Cross-Romance variation: alternatives given by a (same?) derivational morpheme

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PROBLEM: The morpheme derived from the present infinitive form of Latin *-idiō (Tronci 2015, Cockburn 2012) became part of the very core of derivational morphology, rendering a qualitative and quantitative productive alternative for verb formation across the board in major Romance languages (1), with interesting parallels in Greek *ízō* (Necker&Tronci 2012). Its grammaticalization, however, has led to different results in each case, giving verbs with significantly distinct semantic and syntactic properties. Notably, the role of this verbalizer in Italian poses an empirical question if pared against other Romance languages, but also (synchronically) with Latin. Unlike equivalent verbalizers like (Port., Cat.) *-ejar*, (Spa.) *-ear*, and even its Latin predecessor *-izare*; Italian *-eggiare* is systematically used in the production of unergative verbs with equally consistent semantic implications. Four observations are key: **(i)** *-eggiare* participates in Italian subsystem of verbal derivation as a highly productive verbalizer (v^o) yielding denominal and deadjectival verbs with coherent structural properties; **(ii)** these properties define a maximal contrast with the transitive/unaccusative, change-of-state (COS) verb given by its 'equivalent' in other Romance languages; **(iii)** the opposition motivates in Italian a nontrivial derivational alternation producing a significant set of minimal pairs like (2), showing a morphotactically transparent contrast between zero-suffixed *fientive* C(hange)-O(f)-S(tate) ('become √')) verbs with causative alternation, and (unergative) *similative essive* variants ('be/look like √')) given by *-eggiare;* **(iv)** such an unergative-stative variant is either missing (Spa./Br.Prt.) or morphologically indistinguishable in other Romance languages (Cat..). Based on these facts, I argue that **(A)** the derivational alternative (2) defines a consistent crosscut in event and argument structure, whit (non)eventivity correlating with (a)transitivity. **(B)** a similar structural option is collapsed under the same morpheme (e.g. Catalan) or **(C)** unsystematically realized by different verbalizers in other Romance languages (e.g. Latin).

(1) Ita.*-eggiare;* Cat./Port/ Prov. *-ejar*; Fr. *-oyer*, Sp. *-ear*, Gal. *-izar*, Friul. *-iar*, Surs. *-egiar*, Cerd.*-iare*

(2)	√white	√flat	√black	√round	√blue	**MEANING**	**BEHAVIOR**
	sbiancare	**a**ppianare	**a**nnerire	**a**rrotondare	**a**zzurrare	'become √(er))'	±telic COS
	bianch**eggiare**	pian**eggiare**	ner**eggiare**	rotond**eggiare**	azzurr**eggiare**	'be/look {√}(ish)'	atelic SIMIL

(A) Italian ≅ Catalan. *-eggiare* verbs (EVs) are distinct in that they convey a state resembling or close enough to the property/thing named by the root (√), but with a strong implication of never fully reaching this condition (Carratta&D'Alberti 2013, Necker&Tronci 2012). This derivational alternative defines a contrast in event structure correlated with a consequent contrast in argument structure. **ASPECT:** zero-suffixed verbs generally show variable telicity bearing on the type of scale associated to the lexicalized property, following a well-known relation long noted in deadjectivals (Hay et al. 1999 i.a.) (5)a. EVs break this pattern by yielding invariably atelic forms, independent of lexicalized scale (5)b. Atelicity is nonetheless expected, given the stative nature of these similative variants. Importantly, however, Italian statives seem to lack the event variable noted in their stative Catalan counterparts, where nonresultativity rather follows from by a never-ending (approaching Oltra&Catroviejo 2013) transition towards the property named by √. Catalan EVs therefore license locative/temporal, manner and progression adverbials, showing not only mixed stative/eventive status, but also a sense of incremental scalarity (and gradability) crucially missing from Italian EVs (cf. (4)) vs. (*Ita.*) *?ha gialleggiato un po' (#dal primo lavato)* 'it has looked yellow(ish) (#since the first wash)). **SYNTAX:** Italian also differs by offering a set of well-known tests for split intransitivity. Here, auxiliary distribution (6), unaccusative/reflexive morphology (7), ne-cliticization(8), passive/middle formation, indicate that lack of event progression/endpoint (9)-(10), restriction to generic tenses (cf. *arrossì* [√RED.PRF] vs. *?? rosseggiò* [√RED.egg.PRF]) and oddity in progressive (10) correlate with unergativity.

(3) *El cel fosqueja (en el fondal de l'horitzó/gradualment/naturalment/com sempre).* (Cat.)
    'The sky is going dark(er) (at the back of the horizon/gradually/naturally/as always)'
(4) *La camisa ha groguejat una mica #(des de la primera rentada).* (Oltra & Castroviejo 2013) (Cat.)
    'The t-shirt has gone yellow #(since the first wash)
(5) a. *sbianchire (#per/*ok*in un'ora)* |*schiarire (*ok*per/#in un'ora)* 'whiten'|'lighten' (in/for an hour) (Ita.)
    b. *biancheggiare (*in/per un'ora)* |*chiareggiare (*in/per un'ora)* 'be white/light(ish) (for/*in an hour)'
(6) *{ha/*è} rosseggiato/verdeggiato/biancheggiato.* Cf. *{*ha/è} arrossito/inverdito/sbiancato/ingiallito.*
(7) *La pelle {*(si) arrossa/(*si) rosseggia}.* 'The skin (inch) reddens' vs. 'The skin (*inch) looks red(ish)'

(8) *Anche i più impudichi ne {arrossano/*rosseggiano}.* 'Even the most indecent ones go red' (lit.: *redden*)

(9) *{annerire/#nereggiare} (gradualmente/completamente)* 'blacken/look black(ish) (gradually/completely)'

(10) *Il vetro {nereggiava/#stava nereggiando}* 'The glass looked (imp)/was looking (prg) blackish' (cf. (2)a)

(B) Cross-Romance results: non-homogeneous (nor systematic). Italian generally preserves the stative-unergative status in EVs (drawing the nontrivial contrast between transitive/unaccusative COS *sbiancare* 'whiten' and the stative unergative *biancheggiare* 'look white(ish)'), Spa. and BRPort. analogues give instead inchoative/causative COS (SP *blanquear*/BrPRT.*alvejar* 'whiten'), with variable telicity according to √ type, thus collapsing the contrast, noted in Italian, between *-ear/ejar* (*-eggiare* analogues) and zero-suffixed forms. In turn, Catalan speakers report a nontrivial ambiguity between (a) an atelic, non-resultative unergative stative, somehow paralleling Ita. *biancheggiare*, and (b) a transitive/unaccusative fientive COS variant amenable to Spa. *blanquear*/BRPrt. *alvejar* (11). The alternative in event and argument structure realization accommodates otherwise puzzling behavior like compatibility with *ne/se*-cl. (reported in Oltra & Castroviejo 2013) and the unavailability of unergative reading in perfective tenses (13). If correct, this means that Catalan retains the event/argument structure crosscut and alternation which is derivationally nontrivial in Italian (cf. (11)vs.(2)). French (14) and EUPortuguese allow the stative atelic alternative, which is, however, visibly restricted in productivity (vs. Italian (2))

(11) a. *La camisa blanqueja.* 'The shirt looks white(ish)'   (ATELIC (UNERGATIVE) SIMILATIVE)
       b. *Ha blanquejat la camisa/La camisa s'ha blanquejat.* '[he] whitened the shirt/the shirt whitened' (COS)

(12) *Estava blanquejant *(diners negre)* '(He) was laundering (lit. '[he] whitening) black money'

(13) *Ha blanquejat tota la paret →* '[he] whitened the whole wall'/*'The whole wall looked white(ish)'

(14) *blanchir/blanchoyer, rougir/rougeoyer, verdir/verdoyer, noircir/*noiroyer, bleuir/*bleuoyer*   (Fr.)

(C) Systematicity does not trace back to Latin: Zero forms yield unergatives amenable to adjectival predication, while inchoative variants are realized via the morpheme *-esc* (15). Also here, atelicity correlates with similativity (Thompson 2012:119). Importantly also, these verbs entail some sort of nonresultative COS (Camps 1969) described as mere 'intensification' of the property (reminiscent of Catalan D-states given by *-eggiare*'s equivalent *-ejar*). Notably, bounded-scale-rooted *albescere* (√WHITE-esc-INF) '**start growing** whit(er)' is just as atelic and nonresultative as Cat. *groguejar* (√YELLOW-ej-INF) '**go** yellow(er)' or *blanquejar* (√WHITE-ej-INF) 'go white(r)' (Oltra&Castroviejo`s gloss) in its stative similative variant (vs. the morphologically-identical COS variant (11)b). Distribution in Latin, however, is far from the relative systematicity and productivity seen in Italian. First, studies show stative uses paralleling *-eggiare* (Clarke 1998:13) and significant lexical gaps in the paradigm (15) (e.g. ᵒᵏ*acuo* 'sharpen' /*acuesco/*exacuo 'sharpen up'). Second, some zero forms render the alternative trivial by yielding inchoative transitive (Haverling 2000) forms with variable telicity (e.g. *obscuro* 'darken (up)'), while *-sco* forms are often found in resultative uses (Gaffiot 1934:94, Dilke 1967). Even if zero forms are productively used for variable telicity COS, with *ex-/ad-/in*-prefixes associated to resultativity (Mateu 2017), the similativity of *-sco* can override this effect, giving a sort of scalar property increase in which nonresultativity and atelicity apparently follow from an inchoative sort of COS in which reaching the endstate defined by (the property denoted by) √ is not part of the denotation of the verb (e.g. Lat. *inalbesco* 'to begin to grow white' Adam 2015:2012; cf. Cat. *blanquejar* 'go white(ish)', where atelicity/nonresultativity rather follow from a never-ending 'approaching' relation to √). Finally, the asystematicity of *-idiare/izare* (the Latin analogue of *-eggiare*), visibly restricted for 'deadjectival' formation, renders a set of denominals (Cockburn 2012) including: similative stative/behavior verbs (*betizo* (√beet-IDIARE)'be/look like a beet') loosely resembling Italian similative statives; instrumental or 'manner-incorporation' verbs (LAT*spongizo* 'clean with a sponge'); telic location/locatum verbs (*sinapizo*(√mustard-IDIARE)'cover with mustard') and transitive COS. The results into a significant variability contrasting with the more systematic Italian result (cf. the crosslanguage contrast in (17) vs. the systematicity between (Lat) *graecissare* and (Ita) *grecheggiare*, both meaning 'have Grecian manner or tone'). A nontrivial set of equally asystematic *-izare/idiare* verbs (Cockburn 2012:168) shows that in Latin the split between causative COS and stative similatives is derivationally trivial, as opposed to Italian (2).

(15) a. *albeo, rubeo, vireo, flaveo, liveo* 'be {white/red/green/yellow/blue}'   → atelic NONSIMILATIVE DSTATE
       b. *albesco, rubesco, viresco, flavesco, livesco* 'grow (white/red/green/yellow/blue)er'   → atelic SIMILATIVE COS

(16) cand**eo**, alb**eo** 'be light/white' | cand**esco**/**ex**cand**esco**, alb**esco**/**ex**alb**esc**o 'grow light(er)/whit(er)'

(17) (Lat.) *latinizare* 'turn/translate into Latin'| (Ita.) *latineggiare*, 'resemble a Latin' 'talk using Latinisms'