, and Gibert-Sotelo 2017, 2018), that the mechanism of selective binding or exploitation applies between the verbal root and the internal argument (and not between the root and the external argument, as we

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[16]   See MacDonald (2008) for a syntactic delimitation of the domain in which nominal expressions can impact internal aspect. Crucially, adjuncts are excluded from it.

proposed in section 4.2 for unergative verbs). In particular, the root of the verb, which typically codifies a property (cf. *humitejar* 'dampen', built on *humit* 'damp'), exploits the formal quale of the (root of the NP/DP) internal argument, and so this argument is understood to acquire the property defined by the verbal root. As for transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs encoding atelic activities, they would receive a parallel analysis to the one proposed in section 4.2 for dynamic unergative *-ej(ar)* verbs (cf. (38), (40), and (42)), since we argue that they are in fact unergative predicates, as illustrated in (47).

6. Conclusions and prospects

In this paper we have argued that, despite their heterogeneity, *-ej(ar)* verbs show robust argument and event structure properties, among which arise two basic generalizations. First, verbs with *-ej(ar)* are consistently eventive, notwithstanding their being dynamic or not; and, second, even though they may enter transitive and intransitive structures, there are no unaccusative *-ej(ar)* verbs (*pace* O&C), since they always involve an Initiator subject.

We have offered a formal syntactic account for these regularities. In particular, and following Ramchand's (2008) First Phase Syntax, we have proposed that all *-ej(ar)* verbs share the same event structure, which consists in that of an initiated process (Init + Proc). Intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs merge the same argument at the specifier of Proc and at the specifier of Init, which is in accordance with their unergative nature. Transitive *-ej(ar)* verbs, on their part, either merge different arguments at the specifier of Init and at the specifier of Proc, which results in a degree achievement reading (the predicate encodes the gradual change of the Undergoer object), or merge the same argument at the specifier of Proc and at the specifier of Init, the object corresponding to an adjunct of Proc introduced by a null P, which results in a pure activity reading.

As for the possibility of intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs to show dynamic and non-dynamic readings, we have assumed it to be a non-grammatical issue, derivable from the conceptual semantics of the roots of these verbs and their interplay with the conceptual semantics of the (roots of the) arguments that they combine with. Such an interplay, captured via Pustejovsky's (1995) QS formalization, allows for a nice generalization: non-dynamic values emerge when the QS of the root embedded in the *-ej(ar)* verb exploits the formal *quale* of the subject's QS; by contrast, dynamic values are obtained when the QS of the verbal root exploits the telic *quale* of the external argument's QS.

The analysis proposed, therefore, allows deriving the different argument and event structure properties of *-ej(ar)* verbs, as well as their dynamic or non-dynamic interpretation, from a single syntactic configuration, thus avoiding the need to postulate the existence of homonymous *-ej(ar)* suffixes (Bernal 2000). By doing so, we have provided further evidence of the adequacy of complementing neoconstructionist approaches to syntactic construal with Pustejovsky's systematization of conceptual content (see Gibert-Sotelo 2017, 2018).

Still some issues are to be addressed in further research, among which the generalization, mentioned in section 2, that intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs may be dynamic or non-dynamic but transitive ones are consistently dynamic, encoding either gradual change events or activities. We think this generalization can be derived from the

proposed analysis. For verbs encoding gradual change, two different arguments are merged at the specifier of Init and at the specifier of Proc, which leads to a causative implication between the two subevents (in contrast to what occurs when the same argument occupies these positions, in which case the Init and Proc subevents overlap; see Lundquist 2008: 184). As for those verbs encoding transitive activities, we hypothesize that the object, introduced as a PP adjunct, also forces the dynamic interpretation of the predicate. In fact, non-dynamic intransitive *-ej(ar)* verbs of the type of *brutejar* 'look dirty' develop a dynamic reading if a locative adjunct (like *hi* 'there' in (50)) is added to the construction.

(50) De   bassiot que he   de   beure   no   vull
      from   trough   that have.PRS.1SG of   drink.INF   not   want.PRS.1SG
      que un altre hi   brut-eig.   (CTILC)
      that one other LOC dirty-*ej*-PRS.SBJV.3SG
      'I don't want anyone to sully the trough where I should drink.'

Another strand of research we would like to address in the future is the exact nature of *-ej(ar)* verbs displaying psych semantics, such as *neguitejar* 'disturb' or *fastiguejar* 'revolt', which would correspond to class 2 psych verbs in Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) classification. Class 2 psych verbs are the ones which show more eventive features, and accordingly we believe that our analysis (which predicts that *-ej(ar)* verbs are consistently eventive) is suitable to account for their particular behaviour.

Finally, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, certain combinations of a base and *-ej(ar)* do not seem possible, like the would-be verbs **nev-ej-ar* 'snow-*ej*-INF' or **arrib-ej-ar* 'arrive-*ej*-INF'. Why is this the case, provided that any root should freely merge with the structure spelled out by the suffix? Regarding these two examples from the reviewer, we do think that a verb like *nevejar* is possible in the interpretation 'show itself to have the properties of snow', as in *Aquesta pluja neveja* (or *neueja*) 'This rain seems like snow'. For **arribejar*, it seems to us that the base *arrib* 'arrive' does not correspond to a mere root, but to a full configuration (see Bouchard 1995, Acedo-Matellán 2010: 90), which would explain why it cannot combine with *-ej(ar)*, itself also corresponding to a full event structure configuration. More generally, we think that it is true that bases identifiable in existing verbs do not combine well with *-ej(ar)*, as **corr-ej-ar* 'run-*ej*-INF'. We leave a proper exploration of this fact for future research.

Acknowledgments

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