

**Alternatives open by color and syntax: looking for wider generalizations.**

Verbs building on Property-denoting roots [P<sup>√</sup>] can be a source of interesting aspectual patterns. An essential divergence crosscutting D(eadjectival) V(erbs), (too) basically summarized under a telic vs. atelic classification, has been typically related to the type of scale contributed by the P<sup>√</sup>/Adj (Kearns 2007) or else to interpretation with reference to a closed/open property scale (Hay, Kennedy&Levin 1999). Starting from the simplest assumption about possible scale structures (scales differ by having or lacking max/min elements [ $\pm$ max]), we should expect DVs derived from [+max] scales to be telic/resultative, whereas DVs derived from [-max] scales shall render atelic events. Yet, this general prediction is not always borne out; in particular, color-denoting roots pose very interesting challenges and show that wider (and more accurate) generalizations are in order.

**Problem#1: Color and ERH.** DVs show that the correlation at stake can be placed within an ampler frame, connected to the way telicity is determined in events involving directed paths. *Mutatis mutandis*—if we consent to analyze COS as (abstract) motion (i.e., transition and, hence, a directed path)—then we can follow Harley (2005) and Hale&Keyser (1993) in assuming that the position of P<sup>√</sup> in (1) would be equivalent to the position of unincorporated measure-out arguments in motion verbs; i.e., in those cases where it is the Goal rather than the Object the one imputing a boundary to the event (e.g. *roll \*(to the park) in X time*). Now, if telicity hinges on involvement of Path endpoint, and property scales are indeed mapped into paths in these cases, then we shall expect DVs built on [+max]P<sup>√</sup> to be telic, as a direct consequence of the presence of a maximal element in the path/scale—the general wisdom about color being that it is directly associated to closed scales (Mc Nally 2011, Hansen&Chemla 2015 i.a.)—as opposed to [-max]P<sup>√</sup>, which are expected to render atelic events. Basic tests indicate that this generalization holds for Spanish (1) and English (cf. glosses) DVs: as expected, verbs bearing [+max]P<sup>√</sup> accommodate proportional and maximality modifiers ((1)b), whereas [-max]P<sup>√</sup> DVs handle the intensive modifiers rejected by [+max]P<sup>√</sup>s ((1)b). Further tests show that parameters like resultativity, homogeneity and gradability reflect this correlation as well and that verbs of the type in ((1)a) P<sup>√</sup> is not interpreted as a Terminal Ground, but just as a scale along which the event can be measured; this semantic asymmetry being directly reflected in structural complexity (presence/absence of a Res(sult)P), as shown by double adjunct scope (cf. Mangialavori 2015). Portuguese equivalents (2) initially conform to this generalization. Yet, on closer look, European Portuguese actually joins Catalan and Italian in featuring an alternative derivation (3) with consistent (atelic) properties regardless of involving a [+max]P<sup>√</sup>. This is crucial, for it indicates that E(vent)-R(oot) H(omomorphism) is as not as general or defective as thought. In fact, these languages can derive colour-DVs either via an *em-/a-/Ø* affix [T1] like the one involved in (1), or else via a right-adjoined affix *-eggiare/ejar* [T2]. If ERH held invariably, DVs derived from color-denoting P<sup>√</sup> (prototypical bounded scales) should always be telic (cf.(1)b-(2)b); nonetheless, pairings like 0 (Italian examples chosen for the sake of exposition and diagnostics available) show that [+max]P<sup>√</sup> gives a telic/resultative predication only in T1, whereas T2 is not telic nor resultative and, unlike T1 (classically defined as ‘become-A(er)’), denotes a state close enough to (cf. Oltra&Castroviejo 2013) though not attainment of the property denoted by P<sup>√</sup>. In fact, proportional/maximality modifiers are out in T2, but natural for T1; in turn, intensive modifiers are at least odd for T2 but natural for T1 (4). Consistent effects arise with perfectivity (past perfect is only viable in T1, imperfect tenses are preferred for T2, what makes ((5)b) problematic) and telicity/culminativity environments (5). Definiteness of the internal DP not being relevant either ((5)b) fits the claim that ERH, rather than Event-Object Homomorphism is involved.

**Aspectual asymmetry meets syntactic (argumental)asymmetry.** Ergativity tests (auxiliary selection (7), ne-clitization (8), causative/inchoative alternation(9), passives(10)) show that T2 is to be consistently related to unergative states; hence, neither DP nor P<sup>√</sup> are in measuring-out positions.

- (1) a. *ensanchar, endurecer, endulzar, alargar, oscurecer, enfriar, calentar, entibiar*  
widen harden sweeten lengthen darken cool heat warm  
{#enteramente/#parcialmente/#absolutamente/apenas/mucho/demasiado/un poco}  
entirely partially absolutely barely a lot too much a little  
b. *emblanquecer, ennegrecer, enrojecer, ensordecer, enturbiar, palidecer, enloquecer*  
whiten blacken redden deafen become murky turn pale go mad  
{enteramente/parcialmente/absolutamente/#apenas/#mucho/#demasiado/#un poco}  
entirely partially absolutely barely a lot too much a little  
(2) a. *alargar, endurecer, adoçar, alongar, escurecer, esfriar, esquentar, amornar*

- b. embranquecer, enegrecer, avermelhar, ensurdecer, enturvar, empalidecer, enlouquecer
- (3) T1. a. sbiancare, inverdire, abbrunire, arrossire, ingiallire ITA.  
 b. emblanquir, enverdir, ennegrir, enrogir, engroguir CAT.  
 c. branquear, verdecer, enegrecer, avermelhar, amarelar, PRT.
- T2 a. biancheggiare, verdeggiare, bruneggiare, rosseggiare, gialleggiare ITA.  
 b. blanquejar, verdejar, negrejar, vermellejar, groguejar CAT.  
 c. branquejar, verdejar, negrejar, ?vermelhejar, lourejar PRT.
- (4) a. { \*abbastanza/\*troppo/completamente/totalmente/parzialmente } inverdito, arrossito, sbiancato  
 quite too completely totally partially turn-green-PAST  
 b. { abbastanza/troppo/ \*completamente/\*totalmente/\*parzialmente } verdeggiato, rosseggiato,  
 biancheggiato  
 quite too completely totally partially be-greenish-PAST
- (5) {La campagna/alcune campagne} {verdeggia(no)/\*inverdiscono} tutto l'anno.  
 The countryside/Some countryside are green(ish)/turn green all the-year  
 'The/some countryside look(s) green all year round'
- (6) a. Il sole sbiancò (le) pareti in pochi minuti. 'The sun turned (the) walls white in few minutes'  
 b. In pochi minuti \*(le) pareti biancheggia(\*?ro)no 'In few minutes (the) walls look(\*ed) white'
- (7) a. {ha/\*è} rosseggiato, verdeggiato, biancheggiato, gialleggiato, bruneggiato  
 b. {\*ha/è} arrossito, inverdito, sbiancato, ingiallito, imbrunito
- (8) a. Trattamenti che ne {sbiancano/arrossiscono/\*biancheggiano/\*rosseggiano} la pelle.  
 'Treatments that make the skin red/white'  
 b. Non ne {arrossisce/\*rosseggia} nessuno di coraggiosi.  
 'None of them blushes [reddens] out of courageousness'
- (9) La paura lo {sbiancò/\*biancheggìò}. Si è {sbiancato/\*biancheggìato} di paura.  
 'Fear turned him white [pale]' 'He was turned white with fear'
- (10) Lo zucchero di canna grezzo non è stato {sbiancato/\*biancheggìato}.  
 'Brown cane sugar has not been whitened'

**Problem#2:** Quirky occurrences are somehow expected for metaphorical uses (11). What is not expected is that atelic DVs be eventually allowed to appear in telic environments (12). Extragrammatical phenomena (e.g. coercion) aside, this can be naturally explained on the basis of another tight relation between syntax and aspect. Otherwise atelic verbs may render telic predications by two central means: by imputing an endpoint to the scale (either conceptually, cf. Kearns 2007 or constructionally) or by delivering a degree achievement type of predicate, in which case progression is measured via a part/whole relation instantiated not by the scale but by the object. Hence, the property scale is interpreted quantificationally rather than qualitatively and telicity arises when the whole object has undergone the event or is properly described by the designated state.

- (11) La sua faccia si arrossì gradualmente  
 the his face SI redden gradually ['He gradually blushed']
- (12)b. a. Il cielo cominciava a sbiancare **verso oriente**  
 The sky begun.IPRF to whiten toward Orient ['The sky begun to whiten up towards West']  
 b. Il mattino biancheggiava già tutto il cielo [The morning was already turning the whole sky white']  
 c. Tutto il vaso pian piano si è completamente scurito fino ad arrivare **quasi alla fine** [del vaso].  
 ['The whole glass turned dark little by little, until reaching the border [of the glass]']  
 d. Il legno è perfettamente piano e completamente scurito **in tutto lo spessore**.  
 ['The wood is perfectly even and completely darkened in all its width']

**Summing up.** In T1  $P\checkmark$  is hosted in the same configuration as (unincorporated) measuring-out arguments in motion verbs, and thus it provides a boundary for the directional relation; otherwise, the aspectual specification of  $P\checkmark$  proves irrelevant (T2). **Wider Generalization#1:** ERH should be reformulated as a variant of Event-Path Homomorphism [EPH] (Jackendoff 1996, Krieka 1998; Piñon 1993; Ramchand 2007):  $P\checkmark$  counts as a boundary only when associated to (directed) motion/transitional relation. If there is no directionality, an unbounded/atelic event is yielded regardless of property scale boundedness. **Wider Generalization #2: EPH+EOH.** Atelic DVs can deliver a telic predicate either via EOH (T1) or by a quantificational mapping of the scale (T2).

**Sel. References:** Hale, K & SJ Keyser. 2002. *Prolegomenon to a theory of argument structure*. MIT Press • Harley, H. 2005. How do verbs get their names? In *The syntax of aspect*. OUP • Oltra, I & Castroviejo. 2013. Approaching Results in Catalan and Spanish Deadjectival Verbs. *CJL* 12:131-154