Universitat de Girona

SOURCE AND NEGATIVE PREFIXES: ON THE SYNTAX-LEXICON INTERFACE AND THE ENCODING OF SPATIAL RELATIONS

Elisabeth Gibert Sotelo

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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On the syntax-lexicon interface and the encoding of spatial relations

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ENCODING OF SPATIAL RELATIONS

ELISABETH GIBERT SOTELO

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DOCTORAL PROGRAMME IN HUMAN AND CULTURAL SCIENCES

Supervisors:

Dr. Víctor Acedo-Matellán
Dr. Montserrat Batllori Dillet
Dr. Isabel Pujol Payet

Tutor:

Dr. Montserrat Batllori Dillet

Memory submitted to the Universitat de Girona in fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor

El Dr. Víctor Acedo-Matellán, de Queens' College, University of Cambridge, la Dra. Montserrat Batllori Dillet, de la Universitat de Girona, i la Dra. Isabel Pujol Payet, de la Universitat de Girona,

DECLAREM:

Que el treball titulat *Source and negative prefixes: On the syntax-lexicon interface and the encoding of spatial relations*, que presenta Elisabeth Gibert Sotelo per a l'obtenció del títol de doctora, ha estat realitzat sota la nostra direcció i que compleix els requisits per poder optar a Menció Internacional.

I, perquè així consti i tingui els efectes oportuns, signem aquest document.

Dr. Víctor Acedo-Matellán   Dra. Montserrat Batllori Dillet   Dra. Isabel Pujol Payet

Girona, 20 de juliol de 2017

To my father, Jaume Gibert Grau,
and to my grandfather, Joaquim Sotelo Villares.
In memory of their lives.

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Abstract

This dissertation offers a contrastive analysis of the (here called) Source prefix *des-* and the negative prefix *iN-* in Spanish that highlights the connections and divergences existing between the encoding of Source paths and the encoding of negation. For *des-*, it is proposed that, although it can appear in different contexts (with verbs, nouns, and adjectives) and may display different meanings (separation, deprivation, destruction, reversion and negation), it has only one entry in the lexicon in which it is identified with its most basic value, that of a Source path. The polysemy of this prefix emerges, on the one hand, from the syntactic context where it is embedded and, on the other, from the conceptual content associated to the root with which it is combined. As for *iN-*, the claim is made that it is a negative marker that involves quantification over a scale (which accounts for its restriction to only combine with scalar bases) and adjectival categorization (which explains that *iN-* prefixed items are always adjectives). Finally, to reach a better understanding of the syntax and semantics of these two prefixes, their Latin predecessors are also analyzed: the Source prefixes *ab-*, *de-*, *ex-* and *dis-*, and the negative prefix *iN-*. In line with Acedo-Matellán (2006b) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), it is shown that the step from Latin to Romance triggered a typological change from a satellite-framed system, Latin, to a verb-framed one, Romance languages in general and Spanish in particular. The evolution from Latin to Spanish also triggered a reanalysis of the negative prefix *iN-*, which changed its status from an adjunct showing a certain degree of autonomy and ability to be combined with different types of bases, to a categorizing affix.

The phenomena are approached from a neo-constructionist perspective of the syntax-lexicon interface. In particular, I adopt the principles stated in Nanosyntax and assume that the function of the lexicon is to provide lexical exponents to spell out the structures delivered by syntax. Drawing on Real Puigdollers' (2013) theory of lexicalization by phase, I adopt the view that the timing of Spell-Out is marked by the phase, which allows accounting for cross-linguistic variation. Besides, this thesis aims at providing an account of the precise way in which structural semantics interacts with conceptual content. To this end, I take into consideration Pustejovsky's (1995) formalization of lexical semantics via *Qualia* Structure, and posit that when lexical exponents are inserted in the syntactic structure, their *qualia* structures interact and ultimately determine the precise meaning of the configuration.

Resum

L'objectiu d'aquesta tesi és oferir una anàlisi contrastiva entre *des-*, el qual anomenem prefix d'Origen, i el prefix negatiu *iN-* en espanyol que posi de relleu les connexions existents entre l'expressió de les trajectòries d'Origen i la negació. Per a *des-*, es proposa que, tot i que pot aparèixer en diferents contextos (en verbs, noms i adjectius) i desplegar diverses accepcions (separació, privació, destrucció, reversió i negació), els seus diversos usos poden derivar-se d'una única entrada lèxica que identifica el valor més bàsic d'aquest prefix, que és el d'expressar una trajectòria d'Origen. Es defensa que els diversos valors de *des-* sorgeixen en funció del context sintàctic en el qual apareix i del contingut conceptual de l'arrel amb la qual es combina. Pel que fa a *iN-*, es proposa que és un marcador negatiu que implica quantificació sobre una escala (motiu pel qual aquest prefix només pot combinar-se amb bases escalars) i també categorització adjectival (cosa que dóna compte del fet que no documentem ni noms ni adjectius encapçalats per aquest prefix). Finalment, per tal de comprendre millor el funcionament d'aquests dos prefixos, s'estudien els seus antecedents llatins: els prefixos d'Origen *ab-*, *de-*, *ex-* i *dis-*, i el prefix purament negatiu *iN-*. Seguint la línia d'investigació d'Acedo-Matellán (2006b) i Acedo-Matellán i Mateu (2013), es demostra que el pas del llatí a les llengües romàniques va comportar un canvi tipològic: es va passar d'un sistema d'emmarcament en el satèl·lit, el llatí, a un sistema d'emmarcament verbal, l'espanyol (i les llengües romàniques en general). L'estudi *d'iN-* en llatí també mostra que aquest prefix va patir una reanàlisi en l'evolució del llatí al castellà, passant de ser un adjunt amb cert grau d'autonomia i capaç de combinar-se amb diversos tipus de base, a ser un afix categoritzador.

L'anàlisi d'aquests fenòmens es realitza des d'una perspectiva neo-construccionista de la interfície sintaxi-lexicó. En particular, s'adopten els principis de la Nanosintaxi i s'assumeix que la funció del lexicó és proporcionar exponents per tal de materialitzar les configuracions creades per la sintaxi. Tenint en compte la teoria de lexicalització per fases de Real Puigdollers (2013), es postula que els punts d'accés de les interfícies a l'estructura derivacional venen marcats per la fase, i que la variació interlingüística depèn d'on defineixi aquests punts d'accés cada llengua. També es pretén oferir una explicació de com interactuen el significat estructural i el contingut conceptual. Per això, s'adopta la formalització de la semàntica lèxica en termes d'Estructura de *Qualia* proposada per Pustejovsky (1995), i es proposa que, un cop els exponents han estat inserits en l'estructura sintàctica, les seves estructures de *qualia* estableixen connexions que determinen el significat precís de la configuració.

Resumen

El propósito de la tesis es ofrecer un análisis contrastivo entre el (aquí llamado) prefijo de Origen *des-* y el prefijo negativo *iN-* del español que ponga de relieve las conexiones existentes entre la expresión de las trayectorias de Origen y la negación. Para *des-*, se propone que sus distintos usos (en verbos, nombres y adjetivos) y acepciones (separación, privación, destrucción, reversión y negación) derivan de una única entrada léxica en la que dicho prefijo es identificado con su valor más básico, que es el de expresar una trayectoria de Origen. Se defiende que la polisemia de este prefijo depende, por un lado, del contexto sintáctico en el que está incluido y, por otro, del significado conceptual asociado a la raíz con la que se combina. Por lo que respecta a *iN-*, se propone que es un marcador negativo que implica cuantificación sobre una escala (motivo por el cual únicamente puede combinarse con bases escalares) y categorización adjetival (lo que explica que no se documenten ni nombres ni verbos encabezados por *iN-*). Finalmente, para comprender mejor el funcionamiento de estos prefijos, se acude a sus antecedentes latinos: los prefijos de Origen *ab-*, *de-*, *ex-* y *dis-*, y el prefijo puramente negativo *iN-*. En línea con las investigaciones de Acedo-Matellán (2006b) y Acedo-Matellán y Mateu (2013), se demuestra que el paso del latín al romance acarrea un cambio tipológico: se pasa de un sistema de enmarcamiento en el satélite, el latín, a un sistema de enmarcamiento en el verbo, las lenguas románicas en general y el español en particular. Por lo que respecta a *iN-*, se propone que sufrió un reanálisis en la evolución del latín al castellano, pasando de ser un adjunto capaz de combinarse con distintas bases y mostrando cierto grado de autonomía, a ser un afijo categorizador.

El análisis de estos fenómenos se realiza desde una perspectiva neo-construccionista de la interfaz sintaxis-léxico. En particular, se adoptan los principios de la Nanosintaxis y se asume que la función del léxico es proporcionar exponentes para materializar las configuraciones sintácticas. Tomando en consideración la teoría de lexicalización por fases de Real Puigdollers (2013), se postula que los puntos de acceso de las interfaces a la estructura derivacional están marcados por la fase, y que la variación interlingüística depende de dónde defina cada lengua estos puntos de acceso. Además, se pretende ofrecer una explicación del modo en que el significado estructural interactúa con el contenido conceptual. A tal fin, se adopta la formalización de la semántica léxica en términos de Estructura de *Qualia* propuesta por Pustejovsky (1995), y se propone que cuando los exponentes se insertan en la estructura sintáctica, sus estructuras de *qualia* establecen conexiones que determinan el significado preciso de la configuración.

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> *sabent que tu creixes amb mi: projectes,*
> *il·lusions, desigs, prenen volada*
> *per tu i amb tu, per molt distants que et siguin,*
> *i amb tu i per tu somnio d'acomplir-los.*
>
> *Lletra a Dolors*, Miquel Martí i Pol

List of publications derived from the thesis

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Abbreviations

1,2,3: first, second, third person

ABL: ablative

ACC: accusative

AP: adjective phrase

a-participle: adjectival passive participle

AUX: auxiliary

CONJ: conjunction

DAT: dative

DP: determiner phrase

EA: external argument

EPP: Extended Projection Principle

F: feminine

FCI: free choice item

FUT: future

GEN: genitive

GER: gerund

IA: internal argument

IL: individual-level

IMP: imperative

INF: infinitive

InitP: initiation phrase

IPFV: imperfective

lit.: literally

M: masculine

NEG: negation

NOM: nominative

NP: noun Phrase

NPI: negative polarity item

PASS: passive

PFV: perfective

PL: plural

PLUPRF: pluperfect

PP: prepositional phrase

PRF: perfect

ProcP: process phrase

PRS: present

PST: past

PTCP: participle

QS: *qualia* structure

ResP: result phrase

SBJV: subjunctive

SG: singular

SL: stage-level

SUPERL: superlative

TV: theme vowel

VOC: vocative

VP: verb phrase

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. Scope and aims

This dissertation explores the relation between lexical exponents, structure and meaning. The empirical basis is the detailed study of two prefixes that have been described as negative in the previous literature, the Spanish prefixes *des-* and *iN-*, and the comparison of these prefixes with their Latin predecessors. The analysis of these data will allow me to discuss classical questions concerning interpretation, competition between affixes and grammatical change.

The first and main theoretical problem that this dissertation discusses is the question of how the same affix can give rise to different interpretations. This is exemplified, for instance, in the case of the Spanish prefix *des-*, for which at least the following readings have been mentioned in previous studies (see Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Serrano-Dolader 1995, 2011; Martín García 2007; Costa 2008; Rodríguez Rosique 2011; among others):

(1)   a. *des-carril-ar*   lit. "from-rail-INF"   'to derail'   (ablative reading)

        b. *des-cabez-ar*   lit. "from.head.INF"   'to behead'   (privative reading)

        c. *des-hacer*   lit. "from-do.INF"   'to undo'   (reversative reading)

        c. *des-conocer*   lit. "from-know.INF"   'not to know'   (negative reading)

There are different ways of approaching these interpretations. In a lexicalist model that does not acknowledge internal structure in words, such as Anderson (1992), one can associate the interpretation to the whole verb and therefore not address directly the semantic contribution of the prefix. In models where morphemes are analyzed as the building blocks of words, another solution is to list a series of homophonous morphemes, each one associated to a different lexical entry. This lexical solution where the different meanings are due to different affixes listed in the lexicon is exemplified, for the case of *des-*, by Varela & Martín García (1999), who propose the existence of

two distinct prefixes *des-*: a prepositional *des-* with privative meaning (1999: 5000) and an adverbial *des-* with negative opposition meaning (1999: 5001).

The non-lexical solution to this puzzle is configurational. From this perspective, the information associated to the morpheme is stable, and the different interpretations emerge from the structural position it occupies and from properties of the context where it is introduced. This is the solution that I will adopt in this dissertation. I will argue that the different interpretations of *des-* derive from the syntactic structure where the prefix is embedded and the conceptual-semantic contribution of the root.

The second question that I address in this dissertation is the precise way in which grammar combines structural semantics and conceptual semantics. The position I argue for here is that structural semantics takes precedence over conceptual semantics, the function of the latter being that of associating the configurations delivered by syntax to a more specialized conceptual domain. In the particular case of *des-*, I posit that this prefix is the spell-out of a Source path (therefore, I will refer to *des-* as a Source prefix), a configuration belonging to the most basic cognitive domain, that is, space.[1] Besides, I show that *des-* occupies a low position within the configuration, taking direct scope over the root of the predicate. Hence, *des-* imposes its structural Source semantics to the construction, and the conceptual semantics associated to the root with which it combines provides a more specialized content to that configuration, giving rise to the particular interpretations of *des-* prefixed predicates.

Claiming, as I do, that *des-* is a Source prefix, brings up the question of how the negative meaning of this prefix emerges (cf. (1d)), and what the differences are between this prefix and a purely negative prefix as *iN-*. Accordingly, I must provide an explanation of why in some contexts negative meaning is expressed with *des-* and in other contexts with *iN-*:

(2)   a. *in-feliz*   lit. "not-happy"   'unhappy'
       b. *in-traducible*   lit. "not-translatable" 'untranslatable'

(3)   a. *des-honesto*   lit. "from-honest"   'dishonest'
       b. *des-afortunado*   lit. "from-lucky"   'unlucky'

---

[1] I therefore embrace the localist hypothesis (Gruber 1965; Anderson 1971; Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000; Lyons 1977; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Jackendoff 1983, 1990), according to which the conceptual schema inherent to spatial relations (namely, movement or location) is the same schema that we use to represent more abstract, non-spatial relations (e.g. change of state).

This problem is a specific instance of the traditional question of how morphemes with similar meanings compete with each other. In order to contribute to this question, this dissertation also analyzes the prefix *iN-* and compares it with *des-* so as to explain under which specific conditions Source semantics gives similar results to negation semantics. That said, I want to highlight that this dissertation is not an exploration of how negative meaning is constructed in all cases, departing, in this respect, from studies devoted to the analysis of the syntax of negation at all levels, as De Clercq (2013).

The final issue that this dissertation discusses is a traditional one: how morphosyntactic diachronic variation takes place. On the one hand, by examining the Latin predecessors of the Spanish Source prefix *des-*, I will explore how these two languages differ in the way they lexicalize motion events and how the evolution from Latin to Romance triggered the typological change from a satellite-framed system to a verb-framed one (Talmy 2000; Bartra & Mateu 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2006b, 2010, 2016a; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2009, 2013; among others). On the other hand, I will examine cases in which the same morpheme alters its grammatical behaviour throughout the history of the language. I will posit that historical change at the morpheme level happens when the relation between one underlying syntactic structure and one exponent is reinterpreted, for instance, by adding one extra syntactic head to the spell-out of the morpheme. This is what, I will argue, explains the different behaviour of *iN-* in Latin and Spanish.

Having presented the scope and the aims of this dissertation, in the following section I will specify where the theoretical framework I assume is located within the current theoretical universe.

1.2. Basic theoretical assumptions

When it comes to the relation between structure and lexical exponents, I assume the nanosyntactic model, a recent theory proposed by Starke (2005-2009, 2009, 2011, 2014) and further developed in Fábregas (2007), Ramchand (2008), Caha (2009), Abels & Muriungi (2008), Muriungi (2008), Lundquist (2008), Taraldsen (2010), Mendívil-Giró (2010), Pantcheva (2011), De Clercq (2013, 2017), and Romeu (2014), among others (see Svenonius *et al.* 2009, and Baunaz *et al.*, forthcoming, for a collection of papers devoted to the introduction and exploration of this theoretical model).

Nanosyntax is a neo-constructionist model that assumes that syntactic structures are not projected from the lexicon: syntax creates structures by combining morphosyntactic features, and the function of the lexicon is to provide lexical exponents to spell out the structures delivered by syntax. As in other neo-constructionist frameworks (e.g., Distributed Morphology), lexical exponents are late inserted, although in Nanosyntax the relation between syntax and the lexicon is assumed to be direct —that is, with no intermediate level between syntax and lexical insertion. Accordingly, there is no place for a morphological level independent from syntax: syntax creates structures that can be spelled out in the shape of a morpheme, a word or a phrase (Starke 2009: 6). A representation of the architecture of grammar assumed within a nanosyntactic approach is represented below:

(4)   Morphosyntactic features

                                                    ↓

                                    Computational System (Syntax)

                                                    ↓

                    Spell-out   ← - - - - - - - - -   Lexicon

                          ↙   ↘

        Phonological Form (Phonology)   Semantic Form (Semantics)
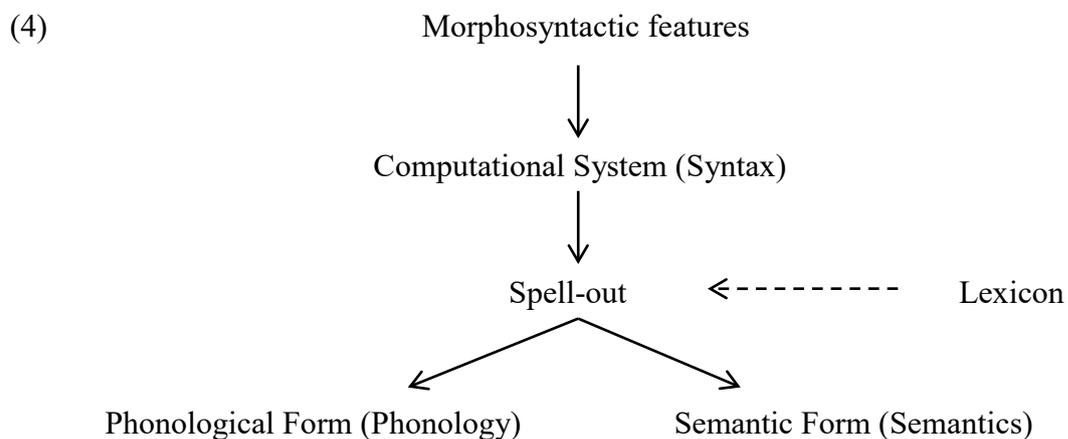
[Adapted from Fábregas 2016: 46 (32)]

As noticed by Fábregas (2016: 47), there is an immediate consequence of this architecture, which lacks a designated morphological level. The consequence is that what has traditionally been attributed to morphology is to be accounted for by means of syntax, semantics or phonology, which are the only three levels acknowledged in Nanosyntax. At the moment of spell-out, which occurs after syntactic derivation and before both phonological and semantic interpretation, syntactic configurations are replaced by lexical exponents that translate syntactic structure into a format able to be processed at the Phonological and Semantic levels (Fábregas 2016: 46).

As conforming to a neo-constructionist approach, syntactically built structures provide grammatically relevant meaning, but lack conceptual content. To account for how conceptual content ultimately determines the specific interpretation of lexical

exponents in combination, I partially draw on Pustejovsky's (1995 ff.) model of lexical semantic decomposition. According to Pustejovsky, the conceptual content associated to lexical exponents is not atomic, but can be decomposed into a series of basic and underspecified values. In this way, when lexical exponents are combined in syntax, they acquire a precise meaning depending on the links established, at a conceptual level, between their basic pieces of meaning and the pieces of meaning contained in the lexical entries of the exponents with which they are combined.

One of the originalities of this thesis is that of combining the insights of Pustejovsky's (1995) lexical semantics theory with a neo-constructionist framework like that of Nanosyntax (see Fábregas 2016 for a different attempt to combine these two perspectives).

1.3. Empirical basis

The empirical core of this thesis is the comparative study of the (here called) Source prefix *des-* and the negative prefix *iN-*, and of these Spanish prefixes with their Latin predecessors. Although the focus is on Spanish and Latin, some occasional reference is made to other Romance languages and English when they can shed light on the issues discussed.

A few words are in order about how the data have been obtained. For Spanish, *des-* prefixed items and *iN-* prefixed ones have been searched out in two Spanish dictionaries: *RAE*'s (2014) *Diccionaro de la Lengua Española* (*DRAE*) and the Spanish usage dictionary *Clave* (Ediciones SM, 2012), both of them available online. The use of these verbs in context has been checked out in the textual corpus *CREA* (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*), an online database of the RAE that comprises documents from the year 1975 to the year 2004. Additional information regarding the use of these verbs in current Spanish has been obtained via Google search. Besides, I have taken into account the information contained in the literature devoted to the description of these two prefixes: Brea (1976, 1994), Vañó-Cerdá (1990), Serrano-Dolader (1995, 2011), Varela & Martín García (1999), Montero Curiel (1999), Gràcia et al. (2000), Martín García (2007), Costa (2008), Rodríguez Rosique (2011, 2013), Pujol Payet (2012). I have also used the data that I collected in previous studies: Gibert Sotelo (2015c, 2017, and in press). Even though the focus of this dissertation is synchronic, in some instances it has been necessary to refer to diachronic data. In such cases, the data

have been obtained from the online textual corpus *CORDE* (*Corpus Diacrónico del Español*) of the *RAE*, which encompasses documents from the origins of the language (12th century) up to the year 1974.

As for Latin, I have concentrated on the Classical Latin period (100 BC – 2nd century AC).[2] Data concerning this period have been extracted from Lewis & Short's (1879) *Latin Dictionary* (referred to as *Lewis & Short* in the present dissertation) and contrasted with the information contained in Gaffiot's (1934) *Dictionaire Latin-Française* (referred to as *Gaffiot* in this thesis), both of them available online. The studies in Latin verbal prefixation by García Hernández (1980), Crocco Galèas & Iacobini (1993), Haverling (2000), Brachet (2000), Acedo-Matellán (2006b, 2010, 2016a, 2016b), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2009, 2013) and Mateu (2016), as well as Pinkster's (2015) monograph, have been examined in depth and constitute another important source of information. When not available in the mentioned studies, the use in context of Latin Source and negative prefixes has been surveyed in the Greek and Roman Materials database of the *Perseus Digital Library Project*, available online.

1.4. Layout

This dissertation is organized in seven chapters, including this introduction. The main proposal is presented in chapters 3 to 6; chapter 2 discusses the theoretical background, and chapter 7 reviews the main conclusions and points out avenues for further research.

Chapter 2 introduces a more detailed overview of the theoretical background used throughout this dissertation. After comparing projectionist and neo-constructionist approaches to the syntax-lexicon interface, I focus on Nanosyntax, the neo-constructionist model underlying the analysis. Afterwards, I discuss verbal decomposition, the organization of conceptual content, and the nature of roots. The syntactic definition of domains and their impact in accounting for distinct lexicalization patterns is addressed after that. The chapter concludes with a presentation of my assumptions concerning the structure of paths.

Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to the analysis of the Spanish prefix *des-*. Chapter 3 concentrates on verbal formations. In this chapter, I revise the previously assumed classification of complex verbs with *des-*, in order to critically evaluate it. As a result, I

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[2] I follow Crocco Galèas & Iacobini (1993) in assuming Classical Latin to encompass the Silver Latin period (1st and 2nd centuries AD) and extend from 100 BC to the end of the 2nd century AD.

propose a reduction that better reflects the relevant distinctions between these predicate classes. The main empirical properties of each class are inspected in depth. After that, I propose an analysis of the syntactic structure of each verb class, and I account for their variable semantics via a pustejovskian analysis of the conceptual content associated to the root in each case.

Chapter 4 deals with adjectival and nominal formations. Here I provide a detailed explanation of how the Source semantics of the prefix *des-* is interpreted as contrary negation when embedded in stative predicates. In addition, the claim is made that *des-* prefixed verbs, adjectives and nouns share the lowest part of their syntactic structure, where the structure associated to the prefix takes the root of the predicate as its complement.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the analysis of the Spanish negative prefix *iN-*. The chapter begins with a survey of the fundamental restrictions that constrain the distribution of this prefix, mainly that it is restricted to adjectival bases. After that, I examine its combination with adjectives and offer a fine-grained classification of these predicates. An analysis is provided of the prefix and the different adjectival bases it is attached to. The chapter concludes with a comparison of *iN-* and *des-* prefixation, providing evidence that their underlying structures are substantially different.

Chapter 6 focuses on the Latin predecessors of the two Spanish prefixes analyzed in the previous chapters. Through the comparative study of Source prefixes in both languages, I endeavour to shed light on the typological change that occurred in the evolution from Latin to Spanish. I offer a detailed comparison between Source prefixes and negative *iN-* in Latin that parallels the one made for Spanish in the previous chapter. I finish the chapter showing how in the step from Latin to Spanish the negative prefix *iN-* underwent a reanalysis.

Finally, chapter 7 offers a summary of the main implications of the analysis and looks beyond the empirical data discussed in order to suggest potential extensions and challenges to be discussed in further research.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical background

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of the theoretical framework I assume to approach the analysis of the (structural and conceptual) meaning of the Spanish prefixes *des-* and *iN-* and their Latin ancestors. Section 2.2 briefly introduces the two main approaches followed in the study of the syntax-lexicon interface phenomena within Generative Grammar: the projectionist (or lexicalist) approach and the neo-constructionist approach. In section 2.3 I present the neo-constructionist model adopted here to account for the structural properties of the prefixed forms under study: that is, Nanosyntax. Besides, I sketch some advantages of this model and consider a way to address language variation on the basis of a nanosyntactic approach that also takes into account the notion of phase. Section 2.4 deals with the crucial distinction between structural meaning and conceptual content. Particularly, I tackle the analysis of event and argument structure from a syntactic perspective and posit a proposal on the structuring of conceptual content on the grounds of the *Qualia* Structure (QS) formalization. The syntax of those elements contributing conceptual content to the configuration —namely, roots— is addressed afterwards. Finally, section 2.5 is concerned with the linguistic structuring of spatial relations. In that section I introduce Talmy's typological distinction between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages and offer a syntactic account of this distinction that follows Real Puigdollers' (2013) theory of lexicalization by phase. After that, the internal syntax of the Path head is examined on the grounds of Pantcheva's (2011) decomposition of this head. Source paths, with which this thesis is concerned, are shown to constitute the reversal of Goal paths and, therefore, to be syntactically (and cognitively) more complex. The possibility of using elements encoding the idea of departure from a Source to derive a negative meaning is explored at the end of this section, a point to bear in mind throughout the dissertation, in which the encoding of Source is systematically compared with that of negation. Section 2.6 offers a summary of the main conclusions reached in this chapter.

2.2. On the syntax-lexicon interface

Since Chomsky's (1981, 1986) proposals on the conception of the lexicon and its role in grammar, the study of the relationship existing between the meaning of lexical items and the syntactic context where they appear has taken a prominent place in the generativist debate.

It is commonly assumed that a lexical component of some sort must exist which provides the lexical material of syntactic structures (see Chomsky 1965). Nonetheless, there is no agreement in determining whether the relationship between lexical semantics and syntax is derived from the lexicon or governed by the syntactic structure. In approaching the issue of the syntax-lexicon interface, two main perspectives have been entertained (the borders between which are not always clearly defined): the *projectionist* or lexicalist view, whose basic premise is that lexical meaning determines syntactic structure (i.e., that lexical information is prior to syntax); and the *neo-constructionist* perspective, according to which syntactic structure is not determined by the lexicon but that syntax is prior to lexical meaning.[1]

2.2.1. The projectionist (or lexicalist) approach

The theories that follow the projectionist approach are those that, based on the Projection Principle postulated by Chomsky (1981, 1986),[2] assume that the structure in which a lexical item appears is projected from and determined by the lexical item, that is, by the information contained in its lexical entry: basically its meaning, its syntactic category and some representation of its argument structure.

From this standpoint, syntax is not the only generative component, but there is another module prior to syntax, with its own rules and primitives, that is the locus of word formation: the lexicon. Lexical items, thus, are projected from the lexicon into syntax with their own lexical structure. Therefore, for these models it is crucial to determine the number and the type of lexical primitives that conform the lexical structures inherent to lexical items, as well as to establish which linking rules regulate the projection of lexical structures to the syntactic module. With respect to the first

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[1] Detailed surveys of the syntax-lexicon interface approaches may be found in Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2005), Demonte (2006), Ramchand (2008), Mendikoetxea (2007, 2009), Acedo-Matellán (2010), and Cano Cambronero (2013), among others.

[2] The Projection Principle states that syntactic structure must reflect lexical properties at all the levels of syntactic representation (Chomsky 1986: 84).

point, the vast majority of projectionist models assume a semantic (rather than syntactic) nature of lexical primitives and the structures they conform (e.g. Jackendoff 1983, 1990; Pinker 1989; Bierwisch 1997; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998); hence they are usually referred to as semantico-centric theories (Mateu 2002; Mendikoetxea 2007, 2009). As for the second point, the mapping of lexical structures onto syntactic ones is assumed to be regulated by the Projection Principle, and restricted by thematic hierarchies that conform with the *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH; Baker 1988:46), which ensures a uniform mapping of the different theta roles to specific syntactic positions.[3]

A semantico-centric model especially influential in the projectionist trend is Jackendoff's (1983, 1990, 2002, 2010) *Conceptual Semantics*.[4] The basis of this framework is an organization of grammar into three independent generative components, each one endowed with its own primitives and rules of combination: the Phonological Structure, the Syntactic Structure and the (Lexical-)Conceptual Structure. Crucially, Jackendoff states that such an organization, which he labels *Parallel Architecture*, does not derive the combinatory properties of the phonological and lexical-semantic level from the syntactic system. The three modules of the Parallel Architecture, thus, are autonomous levels linked to each other through interface rules. In this architecture, the (lexical-)semantic component of language is understood as a mental representation, the *lexical-conceptual structure* (hereon LCS), which is common to all natural languages and consists of the combination of a closed series of semantic primitives into a function-argument representation. From this viewpoint, thematic roles are not semantic primitives, but particular argument positions inside the LCS. One of the main criticisms that this lexical-semantic theory has received is the lack of a clear distinction between structural and idiosyncratic meaning (see Mateu 2002: 48), since some of the LCSs that Jackendoff proposes blend syntactically relevant information with encyclopaedic knowledge. As an example, Jackendoff proposes an LCS for the verb *eat* as the one reproduced in (1), which mixes structural information such as the eventive functions CAUSE and GO and its respective arguments, with encyclopaedic

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[3] It must be noted that not all the semantico-centric theories within the projectionist approach agree with Baker's UTAH. Criticism against this hypothesis is to be found in Jackendoff (1990); but see Mateu (2002: 46-61) for a refusal of Jackendoff's arguments and a demonstration of the validity of the UTAH.

[4] Jackendoff's *Lexical-Conceptual Structure* formalization constitutes the base for Lieber's (2004) semantic theory of word formation. Moreover, numerous studies concerned with morphology and argument structure have also adopted this framework: Lieber (1992, 1998), Lieber & Baayen (1993), Plag (1999), Gràcia et al. (2000), Morimoto (2001), Gibert Sotelo (2015c), Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2015), among others.

knowledge that constributes nothing to the structural meaning of the predicate: MOUTH OF α. In his proposal, the crucial distinction existing between those elements that contribute structural meaning and those elements that represent structurally irrelevant encyclopaedic knowledge is not acknowledged. Thus, in the concrete case of *eat*, Jackendoff's proposal wrongly predicts that this verb, an activity, behaves as a telic change of location verb of the sort of *pocket*, since in his proposal both types of predicates share the same eventive and spatial functions:

(1)   LCS of *eat* according to Jackendoff (1990: 253, example 20)

$[_{\text{Event}}$ CAUSE $([_{\text{Thing}}]^{\alpha}{}_{\text{A}}, [_{\text{Event}}$ GO $([_{\text{Thing}}]_{<\text{A}>},$
$[_{\text{Path}}$ TO $([_{\text{Place}}$ IN $([_{\text{Thing}}$ MOUTH OF $([_{\text{Thing}}\ \alpha])])])])]$

(2)   LCS of *pocket* according to Jackendoff (1990: 80, example 34)

$[_{\text{Event}}$ CAUSE $([_{\text{Thing}}]_i, [_{\text{Event}}$ GO $([_{\text{Thing}}]_j, [_{\text{Path}}$ TO $([_{\text{Place}}$ IN $([_{\text{Thing}}$ POCKET])])])])]$

A projectionist model more concerned with the distinction between grammatically relevant and grammatically irrelevant lexical meaning is the one formulated in Levin & Rappaport Hovav's (1995) and Rappaport Hovav & Levin's (1998) works. The proposal of these authors is that there are two levels of lexical representation related by a set of linking rules: a *lexical-semantic representation* (or *event structure template*) consisting of a series of primitive predicates that provide the structural dimension of verbal meaning, and a *lexical-syntactic representation* (or *argument structure*) onto which the lexical-semantic representation is mapped that specifies the number of syntactic arguments taken by a predicate and their hierarchical organization. Within the event structure template, an idiosyncratic element, known as the *constant*, contributes the grammatically irrelevant meaning. Therefore, differently from the LCSs proposed by Jackendoff, Levin & Rappaport Hovav's lexical-semantic representations allow a systematic and rigorous classification of verbal predicates according to which the members of a given class share the same lexical-semantic template and are distinguished by the kind of constant they incorporate. In this sense, and as noticed by Acedo-Matellán (2010: 31), Levin & Rappaport Hovav's proposal is not far from neo-constructionist approaches, since their system assumes that grammatically-relevant meaning is only contributed by a structural configuration that is independent from the idiosyncratic meaning contributed by stored units. However, the location of these representations in the lexicon and not in the syntactic component makes this model

incompatible with the basic neo-constructionist assumption, to wit, that the structural meaning of predicates is syntactically generated and not a projection from the lexicon. Moreover, and in line with Jackendoff's Conceptual Semantics, Levin & Rappaport Hovav's predicate decomposition templates are proposed within a strongly semantico-centric view.

Among the projectionist perspectives of the syntax-lexicon interface, and in opposition to the predominantly semantico-centric view of these theories, there is one framework that uses the same basic rules and principles that constrain the syntactic component to account for the internal structuring of lexical units: the lexical-syntax theory modelled by Hale & Keyser (1992, 1993, 1998, 2002). The main assumption of this theory is that *argument structure* is "a syntactic configuration projected by a lexical item", and so it consists in "the system of structural relations holding between heads (nuclei) and arguments linked to them in the roster of syntactic properties listed for individual items in the lexicon" (Hale & Keyser 1998: 73). In this system, theta roles correspond to particular argument positions inside the syntactic structures contained in lexical entries. Hence, Hale & Keyser's lexical syntax is the first attempt before the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) to pursue a syntactic explanation for those issues, such as argument structure alternations, considered to be of lexical nature. This syntactic perspective gave rise to the neo-constructionist proposals, which were developed after the Minimalist Program. Hale & Keyser's model, however, despite involving a configurational approach to argument structure that in many respects fits the neo-constructionist view, is still a projectionist model built on the assumption that "syntax is projected from the lexicon" (Hale & Keyser 1993: 64).[5]

2.2.2. The neo-constructionist approach

After the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), where the statement of a perfect Grammar devoid of redundancies weakens the Projection Principle and disallows the concurrence of two generative engines, neo-constructionist theories come to the fore of the syntax-lexicon interface discussion. The basic claim of this new theoretical approach is that the computational system (or syntax) is the only generative system available in the grammar, and, hence, that structural meaning is syntactically rather than lexically generated. From this viewpoint, lexical items do not determine the structure where they

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[5] See Acedo-Matellán (2010: chapter 2, section 1.2) for a detailed revision of Hale & Keyser's proposals and the status of their model as a non-standard projectionist theory.

appear, but it is the syntactic structure that generates the position a given lexical item takes in a given syntactic context.

In the light of this new situation, argument structure is not mapped from the lexical entry of a selecting head: arguments are semantically interpreted depending on the position they take within the structure, and the interpretation given to the "selecting" head also depends on that position. As an example, consider how the causative alternation illustrated in (3) should be addressed from a neo-constructionist perspective.

(3)   a. *Mary/the wind opened the window.*
         b. *The window opened.*

When the verb *open* appears in a structure that projects an external argument and an internal argument, such as the one in (3a), with a DP in the subject position interpreted as an Agent or Causer (*Mary* or *the wind*) and a DP in the object position interpreted as a Theme or Patient (*the window*), *open* is considered to be a causative verb. When the very same verb is embedded in a structure that does not project an external argument but projects an internal argument, such as the one in (3b), the only DP of which corresponds to a subject interpreted as a Theme or Patient (*the window*), *open* is interpreted as an anticausative predicate depicting a spontaneous event of change. Thus, the flexibility shown in the structural meaning of the verb *open*, which can enter the causative alternation, is accounted for by adducing that this verb can be inserted into causative structures as well as into unaccusative structures.

On the contrary, a projectionist approach would posit a lexical entry for the verb *open* according to which this verb selects an external argument acting as an Agent or Causer, and an internal argument which is the affected Theme or Patient. Upon this view, the causative alternant emerges when the agentive or causative external argument is projected into the syntax, while the anticausative alternant results from a lexical binding of the external argument that prevents its projection to syntax, which implies a derived status of the anticausative alternant, considered to be an instantiation of the causative one (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995).

As observed by Ramchand (2008: 11), among neo-constructionist theories of the syntax-lexicon interface, it is possible to draw a line between those neo-constructionist approaches that reduce the information of the lexicon as much as possible by assuming that it only contains roots without syntactically relevant information, and those that

consider the lexicon to contain stored items with certain syntactic information such as category features or argument structure information.

A framework that pursues the impoverished lexicon view is the Distributed Morphology model introduced by Halle & Marantz (1993) and Marantz (1995, 1997). Distributed Morphology claims that the only generative system of grammar is syntax, which governs both the formation of phrases and words. According to this framework, morphological structure is syntactic structure, and the divergences that surface between syntactic and morphological structure are driven by operations along the P(honological)F(orm) branch. Thus, morphology is seen as part of the phonological component and treated as an interface between the computational system (or syntax) and the PF (cf. Marantz 1995: 17). In the architecture proposed by the Distributed Morphology model, the lexicon (crucially a non-generative lexicon) is divided into three independent deposits that are accessed at different steps of the derivation: the *Narrow Lexicon*, the *Vocabulary* and the *Encyclopaedia*. The *Narrow Lexicon* is prior to syntactic operations and provides the items with which syntax operates: abstract morphemes with no phonetic content that consist of sets of grammatical features. The *Vocabulary* lists Vocabulary Items: phonological exponents with contextual features. The Vocabulary is accessed after Spell-Out to supply abstract morphemes with phonological content, which means that vocabulary insertion takes place after syntactic derivation (an operation known as *Late Insertion*). The *Encyclopaedia* contains lexical entries that link phonological exponents with idiosyncratic content, and is only accessed once the derivation has been completed, that is, after PF and L(ogical)F(orm). As Starke (2014) notices (see also Acedo-Matellán 2010: 50), Distributed Morphology presents the inconvenience of allowing certain "generative" labours in the pre-syntactic Narrow Lexicon: as far as the sets of grammatical features with which syntax operates are generated in the Narrow Lexicon in a principled way, the Narrow Lexicon is somehow intended to be generative,[6] which downplays the initial claim of the framework that there exists a unique generative system for the language faculty.

The framework developed by Borer (2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2013) reflects the most radical neo-constructionist view. In Borer's *exo-skeletal*[7] theory, since syntax is

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[6] Marantz (1995: 1) explicitly states that "the Lexicon as the input to the computational system is always considered generative in some sense".

[7] Borer uses the term *exo-skeletal* to label those approaches to the syntax-lexicon interface (of which her own approach is the most representative one) in which "it is the properties of the 'outside', larger structure which ultimately determine the overall 'shape' of what is within" (Borer 2005a: 15). The same

the only generative system from which compositional meaning emerges, the lexicon is set aside as a mere repository of *listemes* (envisaged as pairs of sound and meaning that contain conceptual information but not any kind of grammatical property)[8] that does not really interact with the structure building. In this extreme neo-constructionist system, the syntax-lexicon interface is drastically narrowed, the only function of the lexicon being that of providing a list of naked roots (in her terms, *listemes*) with no argument structure or category information, available to be inserted in the structure just as modifiers (but see footnote 8). The advantage of this approach is its ability to account for the flexibility displayed by certain lexical items in their syntactic behaviour. For instance, the possibility of a lexical item such as *siren* to act both as a noun and as a verb is easily accounted for by posing that the interpretation of *siren* as a noun emerges when this listeme is inserted in a nominal structure, while its interpretation as a verb emerges when the very same listeme is inserted in a verbal structure. In turn, it is a variety of different structures what gives rise to *siren* as a verb, yielding even more strength to the exo-skeletal stance:

(4)   a. *The factory horns sirened throughout the raid.*

         b. *The factory horns sirened midday and everyone broke for lunch.*

         c. *The police car sirened the Porsche to a stop.*

         d. *The police car sirened up to the accident site.*

         e. *The police car sirened the daylight out of me.*

               [Clarck & Clarck (1979: 803); *apud*. Borer (2003: 40, example 13)]

From a projectionist standpoint, the enormous flexibility shown by *siren* in (4) should be explained by deriving the different uses of the verb from a unique source, a hard task, but necessary to avoid proposing that the different uses of *siren* are listed in the lexicon as different entries of this verb. On the contrary, Borer (2003: 40) observes that the problems that projectionist views must confront in their accounting for the behaviour of *siren* do not emerge in her approach, given that "*siren* has no independent properties,

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author labels the approaches which subscribe the opposite view *endo-skeletal*, since these approaches assume that the properties of the elements embedded in the structure (i.e., lexical items) predetermine the shape of the structure and, hence, conform its (endo)skeleton.

[8] Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) coined the term *listeme* to refer to lexical entries as "listed objects", that is, as memorized linguistic expressions. For Borer (2005a, b), a listeme is basically a root; in some cases (idioms like *trousers*, **trouser*), listemes may be provided with grammatically relevant information that has to be projected in the syntax.

and the argument structure in which it is embedded is syntactically, rather than lexically, driven".

Borer's proposal is not free from criticisms, many of which have been made on the grounds of the restrictions shown by certain verbs about being inserted into certain structures, since not all the predicates show the same flexibility that a verb such as *siren* shows. Borer solves this problem by assuming that once the structure has been generated, world knowledge helps us deciding which structures do not fit with the conceptual content of the listemes they contain.

Other theoretical approaches, such as the ones developed in Harley (1995, 2005) or Kratzer (1996), follow a less extreme neo-constructionist view. Kratzer (1996) supports the idea that lexical items stored in the lexicon contain certain grammatically relevant information, basically information concerning the internal argument. This author posits a crucial distinction between the internal argument of a verb, the theta role of which is directly projected from its selector lexical entry, and the external argument, which is not selected by the verb but introduced in the structure by the functional head Voice (structurally placed above the VP projection). As for Harley (2005), she assumes that roots (the items stored in the lexicon) may take complements (see also Marantz 2001), and proposes an ontology of roots according to which these elements may hold grammatically relevant aspectual information that predetermines the (a)telic behaviour of the predicate they are part of.

Finally, a recent neo-constructionist theory developed at the University of Tromsø and known as *Nanosyntax* stands between the impoverished lexicon view and the rich lexicon view. Nanosyntax (Svenonius *et al.* 2009; Baunaz *et al.*, forthcoming) assumes that the function of the lexicon is to provide lexical material to spell-out syntactic structures. With that premise, syntax is not the projection of the lexicon, since lexical insertion takes place after syntax. In that sense, Nanosyntax is a strict neo-constructionist model. However, this model allows lexical entries to codify syntactic features that restrict their insertion in the structure. Particularly, in this model lexical items are envisaged as stored syntactic constructs, and thus the post-syntactic lexicon, although being unable to predetermine the syntactic labour, contains syntactic information. This is basically the model I will adopt throughout the dissertation to provide a formal analysis of the constructions under study. The following section introduces the basic principles of Nanosyntax, points out its advantages over other neo-

constructionist theories, and highlights the possibilities that this model offers to deal with linguistic variation.

2.3. Nanosyntax

2.3.1. Main principles

Nanosyntax is the most novel development of the cartographic approach (Cinque 1999; Rizzi 1997; Belletti 2004; among others). Cartography's main purpose is the description of a universal hierarchy containing all the morphosyntactic features that underlie the syntactic structure: the *functional sequence* (*fseq*). Under its foundational axiom "one morphosyntactic feature - one head" (Pollock 1989), the cartographic approach has increased the size of syntactic structures. In such enlarged structures, syntactic terminals (each one corresponding to a unique feature) have turned out to be smaller than morphemes, thus compromising the assumed "lexical" or "morphemic" status of terminal nodes. Moreover, not only have the works within the cartographic approach enlarged the size of syntactic structures, but also the detailed study of certain morphosyntactic issues from very different theoretical perspectives has led to posit new syntactic projections the terminal nodes of which do not correspond to a full morpheme, but rather to something smaller.

As a consequence of terminal nodes getting smaller, it cannot be maintained that morphemes (or lexical items) correspond to a unique syntactic terminal, but they must be considered to span several terminals. Nanosyntax arises from this observation and proposes a new architecture of grammar:

> Nanosyntax offers a radically new architecture of grammar: it departs from the consensus that "syntax projects from the lexicon". Syntax projects from single features and nothing else. Single features are merged together into the familiar binary branching trees, eventually attaining the size of a morpheme, a word and a phrase. Syntax doesn't build on morphemes, it builds morphemes.
>
> Starke (2009: 6)

In this new conception of grammar, there is no place for a lexicon prior to syntax, since the material stored in the lexicon is syntactically generated. The lexicon, thus, is treated as a list of lexical entries containing portions of syntactic trees paired with phonological information and conceptual meaning; and the spell-out operation consists in furnishing the universal syntactic structure with lexical entries whose stored portion of syntactic

structure matches a stretch of the constructed syntactic structure. Hence, despite the radical non-projectionist view of syntax as devoid of any lexical material, the lexicon envisaged in the Nanosyntax approach holds relevant syntactic information and, in a certain way, determines the final output of the derivation.

Once it is stated that lexical entries spell out blocks of syntactic structure, it is necessary to regulate the way in which spell-out takes place, i.e., to regulate the way in which syntactic structure is replaced by the chunks of structure stored in the lexicon. Given the initial assumption of morphemes and lexical items as syntactic constructs that usually span multiple terminal nodes, it follows as a natural consequence that lexical items can be inserted not only into terminal nodes, but also (and mainly) into phrasal nodes, a mechanism known as *Phrasal Spell-out* (Starke 2009, 2011; Caha 2009; Fábregas 2009; Pantcheva 2011):

(5)   *Phrasal Spell-out*

Lexical items can be inserted into phrasal nodes and spell-out multiple terminals.

Phrasal Spell-out was first proposed by McCawley (1968) within the Generative Semantics program. The advantage of assuming Phrasal Spell-out is that it provides a straightforward account of portmanteau morphs. Hence, for example, in (6) the English preposition *to* expresses direction 'to' *the room* as well as a final location 'at' *the room*, which means that in this context *to* lexicalizes a Path feature in addition to a Place feature:

(6)   *To the room.*
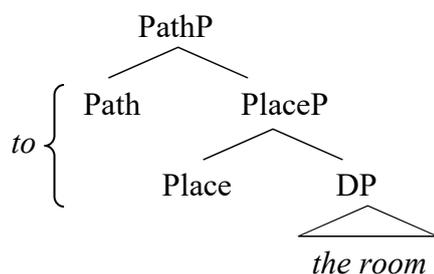
If spell-out could only target terminal nodes, it would be necessary to pose a null Place head to account for directional *to* implying also a final location. By the assumption of Phrasal Spell-out there is no need to pose a null Place morpheme, but the fact that *to* lexicalizes both Path and Place is easily accounted for by allowing this preposition to be inserted at the PathP node and spell out all the terminals contained in that chunk of

structure, that is, Path and Place.[9] As I will show below, this same explanation accounts for the wide-spread phenomenon of syncretism, in the case at hand, that *to* is found in expressions like (6) but also in expressions in which it appears to only lexicalize Path.

Pantcheva (2011: 110, footnote 2) points out that the possibility for a single morpheme to lexicalize multiple terminals has also been accounted for in alternative ways. Within the Nanosyntax framework, the works of Taraldsen (2010) and Bye & Svenonius (2012), among others, do not assume Phrasal Spell-out but adopt the mechanism of "spanning", first proposed by Williams (2003), according to which a single morpheme may encompass several adjacent terminals. Borer's (2005a, 2005b) exoskeletal model and Ramchand's (2008) nanosyntactic dissection of the VP, relate single morphemes to several terminal nodes by "multi-attachment", that is, by the repeated movement (or Re-merge) of the very same morpheme to multiple terminal nodes. The advantage of Phrasal Spell-out over "spanning" and "multi-attachment" is that the first mechanism captures the fact that lexical items lexicalize whole syntactic phrases where features are hierarchically organized, thus accounting for the different behaviour shown by morphemes on the basis of their structural configuration.

As illustrated above, the adoption of Phrasal Spell-out allows for an elegant approach to the behaviour of the directional preposition *to* when this preposition also provides information regarding a final location. Nonetheless, in the examples in (7) the very same preposition only encodes direction 'to' but not location 'at', since in these cases *to* co-appears with a locative preposition, *in* in (7a) and *on* in (7b), that encodes a particular sort of location: within a reference object in the case of *in*, and on top of the referent object in the case of *on*:

(7)   a. *Into the shop.*
        b. *Onto the table.*

Thus, the English preposition *to* is syncretic between a directional meaning entailing a final location, as in (6), and a pure directional meaning, as in (7). Taking into account that it has been put forward that *to* lexicalizes a syntactic structure containing the nodes Path and Place, its combination with locative elements spelling out Place should be disallowed, since in such a context *to* would not be able to spell out all the features it is

---

[9] For the view that directional expressions can be decomposed into a dynamic component (labelled *Path* or P_{DIR} depending on the approach) hierarchically dominating a static component (labelled *Place* or P_{LOC}), see Jackendoff (1983), van Riemsdijk (1990), Koopman (2000), den Dikken (2003, 2010), and Svenonius (2007, 2010), among others. See section 2.5.2 in this chapter for a survey.

specified for. Nonetheless, *to* is productively used in combination with the locative prepositions *in* and *on*. This observation could lead us to hypothesize the existence of two different prepositions *to*: one which lexicalizes Place and Path, and another one which only lexicalizes Path and is productively used in combination with locative prepositions. However, posing the existence of two different prepositions *to* that share a big amount of their structural meaning is unsuitable. Moreover, the structure lexicalized by *to* in its directional uses conveying a final location (which is that of PathP + PlaceP) contains the structure lexicalized by *to* in its pure directional uses (which is that of PathP), that is, the two structures that this preposition may spell out are in a superset-subset relationship.

To account for cases of syncretism such as the one just illustrated, where the matching between the syntactic structure and the syntactic tree stored in the lexical item's entry is not perfectly one-to-one, Nanosyntax posits a matching principle, known as the *Superset Principle* (Starke 2009, Caha 2009, Pantcheva 2011), according to which lexical items can spell out the entire amount of syntactic features they are specified for, or only a subpart of these features:[10]

(8)   The *Superset Principle* (Starke 2009, Caha 2009, Pantcheva 2011)

        A lexical item matches a syntactic node if its stored tree contains, at least, that syntactic node.

By the Superset Principle, the lexical entry of the preposition *to* should store the bigger structure, specified for the features Path and Place, and not the smaller structure, only specified for the feature Path:

(9)   Lexical entry for *to*

        < / to /,   PathP   >
                          Path   PlaceP
                                     Place

---
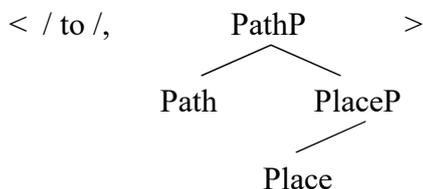
[10] The Superset Principle is the counterpart of the *Subset Principle* stated in Distributed Morphology (Halle 1997). According to the Subset Principle, the phonological exponent of a vocabulary item gets inserted in a terminal node only if the item contains the same or a subset of the features specified in the terminal node. By this principle, insertion is blocked when the vocabulary item is specified for more features than those contained in the syntactic node, thus predicting exactly the opposite of the Superset Principle. Notwithstanding the extremely opposite predictions of these two principles, both of them are implemented to account for the same sort of phenomena —basically, to deal with syncretism. See section 2.2.2 for a justification of why the Superset Principle is to be preferred over the Subset Principle.

The Superset Principle predicts that lexical items may leave some of the features contained in their stored trees not matched, a phenomenon that Ramchand (2008) calls *underassociation*. Underassociation is not unrestricted, but it is constrained by certain conditions:

(10)   *Underassociation* (Ramchand 2008)

        If a lexical item leaves a feature underassociated
        (i)   that feature must be independently identified by another lexical item
        (ii)   the two features must be linked by Agree and unify their conceptual content

Therefore, conforming to the Superset Principle and conditions on Underassociation, when *to* co-appears with the locative, non-directional prepositions *in/on*, as in (7), then *to* leaves its Place feature underassociated because the same feature has already been identified by locative *in/on*. As represented in (11), the underassociated Place feature (shown in brackets following Ramchand's formalization) agrees with the Place feature spelled out by the locative prepositions *in* and *on*, which, in addition to Place, also codify an Ax(ial)Part feature that specifies whether the location is inside (*in*) or atop (*on*) the reference object (on axial parts, see Svenonius 2006, 2010):
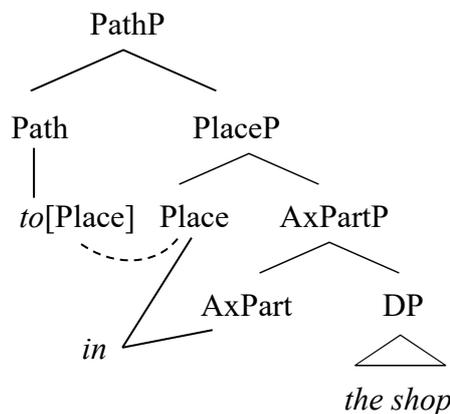
(11)   a. *Into the shop.*   b. *Onto the table.*
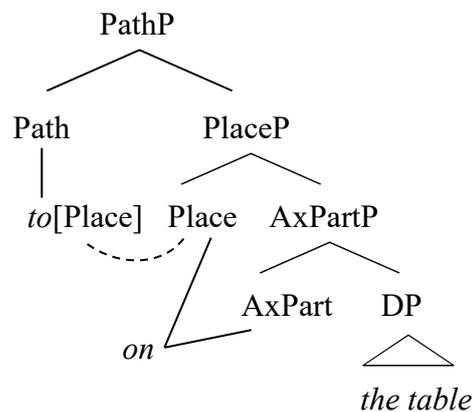
Besides, within a pure locative context like the one exemplified below, the directional preposition *to* is never chosen:

(12)   a. *He's at home.*
        b. **He's to home.*

The pure locative preposition *at* is specified for Place but not for Path, whereas the directional preposition *to* is specified for both Place and Path (see (9)). In the non-directional context of (12), there is no Path feature to be spelled out, but only Place. By the Superset Principle, *at* as well as *to* are possible candidates to spell out the Place node, since both prepositions contain this feature in their lexical entries. However, the chosen item is *at*, and not *to*, because *at* is the most specific item, that is, it is the item that leaves less unused features.[11] To capture the fact that when to lexical items compete for insertion the most specific item gets inserted, Nanosyntax reformulates the *Elsewhere Condition* posed by Kiparsky (1973: 94):

(13)   "when two lexical entries meet the conditions for insertion in a given node, the
         item with the fewest features not contained in the node gets inserted".

                                                                      [Pantcheva (2011: 125, (61)]

Starke (2009) also labels this condition the *Minimise Junk Principle*, since the lexical item which leaves the least unused features may be considered as the competitor with less "junk" (i.e., the more specialized one). The same generalization is also known as the Condition of Panini (Romeu 2014; Fábregas 2016).

        Another situation that can take place in the competition for insertion is one in which the same amount of structure may be lexicalized by a single item specified for all the syntactic features contained in the structure, but also for a sequence of items each of which matches a subpart of the syntactic structure. Nanosyntax predicts that when a single morpheme is able to spell out the entire syntactic tree in one go, it is to be preferred over the use of multiple items to spell out the very same syntactic tree; that is, the "bigger" morpheme is preferred over the "smaller" morphemes:

(14)   *Biggest wins theorem* (Starke 2009, Caha 2009, Taraldsen 2010, Pantcheva
         2011)

         When several items compete for insertion, the lexical item that stores a bigger
         tree gets inserted.

---

[11] Notice that the impossibility for *to* to appearing in a stative context could also be accounted for by conditions on underassociation: for *to* to underassociate its Path feature and only spell out Place, it is necessary that the underassociated Path feature be independently identified by another exponent (see (10)). If there is no Path projection in the syntactic configuration to be spelled out, no other exponent specified for Path can be inserted, and so the conditions on underassociation cannot be fulfilled.

A paradigmatic example of this situation is the use of *mice* to express the plural of *mouse*, instead of regularly constructing the plural by adding an *-s* to the singular form *mouse*. The preference of the irregular form *mice* over *mouses is an instantiation of the Biggest wins theorem: *mice* is a single lexical item specified for the features N(oun) and Plural, while *mouses is the sum of the lexical item *mouse*, specified for N, and *-s*, specified for plural. *Mice* stores a bigger tree than its competitors *mouse* and *-s* and, therefore, *mice* "wins" the competition for insertion (see Starke 2009). Other examples of the validity of this theorem are the use of irregular past tense forms such as *went* or *spoke* instead of *go-ed or *speak-ed; or the use of irregular comparatives like *better* instead of *more good.[12] Within the domain of directional and non-directional prepositions, an example of the validity of this theorem is the impossibility of combining the directional preposition *to* with the pure locative preposition *at*, being only possible to use the directional preposition *to* to express the same meaning, given that *to* is able to spell-out the same features as the sequence *to at* (that is, Place and Path) in one go:

(15)   a. **To at the school.*
       b. *To the school.*

Starke (2009) and Pantcheva (2011) notice that the Biggest Wins theorem follows from the cyclic, bottom-up nature of spell-out. According to these authors, spell-out is attempted after each External Merge operation,[13] and each External Merge operation defines a cycle. Given that each merge operation triggers a new spell-out attempt, spell-out is considered a cyclic operation that proceeds bottom-up. Each time that spell-out succeeds, it overrides previous achieved spell-outs. Accordingly, "bigger" items lexicalizing a phrasal node are inserted in a higher position than the "smaller" items lexicalizing a subpart of the phrasal node, and since spell-out proceeds up the syntactic tree, the smaller lexical items will be overridden by the bigger ones. Following Starke (2009) and Pantcheva (2011), I will assume spell-out to be cyclic and bottom-up.

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[12] These phenomena have been previously treated as cases of *blocking* where the surface of a form is blocked by the existence of another more appropriate form (Aronoff 1976; Andrews 1990; Poser 1992; Kiparsky 2005).

[13] Chomsky (2001) defines External Merge as the union of two syntactic objects to create a new one. In the derivation process, External Merge occurs each time that a new constituent is introduced in the structure.

Finally, a fundamental principle on which Nanosyntax is based (although not always explicitly stated) is the *Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle* (Fábregas 2007, Ramchand 2008, Pantcheva 2011):

(16)   The *Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle* (Fábregas 2007: 167)

"Every syntactic feature must be lexicalized".

The Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle has allowed Fábregas (2007) to justify his analysis of the Spanish preposition *a* 'at' as a locative, non-directional preposition. There is no agreement in the literature on whether the Spanish preposition *a* is a directional or a locative preposition. Some studies argue that *a* is a directional preposition (Morimoto 2001; Demonte 2011), others stand up for the view of *a* as a locative preposition (Fábregas 2007; Real Puigdollers 2010, 2013), and others state that *a* behaves as both a locative and a directional preposition (Romeu 2014). It is not my aim to discuss this matter here (I will come back to this issue in section 2.5.1.2). I am just referring to this controversy in order to show that the Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle has been used by Fábregas to offer a structural account of *a* as a non-directional preposition. Fábregas shows that *a* is licensed in directional configurations when the Path projection is already lexicalized by a directional motion verb, such as those in (17), but it is anomalous when co-appearing with motion verbs that do not lexicalize Path, as in (18):

(17)   *Spanish* (Fábregas 2007: 168, (3a), (3b), (3c))

a.   *Dos horas más   tarde volaba a Panamá en un avión militar.*
      two hours more late   flew   to Panama in a plane military
      'Two hours later, he flew to Panama in a military plane'
      (Gutierre Tibón, *Aventuras en las cinco partes del mundo*, pp. 250)

b.   *Michel corre al   molino y   destruye el   cementerio.*
      Michel runs to.the mill   and   destroy the   cemetery
      'Michel runs to the mill and destroys the cemetery'
      (Julio López Navarro, *Clásicos del Cine*, pp. 152)

c.   *Camina al   baño*
      walks   to.the bathroom
      'He walks to the bathroom'
      (Jaime Bayly, *La mujer de mi hermano*, pp. 144)

(18)   *Spanish* (Fábregas 2007: 169, (5a), (5b), (5c))

    a.   *Juan bailó   a la   oficina.*
             Juan danced to the   office
             'Juan danced into the office'

    b.   *El barco flotó   a la   costa.*
             the boat   floated   to the   coast
             'The boat floated to the coast'

    c.   *Juan tembló   a   la   oficina.*
             Juan shivered to   the office
             'Juan shivered into the office'

According to Fábregas, the combination of *a* with verbs that do not contain a Path feature results in ungrammaticality because this configuration leaves the PathP projection without lexicalization, thus violating the Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle.

2.3.2. Advantages of the Nanosyntax proposal

2.3.2.1. Nanosyntax vs. other neo-constructionist theories

In the debate between the projectionist and the neo-constructionist views of the syntax-lexicon interface, the neo-constructionist approach, based on the Minimalist Program, stands out for considering the computational system as the only generative component of the language faculty, which I take to be preferred over the projectionist, less economic assumption of a grammar provided with two generative engines.

Nanosyntax is a neo-constructionist framework that understands syntactic structure to be universal and not predetermined by the lexicon. As just expounded (see section 2.3.1), Nanosyntax keeps the view of a direct relationship between syntax and lexicon according to which syntax creates structures that the lexicon interprets, thus postulating a strictly post-syntactic lexicon. In such a view, lexical entries are not only pairs of phonetic representations and conceptual content, but they also contain lexicalized syntactic trees with relevant syntactic information.

In section 2.1.2 some weaknesses of more extreme neo-constructionist models have been pointed out. As noticed by Starke (2010, 2014), Distributed Morphology presents the inconvenience of posing the existence of a pre-syntactic lexicon, labelled the *Narrow Lexicon*, which is the input of the computational system and whose function

is that of generating the sets of grammatical features with which syntax works. Such an assumption neglects the premise of an economic grammar with a unique generative device, since in the architecture proposed by Distributed Morphology a somehow generative lexicon is allowed in addition to a generative syntax (Marantz 1995). Nanosyntax does not face this problem, since in its system syntax does not operate with sets of grammatical features, but with individual features that are combined via Merge in syntax. Besides, Nanosyntax postulates a unique and post-syntactic lexicon with no generative power but with a big amount of stored syntactic information.

Another advantage of Nanosyntax over Distributed Morphology is the adoption of Phrasal Spell-out. In Distributed Morphology lexical insertion is restricted to terminal nodes, which forces this approach to assume underspecification of lexical items by means of the *Subset Principle* —otherwise Distributed Morphology would be unable to account for cases of syncretism. The inconvenience of the Subset Principle is that it allows syntactic features present in the syntactic structure to be left unexpressed. In order for it to be possible, the theory must state post-syntactic operations to suppress the non-lexicalized nodes, thus allowing morphological operations to access the syntactic representation once it has been spelled out. Nanosyntax, by the adoption of Phrasal Spell-out, predicts an overspecification of lexical items, justified by the *Superset Principle*, and avoids post-syntactic operations that allow the lexicon to interfere with the syntactic representation.

2.3.2.2. A way to account for language variation

In addition to the above-mentioned advantages of Nanosyntax over other neo-constructionist approaches, a remarkable achievement of the Nanosyntax proposal is that it provides a solution to the parameter problem. The parameter problem is the difficulty to find an adequate theory of language variation, a problem faced by the generativist tradition since the *Principles & Parameters* proposal (Chomsky, 1981). While the "principles" part of Principles & Parameters (that is, the invariant part of grammar) has been successfully addressed by different theoretical proposals, the "parameters" part (that is, language variation) lacks a satisfying account. Starke (2011) argues that the solution to the parameter problem is implicit in Phrasal Spell-out. According to this author, variation is nothing but the way in which different languages lexicalize the syntactic structure, and therefore it can be reduced to the size of the trees

stored by lexical items. By this assumption, the different lexicalization patterns shown by satellite-framed languages and verb-framed ones (see section 2.5.1 for an introduction to this typology and a detailed syntactic account), can be reduced to the fact that the same amount of structure is spelled out in different ways. Hence, for example, English particle verbs (an instantiation of the satellite-framed procedure) lexicalize the same amount of structure by using two lexical items (a particle and a verb), whereas Spanish verbs (which show the verb-framed pattern) spell out the larger structure in one go, that is, by using a single lexical item: a verb:

(19)   a. *go out*   (English)   b. *salir* 'go out'   (Spanish)

         VP ⇒ *go*   VP
          ⟋‾‾⟍   ⟋‾‾⟍   ⎫
                                                                                  ⎬ *salir*
        V   PP ⇒ *out*   V   PP ⎭
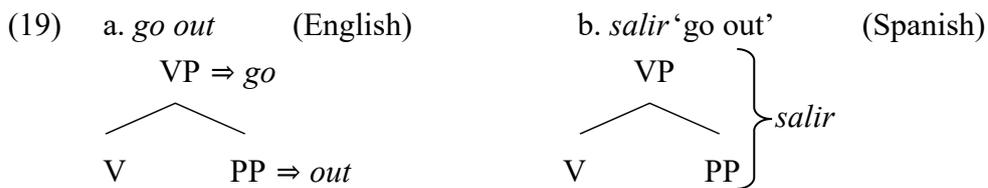
Thus, under a nanosyntactic approach, parameters may be precisely defined as different sizes of lexically stored trees. Such a view not only accounts for synchronic cross-linguistic variation, but also for diachronic variation, since the amount of structure lexicalized by a lexical item may vary throughout the history of the language, a nanosyntactic idea that has been adopted by Mendívil-Giró (2015) in his biolinguistic theory of language change.

        Following insights in Real Puigdollers (2013), I will further assume that the size of lexically stored trees is not completely idiosyncratic, but that it is fixed depending on where a particular language fixes a phase domain. Real Puigdollers, inspired on ideas developed by den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2007, 2010), poses that phase boundaries are not fixed by Universal Grammar, but that they are parametrizable. Therefore, the fact that a given language spells out a certain chunk of structure as a single unit and another language spells it out as several words, is marked by the phase, which defines the points of transfer to the interfaces (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008). See section 2.5.1.2 for an implementation of this view to the different lexicalization patterns of satellite- and verb-framed systems.

2.4. On structural meaning and conceptual content

In line with Mateu & Amadas (2001), and Mateu (2002), I assume a crucial distinction between structural meaning, which I take to be syntactically driven, and conceptual meaning or encyclopaedic content, which I address as not syntactically driven but contextually dependent. Therefore, I embrace a neo-constructionist perspective where compositional content is systematically accounted for by syntactic means, and idiosyncratic meaning is envisaged as world knowledge related to stored lexical items. In this section I first introduce a syntactic account of argument and event structure based on Ramchand's (2008) First Phase Syntax model. Then, I present a possible way to capture the (ir)regularities of lexical-conceptual meaning on the grounds of Pustejovsky's (1995 and ff.) formal theory of lexical semantics. Finally, I examine the nature of roots, conceived of as those elements that contribute conceptual (not grammatically relevant) content to the configuration.

2.4.1. Nanosyntax of argument and event structure

To deal with the argument and event structure of verbal predicates, I will mainly follow Ramchand's (2008) syntactic decomposition of the VP in what is known as the *First Phase Syntax*.[14] According to Ramchand (2008), verbal predicates can be maximally decomposed into three subeventive projections that are combined in syntax: an Initiation Phrase (InitP) that identifies the causative subevent and introduces the external argument at its specifier; a Process Phrase (ProcP) that corresponds to the dynamic component of the predicate and licenses the internal argument, and a Result Phrase (ResP) that introduces the resulting state and licenses the entity that holds it.[15] This way, what is traditionally thought of as a verb is conceived as a composite involving all or part of these subeventive projections (Ramchand 2008: 39-40):

---

[14] In section 2.5.1.2, I will assume that within the domain that Ramchand (2008) calls the First Phase it is possible to distinguish further phasal boundaries: Path (in satellite-framed languages) and Place (in verb-framed languages) (see Real Puigdollers 2013). For that reason, I will not use the label First Phase to refer to the syntactic domain of event decomposition, since it could be misleading.
[15] Ramchand's (2008) InitP is in many respects (although not totally) equivalent to VoiceP (Kratzer 1996) or vP (Chomsky 1995); her ProcP roughly corresponds to vP in other theories (e.g. Harley 2013; Acedo-Matellán 2016a) or to the lower VP in Larson (1988); and her ResP is usually represented by adpositional projections in other theories (e.g. Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Real Puigdollers 2013).

(20)   InitP

DP₁   Init
INITIATOR
              Init   ProcP

                    DP₂   Proc
                    UNDERGOER
                             Proc   ResP

                                   DP₃   Res
                                   RESULTEE
                                              Res   …
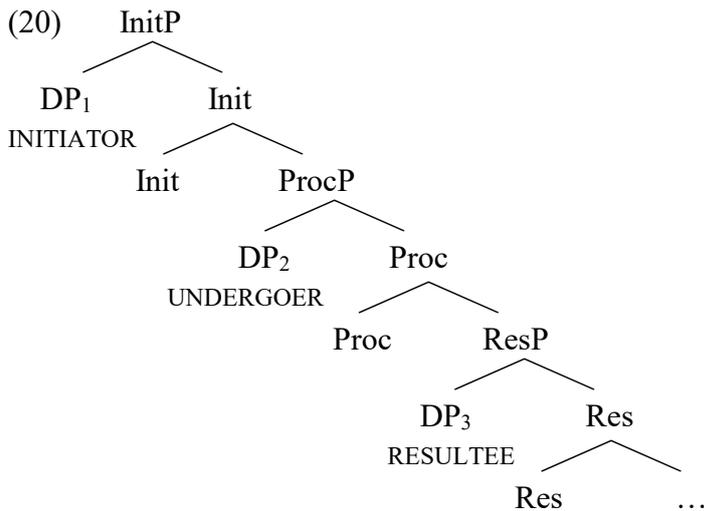
Although a verbal predicate may be maximally decomposed into three subeventive projections with each own predicational structure, Ramchand only distinguishes two types of subevent: State and Process. In her system, both InitP and ResP correspond to states, and their being interpreted as introducing causation or result depends on their position above or below ProcP. Hence, a state that precedes a process will be interpreted as causally implicating the process (therefore, an InitP), and a state following a process will be understood as causally implicated by it (therefore, a ResP) (Ramchand 2008: 44). As a byproduct, the subject of the stative subevent placed above Proc will be interpreted as an INITIATOR, and the subject of the stative subevent placed below Proc, as the holder of the resulting state (a RESULTEE). The subject of the Proc subevent, in turn, will be interpreted as the UNDERGOER of the change associated to the process. Under this view, thus, theta roles are configurationally derived as particular positions in the syntactic configuration.

        As presented by Ramchand (2008) and further explored by Berro (2015), in addition to the basic subeventive components just examined, verbal predicates are also made up of RHEMES, that is, the material appearing at the complement of a subeventive projection to contribute to the description of the predicate or to measure it up. RHEMES encompass DPs, APs, PPs (and, in Berro's 2015 system, roots) appearing at the complement of subeventive projections. The core idea of this proposal is that when a subevent takes another subevent as its complement, a relation of implication is established between the two subevents, and the former is understood to causally implicate the latter (Hale & Keyser 1993; Ramchand 2008; Berro 2015):

(21)   Event Composition Rule

        $E = e1 \rightarrow e2$: e consists of two subevents, e1, e2 such that e1 causally implicates
        e2.

                                                                    (Ramchand 2008: 44)

By contrast, when a subevent takes a complement that is not a subevent (i.e., a RHEME),
the relation established between the two components is not one of implication, but one
of identification or homomorphism (Ramchand 2008; Berro 2015), so the rhematic
projection unifies with the topological properties of the subevent. A paradigmatic
example of this homomorphic relation is the case of creation/consumption verbs, where
the aspectual composition of the predicate is determined by the DP object, the so-called
incremental theme (Dowty 1991):

(22)   a. *Michael ate apples/ice cream for an hour/*in an hour*.
        b. *Michael ate the apple/five apples for an hour/in an hour*.
        [Examples taken from Ramchand 2008: 29, (24)]

In (22a), given that the DP object, a bare plural or a mass noun, denotes a homogeneous
reference without boundaries, the predicate is necessarily atelic. In (22b), the DP object
denotes a non-homogeneous reference, that is, an entity with defined boundaries, and
therefore it provides a telic interpretation of the same verb. According to Ramchand,
these DP objects establishing a homomorphic relation with the subeventive projection
are not cases of UNDERGOER arguments, but they are RHEMES, and hence they do not
appear at the specifier of Proc in the clausal spine. Rather, these DP objects are
complements of Proc, and accordingly they are understood to establish a homomorphic
relation with that projection:

(23)   InitP

Michael   Init
INITIATOR
                  Init   ProcP

                            Michael   Proc
                            UNDERGOER
                                        Proc   DP
                     ate

                                                apples/ice cream
                                                the apple/five apples
                                                RHEME
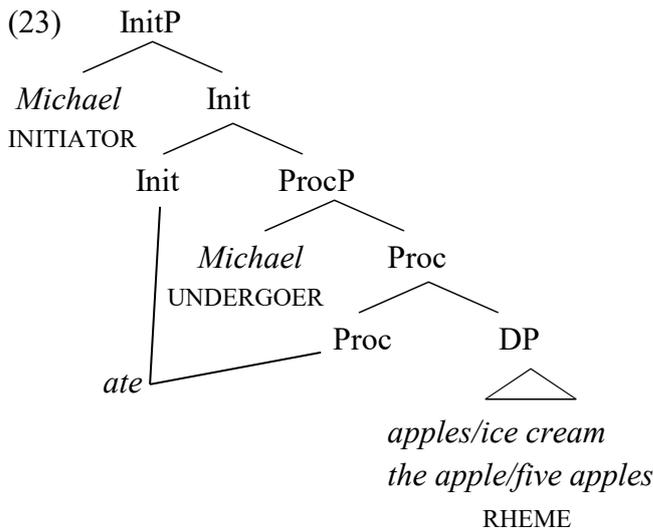
As observed by Ramchand, these DP objects involve the notion of path or scale, as they comprise a topologically extended structure that increases monotonically with the Proc subevent. In fact, the contribution of these DP RHEMES is parallel to the Path PP complements taken by motion verbs:[16]

(24)   a. *Karena walked to the pool in ten minutes/*for ten minutes.*

          b. *Karena walked towards the pool *in ten minutes/for ten minutes.*

          [Examples taken from Ramchand 2008: 25 (16)]

As was the case in (22), the (a)telicity of the predicate in (24) depends on the (un)boundedness of the path-denoting PP, which, placed at the complement of Proc, is understood to map its part-whole structure to the temporal ordering of the subevent:[17]

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[16] To better capture the parallelism existing between the DP RHEMES measuring up a process and spatial PathPs, Ramchand (2008) labels the former PATHS (in small capitals), and uses the label RHEME for the rhematic complements that do not involve a part-whole structure. However, the cover term for both PATHS and RHEMES is that of RHEME, and accordingly I will use this term to avoid confusion between PATHS and PathPs (see Berro 2015, and Tolskaya 2014 for the same criterion).

[17] If DP RHEMES and Path PPs occupy the same position in the syntactic configuration, then they are expected not to co-occur. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated below with examples from McIntyre (2001):

(i)   a. *I read through the book.*
          b. *I saw (*Mary) into the window.*
          c. *I rang (*the number) through to her.*
          [McIntyre 2001; *apud*. Ramchand 2008: 67, (6)]

Therefore, a way to distinguish DP RHEMES from UNDERGOERS is the ability of the latter to co-appear with Path PPs, as *the cart* and *the leaves* below (Ramchand 2008: 67-68):

(ii)   a. *John pushed the cart to the store.*
          b. *The sun dried the leaves to a crisp.*
          [Ramchand 2008: 68, (8)]

(25)   InitP

Karena   Init
INITIATOR

                Init   ProcP

                        Karena   Proc
                        UNDERGOER

                                    Proc   PathP

        walked

                                                to the pool
                                                towards the pool
                                                RHEME
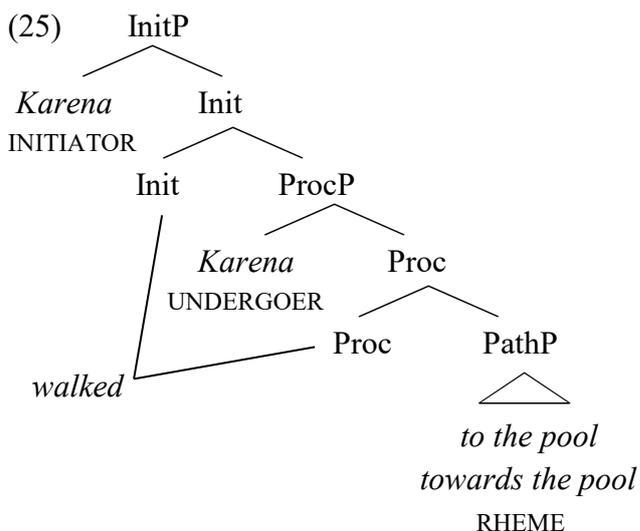
From this perspective, telicity can emerge from two sources: by the presence of a Res subevent, or by the combination of a Proc with a complement providing a bounded path structure. Predicates containing a Res subevent are necessarily telic, as illustrated in (26), whereas predicates containing a path structure (be that a measurer DP/NP, a scalar AP or a spatial path-denoting PP) will be (a)telic depending on the (un)boundedness of the path structure (see (22) and (24)). Verbs syntactically expressing Res roughly correspond to Vendler's (1967) achievements, whereas verbs the telicity of which depends on the (un)boundedness of a path structure, correspond to accomplishments when telic and to activities when atelic (cf. Ramchand 2008: 77, 108-109).[18]

(26)   a. *John broke the stick in a second/*for seconds.*

        b. *Mary arrived in two minutes/*for two minutes.*

        c. *Michael found gold in just ten minutes.*

        [Examples taken from Ramchand 2008: 32, (32)]

Ramchand (2008: 47) concludes that, if subevents establish a homomorphic relation with the rhematic material at their complement position, then if the subevent is a dynamic Proc, the rhematic complement must provide a path structure increasing

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[18] Fábregas (2016) offers some tests to distinguish whether a predicate contains a ResP or not. One of such tests is the ability of predicates involving a ResP to license PPs headed by *in* specifying the result. Hence, for example, some verbs conceptually involving a result, as *destroy*, do not syntactically involve a ResP, since they do not admit *in*-PPs specifying the final result of the event. Verbs involving Res, as *break*, allow these type of PPs:

(iii)   a. *The earthquake destroyed the bridge (*in pieces).*

        b. *The earthquake broke the bridge (in pieces).*

        [Adapted from Fábregas 2016: 123, (76)]

monotonically with the process, and so a Proc head can take a measurer DP, a scalar AP or a Path PP as its complement, but not a mono-valued measure like a Place PP. By contrast, if the subevent is a stative projection, then the complement cannot involve a path structure, since in these cases there is no change to monotonically increase with it.

Although I will basically adopt Ramchand's (2008) system when dealing with verbal predicates, I will depart from her assumptions in the following points:

(i) In accordance with Fábregas & Marín (2012a), Jaque (2014), Berro (2015), and Fábregas (2016), I will assume that Proc must not necessarily imply dynamicity. Rather, Proc is the locus of eventivity, and accordingly its function is that of introducing an event variable (Davidson 1967). Init and Res do not contribute eventivity, since they denote states, and are hence assumed not to provide an event variable.

(ii) Following insights in Fábregas & Marín (2012a) and Berro (2015), I will reject the restriction put forward by Ramchand (2008) on the kind of RHEMES that subeventive projections can take as complements. Therefore, in this thesis it will not be the case that a Proc subevent can only be combined with a multi-valued measure (a path structure), but a Proc can also take a mono-valued measure as a complement.[19] In the same way, it is possible for a stative subevent (Init/Res) to be combined either with a mono-valued or a multi-valued measure.

Without these two modifications to Ramchand's (2008) model, the aspectual class of Davidsonian states (Maienborn 2005, 2008) would be unexpected. Davidsonian states (called *interval states* by Dowty 1979, *dynamic states* by Bach 1986, and *non-dynamic events* by Fábregas & Marín 2017) correspond to predicates which fall between activities (or processes) and states, since they show eventive properties but also stative ones:

(27)   *sit, stand, lie, gleam, glow, bubble, sleep, wait, shine, whistle, creak, kneel, shimmer*.

[Fábregas & Marín 2012a: (1)]

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[19] I borrow the terms *multi-valued* and *mono-valued* from Berro (2015: 26). Multi-valued measures involve change, since they consist of an ordered set of different points along which change can take place. Mono-valued measures, in turn, are those in which all the points have exactly the same value and, thus, involve no change.

Like proper states (labelled *Kimian* states by Maienborn 2005, 2008), these predicates do not involve any change (they are homogeneous predicates), as opposed to activities. On the other hand, these predicates pattern with activities in providing spatiotemporal information, since they involve an event variable. Therefore, in contrast with Kimian states, Davidsonian states are perceptible and can be located in space and time (for diagnostics to distinguish this type of predicates, see Maienborn 2005, 2008; and Fábregas & Marín 2012a, 2017. See also chapter 3, section 3.3.3.2.2 in this thesis, where some of these diagnostics are applied).

Fábregas & Marín (2012a) argue for a distinction between eventivity and dynamicity to account for the aspectual properties of these predicates, which show eventive behaviour but not dynamic properties. According to these authors, eventivity is contributed by a dedicated subeventive head, Proc, which provides an eventive variable to the configuration. As for dynamicity, it arises depending on the complement of Proc: if it is a multi-valued path structure, such a structure is mapped onto the Proc subevent and the Proc is intended to convey change; if it is a mono-valued measure (e.g., a PlaceP/central coincidence PP), then no change is implied, which gives rise to a non-dynamic reading of the event (i.e., to a Davidsonian state). See chapter 3, section 3.4.2.2.1, for an implementation of this idea to the analysis of *des*-prefixed verbs behaving as non-dynamic events.

Regarding stative projections, it will be shown that they must not obligatorily combine with a mono-valued RHEME (as argued for by Ramchand 2008: 47), but that they can also take a complement associated to a path structure. This assumption allows for a plausible account of the scalar properties of stative predicates, as will be shown throughout the dissertation (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2.2; and chapter 6, section 6.3.1.3). Particularly, I hypothesize that when a stative subevent is combined with a path structure, a bounded interpretation can emerge depending on the (un)boundedness of the path. By contrast, when a state is combined with a mono-valued RHEME (namely, a PlaceP/central coincidence PP), then the state will be necessarily homogeneous.

This approximation to the internal structure of stative eventualities[20] offers a way (although not the only one) to derive the individual-/stage-level distinction (Carlson 1977). Individual-level (IL) states correspond to states without temporal

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[20] Notice that I am using the label *eventuality* as a cover term for events and states. A state is a subtype of eventuality, although it is crucially not an event. Only those eventualities involving an event variable are considered to be events in the present account.

boundaries and are usually related to permanent or inherent properties of an individual. Stage-level (SL) states denote temporally bounded states and are related to non-permanent properties subject to changes.[21] From the view that the internal structure of a subevent is homomorphic with its rhematic material, it follows that a stative subevent that takes a complement defining a bounded path structure (i.e., a path/scale bounded by both extremes) will be susceptible to get a SL interpretation, since the bounded nature of the path structure will provide a boundary for the state (see Marín 2000 and Fábregas & Marín, in press, for the view that SL states involve a boundary). The combination of a stative subevent with a monovalued RHEME or with an unbounded path structure, by contrast, will yield an IL predicate, since no boundary will be mapped to the state.[22]

2.4.2. Non-structural meaning as a structured one: conceptual content and *Qualia* Structure

In this dissertation conceptual content is not envisaged as being completely unpredictable or lacking any kind of rule, a view that other neo-constructionist approaches (Borer 2005a; Acedo-Matellán 2010) have also embraced:

> "I want to emphasize that by drawing a contrast between encyclopaedic content and structurally and grammatically relevant aspects of meaning I do not mean that encyclopaedic content is not structured, concurring with Borer (2005a: 12): "[…] concepts are not simpletons but bundles of features, plausibly hierarchically arranged […]")."

<div align="right">Acedo-Matellán (2010: 24)</div>

I explore the possibility of accounting for the conceptual component of meaning in a principled way by adopting a non-canonical approach to the Generative Lexicon theory developed by Pustejovsky (1995 and subsequent work). Pustejovsky's framework aims at addressing logical polysemy, that is, the fact that words can denote different meanings depending on the context in which they are embedded, as is the case of the

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[21] See Kratzer (1995), Marín (2000, 2013), Maienborn (2004), Arche (2006), Husband (2010), among others, for different attempts to account for the IL/SL distinction. See Fábregas (2012) for a detailed survey of the problems inherent to this distinction.

[22] This approach to the SL/IL distinction is reminiscent of the ones developed by Gallego & Uriagereka (2009) and Brucart (2012) to derive the distinction between the Spanish IL copula *ser* from the SL copula *estar*. According to these authors, *ser* involves a central coincidence PP whereas *estar* is related to a terminal coincidence PP. See also Batllori, Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2016) for a similar account regarding SL and IL psych verbs in Spanish.

Spanish adjective *ligera* 'light' in the examples below, taken from De Miguel (2012: 171, (3)):

(28)   a. *Una maleta ligera; una comida ligera; una comedia ligera*   (Spanish)

          'A light suitcase; a light meal; a light comedy'

        b. *Una brisa ligera; un combustible ligero*

          'A light breeze; a light fuel'

        c. *#Una laguna ligera*

          'A light lagoon'

The adjective *ligera* means 'not bulky' when predicated of *maleta* 'suitcase', 'easy to digest' when predicated of *comida* 'meal', and 'not serious' when predicated of *comedia* 'comedy' (cf. 28a). The same adjective can adopt other meanings if predicated of other nouns, as illustrated in (28b), which could lead us to the conclusion that the use of this adjective is irrestrictive. However, as shown in (28c), the combination of this adjective is not free, which points towards the fact that it has a minimal meaning that restricts its possible uses and interpretations.

Pustejovsky seeks to model a framework able to account for the multiple senses that words can adopt in context without the need to postulate that all and each of these senses are listed in their lexical entries. Thus, static *Sense Enumerative Lexicons* are rejected, and the claim is made that lexical items are associated with basic and underspecified entries that enable them to enter in different syntactic configurations and to acquire new, more precise meanings. Besides, the mental lexicon is not envisaged as a list of words and their meanings, but as a dynamic and generative system structured in four interconnected levels of representation that organize the information of lexical entries:

1. *Argument Structure*: specifies the number and type of logical arguments of a word, and how they map to syntactic constructions.

2. *Event Structure*: identifies the event type of a predicate (state, process or transition) and its internal structure.

3. *Qualia Structure*: contains the most elemental values of a lexical item organized in four modes of predication (or *qualia*):

- CONSTITUTIVE: the relationship between an object and its constituent parts, as well as the relationship between it and the larger entity of which it is part;

- FORMAL: what distinguishes it within a larger domain;

- TELIC: its function or purpose;

- AGENTIVE: the factors involved in its origin or creation.[23]

4. *Lexical Inheritance Structure*: defines how a lexical entry is related to other lexical entries in the mental lexicon.

To account for the different meanings that lexical items can adopt in context, as well as to restrict the number of these meanings, Pustejovsky (1995) poses a set of generative mechanisms that operate on the sub-lexical structure of words when they are combined in syntax.[24] I will concentrate on one of these mechanisms, *selective binding* (called *exploitation* in more recent works; cf. Pustejovksy 2006, 2011) because it is the device I will use later on to account for the polysemy of *des*-prefixed verbs in chapter 3. Selective binding is a mechanism that is activated when a predicate selects (or binds) one of the basic values contained in the *Qualia* Structure (QS) of the argument with which it is combined. Consider the meaning of the adjective *excelente* "excellent" in the following examples, all of them taken from De Miguel (2012: 191 (24)):

(29)   a. *Un {profesor/cuchillo} excelente*
           'An excellent {teacher/knife}'
        b. *Una {persona/cabellera} excelente*
           'An excellent {person/head of hair}'
        c. *Una comida excelente*
           'An excellent meal'

The adjective *excelente* in (29a) alludes to the way in which *profesor* 'teacher' and *cuchillo* 'knife' satisfy their purpose or function: an excellent knife is a knife that cuts extremely well, and an excellent teacher is a teacher that teaches wonderfully. In this case, thus, the adjective selects or exploits the information contained in the TELIC *quale* of the noun by means of selective binding. By contrast, in (29b) *excelente* refers to the

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[23] For a view of how the *Qualia* Structure formalization applies to verbal predicates, see De Miguel (2004), Batiukova (2008, 2009, 2016), Cano Cambronero (2010), Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2015), and Gibert Sotelo (2015b, 2016a).

[24] For a use of these generative mechanisms to account for the semantic evolution of lexical items, see Gibert Sotelo (2016b).

external or internal properties of the referent of the noun, and therefore it binds the FORMAL or CONSTITUTIVE *quale* of the noun. Finally, in (29c) the adjective *excelente* 'excellent' can have three different meanings when combined with the noun *comida* 'meal': it can mean that the meal tastes extremely good because of its internal properties, in which case the CONSTITUTIVE *quale* of *comida* 'meal' is selected; that the meal has been very well elaborated, in which case the adjective exploits the AGENTIVE *quale* of the noun; or, if *comida* 'meal' is understood not as a [food] but as an [event], then the information [event], contained in the FORMAL *quale* of *comida* 'meal', is selected, and *excelente* is interpreted as 'very pleasant'. Therefore, by means of selective binding, the polysemy of the adjective *excelente* is systematically accounted for "by assuming that it binds, selects or exploits one or more pieces of the information contained in the QS of the modified nouns" (De Miguel 2012: 192).

The framework developed by Pustejovsky is basically lexicalist, as its name (Generative Lexicon) indicates. Since I adopt a neo-constructionist approach, I do not assume a generative lexicon, but I rather pursue the view that the only generative engine in grammar is the computational (or syntactic) system. Accordingly, I consider that argument and event structure are syntactically built (see section 2.4.1), and not a projection from the lexical items' entries. However, I embrace Pustejovsky's idea that lexical items are semantically underspecified. Particularly, I assume that lexical items are related to a basic series of conceptual information hierarchically arranged, namely a QS, that they store in their lexical entries and which accounts for the polysemy that they can display when combined with other lexical items in a syntactic configuration. Hence, and as will be further explored in chapter 3, I take the possibility of establishing generalizations on the idiosyncratic component of meaning seriously.

2.4.3. Assumptions on roots

Within a neo-constructionist perspective as the one pursued in this thesis, structural meaning emerges from the structural configuration. The question then arises what is the locus for the non-compositional meaning associated to the structure. As commonly assumed in neo-constructionist theories (and also in some lexicalist ones; see Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998, 2010), conceptual content is contributed by opaque elements that are present in the structural configuration but which do not contribute any grammatically relevant information: roots (or *listemes* in Borer's 2005a, 2005b exoskeletal model). However, the nature of these elements is still an important debate,

and they are conceived of in different ways depending on the theoretical approach (see Alexiadou, Borer & Schäfer 2014; see also Real Puigdollers 2013, and Cano Cambronero 2013: §1.1.2 for a survey).

I adhere to the view that roots, as elements lacking any grammatically relevant information, bear no category (Marantz 1997; Borer 2005a; Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Real Puigdollers 2013; Fábregas 2014, 2016; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014; among others). Besides, if grammatically opaque, roots are unable to project. Therefore, syntactic projections of the shape RootP (or √P), as the ones posed in Marantz (1997), Cuervo (2003) or Harley (2005, 2009), are rejected in the present account.

Following the same line of reasoning, root ontologies as the ones proposed by Harley (2005) or Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998, 2010), where it is assumed that the semantic type of the root predetermines its position in the syntactic configuration, are also rejected. Rather, and as extensively illustrated by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2014), it is accepted that the structural interpretation of the root depends on its position in the syntactic configuration (e.g., a root at the complement of Res is interpreted as a result state, a root at the complement of Place, as a Ground, etc.), and their semantic type (e.g., if they name a property, an instrument, a location, etc.) is only relevant at a conceptual level. At this point, it seems relevant to establish if there is any syntactic constraint on the position that these elements can occupy within the functional sequence. With Real Puigdollers (2013), I consider that roots are only generated at first merge, since, being non-projecting elements, they are unable to label a projection. According to Real Puigdollers (2013: 189), the non-projecting nature of roots is configurationally defined: non-projecting elements are those that appear at the bottom-most position, as complements of a projecting element, because in that position they are configurationally interpreted as non-projecting heads. Hence, for example, in (30a) α is a projecting head because of the position it occupies, whereas the same element is interpreted as non-projecting in (30b) because of its being merged in a position unable to label the structure (that is, in a complement position). By contrast, β is a non-projecting node in (30a) and a projecting one in (30b).

(30)   a.   αP   b.   βP

                 α   β   β   α
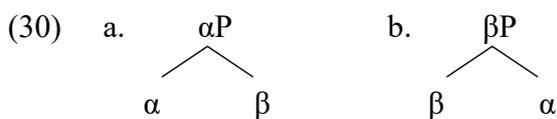
[Adapted from Real Puigdollers 2013: 189 (210)]

In consequence, Real Puigdollers defines a root position as "the only position at which a head cannot label a structure" (Real Puigdollers 2013: 189). Notice that from this assumption one could infer that roots can also appear at a specifier position, since specifiers are also unable to label the structure where they are embedded. However, roots are precluded from specifier positions because they lack functional structure and, accordingly, they cannot be proper subjects (see Espinal & Mateu 2011; Acedo-Matellán 2016a). Therefore, roots must necessarily occupy the complement position generated at first merge, a position that Real Puigdollers (2013) also extends to the first-merge position after a phase head. As far as after a phase boundary a new (sub)derivation starts, a root can be first merged on top of a phase-defining head, as illustrated below:

(31)

√ ┊ XP - - - - ► X is a phase-defining head
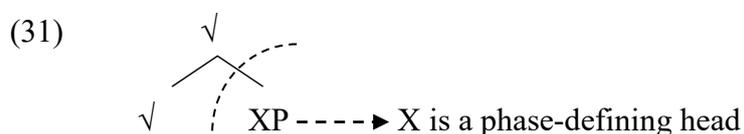
In such a configuration, the root and its complement are not part of the same phase domain, and, accordingly, the root is not conceived of as a projecting head, since it does not label the structure at its complement.

The conception of roots as non-projecting, acategorial elements seems to be in contradiction with the view pursued in certain works framed within the Nanosyntax program, as for example Ramchand (2008), in which roots seem to be conceived of as carrying category features and other grammatically relevant information. As noted by Fábregas (2016), the mismatch is only an apparent one, since Ramchand is not alluding to roots as syntactic elements, but to the so-called morphological roots, that is, to the lexical exponents that spell out the root. It is crucial, thus, to distinguish between syntactic roots (that is, roots understood as syntactic elements merged in syntax) and their lexical exponents. The former, are early merged in syntax as abstract indexes that allow selecting a unique lexical exponent when there is a choice of multiple exponents to spell out the same configuration (see Borer 2005a, Harley 2014, Acedo-Matellán 2016a, Fábregas 2016, among others). The latter, are inserted post-syntactically to spell out the configuration they match.

Following the line of thought of Fábregas (2014, 2016) and Berro (2015), I assume that sometimes a lexical exponent may spell out both a root and the functional projections dominating the root, which is expected by Phrasal Spell-out. This is the case

in Latin prefixes, as will be illustrated in chapter 6. Hence, for instance, the main distinction I am assuming between the Spanish source prefix *des-* and the Latin source prefixes is that the former only lexicalizes functional projections, whereas the latter lexicalize functional projections and also a root that contributes conceptual content. The same holds for certain verbal predicates that can function either as lexical verbs or as light verbs, as, e.g., Spanish *hacer* 'to do'. I assume that there is a lexical exponent *hac(er)* the lexical entry of which[25] stores the following tree:[26]

(32)
```
        InitP
        /  \
     Init   ProcP
            /   \
         Proc   √HACER
```
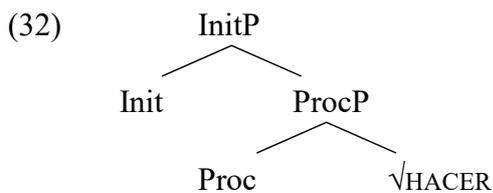
By the Superset Principle, the lexical exponent *hac(er)* is able to spell out only a subpart of the tree it is specified for when embedded in certain syntactic contexts. This is the case when *hac(er)* is used as a light verb, as in (33). In this context, *hac(er)* only spells out the functional projections of the stored tree, and the root underassociates. Underassociation is possible because the NP *ganchillo* unifies its conceptual content with the conceptual content contributed by the root of the verb (a conceptual content that is very vague, which accounts for the great tendency that this verb shows to underassociate the root and be used as a light verb):

(33)   *Hacer   ganchillo*
       do.INF crochet
       'to crochet'

(34)
```
                  InitP
                 /    \
   hacer [√] {  Init    ProcP
                        /   \
                     Proc    NP
                             /\
                          ganchillo
```

---
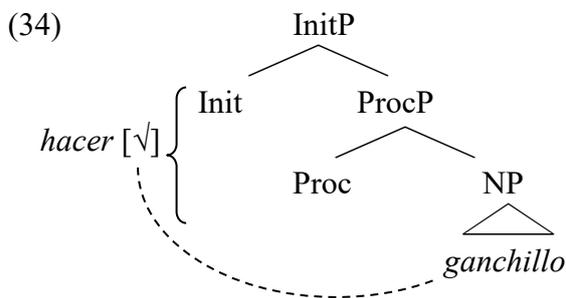
[25] As conforming to the Nanosyntax perspective, the lexical entry of this item would also contain information regarding its phonological shape as well as information regarding the conceptual content associated to the root.

[26] Notice that *hacer* is an irregular verb in Spanish: it has different allomorphic realizations. I assume that the different allomorphic realizations correspond to different exponents linked to the same root (see Fábregas 2011 for the same account). The choice of one exponent over the other depends on the chunk of structure to be lexicalized. Hence, for instance, when the root √HACER is governed by participial projections, the exponent chosen is not *hac(er)*, but *hech(o)*.

It is also expected that, given the appropriate syntactic context, the same lexical exponent underassociates the subeventive projections Init and Proc and only spells out the root node. This is the case in the reversative verb *des-hacer* 'to undo'. As will be presented in chapter 3, I posit that in reversative verbs the prefix *des-* is introduced below the subeventive projections, given that *des-* is demonstrated to structure the event and argument structure of these predicates and to establish a homomorphic relation with the Proc head. In *deshacer*, thus, the tree lexicalized by the prefix *des-* is directly merged on top of the root, spelled out as *hac(er)*, and then the subeventive projections are merged on top of this configuration to turn it into a verb (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1 for more details). A piece of evidence that *des-* is added to the root, and not to the entire event structure related to *hac(er)*, is that when *hac(er)* is used in a context such as that in (33), where it spells out Init and Proc, *des-*prefixation is disallowed:

(35)   *Des-hacer*   *ganchillo*
         un-do.INF   crochet

The lexical exponent *hac(er)*, thus, can underassociate its subeventive projections when embedded in reversative *deshacer* and only spell out the root node. Underassociation of Init and Proc is possible because these heads are independently identified by the verbalizing morphology that categorizes the set "prefix+root" as a verb.

In sum, in the present work it is assumed that roots:

a. are acategorial elements endowed with conceptual content but lacking syntactic information (Marantz 1997; Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Real Puigdollers 2013; among others);

b. do not project (Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014; Fábregas 2016; Real-Puigdollers 2013);

c. appear in the bottom-most position of the phase (Real Puigdollers 2013);

d. can be spelled out together with the functional projections dominating them by a single lexical exponent (Fábregas 2014, 2016; Berro 2015).

2.5. On the encoding of spatial relations

This dissertation aims at offering a contrastive analysis of the (here called) Source prefix *des-* and the negative prefix *iN-*, as well as to compare these two Spanish prefixes with their Latin predecessors. By doing so, it is shown, first, that the encoding of departure from a Source can be abstractly interpreted as contrary negation (i.e., the identification of the opposite pole in a scale; see chapter 5, section 5.4.2) (see chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6), and, second, that in the step from Latin to Spanish there was a semantic bleaching of Source path denoting elements that is linked to the shift from a satellite-framed language (Latin) to a verb-framed one (Spanish) (see chapter 6). In this section I introduce the basic machinery to be used in the analysis of directional expressions. I begin with Talmy's satellite-/verb-framed distinction and offer a syntactic account for the different lexicalization patterns that follows Real Puigdollers' (2013) proposal concerning the parametrizable character of the Path and Place heads crosslinguistically. Then, I present and review Pantcheva's (2011) decomposition of the Path head. I end the section pointing out the possibility of using Source markers to encode negative meaning.

2.5.1. Accounting for the satellite-/verb-framed typology

2.5.1.1. Talmy's typology of motion events

Talmy (1985, 2000) poses that motion events (which encompass either a situation of motion or a situation of stationary location) consist of four internal components: the Figure component (i.e., the object in motion or being located), the Ground component (i.e., the reference object with respect to which the position of the Figure is determined), the Path component (i.e., the direction followed by the Figure or the site it occupies with respect to the Ground),[27] and the Motion component (i.e., the component contributing dynamism or stativity to the event). The sentences in (36) exemplify these semantic elements:

(36)   a. *The dog jumped onto the sofa*.

       b. *The dog lay on the sofa*.

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[27] Talmy assumes that the Path component may be dynamic but also static, and, thus, he considers that both pure locative expressions as well as directional ones codify Path. Following Jackendoff (1983, 1990), Svenonius (2007, 2010), Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a), and Pantcheva (2011), among others, I distinguish static Paths, here labelled *Places*, from dynamic ones, here labelled *Paths* (see section 5).

Both in (36a) and in (36b) *the dog* is the Figure the position of which is at issue and *the sofa* is the Ground with respect to which the position of the Figure is determined. These two components are related to each other by means of the Path component, encoded by *onto* in (36a) and by *on* in (36b). The Motion component is codified in the verb: in (36a) *jumped* expresses an event of motion, whereas in (36b) *lay* codifies a situation of stationary location. As reported by Talmy (1991, 2000), the schematic core that distinguishes a motion event from other motion events is the Path component or the Path together with the Ground. This schematic core is labelled by this author as *Core Schema*.

In addition to these basic semantic components, a motion event can be related to an external Co-event referring to the Manner in which the motion takes place or to its Cause. Hence, in (36a) the motion of *the dog* onto *the sofa* is related to a jumping Co-event specifying the Cause of the motion, and in (36b) the location of *the dog* on *the sofa* is related to a lying Co-event that identifies the Manner of the location.[28]

Talmy (1991, 2000) distinguishes two main groups of languages, based on how they tend to encode the semantic components of motion events: *satellite-framed languages* and *verb-framed languages*. This typological distinction focuses on the way in which the Core Schema (the Path or the Path together with the Ground) is lexicalized, and also on the way in which the Co-event is expressed.

Satellite-framed languages tend to express the Core Schema in a satellite,[29] and they usually lexicalize both the Motion and a Co-event in the verbal predicate (e.g., Germanic languages; cf. English particle verbs: *go in*, *go out*, *go up*, *go down*, etc.).

Verb-framed languages, by contrast, usually express the Core Schema conflated with the Motion within the verb, and the Co-event, if expressed, is lexicalized as an adjunct. (e.g., Romance languages; cf. Spanish directional verbs: *entrar* 'to go in', *salir* 'to go out', *subir* 'to go up', *bajar* 'to go down', etc.).

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[28] It is crucial not to mix up a Cause Co-event with the agentive causal chain inherent to agentive events. Hence, it is possible for a non-agentive motion event to be related to a Cause Co-event, as exemplified below:

(iv) *The bone pulled out of its socket*

    Intended: [the bone MOVED out from its socket] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [(something) pulled on it]
    (Example taken from Talmy 2000, II: 227, 5)

In (iv), the Co-event [(something) pulled on the bone] specifies how the main event [the bone moved out from its socket] took place. Crucially, no agentive Causer is involved in this event.

[29] Talmy (2000, II: 102) calls *satellite* "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root". The satellite "can be either a bound affix or a free word", and encompasses grammatical forms such as English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, or Latin and Russian verb prefixes.

The English sentence in (37a) instantiates the satellite-framed pattern, whereas its Spanish counterpart in (37b) displays a verb-framed configuration:

(37)   a. English: *John*_{Figure} *limped*_{Motion+Manner}   *into*_{Path} *the room*_{Ground}

      b. Spanish: *Juan*_{Figure} *entró*_{Motion+Path} *en*   *la habitación*_{Ground}   *cojeando*_{Manner}

                  Juan   entered   PREP the room   limping

In (37a) the verb *limp* expresses the Motion together with a Co-event that specifies the Manner in which this motion is performed (i.e. by limping). The Spanish counterpart in (37b) expresses both the Path and the Motion conflated in the verb *entrar* 'to enter' (that is, 'to go [= Motion] into [= Path]'), and the Co-event specifying the Manner is expressed through an adjunct, which in this case is the gerund *cojeando* 'limping'.

The same typological distinction is traceable in change of state events, which, as conforming to the localist hypothesis (Gruber 1965; Anderson 1971; Lyons 1977; Jackendoff 1983, 1990; Talmy 2000), involve the same components as motion events:

(38)   a. English: *The man*_{Figure}   *choked*_{Motion+Cause} *to*_{Path}   *death*_{Ground}.

      b. Spanish: *El hombre*_{Figure}   *murió*_{Motion+Path+Ground}   *por asfixia*_{Cause}.

                  the man   died   by   choking

The English example in (38a) instantiates the satellite-framed pattern. In this example the Core Schema is expressed through the PP *to death*: *to* identifies the Path (in this case, a change of state) and *death* is interpreted as the Ground (the final state achieved by the Figure, in this case, *the man*). The verbal predicate, *choked*, expresses both the idea of Motion (a dynamic change of state) as well as the Co-event specifying the Cause of the change of state event: by choking. The Spanish example, by contrast, shows the verb-framed pattern. In (38b) the Core Schema is lexicalized within the verbal predicate, *murió* 'died', a change of state verb that expresses both the idea of change (i.e., the Path component) as well as the resulting state of the change (i.e., the Ground component). The Co-event specifying the Cause of such a change of state event is expressed by means of the adjunct *por asfixia* 'by choking'.

2.5.1.2. A Path-oriented syntactic account (Real Puigdollers 2013)

As presented by Real Puigdollers (2013), the syntactic interpretation of Talmy's typological distinction between satellite and verb-framed languages has been approached from two perspectives: the Manner-oriented perspective, in which this typological distinction emerges as a consequence of the (non-)availability for a language to express the Manner Co-event within the verb (Mateu & Rigau 2002, 2010; Mateu 2012; McIntyre 2004; Zubizarreta & Oh 2007); and the Path-oriented perspective, which derives this typology from the crosslinguistic variation in the morpho-semantic properties of the Path component (Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Real Puigdollers 2013).

In the present dissertation, I will basically adopt Real Puigdollers' (2013) Path-oriented syntactic account of the satellite-/verb-framed distinction, according to which Path constitutes a phase head in satellite-framed languages but not in verb-framed languages. Evidence on the different phasal status of the Path head in satellite vs. verb-framed languages is provided by Real Puigdollers (2013) by comparing the P elements of both systems. Particularly, Real Puigdollers (2013) shows that in Romance languages, which are the prototypical instantiation of verb-framedness, there are no Path prepositions: the Romance prepositions *a* and *en/in* are clearly locative, since only pure locative prepositions can appear with stative verbs (see Svenonius 2010; Gehrke 2008):

(39)   a. *L'   enfant est à   la   maison.*   (French)
              the   child is at the   home
              'The child is at home'.

       b. *Gianni   è   a casa   di Maria.*   (Italian)
              Gianni   is at house   of Maria
              'Gianni is at Maria's house'.

       c. *La   Maria canta a l'   estació.*   (Catalan)
              the   Maria sings at the   station
              'Maria sings at the station'.

       [Real Puigdollers 2013: 89 (101)]

The same prepositions can acquire a directional interpretation, but only if combined with inherently directional verbs (40). Following insights in Gehrke (2007, 2008), Real Puigdollers (2010, 2013) puts forth that prepositions which are ambiguous between a

locative and a directional meaning are to be considered as locative elements, since the directional meaning they can acquire is nothing but an inference from the context where they are embedded (e.g., when they are selected by a directional verb, as depicted below).

(40)   a. *Jean est tombé dans la   piscine.*   (French)
          Jean AUX fallen in   the   swimming_pool
          'Jean fell into the swimming pool'.

       b. *Gianni   è   arrivato a casa.*   (Italian)
          Gianni   AUX   arrived   at home
          'Gianni has arrived home'.

       c. *En Joan   va córrer a la farmàcia.*   (Catalan)
          The Joan   AUX run   at the pharmacy
          'Joan ran to the pharmacy'.

       [Real Puigdollers 2013: 89 (102)]

Real Puigdollers (2013: 31) classifies the elements which seem to involve directionality but do not express any transition between two stages, such as *towards* (called *directions* by Jackendoff 1983 and *non-transitional oriented paths* in Pantcheva 2011), as locative prepositions, since, according to her, these elements encode the trajectory of a Figure within the same Ground, and this provides a central coincidence relation (Hale & Keyser 2002) that meets the notion of Place. Hence, for instance, the seeming directional preposition *hacia* in Spanish is to be considered as a locative preposition, which is supported by the fact that this element can be combined with stative predicates, as depicted below:

(41)   *Mi casa está   hacia   el norte.*   (Spanish)
       My house is   towards   the north

       [Romeu 2014: 46, (5)]

Besides, Real Puigdollers (2013: §2.4.1.2) shows that the seemingly directional Romance prepositions *hasta* (Spanish), *fino a* (Italian), *jusqu'à* (French) and *fins a* (Catalan) are locative in nature, which further points towards the lack of directional prepositions in verb-framed Romance. By contrast, Germanic languages, which are

prototypical cases of satellite-framedness, do have prepositional elements encoding Path: the English preposition *to*, Norwegian *til*, and Dutch *naar* are inherently directional (see Thomas 2001, 2003; Tungseth 2006; Gehrke 2008; *apud*. Real Puigdollers 2013):

(42)   a. *Naar het   meer   is Marjo gezwommen.*   (Dutch)
            to   the   lake   is Marjo swum
            'Marjo swam to the lake'.

       b. *Into the concert hall ran the orchestra.*   (English)

       c. *Til supermarkedet   har   Jens   aldri   sprunget.*   (Norwegian)
            to   supermarket.the   has   Jens   never   run
            'To the supermarket Jens has never run'. (Tungseth 2006)

       [Real Puigdollers (2013: 105 (132))]

Hence, for instance, the English directional preposition *to* cannot appear at the complement of a stative predicate, which is an indicator of its inherent directional value:

(43)   *The boat remained to the edge.*
       [Svenonius 2010: (46)]

From these data, Real Puigdollers (2013) concludes that Path is defective in verb-framed Romance but not in satellite-framed Germanic, which involves that in the former case verb and Path belong to the same phase domain, whereas in the latter case Path is a phase head and does not belong to the same spell-out domain as the verb.[30] By virtue of this assumption, and taking into account the theory of roots proposed by Real Puigdollers (2013) and assumed in the present study (see section 2.4.3), it follows that roots, which must necessarily occupy the bottom-most position of the, can be inserted above PathP in stallite-framed languages but not in verb-framed ones, since in the former PathP is a phasal domain and in the latter it is not. This explains why satellite-

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[30] Real Puigdollers (2013) further proposes that Romance languages, which have defective Path, have a non-defective Place that constitutes a phase. Germanic languages, by contrast, show the reverse characterization: in them Path is non-defective and is a phase head, whereas Place is defective and does not constitute a phase. I will not deal with the (non-)phasal character of Place, since it would exceed the scope of this investigation.

framed languages can express both a Manner Co-event and Motion conflated within the verbal predicate (44a), whereas verb-framed languages cannot (44b):

(44)   a. *Mary danced into the room.*   (English)

        b. **María   bailó   a/en   la habitación.* (Spanish)

          María   danced   at/in the room

          Intended: 'Mary entered the room by dancing'.

The satellite-framed structure in (44a), in which the verbal predicate *danced* encodes both the idea of Motion and a Manner Co-event, can be analyzed as in (45).[31]

(45)   Analysis of (44a)
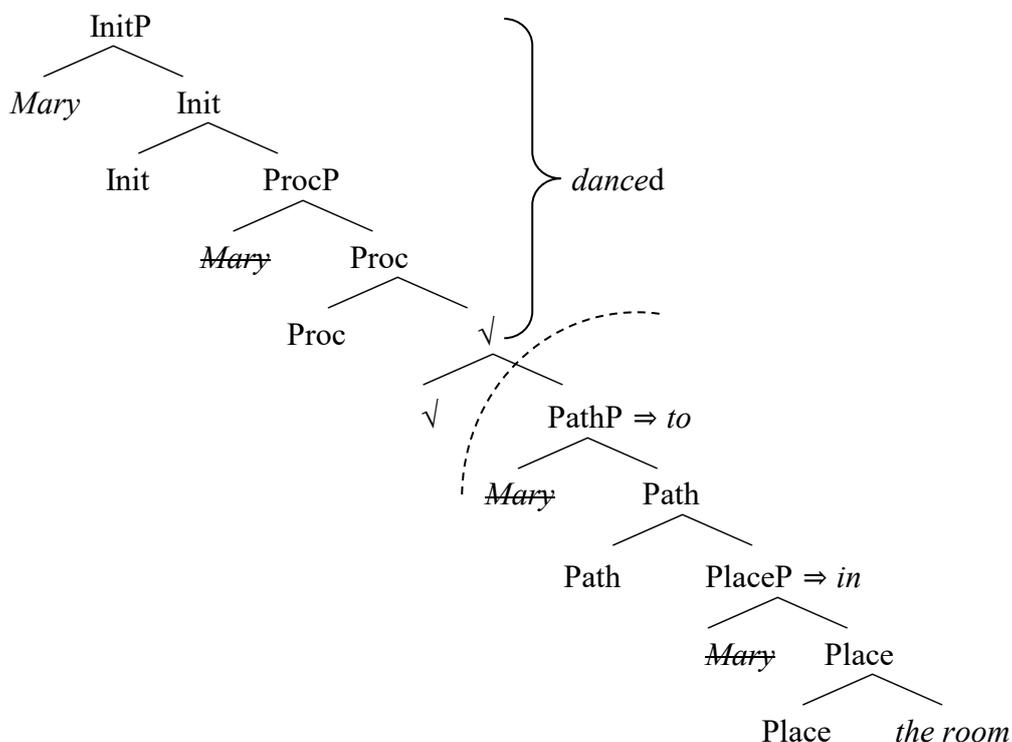
In the configuration in (45), PathP defines a phase domain, and therefore it is possible to merge a root on top of it, at complement of Proc, where it is interpreted as a Co-event. According to Real Puigdollers (2013: 220), "Manner interpretation arises when a root is c-commanded by *v* and belongs to the same phase domain with no intervening heads between them". Real Puigdollers' little *v* is equivalent in many respects to our Proc, and

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[31] Notice that in (45) I am abstracting away from the possible decomposition of *in* into Place and AxPart (see example (11) in this chapter).

hence for a root to be interpreted as a (Manner) Co-event, it is Proc which must c-command it with no intervening heads in between.

As for the unavailability of the Co-event conflation pattern in verb-framed languages, as illustrated in (44b) for Spanish, it is expected given the non phasal nature of Path in these systems: if PathP does not define a phase domain, then a root cannot be merged at the complement of Proc, since roots must occupy the bottom-most position of the phase. Configurations such as that in (45), thus, can never emerge in verb-framed systems.

Real Puigdollers (2013) further proposes that in Romance languages, which have defective Path, Place is non-defective and constitutes a phase. Germanic languages, by contrast, show the reverse characterization: in them Path is non-defective and is a phase head, whereas Place is defective and does not constitute a phase. She builds her claim on the comparison of Goal of motion constructions with locative prepositions in Germain and Romance. In Germanic languages, for a locative PP to get a directional interpretation, the PP must appear adjacent to the verb, as in (46). If the adjacency between the verb and the locative PP is not preserved (e.g., because adverbial material is introduced between the verb and the PP (47a), because the PP is extraposed (47b), or because it is clefted (47c)), then the directional interpretation is lost, as illustrated in (47):

(46)   a. *John ran in the room.* (locative/directional)   (English; Gehrke 2008)

      b. *Hij klimt   in   de stoel.*   (Dutch; den Dikken 2003)

        he   climbs in(to)   the chair

        'He climbs in/into the chair (locative/directional)

      c. *Jens har syklet   i grøfta.*   (Norwegian; Tungseth 2006)

        Jens has biked   in ditch.the

        'Jens has biked in/into the ditch'. (locative/directional)

      [Real Puigdollers 2013: (127)]

(47)   a. **The pool in which John fell is extremely deep.*   (English; Gehrke 2008: 106)

      b. *…dat hij kroop   onder tafel.*   (Dutch; Gehrke 2008: 108)

        that   he crawled under the table

        '… that he was under the table and crawled'.

    c. *Det er i grøfta   (at) Jens har kjørt bilen.* (Norwegian; Tungseth 2006: 43)

       it   is in ditch.the (that) Jens has driven car.the

       'It is in the ditch (that) Jens has been driving the car'.

[Real Puigdollers 2013: (129)]

In Romance languages, by contrast, locative PPs can also get a directional reading even if not adjacent to the verb, as illustrated below:

(48)   a. *L'oiseau   a   volé   rapidement   sur la fenêtre.*   (French)
         the bird   AUX   flown quickly   on the window
         'The bird flew quickly onto the window'.

       b. *Juan   resbaló   de golpe   al   suelo.*   (Spanish)
         Juan   slipped   of knock   to.the   floor
         'Juan suddenly slipped to the floor'.

       c. *És a   terra   on   les monedes   van   rodolar.*   (Catalan)
         is at.the   floor   where the coins   AUX   roll
         'It was to the floor, where the coins rolled'.

[Real Puigdollers 2013: 107-108, (135a), (136a) and (137b)]

The need for Germanic locative PPs to occupy a position adjacent to the verb vs. the possibility to move Romance locative PPs freely leads Real Puigdollers to conclude that in the former, but not in the latter, PlaceP is non-defective and therefore may constitute a phase independent from the verbal predicate. The fact that Place defines a phase domain in Romance allows a root to be inserted on top of it, at the complement of Path. This accounts for the pattern of lexicalization shown by inherently directional verbs in this language, as illustrated below for Spanish:

(49)   *Juan   entró   en la cocina.*
       Juan   entered in the kitchen
       'Juan entered into the room'

(50)

```
                InitP
              /      \
        Juan         Init
                   /      \
                Init      ProcP                         ⎫
                        /      \                        ⎪
                   ̶J̶u̶a̶n̶     Proc                         ⎬   entró
                          /      \                      ⎪
                       Proc      PathP                  ⎪
                               /      \                 ⎪
                          ̶J̶u̶a̶n̶      Path                ⎪
                                   /      \             ⎪
                                Path       √            ⎭
                                         /   \
                                        √     PlaceP ⇒ en
                                             /      \
                                         ̶J̶u̶a̶n̶       Place
                                                  /      \
                                              Place      la cocina
```
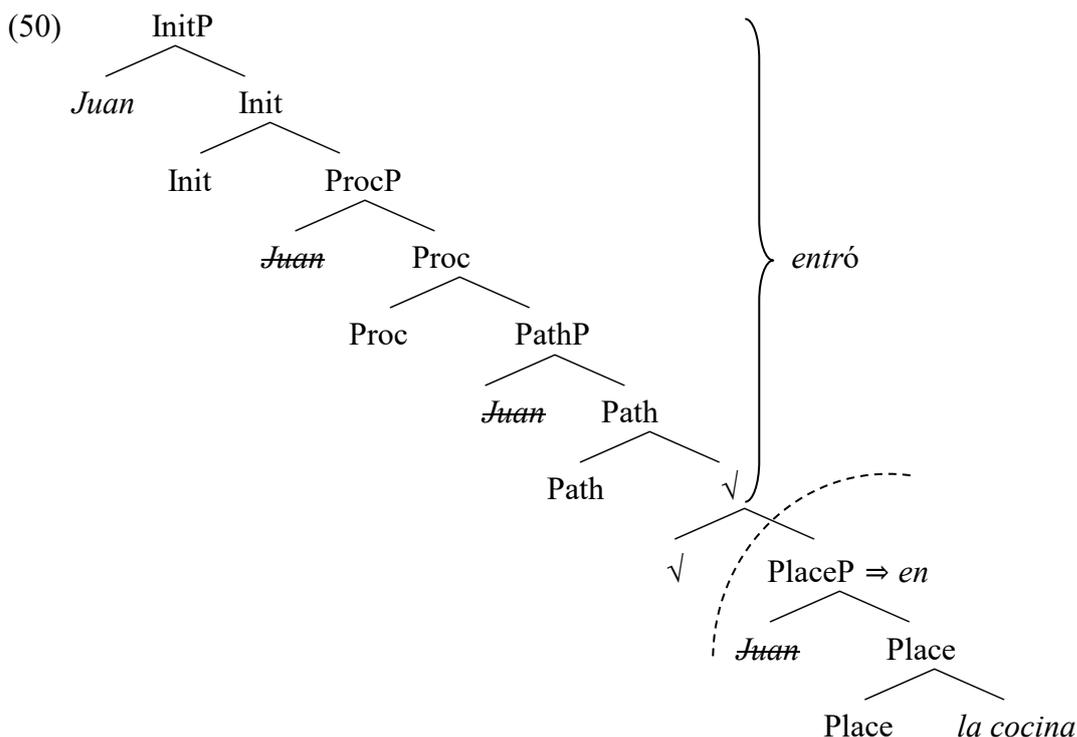
In this thesis, however, I am basically concerned with the syntax and semantics of Path denoting elements, and for that reason I will not deal with the (non-)phasal character of Place cross-linguistically, but only with the (non-)phasal character of Path. Particularly, in chapter 6, by comparing prefixed verbs in Latin and Spanish, I will provide further evidence for the phasal and non-defective nature of Path in satellite-framed systems vs. the defective and non-phasal character of this head in verb-framed languages.

2.5.2. Splitting up PathP[32]

Since Jackendoff (1983), it is widely assumed that directional expressions contain two stages: a dynamic stage in which the Figure changes its position with respect to the Ground, and a static stage in which the Figure occupies a fixed position with respect to the Ground. The static stage, thus, is envisaged as the "result" of the dynamic stage. Accordingly, directional expressions are syntactically decomposed into a directional head labelled Path (or P_{DIR} in certain works) identifying the dynamic component, and a static head labelled Place (or P_{LOC}) that corresponds to the static component (also labelled P_{LOC}), the former hierarchically dominating the latter (cf. van Riemsdijk 1990;

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[32] This section is partially based on discussion in Gibert Sotelo (2017).

Koopman 2000; den Dikken 2003, 2010; Svenonius 2010; Gehrke 2008; Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a; Real Puigdollers 2010, 2013; among others):[33]

(51)

```
            PathP
           /     \
        Path      PlaceP
                 /      \
              Place      …
                        GROUND
```
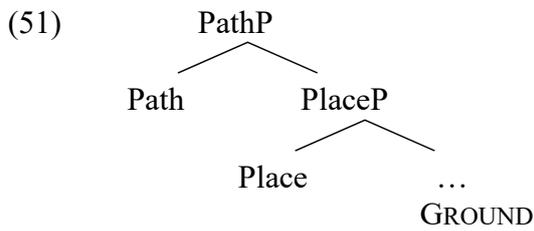
This structure allows accommodating complex adpositional constructions in which a locative element co-appears with a directional one, as is the case of *into* and *onto* in English:

(52)   a. *Into the box.*   b. *Onto the shelf.*

```
            PathP                                    PathP
           /     \                                  /     \
        Path      PlaceP                         Path      PlaceP
         |       /      \                         |       /      \
         to   Place      DP                       to   Place      DP
               |        /\                               |       /\
               in    the box                             on    the shelf
```
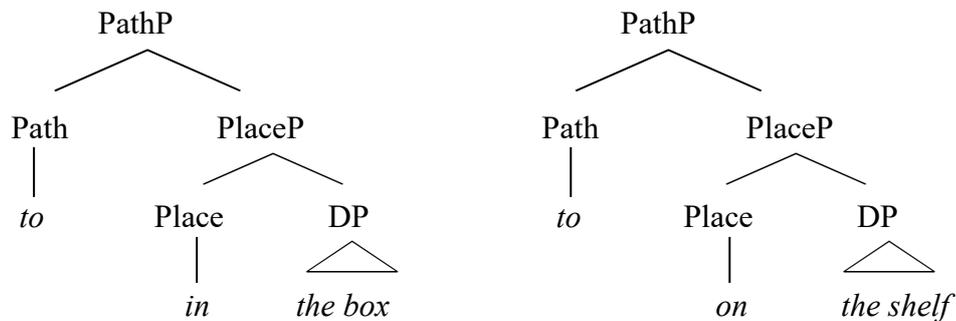
As the research on adpositional elements has progressed, the structure underlying adpositional elements has increased, and new functional heads have been proposed in addition to Path and Place (e.g. Degree, Aspect, Deixis, Axial Part; cf. Koopman 2000; Svenonius 2006, 2010; den Dikken 2010). However, the Path head is envisaged as an atomic construct that hosts all sorts of directional elements regardless of their orientation. Pantcheva (2011), in her fine-grained study of path expressions, proposes that the Path head dominating Place is not an atomic projection, but that it can be further decomposed into more specific projections. The author, in a cross-linguistic survey of path expressions, notices that Goal and Source markers are not equally complex, but that the former are systematically embedded in the latter in certain languages, as illustrated in Table 1 (taken from Pantcheva 2011):

---

[33] The notions Place and Path are parallel, respectively, to the relations of *central* and *terminal coincidence* introduced by Hale (1986) and Hale & Keyser (1997, 2002). A central coincidence relation is one in which the center of the Figure coincides with the center of the Ground, so that the locative relation between the Figure and the Ground obtains. A terminal coincidence relation, in turn, involves a coincidence between one of the extremes of the path followed by the Figure and the Ground, and so it involves a change between two stages (as does the notion of Path).

Table 1. Languages where the Source marker morphologically contains the Goal marker (Pantcheva 2011: 49, Table 4.2)

Language	Location	Goal	Source	Reference
Bulgarian	*pri*	*kəm*	*ot- kəm*	Pashov (1999)
Dime	*-se*	*-bow*	*-bow-de*	Mulugeta (2008)
Chamalal	*-i*	*-u*	*-u-r*	Magomedbekova (1967)
Ingush	*-ğ*	*-ga*	*-ga-ra*	Nichols (1994)
Jingulu	*-mpili*	*-ŋka*	*-ŋka-mi*	Blake (1977)
Mansi	*-t*	*-n*	*-n-əl*	Keresztes (1998)
Quechua	*-pi*	*-man*	*-man-da*	Jake (1985), Cole (1985)
Uchumataqu	*-tá*	*-ki*	*-ki-stani*	Vellard (1967)

Crucially, Pantcheva (2011) does not find any language in which Goal markers morphologically contain Source markers, which suggests that Source paths are built upon Goal paths and, thus, that Source paths are structurally more complex than Goal paths.[34] Seemingly, when dealing with expressions encoding Route, Pantcheva (2011: 52-53) observes that there are two languages, Akvakh and Avar, that build these elements by adding morphological material to Source markers. Taking into account these empirical facts, Pantcheva (2011) splits the Path head into a hierarchical structure in which Route Paths are built on top of Source paths, and Source paths are built on top of Goal paths, as illustrated below:

(53)

```
              RouteP
             /      \
         Route     SourceP
                  /      \
              Source    GoalP
                       /     \
                   Goal      PlaceP
```
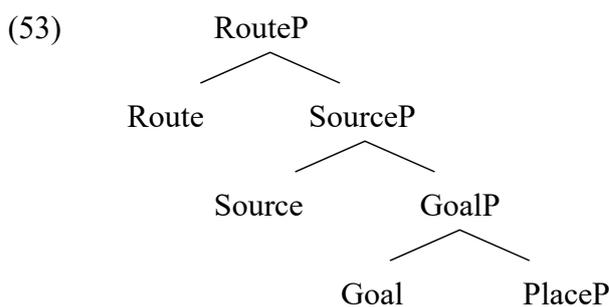
   [Based on Pantcheva 2011: 3 (2)]

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[34] Pantcheva's proposal, according to which Source paths contain Goal paths and Goal paths contain Places, predicts that syncretisms between Source and Place to the exclusion of in-between Goal are impossible (see Pantcheva 2011: §9.2.1). However, some languages seem to exhibit this prohibited pattern, as claimed by Lestrade (2010: §3.4.1; see also references therein) on the basis of an accurate compilation of unexpected syncretisms. These counterexamples are addressed by Pantcheva (2011: §9.3.2), who convincingly demonstrates that the apparent Place-Source syncretisms in these languages are spurious.

Pantcheva (2011) further proposes that the functional sequence of path expressions can contain the features Scale and Bound: when ScaleP dominates a Path sequence, then the path is interpreted as non-transitional; and when BoundP is placed on top of a Path head, then the Path is interpreted as transitional but terminative. This allows Pantcheva to accommodate all the types of paths she distinguishes in her study. Building on Jackendoff's (1983) seminal work on P elements, Pantcheva (2011) distinguishes eight types of paths according to three basic properties: orientation, transition, and delimitation. Depending on their orientation, paths can be classified into Goal paths (direction TO), Source paths (direction FROM) and Route paths (which lack orientation, since the two extreme points of the path are equally defined in them). Each of these paths can be further classified into transitional and non-transitional: transitional Goals, Sources and Routes encode a transition from one spatial domain to another spatial domain (e.g., *to*, *from* and *through*, respectively), whereas non-transitional paths fail to identify this transition (e.g., Goal-oriented *towards*, in which no final location is involved). Transitional Goals and Sources are further divided into delimited and non-delimited: delimited paths (e.g. *up to* in English or *hasta* 'up to' in Spanish) place the Ground in a limit of the Path, so that the Figure is intended not to be placed inside the Ground at any stage; non-delimited paths (e.g., *to* or *from*), by contrast, imply that the Figure reaches the Ground at some stage.

As presented by Real Puigdollers (2013: 32), delimited paths "can be analyzed as not being transitional at all, because the Figure never reaches a different locative state, the Ground, since it stops exactly at this point". The function of these elements, rather, is to set a limit to an extended location. Accordingly, Real Puigdollers argues that delimited paths are to be analyzed as locative expressions, and that their directional interpretation is a result of the context where they are embedded. This reduces Pantcheva's (2011) typology to six types of path expressions: transitional and non-transitional Goals, Sources and Routes. However, Real Puigdollers (2013: 36) further argues that this typology is to be reduced into only three classes of path expressions: transitional Goals, Sources and Routes. According to Real Puigdollers (2013: 31), non-transitional Goals, Sources and Routes are also an instantiation of place expressions: although they involve a moving Figure, the Figure is intended to be always placed in a uniform location, which provides a central coincidence relation (i.e., a place relation) rather than a terminal coincidence one (i.e., a path relation; see Hale& Keyser 2002). Therefore, I assume ScaleP and BoundP not to be part of the functional sequence of

path elements, since in Pantcheva's (2011) system these projections are used as tools to derive non-transitional and delimited paths, respectively.

Based on insights from Real Puigdollers (2013: 31), I furthermore remain agnostic on the existence of Route paths as well, since a Route does not identify a scale with two stages, but, as presented by Pantcheva (2011), it involves three stages: a stage where the location of the Figure in the Ground does not hold, a stage in which the location of the Figure in the Ground holds, and a stage in which the location of the Figure in the Ground does not hold anymore. It seems to me that this notion does not correspond to that of terminal coincidence (Hale 1986; Hale & Keyser 2002), in which the Ground must be located in the edge of the path followed by the Figure, and not in the middle of it. For that reason, I will restrict myself to the encoding of Goal and Source paths, which otherwise are the only ones with which this thesis is concerned.

(54)   a. Goal path   b. Source path

            GoalP   SourceP

    Goal   PlaceP   Source   GoalP

                                            Goal   PlaceP
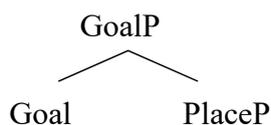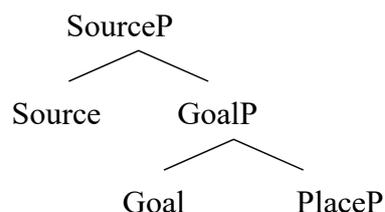
According to Pantcheva (2011), whose conclusions I endorse, the Goal head identifies a transition and imposes to the PlaceP it embeds the interpretation of the end-point of a path. The Source head, in turn, has the function of reversing the direction of the GoalP it takes as complement, in such a way that the transition encoded by the GoalP changes its orientation and, as a consequence, the location that PlaceP encodes is interpreted as the starting point of a path. Crucially, the transition is encoded by the Goal head, the only function of the Source head being that of reversing the orientation of the Goal-oriented transition.

Hence, a Goal-oriented path such as *to the house* displays the syntactic structure depicted in (55a), in which the Goal particle *to* encompasses Goal and Place, and the Ground DP *the house*, placed at the complement of Place, is identified with the final location (the Goal). By contrast, the Source-oriented PP *from the house* displays the syntactic structure in (55b), in which it is made explicit that the Source marker *from* presupposes a Goal transition that is reversed and, thus, encompasses both Source and

Goal (in addition to Place); the Ground DP, in that case, is understood as the initial point of the transition (the Source):

(55) a. *To the house*   b. *From the house*
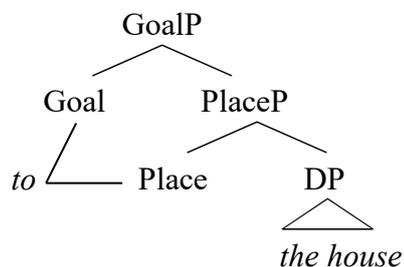
```
        GoalP                          SourceP
       /    \                         /      \
    Goal    PlaceP              Source       GoalP
    /       /    \                 |        /     \
  to      Place   DP            from     Goal     PlaceP
                  /\                     /        /     \
              the house              from     Place     DP
                                                         /\
                                                     the house
```
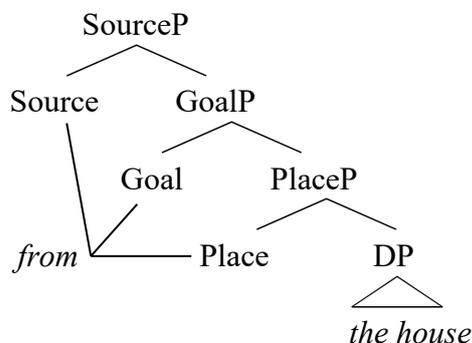
Pantcheva's proposal is in accordance with the Goal bias, that is, with the preference for Goals over Sources in the conceptualization of motion events. Evidence in favour of the Goal bias in English is provided by experimental data in the psycholinguistic study developed by Lakusta & Landau (2005), who show that children with William syndrome as well as children and adults without this disease prioritize the encoding of Goals over the encoding of Sources in their description of different kinds of motion events (manner of motion events, change of state and change of possession). Moreover, experiments developed by Clancy (1985) suggest that Japanese children acquire the Goal particle *ni* earlier than the Source particle *kara*, thus pointing toward a preference for Goals over Sources also in this language and in language acquisition.

The Goal bias is assumed to be a conceptual, pre-linguistic one (Lakusta & Landau 2005; Gehrke 2008; Pantcheva 2011; Lewandowsky 2014). Evidence for the pre-linguistic nature of the Goal bias is provided by Lakusta et al. (2007), who show, by means of a psychological experiment, that 12-month-old infants pay more attention to Goals and less to Sources in their pre-linguistic representations of motion events. Such a conceptual primacy of Goals over Sources, however, has a straightforward reflection in the grammar of natural languages. Hence, as noticed by Levin (1993), change of state events can specify in English both the Source and the Goal of the transition, as in (56a), or specify only the Goal of the transition, as in (56b). However, the omission of the Goal is ungrammatical, as illustrated by (56c):

(56) a. *The frog turned from green to blue.*

b. *The frog turned to blue.*

c. **The frog turned from green.*

The same kind of asymmetry is also attested in Spanish. In this language, motion verbs unmarked with regard to their directionality, as for example *ir* 'to go', can co-appear with a coordination of Source and Goal PPs, as in (57a), or with a Goal PP alone, as in (57b); the combination of such verbs with a Source PP in the absence of a Goal PP being ungrammatical, as in (57c):

(57)   a. *El   tren   va   de   Madrid a Barcelona.*   (Spanish)
         The train   goes   from   Madrid to Barcelona

        b. *El   tren   va   a Barcelona.*
         The train   goes   to Barcelona

        c. **El   tren   va   de   Madrid.*
         The train   goes   from   Madrid

Moreover, and as noticed by Gehrke (2008: 229), "a sentence like *the frog turned green*, where *green* is not marked as a Goal or a Source, can only mean that the frog is green at the end" but it cannot mean "that the frog started out being green and then turned from green to some different colour", an observation that clearly points toward the fact that the Goal interpretation is the defective one, the Source interpretation requiring for a specific mark. This is in accordance with the "Goal over Source principle" posed by Ikegami (1982) on the grounds of the marked character of Source expressions in relation to Goal expressions.

In sum, from the Goal bias it follows that events are by default interpreted as Goal-oriented, since Goals are conceptually more salient and grammatically unmarked. This cognitive asymmetry is captured in Pantcheva's (2011) hierarchical decomposition of the path head: Source paths involve a more complex syntactic structure than Goal paths because they are conceptually more elaborate than Goal paths, the latter being involved by default in the encoding of directional expressions.

2.5.3. Exapting Source for negation

A Source path is nothing but the reversal of a Goal path (Pantcheva 2011): Goal paths are positively oriented, since they involve a transition from a negative stage (a stage in which the location of the Figure in/on/at the Ground does not hold) to a positive stage (in which the Figure is placed in/on/at the Ground). Source paths, by contrast, are

negatively oriented: they encode transition from a positive stage (of location in/on/at the Ground) to a negative one (of location NOT in/on/at the Ground). Given that the result of a Source path is always negatively defined, it follows that the idea of negation may be somehow inferred from the structure of Source paths. Accordingly, it is expected that Source markers (i.e., those lexical items used to encode departure from a Source) can be used to encode negation in certain contexts. This prediction is borne out: in the chapters to come, it will be shown that the Spanish prefix *des-*, a Source marker, can be used in order to encode negative meaning when embedded in certain contexts (cf. *desconocer* 'not to know', *desafortunado* 'unlucky'). Besides, the Latin Source prefixes *ab-*, *de-* and *dis-*, when combined with verbs of communication, express the idea of denial: *abiuro* 'to deny on oath', *dehortor* 'to encourage not to', *diffiteor* 'to deny by confession', an issue I will further explore in chapter 6.

In fact, some elements encoding the idea of departure from a Source have been reanalyzed as negative elements. Van Gelderen (2011) offers examples of verbs reanalyzed as negatives. One of such cases is that of the auxiliary *ba* 'not exist' in Koorete (an Ethiopian Omotic language of Ethiopia), used to negate verbal predicates:

(58) *nen-i*   *doro*   *woon-do*   *ba-nna-ko*   (Koorete)

You-NOM   sheep   buy-PF   NEG-2SG-DEC

'You didn't buy sheep'.

[Binyam 2008: 123; *apud*. Van Gelderen 2011: 323 (105)]

In Koorete a lexical verb *ba* 'to disappear' is still attested, which is understood to be the antecedent of the negative auxiliary *ba* and the meaning of which, 'to disappear', involves the idea of departure and, hence, that of a Source path. It seems, thus, that *ba* has undergone a grammaticalization from its source-oriented lexical meaning to its use as a negative marker, an evolution that is traceable in the current stage of the language, since the lexical verb *ba* 'to disappear' can be negated by the negative auxiliary *ba* 'not to exist':

(59) *is-i*   *ba-d-o*   *ba-nni-ko*   (Koorete)

she-NOM disappear-PF-PST   not.exist-3FS-DEC

'She did not disappear'.

[Binyam 2008: 150; *apud*. Van Gelderen 2011: 323 (107)]

That the idea of negation is somehow involved in the encoding of Source paths has been already acknowledged by Pantcheva (2011), Arsenijević (2006), Lestrade (2010), Svenonius (2009; *apud*. Pantcheva 2011) and Gibert Sotelo (2015a). When accounting for the specific semantics related to the Source head in the syntactic decomposition of Source paths (see (26b)), Pantcheva (2011: 69-70) asserts that "the reversal encoded by the Source head resembles a negation function", since it produces the opposite of a Goal path. However, Pantcheva opts for using a different label from that of Neg(ation) for the reversal head, and refrains from asserting that such a head is in fact a negative operator (she just points out that it "resembles" one). Throughout this dissertation, it will be shown that, although the idea of negation is inferable from Source paths, and Source paths can be used as a way to convey negative meaning, Source has to be distinguished from Neg.

2.6. Summary

In this chapter I have presented the main theoretical assumptions underlying this dissertation. After introducing the two main perspectives to account for the nature of the syntax-lexicon interface —to wit, the projectionist (or lexicalist) perspective, in which syntactic structures are a projection from lexical items; and the neo-constructionist perspective, in which syntax builds configurations without paying attention to lexical meaning—, I have justified my choice to frame the present investigation within a recent neo-constructionist theory: Nanosyntax. According to Nanosyntax, syntax creates universal structures that the lexicon interprets, and the function of the lexicon (a strictly post-syntactic lexicon) is to provide lexical material to spell out these structures. From this viewpoint, lexical items are syntactically generated, and accordingly they usually spell out portions of syntactic trees that are bigger than a single terminal node. I have also highlighted some of the strengths of this model, one of them being the possibility that it offers to conceive of language variation as different ways to spell out the same syntactic configuration. Besides, I have restricted this account by assuming, with Real Puigdollers (2013), that the timing of spell-out is marked by the phase, and that, as long as phase boundaries are parameterizable, they may vary from one language to another.

As conforming to a neo-constructionist approach, I have highlighted the distinction existing between, on the one hand, structural meaning, arising from the syntactic configuration, and, on the other, conceptual content, contributed by roots. To

account for the former, I have introduced Ramchand's (2008) theory of the syntactic nature of argument and event structure with some modifications. Concerning the latter, I have adopted a non-canonical approach to Pustejovsky's *Qualia* Structure formalization in order to establish generalizations in the seemingly irrestrictive polysemy of certain lexical items. As for roots, they are conceived of as acategorial, non-projecting elements that can only appear at the bottom-most position of the phase. In accordance with a nanosyntactic perspective, a single lexical item can spell out a root and the functional material dominating the root.

The basic machinery to endorse the analysis of directional expressions has been summarized in the last part of the chapter. Following Real Puigdollers (2013), Talmy's satellite-/verb-framed typology is to be accounted for syntactically: in satellite-framed languages Path constitutes a phase head, whereas in verb-framed languages it is not Path, but Place, which defines a phase. This has consequences on the timing of spell-out as well as on the position in which roots are merged, which naturally accounts for the distinct lexicalization patterns. On the grounds of Pantcheva's (2011) proposal, the Path head is split into Goal, a transition-denoting head, and Source, a reversal operator, the latter taking the former as complement. Source paths, thus, are the opposite of Goal paths, and involve a transition from a positive stage to a negative one. This facilitates the use of Source-path-denoting expressions to encode negative meaning, a fact that will be extensively explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

The Source prefix *des-*: on verbal predicates

3.1. Introduction

Des- is one of the most productive prefixes of the Spanish language. This prefix is especially productive in the creation of new verbs, but also in the creation of new adjectives and nouns. In this chapter I deal with verbal predicates headed by *des-*, whereas the following chapter (chapter 7) is devoted to non-verbal *des-*prefixed predicates (that is, *des-*prefixed adjectives and *des-*prefixed nouns).

In the literature devoted to the study of this prefix it is usually maintained that *des-* is a negative prefix, given that it usually conveys values closely linked to the sphere of negation: physical separation (*deshornar* 'to remove from the oven'), deprivation (*desalar* 'to deprive of wings'), reversion (*deshacer* 'to undo'), contrary negation (*desconfiar* 'to distrust') and even negative evaluation (*desinformar* 'to misinform). In this chapter, however, it will be shown that the basic meaning shared by all *des-*prefixed verbs is that of "detachment from a Source", and that the negative value displayed by this prefix in certain contexts is inferable from its basic Source value (hence my choice to call it *Source prefix*). The main claims that I will defend in this chapter are, on the one hand, that *des-* lexicalizes a Source path, and, on the other hand, that it is inserted low in the configuration, below the subeventive projections, which accounts for the fact that this prefix usually determines the argument and/or event structure of the resulting prefixed verb. It will be shown that the polysemy of *des-*prefixed verbs emerges as the result of an interplay of factors: the position of the prefix in the syntactic configuration, generating different structural-semantic interpretations, and, at a conceptual level, the interaction between the *Qualia* Structure (QS) of the root and that of the internal argument of the verb.

The chapter starts with a classification of *des-*prefixed verbs (section 3.2) that takes into account their morphological properties as well as their basic meaning. Once the basic classes of *des-*prefixed verbs are established, the most relevant properties of these items are thoroughly examined in section 3.3. Section 3.4 is devoted to the analysis of the different classes distinguished in section 3.2, both in their structural and

conceptual dimensions. A summary of the main conclusions reached in the present chapter is provided in section 3.5.

3.2. Classes of *des*-prefixed verbs

3.2.1. *Des*-parasynthetic verbs

Parasynthesis is the term commonly used in descriptive studies to identify those derived words that seem to have been created by the simultaneous addition of a suffix and a prefix to an already existing nominal or adjectival base (see Scalise 1984; Varela 1990; and Serrano-Dolader 1995; among others):

(1)   a. *botón*$_N$ 'button'   > *a-boton-ar*$_V$ 'to button up' (*a-botón*$_N$ / *boton-ar*$_V$)

     b. *cárcel*$_N$ 'jail'   > *en-carcel-ar*$_V$ 'to jail'   (*en-cárcel*$_N$ / *carcel-ar*$_V$)

     c. *piojo*$_N$ 'louse'   > *des-pioj-ar*$_V$ 'to delouse' (*des-piojo*$_N$ / *pioj-ar*$_V$)

(2)   a. *blando*$_A$ 'soft'   > *a-bland-ar*$_V$ 'to soften'   (*a-blando*$_A$ / *bland-ar*$_V$)

     b. *gordo*$_A$ 'fat'   > *en-gord-ar*$_V$ 'to fatten up' 'to get fat' (*en-gordo*$_A$ / *gord-ar*$_V$)

     c. *acerbo*$_A$ 'acerbic' > *des-acerb-ar*$_V$ 'to make less acerbic' (*des-acerbo*$_A$ / *acerb-ar*$_V$)

The main characteristic of these constructions is the non-existence of the intermediate forms [prefix [base]] and [[base] suffix], which gives rise to an apparently tripartite morphological structure [prefix [base] suffix]. Spanish verbs such as the ones included in (1) and (2) are considered to be parasynthetic, which means that they are not built upon an already existing prefixed noun or adjective or upon an already existing suffixed verb —since these intermediate forms are unattested in this language—, but that they are directly created upon the nominal or adjectival bases. Precisely, I take the term *parasynthetic* as a descriptive label with no theoretical implications. As will be shown in §3.3.2.1, I do not assume that parasynthetic verbs are created upon a noun or adjective, but upon an acategorial root that can be independently categorized as a noun or as an adjective.

     As observed in previous studies (Serrano-Dolader 1995: 76-77; Felíu Arquiola 2009; Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet 2015), the most productive prefixes in the creation of parasynthetic verbs in Spanish are the prepositional prefixes *a-*, *en-* and (secondarily) *des-*. The first two yield parasynthetic verbs expressing a Goal-oriented event (i.e., an

event that leads to a new state), while, as I will argue in this chapter, the latter gives rise to parasynthetic verbs that encode a Source-oriented event (i.e., an event that originates from a previous state).[1]

Concerning the verbalizing morphology, the most productive way to create parasynthetic verbs in Spanish is by the direct introduction of the first conjugation marker *-a(r)*, that is, by the introduction of the thematic vowel *-a* —as illustrated in the examples of (1) and (2).[2] In addition, parasynthetic verbs with prefixes *a-* and *en-* can display the verbalizing suffix *-ece(r)*, as in *anochecer* 'to grow dark' (cf. *noche* 'night'), *enloquecer* 'to drive crazy' (cf. *loco* 'crazy') or *enorgullecer* 'to make proud' (cf. *orgullo* 'pride').[3] Finally, certain parasynthetic verbs show the verbalizing suffix *-iza(r)*; for example, *aterrorizar* 'to terrorize' (cf. *terror* 'terror'), *entronizar* 'to enthrone' (cf. *trono* 'throne') or *desratizar* 'to clear of rats' (cf. *rata* 'rate').

In the literature devoted to the study of Spanish *des-* parasynthetic verbs —with which the present section is concerned—(basically) 5 classes of verbs have been distinguished (cf. Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Serrano-Dolader 1995; Martín García 2007):

    i.   Ablative verbs

    ii. Privative verbs

    iii. Decreasing property verbs

    iv. Verbs of destruction

    v. Instrumental verbs

In the following subsections I discuss each of these classes.

3.2.1.1. Ablative verbs

The so-called *ablative* verbs express an action of detachment where the root of the verb (a root that can always be independently realized as a noun) is conceptually taken as a Source and the internal argument (IA) as the entity detached from that Source:

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[1] See section 3.4.4 for a comparative analysis of the Goal-oriented prefixes *a-* and *en-* vs. the Source-oriented prefix *des-*.

[2] The issue of whether or not the thematic vowel has to be considered a verbalizing suffix is further discussed in section 3.4.2.1., footnote 27.

[3] Batllori & Pujol (2012) and Batllori (2015b) show that the use of this verbalizing suffix in Old Spanish was productive in *a-* and *en-* parasynthetic verbs, but as they notice and as is also pointed out in Serrano-Dolader (1995) and the *NGLE* (2009), in current Spanish this inchoative prefix is not productive with parasynthetic verbs displaying the prefix *a-*.

(3)   *Han   des-<u>madr</u>-ado   <u>al   ternero</u>*ₗₐ   *para poder ordeñar la vaca.*
       Have   from-mother-PTCP   the calf   to   can   milk   the caw
       'They have separated the calf from its mother in order to milk it'.
       [*Clave*; s.v. *desmadrar*]

Ablative verbs are usually related to paraphrases of the type 'to move something /
somebody (the internal argument) away from something / somebody / somewhere (the
root)', thus identifying the root with a location and the internal argument with an entity
changing its position. A list of the Spanish exponents of this type of verbs is provided in
(4):

(4)   *desbandarse* 'to disband' (*bando* 'faction'), *desbordar* 'to overflow' (*borde*
        'border'), *descarrilar* 'to derail' (*carril* 'rail'), *deshornar* 'to remove from the
        oven' (*horno* 'oven'), *desmadrar* 'to separate the cubs from their mother'
        (*madre* 'mother'), *desmoldar* 'to remove from its mould' (*molde* 'mould'),
        despeñar 'to make fall from a height' (*peña* 'crag' 'height'), *desplazar* 'to
        displace' (*plaza* 'position'), *desquiciar* 'to unhinge' (*quicio* 'door frame' 'hinge
        post'), *desterrar* 'to exile' (*tierra* 'land'), *destronar* 'to dethrone' (*trono*
        'throne'), *desvalijar* 'to burgle' (*valija* 'suitcase'), *desviar* 'to deviate' 'to turn
        aside' (*vía* 'path').

                                              [Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

These verbs, which could be labelled *location verbs* in Clark & Clark's (1979) terms,[4]
have been called *ablative verbs* on the idea that the sequence "*des* + root" is equivalent
to a Latin ablative-marked PP (cf. Vañó-Cerdá 1990: 14):

(5)   *des-tierra*   →   *des-terr-ar*
        from-land   from-land-INF
        'away from land'   'to move something/somebody away from land'

In fact, a characteristic of *des-* parasynthetic verbs displaying a location-denoting root is
their ease of further specifying the values conveyed by the prefix and the root in a PP
complement. The examples in (6) illustrate this behaviour. In (6a), the sequence "*des* +

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[4] They are also known as *privative location verbs* (Fábregas & Scalise 2012; McIntyre 2015). However, I
will not use this label because it could create confusion with the class of privative (locatum) verbs
introduced in the following subsection (3.2.1.2).

tierra" ['from land'] that the ablative verb incorporates is duplicated through the PP *de Castilla* 'from Castile', in which the Source preposition *de* —that repeats the source idea lexicalized by the prefix *des-*— takes as a complement a hyponym of the root *tierra* 'land': the place-name *Castilla*. Along the same lines, in (6b) the ablative verb *desviar* 'to deviate' incorporates the PP sequence "*des + via*" ['from path'], further specified through the PP *del camino marcado* 'from the beaten path':

(6)   a. *El   rey   Alfonso VI   des-terr-ó   al Cid <u>de   Castilla</u>.*
         The   king   Alfonso VI   from-land-PST.3SG   the Cid from Castile
         'King Alfonso VI exiled The Cid from Castile'.

      b. *Se   des-vi-aron   <u>del   camino marcado</u> y   acabaron perdiéndose.*
         REFL from-path-PST.3PL from_the path   marked and ended   loosing=REFL
         'They deviated from the beaten path and ended up getting lost'.

3.2.1.2. Privative verbs

Privative verbs is the traditional label used to identify the verbs that encode an action of deprivation in which the root is taken as an inalienably possessed item that is removed from the location identified by the internal argument (IA):

(7)   *Des-<u>corch</u>-ó   <u>la botella</u>IA y   nos sirvió   una copa de vino   a*
      From-cork-PST.3SG   the bottle   and   us served   a   glass of wine to
      cada uno.
      each one
      'He uncorked the bottle and served everyone a glass of wine'.
      [*Wordreference* Spanish-English; s.v. *descorchar*]

Inside the group of *des-* parasynthetic verbs, those encoding a privative value are, by far, the most numerous:

(8)   *desabejar* 'to remove the bees from the hive' (*abeja* 'bee'), *desalar* 'to clip the wings off' (*ala* 'wing'), *desbarbar* 'to shave' 'to trim' (*barba* 'beard'), *desbecerrar* 'to separate the bull calves from their mother' (*becerro* 'bull calf'), *desbocar* 'to break the rim of something' (*boca* 'mouth'), *desbrozar* 'to clear of rubbish' (*broza* 'rubbish'), *descabezar* 'to behead' (*cabeza* 'head'), *descafeinar*

'to decaffeinate' (*cafeína* 'caffeine'), *descarnar* 'to remove the flesh from' (*carne* 'flesh'), *descerebrar* 'to remove the brain' (*cerebro* 'brain'), *descolar* 'to cut the tail off' (*cola* 'tail'), *descorchar* 'to uncork' (*corcho* 'cork'), *descornar* 'to dehorn' (*cuerno* 'horn'), *descortezar* 'to strip the bark from' (*corteza* 'bark'), *desflorar* 'to deflower' (*flor* 'flower'), *desgranar* 'to dekernel' (*grano* 'grain' 'kernel'), *desherbar* 'to weed' (*hierba* 'herb'), *deshojar* 'to strip the leaves off' (*hoja* 'leaf'), *deshuesar* 'to bone' (*hueso* 'bone'), *desmembrar* 'to dismember' (*miembro* 'member'), *desnarigar* 'to remove the nose' (*nariz* 'nose'), *desnatar* 'to skim' (*nata* 'cream'), *desorejar* 'to cut the ears off' (*oreja* 'ear'), *despepitar* 'to remove the pips from' (*pepita* 'pip'), *despiojar* 'to delouse' (*piojo* 'louse'), *desplumar* 'to pluck' (*pluma* 'feather'), *despuntar* 'to go blunt' (*punta* 'point'), *desratizar* 'to clear of rats' (*rata* 'rat'), *destripar* 'to gut' (*tripa* 'gut'), *desvergonzarse* 'to lose all sense of shame' (*vergüenza* 'shame').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

This sort of verbs are usually related to paraphrases of the type 'to remove something (the denotatum of the root) from something/somebody (the referent of the internal argument)' or 'to deprive something/somebody (the internal argument) of something (the root)', so that the conceptual roles played by the root and the internal argument of the verb are just the opposite of those played by these constituents in ablative verbs (cf. *supra*), thus identifying the root with the entity changing its position (the *locatum*) and the internal argument as the location or the Source from which this entity is removed. These verbs, thus, are an instantiation of *locatum verbs* (Clark & Clark 1979).[5]

It must be noticed, however, that unlike ablative verbs, privative verbs involve a relationship of possession between the root (the *possessum*) and the internal argument of the verb (the possessor). Accordingly, I assume that privative verbs encode change of state (i.e., they encode a change from possession of the referent of the root to absence of possession), and that the change of location meaning is but an inference thereof (since being deprived of something is conceptually related to its physical removal). Hence, focusing on the sentence in (7), it is not only the case that the cork ceases to be placed in the bottle, but also that the bottle ends up without the cork.

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[5] They are called *privative locatum verbs* in Fábregas & Scalise (2012) and McIntyre (2015). See footnote 4 in the previous section.

In some cases, one and the same *des*-parasynthetic verb may be interpreted as either ablative or privative.[6] For example, a verb like *desvainar* 'to shell' may be understood either as an action in which the internal argument of the verb (usually a kind of legume, e.g. a pea) is removed from the root *vain-* 'shell' (the ablative reading), or an action in which the root *vain-* 'shell' is removed from the kind of legume referred to by the internal argument of the verb (the privative reading). Other verbs showing this ambiguity are *desbancar* 'to unseat' (base: *banco* 'seat'), that implies the detachment from a seat (ablative reading) but also the deprivation of such a seat (privative reading); and *despistar* (base: *pista* 'trail, clue'), paraphraseable either as 'to detach from the trail/clue' (ablative reading) or as 'to make lose the trail/clue' (privative reading').

Finally, a subclass of *des-* privative verbs encode an event that does not involve the extraction of the referent of the referent of the root, but its being damaged, so that the possessor is deprived of some of the properties of such a possession. This subgroup of privative verbs, listed in (9), usually lexicalize a noun referring to a body part:

(9)   *descaderar* 'to hurt someone's hip' (*cadera* 'hip'), *descalabrar* 'to hurt someone's head' (*calavera* 'skull'), *deslomar* 'to break someone's back' 'to exhaust' (*lomo* 'back'), *desmelenar* 'to dishevel' (*melena* 'mane'), *desnucar* 'to break someone's neck' (*nuca* 'nape'), *desriñonar* 'to hurt someone's kidney(s)' 'to exhaust' (*riñón* 'kidney').

3.2.1.3. Decreasing property verbs

Decreasing property verbs correspond to the commonly known as *privative deadjectival verbs* (see Vañó-Cerdá 1990: 13-14; Serrano-Dolader 1995: 142-143 and 1999: 4723), which encode an action of pure change of state where the referent of the internal argument of the verb is understood to lose the property denoted by the base:

(10)   *La fatiga   des-<u>brav</u>-a   <u>a los violentos</u>*_{IA}.
        The fatigue   from-wild-TV.3SG   to the violents
        'Fatigue tames violent people'.
        [*CREA*: 1991. Eduardo Alonso, *Flor de Jacarandá*]

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[6] Kiparsky (1997) makes the same remark with respect to location/locatum verbs like *index*, which can either mean 'to put in an index' (location) or 'to provide with an index' (locatum).

As illustrated in (10), a verb like *desbravar* 'to tame' is used to express an event by means of which the internal argument, in this case *los violentos* 'violent people', loses the property denoted by the base, namely that encoded in *bravo* 'wild'. In this way, at the end of the event violent people are understood as not being wild or as being less wild.

The base of decreasing property verbs is a root that can independently emerge as an adjective (e.g., *bravo* 'wild' in *desbravar* 'to make less wild') or as a noun understood as its prototypical property: e.g. *asno* 'donkey' for *tonto* 'stupid' in *desasnar* 'to make someone stop being stupid'/ 'to make someone less stupid'. These verbs, which constitute a reduced group (see (11)), admit paraphrases such as 'to make something/someone (the internal argument) stop being (like) <base>' or 'to make something/someone (the internal argument) less <base>':

(11)   *desacerbar* 'to make less acerbic' (*acerbo*_A 'acerbic'), *desasnar* 'to make someone stop being stupid' (*asno*_N 'donkey'), *desbastar* 'to rough down' (*basto*_A 'rough'), *desbravar* 'to tame' 'to make less wild' (*bravo*_A'wild'), *descabalar* 'to make less complete/fine' (*cabal*_A 'complete' 'fine').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

3.2.1.4. Verbs of destruction

These verbs are commonly known as *effective* (Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Serrano-Dolader 1995 and 1999) or *resultative* (Martín García 2007), and express an action of destruction or division by means of which the referent of the internal argument of the verb is reduced to its constitutive parts, which are expressed in the root:

(12)   *La   anciana   des-migaj-aba   pan seco*_{IA} *para hacer sopa.*
        The elderly_woman from-crumble-IMPF.3SG bread dry   to   do   soup
        'The elderly woman crumbled stale bread to cook a soup'.

Since at the end of the event the referent of the internal argument is understood to disappear and only the entities denoted by the root remain, these verbs, compiled in (13), have been claimed to express an action the result of which is the "creation" of the entities referred to by the root (hence the label *effective* or *resultative*), and, accordingly,

they are paraphrased as 'to make <root>' or 'to make something (the internal argument) into <root>':

(13)   *desbriznar* 'to reduce to blades' (*brizna* 'blade'), *descuartizar* 'to quarter' (*cuarto* 'quarter'), *desflecar* 'to get frayed edges by unstitching a piece of clothing' (*fleco* 'frayed edge'), *deshilachar* 'to fray' (*hilacha* 'frayed thread'), *desmenuzar* 'to shred' (*menuza* 'small bit'), *desmigajar* 'to crumble' (*migaja* 'breadcrumb'), *desmigar* 'to crumble' (*miga* 'crumble'), *despedazar* 'to tear apart' (*pedazo* 'piece')*, despizcar* 'to reduce to ounces' (*pizca* 'punch'), *destrizar* 'to smash' (*triza* 'fragment'), *destrozar* 'to smash' (*trozo* 'bit').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

Despite the claim that this type of verbs encodes an event whose result is the creation of the entity denoted by the root (see Vañó-Cerdá 1990: 16; Grossmann 1994: 71; Serrano-Dolader 1995: 136; Martín García 2007: 16), these verbs do not express an event of creation. The right interpretation of these verbs, I claim, is as predicates encoding an action of destruction or division that leads to a resulting state in which only the parts (encoded in the root) that constitute the destroyed or divided entity (encoded through the internal argument of the verb) remain. This idea of destruction or division —and crucially not of creation— comes from the meaning of the prefix *des-*, the basic value of which is that of separation, but also from the meaning of the roots of this sort of verbs, which allude to items understood as parts of a bigger entity (see Gibert Sotelo, in press). Consequently, these verbs, which I label *verbs of destruction*, must not be associated to the paraphrases 'to make <root>' or 'to make something into <root>'. Rather, they are better captured by paraphrases of the sort 'to reduce to <root>' or 'to divide something into <root>'.

3.2.1.5. Instrumental verbs

Des- parasynthetic verbs with an instrument-denoting base are an extremely unproductive class. Only two *des*-parasynthetic verbs can be considered to incorporate a root referring to an instrument:

(14)   *despinzar* 'to remove with tweezers' (base: *pinza* 'tweezers'), and *desgarrar* 'to tear' (base: *garra* 'claw').[7]

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

These verbs may be related to the paraphrases 'to remove something from something/someone/somewhere (the internal argument) with <root>' and 'to break something (the internal argument) with <root>', respectively.

Like privative verbs, the verb *despinzar* 'to remove with tweezers' encodes an event in which the internal argument is deprived of an inalienable possession. However, unlike privative verbs, *despinzar* does not lexicalize the removed entity in the root, but it incorporates a root specifying the instrument used to perform such a removal, and the removed item must be pragmatically inferred. This verb is language-specific, so it is used in technical contexts to refer to an action that consists in cleaning certain types of clothing by removing the specks. Thus, in the sentence reproduced in (15), *el abrigo de visón* 'the mink coat' is understood to be cleared of *motas* 'specks', despite the fact that the sentence lacks any reference to this particular information. The first attestations of *despinzar* usually include specific references to the removed items (i.e., to the *motas* 'specks'), as illustrated in (16):

(15)   *Al   des-pinz-ar   el abrigo de visón*$_{IA}$ *la piel   queda con   un*
        To_at   from-tweezers-INF   the coat   of mink   the skin remain with a
        tacto   suave   y   con   menos peso.
        touch   smooth and   with   less   weight
        'As soon as the mink coat is deprived of specks, the mink fur gets smooth to the touch'. [Google: www.arreglosdepeleteria.com]

(16)   *Mando   que todos   los paños*$_{IA}$ […] *sean   des-pinz-ados*
        Command   that all   the cloths   be.SUBJ.3PL from-tweezers-PTCP
        de   motas.
        of   specks
        'I command to clear all the cloths of specks'
        [*CORDE*: 1527. *Ordenanzas sobre el obraje de los paños, lanas, bonetes e sombreros*]

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[7] Vañó-Cerdá (1990: 16) and Serrano-Dolader (1995: 136) include the verb *deslumbrar* 'to dazzle' into this class —a verb that, from my point of view, does not lexicalize any sort of instrument.

Similarly, the verb *desgarrar* 'to tear with the claws' contains a base *garr-* 'claw' that may be understood as the instrument used to perform an event of disintegration, as shown in (17a). Nonetheless, the value of the base *garr-* 'claw' becomes blurred in most of the cases, since nowadays this verb presents a very much lexicalized meaning. Along these lines, *desgarrar* does not only mean 'to rip apart with the claws', but 'to rip apart (with any means)' (see 17b) or 'to cause an unbearable pain' (see 17c); meanings, all of them, which recall those encoded by the class of verbs of destruction:

(17) a. *El   tigre   des-garr-aba   a   zarpazos   la   carne   de su víctima.*
         The tiger   from-claw-IMPF.3SG   at claw_blow.PL the meat   of its victim
         'The tiger teared up the meat of its prey by swiping at it with its claws'.
         [*Clave*; s.v. *desgarrar*]

      b. *La manga de su blusa se   des-garr-ó   con   una rama.*
         The sleeve of her blouse REFL   from-claw-PST.3SG   with   a   branch
         'She tore the sleeve of her blouse on the branch'.
         [*Wordreference* Spanish-English; s.v. *desgarrar*]

      c. *Su   muerte en accidente des-garr-ó   a   la   familia.*
         His/her   death in accident from-claw-PST.3SG to the family
         His/her death in an accident tore the family apart'.
         [*Clave*; s.v. *desgarrar*]

Since it is not productive for *des*-parasynthetic verbs to incorporate an instrument-denoting root, and, in addition, the two only members of this class encode non-transparent, idiosyncratic meanings, I will not take into consideration the class of instrumental verbs in the following sections. All in all, it is possible to assume that *despinzar* and *desgarrar* are non-prototypical members of the above examined classes of privative verbs and verbs of destruction, respectively. Hence, *despinzar* denotes an event of removal but instead of incorporating the removed item, it incorporates the instrument specifying the manner in which the event is performed. *Desgarrar*, in turn, encodes an event of destruction and instead of incorporating the result, it incorporates the means and, therefore, can provide certain hints concerning the manner of the event.

3.2.2. *Des*-deverbal verbs

Des- deverbal verbs are created by the addition of the prefix to an existing verbal base that may correspond to a simple verb, as in (18), or to a derived verb, as in (19):[8]

(18)   a. *des-atar*ᵥ 'to untie'   <   *atar*ᵥ 'to tie'

        b. *des-cuidar*ᵥ 'to neglect'   <   *cuidar*ᵥ'to take care of'

(19)   a. *des-trenzar*ᵥ 'to unbraid'   < *trenz-ar*ᵥ 'to braid' (<*trenza*ₙ 'braid')

        b. *des-aconsejar*ᵥ 'to advise against' < *a-consej-ar*ᵥ 'to advise' (<*consejo*ₙ 'advise')

Depending on the type of verbal base and on the meaning displayed by the prefix, 4 classes of *des*- deverbal verbs have been distinguished in most bibliographical references (see Vañó-Cerdá 1990, Varela & Martín García 1999, *NGLE* 2009, Rodríguez Rosique 2011, and Serrano-Dolader 2011 for similar classifications):

   i.   Reversative verbs

   ii. Negative verbs

   iii. Evaluative verbs

   iv. Intensive verbs

3.2.2.1. *Reversative verbs*

Reversion is considered to be a kind of opposition that relates two verbs encoding the same sort of event but oriented toward opposite senses (Marchand 1973; Lyons 1977; Cruse 1986; Funk 1988). In Spanish, the most productive way to encode this kind of opposition is by the addition of the prefix *des-*:[9]

(20)   a. *hacer* 'to do'   >   *des-hacer* 'to undo'

        b. *activar* 'to activate'>   *des-activar* 'to deactivate'

        c. *vestir* 'to dress'   >   *des-vestir* 'to undress'

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[8] Once again, it must be pointed out that the label *deverbal* is just used as a descriptive term, given that, as will be further examined in §3.4.3, I will put forward that *des*-prefixed verbs do not incorporate a verb, but an acategorial root.

[9] Among *des*-prefixed verbs, the ones encoding a reversative value are by far the most productive class — a class that is in principle expandable and allows neologisms, given the productivity of this prefix in the creation of reversative verbs. I have not included any list of reversative verbs, since it is an open list.

The prefixed verbs exemplified in (20) invert the process denoted by their non-prefixed counterparts (*hacer* 'to do', *activar* 'to activate', and *vestir* 'to dress'), which entails an event of change that starts in the outcome of the non-reversative event (*hecho* 'done', *activado* 'activated', and *vestido* 'dressed', respectively) and finishes in the initial situation (*no hecho* 'not done', *no activado* 'not activated' and *no vestido* 'not dressed'). From a localistic point of view, the transition involved in reversative verbs is equivalent to a Source-oriented path. Consider the following sequence of events:

(21)   1. *Los cordones de los zapatos **no están atados***.   (situation A)
       'The shoelaces are not tied'.

       2. *Juan **ata** los cordones de los zapatos.* (change from situation A to situation B)
       'Juan ties the shoelaces'.

       3. *Los cordones de los zapatos **están atados***.   (situation B)
       'The shoelaces are tied'.

       4. *Juan **desata** los cordones de los zapatos.*(change from situation B to situation A')
       'Juan unties the shoelaces'.

       5. *Los cordones de los zapatos **están desatados***.   (situation A')
       'The shoelaces are untied'.

       [Based on Grossmann 1994: 8-9]

The sequence starts with a situation A in which the shoelaces are not tied. The next step is the change from situation A to situation B: 'Juan ties the shoelaces'; and the result of this Goal-oriented change is the situation B, in which the shoelaces are tied. Then, the Source-oriented change from situation B to situation A' results in a situation A', where the shoelaces are untied, which recalls the initial situation A.

It has been argued that the fundamental characteristic of reversative verbs is that they invert a previous process, denoting the undoing of what had been previously done (Brea 1976; Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Serrano-Dolader 1995). Accordingly, it has been claimed that reversative verbs are clearly distinguished from parasynthetic ablative and privative verbs (two meanings that are closely related to that of reversion) by the fact that the former (derived from verbal bases) entail a previous event and the latter (derived from nominal bases) do not:

(22)   **Reversative verbs**

    a. *des-enterrar* 'to unearth something (previously buried)'

    b. *des-cargar* 'to unload something (previously loaded)'

(23)   **Ablative verbs**

    a. *des-terr-ar* 'to detach someone/something (#previously settled in the land) from the land'

    b. *des-tron-ar* 'to dethrone someone (#previously placed on the throne)'

(24)   **Privative verbs**

    a. *des-cabez-ar* 'to behead someone/something(#previously supplied with a head)'

    b. *des-broz-ar* 'to clear a place (#previously tilled with scrub) of scrub'

However, reversative verbs must not necessarily entail a previous process, as extensively discussed in the literature devoted to the issue (Cruse 1979; Varela & Martín García 1999; Costa 2008; *NGLE* 2009; Rodríguez Rosique 2011, 2013). One might *desenterrar* 'unearth' something previously *enterrado* 'buried', but also something which happened to be naturally buried and not as a consequence of any previous process (e.g., the root of a plant). Moreover, it is not always the case that ablative or privative verbs disallow a reading in which a previous action is entailed. As an example, it is possible to *destronar* 'dethrone' a king previously enthroned, as shown in (25a); and it is also possible to *desbrozar* 'to clear of scrub' a place which had been previously covered with scrub, as (25b) illustrates:

(25)   a. *El   joven   príncipe pretendía   des-tron-ar   a este rey   ilegítimo,*
       The young prince   intended_to from-throne-INF at that king illegitimate
       puesto en el   trono   por los traidores   de su padre.
       put   in the throne by the traitors   of his father
      'The young prince intended to dethrone that illegitimate king, who had been put in the throne by his father's traitors'.

    b. *Han   des-broz-ado   el camino   de todos   los obstáculos que*
       Have from-rubbish-PTCP   the path   from all   the obstacles   that
      les   habían   puesto.
      they.DAT   had.IMPF put
      'They have cleared the path from all the obstacles that had been put there'.

Presupposing a previous process does not seem to be an indispensable condition for a reversative verb, and it is usually the context that helps sorting out if reversion undoes a previous process or just goes back to a previous state.[10] What is focalized in reversative verbs is not the process entailed by the non-reversative event, but its resulting state (see Marchand 1973; Brea 1976; Horn 1988, 2002; and Rodríguez Rosique 2011, 2013 for the same claim). Therefore, for a *des*-reversative meaning to emerge a previous (resulting) state has to be involved, but not a previous process.

3.2.2.2. Negative verbs

Some *des*-prefixed verbs entail the negation of the verbal base. They are usually identified by paraphrases of the sort 'not <base>':

(26)   *desacatar* 'not to comply with', 'to defy' (*acatar* 'to comply with'), *desaconsejar* 'to advise against' (*aconsejar* 'to advise')[11], *desagradar* 'not to like', 'to dislike' (*agradar* 'to like'), *desatender* 'to disregard' (*atender* 'to look after'), *desaprobar* 'to disapprove' (*aprobar* 'to approve'), *desconfiar* 'to distrust' (*confiar* 'to trust'), *desconocer* 'not to know' (*conocer* 'to know'), *descreer* 'to disbelieve' (*creer* 'to believe'), *descuidar* 'to neglect' (*cuidar* 'to take care of'), *desestimar* 'not to consider', 'to dismiss' (*estimar* 'to consider'), *desfavorecer* 'to work against' (*favorecer* 'to favour'), *desobedecer* 'to disobey'

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[10] Some authors have classified reversative verbs in two classes depending on whether they entail or not the process encoded by the verbal base. Varela & Martín García (1999: 5029), for instance, classify reversative verbs into the ones that do not presuppose a previous action (*descontar* 'to discount', *desheredar* 'disinherit') and those that entail the action denoted by the verbal base (*deshacer* 'to undo', *descalzar* 'to take off the shoes', *desencuadernar* 'to unbind'). However, it is a very difficult task (maybe impossible) to find reversative verbs the meaning of which unambiguously discards a previous action (i.e., reversative verbs that cannot entail a previous action in any context). In fact, all reversative verbs seem to be ambiguous between both readings.

[11] *Desaconsejar* 'to advise against' does not exactly entail the negation of the verbal base, but the negation of the internal argument of the verb:

(i)   *Pizzarello*   *des-aconsejó*   *al jurado*   *que se*   *pronunciara*
       Pizzarello   from-advised   to_the jury   that REFL   pronounce.PST.SBJV.3SG
       por   *un veredicto*   *abierto.*
       for   a verdict   open
       'Pizzarello advised the jury against pronouncing an open verdict'.
       [*CREA*: 1988. PRENSA. *El País*, 01/10/1988]

As illustrated in (i), *desaconsejar* does not mean 'no aconsejar ['not no advise']', but 'aconsejar que no ['to advise not to']'. The behaviour of this verb recalls that of the Latin speech verbs headed by the Source prefixes *ab-*, *de-* and *dis-*, which, as noticed in chapter 6 section 6.3.1.1, encode a denying event taking scope not over the verbal base, but over the object of the verb: *ab-iuro* 'to deny on oath', *de-hortor* 'to instigate not to', and *dis-suadeo* 'to advise against'.

(*obedecer* 'to obey'), *desoír* 'to ignore' (*oír* 'to hear'), *despreciar* 'to despise' (*preciar* 'to appreciate').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

In these verbs, the source value of the prefix —which was more or less evident in the different classes of *des*-parasynthetic verbs and in the class of reversative verbs— is assimilated to that of negation. This negative meaning arises as a result of the aspectual nature of the verb, which happens to denote a stative situation (27a) or an unlimited process that persists over time (27b) (Varela & Martín García 1995: 5021; Martín García 2007: 10-11; Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 152).

(27)   a. *El   ruido   no   es más   que   aquellos sonidos que   nos   des-agradan.*
           The noise   not is more than those   sounds that we.DAT   from-like
           'Noise is nothing but the sounds that we dislike'.
           [*CREA*: 2004. PRENSA: *El Periódico Mediterráneo*, 21/05/2004]

       b. *La   masificación banal des-favorece en gran parte a la   intimidad de la*
           The manifestation banal from-favour in great part   to the privacy   of the
           poesía.
           poetry
           'Banal manifestations work against the privacy of poetry'.
           [*CREA*: 2002. PRENSA: *Espéculo. Revista de studios literarios*, 06/2003]

In the case of verbs like *desagradar* 'to dislike', given that the verbal base (in this particular case, *agradar*) is not related to any process or change, the addition of *des-* cannot result in a reversative reading. In these contexts, the value of 'direction from a Source' encoded by *des-* is interpreted in a stative way, thus expressing the non-dynamic idea of 'being away from'. To the extent that 'being away from a state' may be understood as 'not being involved in such a state', the negative meaning of these verbs is expected:

(28)   a. *desagradar* 'being away from [*agradar*]State', then 'NOT [*agradar*]State'
       b. *desconocer* 'being away from [*conocer*]State', then 'NOT [*conocer*]State'

In the same way, when the verbal base denotes a process that does not entail any change and that lacks any initial or final boundary, the addition of *des-* cannot introduce any reversative meaning, since there is no state to which the event can be reversed. These verbs correspond to the so-called *Davidsonian states* (Maienborn 2005), that is, they encode non-dynamic events consisting of homogenous processes without any definite beginning or end (see §3.3.3.2.2 for a survey of the aspectual properties of these verbs). In these cases, the Source value of the prefix is envisaged from a non-dynamic perspective, thus developing the negative value 'not' from the non-dynamic idea of 'keeping away from':

(29)   a. *desfavorecer* 'keeping away from [*favorecer*]Event', then 'NOT [*favorecer*]Event'

        b. *desobedecer* 'keeping away from [*obedecer*]Event', then 'NOT [*obedecer*]Event'

Accordingly, *des-* negative verbs do not exactly correspond to the paraphrase 'not [verb]', as noticed by Brea (1994: 113), Battaner (1996: 360), Varela & Martín García (1999: 5021), Martín García (2007: 10-11), Costa (2008: 260-161), Rodríguez Rosique (2011: 152-153), and Morera (2015), among others. The possibility of using *des-* negative prefixation to establish a contrast with propositional negation demonstrates that these two types of constructions are not synonymous (see Horn [1989] 2001: 231-252; *NGLE* 2009: 722; Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 154-155):

(30)   *No   me   agrada Juan; es más, me   des-agrada.*
        Not   me.DAT like   Juan; is more, me.DAT   from-like.3SG
        'I don't like John; in fact, I even dislike him'.
        [Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 154, (1)]

(31)   *No   sólo no   me   agrada Juan, sino que me   des-agrada.*
        Not   only not me.DAT like   Juan, but that me.DAT from-like.3SG
        'It's not only that I don't like John, but also that I dislike him'.
        [Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 155, (2)]

Prefixation by *des-* supposes a stronger way of negating a predicate than propositional negation (Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 154-155): *desagradar* not only encodes a state that does not correspond to *agradar* (contradictory negation), but it rather identifies the very

opposite state of *agradar*, that is, the state placed the farthest in a degree scale (contrary negation).[12]

It could also be argued that this sort of verbs instantiate a negative event in the sense of Fábregas & González 2016. These authors establish a crucial distinction between negated events and negative events. In negated events a particular event is intended not to take place and, therefore, there is no event. In negative events, by contrast, an event is understood to take place, although it is a negative one. This contrast is illustrated in the pair of sentences in (32):

(32) a. *No   puedes   hablar.*
           not   can.2SG   talk.INF
           'You cannot talk'.

      b. *Puedes   no hablar.*
           can.2SG   not talk.INF
           'You are allowed not to talk'.

      [Fábregas & González 2016: (13)]

In (32a), the possibility of the talking event to take place is negated. In (32b), by contrast, the negative event of not speaking is asserted to be allowed.

Des-negative verbs, however, are not instantiations of negative events. A negative event like the one exemplified in (33a) is not equivalent to the *des*-prefixed predicate included in (33b), given that both ways of conveying negation may co-appear, as in (33c); the *des*-predicate can be used to establish a contrast with the negative event, as exemplified in (33d); and, moreover, negative events license negative polarity items (33e) whereas *des*-negative verbs do not (33f):

(33) a. *El   árbitro puede   no   favorecer   al   equipo visitante.*
           the   referee can.3SG   not   favour.INF   at=the team   visiting
           'It is possible that the referee does not favour the visiting team'.
      b. *El   árbitro puede   des-favorecer   al   equipo visitante.*
           the   referee can.3SG   from-favour.INF   at=the team   visiting
           'It is possible that the referee works against the visiting team'.

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[12] See chapter 5, section 5.4.2, for an introduction to the distinction between contradictory and contrary negation (Aristotle; Horn [1989] 2001).

   c. *El   árbitro puede   no   des-favorecer al   equipo visitante.*

     the referee can.3SG   not   from-favour.INF at=the team   visiting

     'It is possible that the referee does not work against the visiting team'.

   d. *El   árbitro puede   no   favorecer   al   equipo visitante.*

     the referee can.3SG   not   favour.INF   at=the team   visiting

     Es   más,   puede   des-favorecerlo.

     is   more   can.3SG   from-favour.it.ACC

     'It is possible that the referee does not favour the visiting team. What is more,

      it is possible that he works against it'.

   e. *El   árbitro puede   no   favorecer   a   nadie.*

     the referee can.3SG   not   favour.INF   at   anyone

     'It is possible that the referee does not favour anyone'.

   f.**El   árbitro puede   des-favorecer   a   nadie.*

     the referee can.3SG   from-favour.INF   at   anyone

In (33a) the negation of *favorecer* 'to favour' is asserted, but in (33b) what is asserted is the opposite situation of *favorecer*. Hence, while (33a) asserts the complement set of *favorecer* (that is, *no favorecer* involves all the situations which do not correspond to the situation of *favorecer*), in (33b) *desfavorecer* 'to work against' asserts a subset of the complement set of *favorecer*, particularly, it asserts the set of situations opposed to the situation of *favorecer*, hence it conveys a stronger degree of opposition. The strengthening conveyed by negation through *des-*, I claim, is due to its Source value: *desfavorecer* does not only mean 'no *favorecer* ['not to favour']', but 'being away from *favorecer*'. Accordingly, *desfavorecer* not only encodes a situation that is not identified with the situation denoted by *favorecer*, but rather the very opposite situation (i.e., the situation placed the farthest in a degree scale): 'to work against'.

    Therefore, even in the case of negative verbs, where the Source value of *des-* seems to be blurred, this value is still recognizable.[13]

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[13] In between reversative verbs and negative verbs, a hybrid class of *des-*prefixed verbs has been identified in some studies (*NGLE* 2009: §10.10): the class of verbs of cessation, whose maximal exponent (and maybe its only one) is the verb *desamar* 'to stop loving' 'to hate', a verb that was productively used in Old Spanish and until the 19th century, but the attestations of which in current Spanish are very few. *Desamar* may encode the cessation of the state encoded by *amar* 'to love', as illustrated in (ii), but also the (strengthened) negation of such a state, as shown in (iii):

(ii)   *Marianne éstá enamorada de mi amo, y aún no le llegó la hora de desamarlo.*

3.2.2.3. Evaluative verbs

There are some verbs (reduced in number) that encode the realization of the event referred to by the verbal base but in an unsuitable manner. The usual paraphrase for these verbs is 'not <base> properly' or '<base> wrongly':

(34)   *desaprovechar* 'to waste' (*aprovechar* 'to make the most of'), *desgobernar* 'to misgovern' (*gobernar* 'to govern'), *desinformar* 'to misinform' (*informar* 'to inform').

<div align="right">[Data extracted from Clave and DRAE (2014)]</div>

The semantic contribution of the prefix in verbs of this sort seems to be that of negative evaluation. For example, the unprefixed verb *informar* 'to inform' may be used in neutral statements, as in (35), to describe a situation in which an *informar* process takes place. The prefixed verb *desinformar* 'to misinform', however, always involves an evaluative meaning by means of which the action of *informar* is judged as wrongly performed, as (36) illustrates:

(35)   *Los   periódicos   informan   de la   actualidad.*
         The   newspapers   inform.3PL   of the   present
         'The newspapers inform about current affairs'.
         [*Wordreference* Spanish-English; s.v. *informar*]

'Marianne is in love with my boss, and the moment hasn't come yet that she stops loving him'.
[*CORDE*: 1963. Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, *Don Juan*]

(iii)   *Lo que ama alaba y engrandece, y vitupera aquello que des-ama.*
         'He praises and elevates what he loves, and he vituperates what he hates'.
         [*CORDE*: 1634. Lope de Vega: *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*]

In (ii) *desamar* is a transition event and expresses the end of a loving situation. In contrast, *desamar* is a state in (iii), where it denotes the emotion opposite to love (that is, hate). I do not posit a class of cessation verbs to encompass the cessation value of this verb, given that the cessation meaning of *desamar* emerges from a structure that is basically the same that accommodates the class of reversative verbs (see section 3.4.3.1) That *desamar* does not entail a reversative meaning although involving the same structure as reversative verbs is explained by the fact that the lexical root it incorporates denotes a stative situation unable to be reversed.

(36)   *Precisamente por eso no   deja   ir   a los   periodistas,   porque*
       Precisely   for this not allows go   to the.PL journalists   because

       alguno   se   dedica   a   des-informar, en lugar de   a   informar.
       someone REFL dedicate to   from-inform, in place of   to   inform

       'This is why he does'nt allow journalists to go, because some of them are
       devoted to misinforming rather than to informing'.

       [http://www.lavanguardia.com/deportes/futbol/20160311/40368962520/luis-
       enrique-periodista-periscope.html. 11/03/2016]

It must be noticed that a class with only three members cannot be considered a productive class. Besides, two of the verbs that conform this "class" can be considered members of other classes. Hence, the verb *desaprovechar* 'to waste' could be classified as a negative verb (see section 3.2.2.2), since it identifies the very opposite (non-dynamic) event to that of *aprovechar* 'take advantage of' and involves its negation ('to waste' involves 'not to take advantage of' or 'not to make the most of').[14] The negative evaluation meaning is but a pragmatic inference: since the non-prefixed verb *aprovechar* 'take advantage of'/'make the most of' encodes events that are usually positively evaluated by speakers, the *des-* prefixed verb *desaprovechar* 'to waste', which identifies the very opposite kind of event, is negatively evaluated by speakers.[15] As for *desgobernar* 'to misgovern', its basic meaning is 'to undo the right government' (*DRAE* 2014), a meaning that seems to correspond to the basic value of reversative *des-*prefixed verbs, which encode the reversion of the state identified by the verbal base. The negative evaluation that *desgobernar* involves, thus, could also be considered a pragmatic inference: if a ruler undoes the right government of a country, s/he is understood not to govern properly and, therefore, to misgovern. Therefore, it seems that the "class" of evaluative *des-*prefixed verbs has been reduced to a unique member: *desinformar*, a verb that constitutes an idiosyncrasy in Spanish. Accordingly, I will not take into consideration so-called evaluative verbs in my analysis, since they do not constitute a proper class (see also Serrano-Dolader 2011: 272, for the view that the evaluative meaning that these verbs express is not due to the prefix, and that it is rather to be considered a lexicalized value that cannot be deduced from the structure).

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[14] As presented in section 3.2.2.2, the *des-* verbs that I call *negative* verbs are necessarily non-dynamic. See section 3.3.3.2.2 for an examination of the lexical aspect these verbs involve.

[15] See chapter 5, section 5.4.2, for the link existing between contrary opposition and negative evaluation.

3.2.2.4. Intensive verbs

Finally, in many of the works devoted to the study of *des-* (Alemany Bolufer 1919, Leal Cruz 1989-1990, Vañó-Cerdá 1990, Torres Martínez 2006, Martín García 2007, Rodríguez Rosique 2011), a fourth class of deverbal *des-* prefixed verbs has been acknowledged, which is that in which the prefix seems to act as a mere intensifier of the meaning of the verbal base:

(37)   *descambiar* 'to swap, to exchange' (*cambiar* 'to change'), *desechar* 'to discard' 'to dismiss' (*echar* 'to throw out'), *desfallecer* 'to give out' 'to faint' (*fallecer* 'to die', 'to pass away'), *desgastar* 'to wear away' (*gastar* 'to wear' 'to use up'), *destajar* 'to cut' (*tajar* 'to cut').

<div align="right">[Data extracted from Clave and DRAE (2014)][16]</div>

As asserted by Serrano-Dolader (2011: 272), most of these verbs, very infrequent in current Spanish, codify lexicalized meanings and do not reflect any structurally relevant pattern (see Torres Martínez 2006 for a historical study of the intensive meaning of *des-* that also leads to the same conclusion). Therefore, I will not provide an analysis of these verbs, since they are opaque entities and constitute idiosyncrasies.[17]

3.3. Properties of *des*-prefixed verbs

3.3.1. Relative order of prefixes in multi-prefixed verbs

Des- may be directly attached to non-prefixed items in order to create a new verb:

(38)   a. *cabeza*_N 'head'   >   *des-cabez-ar*_V 'to behead'
        b. *bravo*_A 'wild'   >   *des-brav-ar*_V 'to tame'
        c. *tejer*_V 'to weave'   >   *des-tejer*_V 'to unweave'

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[16] Vañó-Cerdá 1990 offers a more extensive list, although the vast majority of the verbs he lists are archaic or popular forms not attested in *Clave* or *DRAE* (2014), as, e.g., *desinquietar* 'to disquiet'.

[17] However, the study of these formations from a diachronic point of view taking into consideration the change from a satellite-framed pattern (Latin) to a verb-framed one (Romance, and Spanish in particular) could provide further information with regard to the structural properties of the prefix *des-* and its Latin predecessors. The diachronic study of these formations from this typological perspective is an issue that I leave for future research.

In addition, it is possible to attach *des-* to items already prefixed with *a-* and *en-*, two Spanish prefixes used to create parasynthetic verbs that usually encode the entry or arrival to a new state:

(39)   a. *a-nud-ar* 'to tie' 'to knot' >   *des-a-nud-ar* 'to untie'

       b. *en-caden-ar* 'to chain'   >   *des-en-caden-ar* 'to unchain'

Therefore, the Source-oriented prefix *des-* may co-appear with the Goal-oriented prefixes *a-* and *en-*. Crucially, however, in the stacking of these prefixes, *des-* always occupies the most external position, as illustrated in (40):

(40)   a. *a-boton-ar*   *des-boton-ar*   *des-a-boton-ar*   **a-des-boton-ar*

          'to button up'   'to strip the button off'   'to unbutton'   --

       b. *en-terr-ar*   *des-terr-ar*   *des-en-terr-ar*   **en-des-terr-ar*

          'to bury'   'to exile'   'to unearth'   --

It is worth noticing that *des-* cannot co-appear with other Source-oriented prefixes (as (41) illustrates),[18] and that it cannot be iterated either (which is shown in (42)).

(41)   a. *ex-comulgar*   *des-comulgar*   **des-ex-comulgar/*ex-des-comulgar*

          'to excommunicate'   'to excommunicate'   ---   ---

       b. *dis-placer*   *des-placer*   **des-dis-placer/ *dis-des-placer*

          'to displease'   'to displease'   ---   ---

       c. *de-calcificar*   *des-calcificar*   **des-de-calcificar/*de-des-calcificar*

          'to decalcify'   'to decalcify'   ---   ---

(42)   a. *des-carril-ar* 'to derail'   >   **des-des-carril-ar*

       b. *des-pedaz-ar* 'to tear appart'   >   **des-des-pedaz-ar*

       c. *des-coser* 'to unstitch'   >   **des-des-coser*

       d. *des-agradar* 'to dislike'   >   **des-des-agradar*

Besides, the Goal-oriented prefixes *a-* and *en-* cannot co-appear in the same verb, as exemplified below:

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[18]The other Source-oriented prefixes available in Spanish apart from *des-*, are the Latinate prefixes *ex-*, *dis-* and *de-*, mainly found in words inherited directly from Latin or in technical terms.

(43)   a. *a-carton-ar(se)*   *en-carton-ar*   **a-en-carton-ar(se)/*en-a-carton-ar(se)*

       'to (make) become   'to cover with

       stiff'   cardboard'

     b. *a-bols-ar(se)*   *em-bols-ar*   **a-em-bols-ar(se)/*en-a-bols-ar(se)*

       'to become baggy' 'to put in a bag'

In section 3.4.4, I will provide a syntactic account of the order in which directional prefixes appear when they stack that also derives the impossibility for two Source prefixes, or two Goal ones, to co-appear.

3.3.2. Argument structure

It is fundamental to determine whether it is possible or not to establish certain regularities among the argument structure configurations in which *des-* prefixed verbs appear. To this end, the different structural behaviour deployed by the different classes of *des-* prefixed verbs distinguished in section 3.2 needs being examined.

3.3.2.1. Parasynthetic verbs

Des- parasynthetic verbs share certain regularities with regard to their argument structure configurations. To start with, all of them require the presence of an internal argument the referent of which is the entity undergoing the change of state encoded by the verb. The internal argument of these verbs usually emerges in the syntax as a direct object, which entails a transitive functioning. Some *des*-parasynthetic verbs, however, license the causative alternation and thus allow their internal argument to emerge in the syntax either as a direct object (in which case the verb behaves as transitive) or as the subject (which implies an unaccusative use of the verb), as illustrated in (44), (45) and (46). The sentences in (44a), (45a) and (46a) are transitive-causative and have an external argument acting as a causing subject and an internal argument acting as the direct object. In the sentences in (44b), (45b) and (46b) —the unaccusative-anticausative counterparts of the above ones— the internal argument emerges as the subject of the clause, which involves the addition of the reflexive clitic *se* to the verb:

(44)   a. *Marcel ha   des-vi-ado   el   balón.*
          Marcel has from-path-PTCP the   ball
          'Marcel has deflected the ball'.

       b. *El   balón se   ha   des-vi-ado.*
          the ball   REFL   has   from-path-PTCP
          'The ball has changed its course'.

(45)   a. *Judith ha   des-hoj-ado   una   margarita.*
          Judith has   from-leaf.PTCP a   daisy
          'Judith has pulled the petals off the daisy'.

       b. *La   margarita   se   ha   des-hoj-ado.*
          the daisy   REFL   has   from-leaf-PTCP
          'The daisy has lost its petals'.

(46)   a. *He   des-menuz-ado   las galletas   para   hacer un pastel.*
          have.1SG   from-crumble-PTCP   the cookies   to   make a cake
          'I have crumbled the cookies to make a cake'.

       b. *Las galletas se   han   des-menuz-ado   (tras caerse   al suelo).*
          the   cookies REFL   have.3PL from-crumble-PTCP after fall.INF.REFL to.the ground
          'The cookies have crumbled (after falling to the ground)'.

A Figure-Ground relationship is established between the internal argument and the root of *des*-parasynthetic verbs. In ablative and privative verbs, this Figure-Ground articulation seems quite clear: ablative verbs, like *desmoldar* 'to remove from its mould' (cf. (47)), express the detachment of the entity referred to by the internal argument (conceived of as a Figure) from the entity referred to by the root (conceived of as a Source Ground). In privative verbs, this Figure-Ground relationship is conceptually inverted, given that these are verbs, such as *deshuesar* 'to bone' (cf. 48), that encode the removal of the entity referred to by the root (conceived of as a Figure) from the entity referred to by the internal argument (conceived of as a Source Ground):

(47)   *Julia   ha   des-mold-ado   la tarta.*   (cf. *molde* 'mould')
       Julia   has   from-moul-ptcp   the cake
       'Julia has removed the cake from its mould'.

(48) *El carnicero   ha des-hues-ado   el   pollo.*   (cf. *hueso* 'bone')

       the butcher   has from-bone-ptcp   the chicken

       'The butcher has boned the chicken'.

In sum, and as previously pointed out (see section 3.2.1.1 and section 3.2.1.2), ablative and privative verbs are the Source-oriented counterparts of the so-called *location* and *locatum* verbs (Clark & Clark 1979), respectively, two closely related types of verbs that have attracted the attention of many linguists concerned with argument structure issues (cf. Pinker 1989; Jackendoff 1990; Labelle 1992, 2000; Hale & Keyser 1998; Mateu 2001a, 2002, 2008; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán & Real-Puigdollers 2015). The main controversy of this sort of verbs in terms of thematic roles is the fact that ablative/location verbs as well as privative/locatum ones feature an internal argument conceived of as the entity affected by the verbal action (i.e., a Patient or Undergoer) that happens to be a Figure or Theme ("the object in motion or being located"; cf. Jackendoff 1990: 46) in ablative/location verbs, but a Ground or Reference Object in privative/locatum ones —particularly, a Source ("the object from which motion proceeds"; cf. Jackendoff 1990: 46) in privative verbs and a Goal ("the object to which motion proceeds"; cf. Jackendoff 1990: 47) in locatum ones.[19] Jackendoff (1990: 125-130) solves this puzzle by assuming that syntactic arguments may play more than one role: one in the *thematic tier* (concerned with spatial relations) and another in the *action tier* (concerned with affectedness relations). From that perspective, the internal argument of the ablative/location verb in (47), which is *la tarta* 'the cake', would be taken as a Patient affected by the verbal action but also as a Theme (or Figure) changing its location; and in (48) the internal argument of the privative/locatum verb *deshuesar* 'to bone', which is *el pollo* 'the chicken', would be conceived of both as a Patient undergoing change of state (from having to not having bones) and as the Source from which the bones are removed. However, from a localist perspective as the one embraced by Jackendoff (1990: 25-27), events of change of state are an instantiation of motion

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[19] The conceptual inversion of roles in ablative/location and privative/locatum verbs had also been noticed in Pottier's (1962: 198-202) structuralist approach to parasynthetic verbs. This author proposed a distinction between internal and external parasynthetis. According to this distinction, ablative verbs like *desterrar* 'to exile' would be cases of internal parasynthesis in which the prefix selects the lexical root as a complement; while privative verbs like *desplumar* 'to pluck' would be instantiations of the external parasynthesis procedure, in which the prefix does not take the lexical root as a complement, but the internal argument of the verb. This distinction, however, has been rejected for its being based on certain paraphrases of these verbs and for being unable to account for the different semantic subclasses existing among parasynthetic verbs (see Serrano-Dolader 1995).

events: in change of state events the entity undergoing change must be considered a Theme moving from one state to another state. Hence, and as similarly pointed out by Labelle (2000) with regard to locatum verbs, it does not make sense, in a localist theory, to consider that the Patient argument is different from the Theme one in locatum (and privative) verbs, given that in these verbs the internal argument undergoes a change of state and, accordingly, it can be understood as a Theme moving through an abstract path from one state to another one.

Moreover, and as noticed in section 3.2.1.2, it is not always altogether clear if a given verb entails an ablative or a privative meaning, as is the case of, for instance, *despistar* 'to distract', that may be understood either as 'to detach from the *pista* ['trail/clue']' (the ablative reading) or as 'to make lose the *pista* ['trail/clure']' (the privative reading). For all these reasons, and in accordance with Labelle (2000), Mateu (2001a, 2002), Acedo-Matellán (2006a), Gibert Sotelo (2015c) and Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2015), I assume that the lexical roots of the different semantic subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs must be understood as predicates and, more precisely, as states (see section 3.4.2.2 for a formalization of this idea). Accordingly, I argue that ablative verbs and privative ones involve the same argument structure configuration, in which the internal argument corresponds to a Figure (or Theme) that departs from the state associated to the root: in the case of (47), for instance, the internal argument *la tarta* 'the cake' departs from its prior state of being in the mould; and in the case of (48), the internal argument *el pollo* 'the chicken' undergoes a change of state by means of which it stops having bones (see section 3.4.2 for an analysis).

That both ablative verbs and privative ones contain a root structurally identified with a Source is demonstrated by the fact that, in both cases, when the root is duplicated by a cognate constituent, this constituent always corresponds to a PP headed by the Source-oriented preposition *de*:

(49) *A Lope de Vega   lo des-terr-aron   de   la   corte*.   (Ablative)
      at Lope de Vega ACC from-land-PRF.3PL   from the court
      'Lope de Vega was exiled from the court'.
      [*Clave* dictionary, s.v. *desterrar*]

(50)   *El académico ha des-pioj-ado   el texto <u>de   parásitos</u>.*   (Privative)
         the scholar   has from-louse-PTCP   the text from   parasites
         'The scholar has deloused the text from parasites'.
         [*CREA*: 2004. PRENSA. *La Razón digital*, 22/04/2004]

In sum, I stand up for considering that in *des-* parasynthetic verbs the prefix imposes its argumental requirements to the resulting prefixed verb, giving rise to causative transitive verbs in which a Figure-Source relationship is articulated between the internal argument of the derived verb, conceived of as a changing Figure, and the root, understood as the initial state of a transition.

3.3.2.2. Deverbal verbs
3.3.2.2.1. Reversative verbs

With regard to *des-* deverbal verbs, it is compelling to elucidate whether the addition of the prefix involves changes in the argument structure configurations of the unprefixed verb.

In the case of reversative verbs, it has been argued that the prefix does not modify the argument structure of the verb to which it is attached (cf. Varela & Martín García 1999), so that when *des-* is attached to a transitive verb in order to reverse its inherent direction, the resulting verb is also a transitive one:

(51)   a. *Mi abuela   ha cosido   la manga   del   jersey.*
            My grandmother   has stitched   the sleeve   of=the jersey
             'My grandmother has stitched the sleeve of the jersey'.
         b. *Mi abuela   ha   des-cosido   la manga   del   jersey.*
            My grandmother   has   from-stitched the sleeve   of=the jersey
             'My grandmother has unstitched the sleeve of the jersey'.

It must be noticed, however, that the prefix *des-* shows a clear preference for being involved in transitive predicates. Accordingly, verbs like *andar* 'to walk' or *correr* 'to run' only allow being prefixed by *des-* in their transitive uses (cf. (52b, d) and (53b, d), but not in their intransitive (unergative) ones (cf. (52a, c) and (53a, c)), as exemplified below:

(52)   a. *Valentina anduvo toda la   tarde.*
      Valentina walked all   the afternoon
      'Valentina walked all afternoon'.

     b. *Hemos   andado el camino   en menos   de una hora.*
      Have.1PL   walked the path   in less   of one hour
      'We have walked the path in less than one hour'.

     c. *Núria corrió   más   deprisa que   de costumbre.*
      Núria run.PST.3SG more   fast   than   of habit
      'Núria ran faster than usual'.

     d. *Correré   las cortinas   porque   me   molesta   la luz.*
      run.FUT.1SG the curtains   because   1SG.DAT disturb.3SG   the light
      'I will draw the curtains because the light disturbs me'.

(53)   a. **Valentina des-anduvo   toda   la   tarde*.
      Valentina   retraced   all   the afternoon

     b. *Hemos   des-andado   el camino en   menos de una hora.*
      Have.1PL   from-walked   the path   in   less   of one hour
      'We have retraced the path in less than one hour'.

     c. **Núria des-corrió   más   deprisa que   de costumbre.*
      Núria   went_back   more   fast   than   of habit

     d. *Des-correré   las cortinas   para   que   entre   la luz.*
      from-run.FUT.1SG the curtains   to   that enter.SBJV.3SG   the light
      'I will draw back the curtains to let the light in'.

More crucially, the addition of *des-* to certain intransitive verbs may result in their transitivization, as is the case of *mentir* 'to lie' and *arraigar* 'to put down roots', two intransitive verbs that turn into the transitive *desmentir* 'to deny' 'to refute' and *desarraigar* 'to uproot' when prefixed by *des-*:

(54)   a. *El   acusado mintió durante el   interrogatorio.*
      the accused lied   during the   interrogation
      'The accused lied during the interrogation'.

a'. *El acusado des-mintió   durante el   interrogatorio.

the   accused denied   during   the   interrogation

b. *El acusado ha des-mentido su   participación en el   delito.*

the accused has from-lied   his   involvement   in the   crime

'The accused has denied being involved in the crime'.

(55)   a. *El árbol   ha arraigado muy bien.*

the tree   has rooted   very well

'The tree has rooted very well'.

a'. **El árbol   ha   des-arraigado muy bien.*

the tree   has   uprooted   very well

b. *Han   des-arraigado el árbol porque se   estaba muriendo.*

have.3PL   from-rooted   the tree because REFL was   dying

'They have uprooted the tree because it was dying'.

Some intransitive *des*-reversative verbs are also attested, although they involve an internal argument subject. As illustrated below, *aparecer* 'to appear' as well as its reversative counterpart, *desaparecer* 'to disappear,' are unaccusative predicates:

(56)   a. *El   joven   apareció   de repente.*

the   young appeared.3SG suddenly

'The young man appeared suddenly'.

b. *El   joven   des-apareció   de repente.*

the   young from-appeared.3SG   suddenly

'The young man disappeared suddenly'.

Finally, it is usually the case that the addition of *des*- to a verb in order to encode a reversative value does not give rise to an entirely new argument structure, but entails a change in the preposition heading the PP governed by certain verbs. In fact, some verbs like those exemplified in (57), select a PP object headed by a specific preposition:

(57) a. *Cada día se   apega   más   **a** esta ciudad.*
      every day REFL attach.3SG   more   to this city
      'He's becoming more attached to this city every day'.
      [*Clave* dictionary; s.v. *apegarse*]

  b. *Se ha   encariñado   **con**   el perro.*
    REFLhas   grow_fond_of.PTCP   with   the dog
    'He has grown fond of the dog'.

  c. *Finalmente te   has hecho   **con** un coche nuevo.*
    eventually REFL   has done   with a car   new
    'Eventually you have obtained the new car'.

When *des-* is added to verbs selecting a specific preposition, the preposition they select changes into the Source-oriented preposition *de*:

(58) a. *Cada día se   des-apega   más   **de**   esta   ciudad.*
      every day REFL from-attach.3SG more   from   this   city
      'He's becoming more detached from this city every day'.

  b. *No logra   des-encariñarse   **del**   perro.*
    not can   from-grow_fomd_of.REFL   of.the dog
    'He can't detach himself from the dog'.

  c. *Finalmente te   has   des-hecho   **del**   coche viejo.*
    eventually REFL   has   from-done   of.the car   old
    'Eventually you have got rid of your old car'.

It seems, thus, that the creation of reversative verbs by means of *des-* prefixation usually results in a configuration featuring an internal argument, and imposes a Figure-Source schema that entails the replacement of the preposition governed by certain verbs for the Source-oriented preposition *de*.

3.3.2.2.2. Negative verbs

The change of the preposition selected by the verbal root in prepositional objects is also attested in *des*-deverbal verbs conveying a negative meaning (i.e., the so-called *negative verbs*; see section 3.2.2.2):

(59)   a. *Jorge confía **en** ti.*
          Jorge trusts in you
          'Jorge trusts you'.

        b. *Creemos   **en**   tu   palabra.*
          believe.1PL in   your   word
          'We believe in your word'.

(60)   a. *Jorge des-confía   **de** ti.*
          Jorge from-trusts   of you
          'Jorge distrusts you'.

        b. *Des-creemos **de** tu   palabra.*
          from-believe of your word
          'We disbelieve in your word'.

Such a change is not licensed by the simple propositional negation of these verbs:

(61)   a. *Jorge no   confía **en** ti.*
          Jorge not   trusts in you
          'Jorge doesn't trust you'.

        a'. **Jorge no   confía **de** ti.*
          Jorge   not trusts of you

        b. *No   creemos **en**   tu   palabra.*
          not believe in   your   word
          'We don't believe in your word'.

        b'. **No creemos **de**   tu   palabra.*
          not believe of   your   word

In some cases, the contrast existing between *des*-negative verbs and their non-prefixed counterparts with regard to the arguments with which they co-appear has to do with their subject's agentivity (Costa 2008: 143; Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 156). Hence, while the subjects of the unprefixed verbs *acatar* 'to comply with', *obedecer* 'to obey' or *oír* 'to hear' hold a low degree of agentivity (one may *acatar*, *obedecer* or *oír* without willing to), the subjects of the prefixed counterparts *desacatar* 'to defy', *desobedecer* 'to disobey' and *desoír* 'to ignore', act as volitional agents. The simple propositional negation of these predicates does not show the same degree of agentivity:

(62)   a. *Este sistema no   obedece   el patrón   regular.*
          This system not   obeys   the pattern   regular
          'This system doesn't obey the regular pattern'.

       b. *#Este sistema des-obedece el   patrón regular.*
          This system dis-obeys   the   pattern regular
          'This system disobeys the regular pattern'.

(63)   a. *Pedro no   oye   el ruido   del   motor.*
          Pedro not   hears   the noise   of.the engine
          'Pedro can't hear the noise of the engine'.

       b. *#Pedro des-oye   el ruido   del   motor.*
          Pedro ignores   the noise   of.the engine
          'Pedro ignores the noise of the engine'.

In (62b), *desobedecer* 'to disobey' is rejected because of the non agentivity of the subject *este sistema*, the referent of which is an inanimate entity without volition; although the very same context allows the propositional negation of the verbal base (62a). The difference between propositional negation and prefixation with *des-* is pretty clear in (63), where the choice of one option or the other results in two completely different meanings. While *no oír* (63a) means 'to be unable to hear something', thus invoking a situation with an experiencer subject that lacks any kind of volitionality; *desoír* expresses a volitional act in which an agentive subject decides not to hear something. The oddity of (63b), however, is not due to the subject *Pedro*, the referent of which is an animate entity able to act volitionally, but to the type of internal argument

with which it appears: *el ruido del motor* 'the noise of the engine'. *No oír* may appear with any sort of internal argument the referent of which corresponds to a sound. On the contrary, *desoír* only combines with internal arguments denoting a specific kind of sound: the speech of a volitional entity uttered to influence the subject.[20] Consequently, one may *desoír un consejo* 'ignore a piece of advice', *desoír una petición* 'ignore a request', *desoír una protesta* 'ignore a protest', etc.; but *desoír el ruido del motor* 'to ignore the noise of the engine' is an odd predicate, given that the noise of the engine does not correspond to a sound produced by a volitional being.

This contrast between propositional negation and negation by *des-* provides further evidence in favour of the claim (explicitly stated along this dissertation) that constructions headed by *des-* always entail a Source value rather than a raw negative value, even in the cases where the negative paraphrase is most saliently available, and that *des-* imposes a Figure-Source schema to the constructions it heads.

3.3.3. Lexical aspect of *des-* prefixed verbs

3.3.3.1. Parasynthetic verbs

The different subclasses of *des-* parasynthetic verbs can be claimed to express a telic Source-oriented event of change by means of which a certain Figure is detached from a certain Source. The telicity of these verbs surfaces when they are submitted to the standard telicity tests.

The examples in (64) show that ablative (64a), privative (64b), decreasing property (64c) and destruction (64d) verbs always admit a temporal modifier introduced by *in* but not introduced by *for*, which shows that these verbs do not encode unbounded processes but delimited transitions:

(64)   a. *Una tarta   se   des-mold-a   en   medio minuto* /
            a   cake   REFL   from-mould-PRS.3SG   in   half   minute

            *durante   medio minuto.   (Ablative)
            for   half   minute

         'A cake is removed from its mould in half a minute/ *for half a minute'.

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[20] Actually, the internal argument of *desoír* does not need to denote a sound, as it is even possible *desoír órdenes escritas* 'to ignore written orders'. See §3.3.4.2.2 for an account of this particularity.

b. *El   cocinero   des-cabez-ó   la   perdiz   en un minuto /*

    the   cook   from-head-pst.3sg   the   partridge   in one minute

    *durante   un   minuto.   (Privative)

    for   one   minute

    'The cook beheaded the partridge in a minute/ *for one minute'.

c. *El   mar se   des-brav-ó   en un día / *durante un día.* (Decr. Prop.)

    the   sea REFL from-brave-PST3SG in one day   for   one day

    'The sea lost its strength in a day/ *for a day '.

d. *Des-mig-ó   el bacalao   en cinco minutos /   ?durante*

    from-crumb-PST.3SG   the cod   in five minutes   for

    cinco minutos. [21]   (Destruction)

    five   minutes

    'He flaked the cod in five minutes / ?for five minutes'.

Another test to distinguish telic events is the entailment of the so-called *imperfective paradox* (Dowty 1979). Given that the use of the different classes of *des*-parasynthetic verbs in the progressive does not entail the realization of the events they encode (i.e., *des*- parasynthetic verbs give rise to the imperfective paradox), it follows that these verbs are telic. For example, (65a) does not entail (65a'), given that if the event of *desmoldar* 'to remove from its mould' was interrupted during the course of its realization, one could not assert that the *desmoldar* event was realized. The same observation holds for the other examples of (65):

(65)   a. *Los niños   estaban des-mold-ando   la tarta.*   (Ablative)

       the   children   were   from-mould-GER   the cake

       'The children were removing the cake from the mould'.

    a'. *Los niños   des-mold-aron   la tarta.*

       the   children   from-mould-PST.3PL the cake

       'The children removed the cake from its mould'.

---

[21] Some speakers admit the *for*-modifier with *desmigar* 'to flake' (74d), since the processes this verb denotes is durative. However, all the speakers allow *in*-modification with this verb, thus making evident that in spite of the fact that *desmigar* may involve a durative reading, it is always understood as a delimited event.

b. *El   cocinero   estaba des-cabez-ando   la   perdiz.* (Privative)

the   cook   was   from-head-GER   the   partridge

'The cook was beheading the partridge'.

b'. *El   cocinero   des-cabez-ó   la   perdiz.*

the   cook   from-head-PST.3SG   the   partridge

'The cook beheaded the partridge'.

c. *El   mar   se   estaba des-brav-ando.*   (Decreasing property)

the   sea   REFL   was   from-brave-GER

'The see was loosing its strength'

c'. *El   mar   se   des-brav-ó.*

the   sea   REFL   from-brave-PST.3SG

'The see lost its strength'.

d. *Estaba   des-mig-ando   el   bacalao.*   (Destruction)

was   from-crumb-GER   the   cod

'He was flaking the cod'.

d'. *Des-mig-ó   el bacalao.*

from-crumb-PST.3SG   the cod

'He flaked the cod'.

3.3.3.2. Deverbal verbs

3.3.3.2.1. Reversative verbs

Among deverbal *des-* prefixed verbs, those encoding a reversative event are always telic, as has been noticed in the literature (Martín García 2007; Serrano-Dolader 2011; Rodríguez Rosique 2011, 2013). In fact, reversative verbs accept temporal modification by *in*-adverbials, but not by *for*-adverbials:

(66)   a. *Este artificiero   des-activa   las   bombas   en cinco*

this explosives_expert   from-activates the   bombs   in five

minutos/   *durante   cinco   minutos.

minutes   for   five   minutes

'This explosives expert defuses the bombs in five minutes/ *for five minutes'.

b. *Des-hice   el   malentendido   en dos horas/ *durante dos   horas.*

from-did   the   misunderstanding   in two hours   for   two   hours

'I solved the misunderstanding in two hours/ *for two hours.

c. *Des-ordenó   mi habitación en pocos minutos /?durante pocos minutos.*

from-ordered my room   in few   minutes   for   few   minutes

'He/she made a mess of my room in a few minutes/ ?for a few minutes.'

In addition, the very same verbs give rise to the imperfective paradox when they appear in the progressive, so neither (67a) entails (67a'), nor (67b) entails (67b'), and (67c) does not entail (67c') either:

(67)   a. *Este artificiero   estaba des-activando   la bomba.*

this explosives_expert   was   from-activating   the bomb

'This explosives expert was defusing the bomb'.

a'. *Este artificiero   des-activó   la bomba.*

this explosives_expert   from-activated the bomb

'This explosives-expert defused the bomb'.

b. *Estaba   des-haciendo el   malentendido.*

was.1SG   from-doing   the   misunderstanding

'I was solving the misunderstanding'.

b'. *Des-hice   el   malentendido.*

from-did   the   misunderstanding

'I solved the misunderstanding'.

c. *Estaba   des-ordenando mi habitación.*

was.3SG   from-ordering my room

'He was making a mess of my room'.

c'. *Des-ordenó   mi habitación.*

From-ordered   my room

'He made a mess of my room'.

In fact, certain verbs which usually denote atelic processes but that in certain contexts allow for a telic reading, such as *andar* 'to walk', when headed by *des-* are only available in their telic uses. As exemplified in (68), the non-prefixed *andar* 'to walk'

may be used in atelic contexts, (cf. 68a), as well as in telic ones (cf. 68b). However, as shown in (69), the *des*-reversative verb *desandar* 'to retrace' disallows atelic readings. The prefix *des-*, thus, imposes a telic reading to the predicates in which it appears.

(68)   a. *Han   andado por   el camino   que   lleva   a casa* (**en   media*
            have.3pl   walked along the path   that   leads   at home in   half
            hora/ durante media hora).
            hour for   half   hour
            'They have walked along the way that leads home (*in half an hour/ for half an hour)'.

       b. *Han   andado el camino   que   lleva   a casa   (en media*
            have.3pl   walked the path   that   leads   at home   in half
            hora/ *durante media hora).
            hour   for   half   hour
            'They have walked the way that leads home (in half an hour/ *for half an hour)'.

(69)   a. **Han   des-andado   por   el camino   que   lleva   a casa.*
            have.3pl   retraced   along   the path   that   leads   at home

       b. *Han   des-andado   el camino   que   lleva   a casa.*
            have.3pl   from-walked   the path   that   leads   at home
            'They have retraced the way that leads home'.

3.3.3.2.2. Negative verbs

As previously pointed out in section 3.2.2.2, *des-* prefixed verbs encoding a negative value always involve a non-dynamic reading. The atelicity of these verbs is made clear when they are submitted to the most standard test of (a)telicity: modification by *in-* and *for-* adverbials. These verbs disallow their temporal modification by *in*-adverbials, but they may be modified by *for*-adverbials:

(70) a. *Ramón   des-conoció   su   enfermedad   *en   ocho meses/*
    Ramón   from-knew   his   illness   in   eight months

    durante   ocho meses.
    for   eight months

    'Ramón was unaware of his illness *in eight months/ for eight months'.

b. *El   niño   des-obedeció a   sus   padres *en   una semana/*
    the child   from-obeyed   at   his.pl   parents in   one week

    durante   una semana.
    for   one week

    'The child disobeyed his parents *in one week/ for one week'.

Negative verbs fall in two different subclasses with regard to their aspectual behaviour. Some of them encode pure states (or Kimian states), as is the case of *desagradar* 'to dislike', *desaprobar* 'to disapprove', or *desconocer* 'not to know' (the non-prefixed counterparts of which correspond to the stative verbs *agradar* 'to like', *aprobar* 'to approve' and *conocer* 'to know', respectively). These verbs show their stative nature when submitted to the standard stativity tests.[22] Hence, none of them admit velocity adverbs, like *rápidamente* 'rapidly' or *lentamente* 'slowly', as modifiers, since only dynamic events may be measured out by velocity adverbs of this kind:

(71) a. **Me   desagradan   las acelgas   rápidamente.*
        I.DAT   dislike   the Swiss_chard   rapidly

b. **El padre   de Roberto   desaprueba   rápidamente   su conducta.*
    the father of Roberto   disapproves   rapidly   his behaviour

c. **Desconozco   el motivo   de su enfado   lentamente.*
    not_know   the cause   of his annoyance   slowly

In addition, these verbs disallow progressive periphrases in Spanish, which demonstrates that they lack any event variable:

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[22]For an exhaustive recollection of the most useful stativity tests, see Fábregas & Marín (2012) and (in press). See also Jaque (2014, 2017).

(72) a. *Me   están   desagradando las acelgas.²³
         I.DAT   be.3PL disliking   the Swiss chard'.

      b. *El padre   de Roberto está desaprobando su conducta.
         the father   of Roberto is   disapproving   his behaviour'.

      c. *Estoy   desconociendo el motivo   de su enfado.
         am   not_knowing the cause   of his annoyance'.

However, the largest amount of *des-* prefixed verbs expressing a negative value correspond to the class of Davidsonian states. The characteristic of these verbs is that they encode a process that persists over time and does not entail any change. Therefore, these predicates cannot be classified as pure states (since they involve an event variable), but they cannot be classified as activities either (given that the event that they denote corresponds to the maintenance of a homogeneous situation). The status of these verbs as Davidsonian states is evidenced when they are submitted to the tests gathered by Fábregas & Marín (in press) to identify this sort of predicates. Thus, for example, *des-* negative verbs that express Davidsonian states cannot be modified by adverbs of velocity such as *rápidamente* 'rapidly' or *lentamente* 'slowly', given that a homogeneous situation cannot be judged as fast or slow. This incompatibility shows that they differ from the aspectual class of activities and are closer to the aspectual class of states (since states, as previously mentioned, disallow this type of modifiers):

(73) a. *Pedro   desobedeció al   profesor lentamente.
         Pedro   disobeyed   at.the teacher slowly'.

      b. *El equipo desoye rápidamente los consejos del   entrenador.
         the team   ignores rapidly   the advices   of.the coach'.

      c. *Esta ley   desfavorece   a los pensionistas rápidamente.
         this   law   works_against at the pensioners   rapidly'.

---

²³ This example could be interpreted in a coerced meaning allowing the progressive. Hence, it could be the case that I like Swiss chard, but that in a particular situation I am eating it and it is not well cooked. To remark the fact that it is only in that particular case that I dislike Swiss chard, I could use the progressive so that the intended meaning would be that 'I usually enjoy eating Swiss chard, but in that particular case (because it is awfully cooked) I do not'.

On the other hand, these verbs may appear in progressive periphrases with *estar*, a fact that demonstrates that, unlike pure (or Kimian) states, they involve an event variable:

(74)   a. *Pedro está   desobedeciendo   al   profesor.*
          Pedro is   disobeying   at.the   teacher
          'Pedro is disobeying the teacher'.
       b. *El equipo   está   desoyendo   los consejos   del   entrenador.*
          the team   is   ignoring   the advices   of.the   coach
          'The team is ignoring the advices of the coach'.
       c. *Esta ley está desfavoreciendo   a los   pensionistas.*
          this law is   work_against.GER   at the   pensioners
          'This law is working against pensioners'.

All in all, it seems that the class of negative verbs encompasses non-dynamic verbs corresponding either to pure (Kimian) states or to Davidsonian states,[24] which accounts for the fact that, in these particular constructions, the idea of Source lexicalized by the prefix is reinterpreted as the non-dynamic idea of negation.

3.3.4. Idiosyncratic meanings

Some *des-* prefixed verbs can display a non-compositional or idiosyncratic meaning. According to Marantz (1995), special meanings of roots can be triggered by some element located within the same configurationally defined domain, in particular, within the domain defined by a category-assigning head. Besides, Marantz (2001, 2013) and Arad (2003) articulate the view that special meanings of roots may only be triggered within the local domain defined by a phasal head (Chomsky 2000). Therefore, the

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[24] Some *des*-negative verbs can be coerced into a change of state meaning when used in the past perfect:

(iv)   a. *María desconfió de su compañera de piso en una semana.*
            'María distrusted her flatmate in a week'
         b. *La Generalitat desobedeció al Tribunal Constitucional en tres días.*
            'The Generalitat disobeyed the Constitutional Court in three days'.

In both examples what is focalized is the starting boundary of the stative situation denoted by the verb: in (iva) it is intended that María started to distrust her flatmate after a week; and in (ivb) it is understood that after three days the Generalitat started disobeying the Constitutional Court. Fábregas (2016b) notices that some stative verbs (especially those that involve mental states) become achievements when used in the aorist (or perfective) grammatical aspect. According to this author, what coerces these verbs into an achievement reading is the aorist grammatical aspect, which focalizes one of the boundaries of the eventuality (that in the cases at hand happens to be the initial one).

ability of *des-* prefixed verbs to display special meanings of the root is an indicator of the fact that the prefix and the root are within the same local domain, and, consequently, of the fact that prefix *des-* is introduced low in the syntactic derivation, within the same phase as the root.

In fact, in works concerned with the distinction between lexical and superlexical prefixes (Babko-Malaya 1999; Svenonius 2004, Romanova 2004, and the other papers in the special issue on Slavic prefixes; among others),[25] a test to put them aside is their (in)ability to trigger idiomatic interpretations. Superlexical prefixes, which are assumed to be introduced outside the VP, do not license special meanings. By contrast, lexical prefixes, which are considered as VP-internal, usually do. The possibility of *des-*prefixed verbs to present idiosyncratic meanings provides, thus, evidence in favour of the VP-internal position of *des-* within the configuration.

3.3.4.1. Parasynthetic verbs

Certain parasynthetic verbs have developed an idiomatic meaning that makes it difficult to gather the exact value of either the prefix or the root. One of these verbs is the ablative verb *desquiciar*, whose basic compositional meaning is 'to detach a door or a window from the *quicio* ['doorframe']' (shown in (75)), but which is mainly used with the meanings 'to irritate' or 'to go crazy', as the examples (76) and (77) illustrate:[26]

(75) *De   una   fuerte patada des-quici-ó   la puerta.*
      Of   a   strong kick   from-doorframe-PST.3SG   the door
      'He/She kicked the door out of the doorframe'.
      [*Clave*, s.v. *desquiciar*]

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[25] The distinction between lexical and superlexical prefixes mainly corresponds to that between internal and external prefixes in the works of Di Sciullo (1997a), Di Sciullo & Slabakova (2005), and Gehrke (2008).

[26] Idiomatic *desquiciar* can work as a psych verb of the second type of psych verbs established by Belletti & Rizzi (1987), which are those psych verbs that feature an Experiencer argument that may be realized either in accusative or in dative. In its psych uses, *desquiciar* behaves as a stative verb:

(v)   a. *Tu falta de honradez la ha desquiciado toda la vida.*   (Accusative EXPERIENCER)
             'Your lack of honesty has irritated her all her life'.

          b. *A María le desquicia tu falta de honradez.*   (Dative EXPERIENCER)
             'Your lack of honesty irritates Mary'.

It must be pointed out that it is in fact doubtful whether lexical aspect can change when *des*-verbs are used in idiomatic senses (Marantz 1997). In the case of *desquiciar*, the stative uses that it allows are linked to the psych nature of the configuration.

(76) *Sólo   ese   problema nos   enrabia y   des-quici-a,*
Only   that problem PRON.AC.1PL enrages and   from-doorframe-TV.3SG
Porque no   sabemos qué hacer con   él.
because not   know   what do   with   it.
'Only that problem enrages and irritates us, because we don't know how to solve
it'.   [*CREA*: 1996. PRENSA. *El Mundo*, 15/02/1996]

(77) *Según ha   ido   envejeciendo, se   ha   ido   des-quici-ando.*
As   has.AUX gone aging   REFL has.AUX gone from-doorframe-GER
'As he has grown older, he has lost his mind'.   [*Clave*, s.v. *desquiciar*].

Among privative verbs, *descornar* can display a non-transparent, idiosyncratic value.
The compositional meaning of *descornar*, exemplified in (78), is 'to remove the horns
[*cuernos*]', 'to de-horn'. The very same verb, however, can also mean 'to slog away',
'to work very hard', as shown in (79), an idiosyncratic value that arises in the
pronominal uses of this verb and that cannot be inferred from the mere sum of the
meanings of *des-* and *cuerno*:

(78) *Los   dos ciervos   lucharon   hasta que   uno   des-corn-ó*
the.PL two deer.PL   fought   until that   one   from-horn-PST.3SG
al   otro.
at_the   other
'The two deer fought until one of them dehorned the other one'.
[*Clave*, s.v. *descornar*]

(79) *Se   des-cuern-a   trabajando   para   dar   a sus*
REFL from-horn-PRS.3SG   working   in_order_to give.INF to his/her.PL
hijos   lo mejor.
children the best
'He/she slogs away to give his/her children the best'.
[*Clave*, s.v. *descornar*]

Some verbs of destruction can also adopt secondary meanings that make their internal
structure hard to distinguish. A verb like *desmenuzar*, for instance, has the basic
meaning 'to reduce to small bits', 'to shred', 'to flake', 'to crumble', illustrated in (80).

This verb can also be used with the meaning 'to examine in detail', as exemplified in (81), an idiomatic meaning that is not shared by its Catalan counterpart *esmicolar* 'to reduce to small bits', as shown in (82):

(80) *Se   me   cayó la caja de galletas y   se   han des-menuz-ado todas.*
      REFL   I.DAT   fell the box of cookies and REFL have from-bit-PTCP all
      'The box of cookies felt down and they have all broken into small pieces'.
      [*Clave*, s.v. *desmenuzar*]

(81) *El   prólogo des-menuz-a   los   aspectos más relevantes de la obra.*
      The preface from-bit-TV.PRES the.PL aspects   most relevant.PL of the work
      'The preface examines in detail the most relevant aspects of the work'.
      [*Clave*, s.v. *desmenuzar*]

(82) *Catalan*
      *El   pròleg es-mic-ol-a   els aspectes més rellevants de l'obra.
      The preface from-bit-DIM-TV.PRES   the aspects most relevant.PL of the work

3.3.4.2. Deverbal verbs
3.3.4.2.1. Reversative verbs

Many reversative verbs show abstract meanings that are extensions of their most basic compositional meaning. Hence, for example, the reversative verb *desatar*, in addition to its basic meaning 'to untie', is often used to express 'to trigger, to spark', as depicted below:

(83) *La   noticia des-ató   una tormenta mediática.*
      The   news   from-tied   a   storm   media
      'The news triggered (or: sparked) a media storm'.
      [Wordreference; s.v. *desatar*]

The Catalan counterpart of this verb, *deslligar* 'to untie', cannot be used to encode the same metaphorical use:

(84)   *Catalan*

   *_La   notícia va   des-lligar una   tempesta mediàtica._

   The   news   AUX from-tie.INF   a   storm   media

Besides, a reversative verb that has developed a completely non-compositional, idiomatic meaning is *desempeñar*, the literal meaning of which is 'to get out of pawn' 'to redeem' (the reversative of *empeñar* 'to pawn') (85a), but which is more commonly used as 'to perform' (85b), a lexicalized value that is not shared by the Catalan (86) or French (86) counterparts of this verb:

(85)   a. *Ha des-empeñado el   anillo que había empeñado un año antes.*

   Has from-pawned the ring that had pawned a year before

   'He has redeemed the ring from pawn after a year'.

   b. *Anabel des-empeña muy bien sus   labores.*

   Anabel from-pawns very well her.PL tasks

   'Anabel performs her tasks very well'.

(86)   *Catalan*

   a. *Ha des-empenyorat l'anell   que havia empenyorat un any abans.*

   Has from-pawned   the ring that had   pawned   a year before

   'He has redeemed the ring from pawn after a year'.

   b. *_L'Annabel   des-empenyora molt bé   les   seves tasques._

   The Annabel from-pawns   very well the.PL her.PL tasks

(87)   *French*

   a. *Il a dé-gagé   l'anneau qui'l   avait gagé   l'année dernière.*

   He has from-pawned the ring   that he had pawned the year last

   'He has redeemed the ring from pawn after a year'.

   b. *_Annabel dé-gage   bien ses   travails._

   Annabel from-pawns well her.PL tasks

3.3.4.2.2. Negative verbs

A negative verb the meaning of which is not entirely deducible from the meaning of its parts is *desoír*. This verb, as previously pointed out in §3.2.2.2 and §3.3.2.2.2, does not exactly mean 'not to hear ['*no oír*']', but 'to ignore'. The fact that the meaning of the unprefixed verb is not completely related to the meaning of the prefixed one is demonstrated by the fact that the former is not allowed in the same contexts as the latter:

(88)   a. **Marta   oyó   las   órdenes escritas   del director.*
           Marta   heard   the   orders   written.F.PL   of_the director
       b. *Marta   des-oyó   las órdenes   escritas   del   director.*
           Marta   from-heard   the orders   written   of_the director
          'Marta has ignored the written orders of the director'.
(89)   a. *Marta   oye   el   perro   ladrar.*
           Marta   hears the dog   bark.INF
          'Marta hears how the dog barks'.
       b. **Marta   des-oye   el   perro   ladrar.*
           Marta   from-hears   the dog   bark.INF

As has already been mentioned, unprefixed *oír* 'to hear' is a verb of perception and its internal argument must necessarily denote a kind of sound able to be perceived, which accounts for the ungrammaticality of (88a). By contrast, the internal argument of *desoír* 'to ignore' does not need to denote a sound, as (88b) illustrates. Moreover, the examples in (89) show that *oír* 'to hear' allows an external argument holding no volitionality, whereas *desoír* 'to hear' can only combine with volitional external arguments. The non-agentivity of the external argument *Marta* in (89a) and in (89b) is made explicit by the kind of internal argument: *el perro ladrar* 'the dog barking', which clearly denotes an accidental sound heard by the subject by chance —and not any kind of speech, advice or order able to be ignored.[27] These contrasts show that the meaning of *desoír* is not the result of the mere sum of its morphologic constituents; on the contrary, the exact meaning of this prefixed verb involves certain idiosyncratic factors.

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[27] Some speakers also use unprefixed *oír* as an agentive verb meaning 'to listen to' 'to pay attention'. Accordingly, sentences such as the one exemplified below, in which *oír* is not used as a verb of perception, are attested in Spanish:

(vi)   *Jerónimo oyó los ruegos de su mujer.*
          'Jerónimo listened to his wife's appeals'

3.3.5. Interim summary

Along this section I have presented the most relevant properties of *des-* prefixed verbs. I have shown that the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs (ablative, privative, decreasing property, verbs of destruction and instrumental verbs) share certain regularities with regard to their structural configurations, which has led me to conclude that in *des*-parasynthetic verbs the prefix imposes its argument structure requirements to the resulting prefixed verb, giving rise to telic change of state events in which a Figure-Source relationship is articulated between the internal argument and the root of the verb.

Among *des*-deverbal verbs, the class of reversative verbs has been shown to share many of the properties identified in parasynthetic verbs, such as encoding telic change of state events and establishing a Figure-Source relationship between the internal argument and the root of the verb. Crucially, certain *des*-reversative verbs have been shown to display a different argument structure and a different aspectual behaviour from their non-prefixed counterparts, thus suggesting that in these constructions the prefix imposes its own argument and aspectual requirements to the resulting reversative verb.

With regard to *des*-deverbal negative verbs, it has been shown that the prefixed verbs establish certain contrasts with their non-prefixed counterparts in their argument structure configurations, thus suggesting, once again, that the prefix imposes its structural requirements to the resulting verb.

Finally, the fact that certain parasynthetic, reversative, and negative verbs have developed lexicalized meanings, supports the intuition (explicitly developed in the following section) that the prefix and the root are part of the same local domain.

3.4. Decomposing *des*-prefixed verbs

3.4.1. Inherent syntactic structure of the prefix *des-*

The prefix *des-* is usually called *egressive* (cf. Grossman 1994; Battaner 1996; Costa 2008; Rodríguez Rosique 2011) on the idea that its basic value is that of egression (i.e. detachment from a Source). That Source-oriented meaning becomes clear when this prefix is compared to the Goal-oriented prefixes *a-* and *en-*, considered to be ingressive because they encode the arrival or entry to a Goal. As illustrated in (95), it is possible to create three different verbs from the same lexical root *terr-* 'land' depending on the kind

of prefix attached to that root: the Goal-oriented verb *aterrar*, that contains the Goal prefix *a-* and denotes the event of 'arriving at the land'; the Goal-oriented verb *enterrar*, that incorporates the prefix *en-* and expresses 'entrance or introduction into the land'; and the Source-oriented verb *desterrar*, headed by the source prefix *des-*, that encodes the 'exit or egression from the land':

(90)   a. *a-terr-ar*   'to reach land' 'to land'

           to-land-INF

       b. *en-terr-ar*   'to bury'

           in-land-INF

       c. *des-terr-ar*   'to exile' 'to banish'

           from-land-INF

Throughout the previous sections it has been illustrated that the basic meaning of *des-* in current Spanish is that of detachment or distance from a Source (an idea that is implicit in all the verbs, adjectives and nouns headed by this prefix. See Morera 2013, 2015 for the same idea). There is also diachronic evidence of the Source-oriented nature of *des-*. As will be exposed in chapter 6 (section 6.2), the Latin predecessors of this Spanish prefix were the dispersive prefix *dis-* and the ablative-selecting prepositional prefixes *de* and *ex*. These Latin directional particles were used to encode different sorts of Source-oriented motion: *dis-* was used to encode 'motion from one point in different directions'; *de-* expressed 'direction (down) from'; and *ex-* denoted 'direction out from'. The piece of meaning common to these three Latin particles, thus, was that of 'direction from a Source'. The Romance prefix *des-* replaced its Latin predecessors and kept the Source-oriented value common to all of them.

On the basis of all this empirical evidence, the crucial assumption underlying the analysis I put forward in the present chapter is that *des-* has only one entry in the lexicon in which it is identified with its most basic value, which is that of a Source path. As for Source paths, I basically adopt the analysis proposed by Pantcheva (2011), in which Source paths are seen as the reversion of Goal paths —which structurally entails embedding Goal paths as the complements of Source paths (see chapter 2, section 2.5.2 for a detailed account of Pantcheva's proposal).

(91)   Lexical entry for *des-*:
        des   ↔   < /des/,   SourceP   >

The tree diagram shows:
- SourceP branching into Source and GoalP
- GoalP branching into Goal and PlaceP
- PlaceP branching into Place
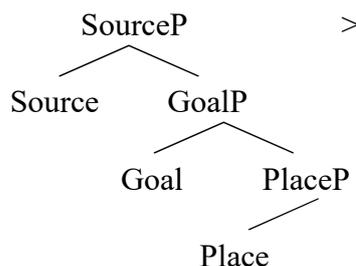
The lexical entry I put forward in (91) specifies that *des-* lexicalizes a Source path, which means that it is inherently specified for the features Source, Goal and Place. By the Superset Principle, when *des-* is inserted in the structure, it can spell out all the features it is specified for, or it can underassociate and spell out a subset of these features. Given that *des-* is not specified for any feature at the position of complement of Place (a position that is structurally defined as Ground), it is a syntactic requirement of the prefix to be combined with an element satisfying this position. However, and as will be illustrated in chapter 6, section 6.2, the bleached semantics of *des-* disallows such a P element to govern a full DP, which accounts for the prefixal and not fully prepositional nature of this element (in contrast with the Latin predecessors of *des-*, which could behave as prepositions and, consequently, they were able to govern full DPs).

3.4.2. Syntax and semantics of *des-*"parasynthetic" verbs
3.4.2.1. Nanosyntax of **des-**parasynthetic verbs

Following the descriptive tradition of derivative morphology, I have labelled *parasynthetic* the *des-*prefixed verbs the root of which may be independently realized as a noun or as an adjective (e.g. *descabezar* 'to remove the head', where the root √CABEZ may be realized as the noun *cabeza* 'head'; or *desbravar* 'to tame' 'to make less wild', in which the root √BRAV may be realized as the adjective *bravo/a* 'wild') and that lack the intermediate forms "prefix+lexical root" (e.g. the noun **descabeza* or the adjective **desbravo/a* are unattested) and "lexical root+ verbalizer suffix" (e.g. no verbs **cabezar* or **bravar* are attested).

In section 3.3 it has been shown that the different semantic classes of *des-*parasynthetic verbs (ablative, privative, decreasing property and destruction ones) share certain regularities with regard to their event and argument structure configurations: all of them encode telic change of state events, as evidenced in §3.3.3.1; all these verbs

require the presence of an internal argument the referent of which is the entity undergoing change of state;[28] and in all of them a Figure-Source relationship is established between the internal argument (understood as a Figure changing from one state to another state) and the root of the verb (identified with the initial state of the internal argument). As advanced in §3.3.2.1, I assume that the roots of the different semantic classes of *des*-parasynthetic verbs must be understood as predicates and, more precisely, as abstract Source Grounds that describe the initial state of a transition (see the following subsection for a detailed account of how the lexical exponents of the roots of these verbs are interpreted).

It has also been shown that certain *des*-parasynthetic verbs can develop non-compositional idiosyncratic meanings (see §3.3.4.1), which suggests a low position of the prefix in the eventive structure, close to the position occupied by the root.

Taking into account the syntactic behaviour shown by the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs as well as their semantic regularities, I propose that in these verbs the prefix imposes its argument and event structure requirements, giving rise to Source-oriented telic transitions involving the syntactic structure represented in (92):

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[28] This internal argument usually emerges in the syntax as a direct object, but in *des*-parasynthetic verbs showing causative alternation it can emerge either as a direct object (the causative alternant) or as a subject (the anticausative alternant), the latter use entailing the addition of the reflexive clitic *se*, as previously shown in 3.3.2.1, examples (57), (58) and (59).

(92) Syntax of the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs:

```
                InitP
              /       \
         DP₁          Init
      INITIATOR      /      \
                  Init      ProcP
                   |       /      \
           verbalizer   DP₂       Proc
                      UNDERGOER   /    \
                               Proc    SourceP
                                      /        \
                                  <DP₂>        Source
                                             /        \
                                        Source       GoalP
                                        /           /      \
                                   des-         <DP₂>      Goal
                                                          /     \
                                                       Goal     PlaceP
                                                               /       \
                                                           <DP₂>       Place
                                                           FIGURE      /     \
                                                                    Place    √ ⇒ exponent root
                                                                             GROUND
```
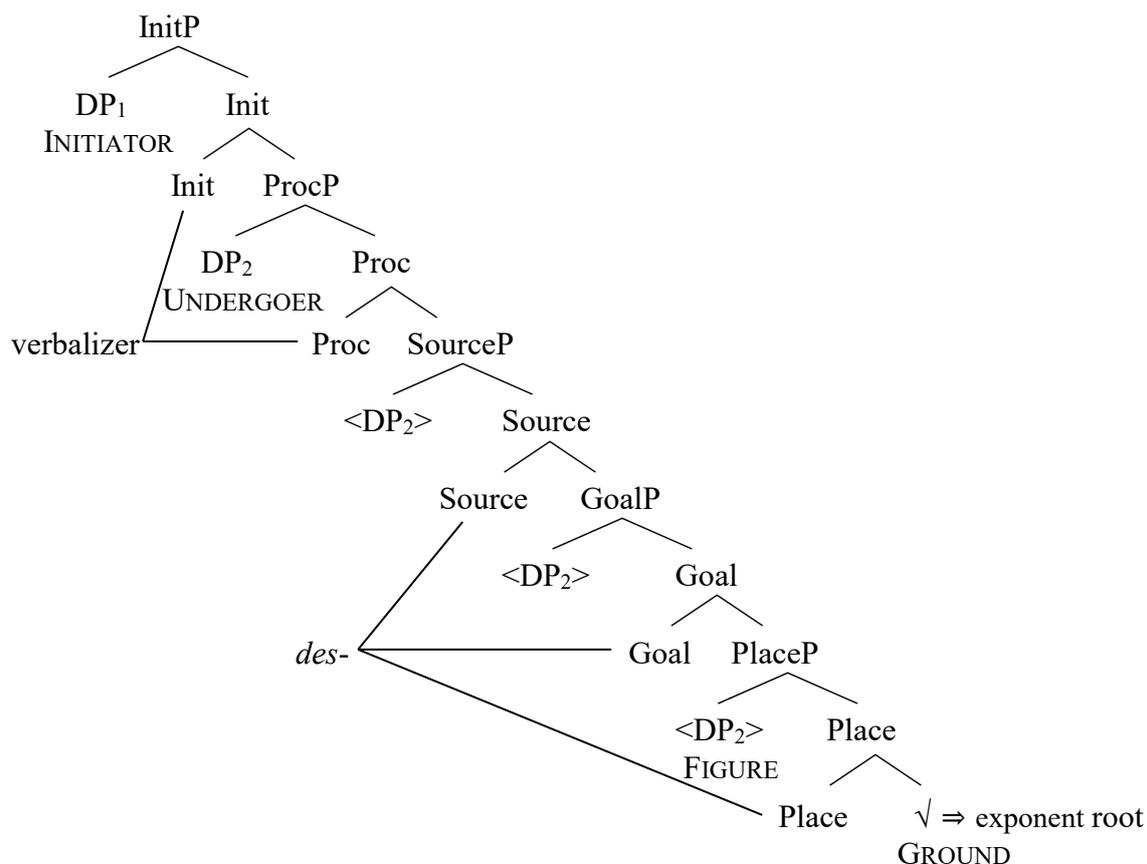
The syntactic structure in (92) specifies that *des*-parasynthetic verbs express the initiation of a dynamic process that extends along a delimited Source path the starting point of which is the state identified by the root ($\sqrt{}$). In these verbs, the prefix *des-* spells out the chunk of structure corresponding to the Source path, that is, SourceP, GoalP and PlaceP. The position of complement of Place is occupied by the root, which is structurally interpreted as a Source Ground (the intial state of a transition). The eventive projections Init and Proc are lexicalized by the verbalizing morphology.[29] The external argument (DP₁) is licensed by the Init head, a stative projection structurally interpreted as causative when followed by the subeventive head Proc. The internal argument (DP₂) is first introduced at the specifier of Place, and from that position it moves to the

---

[29] With regard to the verbalizing morphology, *des*-parasynthetic verbs take the default conjugation in Spanish, which is the first conjugation in *-a(r)* (Oltra-Massuet 1999). Hence, these predicates are marked as verbs thanks to the first conjugation theme vowel *-a*. There is no agreement in the literature on whether the theme vowel of verbal predicates has to be considered a verbalizing suffix (a position defended by Rivero 1990) or, rather, it has no syntactic status and is just the (morpho)phonological increment of a null verbalizing suffix (as argued by Oltra-Massuet 1999 and Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005). Fábregas & Pazó (2008) maintain that the theme vowel is the materialization of a syntactic projection related to the inner aspect of eventualities. As providing a solution for this controversy exceeds by far the tenets of this dissertation, I will not specify in my structures if the verbalizer of parasynthetic verbs —which I take to be the materialization of the subeventive projections Init and Proc— is the theme vowel or a null suffix.

specifier of Goal and then to the specifier of Source, and, accordingly, it is configurationally identified with a Figure covering the Source path that these projections structurally draw. The internal argument further moves to the specifier of Proc, where it is interpreted as the subject undergoing the dynamic change that this head describes (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1 for an accurate presentation of the event decomposition assumed in this dissertation —which basically corresponds to that put forward in Ramchand 2008).[30]

The Source path that *des-* lexicalizes is inserted in the structural position of complement of Proc (a RHEME in Ramchand's terminology; see chapter 2, section 2.4.1). As a rhematic projection, SourceP describes and measures the process subevent it is complementing, and a relation of homomorphism emerges between both projections. Given that Source paths are (lower) bounded entities, when merged with a Proc head they trigger a bounded interpretation of the event, thus giving rise to telic Source-oriented transitions.

To better understand the formalization, consider the analysis I propose for the *des*-parasynthetic verb *destronar* 'to dethrone' in the following example:

(93)   *Zeus*   *des-<u>tron</u>-ó*   *a su padre*.
        Zeus   from-throne-PST.3SG   at his father
        'Zeus dethroned his father'

---

[30] It has been previously pointed out that some *des*-parasynthetic verbs undergo causative alternation. Thus, in addition to their transitive-causative uses, they may be used in anticausative constructions that involve the addition of the reflexive clitic *se*; e.g. *deshojar* 'to strip the leaves off' / *deshojarse* 'to lose the leaves'. I assume that in the anticausative uses of these verbs, the reflexive clitic *se* deactivates the projection of Init and blocks the introduction of an external argument in its specifier. In these cases, as no external argument is available, the internal argument (that is, the specifier of Proc) rises to the specifier position of the TP in order to receive Nominal case, thus becoming the formal subject of these predicates. For a survey of the different proposals regarding the analysis of anticausative *se* in Romance languages, see Heidinger (2010), Vivanco (2015), and Wolfsgruber (2017).

(94)   Analysis of (93)

InitP

Zeus   Init
Initiator

    Init   ProcP

verbalizer   *su padre*   Proc
    Undergoer

    Proc   SourceP

    ~~su padre~~   Source

    Source   GoalP

    ~~su padre~~   Goal

des-   Goal   PlaceP

    ~~su padre~~   Place
    Figure

    Place   √TRON ⇒ *tron-*
    Ground
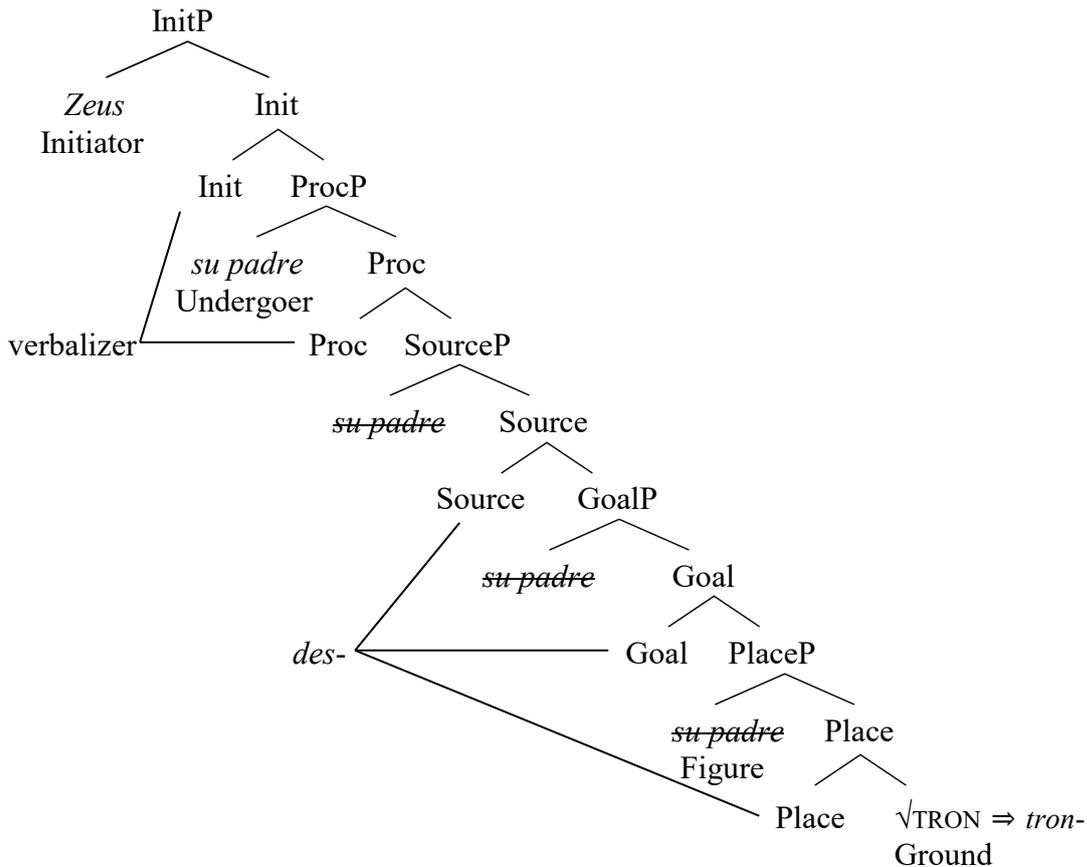
The subject of the construction, *Zeus*, is merged at [Spec, Init] and, accordingly, it is understood as the Initiator of the event. The internal argument *su padre* 'his father', which originates at [Spec, Place] and then rises to [Spec, Goal], from there to [Spec, Source], and from there to [Spec, Proc], is interpreted both as the Undergoer of the event and as a Figure detaching from the state denoted by the root √TRON. The root √TRON is the complement of Place, and as such it is identified with a Source Ground, namely, with the initial state of the Source-oriented transition (see 3.4.2.2.1 for the exact interpretation of this root). The interpretation of the event as a Source-oriented transition is licensed by the GoalP projection, that introduces a Goal-oriented transition, and the SourceP projection merged on top of it, that reverses the orientation of the transition. *Des-*, which lexicalizes SourceP, GoalP and PlaceP, is thus intended to be responsible for the transition entailment as well as for the Source-orientation of the transition (see section 3.4.5 in this chapter for a more detailed account of how spell-out works in *des*-prefixed verbs as well as for a tentative approach to how the right linearization of their morphemes is obtained).

Des-, as a prefix lexicalizing a Source path, requires the presence of a Figure as well as a Source Ground identifying the starting point of this path. In accordance with the requirements of the prefix, *des*-parasynthetic verbs select an internal argument interpreted as a Figure detaching from the denotatum of the root, interpreted as a Source. In addition, it has been previously shown that *des*-parasynthetic verbs may co-appear with a hyponym PP further specifying the initial location expressed by the root (cf. §3.2.1.1 and §3.3.2.1):

(95)   *El   rey   des-terr-ó   al   príncipe del   reino*.
        the king from-land- PST.3SG at_the prince   from_the   kingdom
        'The king ousted the prince from the kingdom'.

I hypothesize that the hyponymous PP *del reino* 'from the kingdom' is created in a separate derivational workspace and is part of a different Spell-Out domain. In particular, I posit that the hyponymous PP is inserted in the structure as a Rheme of the root further specifying the initial location of the Source path. Given that the hyponymous PP constitutes an independent phase, a root can be merged on top of it, since roots, when present, must occupy the bottom-most position of a given phase (Real Puigdollers 2013; see chapter 2, section 2.4.3). This is represented in (96):

(96)   Analysis of (95)

```
                InitP
              /      \
        el rey       Init
                    /    \
                 Init     ProcP
                /|       /     \
     verbalizer/|  el príncipe  Proc
               /              /     \
                           Proc      SourceP
                                    /        \
                          el príncipe         Source
                                             /      \
                                        Source       GoalP
                                        |           /     \
                                   des-/   el príncipe      Goal
                                       |                   /     \
                                       |               Goal       PlaceP
                                       |                         /       \
                                       |              el príncipe         Place
                                       |                                 /     \
                                       |_____Place    √TERR ⇒ terr-
                                                                         /    \
                                                                   √TERR      PP
                                                                            /    \
                                                                           P      DP
                                                                           |      △
                                                                           de   el reino
```
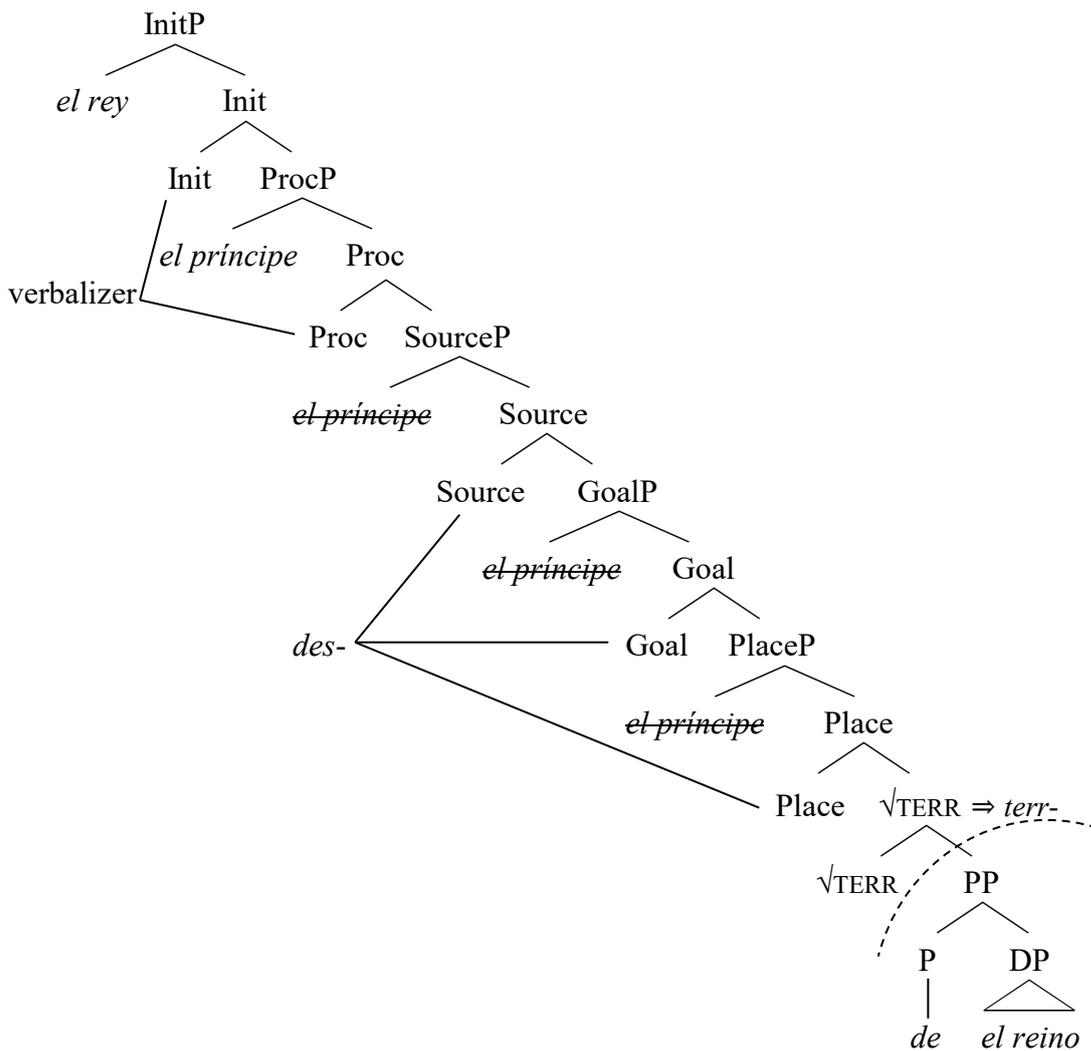
3.4.2.2. Polysemy of des-*parasynthetic verbs: a* Qualia-*based approach*

Based on the regularities shown by the different semantic types of the so-called *des-*parasynthetic verbs, I have posited that all of them involve the same syntactic structure, which basically corresponds to that of a Source-oriented transition encoding the detachment of a certain Figure (the internal argument of the verb) from a certain Ground (the root of the verb). I have also argued that the lexical roots of the different semantic sublclasses of *des-*parasynthetic verbs (ablative, privative, decreasing property, destruction and instrumental ones) must be understood as predicates and, more precisely, as abstract Source Grounds that identify the initial state of a change of state. Hence, the structure associated to these verbs rightly predicts that they encode the exit from a state (particularly, the exit from the state related to the lexical root). At this point the question arises how the regular polysemy of these verbs can be accounted for. The

proposal of this dissertation, inspired by certain ideas developed in Batiukova (2008, 2016), Pujol Payet (2014), and Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2015), is that the five semantic subtypes of *des*-parasynthetic verbs result from the different links that the root establishes, at a conceptual level, with the internal argument it is combined with. Such links depend on the *qualia* structure (QS; cf. Pustejovsky 1995 and ff.)[31] associated to the lexical exponent of the root and the QS associated to the internal argument, and are established by means of *selective binding* once spell-out has occurred and the lexical exponents have replaced the syntactic configuration.[32] Hence, as detailed below, the lexical root selectively binds the information of the QS of the internal argument that is compatible with the information contained in its own QS. The links settled at a conceptual level between the QS of the root and the QS of the internal argument will ultimately determine the meaning of these verbs.

3.4.2.2.1. *Des*-parasynthetic verbs with an ablative meaning

An example of ablative verb is *destronar* 'to dethrone', which, as illustrated in (97), codifies the detachment of the referent of the internal argument (in this particular case, *el rey* 'the king') from the location expressed by the root *tron-* 'throne':

(97) *Los   insurgentes   des-tron√-aron   al   rey*$_{\text{IA}}$.
       the   rebels   from-throne-PST.3PL   at.the   king
       'The rebels dethroned the king'.

The root of *destronar* 'to dethrone', which is *tron-* 'throne', has a QS such as the one represented in (98a). This QS makes explicit that *tron-* is conceptualized as a location x (information contained in its FORMAL role) that typically contains a person y (information specified in its CONSTITUTIVE role). As for the internal argument *el rey* 'the king', the QS of which is represented in (98b), it is identified with a person y (FORMAL role) typically occupying the location x (CONSTITUTIVE role). When the QS of the root is combined with the QS of the internal argument, a relation of location emerges by means

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[31] I assume that lexical items encompassing a root (the locus for conceptual content) involve a *qualia* structure (QS) that accounts for the polysemy that they can display in combination with the QSs of other lexical items. See chapter 2, section 2.4.2, for an introduction to QS formalization.

[32] Recall that *selective binding* is a generative mechanism proposed by Pustejovsky (1995) that operates when the predicate selects or focalizes on one of the values contained in the QS of its argument (cf. chapter 2, section 2.4.2).

of selective binding, a conceptual mechanism that allows the root *tron-* 'throne' to select the information contained in the CONSTITUTIVE role of the internal argument *el rey* 'the king':[33]

(98)   Ablative verbs (root = location); e.g. *destronar* 'to dethrone'

a) QS of the root *tron-* 'throne' (x)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Location] } x \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [contain] } y \end{bmatrix}$$

➔ Relation of **location**

b) QS of the internal argument *el rey* 'the king' (y)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Person] } y \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: } \textbf{[be\_in]} \, x \end{bmatrix}$$

Therefore, in an ablative verb like *destronar* 'to dethrone', the root *tron-* is interpreted according to the value that it selects from the QS of the internal argument, which is that of the CONSTITUTIVE role: "[be_in] x"; that is, the state of "being in the throne". Given that the prefix *des-* lexicalizes a Source path and instantiates a Source-oriented change of state, the verb *destronar* 'to dethrone' is understood to encode the initiation of a process by means of which the referent of the internal argument (*el rey* 'the king') goes out of the state of "being in the throne".

3.4.2.2.2. *Des*-parasynthetic verbs with a privative meaning

Verbs displaying a privative meaning denote an event by means of which the referent of the internal argument is deprived of the referent of the root:

(99)   *Aída ha   des-cabez√-ado la   perdiz*IA.
         Aída has from-head-PTCP the partridge
         'Aída has behaded the partridge'.

---

[33] In ablative verbs, the preference of the root for focalizing the CONSTITUTIVE role of the internal argument instead of its FORMAL role is explained by the fact that it is precisely the CONSTITUTIVE role of this constituent, and not its FORMAL role, that contains information compatible with the information specified in the QS of the root.

A verb like *descabezar* 'to behead' has a root *cabez-* 'head' with a QS like the one in (100a). This QS specifies that this root refers to a physical object x (information contained in its FORMAL role) that is part of another entity y (as reflected in its CONSTITUTIVE role). The internal argument, on the other hand, is understood to be an entity y (FORMAL role) that contains the entity x (CONSTITUTIVE role) —which means that the internal argument of *descabezar* must necessarily be an entity with head. By selective binding, the root selects the information contained in the CONSTITUTIVE role of the internal argument, and the relation of possession existing between the root (the possessum) and the internal argument (the possessor) is then focalized:

(100)   Privative verbs (root = *possessum*); e.g. *descabezar* 'to behead'

   a) QS of the root *cabez-* 'head' (x)

   $$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Physical object] } x \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [part of] } y \end{bmatrix}$$

   ➜ Relation of **possession**

   b) QS of the internal argument *la perdiz* 'the partridge' (y)

   $$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Animal] } y \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: } \textbf{[contain] } x \end{bmatrix}$$

In privative verbs, thus, the state related to the lexical root is a state of possession: "[contain] x". In the case of *descabezar*, for instance, the root *cabez-* is interpreted as the state of "containing head" (information available in the CONSTITUTIVE role of the internal argument, selectively bound by the root). Since the presence of *des-* imposes a Source orientation to the event, the verb is understood as expressing the initiation of a process by means of which the internal argument goes out of the state of "containing head".

3.4.2.2.3. *Des-*parasynthetic verbs with a decreasing-property meaning

Some *des-*parasynthetic verbs express a change of state by means of which the internal argument of the verb is understood to lose the property related to the lexical root. This is the case of *desbravar* 'to tame', as exemplified below:

(101) *Mi   abuelo*   *des-brav√-ó*   *aquel potro*[IA].

My grandfather   from-wild-PST.3SG   that colt.

'My grandfather tamed that colt'.

[*CREA*: 1991. Eduardo Alonso, *Flor de Jacarandá*]

Desbravar 'to tame' incorporates a lexical root, *brav-* 'wild' related to a QS that specifies that *brav-* denotes a property x (FORMAL role) involving a degree scale of x (CONSTITUTIVE role). The internal argument of *desbravar*, which is *aquel potro* 'that colt' in (101), is an animal y characterized by the property x (two pieces of information made explicit in the FORMAL role of the QS of this element). As the root and the internal argument share the information of their FORMAL roles, a relation of identification is established between them, and one and the other are identified with the property x:

(102) Decreasing property verbs (root = property); e.g. *desbravar* 'to make less wild'

a) QS of the root *brav-* 'wild' (x)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: } \textbf{[Property] } x \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [Scale of } x] \end{bmatrix}$$

➔ Relation of **identification**

b) QS of the internal argument *aquel potro* 'that colt' (y)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Animal] } y \\ \textbf{[Property] } x \end{bmatrix}$$

In these verbs, the root is understood as the state of "being x in a certain degree". A verb such as *desbravar*, thus, encodes the initiation of a process by means of which the internal argument goes out of the state of "being wild in a certain degree", and so at the end of the event the internal argument is understood as not being wild or as being less wild (that is, it is understood to possess a lower degree of wildness).

3.4.2.2.4. *Des*-parasynthetic verbs with a destruction meaning

Des- parasynthetic verbs with a destruction meaning encode a change of state event the result of which is the disintegration of the referent of the internal argument into its constitutive parts:

(103)   a. *El   lobo   ha   des-<u>pedaz</u>√-ado   <u>el   cordero</u>*ɪᴀ.

          The wolf has   from-piece-TV.PTCP   the lamb

          'The wolf has tore the lamb into pieces'.

       b. *He   des-<u>mig</u>√-ado   <u>todo   el   bizcocho</u>*ɪᴀ.

          Have.1sg   from-crumb-tv.ptcp   whole the sponge_cake

          'I have crumbled the whole sponge cake'.

In the studies devoted to *des-*, these verbs are called *effective* (Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Serrano-Dolader 1995) or *resultative* (Martín-García 2007) on the idea that they express an action that results in the creation of the entities denoted by the root (*pedaz-* 'piece' in the case of *despedazar* 'to tear to pieces' in (103a), and *mig-* 'crumb' in the case of *desmigar* 'to crumble' in (103b)) and, hence, that the root is to be interpreted as the result of the action. However, positing that these verbs codify a resultative (Goal-oriented) event enters in contradiction with the fact that *des-* is a Source-oriented prefix used to encode Source-oriented, rather than Goal-oriented, transitions (see Gibert Sotelo, in press, for the same observation). Grossmann (1994: 71-72) points out that these verbs express negatively oriented events, and that speakers use them to encode the egression from a previous state.[34] In Gibert Sotelo (in press) the observation is made that these verbs do not encode events the result of which is the "creation" of the denotatum of the root, but events the result of which is the destruction of the referent of the internal argument, which happens to be an entity that contains, as a constitutive part, the denotatum of the root. Hence, for instance, in (103b) the event encoded by *desmigar* 'to crumble' is not the creation of *mig-* 'crumb', but the destruction of the internal argument *todo el bizcocho* 'the whole sponge cake', an entity that contains *mig-* 'crumbs' as a constitutive part. In fact, the roots of this sort of verbs allude to partitive entities that may be independently realized as partitive nouns or minimizers (thus, they always select a complement specifying the whole from which the part is taken):

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[34] See also Reinheimer-Rîpeanu (1974: 94; *apud*. Grossmann 1994: 72, footnote 116), who states that to express an action the result of which is perceived as negative, speakers choose prefixes encoding detachment (in her terms, [- rapprochement]); whereas the prefixes chosen to express actions the result of which is the expected one, are those encoding approach (i.e., prefixes with the feature [+ rapprochement]).

(104)   a. *Un pedazo   de carne*.

      A   piece   of meat

      'A piece of meat'.

    b. *Una miga   de compasión*.

      A   crumb of compassion

      'A bit of compassion'.

The roots of these verbs, thus, denote divisive or constitutive parts of bigger entities, and require the presence of an argument specifying the bigger entity of which they are part. For verbs of destruction like *despedazar* 'to tear apart, to tear to pieces' or *desmigar* 'to crumble', thus, I propose that the roots *pedaz-* 'piece' and *mig-* 'crumb' are conceptualized as entities x (FORMAL role) that are a constitutive part of a bigger entity y (CONSTITUTIVE role), as illustrated in (105). The internal arguments co-appearing with these roots (*el cordero* 'the lamb' in (103a) and *todo el bizcocho* 'the whole sponge cake' in (103b)) are conceptualized as entities y (FORMAL role) comprising the smaller entities x (CONSTITUTIVE role).[35] In these cases, a part-whole relationship emerges between the root (understood as a constitutive part) and the internal argument (understood as a totality being made of the constitutive parts denoted by the root):

(105)   Verbs of destruction (root = part of a whole); e.g.   *despedazar* 'to tear apart',
                                           desmigar 'to crumble'

    QS of the root (x)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [entity] } x \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [constitutive part of] } y \end{bmatrix}$$

                                     ➔ Relation of **part-whole**

    QS of the internal argument (y)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [entity] } y \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: } \textbf{[made of] } x \end{bmatrix}$$

---

[35] Notice that the roots of these verbs force the internal arguments they co-appear with to be interpreted as divisible entities. Accordingly, any sort of internal argument co-appearing with destruction verbs will be understood as a totality able to be reduced to the constituents or divisions the root denotes. Hence, for example, it is even possible 'to tear a piece to pieces' (i.e., *despedazar un pedazo*).

By means of selective binding, the roots of these verbs exploit the information contained in the CONSTITUTIVE role of the internal argument of the verb. The meaning of these verbs, thus, emerges from the syntactic structure underlying these verbs and the links established at a conceptual level between their roots and the internal arguments they co-appear with. In particular, they encode the initiation of a process by means of which the referent of the internal argument goes out of a state of integrity, that is, the initiation of a process by means of which the referent of the internal argument stops "being [made of] *x*" to just become *x*. From such a view, it can still be maintained that in *des-* parasynthetic verbs of destruction the root identifies the initial (and not the final) state of a transition, since, by means of selective binding, the root of a verb like *desmigar* 'to crumble', which is *mig-* 'crumb', is not understood just as 'crumb', but as the state of "being [made of] crumbs".

3.4.3. Syntax and semantics of *des-*"deverbal" verbs

3.4.3.1. On reversative verbs

Des-reversative verbs encode Source-oriented change of state events as opposed to the Goal-oriented events denoted by their non-prefixed counterparts (e.g. *deshacer* 'to undo', cf. *hacer* 'to do'). As Source-oriented change of state events, they ask for the presence of an internal argument understood as the Figure traversing (or undergoing) such a Source-oriented change, which accounts for the fact that these verbs always involve transitive configurations or unaccusative ones (see section 3.3.2.2.1) Hence, *des*-reversative verbs may display a different argument structure configuration from the one of their non-prefixed counterparts in cases in which the latter do not take an Undergoer internal argument —recall example (54) in section 3.3.2.2.1 concerning *mentir* 'to lie' (unergative) vs. *desmentir* 'to deny/ refute' (transitive), which I repeat below as (106):

(106)   a. *El   acusado mintió durante el   interrogatorio.*   (unergative)
             the accused lied   during the   interrogation
             'The accused lied during the interrogation'.

        a'. **El   acusado des-mintió   durante el   interrogatorio.*   (unergative)
             the   accused denied   during the   interrogation

      b. *El acusado ha des-mentido su   participación en el   delito.* (transitive)

        the accused has from-lied   his   involvement   in the crime

        'The accused has denied being involved in the crime'.

It has also been shown that *des*-reversative verbs encode telic change of state events even when their non-prefixed counterparts may behave as atelic predicates (see section 3.3.3.2.1).

      The data examined suggest that the prefix *des-* imposes its own argumental and aspectual requirements to the resulting reversative verb, forcing it to co-appear with an Undergoer internal argument and giving rise to telic Source-oriented transitions. Moreover, I have pointed out that some *des*-prefixed verbs have developed lexicalized, non-compositional meanings (see §6.3.4.2.1), which clearly points towards a low position of the prefix inside the event structure of these predicates (crucially, within the same local domain as the root; see Marantz 1997, 2013).

      On the other hand, as I have pointed out, reversative verbs must not necessarily presuppose a previous process (see §3.2.2.1). Hence, for example, one may *desenterrar* 'unearth' something previously *enterrado* 'buried', like, for instance, *el baúl* 'the trunk' in (107a); but also something that happened to be naturally buried and not as a consequence of any previous event, like *las raíces de las malas hierbas* 'the roots of the weeds' in (107b), for example:

(107) a. *Los piratas des-enterraron   el baúl   que sus   prisioneros*

        the pirates from-buried   the trunk   that their   prisoners

        habían enterrado.

        had   buried

        'The pirates unearthed the trunk that their prisoners had buried before.

      b. *Mi marido   ha   des-enterrado las raíces   de las malas hierbas.*

        my husband   has   from-buried the roots   of the bad herbs

        'Mi husband has unearthed the roots of the weeds'.

The basic meaning of reversative verbs, thus, is not that of undoing a previous process, but that of reversing a given state that may be, or not, the result of a previous process.

      Taking into account all these data, I hypothesize that the syntactic structure of reversative verbs is the same structure of parasynthetic verbs, as illustrated below:

(108)   *Des-conecté   el   ordenador.*
        from-connected   the   computer
        'I disconnected the computer'.

(109)   Analysis of (108)

```
                InitP
               /    \
           pro        Init
        Initiator    /    \
                  Init     ProcP
                  /       /    \
        verbalizer   el ordenador   Proc
                      Undergoer    /    \
                               Proc    SourceP
                                      /    \
                              el ordenador   Source
                                            /    \
                                        Source    GoalP
                                                 /    \
                                        el ordenador   Goal
                                                      /    \
                                   des-          Goal      PlaceP
                                                          /    \
                                              el ordenador    Place
                                                Figure        /    \
                                                          Place   √CONECT ⇒ conect
                                                          Ground
```
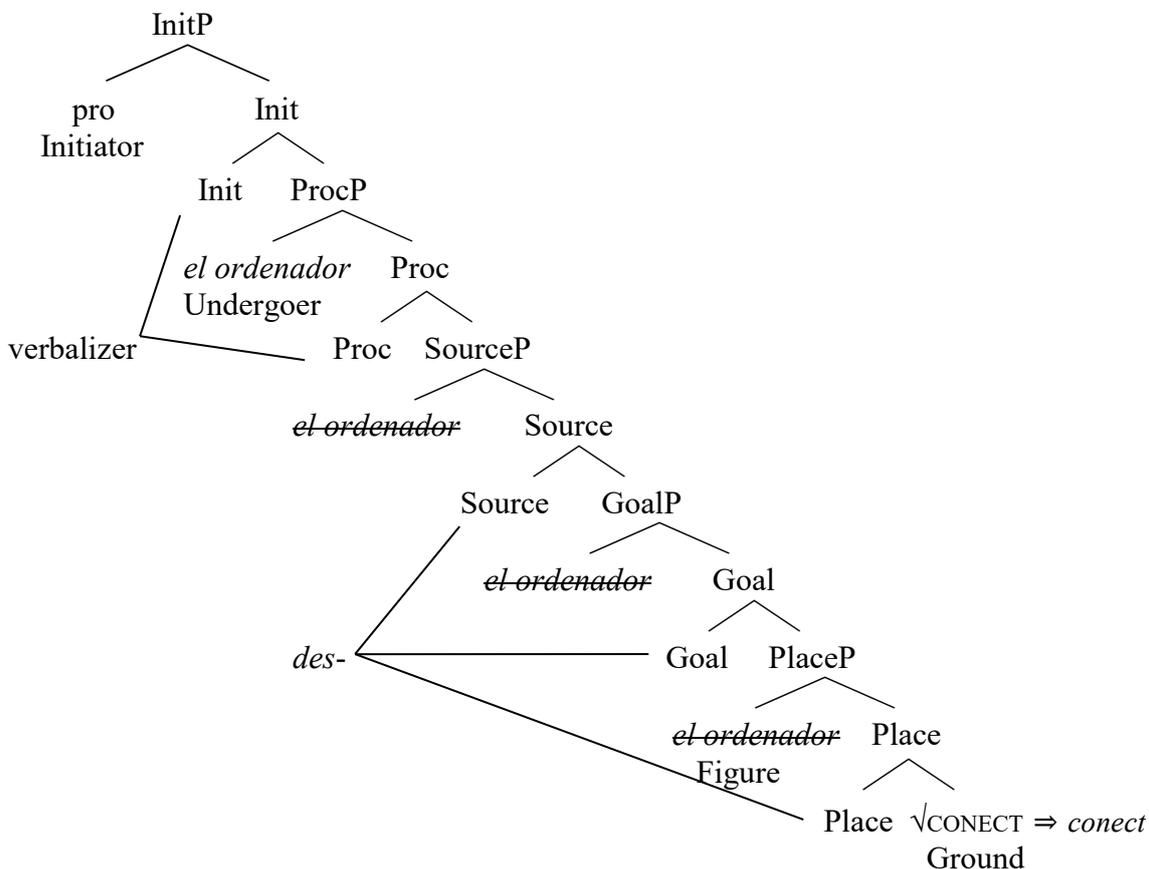
Accordingly, I put forward that reversative verbs do not involve the addition of the prefix *des-* to an existing verb, but the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root. Like in the case of the so-called parasynthetic verbs, the lexical root of reversative verbs is abstractly interpreted as the Source state of a transition, since reversative verbs do also encode the egression of the referent of the internal argument from the state denoted by the root. In the example in (108), for example, *el ordenador* 'the computer' is intended to abandon its prior state of being connected [√CONECT].

The analysis I maintain solves the old puzzles faced by previous approaches to Spanish reversative verbs (Vañó-Cerdá 1990; Brea 1994; Varela & Martín García 1999; Martín García 2007), namely: 1) how to explain the asymmetries observed between the argument structure of certain reversative verbs and their non-prefixed counterparts; and 2) how to decide if those *des*-verbs with non-prefixed correlates displaying the same

"nominal" or "adjectival" base are cases of parasynthetic verbs or cases of deverbal reversative verbs.

  With regard to the first puzzle, consider the following examples:

(110) a. *El hijo mayor ha heredado todo el patrimonio de su padre.*
    the son eldest has inherited all the estate   of his father
    'The eldest son has inherited the whole estate of his father'.
   b. *Juan ha des-heredado a su hijo mayor.*
    Juan has from-inherited at his son eldest
    'Juan has disinherited his eldest son'.

In (110a), with the non-prefixed *heredar* 'to inherit', the non-agentive subject *el hijo mayor* 'the eldest son' is the recipient of the inheritance, whereas the object *todo el patrimonio de su padre* 'the whole estate of his father' is the transferred possession. In (110b), the reversative *desheredar* 'to disinherit' takes as direct object the recipient *su hijo mayor* 'his eldest son', and has an agentive subject. Such a change in the argument structure of *heredar* vs *desheredar* remains unexplained if it is assumed that *des-* is added to the verb *heredar*: how is then justified that *desheredar* takes an agentive subject but *heredar* does not? How to account for the fact that the direct object of *heredar* is the transferred possession, but the direct object of *desheredar* is the recipient of such a transfer? Assuming the analysis that I propose these questions do not come up: the prefix is not adjoined to the already existing verb *heredar*. Rather, it is adjoined to the acategorial root *hered-* and gives rise to a new predicate with a new argument structure configuration: *desheredar*, that can be paraphrased as 'to take someone out of inheritance'.

  As for the second puzzle, studies devoted to the issue of parasynthesis (Serrano-Dolader 1995) usually discuss whether verbs such as the ones exemplified below should be taken as parasynthetic structures or as reversative (deverbal) ones:

(111) a. *desnivelar* 'to make uneven' (cf. *nivel* 'level' and *nivelar* 'to level'):
     i. parasynthetic analysis: [*des* [*nivel*]$_N$ *ar*]$_V$
     ii. deverbal analysis: [*des* [[*nivel*]$_N$ *ar*]$_V$]$_V$
   b. *deshumanizar* 'to dehumanize' (cf. *humano* 'human' and *humanizar* 'to humanize')
     i. parasynthetic analysis: [*des* [*human*]$_A$ *izar*]$_V$
     ii. deverbal analysis: [*des* [[*human*]$_A$ *izar*]$_V$]$_V$

Like parasynthetic verbs, the verbs exemplified above display a root able to be independently realized as a noun (111a) or as an adjective (111b). However, unlike in parasynthetic verbs, the intermediate form "[[base] verbalizing suffix]" is attested, which points toward the reversative (deverbal) nature of these verbs. In previous studies (Serrano-Dolader 1995; Martín García 2007) it has been argued that these verbs may be interpreted either as parasynthetic or as reversative depending on whether they entail a previous process (in which case they are supposed to involve a deverbal structure) or not (in which case they are taken as parasynthetic constructions). It seems to me that it does not make sense to stipulate two different structures in these cases, since the parasynthetic and reversative meanings of these verbs are identical but for the fact that the latter involves the realization of a previous action. Moreover, I have shown along the present chapter (see section 3.2.2.1) that involving or not a previous process is not a distinctive characteristic of reversative verbs, given that it is usually pragmatic context that allows determining if a previous process is entailed or not. Assuming, as I do, that parasynthetic verbs and reversative ones involve the same syntactic structure avoids this discussion to arise.[36]

A question that could emerge at this point is: why have the previous studies devoted to the prefix *des-* distinguished *des*-parasynthetic from *des*-reversative ones if both of them involve the same syntactic structure? It seems obvious that if grammarians have traditionally distinguished the meanings involved in *des*-parasynthetic verbs from that of reversion, it is probably because there is some salient difference between them. I claim that what distinguishes parasynthetic verbs from prototypical reversative ones is the kind of root the predicate incorporates. Hence, while parasynthetic verbs may incorporate roots of type [object], [entity], [location] or [property] (see §3.4.2.2), prototypical reversative verbs (that is, verbs the lexical roots of which may be independently realized as a verb but not as an adjective or as a noun) incorporate roots of [event] type. Hence, for example, a prototypical reversative verb such as *descoser* 'to unstitch', the lexical root of which may be independently realized as the verb *coser* 'to

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[36]Some of the verbs argued to be dubious between parasynthetic or deverbal configurations are cases of merger of the prefix with a base that involves an adjectival suffix. This is the case of, for example, the verb *descentralizar* 'to decentralize', for which it is not possible to maintain that *central* 'central' is an acategorial root, since it contains the adjectivizer suffix *–al* (see, however, chapter 7, section 7.2.3). In fact, assuming that in these cases the prefix is added to an adjectival base must not necessarily pose a problem to the analysis I put forward here: in these cases the prefix would also be inserted low in the structure, and crucially below the subeventive projections.

sew' 'to stitch' —but not as a noun or an adjective—, incorporates a root of type [event] related to the QS detailed in (112):[37]

(112)   QS of the root *cos-* 'stitch'

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [event] e} \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [+ initiation] [+ process] [+dynamicity]} \end{bmatrix}$$

Other (non prototypical) reversative verbs, such as *desembarcar* 'to disembark' or *desensillar* 'to unsaddle', do not take a root of type [event], but an already prefixed root *em-barc* 'in-ship' and *en-sill* 'in-saddle' of type [location] and [object], respectively (see §3.4.4 for an account of the addition of *des-* to an already prefixed root). In these cases, an ablative (*desembarcar* 'to remove or to go out from the ship') or privative meaning (*desensillar* 'to deprive of saddle') emerges, although the idea of reversion is also entailed: *desembarcar* 'to disembark' and *desensillar* 'to unsaddle' encode the opposite event of the Goal-oriented *embarcar* 'to embark' and *ensillar* 'to saddle', respectively. All in all, the distinction between ablative, privative and reversative meanings is a subtle one, and these concepts usually overlap, which is expected taking into account that all these values emerge from the same syntactic structure.

From the analysis I put forward it follows that the distinction between parasynthetic and deverbal reversative configurations is spurious, since both parasynthetic and reversative verbs result from the same syntactic structure. The distinction between ablative, privative, decreasing-property, destruction and reversative meanings lies in the type of root that the verb incorporates and in the QS associated to this root.

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[37] As noticed in §3.2.2.2, footnote 13, some studies have distinguished a class of cessation verbs that express the ending of a given situation (*NGLE* 2009). The clearer example of a verb expressing cessation is *desamar* 'to stop loving'. For this verb (the use of which in current Spanish is almost inexistent) I assume the same syntactic structure I propose for reversative verbs. The only difference existing between *desamar* and a prototypical reversative verb such as *deshacer* 'to undo' is the type of root that they incorporate: *deshacer* involves a root of type [event] the QS of which contains information about a process subevent in its constitutive role (as in the case of the root *cos-*, cf. (128)); *desamar*, on the contrary, builds in a root of type [state] that lacks any reference to a process subevent in its QS.

3.4.3.2. On negative verbs

In *des*-negative verbs the negation of the non-prefixed counterpart is somehow inferred. Hence, for example, a verb such as *desfavorecer* 'to disfavour' 'to work against' can be roughly paraphrased as 'no *favorecer* ['not to favour']'. However, and as extensively argued in §3.2.2.2, *des*-negative verbs are not equivalent to the mere negation of their non-prefixed counterparts. As advanced in §3.2.2.2, I assume that the negation implicit in these verbs arises from their non-dynamic nature, which prevents the Source path lexicalized by *des*- from being interpreted as a dynamic change. In fact, and as previously shown in §3.3.3.2.2, *des*-negative verbs encompass two sorts of non-dynamic predicates: Kimian states and Davidsonian states. I analyze these two types of *des*-negative verbs in turn.

3.4.3.2.1. *Des*-negative verbs denoting Kimian states

Some *des*-negative verbs behave as Kimian states, as it has been shown in §3.3.3.2.2. They basically correspond to verbs encoding some kind of mental state or attitude, as e.g. *desagradar* 'to dislike', *desaprobar* 'to disapprove', *desconfiar* 'to distrust', *desconocer* 'not to know', and *descreer* 'to disbelieve' (the non-prefixed counterparts of which correspond to the stative verbs *agradar* 'to like', *aprobar* 'to approve', *confiar* 'to trust', *conocer* 'to know', and *creer* 'to believe, respectively). The fact that these verbs behave as Kimian states is proven by their disallowance of the progressive periphrasis, given that Kimian states do not introduce an event variable able to be taken by the progressive periphrasis (see Fábregas & Marín 2012):

(113)   a. *Estoy*   *desconociendo a Juan.*
            am   not_knowing at Juan

        b. *Estoy*   *descreyendo   en Dios.*
            am   disbelieving   in God

Although these verbs seem to correspond to the negation of their non-prefixed counterparts, prefixation by *des*- supposes a stronger way of conveying an opposite truth value to that of propositional negation, as shown in section 3.2.2.2 with the examples (30) and (31), taken from Rodríguez Rosique (2011: 154-155) and repeated below as (114) and (115):

(114) *No   me   agrada Juan; es más, me   des-agrada.*

       Not   me.DAT like   Juan; is more, me.DAT   from-like.3SG

       'I don't like John; in fact, I even dislike him'.

       [Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 154, (1)]

(115) *No   sólo no me   agrada Juan, sino que me   des-agrada.*

       Not   only not me.DAT like   Juan, but that me.DAT from-like.3SG

       'It's not only that I don't like John, but also that I dislike him'.

       [Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 155, (2)]

As previously pointed out (see section 3.2.2.2), I assume that the strengthening conveyed by negation through *des-* is due to its Source value: *desagradar* is identified with the very opposite situation of *agradar*, that is, the situation placed the farthest in a degree scale, which is not only 'not to like', but 'to annoy' or 'to upset'. I propose that in negative verbs, the Source path lexicalized by *des-* is statically interpreted as an opposite position in a degree scale. Accordingly, I relate a predicate as the one reproduced in (116) to the syntactic structure in (117).

(116) *Dolores des-aprueba   la   violencia.*

       Dolores from-approves the   violence

       'Dolores disapproves violence'.

(117) Analysis of (116):

```
                    InitP ⇒ verbalizer
                   ╱        ╲
            Dolores          Init
                            ╱    ╲
                         Init     SourceP ⇒ des-
                                 ╱        ╲
                        la violencia       Source
                                          ╱      ╲
                                    Source        GoalP
                                               ╱        ╲
                                      la violencia        Goal
                                                         ╱    ╲
                                                     Goal      PlaceP
                                                             ╱       ╲
                                                    la violencia      Place
                                                       Figure        ╱    ╲
                                                                 Place     √APROB ⇒ aprueb-
                                                                           Ground
```
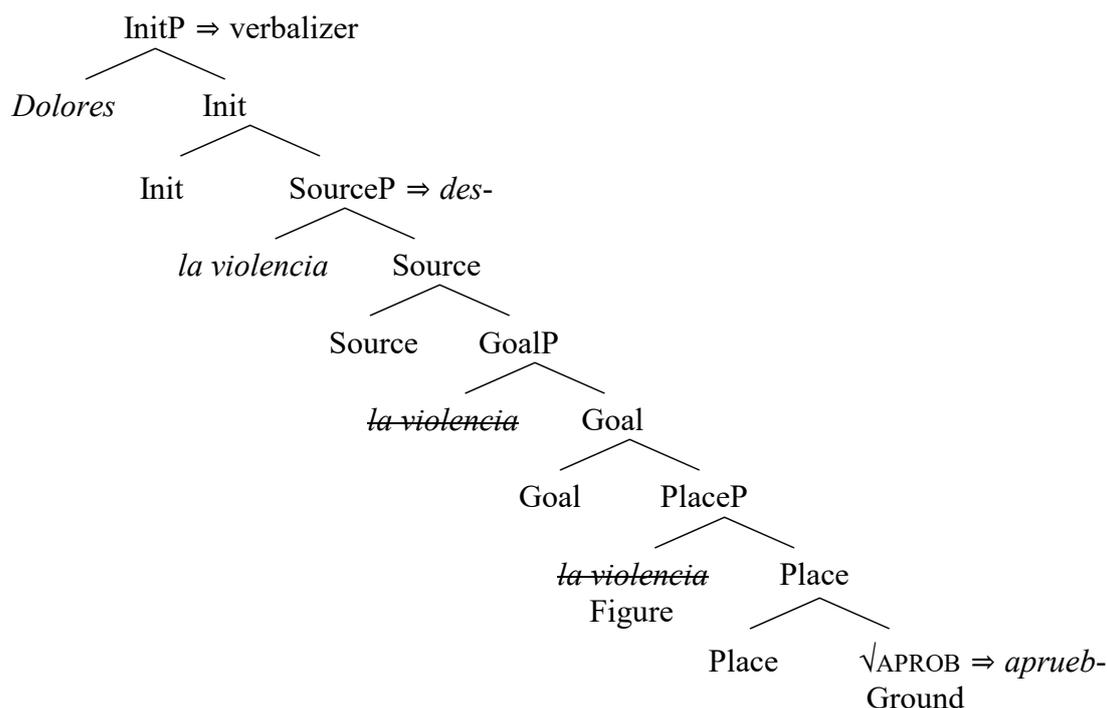
Therefore, I assume that in *des*-negative verbs like *desaprobar* 'to disapprove', the prefix also spells out Source, Goal and Place, but this Source path does not entail any Source-oriented transition, given that it is not dominated by a Proc subevent (since no Proc projection may appear in the structure of Kimian states, which lack an event variable). Rather, the Source path that *des*- lexicalizes, dominated by the stative Init head, is statically interpreted as a Source-oriented scale (i.e., a lower bounded scale) by means of which *la violencia* 'the violence' is placed away from √APROB 'approval' in a degree scale. The holder of the state, *Dolores*, is licensed by the Init head, which, not taking a ProcP as complement, is not interpreted as involving causation, but just as a stative subevent. The internal argument, *la violencia*, is the specifier of the Source, Goal and Place heads, and gets identified with a Figure (statically) traversing the Source path that starts at √APROB. The root √APROB is structurally defined as the Source Ground of a non-dynamic Source path interpreted as a lower bounded scale, i.e., a scale bounded by its lower (or initial) boundary.

The syntactic configuration represented in (117) is the basic structure I assume for *des*-negative verbs codifying Kimian states. In the case of *desagradar* 'to dislike', a

psych verb with a dative experiencer[38], an applicative projection is added to the basic structure depicted in (117). Following Cuervo (2003, 2010) (see also Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015), I assume that in psych verbs with a dative Experiencer, the dative object is the specifier of a high applicative of benefactive semantics, and that the Appl head is spelled-out by the dative clitic these verbs co-appear with.[39] Hence, the syntactic structure of a sentence such as the one in (118), is the one reproduced in (119):

(118) *A Claudia   le   des-agrada tu   comportamiento.*
       to Claudia   she.DAT from-like   your behaviour
       'Claudia dislikes your behaviour'.

(119) Analysis of (118):

```
              ApplP
             /     \
     A Claudia     Appl
                  /    \
              Appl      InitP ⇒ verbalizer
               |       /    \
              le  tu comportamiento  Init
                                    /    \
                                 Init     SourceP ⇒ des-
                                         /       \
                            tu comportamiento    Source
                                                /      \
                                           Source       GoalP
                                                       /     \
                                        tu comportamiento    Goal
                                                            /    \
                                                         Goal     PlaceP
                                                                 /      \
                                                 tu comportamiento      Place
                                                                       /     \
                                                                   Place   √AGRAD ⇒ agrad-
```

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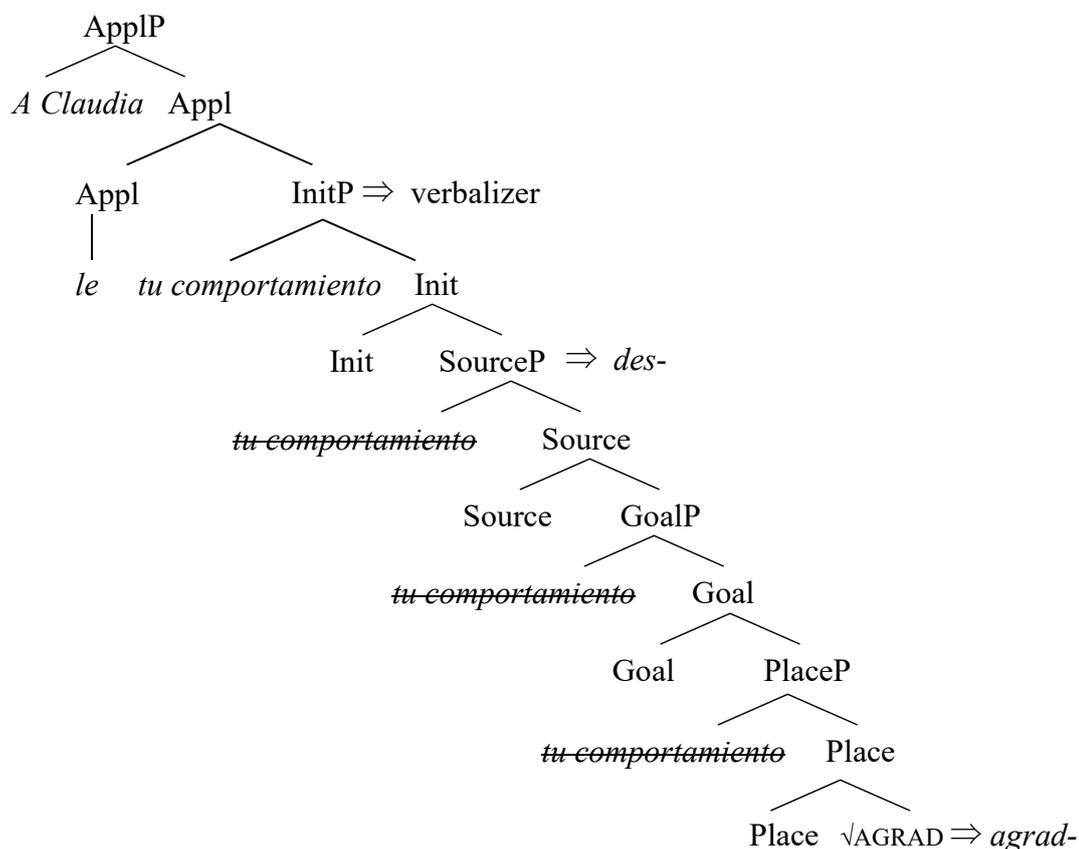
[38] *Desagradar* is one of the psych verbs classified as belonging to class 3 by Belletti & Rizzi (1988), which comprises the verbs that take a dative experiencer (class 1 verbs take a nominative Experiencer, e.g. *amar* 'to love'; and the ones of class 2, e.g. *preocupar* 'to worry', an accusative Experiencer).

[39] Notice that, as observed by Cuervo (2010), in psych verbs with a dative experiencer the dative clitic (that materializes the Appl head) cannot be ommitted, but the dative object (specifier of Appl) can:

(vii) a. *Le   des-agrada   tu   actitud.*   (Omission of the dative object)
          She.DAT from-likes   your   attitude
          'She dislikes your attitude'.
       b. **A Claudia   des-agrada tu   actitud.*   (Omission of the dative clitic)
          To Claudia   from-likes your attitude

As specified in the analysis in (119), I assume that *desagradar* 'to dislike' also places the root of the verb, in this case *agrad-* 'pleasingness',[40] at the position of a Source Ground. The Theme subject, *tu comportamiento* 'your behaviour', is first merged at the specifier of Place, and from that position it moves to [Spec, Goal], then, to [Spec, Source] and, after that, to [Spec, Init], where it is interpreted as holding the state of being away from "pleasingness", which in turn is interpreted as being possessed by *Claudia*, the Experiencer merged at the specifier of Appl (as in Hale & Keyser's 2002 theory of psych verbs).

An important assumption I am making is that paths may be interpreted as dynamic or as static depending on their being complements of Proc, or complements of Init, respectively (cf. chapter 2, section 2.4.1). In *des*-negative verbs the static Source path lexicalized by the prefix is interpreted as a degree scale because the element appearing as the Ground of this path, which is the lexical root, conceptually involves a degree scale. The roots of these verbs are of type [state] and are related to a QS like the one in (120), the constitutive role of which specifies that states lack a process subevent and lack dynamicity, but involve a degree scale that measures the degree of the state *s*.

(120)   QS of roots of type [state]

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [state] } s \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [+ initiation] [-process] [-dynamicity] [+scale of } s] \end{bmatrix}$$

It must be noticed that the structure I put forward for *des*-negative verbs is that of a state involving a path, which is the structure I assume for stage-level states (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1). Although the basic tests for identifying stage-level predicates do not succeed in all the *des*-negative verbs denoting Kimian states (see the Appendix to this chapter), all of them admit absolute degree modifiers such as *absolutamente* 'absolutely', *por completo* 'completely' or *totalmente* 'totally' (i.e., modifiers that pick

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[40] From a diachronic standpoint *agrad-* contains the Goal-oriented prefix *a-* and the lexical root *grad-*. In current Spanish, however, "a-grad-" is conceived of as an atomic lexical item. *Agradar* was originally a change of state predicate, and along the evolution of the Spanish language it was reanalyzed as a stative psych verb. See Batllori, Gibert Sotelo & Pujol Payet (2015, 2016) for the view that psych verbs with a dative Experiencer in current Spanish relate to different stages of an evolutionary path from active transitive structures to stative (individual-level) unaccusative ones.

out the boundary of a scale), which provides evidence in favour of the fact that a boundary is involved in the states that these predicates denote:[41]

(121) a. *Me   des-agrada   absolutamente tu   comportamiento.*
            I.DAT   from-like.PRS.1SG   absolutely   your   behaviour
            'I absolutely dislike your behaviour'.

       b. *Des-conozco   por completo sus   intenciones.*
            from-know.PRS.1SG   completely   his.PL   intentions
            'I am completely unaware of his intentions'.

       c. *Des-creo   totalmente de tu   palabra.*
            from-believe.PRS.1SG totally   of your   word
            'I totally disbelieve in your word'.

In sum, *des*-negative verbs denoting Kimian states can be considered bounded predicates involving a Source-oriented path that provides a boundary to the scale inherent to the lexical root of these verbs.

3.4.3.2.2. *Des*-negative verbs denoting Davidsonian states

For the most part, *des*-negative verbs behave as Davidsonian states (cf. §3.3.3.2.2). As non-dynamic events, this kind of verbs disallow being modified by adverbs of velocity such as *rápidamente* 'rapidly' or *lentamente* 'slowly', as previously shown in (73), repeated below as (122):

(122) a. **Pedro   desobedeció   al   profesor lentamente.*
            Pedro   disobeyed   at.the   teacher slowly'.

       b. **El equipo desoye rápidamente   los consejos   del   entrenador.*
            the team   ignores rapidly   the advices   of.the   coach'.

---

[41] Notice that the non-prefixed counterparts of these verbs do not always admit absolute modifiers, which is expected if it is assumed (as I do) that *des-* adds a boundary to the scale implicit in the lexical root:

(viii)   a. *#Me agrada absolutamente   tu   comportamiento.*
              I.dat like   absolutely   your   behaviour
         b. *#Conozco   por completo   sus intenciones.*
              know.PRS.1SG completely   his intentions
         c. *Creo   totalmente en   tu   palabra.*
              believe.PRS.1SG totally   in   your word

c. *Esta ley   desfavorece   a los   pensionistas   rápidamente.

    this   law   works_against at the   pensioners   rapidly'.

On the contrary, and differently from *des*-negative verbs denoting Kimian states, these verbs may appear in progressive periphrases with *estar*, which provides evidence of the fact that they involve an event variable:

(123)   a. *Pedro está   desobedeciendo   al   profesor.*

        Pedro is   disobeying   at.the   teacher

        'Pedro is disobeying the teacher'.

     b. *El equipo   está   desoyendo   los consejos   del   entrenador.*

        the team   is   ignoring   the advices   of.the coach

        'The team is ignoring the advices of the coach'.

     c. *Esta ley está desfavoreciendo   a los   pensionistas.*

        this law is   work_against.GER   at the   pensioners

        'This law is working against pensioners'.

As in the case of *des*-negative verbs encoding Kimian states, the negation implicit in *des*-negative verbs denoting Davidsonian states emerges from the Source path that *des*-lexicalizes, which is statically interpreted as a Source-oriented (i.e., a lower bounded) degree scale. However, the event structure underlying these verbs must be different from the one I have put forward for Kimian *des*-negative verbs, given that the former lack an event variable but the latter involve it. The analysis I propose for a Davidsonian *des*-negative verb like *desobedecer* 'to disobey' in (124), is the one represented in (125):

(124)   *Juan   des-obedece   a sus padres.*

      Juan   from-obeys   at his parents

      'Juan disobeys his parents'.

(125)   Analysis of (124)

```
                InitP
              /      \
          Juan        Init
                     /     \
                  Init      ProcP
                 /    \    /      \
             -ece   sus padres    Proc
                              /        \
                           Proc         P_CCP
                          /      \     /      \
                    sus padres   P_CC
                               /      \
                           P_CC        SourceP
                            |         /        \
                            Ø    sus padres    Source
                                             /        \
                                         Source        Goal
                                           |          /      \
                                         des-    sus padres   Goal
                                                             /      \
                                                          Goal       PlaceP
                                                            |        /       \
                                                          Place  sus padres  Place
                                                                 Figure      /     \
                                                                          Place    √OBED
                                                                                  Ground
```
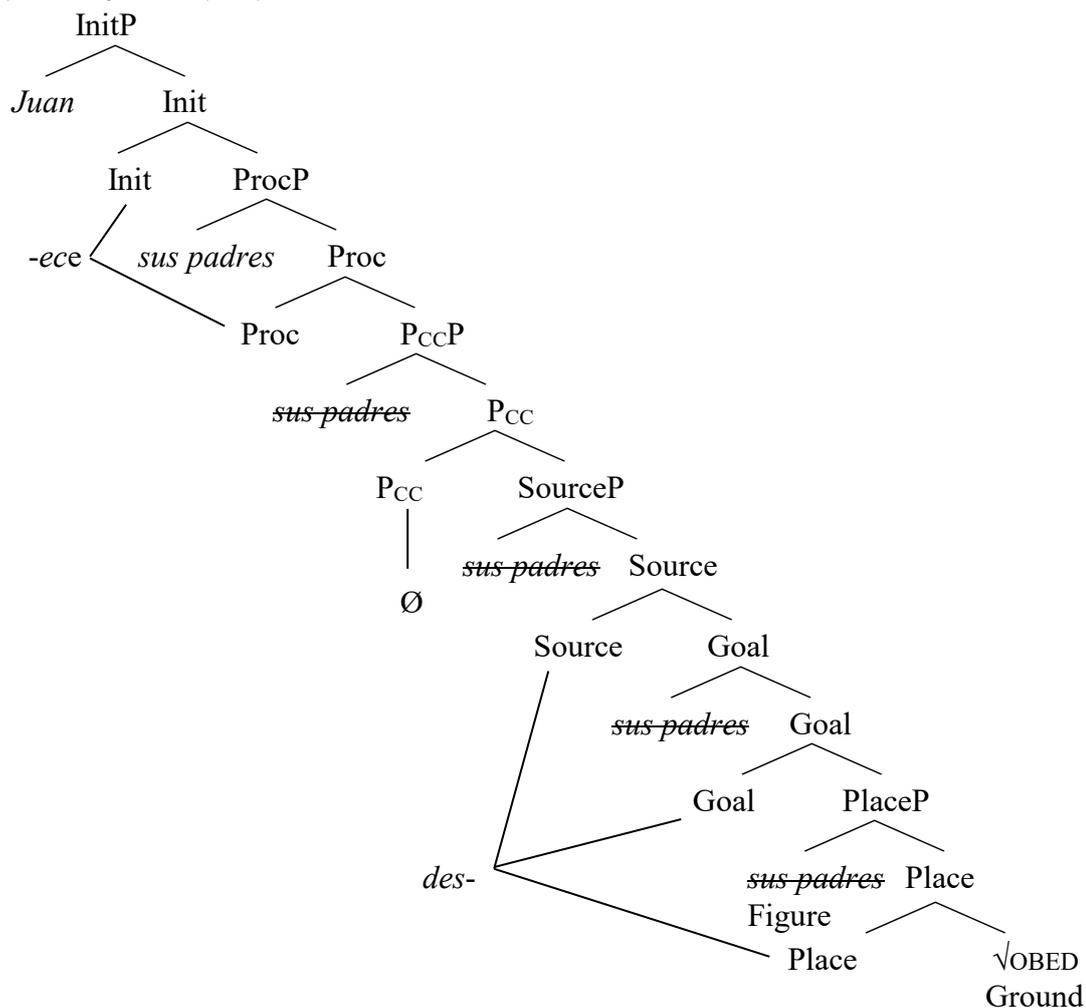
As these verbs are Davidsonian states, they involve a Proc subeventive head that introduces an event variable. Prefix *des-* cannot be merged in the complement position of Proc, since Proc-Rheme homomorfism would give rise to a change of state meaning. As introduced in chapter 2, section 4.2.1, I follow Fábregas & Marín (2012) and assume that the non-dynamic meaning of Davidsonian states lies in the presence of a central coincidence PP (Hale & Keyser 2002) in the position of complement of Proc that prevents the Proc head from being interpreted as dynamic. The central coincidence preposition (P$_{CC}$) is spelled out by a null morpheme Ø. The Source path that *des-* lexicalizes is inserted in the structure as the complement of the P$_{CC}$, and, accordingly, it is not interpreted as a transition, but as a non-dynamic path (namely, a scale bounded in its initial boundary). As for the root of these verbs, it is merged at the complement of Place, where it is interpreted as a Source Ground. The analysis of the predicate in (130), thus, should be read as follows: the external argument, *Juan*, is the Initiator of a non-

dynamic process that consists in keeping *sus padres* 'his parents', the internal argument, away from *obed-* 'obedience' [√OBED-].

At a conceptual level, the roots of these verbs are identified with an event *e* (information contained in the formal role of its QS) that consists in the volitional initiation of a homogeneous process that lacks dynamicity (information specified in the consitutive role of the root's QS):

(126)   QS of the roots of Davidsonian *des*-negative verbs (e.g. *obed-* 'obedience')

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [event] } e \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [+ initiation] [+process] [-dynamicity]} \end{bmatrix}$$

3.4.4. On the stacking of Spanish directional prefixes

In section 3.3.1 it has been shown that in the stacking of Spanish directional prefixes, namely *a-* 'to', *en-* 'into' and *des-* 'from', the Source-oriented prefix *des-* always occupies a more external position than the Goal-oriented prefixes *a-* and *en-*, the other way around being unattested:

(127)   a.   *a-muebl-ar*   *des-a-muebl-ar*   //   **a-des-muebl-ar*

to-furniture-INF   from-to-furniture-INF   to-from-furniture-INF

'to furnish'   'to clear the furniture out of'

b.   *en-caden-ar*   *des-en-caden-ar*   //   **en-des-caden-ar*

into-chain-INF   from-into-chain-INF   into-from-chain-INF

'to chain'   'to unchain'

I have posited a syntactic structure for the Source prefix *des-* that corresponds to that of a Source path. In the same vein, I propose that the Spanish Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-* involve the structure of a Goal path, as detailed below (see Gibert Sotelo 2017 for the same proposal):

(128)   a. Proposed structure for *des-*   b. Proposed structure for *a-* and *en-*
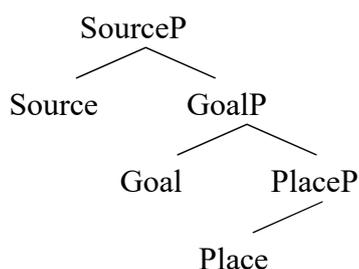
SourceP   GoalP

Source   GoalP   Goal   PlaceP

Goal   PlaceP   Place

Place
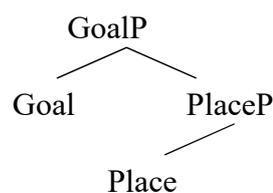
The linear order in which prefixes appear, and the impossibility of attaching the Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-* to a more external position than the Source prefix *des-*, is naturally accounted for by the present analysis: the hierarchy of the structure does not allow *a-* and *en-* to be inserted in a higher position than *des-* because *des-* lexicalizes a Source feature (in addition to the Goal and Place features) that is higher in the structure than the Goal and Place features that *a-* and *en-* lexicalize. This analysis avoids the necessity to postulate a superlexical or external status for *des-* when it stacks, as posited by Di Sciullo (1997a). According to this author, the French Source prefix *dé-* behaves as a lexical (or internal) prefix in parasynthetic verbs but as a superlexical (or external) prefix in reversative ones, the latter allowing for the stacking of the prefix when it is added to an already prefixed verb. Throughout the present chapter I have shown that reversative verbs and parasynthetic ones involve the same syntactic configuration, thus making implausible a different syntactic status for this prefix depending on its being part of a parasynthetic verb or its being part of a reversative one. Moreover, from the analysis I propose for the Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-*, it follows that they cannot co-appear in Spanish, since they lexicalize the same syntactic tree (particularly, the tree corresponding to a GoalP and a PlaceP) and, accordingly, they occupy the same position in the structure. This prediction is borne out:

(129)   a. *a-carton-ar(se)*   *en-carton-ar*   **a-en-carton-ar(se)/*en-a-carton-ar(se)*
        'to (make) become   'to cover with
         stiff'   cardboard'

        b. *a-bols-ar(se)*   *em-bols-ar*   **a-em-bols-ar(se)/*en-a-bols-ar(se)*
        'to become baggy' 'to put in a bag'

In (130) I depict the syntactic structure lexicalized by the multi-prefixed verbs *desamueblar* 'to remove the furniture from' and *desencadenar* 'to unchain'. In these

predicates the Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-* lexicalize Goal and Place, forcing the Source prefix *des-* to underassociate its Goal and Place features and spell-out Source alone (as conforming to the Superset Principle):

(130)

```
                   InitP
                  /    \
               Init    ProcP
                /\     /   \
verbalizer    /  \   Proc  SourceP
                           /    \
des- [Goal, Place]  ⇐  Source   GoalP
                                 /    \
                           ⌠ Goal    PlaceP
                        a- ⎨          /   \
                       en- ⌡  Place      √MUEBL- ⇒ muebl-
                                         √CADEN- ⇒ caden-
```
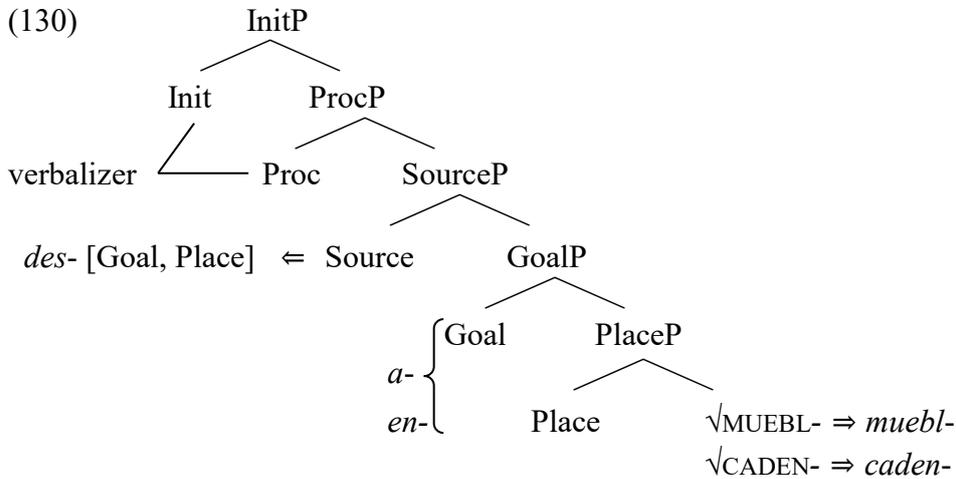
Taking into account that *a-* and *en-* are a perfect match for "GoalP + PlaceP", by the Elsewhere Condition (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.1) it could be expected that the most specific prefixes *a-* and *en-* be always present in *des-*prefixed verbs in order to lexicalize these projections. This is not the case, however, and the reason lies on the Biggest Wins theorem (Starke 2009). According to this theorem, when a single morpheme is able to spell-out the entire syntactic tree in one go, it is to be preferred over the use of multiple items to spell-out the very same syntactic tree (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.1). In the case at hand, the use of the single morpheme *des-* is preferred over the use of the sequence of morphemes "*des-a*" or "*des-en*". The crucial question that arises, therefore, is: Why are the sequences "*des-a*" and "*des-en*" attested if, by the Biggest wins theorem, these configurations should be always overridden by the "bigger" prefix *des-*, which is a unique morpheme and it is specified for the same features than "*des-a-*" and "*des-en-*"?

As will be further explored in chapter 6, section 6.2, the Source prefix *des-* does not specify if the spatial relation existing between the Figure and the Ground is one of interiority, so that it can encode either the detachment of the Figure from inside the Ground or from outside of it. On the contrary, the Goal prefix *en-* specifies that the relationship between the Figure and the Ground is one of interiority (i.e., the Figure is understood as placed inside the Ground); and the Goal prefix *a-* involves a non-interiority relationship between both elements (the Figure is understood to be placed in the external boundary of the Ground but not inside of it); cf. *enterrar* 'to bury' vs.

aterrar 'to reach land'. In many cases, this relation of interiority/exteriority must be abstractly interpreted (see Acedo-Matellán 2006a). Hence, for example, *a-* is mainly used in change of state verbs that express an event by means of which the internal argument acquires the external properties of the root (e.g. *acartonar* 'to become stiff like cardboard'; cf. *cartón* 'cardboard'); whereas *en-* appears in change of state verbs that express an event by means of which the internal argument acquires the internal properties of the root (e.g. *enamorar* 'to enter a state of love'; cf. *amor* 'love'). I argue that this information involves the presence of an additional feature [+/- interiority] that projects its own head, so that the amount of syntactic structure lexicalized by *a-* and *en-* would not only consist of the Goal and Place projections, but also of a lower projection that I identify with AxPart (Svenonius (2006, 2010)):

(131)   a. Structure of *a-* (2ⁿᵈ version)   b. Structure of *en-* (2ⁿᵈ version)
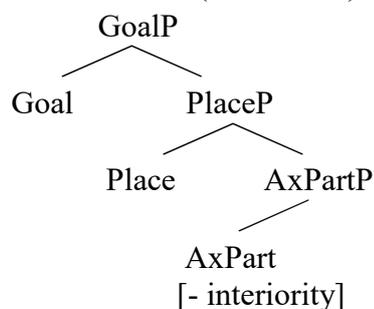
         GoalP   GoalP
        /   \   /   \
      Goal   PlaceP   Goal   PlaceP
             /   \   /   \
          Place   AxPartP   Place   AxPartP
                   /   /
                AxPart   AxPart
             [- interiority]   [+ interiority]
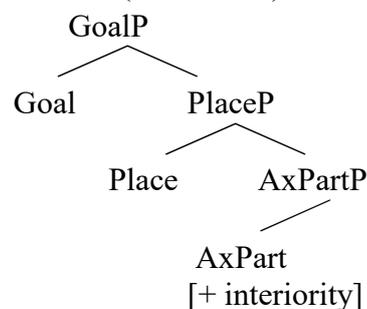
Crucially, the Source prefix *des-* lacks this information, and, therefore, the sequences *des-a* and *des-en* are not structurally equivalent to *des-*, given that the former lexicalize an additional feature that the latter lacks. Accordingly, when the structure contains the syntactic heads Source, Goal and Place, the item chosen by insertion is the prefix *des-*, as in (132a). But when in addition to these projections an AxPart head is also involved, as in (132b), the structure cannot be lexicalized by *des-* (since this item is not specified for AxPart), and the presence of *a-* or *en-* in addition to *des-* is thus compulsory (the choice between the sequence *des-a-* or *des-en-* depending on whether the value of the AxPart head is [- interiority] or [+ interiority], respectively):

(132)   a. Structure underlying *des-*   b. Structure underlying *des-a-/des-en-*
                SourceP ← *des-*   SourceP ← *des-*
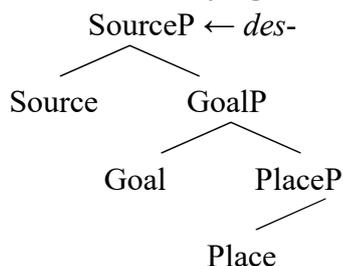
        Source   GoalP   Source   GoalP ← *a-/ en-*

                Goal   PlaceP   Goal   PlaceP

                        Place   Place   AxPartP

                                                                                        AxPart
                                                                                    [+/- interiority]
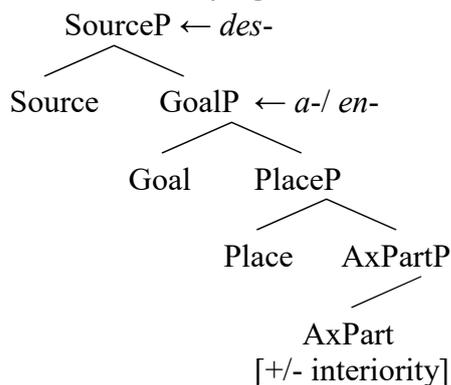
3.4.5. A note on evacuation and linearization

Up to this point I have been working on the argument and event structure that *des-*
prefixed verbs involve. Accordingly, I have not paid attention to the linearization of
morphemes or to the syntactic movement of certain constituents to upper functional
projections. Before concluding this chapter, a note on these issues is in order.

3.4.5.1. Evacuation

According to the nanosyntactic proposal, Spell-out proceeds in cycles and ignores traces
(Caha 2009; Pantcheva 2011). Besides, Spell-out occurs once syntactic operations have
applied. Moreover, I have assumed that Spell-out targets phrasal nodes, which allows a
lexical item to be inserted into a phrasal node and spell out all the syntactic features
dominated by that node (Starke 2009, 2011; Caha 2009; Fábregas 2009; Pantcheva
2011. See chapter 2, section 2.3.1). By the Superset Principle, a lexical item can spell
out all the syntactic features contained in the constituent it is specified for or only a
proper subconstituent of it.This principle prevents lexicalization to occur if the lexical
entry of a given exponent does not include all the syntactic nodes included in the
constituent to be spelled out.

       The syntactic structures that I have proposed for *des-* prefixed verbs are not an
optimal output for lexicalization, given that they include specifiers that the lexical
exponents to be inserted do not contain in their lexical entries. Consider, for example,
the analysis I assume for the predicate containing the *des-* negative verb *desconocer*
'not know, be ignorant of' in (133), represented in (134):

(133) *David   des-conocía   este   problema.*
      David   from-know.*IPFV.3PL* the   truth
      'David was unaware of this problem'.

(134) Analysis of (133):

```
                    InitP
                  /      \
              DP₁          Init
             /\          /      \
          David       Init      SourceP
                               /        \
                           DP₂           Source
                           /\           /       \
                    este problema   Source      GoalP
                                              /        \
                                          tDP2          Goal
                                                       /      \
                                                   Goal        PlaceP
                                                              /       \
                                                          tDP2         Place
                                                                      /      \
                                                                  Place      √CONOC
```
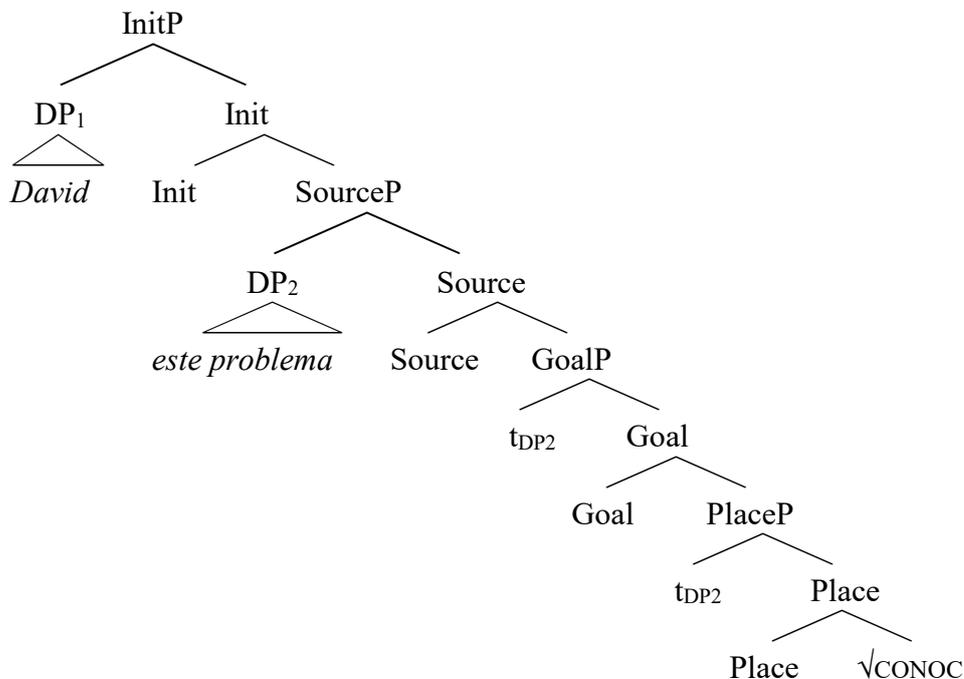
The lexical exponent *conoc-* contains the root √CONOC in its lexical entry, and accordingly it is a match to spell out the root node. The prefix *des-*, as argued for in section 3.4.1, lexicalizes a syntactic tree containing Source, Goal and Place, and, consequently, it is expected to be inserted at SourceP in order to spell out these features:

(135)   Lexical entry for *des-*:
         des   ↔   < /des/,   SourceP   >
                                        /   \
                                   Source   GoalP
                                                 /   \
                                             Goal   PlaceP
                                                        /
                                                    Place
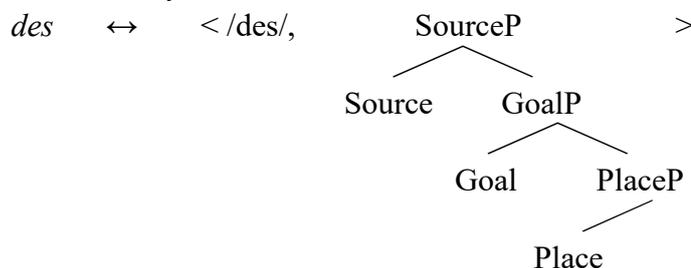
The lexically stored tree of *des-* does not contain specifiers. In the syntactic configuration of (134), however, the DP *este problema* 'this problem', which corresponds to the direct object, appears at the specifier of Source, giving rise to a syntactic constituent that does not match the lexical entry of *des-*. For Phrasal Spell-out to proceed, the DP object at specifier of Source needs to be evacuated. As pointed out

by Fábregas (2016: 170), the movement of the direct object to a higher functional position outside the VP has ben independently proposed by Ormazabal & Romero (2007), Torrego (1998), Rodríguez Mondoñedo (2007), or López (2012), generally for accusative case assignment but also for other syntactic reasons. Kratzer (2004) and Borer (2005) also posit that objects must move to an aspectual projection outside the VP. Therefore, the evacuation of the DP object to a higher position is independently justified on syntactic grounds. Once this movement has occurred, the lexical entry of *des-* matches the syntactic configuration to be spelled out, given that Spell-out ignores traces:

(136)

```
                   InitP
                  /     \
              DP₁        Init
             /  \       /    \
          David  Init   SourceP ⇒ des-
                       /      \
                    t_DP2     Source
                             /      \
                         Source     GoalP
                                   /     \
                                t_DP2    Goal
                                        /    \
                                     Goal    PlaceP
                                            /      \
                                        t_DP2     Place
                                                 /     \
                                             Place    √CONOC ⇒ conoc-
```
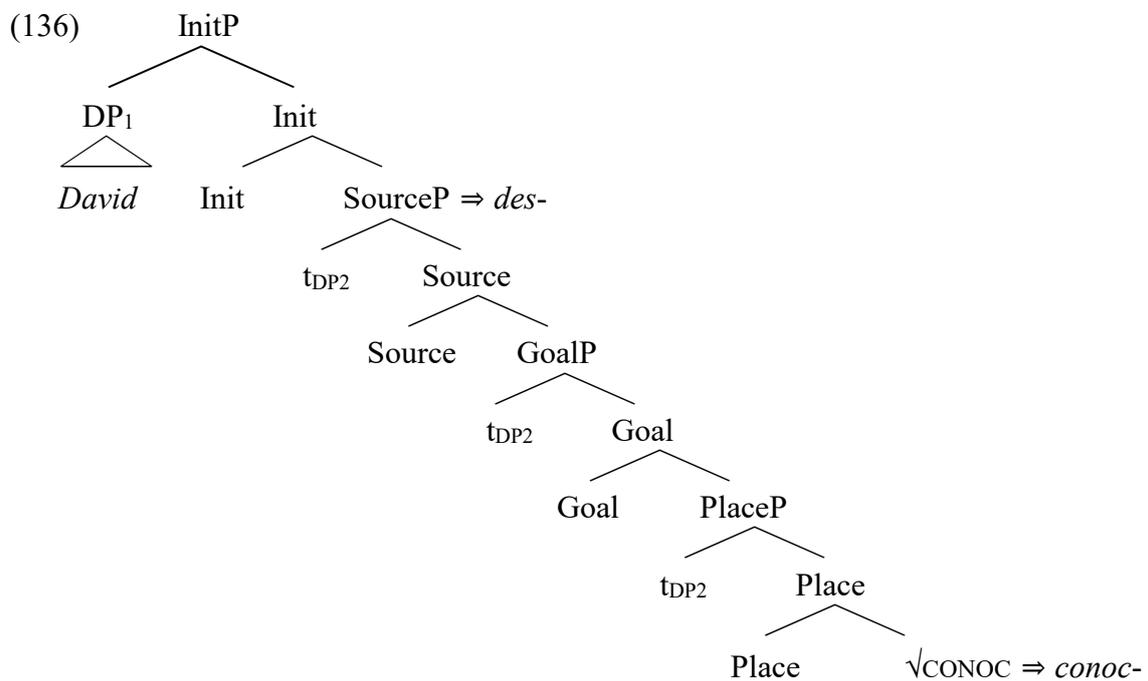
As for the verbalizing suffix, it is only specified for the subeventive projection InitP, but it cannot lexicalize the material appearing at specifier of Init, which corresponds to the formal subject *David*. As standardly assumed, formal subjects need to move to the specifier of an inflectional projection, for EPP reasons. This movement of the DP subject leaves the specifier of Init with a trace that is ignored at the moment of Spell-out, which allows the verbalizing suffix to be inserted:

(137)   InitP ⇒ verbalizer

t_{DP1}   Init

       Init   SourceP ⇒ *des-*

              t_{DP2}   Source

                     Source   GoalP

                            t_{DP2}   Goal

                                   Goal   PlaceP

                                          t_{DP2}   Place

                                                 Place   √CONOC ⇒ *conoc-*
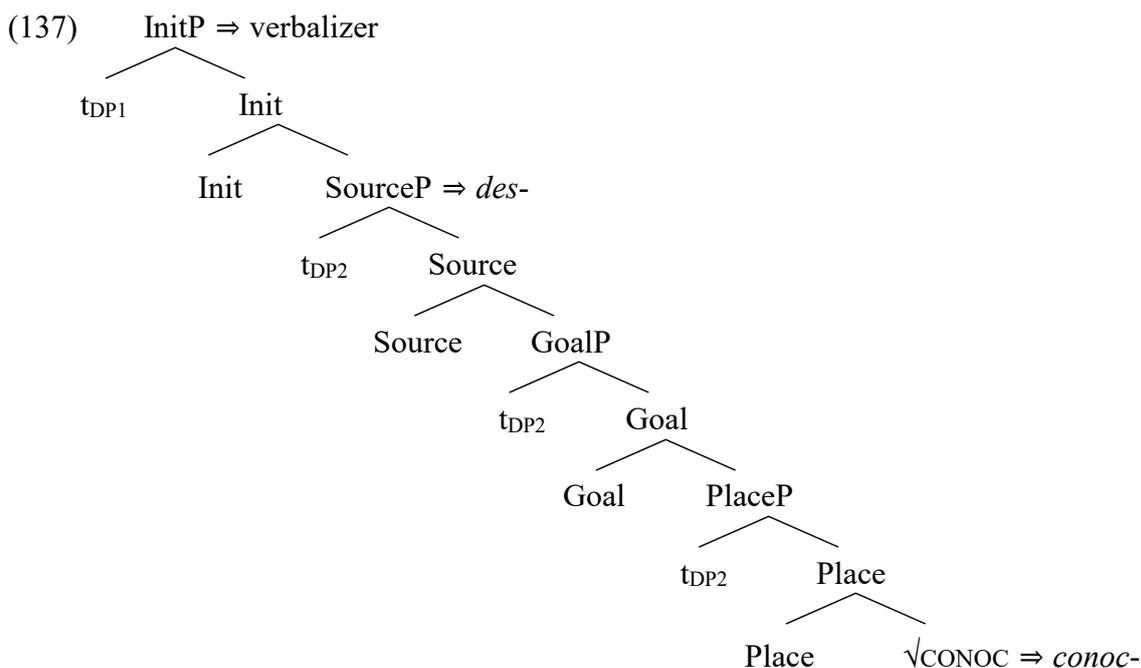
Hence, at the moment of Spell-out the syntactic configuration has been left without specifiers, which allows Phrasal Spell-out to take place. And the same holds for the other types of *des-* prefixed verbs, all of which include specifiers corresponding to the internal and external arguments of these verbs: these specifiers move to higher functional projections prior to lexicalization, which ensures that the structure generated in syntax can be spelled out by the lexical exponents.

3.4.5.2. Linearization

The right linearization of the exponents conforming the *des-* prefixed verb *desconocer* 'to be ignorant of' is not obtained from the syntactic analysis I have proposed in the previous section (cf. (137)), given that the subeventive head lexicalized by the verbalizing suffix asymmetrically c-commands the heads lexicalized by *des-* (i.e., Source, Goal and Place) as well as the root, which leads to the prior lexicalization of the subeventive head and predicts the following linearization of morphemes: "verbalizer-prefix-root".[42] This is not, however, the required order of morphemes at the PF.

In Spanish, verbalizers (i.e., the exponents lexicalizing subeventive features) are always suffixes. As for the lexical exponents expressing directional meaning, as e.g. Spanish prefixes *des-*, *a-* and *en-*, they are always prefixal in Spanish (there are no

---

[42] Following Pantcheva (2011) and other works on Nanosyntax, I assume the *Linear Correspondence Axiom* postulated by Kayne (1994), according to which if a node A asymmetrically c-commands another node B, then whatever node dominated by A will precede whatever one dominated by B.

suffixes in Spanish that encode the same meaning). Therefore, it is a particular requirement of Spanish that verbalizers be suffixes and direction-denoting elements be prefixes. Following insights in Fábregas (in press), I will assume that the requirement of verbal suffixes to be suffixed is made explicit in the phonological information contained in their lexical entries. Seemingly, prefixes also contain the requirement to be prefixed in their phonological representation.

Therefore, once the syntactic configuration has been replaced by the exponents, these exponents might be reordered at the PF branch to satisfy their phonological requirements. In the particular case of *des-* prefixed verbs, where I assume the syntactic projections lexicalized by the prefix to dominate the root, and the subeventive projections lexicalized by the verbalizer to dominate the syntactic structure lexicalized by *des-*, once spell-out has occurred we are left with the following output: "verbalizer-prefix-root". The right linearization of morphemes is obtained at the PF branch, where the verbalizer moves to the righ-side of the exponent of the root to satisfy its phonological requirement of appearing to the right-side of a prosodic unit.

In Nanosyntax, linearization is usually obtained by means of Spell-Out driven movement (Starke 2011, Caha 2010, Pantcheva 2011), a kind of syntactic movement that has no impact in syntax but which is required for lexicalization to proceed. To take Starke's (2011) example, it could be the case that a syntactic tree has been created as the following one:

(138)

```
        /\
       a  /\
         b  /\
           c  /\
             d
```
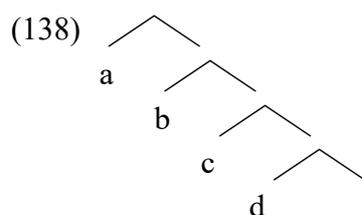
And that there are two lexical exponents available to spell it out:

(139) a.   *kick*   ↔   [c [d]

       b.   *ed*   ↔   [a [b]

At the stage of the derivation in which cP has been built, the lexical exponent *kick* can be inserted because it matches the tree:

(140)

kick c

d
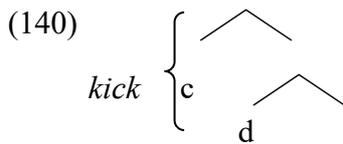
However, once the entire tree up to aP is created, there is no single item specified for abcd that matches the tree and, accordingly, the tree cannot be spelled out:

(141)

* a

b

c

kick d
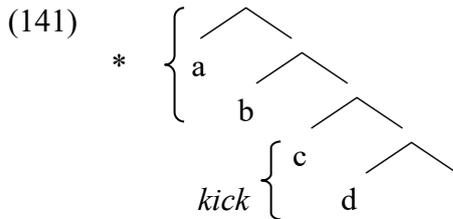
Upon Starke's view, the exponent *ed* cannot be used to spell out ab because in the syntactic configuration ab does not conform a syntactic constituent to the exclusion of cd. Starke, thus, is assuming that lexical exponents must correspond to syntactic constituents. For spell-out not to crash, he posits a last resort movement triggered by the need to create an adequate configuration for spell-out:

(142)

kick c

d a

b *ed*
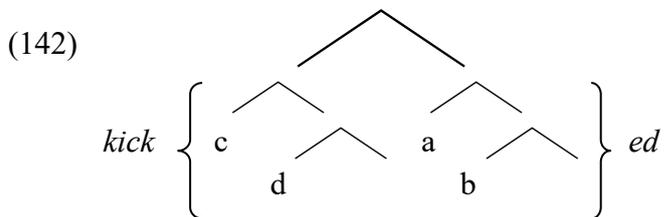
Once cd has been evacuated, we are left with two independent syntactic constituents: [c[d]], that corresponds to *kick*, and [a[b]], that matches the tree stored by *ed*. As a byproduct, the linear order is obtained. I will not, however, assume this type of movement, since there is no syntactic motivation for it. Besides, as implicit in nanosyntax-framed works as Fábregas (2016a), when a chunk of structure has been spelled out by a lexical exponent, this chunk of structure is invisible at the next cycle. Only the material intervening in between the sequence of heads to be materialized (e.g., specifiers) is to be evacuated if it is not identified by the lexical exponent. In fact, the evacuation of specifiers to higher functional projections can be justified by other reasons than the unique need to create an adequate configuration for Spell-Out (see section 3.4.5.1 with regards to the evacuation of the internal and external argument of *des*-prefixed verbs). Accordingly, I will not adopt Spell-Out driven movement to derive

the right linearization of morphemes, and will rather assume that it is obtained at the PF branch by virtue of phonological conditions imposed on the lexical exponents.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the most relevant characteristics of *des-* prefixed verbs and I have analyzed their structural as well as their conceptual meaning in turn. Alongside, I have provided evidence in favour of the fact that the Source idea of detachment or distance from a given (physical or abstract) location is always recognizable among the different sorts of *des*-prefixed items, which supports the initial claim of this chapter according to which *des-* is a Source prefix rather than a negative one.

The chapter has started with a classification of *des*-prefixed verbs in section 3.2. Following the descriptive literature on the subject, I have distinguished "parasynthetic" *des*-prefixed verbs (namely, verbs incorporating a root able to be independently realized as a noun or as an adjective but, crucially, not as a verb) from "deverbal" *des*-prefixed verbs (i.e., verbs that have a non-prefixed correlate). I have further classified the verbs of each class into semantic subtypes depending on their basic meaning. Based on previous descriptive studies, within *des*-parasynthetic verbs I have distinguished ablative, privative, decreasing-property and destruction meanings; and within *des-*deverbal verbs I have identified reversative, negative, evaluative and intensive values.

In section 3.3 the most relevant properties of *des*-prefixed verbs have been presented. I have shown that the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs as well as reversative verbs share the same argument structure configuration and the same aspectual behaviour; and that it is possible to distinguish lexicalized (non-compositional) meanings among the members of each of these classes. These observations have led me to conclude that in these verbs the prefix occupies a low position in the syntactic structure and that it imposes its structural requirements to the resulting verb. With regard to so-called *negative verbs*, I have distinguished two aspectual classes: that of Kimian states and that of Davidsonian states. These verbs have been argued to have different structural configurations from their non-prefixed counterparts, and some of them have been asserted to display idiosyncratic meanings, thus suggesting once again a low position of the prefix inside the structure.

Finally, section 3.4. has offered a nanosyntactic analysis of the different types of *des*-prefixed verbs and has examined the conceptual semantics of these constructions by taking into account the QS of their lexical roots. Through this analysis I have put forward that the distinction between parasynthetic verbs and deverbal verbs is just a descriptive one, since the vast majority of *des*-prefixed verbs involve the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root. It has been argued that the different subtypes of *des*-parasynthetic verbs and reversative verbs involve the same syntactic configuration, which corresponds to that of a telic transition in which a Figure-Source relationship is established between the internal argument and the root. I have proposed that the distinction between the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs and between them and reversative verbs lies on the QS associated to the root. By doing so, I have evidenced that syntactic structure may be simplified if the QS of lexical roots is taken into account. In the case of negative verbs, I have also assumed that the prefix is adjoined to an acategorial root, and I have illustrated that the negative meaning of predicates emerges from the non-dynamic interpretation of the Source path that *des*-lexicalizes. After analyzing the different types of *des*-prefixed verbs, I have provided a nanosyntactic account of the most external position of *des*- in the stacking of this prefix with the Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-*, concluding that this ordering is due to the fact that Source is higher in the structure than Goal (Pantcheva 2011). I have concluded the section examining the syntactically triggered movement of specifiers as well as the movement triggered at the PF branch for the right linearization to obtain.

Appendix

Testing if *des*- negative verbs denoting Kimian states behave as stage-level predicates

In section 3.4.3.2.1, the question has arisen whether *des*-negative verbs denoting a Kimian state, which, according to the proposal put forward in this chapter, involve a Source Path in their internal syntax, can be considered stage-level predicates, given that, as suggested in chapter 2, section 2.4.1, a state involving a bounded path structure is susceptible to get a stage-level interpretation. To test if *des*-negative verbs codifying Kimian states behave as stage-level predicates or as individual-level ones, I apply four of the diagnostics provided by Fábregas & Marín (2015) to distinguish the former from the latter.

1. Stage-level predicates are compatible with temporal expressions that pick out the initial boundary of the state. Individual-level predicates, by contrast, are not:

(143)   a. *Tan pronto como/ en cuanto*   *te*   *desagrade*   *su*

           As soon as   you.DAT dislike.PRS.SBJV.3SG   his

           comportamiento,   díselo.

           behaviour   tell.him.it

           'As soon as you dislike his behaviour, tell him'.

        b. ? *Tan pronto como/ en cuanto*   *desaprueben*   *tu*

           Ass soon as   disapprove.PRS.SBJV.3PL   your

           propuesta,   vete   *de la reunión*.

           proposal   go_out.IMP.2SG   of   the meating

        c. *Tan pronto como/ en cuanto*   *descrea*   *de su palabra,*

           As soon as   disbelieve.PRS.SBJV.1SG of his word

           dejaré   *de*   *salir*   *con*   *él*.

           stop.FUT.1SG   of   go_out.INF   with   him

           'As soon as I disbelieve his word, I'll stop going out with him'.

        d. **Tan pronto como/ en cuanto*   *desconozcas*   *el*   *campo de*

           As soon as   not_know.SBJV.2SG   the   field   of

           estudio,   llama   a   un experto.

           study,   call.IMP.2SG   at   an expert

e. ? *Tan pronto como/ en cuanto*   *desconfíes*   *de Laura,*   *deja de*

   As soon as   distrust.SBJV.2SG   of Laura   stop of

   contarle   *tus*   *preocupaciones.*

   tell.her   your   concerns

2. Stage-level predicates are compatible with *desde* 'since', which identifies the onset of a situation. Individual-level predicates are not:

(144) a. ? *A Olga le   desagrada   Pedro desde el   día*

         to Olga she.DAT   dislike.PRS.3SG   Pedro since the   day

         en que le   vio   discutir   con   su   mujer.

         in which him saw argue.INF   with his wife

    b. ? *María   desaprueba   tu   comportamiento   desde la*

         María   disapproves your behaviour   since the

         semana   pasada.

         last   week

    c. *Xavi   descree   del   sistema   político   desde 2010.*

         Xavi   disbelieves   of.the system   political   since 2010

         'Xavi has lost the faith in the political system since 2010'.

    d. ?*Desconozco   tus   intenciones   desde el año pasado.*

         be_ignorant_of-1SG your intentions   since   the year last

    e. *Desconfío   de Rosa   desde que me mintió.*

         distrust   of Rosa   since   that me lied

         'I distrust Rosa since the day she lied to me'.

3. Stage-level predicates can restrict temporal quantification, allowing iterativity, whereas individual-level predicates cannot:

(145) a. *Cada   vez   que   no   me   desagrada   un   vestido,*

         every   time   that not   I.DAT dislike   a   dress

         me   lo   compro.

         REFL   it.ACC buy.PRS.1SG

         'Every time I don't dislike a dress, I buy it'.

b. ? *Cada   vez   que   desaprueban   nuestro   matrimonio,*
   every   time   that   disapprove.PRS.3PL   our   marriage

   mi   marido   se   enfada.
   my   husband   REFL   irritate

c. *Cada   vez   que   alguien   descree   de   lo   que*
   every   time   that   someone   disbelieves   of   that   what

   digo,   me   siento mal.
   say.PRS.1SG refl   feel   bad

   'Every time that someone disbelieves what I say, I feel bad'.

d. *Cada   vez   que   desconozco   una   canción,*
   every   time   that   not_know.PRS.1SG   a   song

   cambio   de emisora.
   change-1sg   of dial

   'Every time I do not know a song, I change the dial'.

e. *Cada vez   que   desconfían   de ella,   se   echa a llorar.*
   every time   that   distrust.PRS.3PL   of her   REFL   starts to cry

   'Every time someone distrusts her, she starts crying'.

4. If the adjectival participles of these verbs combine with *ser* (the individual-level copula) or with *estar* (the stage-level copula). This test does not apply to *desagradar*.

(146) a. *Este uso   está   desaprobado por   los   gastroenterólogos.*
      this use   ESTAR.PRS.3SG disapproved   by   the   gastroenterologists

      'Gastroenterologists disapprove this use'.

      [Google Books: 1987. Alfonso R. Gennaro, *Remington Farmacia*, vol. 2, p. 1489]

   b. *Toda esta   gente   está   descreída   de   la   clase política.*
      all   this   people ESTAR.PRS.3SG disbelieved   of   the   class political

      'All this people has lost their faith in the political system'.

      [CREA: 2000. *ABC Color*, 07/11/2000. PARAGUAY]

c. *Este país   está   desconocido.*

    this country ESTAR.PRS.3SG not_know.PTCP

    'This country is unrecognizable'

    [CREA: 1992. Joaquín Carbonell, *Apaga… y vámonos. La television: Guía de supervivencia*]

d. *Manuel   es/?está   muy   desconfiado.*

    Manuel   SER.1SG/?ESTAR.1SG   very   distrustful

    'Manuel is/?feels very distrustful'.

CHAPTER 4

The Source prefix *des*-: on non-verbal predicates

4.1. Introduction

While the previous chapter dealt with verbal predicates headed by the Source prefix *des*-, the current chapter is concerned with non-verbal predicates headed by the very same prefix: *des*-prefixed adjectives and *des*-prefixed nouns. In contrast with the productivity shown by *des*- to create new verbal predicates in Spanish, only a reduced list of adjectives and nouns created by the addition of this prefix is attested. In this chapter it will be shown that it is possible to establish certain generalization with regard to the structural behaviour of these constructions and the kind of roots they incorporate. Moreover, evidence will be provided of the fact that the Source path that *des*- lexicalizes is still recognizable both in *des*-prefixed adjectives and nouns, and that the inherent structure of the prefix predetermines the aspectual properties of the resulting prefixed item.

The chapter is organized in two main sections: section 4.2, in which *des*-prefixed adjectives are examined; and section 4.3, devoted to *des*-prefixed nouns. Each section describes the basic meaning of these predicates, accounts for their main structural properties, and provides a nanosyntactic analysis accordingly. An interim summary is offered at the end of each section, and the main conclusions reached along the chapter are summarized in section 4.4.

4.2. *Des*- prefixed adjectives

As shown in the previous chapter, the Spanish Source-oriented prefix *des*- is especially productive in the creation of new verbs. To a lesser extent, this prefix can also head adjectives. As argued by Martín García (2007), there are two morphological types of *des*- prefixed adjectives: adjectives that seem to have been created by the addition of the prefix to an adjectival base (e.g., *desleal* 'disloyal'; cf. *leal* 'loyal'), and parasynthetic adjectives that seem to have been created by the simultaneous addition of the prefix *des*-

and the adjectivizing suffixes *-ado* and (to a much lesser extent) *-ido* to a nominal base (e.g., *desdentado* 'toothless', *descolorido* 'off colour, faded'; cf. *diente* 'tooth' and *color* 'colour'). The problem with the latter type of *des-* prefixed adjectives, that is, with "parasynthetic" adjectives, is that the adjectivizing suffixes *-ado* and *-ido* are, in fact, the same suffixes used in Spanish to create participial formations. Therefore, for many of the forms suffixed with *-ado* and *-ido* it is not altogether clear if they must be treated as cases of parasynthetic adjectives or as the adjectival participles of the corresponding parasynthetic verbs (e.g., in Spanish the forms *desdentar* 'to render toothless' and *descolorir* 'to discolour/to bleach' are attested, which could suggest that the seemingly parasynthetic adjectives *desdentado* 'toothless' and *descolorido* 'off colour, faded' are in fact participial constructions). Besides, many of the *des-* prefixed verbs addressed in chapter 3 (especially reversative ones, which are the most productive class) give rise to participial adjectives: *deshabitado* 'uninhabited, vacant' (cf. *deshabitar* 'to vacate'), *descontrolado* 'out of control' (cf. *descontrolarse* 'to get out of control'), *desordenado* 'untidy' (cf. *desordenar* 'to make untidy'), among others. Accordingly, in this chapter I will focus on adjectives that cannot be argued to derive from *des-* prefixed verbs (for which I have already provided an analysis in the preceding chapter).[1] A list of the adjectives that I will examine is provided in (1):

(1)   *desafecto* 'hostile', 'disaffected' (*afecto* 'attached to/sympathetic to/keen on'), *desafortunado* 'unlucky' (*afortunado* 'lucky'), *desatento* 'discourteous', 'inattentive' (*atento* 'solicitous', 'attentive'), *descortés* 'rude', 'impolite' (*cortés* 'courteous' 'polite'), *deshonesto* 'dishonest' (*honesto* 'honest'), *desigual* 'different' (*igual* 'equal'), *desleal* 'disloyal' (*leal* 'loyal'), *despiadado* 'ruthless', 'cruel' (*piadoso* 'merciful').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

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[1] For a classification and analysis of adjectival passive participles, see chapter 5, sections 5.4.1.3 and 5.6.3.

4.2.1. Basic meaning of *des*- prefixed adjectives

Des- prefixed adjectives display a negative meaning in which the negation of their non-prefixed counterparts is conveyed:

(2)   a. *Perros atentos,   que repentinamente se   vuelven des-atentos   y*
           Dogs attentive.PL that suddenly   REFL become   from-attentive.PL and
           no escuchan órdenes, pueden   tener alguna afección de   oídos.
           not listen   orders   may   have   some   illness   of   inner_ear.PL
           'The attentive dogs that suddenly become inattentive and ignore your orders may have an inner ear disorder'.
           [*CREA*: 1987. R. Tagarano, *El San Bernardo*. ARGENTINA].

    b. *Tomo   la pluma   sólo porque juzgaría   des-cortés no*
           Take.1SG   the quill   only because judge.COND.1SG from-polite not
           darte   las gracias por el dinero que me   has   enviado.
           give:you.DAT the thanks   for the money that me.DAT have.2SG sent
           'I write you just because I would judge impolite not to thank you for the money you have sent me'.
           [*CREA*: 1978. Elena Poniatowska, *Querido Diego, te abraza Quiela*. MÉXICO].

However, as in the case of the so-called negative verbs, *des*-prefixed adjectives involving negation do not exactly correspond to the adverbial negation of their non-prefixed counterparts, but entail a more strengthened value. As an example, in (3a) *desigual* not only means 'not equal', but the very opposite property of being equal, that is, being different. Seemingly, in (3b) the negation of *piadoso* via propositional negation does not convey the same degree of opposition as the *des*-prefixed adjective *despiadado* 'cruel':

(3)   a. *Estas dos versiones no son iguales.   Es más, son claramente des-iguales.*
           these two versions not are equal.PL   is more are clearly   from.equal.PL
           'These two versions aren't equal. What is more, they are clearly different'.

    b. *El conde   no es que no fuera   piadoso, es que era   des-piad-ado.*
           the Count   not is that not was   merciful is that was   from-mercy-ADJ
           'It is not only that the Count wasn't merciful, but also that he was cruel'.

In *des*-prefixed adjectives, the Source value of the prefix seems to be used in order to identify the very opposite property of that denoted by the non-prefixed adjective, that is, the property placed the furthest in a degree scale. Thus, while the simple negation of a gradable adjective identifies the whole negative part of the scale associated to the adjective (contradictory negation), the *des*- prefixed predicate identifies the extreme of this negative part of the scale, thus conveying the very opposite polar value of the non-prefixed adjective (contrary negation. See chapter 5, section 5.4.2 for the distinction between contradictory and contrary negation).

Moreover, and as illustrated in (4), the negative marker *no* licenses negative polarity items (cf. 4a), whereas *des*- prefixation does not (cf. 4b):

(4)   a. *No   leal   con   nadie.*
              Not loyal   with nobody
            'Not loyal with anyone'.
          b. **Des-leal con   nadie.*
               From-loyal with nobody

Some *des*-prefixed adjectives, in addition to their negative meaning, also convey a privative value in which the *des*- adjective recalls the lexically related noun. Hence, for example, *desleal* 'disloyal' is predicated of an individual who lacks *lealtad* 'loyalty'; *deshonesto* is predicated of an individual or entity that lacks *honestidad* 'honesty', etc.:

(5)   a. *des-afecto*$_A$ 'hostile'   *afecto*$_A$ 'attached to' *afecto*$_N$ 'affection'
          b. *des-leal*$_A$ 'disloyal'   *leal*$_A$ 'loyal'   *lealtad*$_N$ 'loyalty'
          c. *des-honesto*$_A$ 'dishonest' *honesto*$_A$ 'honest'   *honestidad*$_N$ 'honesty'
          d. *des-atento*$_A$ 'inattentive' *atento*$_A$ 'attentive' *atención*$_N$ 'attention'
          e. *des-cortés*$_A$ 'rude'   *cortés*$_A$ 'polite'   *cortesía*$_N$ 'politeness'

This is not surprising, since in these cases the non-prefixed adjective also recalls the lexically related property-denoting noun. Hence, for example, *leal* is predicated of an individual who acts according to *lealtad* 'loyalty', *honesto* is predicated of an individual or entity endowed with *honestidad* 'honesty', and so on.[2] It seems, thus, that what is

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[2] Many of the non-prefixed adjectives included in (5) are diachronically related to nouns. Hence, for example, *leal* 'loyal' is the evolution of the Latin adjective LEGALIS 'belonging to the law' 'legal', created upon the noun LEX 'law'; and *honesto* 'honest' is the evolution of the Latin adjective HONESTUS 'full of

denied in *desleal* 'disloyal' or *deshonesto* 'dishonest' is the property identified either by the adjective (*leal* 'loyal', *honesto* 'honest') or by the noun (*lealtad* 'loyalty', *honestidad* 'honesty'), so that the entity from which they are predicated is understood as not having this property and, accordingly, as not being loyal or honest.

4.2.2. Properties of *des*-prefixed adjectives
4.2.2.1. Argument Structure configurations

Des- prefixed adjectives are all predicative, as shown by the fact that all of them may appear in predicative position with the Spanish copular verbs *ser* 'to be' or *estar* 'to be' (cf. Demonte 1999; Fábregas 2007):

(6)   a. *Este periodista   es des-afecto   al   gobierno*.

          This journalist   is from-attached   to_the government

         'This journalist is hostile to the government'.

        b. *Julio es   des-cortés*.

          Julio is   from-polite

         'Julio is rude'.

Des- prefixed adjectives are predicative: they predicate something of a given entity or individual and, accordingly, they require the presence of an external argument acting as the subject of predication. In (6a) the adjective *desafecto* 'hostile' is predicated of *este periodista* 'this journalist', so that *este periodista* is understood as being hostile to the government; and in (6b) *descortés* 'rude' is predicated of *Julio*.

        This predicative behaviour is shared by the non-prefixed counterparts of these adjectives:

(7)   a. *Este periodista   es   afecto   al   gobierno*.

          This journalist   is   attached   to_the government

         'This journalist is attached to the government'.

        b. *Julio es   cortés*.

          Julio is   polite

         'Julio is polite'.

honour', derived from the noun HONOS 'honour'. These diachronic data evidence the links existing between these adjectives and a lexically related noun.

In addition to the subject of predication, some *des-* prefixed adjectives co-occur with a dative complement that identifies the target of the relation of predication existing between the adjective and its subject:

(8)   a. *Un   vecino   des-afecto   al   alcalde.*

         A   neighbour   from-attached to_the mayor

        'A neighbour hostile to the mayor'.

    b. *Un ministro   des-leal   al   presidente.*

         A   minister   from-loyal   to_the president

        'A minister disloyal to the president'.

In (8a), the dative complement *al alcalde* 'to the mayor' identifies the target of the hostility or disaffection of the neighbour. In the same way, in (8b) the dative complement *al presidente* 'to the president' makes explicit the existence of a participant —the president— that is the target of the disloyalty of a given minister. These dative complements are also licensed by the non-prefixed counterparts of these adjectives, as illustrated in (9):

(9)   a. *Un   vecino   afecto   al   alcalde.*

         A   neighbour attached   to_the mayor

        'A neighbour attached to the mayor'.

    b. *Un   ministro   leal   al   presidente.*

         A   minister   loyal   to_the president

        'A minister loyal to the president'.

4.2.2.2. Lexical aspect

A considerable amount of the adjectival forms under study are evaluative adjectives, that is, adjectives that denote a behaviour or an attitude that can be evaluated. Although adjectives are generally identified with states, evaluative adjectives have been argued to be special regarding their aspectual properties (Stowell 1991; Arche 2006; Marín 2010; Fábregas, Leferman & Marín 2013; Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2014). Hence, they can combine with the progressive form of the copular verb *ser* 'to be', a fact usually taken as an evidence of their eventive nature (cf. Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2014: 15-16):

(10)   *Carlos está siendo {desatento/   descortés/ deshonesto/ desleal/ despiadado}.*

        Carlos is   being {discourteous/   rude/   dishonest/   disloyal/ ruthless}

That an event variable must be somehow involved in these predicates, according to some authors, is illustrated by their ability to allow agentive modifiers like *a propósito* 'on purpose' (see (11)) or by the possibility of using these predicates as complements of perception verbs (see (12)). These observations lead Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013) to conclude that evaluative adjectives are, in fact, Davidsonian states, i.e., stative predicates containing an event variable:

(11)   *Carlos fue {desatento/ descortés/ deshonesto/ desleal/ despiadado} a propósito.*

        Carlos was {discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless} on purpose

(12)   *Vi a Carlos ser/siendo {desatento/descortés/deshonesto/desleal/ despiadado}.*

        I.saw Carlos be/being {discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/   disloyal/ ruthless}'.

I will revisit this claim in section 4.2.3.2 in order to point out what I consider are problematic aspects in positing an event variable in these cases.

        In addition to their eventive reading, evaluative adjectives also have a pure stative reading in which they behave as individual-level predicates (see Stowell 1991; Fernald 1999; Arche 2006; Landau 2010; or Fábregas, Leferman & Marín 2013 for the same observation), as shown by the fact that they can combine with the copular verb *ser* (the Spanish copular verb that combines with individual-level predicates) but not with the copular verb *estar* (the Spanish copular verb that combines with stage-level predicates):[3]

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[3] Notice, however, that evaluative adjectives behave as stage-level predicates in certain respects. Hence, they may co-appear with episodic temporal adverbs like *a veces* 'sometimes', *a menudo* 'often' or *siempre* 'always':

(i)   a. *A veces Pablo es {desatento/descortés/deshonesto/desleal/despiadado}.*
            'Sometimes Pablo is {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.
         b. *Pablo es {desatento/descortés/deshonesto/desleal/despiadado} a menudo.*
            'Pablo is often {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.
         c. *Pablo es siempre {desatento/descortés/deshonesto/desleal/despiadado}.*
            'Pablo is always {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.

This has led certain authors to analyze evaluative adjectives as stage-level predicates (Lakoff 1966, Pustejovsky 1995, Martin 2008). However, according to Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013), this stage-

(13)   a. *Carlos es {desatento/ descortés/ deshonesto/   desleal/ despiadado}.*

        Carlos is$_{SER}$ {discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/   disloyal/ ruthless}

     b. **Carlos está   {desatento/ descortés/ deshonesto/ desleal/ despiadado}.*

        Carlos is$_{ESTAR}$ {discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}

It is worth noticing that *desatento* (as well as the non-prefixed *atento*) does not always act as an evaluative adjective meaning 'discourteous' ('solicitous' in the case of *atento*), but it can also mean 'inattentive, distracted' (or 'attentive' in the case of *atento*) and behave as a stage-level predicate that combines with *estar* instead of with *ser* (cf. 14):

(14)   a. *Juan está   (des)atento   a mi explicación.*

        Juan is$_{ESTAR}$ (in)attentive   to my explanation

     b. **Juan es   (des)atento   a mi explicación.*

        Juan is$_{SER}$ (in)attentive   to my explanation

With regard to *des-* prefixed adjectives that are not evaluative, they are associated with states, although not all of them are states of the same type. The largest amount of them behave as individual-level predicates that can combine with *ser* but not with *estar*:[4]

(15) Individual-level *des*-prefixed adjectives

     a. *El coronel es   desafecto al régimen* vs. **El coronel está desafecto al   régimen.*

       The colonel is$_{SER}$ hostile   to.the regime vs. The colonel is$_{ESTAR}$ hostile to.the regime

     b. *Luisa es   des-afortunada   vs.   *Luisa está   des-afortunada.*

       Luisa is$_{SER}$ unlucky   vs.   Luisa is$_{ESTAR}$ unlucky

The adjective *desigual* 'unequal' may behave in certain contexts either as an individual-level predicate or as a stage-level one:

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level behaviour is explained by the fact that they contain an event variable and, thus, they may be temporally quantified.

[4] In spoken Spanish, all predicates are coercible with *estar*, yielding stage-level readings (see Gallego & Uriagereka 2009). Hence, a predicate like *Hoy, Juan está descortés* 'Today, Juan is$_{ESTAR}$ rude' forces the adjective *descortés* 'rude' to be interpreted as a transitory state of Juan, and not as an inherent property of his.

(16)   a. *El tamaño de sus   pies es/*está des-igual*.

 The size   of his.PL feet   is_SER/ is_ESTAR from-equal

 'The size of his feet is_ser/ *is_estar unequal'.

   b. *Has   cortado mal   las mangas y ahora son/están   des-iguales*.

 Have.2SG cut.PTCP badly the sleeves   and now   be_SER.3PL/be_ESTAR.3PL   from-equal.PL

 'You haven't cut the sleeves well and now they are_SER/are_ESTAR unequal'.

In (16a), *desigual* 'unequal' is predicated as an inherent property of *el tamaño de sus pies* 'the size of his feet', an individual-level context that demands the presence of the copular verb *ser* and rejects the presence of the copular verb *estar*. In (16b), on the other hand, *desigual* 'unequal' is understood to be the state of *las mangas* 'the sleeves' after a not well-performed cutting event, which allows the presence of the copular verb *estar*, making explicit the stage-level interpretation of the adjective in this particular context. Notice, however, that the very same context allows the adjective to be combined with the individual-level selecting *ser*.

Although it may seem that *des*-prefixed adjectives share the same aspectual properties with their non-prefixed counterparts, the addition of *des*- entails changes in their scalar structure. According to Kennedy & McNally (2005) (see also Unger 1975, Husband 2010; *apud*. Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2014), gradable adjectives can be classified as relative or as absolute depending on their involving, or not, a boundary in their scale. Relative adjectives do not lexically set a boundary to define their standard of comparison, and accordingly the point in the scale where this standard value is placed must be contextually inferred. Absolute adjectives, by contrast, involve a scale bounded at least in one of their boundaries, and accordingly they set their standard value in the minimal or the maximal point of their scales. Therefore, gradable adjectives can be classified in four types depending on the (un)boundedness of their scale:

(17)   a. Scale open in both sides: *tall*

   b. Scale closed in the minimal degree, open in the maximal one: *dirty*

   c. Scale open in the minimal degree, closed in the maximal degree: *clean*

   d. Scale closed in both sides: *full*

   [Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2014: 17 (70)]

Depending on the type of scale lexicalized by a gradable adjective, different degree modifiers are allowed. Hence, the degree modifier *slightly*, which picks out the minimal degree in the scale, is only allowed by those adjectives involving a lower boundary, and the degree modifier *completely*, which selects the maximal degree of the scale, is licensed only by adjectives closed in their upper boundary:

(18) a. *{slightly/completely} tall

   b. {slightly/*completely} dirty

   c. {*slightly/completely} clean

   d. {slightly/completely} full

   [Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2014: 17 (71)]

In the particular case of *des*-prefixed adjectives, they are always gradable adjectives, like their non-prefixed counterparts. However, it is usually the case that *des*-prefixed adjectives and their non-prefixed counterparts involve different scalar structures and, accordingly, do not allow the same degree modifiers, as illustrated in the contrasts below:

(19) a. *Una persona {#un poco/ completamente} honesta.*

     A   person   slightly /   completely   honest.F

     'A {#slightly/completely} honest person'.

   b. *Una persona {un poco/completamente} des-honesta.*

     A   person   slightly/ completely   from-honest.F

     'A {slightly/completely} dishonest person'.

(20) a. *Mateo es {#un poco/ #completamente} cortés.*

     Mateo is slightly/   completely   polite

     'Mateo is {#slightly/#completely}polite'.

   b. *Mateo es {un poco/ #completamente} des-cortés.*[5]

     Mateo is slightly / completely   from-polite

     'Mateo is {slightly/ #completely} rude'.

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[5] Some speakers allow the absolute degree modifier *completamente* 'completely' with the adjective *descortés* 'rude'. For these speakers, thus, *descortés* involves a scale closed in both sides. What is evident, in any case, is that the presence of the prefix *des-* forces the predicate to be bounded at least (but not only) in its lower boundary.

The example of (19a) illustrates that the non-prefixed adjective *honesto/a* 'honest' involves an upper bounded scale, since it licenses *completamente* 'completely' (a degree modifier that selects the maximal degree on the scale) but not *un poco* 'slightly' (a degree modifier that picks the minimal degree on the scale). In (19b), however, the prefixed adjective *deshonesto* 'dishonest' allows both the degree modifiers *un poco* and *completamente*, which shows that its scale is bounded on both sides. In (20) non-prefixed *cortés* is related to an open scale and, accordingly, it disallows being modified either by *un poco* or by *completamente*; while the prefixed *descortés* gives rise to a lower bounded scale able to be modified by the minimal degree modifier *un poco*.

These data suggest that the addition of *des-* entails the addition of a (minimal) boundary to the scale implicit in the predicate. Therefore, and as I will further justify in the following section, in *des*-prefixed adjectives the prefix imposes its (lower) bounded nature to the resulting adjective.

4.2.3. Decomposing *des*-prefixed adjectives

4.2.3.1. Basic nanosyntactic structure

Throughout the previous sections it has been illustrated that *des*-prefixed adjectives share certain regularities. One of these regularities is the fact that all of them are predicative (cf. §4.2.2.1). Accordingly, they ask for an external argument understood to be the subject of predication. Following Baker (2003) I assume that adjectives do not introduce their subject, but that it is licensed by another functional head: Pred(ication).[6] Pred specifies the stative relation of a given predicate with the argument it is predicated of, so that it takes the predicate as its complement and introduces the subject of predication as its specifier (cf. Bowers 1993, 2000). Hence, I assume the basic syntactic structure of predicative adjectives to be the one depicted in (21), which specifies that predicative adjectives are created over an acategorial property-denoting root selected by an A(djective)P(hrase) that categorizes it as an adjective. This AP is governed by a PredP that introduces the external argument of the predication. As it is, the syntactic structure in (21) corresponds to that of an individual-level predicate, given that, if no other aspectual projection is included in the structure, the relation existing between the

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[6] As Víctor Acedo-Matellán (p.c.) points out to me, this is a particularized version of Kratzer's (1996) idea that external arguments are introduced by a dedicated functional projection (see Svenonius 2003 for the same idea applied to the structure of the PP).

property that the adjective denotes and the DP subject is inferred to be temporary persistent (cf. Fábregas, Leferman & Marín 2013; Condoravdi 1989; and McNally 1993).

(21) Basic structure of predicative adjectives

lexical exponent of the adjective
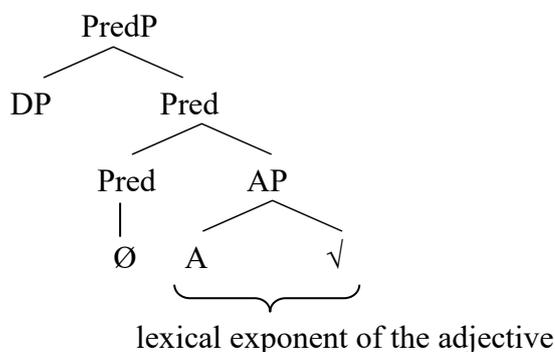
Another regularity I have observed in *des*-prefixed adjectives is that they involve a (lower) bounded scale. In this respect, *des*-prefixed adjectives contrast with their non-prefixed counterparts, which do not always involve bounded scales (cf. §4.2.2.2). The fact that the presence of the prefix entails changes in the scalar structure inherent to predicative adjectives strongly suggests that the prefix must be inserted in a low position of the syntactic structure, that is, in a position from which it can modify the structural properties of that scale.

Taking into account these regularities, my proposal is that *des*-prefixed adjectives share the syntactic structure included in (23), in which I make explicit that the prefix *des*- is directly adjoined to an acategorial root, and that the "prefix-root" set is then categorized as an adjective.

(22)   *Una   persona des-honesta.*
        a   person from-honest.F.SG
        'A dishonest person'.

(23) Analysis of (22)

```
              PredP
            /      \
  una persona      Pred
                 /      \
             Pred        AP
              |        /    \
              Ø       A      SourceP
                      |      /      \
                 adjectivizer  una persona  Source
                                          /      \
                                    Source        GoalP
                                                 /      \
                                         una persona     Goal
                                                        /      \
                        des- ⟨——————————— Goal          PlaceP
                                                        /      \
                                              una persona       Place
                                                 Figure        /    \
                                                    ⟨——— Place    √HONEST
                                                                   Ground
```
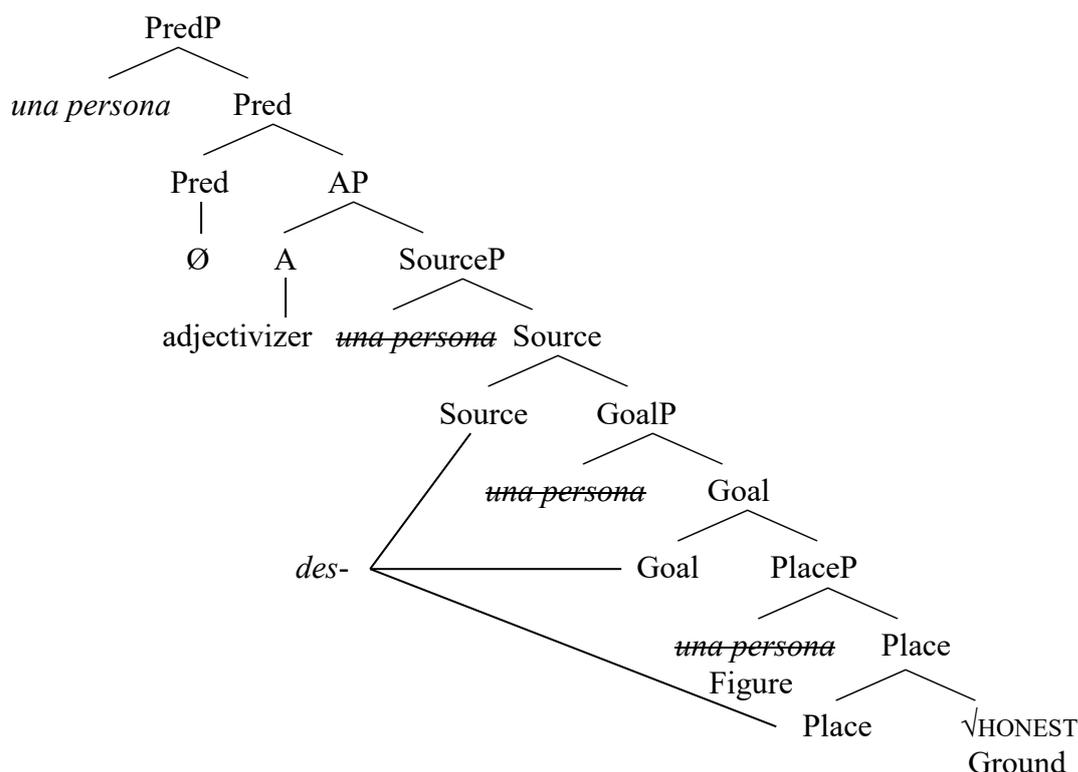
The structure that I posit accounts for the negative meaning that *des*-prefixed adjectives instantiate. Although these adjectives may be roughly paraphrased as the negation of their non-prefixed correlate (e.g., *deshonesto* 'dishonest' can be paraphrased as "not honest"), they do not express the (contradictory) negation of their "positive" counterparts, as previously shown in section 4.2.1. Rather, *des*-prefixes adjectives identify the very opposite property of their non-prefixed counterparts, that is, the property placed the furthest in a degree scale. This idea of (contrary) opposition arises from the Source path that *des*- lexicalizes, which gets statically interpreted as a Source-oriented scale by means of which a given Figure (the subject of predication) is placed away from a given property (the property denoted by the acategorial root, structurally identified with a Source-Ground), and so this Figure is understood as not having that property or as having that property in an extremely low degree. Hence, the Source path lexicalized by the prefix *des*- is interpreted as a lower bounded scale by virtue of being dominated by an AP (and not by a dynamic subeventive projection as Proc), which gives rise to bounded predicates that are, however, of stative nature.

My proposal of analyzing *des*- prefixed adjectives as involving the addition of the prefix to a root and not to a categorized adjective finds support in an adjective such as *desafecto* 'disaffected', the meaning of which is reminiscent of both that of the noun

afecto 'affection' and that of the adjective *afecto* 'sympathetic to/keen on'. Given that both the noun and the adjective share the same morphophonological shape, which is *afecto*, it is unclear whether the adjective *desafecto* 'disaffected' should be derived from the noun or from the adjective. The position adopted here does not face this puzzle, given that it is posited that *desafecto* 'disaffected' does not derive from the noun *afecto* 'affection' nor from the adjective *afecto* 'sympathetic to', but from the acategorial root *afect-*. This analysis also accounts for all the *des*-prefixed adjectives, listed in section 4.2, example (5), repeated below as (24), that admit being paraphrased either as the negation of the non-prefixed adjective or as the lack of the property denoted by a lexically related noun:

(24)   a. *des-afecto*$_A$ 'hostile'   *afecto*$_A$ 'attached to'   *afecto*$_N$ 'affection'

         b. *des-leal*$_A$ 'disloyal'   *leal*$_A$ 'loyal'   *lealtad*$_N$ 'loyalty'

         c. *des-honesto*$_A$ 'dishonest'   *honesto*$_A$ 'honest'   *honestidad*$_N$ 'honesty'

         d. *des-atento*$_A$ 'inattentive'   *atento*$_A$ 'attentive'   *atención*$_N$ 'attention'

         e. *des-cortés*$_A$ 'rude'   *cortés*$_A$ 'polite'   *cortesía*$_N$ 'politeness'

As argued for in section 4.2, in these cases what is denied is the property identified either by the adjective or by the noun. Taking into account the syntactic analysis proposed in this section, these predicates involve the addition of the prefix to the root incorporated either by the adjective or by the noun. The root identifies a gradable property, and the function of the prefix is to reverse its scale so as to identify its minimal degree, which triggers the (contrary) negative meaning of these adjectives.

Regarding the right linearization of the prefix and the adjectivizing suffix in *des*-prefixed adjectives, by now I will assume, as introduced in chapter 3, section 3.4.5.2, that it is obtained at the PF branch, where morphemes are reordered according to their phonological requirements.

4.2.3.2. A short digression on evaluative adjectives

Up to this point I have accounted for the stative readings of *des*-prefixed adjectives. However, in §4.2.2.2 I acknowledged that *des*-prefixed adjectives with evaluative semantics may display eventive readings in addition to stative ones. Such an eventive reading, however, is not the most basic one, given that the reading that emerges in the

most neutral contexts —as, for instance, the cases in which there is no intermediating verb between the adjective and its external argument (25a), or when the adjective co-appears with a copular verb in the present tense (25b)— is the non-eventive one:

(25) a. *Una persona {desatenta/ descortés/ deshonesta/ desleal/ despiadada}.*

A   person discourteous/rude /dishonest/   disloyal/ruthless

'A {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless} person'.

→ Intended: 'a person holding the property of being {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.

b. *Esta persona es {desatenta/ descortés/ deshonesta/ desleal/ despiadada}.*

This person is discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.

→ Intended: 'this person holds the property of being {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.

On the contrary, the eventive reading of these adjectives emerges in particular contexts, for instance when they are combined with the progressive form of the copular verb *ser* (26a), or when they co-occur with a PP complement specifying the target towards which the behaviour is directed (26b):

(26) a. *Esta persona está siendo {desatenta/ descortés/ deshonesta/ desleal/*

This person is   being discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/ disloyal/

despiadada}.

ruthless

→ Intended: 'this person is currently acting as a {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless} person, but he/she must not necessarily be {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless}'.

b. *Esta persona es   {desatenta/   descortés/ deshonesta/ desleal/*

This person is   discourteous/ rude/   dishonest/ disloyal/

des-piad-ada}   con Juan.

ruthless   with Juan

'This person is {discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless} to Juan'.

→ Intended: 'This person is {discourteous/rude/dishonest/disloyal/ruthless} in relation to Juan, but he/she must not necessarily be {discourteous/ rude/dishonest/disloyal/ruthless}'.

These data suggest that evaluative adjectives are in fact stative predicates, but that they can be coerced into an eventive reading when they are predicated in relation to an event.[7] Hence, in the examples of (26) it is not the case that *esta persona* 'this person' holds the property of being *desatenta/ descortés/ deshonesta/ desleal/ despiadada* 'discourteous/ rude/ dishonest/ disloyal/ ruthless', but that this person is intended to hold this property when he/she is involved in certain events.

At this point the question raises whether or not these predicates involve an event variable in their eventive readings, and, if it is the case, where this event variable should be placed in the structure. Stowell (1991) and Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013), argue that an event variable is present, but that it is not contained in a head of the extended projection of these adjectives, since it is not an inherent property of adjectives to involve an event. Stowell (1991) introduces the event variable [e] as a second external argument of the adjective, in a structure with two layers of AP that involves movement from the lower A head to the higher one:

(27) Stowell's (1991) proposal

```
                AP
              /    \
           [e]      A'
                  /    \
                 A       AP
     [lexical exponent]ᵢ  /  \
                       DP    A'
                              |
                              A
                              tᵢ
```
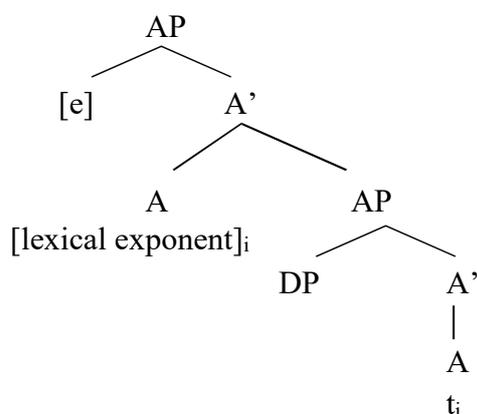
Based on Stowell's (1991) approach, Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013) posit that the eventive readings of evaluative adjectives emerge when they are predicated not of an individual but of an event, and propose that in these cases the event variable is introduced as the specifier of PredP, that is, as the external argument (the subject) of the predicate:

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[7] For the most recent in-depth theoretical treatment of this type of coercion and of the *ser/estar* distinction, see Silvagni (2017).

(28) Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013) proposal

```
           PredP
          /     \
       [e]      Pred
               /    \
            Pred     AP
```
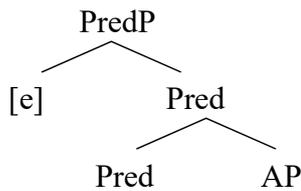
This proposal, I claim, poses a crucial problem: if in the eventive readings of these adjectives the position of the subject is occupied by the event variable, how is this argument licensed? Fábregas, Leferman & Marín do not deal with this problem. They argue that the PP complement specifying the target of the predicate is crucial for the eventive reading of these adjectives, and they introduce the subject as the external argument (i.e., the Figure) of this PP complement, as illustrated below

(29)   *Miguel es   cruel   con Paula.*
       Miguel is   cruel   with Paula
       'Miguel is cruel to Paula'.

(30) Analysis of (29) based on Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013) proposal

```
           PredP
          /     \
       [e]      Pred
               /    \
            Pred     AP
                    /   \
                 cruel   pP
                        /   \
                   Miguel    p
                            /   \
                           p     PP
                                /    \
                              con    Paula
```
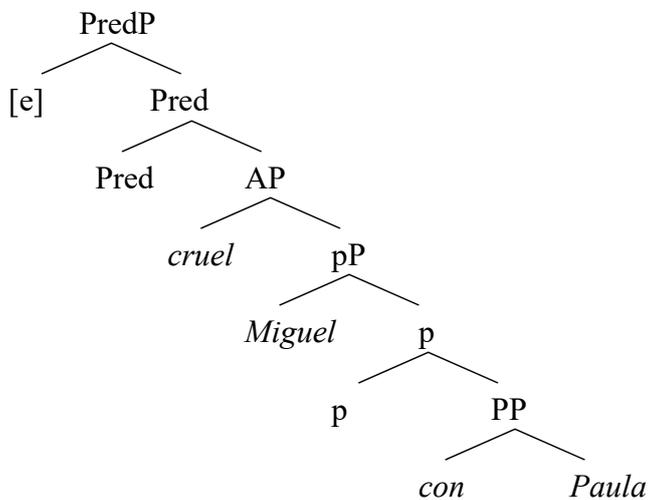
However, it is not always the case that this PP complement is present in the eventive uses of evaluative adjectives. Therefore, in a predicate such as the one in (31), in which the adjective displays an eventive reading but no PP complement is involved, how is the external argument *Miguel* licensed?

(31)   *Miguel está   siendo cruel.*

        Miguel is   being   cruel

        'Miguel is being cruel'.

As noticed at the beginning of this section, eventive readings of evaluative adjectives only emerge in particular contexts, which I think is indicative of the fact that the eventive interpretations of evaluative adjectives are cases of coercion.[8] Accordingly, I do not embrace the idea that evaluative adjectives are predicated of an event in their eventive uses.[9] Rather, I hypothesize that they are predicated of the subject in relation to an event, which triggers the eventive reading. A possibility would be to assume that, in these cases, what activates the eventive interpretation by means of which the subject is intended to be involved in an event is the temporal-aspectual context where the prefix is embedded, e.g., when it is combined with a progressive form of the copula,[10] as in (32a), or when co-occurring with a PP introducing the argument affected by the behaviour encoded by the adjective, as in (32b). This would account for the fact that, when the context does not coerce the adjective into an eventive reading, then the adjective behaves as an individual-level predicate denoting an inherent property of the subject (32c).

(32)   a. *Miguel está siendo cruel.*

           Miguel is   being   cruel

        b. *Miguel es   cruel con Paula.*

           Miguel is   cruel to Paula

        c. *Miguel es cruel.*

           Miguel is cruel

---

[8] Fernald (1999) has also proposed a coercion account to the special behaviour of evaluative adjectives.

[9] But see Arche & Marín (2017) for a promising analysis in which the subject of these adjectives is argued to be an event that includes, at its own specifier position, the subject of which the behaviour is predicated.

[10] Notice that in this respect I am departing from Rothstein (1999), according to whom the eventivity of these predicates is provided by the copula. As noticed by Fábregas, Leferman & Marín (2013), this account is problematic because it predicts that as long as the adjective is combined with the copula, the eventive reading should be obtained, contrary to fact: *Miguel es cruel* 'Miguel is cruel' does not receive an eventive interpretation, but an individual-level one. Differently from Rothstein, I do not pursue the view that it is the copula itself that triggers the eventive reading, but the progressive use of the copula.

As for the fact that these readings are licensed by evaluative adjectives and not by other types of adjectives, it could be due to the nature of the root: evaluative adjectives denote a behaviour, and behaviours are manifested within events (I thank Antonio Fábregas for pointing it out to me). Therefore, it could be the case that evaluative adjectives are coerced into an eventive reading easier than other adjectives because of their conceptual content, and not because they involve an event variable at some point of their syntactic configuration.

This is of course a very preliminary account of the eventive interpretation that evaluative adjectives can adopt, and developing it in more detail goes beyond the scope of this chapter, which is concerned with the role played by the prefix *des-* in non-verbal predicates. Besides, the eventive readings of evaluative *des-* prefixed adjectives are independent of the presence of the prefix, as illustrated below:

(33) *Marta está siendo {(des)atenta/ (des)cortés/ (des)honesta/(des)leal} con Berta.*
      Marta is   being (dis)courteous/(im)polite/ (dis)honest/ (dis)loyal   with Berta
      'Marta is being (dis)courteous/ (im)polite/ (dis)honest/ (dis)loyal to Berta'.

The eventive readings of either the prefixed or the non-prefixed adjectives, I suggest, depends on the context where they appear. A question that remains open, however, is why the prefix *des-* is easily combined with roots expressing behaviours, thus giving rise to evaluative adjectives able to be coerced into an eventive reading. A possible answer, to be explored in further research, could be related to the fact that *des-* is used to convey contrary negation, and that, as I will further explore in chapter 5, section 5.4.2, contrary negation is usually linked to a pejorative or negatively evaluated sense. Hence, a way to derive an evaluative adjective conveying a negative evaluation is by means of the addition of *des-* to a root denoting a positive behavior, which could account for the relative productivity of *des-* with this sort of roots.

4.2.4. Interim summary

I have examined the meaning and the structural behaviour of *des-*prefixed adjectives, which are always predicative and select an external argument that acts as the subject of predication. I have argued that, similarly to the case of *des-*prefixed negative verbs, *des-*prefixed adjectives express the opposite value of their non-prefixed counterparts, and that such an opposite value (that may be paraphrased as the negation of the non-prefixed

adjective) emerges from the source meaning of the prefix, statically interpreted as a lower-bounded scale that encodes the minimal degree of the property denoted by the lexical root. With regard to their aspectual properties, I have demonstrated that the addition of *des-* entails the addition of a (minimal boundary) to the degree scale inherent to these predicates, which suggests, within a configurational framework as the one entertained in this thesis, that also in the case of adjectives the prefix is inserted low in the configuration. In particular, I have posited that, as in the case of *des-* prefixed verbs, the projections lexicalized by the prefix (namely, Source, Goal and Place) are directly merge above the root, below the categorizing A(djective) head, and that from that position it can impose its own structure (i.e., that of a Path bounded in its initial boundary) to the scale inherent to these predicates, giving rise to adjectives predicating the minimal possible degree of a gradable property.

4.3. *Des-* prefixed nouns

Des- is also found with nominal bases. In current Spanish the following list of *des-* prefixed nouns is attested:

(34)   *desabor* 'insipidness', 'bad taste' (*sabor* 'taste'), *desamor* 'lack of love' 'heartbreak' (*amor* 'love'), *desaprensión* 'lack of apprehension' (*aprensión* 'apprehension'), *desazón* 'unease' 'anxiety' (*sazón* 'ripeness'), *descontrol* 'chaos' (*control* 'control'), *descrédito* 'discredit' 'disrepute' (*crédito* 'credit' 'reputation'), *desdicha* 'misfortune' (*dicha* 'happiness', 'luck'), *desempleo* 'unemployment' (*empleo* 'employment'), *desgana* 'lack of appetite', 'apathy' (*gana* 'appetite), *desgracia* 'misfortune' 'tragedy' (*gracia* 'grace'), *deshonor* 'dishonour' (*honor* 'honour'), *desinterés* 'lack of interest' (*interés* 'interest'), *desmesura* 'excess' (*mesura* 'moderation', 'restraint'), *desperfecto* 'flaw' (*perfecto* 'perfect'), *despropósito* 'piece of nonsense' (*propósito* 'purpose'), *desventaja* 'disadvantage' (*ventaja* 'advantage'), *desventura* 'misfortune' 'mishap' (*fortuna* 'fortune'), *desvergüenza* 'shamelessness', 'impudence' (*vergüenza* 'shame').[11]

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

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[11] In addition to these nouns, there are three *des-* prefixed forms whose lexical base is a noun and which are only used in adverbial phrases (thus, they are not taken into consideration in this study): *a deshora*

Only the nouns that can be described as created by the addition of the prefix to a nominal base are included in this list. Hence, for instance, a noun like *deslealtad* 'disloyalty' is not listed as a case of nominal prefixation, given that it is derived from the prefixed adjective *desleal* 'disloyal' and not from the noun *lealtad* 'loyalty', which means that it is not a case of prefixation by *des*- but a case of (nominal) suffixation. Similarly, I do not consider cases in which a *des*-prefixed noun can be argued to have been derived from a *des*-prefixed verb, as, for example, *desacuerdo* 'disagreement', which, rather than being a case of prefixation on the noun *acuerdo* 'agreement', is a case of nominalization of the (now almost unused) prefixed verb *desacordar* 'to disagree'.

Although prefixation with *des*- is not as productive in nominal derivation as in verbal derivation, the former is still a productive process that gives rise to neologisms. Hence, for instance, the *DVUA* collects new *des*- prefixed nouns such as *desestímulo* 'negative incentive' (*estímulo* 'incentive') or *desintonía* 'lack of agreement' (*sintonía* 'agreement') —which are not included in general dictionaries like *DRAE* (2014) or *Clave*.

4.3.1. Basic meaning of *des*- prefixed nouns

Des- prefixed nouns express the opposite meaning of their non-prefixed counterparts and, at the same time, they usually encode a privative value, conveying the lack of the reality denoted by the lexical root. In (35a), *desgana* means 'lack of appetite', 'apathy', which is put in contrast with the abundance of enthusiasm. *Desinterés* in (35b) means

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'out of the right hour' 'late', *a destiempo* 'out of time' 'at the wrong time', and *a desmano* 'out of the way' 'not close at hand'. Crucially, *a destiempo* and *a desmano* are the antonymous adverbial phrases of *a tiempo* 'on time' and *a mano* 'at hand', respectively. *A tiempo* is used to express that something is done or occurs in the appropriate moment; while *a destiempo* entails that a given action does not take place in the appropriate moment (this adverbial phrase is synonymous to *a deshora*). In turn, *a mano* specifies that something is placed close at hand, that is, within reach; whilst *a desmano* is used to express the very opposite situation: that something is placed away from a relevant reference point, that is, not within reach. With regard to *deshora*, sometimes it is not used as part of the adverbial phrase *a deshora*, but works as a synonym of *tarde* 'late':

(ii) *Ahora quizás ya   era tarde,   aunque nunca es des-hora   para   atajar*
      Now   maybe already was late   but   never is from-hour in_order_to stop
      el veneno del   ateísmo.
      the poison of_the atheism
      'Now maybe was late, but it is never late to stop the poison of the atheism'.
      [*CREA*: 1988. José Jiménez Lozano, *El grano de maíz rojo*]

nothing but 'lack of interest'; and *desvergüenza* in (35c) denotes the 'lack of shame' shown by who knows that will not be punished:

(35)   a. *Cunde   la des-gana   en los   cuarteles   y   el*
          Is_abundant the from-apetite   in the.PL headquarters   and   the

          entusiasmo en burdeles   y   tabernas.
          enthusiasm in brothels   and taverns

          'There is apathy in the headquarters and enthusiasm in brothels and taverns'.
          [*CREA*: 1980. PRENSA: *El País*. 12/02/1980]

       b. *La   huelga es un   reflejo   de "décadas de des-interés   y   falta*
          The strike is a   reflection of   decades of from-interest   and   lack

          de   expectativas   de la gente".
          of   prospects   of the people

          'The strike is a reflection of "people's lack of interest and people's lack of
           prospects   during the last decades"'.
          [*CREA*: 1997. PRENSA: *El País*. 10/11/1997]

       c. *Había   en sus   palabras la des-vergüenza del   que   se*
          There_was in his.PL   words   the from-shame   of_the who   REFL

          sabe   impune.
          knows   unpunished

          'His words had the impudence of who knows himself unpunished'.
          [*CREA*: 2000. Emilio Gavilanes, *El bosque perdido*]

Des-prefixed nouns always involve a negative connotation, that is to say, they always denote realities negatively evaluated. This negative effect is, I claim, due to the presence of the prefix *des-* as well as to the meaning of the lexical root: *des-* encodes the idea of distance or absence of its complement (i.e., the lexical root), and the lexical root of these nouns always identifies realities considered to be positive (see chapter 5, section 5.4.2). Therefore, the negative connotation inherent to these forms emerges because the lack of a desirable reality (the reality denoted by the lexical root) is negatively evaluated.

4.3.2. Properties of *des*-prefixed nouns

4.3.2.1. Argument structure configurations

The lexical roots of *des*-prefixed nouns refer to abstract realities usually related to mental states, such as *amor* 'love' (cf. *desamor* 'lack of love' 'heartbreak') or *interés* 'interest' (cf. *desinterés* 'lack of interest'). Since these mental states must be experienced by a certain individual, they imply the presence of an argument specifying this individual. Accordingly, some *des*-prefixed nouns involve a logical subject of EXPERIENCER semantics that may be introduced as a possessive PP or a possessive pronoun, as in (36), but also as the external argument of an experience denoting verb (for example, *sentir* 'to feel') that takes the *des*-prefixed noun as its object, which is illustrated in (37). These nouns also involve an argument that identifies the stimulus that triggers the mental state they express, and this argument may be syntactically realized as a PP introduced by the causative and final preposition *por* 'to':

(36)   a. *El   profundo des-interés* [*de María*]EXP [*por la política   de su país*]Stimulus.
        The profound from-interest of María   for the politics of her country
        'María's deep-seated indifference to her country's politics'.

        b. [*Su*]EXP *des-amor* [*por los animales*]Stimulus.
        His   from-love for   the animals
        'His dislike to animals'.

        c. *La   des-gana   * [*de Luis*]EXP [*por aprender cosas   nuevas*]Stimulus.
        The from-apetite   of Luis   to   learn   things new.PL
        'Luis' apathy towards learning new things'.

        d. [*Su*]EXP *de-sazón   * [*por esta   situación*]Stimulus.
        His   from-ripeness for   this.F situation
        'His uneasiness towards this situation'.

        e. *La   des-vergüenza* [*de Pol*]EXP [*por expresar   sus   ideas*]Stimulus.
        The from-shame   of Pol   to   express   his.PL ideas
        'Pol's impudence to express his ideas'.

(37)   a. [*María*]EXP *siente un profundo des-interés   [por la política de su país*]Stimulus.

        María   feels   a profound from-interest for   the politics of her country

        'María feels a deep indifference to her country's politics'.

        b. [*Juan*]EXP   *siente des-amor   [por los animales*]Stimulus.

         Juan   feels   from-love   for   the animals

        'Juan feels dislike to animals'.

        c. [*Luis*]EXP *siente   des-gana   [por aprender cosas nuevas*]Stimulus.

        Luis   feels   from-apetite   to   learn   things new.PL

        'Luis feels apathy towards learning new things'.

        d. [*Él*]EXP *siente   de-sazón   [por esta situación*]Stimulus.

         He   feels   from-ripeness for   this situation

        'He feels anxiety for this situation'.

        e. [*Pol*]EXP *siente des-vergüenza [por expresar su opinión*]Stimulus.

        Pol   feels from-shame   to   express   his opinion

        'Pol feels impudence to express his opinion'.

In certain cases, however, the abstract reality denoted by the lexical root is not a mental
state or a sensitive process. The *des*-prefixed nouns that do not encode mental states
cannot appear as the object of an experience denoting verb like *sentir* 'to feel' (in
contrast with those *des*-prefixed nouns that denote mental states; cf. (38)):

(38)   a. #*Afra   siente un absoluto   descontrol.*

           Afra   feels   an absolute   lack_of_control

        b. #*Manuel   siente desgracia.*

           Manuel   feels   misfortune

        c. #*Sienten   desventaja   respecto   al   equipo contrario.*

           Feel.3PL   disadvantage respect   to_the   team   opposing

Although the prefixed nouns included in (38) do not require the presence of an
EXPERIENCER subject, they are also of predicative nature, and as such they usually co-
appear with a possessive PP or a possessive pronoun identifying the subject of the
predication. In (39a) *descontrol* 'lack of control', 'chaos', is predicated of *Afra* by
means of a possessive PP; in (39b) *desgracia* 'misfortune' is related to a third person of

the singular encoded through a possessive pronoun of the 3rd person; and in (39c) *desventaja* 'disadvantage' is predicated of a 3rd person of the plural through the stative possessive verb *tener* 'to have'. Notice that these nouns do not select any argument denoting a stimulus, since they do not encode a psychological experience and, therefore, no stimulus is needed to trigger any experience.

(39)   a. *El   absoluto des-control de Afra*.
           The   absolute from-control of Afra
           'Afra's absolute lack of control'.

      b. *Su des-gracia   se   convirtió   en suerte*.
           His from-grace   REFL   turned   in fortune
           'His misfortune turned into fortune'.

      c. *Tienen   des-ventaja   respecto   al   equipo contrario*.
           Have.3PL. from-advantage respect   to_the team   opposing
           'They are in disadvantage compared with the opposing team'.

In sum, *des-* prefixed nouns embed lexical roots referred to abstract realities (usually mental states or sensitive processes regarded as desirable) and express the lack or absence of such realities, which conveys a negative value as well as a negative connotation. As predicative entities, *des*-prefixed nouns involve the presence of an external argument (that is, a subject of predication) which can be realized as a possessive constituent or as the subject of a stative verb.

4.3.2.2. Lexical aspect in **des-** *prefixed nouns*

Des-prefixed nouns mainly correspond to gradable items. In this respect, they can be considered scalar predicates. A test to distinguish scalar nouns from non-scalar nouns is the ability of the former to co-appear with degree modifiers such as the Spanish indefinite quantifiers *mucho* 'a lot of' or *bastante* 'enough'. The vast majority of *des-* prefixed nouns, as well as their non-prefixed counterparts, admit modification by these indefinite quantifiers, which clearly points towards their gradable (and thus scalar) nature:

(40)   a. *Mucho   (des)empleo.*
         A_lot_of   (from)employment
         'A lot of (un)employment'.

       b. *Bastante   (des)honor.*
          Enough   (from)honour
          'Enough (dis)honour'.

       c. *Mucha   (des)dicha.*
          A_lot_of.F (from)luck
          'A lot of (mis)fortune'.

I observe, however, that *des*-prefixed nouns do not always entail the same sort of scale as their non-prefixed counterparts, since they usually do not admit the same type of degree modifiers. Crucially, *des*-prefixed scalar nouns license the absolute degree modifiers *completo* 'complete, utter', *total* 'total' and *absoluto* 'absolute', which shows that these nouns involve a bounded scale. On the contrary, the non-prefixed counterparts of these nouns usually do not admit this kind of modification, thus proving that the scales they involve are unbounded scales incompatible with absolute degree modifiers:[12]

(41)   a. *Una absoluta des-aprensión*   vs.   **Una absoluta aprensión*
          An absolute from-aprehension   An   absolute aprehension
          'An absolute lack of aprehension' vs.   '*An absolute aprehension'

       b. *Una completa des-mesura*   vs.   **Una completa mesura*
          A   complete from-moderation   A   complete moderation
          'A complete excess'   vs.   '*A complete moderation'

       c. *Un total des-crédito*   vs.   **Un total crédito*
          A   total from-credit   A   total credit
          'A total discredit'   vs.   '*A total credit'

---

[12] Notice, however, that this is not always the case: both *control* and *descontrol*, *honor* and *deshonor*, and *vergüenza* and *desvergüenza* are compatible with absolute degree modifiers, which means that a bounded scale is involved both in the prefixed and the non-prefixed constructions:

(iii)   a. *Un total control*   vs.   *Un total descontrol*
           'A total control'   'A total lack of control'
        b. *Un completo honor*   vs.   *Un completo deshonor*
           'A complete honour'   'A complete dishonour'
        c. *Una absoluta vergüenza*   vs.   *Una absoluta desvergüenza*
           'An absolute shame'   'An absolute impudence'

There are, however, two *des*-prefixed nouns that disallow degree modification by indefinite quantifiers such as *mucho* 'a lot of' or *bastante* 'enough': *despropósito* 'piece of nonsense, absurdity' and *desperfecto* 'flaw':

(42) b. **Bastante despropósito.*
　　　　Enough　absurdity

　　 c. **Mucho des-perfecto.*
　　　　A_lot_of　flaw

These nouns, however, are compatible with absolute degree modifiers such as *total* 'utter, total', which suggests that they involve a bounded scale:

(43) a. *Hablar　　de 15　asesinos　　sueltos　en　la calle　　me*
　　　　Talk.INF　of 15　murderers　free.PL　in　the street　I.DAT
　　　　parece　　un total　　des-propósito.
　　　　seems　　a　total　　absurdity
　　　　'Talking about 15 free murderers seems to me a total absurdity'.
　　　　[www.elcomodorense.net 22/08/2010]

　　 b. *La chica　parece　　estar dispuesta　a provocar　　un total*
　　　　The girl　seems　　be.INF ready.F　to provoque.INF　a　total
　　　　des-perfecto　　en el　vehículo.
　　　　from-perfect　　in the car
　　　　'The girl seems ready to cause a total fault in the car'.
　　　　[www.motocoches.es 13/11/2014]

Despropósito 'absurdity, piece of nonsense' and *desperfecto* 'flaw' denote temporal bounded entities that may be iterated, which explains their ability to pluralize.

(44) a. *Estoy cansada　de tus　　continuos　des-propósitos.*
　　　　Am　tired.F　of your.PL　continuous　from-purpose.PL
　　　　'I'm tired of your continuous absurdities'.

　　 b. *El　terremoto ocasionó　múltiples　des-perfectos　en　la vivienda.*
　　　　The earthquake caused　multiple.PL　from-perfect.PL　in　the house
　　　　'The earthquake caused multiple flaws to the house'.

It must be pointed out that some scalar *des*-prefixed nouns that license degree modification by *mucho* and *bastante* may also pluralize under certain contexts, as they are ambiguous between a mass and a count reading:

(45)   a. *Las desventajas de esta opción son numerosas.*

       'The disadvantages of this option are many'.

    b. *A lo largo de su vida ha tenido varios desamores.*

       'He/She has soffered several heartbrackings along his life'.

    c. *Tuvo una vida llena de desgracias.*

       'He/She had a life full of tragedies'.

Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez (2013: 415) assume that all nouns (either mass nouns or count ones) are scalar entities.[13] This assumption would explain cases as the ones in (37), in which the countable *des*-prefixed nouns *despropósito* 'absurdity' and *desperfecto* 'flaw' are shown to involve bounded scales able to be modified by absolute degree modifiers.

Before concluding this section it must be pointed out that many *des*-prefixed nouns function as stage-level predicates (which is expected of lexical items involving bounded scales). The count *des*-prefixed nouns *despropósito* 'absurdity' and *desperfecto* 'flaw' are never understood as permanent properties of an individual —i.e., they are not individual-level predicates. Rather, they denote non-permanent bounded states that are usually the result of a process.[14] In (38a), *ese despropósito* 'this

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[13] Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez (2013: 415) focus on the study of bare PPs headed by *sin* 'without'. Based on Grønn *et al.*'s (2010) and Le Bruyn *et al.* 's (2011) proposal, they hypothesize that bare nouns appearing as complements of a P element contain an existential quantification. In the case of *sin*-headed bare PPs, *sin* (a preposition that entails negative quantification) operates "on the existence of a certain minimal degree below the standard" when its complement is a bare mass noun, while the same preposition operates on the existence of a certain individual when its complement is a bare count noun (thus entailing the absence of such an individual). For a comparison of the scalar properties of *sin*-headed bare PPs and *des*-prefixed nouns, see §4.3.3.2 .

[14] It could be argued that *des*-prefixed count nouns do not refer to states but rather to events, as they are compatible with the verbs *ocurrir* 'to occur', *suceder* 'to happen' or *tener lugar* 'to take place' (i.e. with verbs that ask for an event-denoting subject) :

(iv)   a. *Los despropósitos de que te hablo {ocurrieron/ sucedieron/ tuvieron lugar} la semana pasada.*
      'The absurdities I am talking about {occurred/happened/took place} last week'.
    c. *La mayoría de los desperfectos {ocurrieron/sucedieron/tuvieron lugar} de noche.*
      'Most of the flaws {occurred/happened/took place} at night'.

However, that there is no process to be understood as an inherent part of the semantics of these nouns is shown by the fact that none of them admits being modified by velocity adjectives such as *lento/a* 'slow'

absurdity' is explicitly stated as a caused situation. And, along the same lines, in (38b) *graves desperfectos* 'serious flaws' are the result of a previous deterioration caused by the torrential rains:

(46) a. *He   sido   el causante de ese des-propósito.*
        Have.1SG   been   the causer   of this from-purpose
        'I have been the cause of this absurdity'.
        [*CREA*: 1988. Manuel Martínez Mediero, *Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill cabalgan de nuevo*]

      b. *Las torrenciales lluvias caídas   desde el domingo   han   ocasionado*
        The torrential.pl rains   fallen   since   the Sunday   have.3PL caused
        graves   des-perfectos en muchas   carreteras y vías   de ferrocarril.
        serious.PL from-perfect.PL in   many.PL   roads   and tracks of railway
        'The torrential rains fallen since last Sunday have caused serious flaws in many roads and railway tracks'.
        [*CREA*: 1994. PRENSA, *La Vanguardia*. 12/10/1994]

Uncountable *des*-prefixed nouns can also be understood as the result of a change (and, consequently, as stage-level predicates). This is the case of *desamor*, which usually conveys the idea of a change from a previous situation of love to the opposite situation, as in (47a); and also the case of *descrédito*, that in (47b) is clearly understood as the result of the actions of the accusers.

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or *rápido/a* 'fast', in contrast with proper eventive nouns like *deterioro* 'deterioration' or *absorción* 'absorption' (see Fábregas & Marín 2012b, 2012c, for further tests to distinguish state vs. event nominalizations):

(v)   a. *Los rápidos despropósitos   de tu   cuñado.*
          The   fast   absurdities   of your brother-in-law'.
        b. *Los lentos   desperfectos.*
          The   slow   flaws.

(vi)   a. *El   lento   deterioro   del   edificio.*
          The   slow   deterioration of the   building'.
        b. *Azúcares de absorción rápida*.
          'Fast absorption sugars'.

(47)   a. *Era imposible que la realidad cambiara   del   amor*
        Was impossible that the reality   changed.SBJV.3SG   from_the   love

        al   des-amor   en un instante.
        to_the from-love   in an instant

        'It was impossible that the reality had changed from love to coolness in an
        instant'.

        [*CREA*: 1990. Álvaro Pombo, *El metro de platino iridiado*].

        b. *Achacó   a sus   acusadores   el provocar   el*
        Attributed.3SG   to his.PL   accusers   the provoque.INF   the

        des-crédito de   la   República.
        from-credit of   the   Republic

        'He attributed to his accusers having caused the discredit of the Republic'.

        [*CREA*: 1988. Javier Paniagua, *España: siglo XX. 1931-1939*]

It is possible to conclude that *des*-prefixed nouns denote bounded scales. In them, the
lexical root identifies an abstract reality related to a scale and the prefix adds a boundary
to such a scale, which gives rise to bounded scalar nouns that usually entail a stage-level
reading.

4.3.3. Decomposing *des*-prefixed nouns
4.3.3.1. Syntax of predicative nouns

It has been shown that *des*-prefixed nouns are predicative entities that ask for a subject
of predication. The subject of these nouns is usually realized as a possessive PP or a
possessive pronoun, as in (48a) and (48b), respectively.[15] When the *des*-prefixed noun
identifies a mental state, this argument can also be realized as the subject of a stative
verb selecting the *des*-prefixed noun as its complement (see §4.3.2.1), which is
exemplified in (48c):

(48)   a. *La des-vergüenza de Jorge.*
        The from-shame   of Jorge
        'Jorge's shamelessness'.

---

[15] For a study of how the relations of predication are obtained within the nominal domain in Spanish, see
Suñer (1999). See also Suñer (1990).

b. *Su   des-vergüenza*.

His from-shame

'His shamelessness'.

c. *Jorge siente des-vergüenza*.

Jorge feels from-shame

'Jorge feels shamelessness'.

As in the case of predicative adjectives, I assume that predicative nouns are unable to introduce their subject. However, the realization of the external argument in adjectival predicates and in nominal ones is different. Predicative adjectives are related to their external argument by means of a simple relation of predication (cf. 49a) that can be articulated through a copular verb (cf. 49b). Predicative nouns, however, cannot be directly predicated of a DP subject, but they require additional operations to license their external argument: the addition of a possessive relation by means of which the external argument emerges as a possessive PP (cf. 50a) or a possessive pronoun (cf. 50b); or the addition of a stative verb (crucially not a copular verb) mediating between the external argument and the predicative noun (cf. 50c):

(49)   a. *Un hombre honesto*.

A   man   honest

'A honest man'.

b. *Este hombre es honesto*.

This man   is honest

'This man is honest'.

(50)   a. *El   miedo de Berta*.

The fear   of Berta

'Berta's fear'.

b. *Su   miedo*.

He.POSS   fear

'His fear'.

c. *Berta {siente/tiene} miedo*.

Berta feels/ has   fear

'Berta is afraid'.

The basic structure I propose for predicative nouns is the one reproduced in (51), in which I specify that predicative nouns involve an acategorial root selected by an NP that categorizes it as a noun, and that this NP is selected by an additional projection (XP) that relates it with an external argument acting as the subject of predication:

(51) Basic structure of predicative nouns
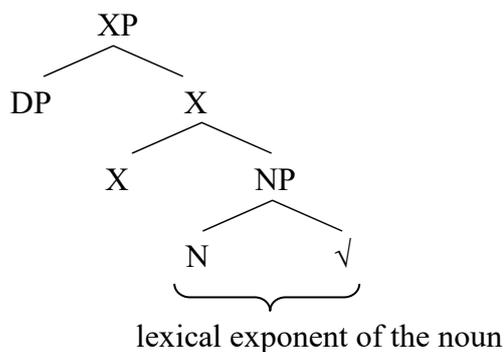
```
                XP
              /    \
           DP       X
                  /   \
                X       NP
                      /    \
                    N        √
                    _____/
```

                lexical exponent of the noun

When the subject of predicative nouns is realized as a possessive PP or a possessive pronoun, as in (50a) and (50b), respectively, the XP projection that licenses the external argument is a Poss(essive)P(hrase), as illustrated in (52). PossP is a functional projection that establishes a relation of alienable possession (see Alexiadou 2001, Dobler 2008) between its complement, structurally identified with a POSSESSUM (i.e., the possessed item), and the specifier it introduces, interpreted as the POSSESSOR. I propose that when the external argument of predicative nouns is realized as a possessive PP or pronoun, this argument is introduced as the specifier of PossP, where it gets structurally identified with a POSSESSOR:[16]

(52)   Analysis of (50a) and (50b)

```
              PossP
            /      \
       Berta        Poss
       su          /    \
               Poss       NP
                |        /    \
                Ø      N        √
                       _____/
                         miedo
```

---
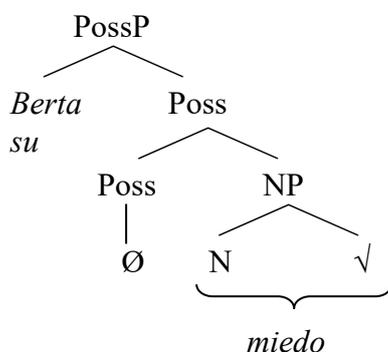
[16] When the subject of predicative nouns is a POSSESSOR it has genitive case. This argument, first introduced at [Spec, PossP], ends up at [Spec, DP] where it is assigned genitive case (see Alexiadou *et al*. 2007: part 1, chapter 1 and part IV, chapter 2). In the structures I propose along this chapter I obviate the higher functional projections of the nominal domain.

In cases in which the predicative noun is selected by a stative verb, the external argument does not emerge as a POSSESSOR, but as the subject of the selecting verb (cf. 50c). In these cases, the NP predicate occupies the position of complement of the InitP lexicalized by the verb, so that it gets structurally identified with a RHEME of this stative projection that further describes the state denoted by the verb. The external argument, merged at the specifier of InitP, gets interpreted as the HOLDER of the state, as illustrated below:

(53)   Analysis of (50c)

```
                InitP
               /     \
          Berta      Init
                    /     \
                 Init      NP
                  |       /    \
               siente    N      √
               tiene     \_____/
                          miedo
```
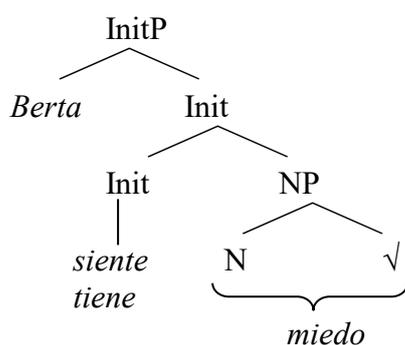
4.3.3.2. Des-*prefixed nouns as bounded scalar predicates: nanosyntactic analysis*

Des-prefixed nouns, in addition of being predicative items, have been shown to involve a (lower) bounded scale. As I have shown in §4.3.2.2, the non-prefixed correlates of *des*-prefixed nouns are also scalar predicates, but the scale they involve must not necessarily include a boundary. Therefore, in a similar way to *des*-prefixed adjectives, the presence of the prefix entails changes in the scalar structure inherent to predicative nouns, forcing the resulting prefixed construction to be interpreted as a bounded scale predicate. This strongly suggests that the prefix takes direct scope over the scale inherent to the lexical root and, therefore, that the prefix is directly added to the root instead of being added to the categorized noun. That the prefix is added to an acategorial root and not to a noun is clear in cases such as *desperfecto* 'flaw', in which *des*- cannot be argued to have been added to a noun because the unprefixed item *perfecto* 'perfect' is not a noun but an adjective. Claiming that in this particular case the prefix attaches to an adjective and changes its category to a noun is problematic, given that in Spanish prefixes are not supposed to change the category of the lexical bases to which they are adjoined (but see chapter 5). This problem does not emerge in

my analysis, since I assume that in *desperfecto* the prefix is not added to the already categorized item *perfecto*, but to the acategorial root √PERFECT, a property-denoting root that can be independently realized as the adjective *perfecto* 'perfect'.

Accordingly, I propose that the basic syntactic structure involved by *des*-prefixed nouns is the one reproduced in (54), in which the Source path lexicalized by the prefix is placed below NP and directly governs the lexical root:

(54) Syntactic structure of *des*-prefixed nouns (e.g. *descontrol* 'lack of control')

```
                XP
               /  \
             DP     X
                   /  \
                  X     NP
                       /   \
                      N    SourceP
                      |    /      \
               nominalizer D̶P̶    Source
                                 /      \
                            Source      GoalP
                                        /    \
                                      D̶P̶      Goal
                                              /    \
                 des- ◁————————————— Goal    PlaceP
                                            /     \
                                         D̶P̶        Place
                                       Figure      /    \
                                            Place    √CONTROL
                                                     Ground
```
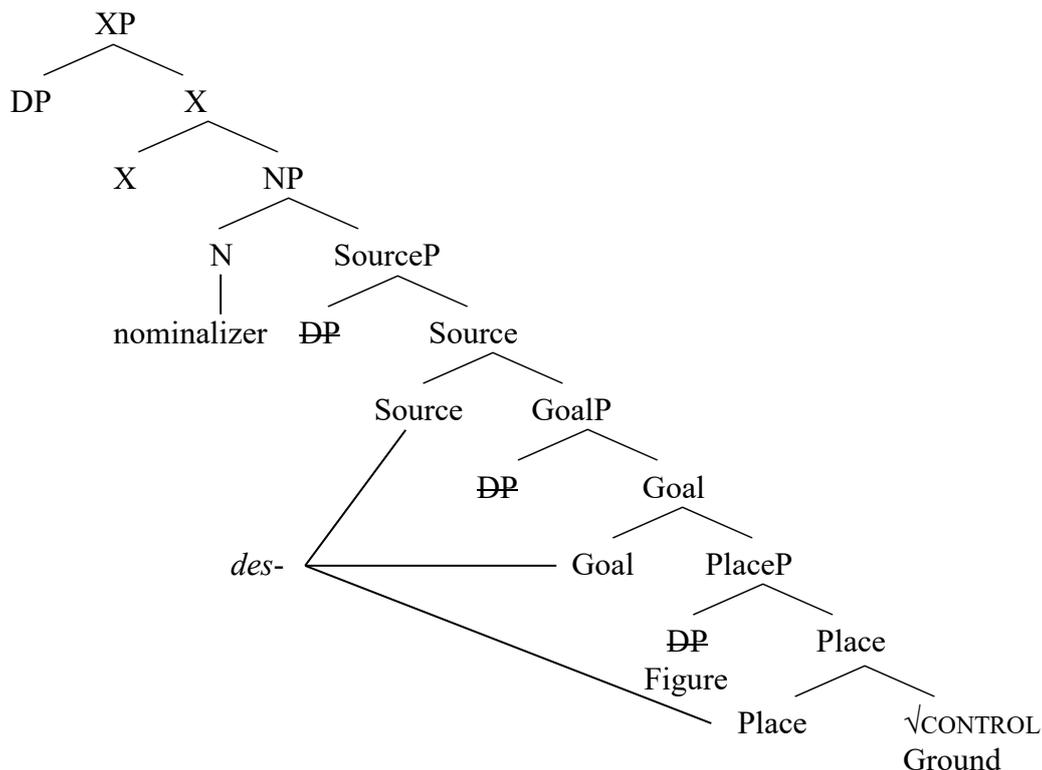
The structure that I propose explicitly captures that *des*-prefixed nouns are predicative entities that articulate a Figure-Source relationship between the subject of predication (understood as a Figure) and the lexical root (understood as a Source Ground). Give that the Source path that *des*- lexicalizes is not dominated by a dynamic subevent as Proc, but only by stative projections, it is identified with a lower bounded scale, giving rise to bounded scalar nouns that encode the minimal degree of a given property/state.

The analysis I propose for *des*-prefixed nouns is in many respects parallel to the analysis that Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez (2013) propose for Spanish bare PPs headed by *sin* 'without'. In fact, the preposition *sin* and the prefix *des*- share semantics

to a certain extent. *Sin* is a negative quantifier[17] that requires a complement denoting a scale and picks out the minimal value of that scale. *Des*, in turn, is a Source-oriented prefix that focuses on the initial (or minimal) boundary of (spatial, temporal or degree) scales, so that when it is combined with a complement denoting a scale, the minimal value of such a scale is selected. As an example, the bare PP *sin vergüenza* 'without shame' 'shameless' (55a) denotes a minimal degree of *vergüenza* 'shame' below the standard; and, analogously, the *des*-prefixed noun *desvergüenza* 'shamelessness' (55b) picks a value on the negative pole of the scale of √VERGÜENZ 'shame', which happens to coincide with the minimal possible degree of shame and, therefore the scarcity of shame is inferred:

(55)   a. *Un   hombre sin   vergüenza*.

        A   man   without shame

        'A shameless man'.

        b. *La des-vergüenza de este hombre*.

        The from-shame   of this man

        'The shamelessness of this man'.

Notice that in both cases a scale reversal is entailed. As noticed by Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez (2013), the effect of negative quantification by *sin* is a scale reversal that results in a minimal degree below the standard. *Des*-, as a Source-oriented prefix, inherently involves a reversal operation, so that it operates on (spatial, temporal or degree) scales and inverts its inherent direction. In the case of *des*-prefixed nouns, *des*-operates on the degree scale inherent to the lexical root it selects, so that such a scale (by default oriented toward its higher boundary) gets reversed and its lower boundary is focalized.

In *des*-prefixed nouns, thus, the prefix *des*- provides a lower boundary to the scale inherent to these predicates. This explains why *des*-prefixed nouns (either mass

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[17] That *sin* is a negative quantifier is proven by its licensing negative polarity items, as exemplified below (cf. Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez 2013: 408, and the references therein):

(viii)   a. *Estoy bien sin {nadie/nada}*.
              'I am fine without {anybody/nothing}'.
          b. Estoy bien *sin ningún amigo*.
              'I am fine without any friend'.

(56a) or count (56b)) always involve bounded scales able to be modified by absolute degree quantifiers:

(56)   a. *Una {absoluta/ completa/ total}   des-vergüenza.*

  An   absolute/ complete/ total   from-shame

  'An {absolute/complete/total} shamelessness'.

    b. *Un {absoluto/ completo/ total}   des-propósito.*

  An   absolute/complete/ total   from-purpose

  'An {absolute/complete/total} absurdity'.

Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez (2013: 407) state that in bare PPs headed by *sin* "the mereological structure of the noun complement of *sin* (whether count or mass) determines the gradability properties of the entire PP". Accordingly, when the noun complement is an unbounded scalar noun (e.g. *vergüenza* 'shame'), the PP expresses a gradable property able to be modified by indefinite degree quantifiers (57a) but not by absolute degree quantifiers (57b); and when the complement is a bounded scalar noun (e.g. *volumen* 'volume'), the PP expresses a non-gradable property that disallows indefinite degree quantifiers (58a) but licenses absolute degree modifiers (58b). When the complement of *sin* is a count noun (e.g. *puerta* 'door'), the resulting predicate denotes a non-gradable negative property (namely, the absence of the referent of the count noun) unable to be combined with any kind of degree quantifier (59):

(57)   a. *Un hombre muy sin   vergüenza.*

  A   man   very without shame

  'A very shameless man'.

    b. **Un hombre {absolutamente/completamente/totalmente} sin   vergüenza.*

  A   man   absolutely/   completely/   totally   without shame

(58)   a. **Una esfera muy sin   volumen.*

  A   sphere very without volume

  [Oltra-Massuet & Pérez-Jiménez 2013: 408, example (20a)]

    b. *Una esfera {absolutamente/completamente/totalmente} sin   volumen.*

  A   sphere absolutely/ completely/   totally   without volume

(59)   a. **Una   casa   muy sin   puerta*.

        A   house very without door

        b. **Una casa {absolutamente/completamente/totalmente}   sin   puerta*.

        A   house absolutely/   completely/   totally   without door

From these data a crucial difference between *des*-prefixed nouns and *sin*-headed bare PPs can be pointed out: whereas in the former the prefix coerces the resulting predicate into a bounded scalar reading, in the latter it is the mereological properties of the noun and not those of the preposition that ultimately determine the (un)boundedness of the predicate.

4.3.4. Interim summary

I devoted section 4.3 to the analysis of the properties of *des*-prefixed nouns. These constructions have been shown to be predicates that express the opposite meaning of their non-prefixed counterparts, an opposite value that has been argued to be triggered by the Source meaning inherent to the prefix. Hence, as in *des*-prefixed negative verbs and *des*-prefixed adjectives, in *des*-prefixed nouns the Source path lexicalized by *des*- is identified with a lower bounded scale, in a way that the minimal degree of the state/property codified by the root is asserted. Concerning the argument structure of *des*-prefixed nouns, it has been shown that these constructions, as predicative entities, select an external argument that can be licensed by a Poss(essive) P(hrase) or as the external argument of a stative verb taking the *des*-prefixed noun as its complement. As for the aspectual properties of these predicates, I have posed that *des*- provides a (minimal) boundary to the scale inherent to the lexical root with which it is combined, which gives rise to bounded scalar nouns able to be interpreted as stage-level predicates —a fact that suggests that in *des*-prefixed nouns the prefix imposes its own aspectual requirements to the resulting noun. Accordingly, I have hypothesized an inherent syntactic structure of *des*-prefixed nouns in which it is assumed that the prefix is added to an acategorial root, and that the sequence "prefix-root" is then categorized as a noun.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the description and analysis of *des-* prefixed adjectives and nouns. I split the chapter in two main sections: section 4.2, dealing with adjectival predicates, and section 4.3, devoted to nominal ones. It has been shown that both kinds of predicates share many structural properties and that they incorporate the same type of lexical roots (basically, roots denoting a scalar property or a scalar state), the main difference among them being their adjectival or nominal category.

In section 4.2 I have examined the meaning and the structural behavior of *des-*prefixed adjectives. The basic meaning shared by these predicates is the assertion of the lower degree of the property or state expressed by the lexical root, so that the subject of predication is understood as not having that property (or as having the minimal degree of that property) or as not holding such a state (or as holding it in the minimal degree available in the scale related to that state). By examining the structural properties of *des-*prefixed adjectives, it has been shown that they are predicative entities that select an external argument (the subject of predication), and that they involve scales bounded at least in their lower boundary, which usually contrasts with the unbounded or upper bounded scales inherent to the non-prefixed counterparts of these adjectives. This observation has led me to conclude that *des-* is attached at a low position in the syntactic structure, in a position from which it can determine the scalar structure of these predicates. Particularly, I have put forward that the projections lexicalized by *des-* (i.e., Source, Goal and Place) are directly merged on top of the root, and that in this configuration the Source path inherent to *des-* gets assimilated to a lower bounded scale.

In section 4.3 the basic meaning and the main properties of *des-*prefixed nouns have been explored. As in the case of *des-*prefixed adjectives, *des-*prefixed nouns express the minimal value of the scale inherent to the property or state denoted by the lexical root, and, accordingly, the subject of these nouns is understood as lacking such a property or state. I have argued that *des-*prefixed nouns are predicative nouns and that, as such, they involve an argument structure configuration in which at least an external argument (the subject of predication) is involved, which must be realized as a possessive constituent (namely, a genitive PP or pronoun) or as the subject of a stative verb selecting the *des-*prefixed noun as its complement. With regard to the aspectual behavior of these constructions, it has been shown that, in contrast with their non-prefixed counterparts (the scales of which may be unbounded), *des-*prefixed nouns

always encode (lower) bounded scales, which puts forward that the prefix adds a (lower) boundary to the scale the lexical root codifies. In accordance with this, in the syntactic structure I have proposed the Source path that *des*- lexicalizes is directly inserted on top of the lexical root, below the nominalizing head, where it is identified with a lower bounded scale, providing a lower boundary to the scale inherent to the root.

Des-prefixed verbs, *des*-prefixed adjectives and *des*-prefixed nouns share the lowest part of the structure, which is that of a Source path selecting a root as its complement. Therefore, the sequence "*des*- + root" may end up being a telic verb ("parasynthetic" and reversative *des*-prefixed verbs), a stative verb (*des*-prefixed verbs with a negative meaning), an adjective or a noun, depending on the projections dominating the sequence. In cases in which "*des* + root" is dominated by a dynamic subeventive projection, it surfaces as a telic verb. When "*des* + root" is dominated by a subeventive non-dynamic projection, the structure surfaces as a stative verb. When the sequence "*des* + root" is dominated by adjectival projections, it surfaces as an adjective. And when the very same sequence is dominated by nominal projections, it surfaces as a noun.

CHAPTER 5

Negative prefixes: a case study of *iN*-

5.1. Introduction

The prefix *iN*- has usually been studied together with the prefix *des*-, both of them considered to be the most productive instances of the so-called negative prefixes in Spanish (Brea 1979; Montero Curiel 1999; Varela & Martín García 1999; Costa 2008).[1] Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that the prefix *des*- is not a genuine negative prefix, but a Source prefix that can adopt values closely linked to the sphere of negation when embedded in stative configurations. *IN*-, by contrast, is a proper example of a negative prefix (Brea 1979), since it is basically used to negate the predicates that it is attached to. The aim of the present chapter is to demonstrate, by means of a thorough exploration of the syntax and semantics of *iN*- prefixed items, that *des*- and *iN*- are fundamentally different.

I start the chapter by examining the restrictions operating on *iN*- prefixation, in section 5.2. It is shown that *iN*- can only give rise to adjectival configurations, and that the adjectives resulting from *iN*- prefixation must also obey certain constraints. After that, in section 5.3 I present the main classes of *iN*- prefixed adjectives, and section 5.4 describes their syntactic and semantic properties, which allows me to offer a more fine-grained classification of these predicates. I conclude that *iN*- prefixed adjectives keep the same aspect and eventive properties as their non-prefixed counterparts, and that the kind of opposition encoded by each type of *iN*- prefixed adjective depends on the type of base they involve and on the degree of lexicalization of the construction. On the basis of the restrictions imposed by *iN*- prefixation and the syntactico-semantic properties shown by the different classes of *iN*- prefixed adjectives, I propose an analysis for this prefix in section 5.5 that incorporates insights from De Clercq's (2013, 2017) and Newell's (2008) approaches to negative affixes. In particular, I suggest that *iN*- is a negative marker that conveys quantification over a scale and imposes adjectival categorization. By doing so, I show how the principles stated by Nanosyntax can

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[1] To distinguish the negative prefix *in*- from the homonymous Latin prepositional prefix *in*- 'in, into', I use the notation *iN*- for the former.

capture the internal syntax of this prefix and account for its ability to attach either to adjectival bases or to acategorial roots. Section 5.6 deals with the internal syntax of the different classes of *iN-* prefixed adjectives distinguished along the chapter and offers a structural account of all the syntactic and semantic properties that they exhibit. Section 5.7 closes the chapter with a comparison between *iN-* and *des-* that provides further evidence for the claim, explicitly stated along this dissertation, that *des-* is a Source prefix and *iN-* a negative one. The main conclusions of the chapter are summarized in section 5.8.

5.2. Restrictions on *iN-* prefixation

IN- imposes certain restrictions on the bases to which it is attached. To understand how this prefix works, it is fundamental to examine and classify these constraints. The present section is devoted to that issue. First, the unproductivity of *iN-* with nouns and verbs is addressed in §5.2.1. I deal with the constraints existing among *iN-* prefixed adjectives in §5.2.2.

5.2.1. On the unproductivity of *IN-* with nouns and verbs

The fundamental restriction imposed by *iN-* on its lexical bases is categorial: *iN-* cannot be affixed to nominal or verbal bases, and the output of *iN-* prefixation must necessarily be an adjective. As a consequence of this categorial restriction, *iN-* is especially productive with adjectival bases, and it can also be added to (acategorial) roots,[2] but its combination with nouns and verbs leads to ungrammaticality. The following subsections examine the unproductivity of *iN-* with nouns (§5.2.1.1) and verbs (§5.2.1.2).

5.2.1.1. On nouns

It has been largely noted in the literature that *iN-* is not productive with nouns (Brea 1976; Varela & Martín García 1999; Montero Curiel 1999; Costa 2008). *IN-* rejects being affixed to simple nouns of any sort. Still, some constructions are attested which seem to have been created by the addition of *iN-* to a simple noun. These are the cases

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[2] See Borer (2013) for the idea that derivational formatives combine with either a specific category, or a root, since roots are compatible with all categories.

of the so-called parasynthetic adjectives (Costa 2008), structures inherited from Latin in which the base to which *iN*- is added seems to be a noun rather than an adjective, and which seem to involve a change of category from noun to adjective:

(1)   *imberbe*_A 'beardless' (cf. *barba*_N 'beard'), *implume*_A 'featherless' (cf. *pluma*_N 'feather'), *inánime*_A 'lifeless' (cf. *ánima*_N 'soul'), *incoloro*_A 'colourless' (cf. *color*_N 'colour'), *indoloro*_A 'painless' (cf. *dolor*_N 'pain'), *informe*_A 'formless' (cf. *forma*_N 'form').

                                                            [Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

However, as suggested by Costa (2008), what these constructions involve is not the addition of *iN*- to a nominal base, but the addition of this prefix to an acategorial root. I have found evidence in favour of this claim. First, the morphophonology of these constructions: the base to which *iN*- is added in, for instance, *imberbe* 'beardless', does not show the same morphophonology than the related simple noun *barba* 'beard'. This case of apophony points to the fact that *iN*- is not added to the categorized noun *barba*, but to an acategorial root, since allomorphy can only be triggered if prefix and root are phonologically adjacent and belong to the same spell-out cycle.[3] A second piece of evidence is the meaning that these parasynthetic adjectives encode. Thus, *imberbe* 'beardless' does not mean 'not beard', but rather 'not bearded'. What is negated in this case, thus, is not the nominal *barba* 'beard', but the property of being bearded. In fact, the acategorial root *berb*- denotes an inalienable possession that, when predicated of an individual, is understood as a characterizing property of that individual (see §5.5.3 for a formal analysis of these constructions).

        In sum, the addition of *iN*- to simple nouns is a completely unproductive pattern. However, some complex nouns seem to allow *iN*- prefixation. A non-exhaustive list is provided in (2):

(2)   *Imparcialidad* 'impartiality' (parcialidad 'partiality'), *inactividad* 'inactivity' (cf. *actividad* 'activity'), *inadecuación* 'inadequacy' (cf. *adecuación* 'adequacy'), *inatención* 'inattention' (cf. *atención* 'atention'), *incomodidad* 'lack of comfort' (*comodidad* 'comfort'), *incomprensión* 'incomprehension' (cf.

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[3] With regard to the conditions operating on this type of contextual allomorphy, I mainly assume Embick's (2010) localist theory.

comprensión 'comprehension), *indecisión* 'indecision' (cf. *decisión* 'decision'), *inexperiencia* 'inexperience' (cf. *experiencia* 'experience' (cf. *experiencia* 'experience'), *inmoderación* 'lack of moderation' (cf. *moderación* 'moderation').

<div align="right">[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]</div>

Crucially, all these prefixed nouns are abstract nouns that encode some property: they are instantiations either of quality nominalizations (in the sense of Fábregas 2016) or of deadjectival nominalizations. In the latter case, that is, in the case of deadjectival nominalizations as for instance the noun *imparcialidad* 'impartiality', it could be argued that *iN-* is added to the deadjectival noun *parcialidad* 'partiality', and, thus, that it is a prefixed noun involving the structure [im[[parcial]$_A$ idad]$_N$]$_N$. It could also be argued that the nominalising suffix *-idad* is attached to the *iN-* prefixed adjective *imparcial* 'impartial': [[[im[parcial]$_A$]$_A$ idad]$_N$. Evidence in favour of the latter analysis is provided by the meaning of *imparcialidad*, which rather than expressing the negation of partiality, describes the property of being impartial:

(3)   *El equipo perdedor puso en duda la imparcialidad del árbitro.*
        'The looser team called into question if the referee had been impartial'.
        [*Clave*, s.v. *imparcialidad* 'impartiality']

As for quality nominalizations (that is, nouns that despite being deverbal encode a quality rather than an event or a state), a similar account can be provided. The noun *inmoderación*, for instance, does not express the negation of the complex nominal *moderación* 'moderation', but it rather describes the property of being immoderate, that is, the property of lacking moderation. Evidence in favour of this claim involves a comparison between the semantics of the unprefixed noun and the prefixed counterpart. Unprefixed *moderación* can encode the event of causing something to become moderate, as in (4a), it can also denote the state resulting from such an event, as in (4b), or it can describe the quality of being moderate, as in (4c); a behaviour pointed out by Fábregas (2016: 87, (5)). In contrast, *inmoderación*, which involves the presence of the negative prefix, cannot encode any event (5a), and it cannot denote a resulting state either (5b), but it can describe the property of lacking moderation (5c):

(4)   a. *La   última moderación   de los salarios tuvo lugar en 2012.*

The last   restraint   of the salaries took place in 2012

'The last wage restraint took place in 2012'.

b. *España alcanzó   la moderación de los salarios durante diez años.*

Spain   reached   the restraint   of the salaries for   ten years

'Spain reached the wage restraint for ten years'.

c. *Me   admira   la moderación de Juan en todo lo que   hace.*

I.DAT admire.3sg   the restraint   of Juan in all   what   he.does

'I am astonished at Juan's restraint in all what he does'.

[Fábregas 2016: 87 (5)]

(5)   a. **La última in-moderación de los salarios tuvo lugar en 2012.*

The last   NEG-restraint of the salaries   took place in 2012

b. **España alcanzó la   in-moderación de los salarios durante diez años.*

Spain   reached the NEG-restraint   of the salaries for   ten years.

c. *Me   admira   la in-moderación   de Juan en todo lo que hace.*

I.DAT admire.3SG   the NEG-restraint   of Juan in all   what he.does

It seems, thus, that the presence of the prefix forces the configuration to be interpreted as a quality nominalization. I assume this behaviour to suggest that *iN*- is not added to the noun *moderación*, but rather that the noun *inmoderación* involves an *iN*- prefixed adjectival configuration. From this view, *iN*- would not be attached to a nominal base, but it would be the nominalizer *-ción* the item that would be attached to an *iN*- prefixed predicate: $[[in[modera]]_A ción]_N$.[4]

Taking into account all this empirical evidence, I conclude that *iN*- cannot be attached to nominal bases of any sort (neither to simple nor to complex ones).

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[4] See Horn ([1989] 2001) for a similar account regarding *un*- nominals such as *unintelligence, untruth* or *unwisdom*, which, he argues, involve the apparent attachment of *un*- inside the nominalizing suffix.

5.2.1.2. On verbs

The addition of *iN-* to verbal bases leads to systematic ungrammaticality: **in-conocer*, **in-comer*, **in-llegar*, **in-avisar*, **ir-repetir*, **im-preocupar*, among many others. The fact that *iN-* rejects being affixed to verbal bases has been largely noticed in the literature, especially in the studies concerned with participial forms, in which *iN-* prefixation is used as a test to distinguish verbal participles (which disallow *iN-* prefixation) from adjectival ones (which allow *iN-* prefixation; see Bosque 1990, 1999; Varela 1990, 1993, 2002; see also §5.3.3).

Nevertheless, some verbs are attested which involve this negative prefix, although the vast majority of them are clearly derived from an *iN-* prefixed adjective, as unanimously acknowledged in the studies concerned with this prefix (Varela 1983; Varela & Martín García 1999; Montero Curiel 1999; Costa 2008; among others):

(6)   *ilegalizar* 'to illegalize' (*illegal* 'illegal'), *ilegitimar* 'to declare illegitimate', (*ilegítimo* 'illegitimate'), *impurificar* 'to make impure' (*impuro* 'impure'), *inactivar* 'to make become inactive' (*inactivo* 'inactive'), *incapacitar* 'to incapacitate' (*incapaz* 'incapable, unable'), *incomunicar* 'to isolate', *independizar* 'to make become independent' (*independiente* 'independent'), *inhabilitar* 'to bar, to disqualify' (*inhábil* 'unskillful, unqualified'), *inmovilizar* 'to immobilize' (*inmóvil* 'immobile'), *insubordinarse* 'to be insubordinate, to disobey'.

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

Among the list provided in (6), only two verbs do not show a recognizable adjectival base: *incomunicar* 'to isolate' and *insubordinarse* 'to be insubordinate'. It could be argued, thus, that in these exceptional cases *iN-* is directly added to the verbal bases *comunicar* 'to communicate' and *subordinar* 'to subordinate'. However, the meaning of these constructions provides evidence against this option, as they do not express the negation of the verbal base: *incomunicar* does not mean 'not to communicate', and *insubordinarse* does not mean 'not to subordinate'. Rather, the meaning of these verbs points to an underlying negative adjective: *incomunicar* means 'to make become incommunicado', and *insubordinarse* means 'to be insubordinate'. Therefore, I

hypothesize that these constructions are in fact deadjectival verbs created upon a non-attested *iN*- prefixed adjective: [[*in*[*comunic*]]$_A$ *ar*]$_V$; [[*in*[*subordin*]$_A$ *ar*]$_V$.

On the basis of these observations, I conclude that *iN*- imposes a categorical restriction that prevents its combination with verbal bases.

5.2.2. Constraints on adjectives

The Spanish negative prefix *iN*- is productive with adjectival bases, although it is not compatible with any kind of adjectival base. In this section the restrictions imposed by *iN*- to its adjectival bases will be addressed. In section 5.2.2.1 I will deal with the constraints based on the requirement imposed by *iN*- to exclusively combine with scalar bases. In section 5.2.2.2, other restrictions observed in the literature will be considered.

5.2.2.1. Constraints based on scalarity

A fundamental restriction observed in *iN*- prefixation is that it is only available with scalar predicative adjectives, i.e., with adjectives that predicate a gradable property of the noun they modify (see Varela & Martín García 1999; Horn [1989] 2001; Costa 2008; among others). Accordingly, *iN*- disallows being affixed to the so-called relational adjectives, i.e., to non-predicative and non-scalar (usually denominal) adjectives that ascribe the noun they modify to a particular class (e.g. *policial* 'relative to the police'), as illustrated in (7):

(7)   a. *Un   estado (*in)mental.*

        A   state   (NEG)mental

        'A(n) (*un)mental state'.

     b. *Un   reconocimiento (*in)médico.*

        A   check-up   (NEG)medical

        'A(n) (*un)medical check-up'.

     c. *La   energía (*in)solar.*

        The power   (NEG)solar

        'The (*un)solar power'.

The examples in (8) show that, for those adjectives that admit either a predicative or a relational interpretation, *iN*- prefixation is only possible with the predicative reading

(8a', b', c') but not with the relational one (8a, b, c), which has been pointed out by
Scalise (1984: 46), Bosque (1993), Varela & Martín García (1999: 5022), and Costa
(2008: 209-210), among others.

(8)   a. *Voluntad   (*im)popular*. [Varela & Martín García 1999: §76.5.3.3, 5022]
            Will   (NEG)popular
            '(*Un)popular will'.

      a'. *Una decisión muy (im)popular*.
             A   decision very(NEG)popular
            'A very (un)popular decision'.

      b. *La   raza   (*in)humana*.
            The race   (NEG)human
            'The (*in)human race'.

      b'. *Una persona muy (in)humana*.
             A   person   very (NEG)humane
            'A very (in)humane person'.

      c. *El   actual marco (*i)legal*.
            The current frame   (NEG)legal
            'The current (*il)legal frame'.

      c'. *El consumo   de drogas es (i)legal*.
            The consumption of drugs   is (NEG)legal
            'Drug consumption is (il)legal'.

From the requirement imposed by *iN*- to only combine with scalar predicative
adjectives, it follows that this prefix is incompatible with adjectival bases that, although
being predicative, disallow scalar quantification. This prediction is borne out, and *iN*-
rejects affixation to superlative adjectives, since superlative adjectives involve a
quantified scale and, thus, they cannot be further quantified. This fact was already
noticed by Zimmer (1964) and Horn ([1989] 2001) with regard to English *iN*- and *un*-
prefixation:

(9) a. *sincero* > *in-sincero*   vs.   *sincer-ísimo* >   **in-sincerísimo*

          sincere   NEG-sincere   sincere-SUPERL   NEG-sincere.SUPERL

     b. *feliz*   > *in-feliz* vs.   *felic-ísimo* >   **in-felicísimo*

          happy   NEG-happy   happy-SUPERL   NEG-happy.SUPERL

     c. *sensible* > *in-sensible*   vs.   *sensibilísimo* >   **in-sensibilísimo*

          sensitive   NEG-sensitive   sensitive-SUPERL   NEG-sensitive.SUPERL

A case such as the one illustrated below could be argued to be a counterexample to this restriction:

(10) *Este   sofá es in-comod-ísimo.*

      This   sofa is NEG-comfortable-SUPERL

      'This sofa is extremely uncomfortable'

Crucially, the superlative adjective *incomodísimo* 'extremely uncomfortable' is not a case of *iN*- prefixation to a superlative adjective, but a case of superlative suffixation upon an *iN*- prefixed adjective. In (9) *incomodísimo* does not mean that the sofa is not extremely comfortable, but that the sofa is extremely uncomfortable, with the superlative sufix taking scope over the negative prefix (and not the other way around): [[*iN*-[*comod-*]]-*ísimo*]. Hence, *incomodísimo* is not a counterexample to the claim that superlative adjectives disallow *iN*- prefixation.

It has also been observed that *iN*- prefixation (as well as *un*- prefixation in English) tends to reject adjectival bases denoting absolute binary ungradables, as depicted below (cf. Varela & Martín García 1999: 5022; Horn [1989] 2001: 282):

(11) a. *vivo/muerto*   >   **in-vivo/*in-muerto*

        alive/dead

     b. *casado/soltero*   >   **in-casado/*in-soltero*

        married/single

This incompatibility is usually linked to the non-gradable nature of these adjectival bases (Varela & Martín García 1999). However, unlike with superlative adjectives, in the case of binary ungradables this restriction does not always apply, and some adjectives involving absolute degrees allow *iN*-prefixation:

(12)   a. *par   >   im-par* (cf. *par/non*)

         even   NEG-even (cf. even/odd)

         b. *correcto >   in-correcto* (cf. *correcto/erróneo*)

         correct   NEG-correct   (cf. correct/wrong)

The reason why *iN-* allows being attached to absolute adjectives is that, as observed by Fábregas (2005: chapter 2, §2.2.4), "what makes these adjectives not gradable is not any structural or formal property, but only the conceptual information associated with the root of the adjective". Hence, although these adjectives refer to properties usually conceived of as ungradable, their formal structure allows gradation and, accordingly, these predicates are easily coerced into a gradable reading. Crucially, *iN-* prefixation always involves this scalar interpretation. By contrast, superlative adjectives do formally involve quantified scales (since superlative expressions convey quantification over degrees; see Sharvit & Stateva 2002), and thus they cannot be coerced into a non-quantified (still gradable) interpretation.

There is a further restriction linked to the requirement of *iN-* to be only affixed to scalar bases: the incompatibility of *iN-* with adjectival participles showing eventive properties (that is, with those adjectival participles that disallow degree quantification). This restriction will be given more attention in §5.4.1.3.

5.2.2.2. Other restrictions

The restrictions seen up to this point are all related to the overarching restriction shown by *iN-* to only combine with scalar adjectives. A second restriction pointed out in the literature on negative prefixation is the one which prevents its use with adjectives that have lexical antonyms (Zimmer 1964; Horn [1989] 2001; Varela & Martín García 1999), a restriction usually linked to the Avoid Synonymy Principle stated by Kiparsky (1982): "the output of a lexical rule may not be synonymous with an existing lexical item". However, some adjectives having lexical antonyms do allow *iN-* prefixation:

(13)   a. *feliz > in-feliz* (cf. *triste*)

         happy   NEG-happy (cf. sad)

         b. *sincero > in-sincero* (cf. *mentiroso*)

         sincere   NEG-sincere (cf. liar)

         c. *cierto > in-cierto* (cf. *falso*)

         true   NEG-true   (cf. false)

As observed by Horn ([1989] 2001) the negatively prefixed adjective and the lexical antonym do not encode the same meaning (see also Zimmer 1964; Lehrer 1985): the meaning of the negatively prefixed adjectives is weaker than the meaning of the non-prefixed antonyms. In fact, the antonyms *triste* 'sad', *mentiroso* 'liar' and *falso* 'false' are the very opposites (the polar contraries) of *feliz* 'happy', *sincero* 'sincere' and *cierto* 'true'; whereas the *iN*- prefixed forms *infeliz* 'unhappy', *insincero* 'insincere' and *incierto* 'untrue, uncertain' encode more neutral values that, although constituting contraries of their bases, are not as polar as the lexical antonyms:

(14)   *Nada sería más **incierto**, incluso **falso**, que pretender dar respuesta a las preguntas planteadas [...] en términos definidos.*
        'Nothing would be more untrue, even false, than pretending to give an answer in well defined terms to the posed questions'.
        [Google books: José Gimeno Sacristán *et al*. 2010. *Saberes e incertidumbres sobre el currículum*]

A third restriction observed in the works devoted to affixal negation states that negative prefixation only occurs with positive or neutral bases, but not with negative ones (Jespersen 1942; Zimmer 1964; Allen 1978; Scalise 1984; Horn [1989] 2001; Costa 2008; De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017):

(15)   a. *in-feliz*   /   **in-triste*
           NEG-happy   NEG-sad
        b. *in-sincero* / **in-mentiroso*
           NEG-sincere   NEG-liar
        c. *in-cierto* / **in-falso*
           NEG-true   NEG-false
        d. *in-fértil* / **in-estéril*
           NEG-fertile   NEG-sterile
        e. *im-par*   /   **in-non*
           NEG-even   NEG-odd

What is intended as a "negative" base, though, is not at all straightforward, as noticed by Zimmer (1964). According to this author, negative adjectives are the ones that

express properties evaluated negatively (see Horn [1989] 2001 for the same criterion). Hence, of the pairs of antonyms listed in (15), the ones that encode the lack of a given property, which are, thus, judged as negative by the speakers (i.e., *triste* 'sad', *mentiroso* 'liar', *falso* 'false', *estéril* 'sterile', *non* 'odd') disallow *iN-* prefixation. Although the non-occurrence of negative prefixes with negatively evaluated bases is widely attested, it seems to be a tendency rather than an absolute prohibition, as we would of course expect from a pragmatic effect, rather than a grammatical effect. Gyurko (1971) attests some exceptions to this general rule. This author cites *iN-*prefixed adjectives as, e.g., *impoluto* 'spotless, unblemished' (*poluto* 'polluted'), *imprescindible* 'indispensable, essential' (*prescindible* 'dispensable'), *incorruptible* 'incorruptible' (*corruptible* 'corruptible'), *inofensivo* 'inoffensive' (*ofensivo* 'offensive'), among others, the adjectival bases of which encode positively evaluated properties.

Finally, a more regular restriction has been mentioned in the literature (see, e.g., De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017): the ban on negative affixation to bases already containing affixal negation. Hence, for instance, English adjectives containing *iN-* or -*less* affixation disallow *un-* prefixation (16a, b). Seemingly, co-occurrence of the same negative affix is always rejected (16c):

(16)   a. **unirreligious, *unillegitimate, *unillogical, *unimpossible, *unincoherent*

         b. **unuseless, *unbreathless, *unsenseless, *unmerciless, *uncheerless*

         c. **ununhappy, *breathlessless*

         [Examples taken from De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017: (8a), (9a), (11a)]

Co-occurrence of two negative affixes is possible, however, when the affixes are not adjacent. In (17) co-occurrence of *un-* and *iN-* is allowed because *un-* prefixation is not applied after *iN-* prefixation, but after -*ed* suffixation:

(17)   *uninconvenienced, unincapacitated, uninhibited*

         [Examples taken from De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017: (8b)]

An account of this restriction is usually provided on the basis of a more general constraint: the Siegel's (1977) Adjacency Principle, according to which the same morphological rule cannot apply in two adjacent cycles. De Clercq & Vanden

Wyngaerd (2017) approach the same restriction from a syntactic point of view and maintain that the ban on double negation (either affixal or syntactic) obeys a syntactic restriction that prevents the functional sequence to contain "two structurally adjacent identical features".

Although the impossibility of attaching *iN*- to bases already provided with negative affixes could be linked to the tendency shown by this prefix to reject negatively evaluated bases, these two restrictions are different in nature. The non-combination of negative affixes with negatively evaluated adjectival bases is a pragmatic one, and, accordingly, it allows for exceptions (see the counterexamples to this restriction attested by Gyurko 1971).[5] By contrast, the ban on two adjacent negative affixes is a syntactic one, and it therefore applies systematically.

In sum, among *iN*- prefixed adjectives, four basic restrictions have been attested: the need of *iN*- to only combine with scalar adjectives (as examined in §5.2.2.1); the tendency of this prefix to reject adjectival bases that have lexical antonyms (a restriction linked to the Avoid Synonymy Principle posed by Kiparsky 1982); the pragmatic constraint regarding the addition of this prefix to negatively evaluated bases; and the syntactic impossibility of stacking *iN*- on top of another negative affix if they are structurally adjacent (a restriction that obeys the Adjacency Principle stated by Siegel 1977 as well as the more general ban on two structurally adjacent identical features formulated by De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017).

5.3. *IN*- prefixed adjectives: main classes

It is not my aim to offer here an exhaustive study of all *iN*-prefixed adjectives, but just to deal with the most basic ones in order to elucidate the properties of this prefix. To this end, I will examine negated simple adjectives (i.e. adjectives created by the addition of negative *iN*- to a simple adjectival base; cf. §5.3.1), negated *-ble* adjectives (i.e. adjectives created by the addition of *iN*- to deverbal modal adjectives; cf. §5.3.2), and

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[5] De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd (2017) offer a syntactic account to the non-occurrence of negative affixes with negative bases. According to these authors, negative adjectives such as *sad* contain a negative syntactic feature (Neg) that bans the addition of a negative affix in the adjacent cycle of the derivation. However, it is unclear to me whether conceptual or pragmatic judgements (recall that the negative meaning of these bases is linked to the evaluative judgement of the speakers) should be syntactically encoded (see, in this respect, chapter 2, section 2.4). Moreover, if such a ban was a syntactic, rather than a pragmatic one, the exceptions attested by Gyurko (1971) would be unexpected (and would remain unexplained).

negated adjectival passive participles (i.e. adjectives created by the addition of *iN-* to an adjectival passive participle; cf. §5.3.3). I will leave aside the addition of *iN-* to adjectives displaying other adjectival suffixes (for example, *-nte*: *in-transigente* 'intransigent'). Besides, the so-called parasynthetic formations (Costa 2008) of the sort of *im-berb-e* 'beardless' (cf. *berbe 'bearded') or *in-ánim-e* 'lifeless' (cf. *ánime 'provided with life'), already presented in §5.2.1.1, will not be addressed in this section, although I will refer to them when dealing with the internal syntax of *iN-* in §5.5.2, and when discussing Latin *iN-* prefixed predicates in chapter 6, section 6.5.

5.3.1. Simple adjectives prefixed with *iN-*

The negative prefix *iN-* can be added to simple predicative adjectives in order to deny the property they encode.

(18)   a. *Este detergente es in-eficaz.*

This detergent is NEG-effective

'This detergent is ineffective'.

b. *El sofá de casa es in-cómodo.*

The sofa of home is NEG-comfortable

'The sofa at home is uncomfortable'.

c. *La historia que cuentas es in-cierta.*

The story you tell is NEG-true

'The story you tell is untrue'.

d. *La tierra de vuestro huerto es in-fértil.*

The soil of your vegetable_garden is NEG-fertile.

'The soil of your vegetable garden is infertile'.

A (non exhaustive) list of *iN-*prefixed adjectives displaying simple adjectival bases is provided in (19).[6]

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[6] Some of these adjectives display adjectival bases that are the evolution of Latin participles (cf. *in-experto* 'inexpert', from Latin *expertus* 'tried, proven', participle of *experior* 'to try, to prove'). In Spanish, though, they are not perceived as participles anymore, but they are fully lexicalized adjectives that speakers do not relate to any participial configuration. In fact, some of them were used as fully lexicalized adjectives even in Latin (cf. Latin *inexpertus* 'without experience'). See 8.3.3 and 8.4.2.3 for the same lexicalization process with Spanish participial forms.

(19)   *Ilegal* 'illegal' ['not legal'] (*legal* 'legal'), *ilícito* 'illicit' ['not licit'] (*lícito* 'licit'), *ilógico* 'illogical' ['not logical'] (*lógico* 'logical'), *impar* 'odd' ['not even'] (*par* 'even'), *imperfecto* 'imperfect' ['not perfect'] (*perfecto* 'perfect'), *impreciso* 'imprecise' ['not precise'] (*preciso* 'precise'), *impropio* 'inappropriate' ['not appropriate'] (*propio* 'appropriate'), *impuro* 'impure' ['not pure'] (*puro* 'pure'), *incapaz* 'unable' ['not able'] (*capaz* 'able'), *incauto* 'unwary' ['not wary'] (*cauto* 'wary'), *incierto* 'untrue' ['not true'] (*cierto* 'true'), *incómodo* 'uncomfortable' ['not comfortable'] (*cómodo* 'comfortable'), *indócil* 'not docile' (*dócil* 'docile'), *ineficaz* 'ineffective' ['not effective'] (*eficaz* 'effective'), *inexacto* 'inexact' ['not exact'] (*exacto* 'exact'), *inexperto* 'inexpert' ['not expert'] (*expert* 'expert'), *infeliz* 'unhappy' ['not happy'] (*feliz* 'happy), *infértil* 'infertile' ['not fertile'] (*fertile* 'fertile'), *infiel* 'unfaithful' ['not faithful'] (*fiel* 'faithful'), *inhábil* 'unskilful' ['not skilful'] (*hábil* 'skilful), *inhumano* 'inhumane' ['not humane'] (*humano* 'humane'), *injusto* 'unfair' ['not fair'] (*justo* 'fair'), *inmodesto* 'immodest' ['not modest'] (*modesto* 'modest'), *inmoral* 'immoral' ['not moral'] (*moral* 'moral'), *inoportuno* 'inopportune' ['not oportune'] (*oportuno* 'opportune'), *insano* 'unhealthy' ['not healthy'] (*sano* 'healthy'), *inseguro* 'unsure' ['not sure'] (*seguro* 'sure'), *insensato* 'imprudent' ['not prudent'] (*sensato* 'prudent'), *insincero* 'insincere' ['not sincere'] (*sincero* 'sincere'), *intranquilo* 'unquiet' ['not quiet'] (*tranquilo* 'quiet'), *inútil* 'useless' ['not useful'] (*útil* 'useful'), *irreal* 'unreal' ['not real'] (*real* 'real').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

In the literature devoted to the study of negative prefixes in Spanish (Brea 1976, Varela 1983, Montero Curiel 1999, Varela & Martín García 1999, Costa 2008) it is widely assumed that the negative prefix *iN*- (in contrast with, for example, *des*-) keeps its basic negative meaning regularly, so that it always entails the negation of the lexical base to which it is attached —a fact I have illustrated with the paraphrase I provide in brackets for each element in (19). Such a regularity is also reflected in the English translation of these adjectives, which is systematically provided by means of the canonical negative prefixes *un*- and *iN*-, as shown in (19). In this respect, the *iN*-prefixed adjectives listed in (19) show a significant contrast with the *des*-prefixed adjectives studied in chapter 4, section 4.2: the former are systematically translated into English by means of *un*- or *iN*-prefixation, whereas the latter (i.e. *des*-prefixed adjectives) are translated into English

by means of different strategies: by a lexical antonym (e.g. *desafecto* 'hostile'), through *dis-* prefixation (e.g. *deshonesto* 'dishonest'), or using the negative prefixes *un-* (e.g. *desafortunado* 'unlucky') or *iN-* (e.g. *descortés* 'impolite').

In addition to this transparent compositional meaning (roughly paraphrasable as 'not <base>$_A$'), the adjectives listed in (19) may display idiosyncratic meanings that do not entirely follow from the mere sum of the meaning of the prefix and the meaning of the simple adjectival base. A good example of this double possibility is the *iN-*prefixed adjective *insano*, which may be used in its more basic, compositional value 'unhealthy', as in (20a), but which can also be used to mean 'mad, insane', a lexicalized meaning, exemplified in (20b), that cannot be deduced from the meaning of the adjectival base *sano* 'healthy'.[7]

(20) a. *Está comprobado   que   fumar   es in-sano.*
      Is   proven   that   smoke.INF   is NEG-healthy
      'It is proven that smoking is unhealthy'.
      [*Clave*, s.v. *insano*]

   b. *Se   salvó de   morir en la cárcel [...] al declarársele   in-sano.*
      REFL saved from die.INF in the jail   at.the declare.INF.REFL.DAT NEG-healthy
      'He escaped from dying in prison when he was found insane'.
      [*CREA*: 1981. Jorge Ruffinelli, *La infamias de la inteligencia burguesa y otros ensayos*. URUGUAY]

The availability of fully lexicalized meanings among the adjectives listed in (19) is not systematic. However, what is attested among the vast majority of these items is their ability to license a strengthened value that does not only entail the negation of the unprefixed adjective, but also the identification of its very polar opposite (cf. Costa 2008; Rodríguez Rosique 2011). For instance, the adjective *inhumano*, rather than characterizing the subject as not being *humano* ['humane'], is conventionally interpreted as 'cruel', thus conveying a stronger value than the mere negation of the

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[7] *Insano* inherits the non-compositional, lexicalized meaning illustrated in (20b) from its Latin antecedent: *insanus*. In Latin, the non-prefixed adjective *sanus* could mean both 'sane' and 'healthy', and, consequently, its negative counterpart, which is the *iN-*prefixed adjective *insanus*, could mean either 'insane' or 'unhealthy' (cf. *Lewis & Short*, s.v.). The Spanish adjective *sano*, which is the evolution of Latin *sanus*, only keeps the latter meaning, 'healthy', but not the former, 'sane'. Therefore, in Spanish, the transparent meaning of *iN-*prefixed *insano* is 'unhealthy', whereas the use of this adjective to mean 'mad' is a lexicalized meaning inherited from Latin *insanus*.

adjectival base *humano* 'humane'. Seemingly, *insensato* does not only deny the property of being *sensato* 'sensible', but it is regularly understood as 'foolish'; *inútil* is mainly used to mean not just 'not useful', but 'useless' or 'good for nothing'; and so on. The emergence of these extreme interpretations, usually linked to a pejorative or negatively evaluated sense, is related to the scalar properties of the adjectival base, and is further examined in §5.4.2 and §5.6.1.

5.3.2. *-Ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN*-

The most productive pattern among *iN*-prefixation is the addition of this prefix to deverbal adjectives suffixed with *-ble*. Evidence of the high level of productivity of this procedure are: (1) the fact that the vast majority of *iN*-prefixed adjectives listed in Spanish dictionaries display adjectival bases suffixed with *-ble* (according to Gyurko 1971, this pattern covers the 46% of *iN*-prefixed adjectives attested in *DRAE*); (2) the availability of this pattern to create new adjectives (i.e., adjectives still not included in dictionaries but common in informal speech; e.g. *inaccionable* 'not actionable', *inaconsejable* 'inadvisable', *invendible* 'unsaleable'; attested by Google search); and (3) the possibility of combining *iN*- with previously unattested adjectival bases suffixed with *-ble*: *incansable* 'unable to get tired' (**cansable* 'able to get tired'), *incasable* 'unable to get married' (**casable* 'able to get married'), *inllevable* 'unbearable' (**llevable* 'bearable') (cf. Montero Curiel 1999: 167).

 At this point, the question arises why the negative prefix *iN*- shows such an extreme preference for combining with *-ble* suffixed adjectives. To answer this question an inspection of the main properties of *-ble* adjectives is in order.

 Suffix *-ble* is a deverbal adjectivizing suffix that creates adjectives out of verbal bases. *-Ble* adjectives are usually associated to passive semantics, since most of them correspond to the passive construction 'that can be <base>-ed' or 'able to be <base>-ed' (cf. Vendler 1968, Marchand 1969 and Aronoff 1976 for English; Val Álvaro 1981, De Miguel 1986, and Rainer 1993 for Spanish; and Gràcia *et al*. 2000 for Catalan and Spanish; among others). In some studies, though, these forms are analyzed as involving a middle construction (Gràcia 1992, 1995), since *-ble* adjectives share an important number of properties with middles (such as being stative or expressing a generic content). Moreover, some *-ble* adjectives seem to convey an active meaning rather than a passive or a middle one: *agradable* 'that pleases', *perdurable* 'that lasts long',

confortable 'that provides comfort' (cf. Alemany Bolufer 1918; Fernández Ramírez 1986; Rainer 1993; and Gràcia *et al.* 2000). Oltra-Massuet (2014), in her exhaustive crosslinguistic study of *-ble* adjectives, concludes that there are two different types of *-ble* adjectives (a possibility first pointed out by Aronoff 1976 and further developed in the Distributed Morphology framework by Nevins 2002, Volpe 2005 and McGinnis 2010; *apud*. Oltra-Massuet 2014): regularly derived *-ble* adjectives fitting the basic passive paraphrase 'than can be V-ed', on the one hand, and lexicalized *-ble* adjectives that do not have a regular paraphrase, on the other. The two different types of *-ble* adjectives correspond to two different syntactic structures: regularly derived *-ble* adjectives (called *high -ble* or *potential -ble* adjectives in Oltra-Massuet 2014) are analyzed as "modalized resultative passive structures", and lexicalized *-ble* adjectives (called *low -ble* adjectives by the same author) are considered to be "modalized adjectives", and, accordingly, the former involve eventive structure and the latter lack it (Oltra-Massuet 2014: 149-150).

The works devoted to the study of *-ble* adjectives commonly agree on the idea that these constructions bear a modal value (Alemany Bolufer 1918; Vendler 1968; Lyons 1977; Kratzer 1981, 1991; Bauer 1983; Gràcia 1995; Di Sciullo 1997b; Gràcia *et al.* 2000; Oltra-Massuet 2014; among others). In fact, regularly derived high *-ble* adjectives express potential modality (21a), whereas lexicalized low *-ble* adjectives seem to display other types of modality involving a more subjective judgement (21b):

(21)   a. *interpretable* 'that can be interpreted' (interpretar 'to interpret'), *modificable* 'that can be modified' (*modificar* 'to modify')

        b. *creíble* 'that deserves being believed' (*creer* 'to believe'), *honorable* 'that must be honoured' (*honorar* 'to honour').

Oltra-Massuet (2014: 121-127) provides evidence for the presence of a modal component in *-ble* adjectives: their ability to license free choice items (which are typically licensed in modal environments), as shown in (22); and the restriction imposed by high *-ble* adjectives on its implicit verb's arguments, which are only licensed if interpreted as generic or nonspecific, as illustrated in (23). *-Ble* adjectives, thus, are to be linked with this kind of modal generic contexts.

(22)   a. *Any book is translatable.*

         b. *A book translatable by any professional translator.*

         (Oltra-Massuet 2014: 121 (206))

(23)   a. **A book translatable by John.*

         b. *A book translatable by a specialist with expertise in the subject matter.*

         (Based on Oltra-Massuet 2014: 124 (212))

Based on these pieces of evidence, Oltra-Massuet (2014) argues that the presence of this modal element is responsible for the possibility reading as well as for the generic, nonspecific one, and that the stativity of *-ble* adjectives (and, particularly, their being individual-level predicates; see section 5.4.1.2) derives from this modal component.

The answer to the above-formulated question (namely, why the combination of negative *iN-* with *-ble* suffixed adjectives is the most productive pattern among *iN-*prefixation) could lie in the modal content inherent to *-ble* adjectives. In fact, the interaction between negation and modality is a subject that has attracted the attention of several authors (see Morante & Sporleder 2012 for a state of the art that focuses on studies in computational linguistics).

Giannakidou (1994, 1998, 2002, 2011), focusing on Greek data, establishes that weak negative polarity items (NPIs) as well as free choice items (FCIs) are licensed in modal environments.[8] Modal environments are nonveridical (i.e., they do not express certainty about the truth of a sentence and, thus, lack truth commitment; see Giannakidou 1994 and ff.), and encompass modal verbs, imperatives and attitude verbs taking subjunctive complements. Hence, as illustrated in (24), Greek weak NPIs and FCIs appear in subjunctive complements (marked with *na*) of directive attitude verbs (which are nonveridical), but are not licensed in indicative complements (marked with *oti*) of epistemic or factive verbs (which are veridical). They can also appear in imperatives, as shown in (25), which further points to a correlation between mood choice and NPI licensing:

(24)   *Greek*

         a. *I   Ariaδni θa   iθele   na   milisi   me {opjonδipote/kanenan} fititi.*
            The Ariadne would like.3SG SBJV talk.1SG with FC- /NPI-   student
            'Ariadne would like to talk to any student.'

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[8] Remember that one of the sources Oltra-Massuet (2014: 121-127) uses to demonstrate that *-ble* adjectives involve a modal value is their ability to license free choice items such as English *any*.

b. *O   Pavlos   pistevi   oti   idhe   {kanenan/opjonδipote}.

The Paul   believe.3SG   that   saw.3SG   NPI/FCI

'*Paul believes that he saw anybody'.

(Giannakidou 2011: 1677 (50) and (51))

(25)   *Greek*

Patise   {kanena/opjoδδhipote} pliktro.

press.IMP   NPI/FCI   key

'Press any key'.

(Giannakidou 2011: 1672 (39a))

Quer (1998) also provides evidence for the interaction between modal environments and FCIs in Catalan and Spanish. Martins (2000: 209), in her diachronic analysis of the evolution of negative indefinites from weak NPIs to strong NPIs, points out that "negation can be associated to modality values ('interrogative', 'imperative', 'conditional', etc.)". Concerning the evolution of minimizers, Batllori (2015) shows that nonveridical modal contexts also play a fundamental role in the interpretation of *n(egative)-words* (in this sense, see also Espinal & Labelle 2014, and Wallage 2015).

On the other hand, it has also been demonstrated that certain modal expressions are licensed under the scope of negation. A good example of the correlation between negation and mood licensing is the well-known fact that subjunctive mood can be triggered by negation (see Bosque 1980: 61; Quer 1998: 37; among others). Predicates giving rise to veridical contexts, as for example the Spanish verb *creer* 'to believe', select indicative complements (26a) and reject subjunctive ones (26b). However, when a negative marker is introduced to deny such veridical predicates, the subjunctive is licensed in their complements (26c):

(26)   a. *Creo   que   Juan   fuma.*

Believe   that   John   smokes.IND

'I believe that John smokes'.

b. **Creo   que   Juan   fume.*

Believe   that   John   smokes.SBJV

c. *No   creo   que   Juan   fume.*

NEG believe that   John   smokes.SBJV

'I do not believe that John smokes'.

Further evidence of the interaction between modal values and negation comes from Poletto & Zanuttini (2008), who show that in Badiotto (a Rhaetoromance variety spoken in the north-east of Italy) the modal particles *ma, mo, pa, pö* are required in positive imperatives but not necessarily in negative ones, as (27) and (28) illustrate:

(27)   a. *Lî-l   *(ma/mo/pö/pa)!*   (Badiotto)

        2SG-read   PRT

        'Read it!' (2nd sg)

    b. *Lié-l   *(ma/mo/pö/pa)!*

        2PL-read   PRT

        'Read it!' (2nd pl)

    (Poletto & Zanuttini 2008: (1))

(28)   a. *No (ma)   l   lî!*   (Badiotto)

        NEG PRT   read 2SG

        'Don't read it!'

    b. *No (ma)   l   liét!*

        NEG PRT   read 2PL

        'Don't read it!'

    (Poletto & Zanuttini 2008: (7))

Although the interaction between negation and modality is "an interesting, yet hardly explored terrain" (Zeijlstra 2004: 280), the above-mentioned studies point to the conclusion that negation and modality can license each other. If this is so, the great productivity of *iN*- (a negative prefix) with *-ble* (a modal suffix) could be related to this mutual licensing. As previously mentioned at the beginning of this section, it is not only the case that *iN*- easily combines with *-ble* suffixed adjectives, but that several *-ble* adjectives are only grammatical when prefixed with *iN*-, the non-prefixed form being unattested in the Spanish dictionaries: *imprestable* 'that cannot be lent' (*prestable 'that can be lended'), *imparable* 'that cannot be stopped' (*parable 'that can be stopped'), *imborrable* 'that cannot be deleted' (*borrable 'that can be deleted'), among others. In these cases, thus, what licenses the modal suffix is the negative prefix.

    The interaction between *iN*- prefixation and *-ble* suffixation has also been dealt with by Oltra-Massuet (2014: 139-140, footnote 123), who, basing on Fábregas' (2005)

proposal, relates the need of having the negative prefix in certain *-ble* adjectives to the fact that *-ble* adjectives are generic or characterizing predicates (i.e., predicates expressing generalizations over characterizing properties; see Krifka *et al.* 1995: 7) and, as such, they need some other device (e.g. negation) to delimit their denotation.[9] Although Oltra-Massuet does not directly link the interaction between *iN-* and *-ble* to the mutual triggering of negation and modality, such relation is implicit in her account, since, as previously mentioned in this section, she explicitly states that the modal content of *-ble* adjectives is responsible for their being generic and characterizing predicates (cf. Oltra-Massuet 2014: 120).

Before concluding this section, it is worth pointing out that certain *iN-* prefixed adjectives displaying *-ble* suffixed bases (exactly, low *-ble* ones), may develop a strengthened value that does not correspond to the mere negation of the adjectival base. Particularly, and as noticed by Brea (1976), Montero Curiel (1999: 172-173) and Costa (2011), some of these adjectives can involve a superlative meaning, whereas others may express extremely low values. Among the former the authors identify adjectives like *inigualable* 'incomparable, without equal', *inimitable* 'inimitable, one-of-a-kind', *insuperable* 'unsurpassable, optimum', *inmejorable* 'unbeatable, excellent' or *inagotable* 'tireless', which usually behave as elative adjectives expressing a given property in an extremely high degree. Among the latter the authors mention adjectives such as *incalificable* 'indescribable', *impresentable* 'unpresentable' 'disgraceful' and *ilegible* 'illegible', all of them encoding not only the negation of the adjectival base, but mainly an extreme low degree of the property denoted by it that also entails a pejorative sense. Such extreme meanings, linked to the scalar properties of these adjectives, reflect certain degree of lexicalization, as they cannot be deduced neither from the meaning of the prefix nor from the meaning of the base. They will be further addressed in §5.4.2.

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[9] In fact, some *-ble* adjectives require the presence of either a manner adverbial or a negative prefix. The Spanish adjective *olvidable* 'forgettable', for example, is more acceptable if modified by a manner adverbial (ib) or if it occurs with negation (ic) than if it is used without such modification (ia):

  (i) a. *?Una experiencia olvidable.*
        'A forgetable experience'.
     b. *Una experiencia difícilmente olvidable.*
        'A hardly forgettable experience'.
     c. *Una experiencia in-olvidable.*
        'An unforgettable experience'.

These data suggest that negation and adverbial modification realize the same function, which according to Oltra-Massuet (2014: 139-140, footnote 123) is that of delimiting the denotation of the *-ble* adjective, and which, as suggested by Montserrat Batllori (p.c.), could also be that of providing a modal context that better licenses the occurrence of the modal *-ble* adjective.

5.3.3. Adjectival passive participles prefixed with *iN*-

The addition of negative *iN*- to adjectival passive participles is also an attested pattern, although it is much less productive in Spanish than it was in Latin. A list of Spanish *iN*-prefixed adjectives displaying participial morphology is provided in (29):

(29)   *Ilimitado* 'unlimited' (*limitado* 'limited'), *imbatido* 'unbeaten' (*batido* 'beaten'), *impagado* 'unpaid' (*pagado* 'paid'), *impensado* 'unexpected' (*pensado* 'thought', 'expected'), *impremeditado* 'unpremeditated' (*premeditado* 'premeditated'), *imprevisto* 'unexpected' (*previsto* 'planned, expected'), *inacabado* 'unfinished' (*acabado* 'finished'), *inacentuado* 'unaccented' (*acentuado* 'accented'), *inadaptado* 'unadapted', 'maladjusted' (*adaptado* 'adapted'), *inadecuado* 'unsuitable' (*adecuado* 'suitable'), *inadvertido* 'unnoticed' (*advertido* 'noticed'), *inalterado* 'unaltered' (*alterado* 'altered'), *inarticulado* 'not articulated' (*articulado* 'articulated'), *incomprendido* 'not understood', 'misunderstood' (*comprendido* 'understood'), *incontaminado* 'unpolluted' (*contaminado* 'polluted'), *incontrolado* 'uncontrolled' (controlado 'controlled'), *indebido* 'inappropriate' (*debido* 'appropriate'), *indeliberado* 'not deliberated' (*deliberado* 'deliberated'), *indeseado* 'unwanted' (*deseado* 'wanted'), *inesperado* 'unexpected' (*esperado* 'expected'), *inestimado* 'unrated' (*estimado* 'rated'), *inexplicado* 'unexplained' (*explicado* 'explained'), *inexplorado* 'unexplored' (*explorado* 'explored'), *inmotivado* 'motiveless' (*motivado* 'motivated'), *insaturado* 'unsaturated' (*saturado* 'saturated').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

Many of the *iN*- prefixed adjectival participles listed in (29) are inherited from Latin, a language in which this process was fully productive. For this reason, whereas the list of adjectival participles prefixed with *iN*- is a delimited one in Spanish, *iN*- prefixation with adjectival participles was almost unrestricted in Latin. Latin *iN*-, thus, behaved as current English *un*-, both of them freely attaching to adjectival participles in contrast with current Spanish *iN*-, not fully productive in these contexts, as illustrated below:

(30)   a. *un-married* (Engl.) vs. *in-uxorus* 'unmarried' (Lat.)   vs. **in-casado* (Sp.)

         b. *un-eaten* (Engl.)   vs. *in-cenatus* 'uneaten, dinnerless'(Lat.) vs. **in-comido* (Sp.)

         c. *un-said* (Engl.)   vs. *in-dictus* 'unsaid' (Lat.)   vs. **in-dicho* (Sp.)

         d. *un-loved* (Engl.)   vs. *in-amatus* 'unloved'(Lat.)   vs. **in-querido/*

                                                                           *in-amado (Sp.)

Crucially, and as largely noted in the literature, negative prefixation is only possible with adjectival passive participles, but not with verbal (perfect or passive) ones (see Levin and Rappaport 1986; Bosque 1990, 1999; Varela 1990, 1993, 2002; Kratzer 2000; McIntyre 2013). Hence, none of the Spanish *iN-* prefixed participles listed in (12) can appear in compound perfect tenses (thus they are not real instances of perfect participles), and they cannot be used in verbal passive constructions, either (so they are not verbal passive participles), which is illustrated in (31) and (32), respectively:

(31)   a. *Hemos   (*in)explorado   la zona.*

            Have.1PL (NEG)explored   the zone

            'We have (*un)explored the zone'.

         b. *El profesor   ha (*in)explicado   la lección.*

            The teacher   has (NEG)explained   the lesson

            'The teacher has (*un)explained the lesson'.

         c. *Los vertidos   de la fábrica habían (*in)contaminado el río.*

            The spillage.PL of the factory had.3PL (NEG)polluted   the   river

            'The spillage of the factory has (*un)polluted the river'.

(32)   a. *La zona   ha sido   (*in)explorada por nosotros.*

            The zone has been   (NEG)explored by us

            'The zone has been (*un)explored by us.

         b. *La lección ha sido   (*in)explicada   por   el profesor.*

            The lesson has been   (NEG)explained   by   the teacher

            'The lesson has been (*un)explained by the teacher'.

         c. *El río   había   sido (*in)contaminado por los vertidos   de la fábrica.*

            The river had.3SG been (NEG)polluted   by   the spillage.PL of the factory

            'The river had been (*un)polluted by the spillage of the factory'.

Notice that some participles displaying the negative prefix *iN*- are not *iN*- prefixed items (i.e., items resulting from the addition of the prefix to a participle), but participial forms of deadjectival verbs derived from *iN*-prefixed adjectives. These are cases like *ilegalizado* 'illegalized', *ilegitimado* 'illegitimated', *impurificado* 'made impure, adulterated', *incapacitado* 'incapacitated' or *independizado* 'separated, become independent', which are the participles of the verbs *ilegalizar* 'to illegalize', *ilegitimar* 'to illegitimate', *impurificar* 'to make impure, to adulterate', *incapacitar* 'to incapacitate', and *independizar* 'to separate, to become independent'. These verbs, in turn, are created upon the *iN*-prefixed adjectives *ilegal* 'illegal', *ilegítimo* 'illegitimate', *impuro* 'impure', *incapaz* 'incapable, unable' and *independiente* 'independent', hence, they are crucially not cases of prefixation with *iN*- but cases of verbal suffixation (see §5.2.1.2). Further evidence for the fact that these participial forms are not *iN*- prefixed adjectives come from their behaviour as eventive participles: they can be used in compound perfect tenses, as illustrated in (33), as well as in verbal passive constructions, as illustrated in (34), whereas proper *iN*- prefixed adjectival participles cannot, as already shown in (31) and (32):

(33)   a. *El gobierno   ha ilegal-iz-ado   este   partido político.*
          The government   has illegal-IZ-PPLE   this   party   political
          'The government has illegalized this political party'.

       b. *La Constitución de la   India   ha ilegitim-ado   la discriminación*
          The Constitution of the India   has illegitim(ate)-PPLE   the discrimination
          por   razón de casta. [https://enciclopedismo.com/casta/]
           for   reason of caste
          'The Indian constitution has illegitimated caste discrimination'.

       c. *El juez   la   ha incapac-it-ado   para   administrar*
          The judge she.ACC has incapa(ble)-IT-PPLE   to   manage
          sus   bienes.
          her.PL   property.PL
          'The judge has declared her legally incapacitated to manage her property'.

(34)   a. *Este partido político   ha sido ilegal-iz-ado   por el gobierno.*

          This party political   has been illegal-IZ-PPLE   by the government

          'This political partie has been illegalized by the government'.

          b. *La discriminación por razón   de casta   ha sido ilegitim-ada*

          The discrimination for reason of caste   has been illegitim(ate)-PPLE

          por   la Constitución   de la India.

          by   the Constitution   of the India

          'Caste discrimination has been illegitimated by the Indian Constitution'.

          c. *Ha   sido   incapac-it-ada   por un juez.*

          Has been   incapa(ble)-IT-PPLE   by   a judge

          'She has been incapacitated by a judge'.

It seems, then, that the addition of negative *iN-* to participial forms prevents such forms to be interpreted as verbal participles, as pointed out in §5.2.1.2 and further explored in §5.4.1.3.

      IN- also combines with perfective adjectives derived from old irregular passive participles (so-called truncated participles), which had a great tendency to get lexicalized as adjectives in contrast with regularly derived participles. Perfective adjectives combine with copular verb *estar* and bear no verbal properties (Bosque 1989), which further points towards the need of *iN-* to join adjectival bases devoid of eventive features:

(35)   *Inactivo* 'inactive' (*activo* 'active), *incompleto* 'incomplete' (*completo* 'complete'), *inconluso* 'unfinished' (*concluso* 'finished'), *inconexo* 'unconnected' (*conexo* 'connected'), *incorrecto* 'incorrect' (*correcto* 'correct'), *inmaduro* 'inmature/unripe' (*maduro* 'mature/ripe'), *insepulto* 'unburied' (*sepulto* 'buried').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

I will deal extensively with adjectival passive participles in section §5.4.1.3, where, on the basis of their (non-)eventive properties, I will propose a more fine-grained classification.

5.4. Properties of *iN*-prefixed adjectives

In this section I examine the main syntactic and semantic properties of *iN-* prefixed adjectives. In §5.4.1 I deal with the event-structure properties of the different classes of *iN-* prefixed adjectives distinguished in the previous section, which enables me to offer a new classification of adjectival passive participles. After that, I explore their semantic properties in §5.4.2, focusing on the kind of opposition that *iN-* prefixed adjectives can encode.

5.4.1. Lexical aspect and eventive properties

5.4.1.1. Simple adjectives prefixed with **iN-**

The addition of *iN-* to a simple individual-level adjective does not result in any change with regard to the lexical aspect of the adjectival base: both the unprefixed simple adjective and the *iN-* prefixed one are individual-level predicates, as both forms denote inherent properties of the subject of which they are predicated. A traditional test to distinguish individual-level (IL) predicates from stage-level (SL) ones in Spanish is the combination of the former with the copular verb *ser* vs. the combination of the latter with the copular verb *estar*. Simple adjectives negated by *iN-*, as well as their non-prefixed analogues, always admit combining with the IL-selecting copular verb *ser*, whereas they tend to reject the SL-selecting copular verb *estar*:

(36) a. *El   sofá   es/*está   (in)cómodo.*
      The sofa   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ (NEG)comfortable

   b. *Pablo   es/*está   muy (in)sensato.*
      Pablo   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ very (NEG)sensible

   c. *Tu   visita   fue/*estuvo   (in)oportuna.*
      Your   visit   was$_{SER}$/was$_{ESTAR}$ (NEG)oportue

   d. *Esta tierra es/*está   (in)fértil.*
      This land   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ (NEG)fertile

   e. *Lo   que   dices   es/*está (in)cierto.*
      That what   say.2SG   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ (NEG)true

   f. *Laura   es/*está   (in)sincera.*
      Laura   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ (NEG)sincere

Further evidence on the IL nature of these predicates (either in their prefixed or in their non-prefixed version) is their ability to appear with verbs of propositional attitude (for example, *considerar* 'to consider'), which tend to select IL predicates (see Fernald 1999; Marín 2000; Fábregas 2012):

(37)   a. *Considero*   *(i)lícita*   *tu   actitud.*
           Consider.1SG   (NEG)licit   your attitude
           'I consider your attitude (il)licit.

        b. *Considero*   *a Martín*   *(in)capaz*   *de hacerte*   *daño.*
           Consider.1SG   at Martín   (NEG)able   of do.INF=you.DAT   harm
           'I consider Martin (un)able to hurt you'.

        c. *Considero*   *(in)justa*   *tu   decisión.*
           Consider.1SG   (NEG)fair   your   decision
           'I consider your decision (un)fair'.

        d. *Me   considero   muy   (in)feliz.*
           I.DAT   consider   very   (NEG)happy
           'I consider myself very (un)happy'.

Although the basic interpretation of these adjectives is the IL one, some of them can be coerced into an SL reading when combined with the copular verb *estar*. As shown in (38), when these adjectives combine with *estar* they are interpreted as a temporary state of the subject (and not as an inherent property of it):[10]

(38)   a. *Núria está (in)tranquila desde que recibió   la   noticia.*
           Núria is_ESTAR (NEG)quiet   since that received the   piece_of_news
           'Núria feels very (un)quiet since she received that piece of news'.

        b. *Está   muy (in)feliz   con   su situación   en España.*
           Is_ESTAR very (NEG)happy   with his situation   in Spain
           'He is very (un)happy with his situation in Spain'.
           [Adapted from *CREA*: 1996. PRENSA, *El País.* 12/09/1996]

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[10] As previously pointed out in chapter 4, section 4.2.2, footnote 4, in spoken Spanish all predicates are coercible with *estar*, yielding SL readings (see Gallego & Uriagereka 2009). Hence, the adjectives depicted in (36) and (37) can be forced to get an SL interpretation if combined with *estar* in a proper context.

     c. *María   está   (in)cómoda   en estos ambientes*.

     María   is_{ESTAR}   (NEG)comfortable   in   these   environments

     'María feels awkward in this scene'.

Crucially, *estar* can coerce both the simple adjectives and their affixally negated counterparts, evidencing, once again, that both forms share the same aspectual properties.

5.4.1.2. **-Ble** *adjectives prefixed with* **iN-**

-Ble adjectives are IL predicates: they are characterizing predicates that express an essential property of their subject (see Oltra-Massuet 2014: 99-100). When negated by means of *iN-*, they keep being IL predicates. Accordingly, both the prefixed and the unprefixed counterparts of these adjectives prefer the copular verb *ser* over the copular verb *estar*, as the examples in (39) show.[11] Moreover, as illustrated in (40), they can be selected by propositional attitude verbs like *considerar* 'to consider', which are IL-selecting:

(39)   a. *Este libro   es/*está   (in)traducible.*

         This book   is_{SER}/ is_{ESTAR}   (NEG)translatable

      b. *Es/*está   muy   (im)probable   que   venga.*

         Is_{SER}/ is_{ESTAR} very   (NEG)probable   that   come.SBJV.3SG

      c. *Aquel accidente   era/*estaba   (in)evitable.*

         That   accident   was_{SER} /was_{ESTAR}   (NEG)avoidable

      d. *Esta novela es/*está (in)adaptable   al   cine.*

         This   novel is_{SER}/ is_{ESTAR} (NEG)adaptable to=the cinema

         [Adapted from *Clave*, s.v. *inadaptable*]

(40)   a. *Considero   (im)posible   acabar   el   artículo   antes   del   viernes.*

         Consider.1SG (NEG)possible finish-INF   the article   before of=the Friday

         'I consider finishing the article before Friday (im)posible'.

      b. *Considero   su presencia   en   la reunión   (im)prescindible.*

         Consider.1SG   his presence   in   the meeting   (NEG)dispensable

         'I consider his presence in the meeting (in)dispensable'.

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[11] Although the combination of these adjectives with *estar* can be made available through coercion (see the previous footnote).

    c. *Considera   mis objetivos   (in)alcanzables.*

       Considers   my goals   (NEG)achievable

       'He/she considers my goals (un)achievable'.

    d. *Este tipo   de comportamiento   se   considera   (in)admisible.*

       This kind   of behaviour   REFL   considers   (NEG)admissible

       'This kind of behaviour is considered (in)admissible'.

Although being IL predicates, *-ble* adjectives are deverbal and, as such, they may keep the eventive properties of the underlying verb. As introduced in §5.3.2, two types of *-ble* adjectives have been distinguished: on the one hand, regularly derived *-ble* adjectives encoding potential modality (e.g. *renovable* 'renewable', *modificable* 'modifiable'), labelled *high -ble* adjectives by Oltra-Massuet (2014) on the basis of the high position that *-ble* occupies in the structure; and, on the other hand, lexicalized *-ble* adjectives that do not show a homogeneous meaning, called *low -ble* adjectives by Oltra-Massuet (2014) because of the low structural position of the adjectivizing suffix. High *-ble* adjectives involve a passive component and show eventive properties: they allow the expression of the oblique arguments of the underlying verb (41a); they license aspectual adverbials measuring out the event (41b); and they can express the external argument of the underlying verb by means of a *by*-phrase (41c), although it must necessarily be generic or non-specific (see Oltra-Massuet 2014: 82-86):

(41)   a. *No he   encontrado nada relacionable con el caso que nos ocupa.*

        Not have.1SG.PRS find.PPLE   nothing relatable   with the case that us concern.3SG.PRS

      'I haven't found anything relatable to the case we are concerned with'.

      [Oltra-Massuet 2013: 49 (47a)]

    b. *No sé   si ese proyecto es realizable en tan poco   tiempo.*

        Not   know   if that project   is achievable in such little   time

      'I do not know if that project is achievable in such little time'.

      [*Wordreference*; s.v. *realizable*]

    c. *Tapón auditivo   moldeable   por el usuario*

       plug   auditory   moldable   by the user

      'Earplug moldable by the user'

      [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 81 (128b)]

By contrast, low -*ble* adjectives do not show eventive properties: they do not keep the oblique arguments of the verb to which they are related (42a); they do not license adverbial modification (42b); and they disallow the expression of the external argument of the verb even if generic or non-specific (42c):

(42)   a. **Cuchillos servibles para cortar jamón.*
         Knifes   useful.PL   to   cut   ham

        b. **Unos zapatos transpirables durante dos horas.*
         Some   shoes   perspirable.PL for   two   hours

        c. **Una persona admirable por cualquiera.*
         A   person   admirable   by   anyone

Hence, whereas high -*ble* adjectives keep many of the eventive properties of the underlying verb, low -*ble* adjectives keep (almost) none of these eventive properties.

Oltra-Massuet (2014: §3.2.3) deals with the eventiveness of affixally negated high -*ble* adjectives and observes that they usually disallow the expression of the oblique arguments of the underlying verb, which would suggest that when high -*ble* adjectives are affixally negated they lose their eventive character. She offers the following examples:

(43)   a. **Una trobada presencial in-substituïble per una de virtual.*   (Cat)
         A   meeting   face-to-face   ir-replaceable   for one   of virtual
         [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 59 (74)]

        b. **A toy un-breakable into smaller pieces.*
         [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 59 (75)]

        c. **Karl ist mit seinem Bruder un-verwechselbar.*   (Ger)
         Karl   is   with his   brother   un-mistakable
         [Reise 2006: 13; *apud*. Oltra-Massuet 2014: 59 (76)]

        d. **Una solución in-adaptable a las necesidades de la empresa.* (Sp)
         A   solution   un-adaptable   to the needs   of the company
         [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 59 (77)]

The Catalan and Spanish examples she judges as impossible are perfect to me and to the native speakers I consulted. The German example is also judged as possible by the

native speakers I queried. As for the English example, cases are attested in which *unbreakable* keeps the oblique argument introduced by *into*, which suggests that, at least for some speakers, the addition of the negative prefix does not disallow the expression of oblique arguments.

(44)   *Atom was then considered to be indivisible, meaning un-breakable into further*
          parts.
          [Google: Sanjay Moreshwar Wagh & Dilib Abasheb Deshpande (2013),
          Essentials of physics, volume I, p. 272]

Oltra-Massuet (2014) also points out that negated *-ble* adjectives do not allow being modified by aspectual adjuncts that measure out the event, a fact that has lead some authors to hypothesize that the addition of the negative prefix cancels the eventivity of the deverbal adjective (Varela 1990, 2002, 2003; Fábregas 2005). However, once again, the examples provided by Oltra-Massuet as ungrammatical, reproduced in (45), sound felicitous to me and to the native speakers I asked (at least, they sound as felicitous as the non-prefixed ones):

(45)   a. *Un   treball   im-modificable (*en una hora)*   (Cat)
             A   piece.of.work un-modifiable   in an hour
          b. *Un   texto   in-traducible   (*en una semana)*   (Sp)
             A   text   un-translatable   in a week
          [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 60 (78), (79)]

Finally, Oltra-Massuet (2014) notices that, although it has been argued that negation bars the expression of the complements of the underlying verb, the expression of the external argument by means of a *by*-phrase is sometimes allowed, as illustrated in the following examples extracted from her study, which would further point toward the eventivity of these constructions (but see 5.4.1.3 and 5.6.3.2 for the idea that the availability of *by*-phrases must not necessarily entail eventivity):[12]

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[12] Oltra-Massuet (2014: 62) mentions the possibility (suggested to her by Ora Matushansky) that the expression of the external argument in negated *-ble* adjectives could be due not to their syntactic availability, but to the existence of some repair strategy. As pointed out to me by Antonio Fábregas (p.c.), if the availability of external arguments in these particular cases could be accounted for by means of some repair strategy, there would be no reason why the same account shouldn't be used in the case of non-

(46)   a. *Un   disparo im-parable   por   el   portero*   (Sp)

      A   shot   un-stoppable by   the goalkeeper

      'A shot unstoppable by the goalkeeper'

    b. *Los   enchufes han   de estar   situados   a una altura*

      the   sockets have.3PL.PRS   to be.INF   locate.PART.PL at a height

      in-alcanzable por los pequeños.

      un-attainable by   the little.PL

      'Sockets must be located at a height that is not attainable by children.'

    c. *Una maniobra   política   ir-realizable   por un juez*

      A   maneuver political   un-realizable by   a   judge

      'A political maneuver not realizable by a judge'

    [Oltra-Massuet 2014: 61 (81)]

All these pieces of evidence lead me to conclude that high *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN*- keep their eventive character, and thus that *iN*- does not cancel the eventive properties of the deverbal adjective to which it is adjoined.

5.4.1.3. *Adjectival passive participles prefixed with* **iN**-

As previously shown in §5.3.3, the participial forms that allow *iN*- prefixation are never verbal participles (neither perfect nor passive), but adjectival passive participles. In fact, and as remarked by Oltra-Massuet (2014: 60) "in the study of adjectival passive participles (e.g. Levin and Rappaport 1986; Varela 1990, 2002; Kratzer 2000; McIntyre 2013), there is an extensive use of the negative prefix to ensure that one is dealing with the adjectival form, and not with the verbal form". Hence, Spanish *iN*- is always affixed to adjectival passive participles, and never to verbal ones.

    Embick (2003, 2004) states that the standard bipartite distinction between verbal passive participles and adjectival passive participles is too rough, and that among the latter two types of participle are to be distinguished: *resultative* participles, which express a state that results from a syntactically present prior event (47a); and *stative* participles, which describe a simple state (47b) (see Kratzer 2000 for a semantic approach). The three-way partition proposed by Embick, which encompasses two types

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negated ones, which would lead to the conclusion that none of these constructions bears eventive properties.

of adjectival passives (stative and resultative) and one type of verbal passive (labelled *eventive* by the author), is illustrated below with his own example:

(47)   a. Stative: *The door is open.*

       = The door is in an open state.

    b. Resultative: *The door is opened*.

       = The door is in a state of having become open (state resulting from event).

    c. Eventive passive: *The door was opened by John.*

       = John opened the door.

[Embick 2003: 148 (5)]

In this section it will be shown that it is necessary to establish an even more fine-grained distinction among adjectival passives. I will propose that adjectival passive participles (henceforth, *a-participles*) can be split into four classes: SL eventive a-participles, SL non-eventive a-participles, IL non-eventive a-participles, and perfective adjectives; and I will show how *iN-* prefixation relates to these classes.

    From the list of a-participles included in §5.3.3, (xx), a first distinction we can draw is between a-participles behaving as SL predicates and a-participles behaving as IL predicates. The former, which are related to telic verbs, convey perfectivity, that is, they encode temporally restricted states interpreted as the result of a prior event[13] and, accordingly, they behave as SL predicates and not as IL ones. Evidence of this perfectivity is provided by the ability of these adjectives to combine with the Spanish copula *estar* but not with the copula *ser*, as illustrated in (48). Notice that the presence of the negative prefix *iN-* does not result in any change with regard to the perfectivity of the adjectival base:

(48)   a. *El   actual   campeón de la   Premier está/*es   (im)batido*.

      The current champion of the   Premier is$_{ESTAR}$ /is$_{SER}$ (NEG)beaten

      'The current champion of the Premier   is$_{ESTAR}$ /*is$_{SER}$ (un)beaten'.

    b. *Estas deudas todavía   están/*son   (im)pagadas*.

      These debts still   are$_{ESTAR}$ /are$_{SER}$ (NEG)paid

      'These debts   are$_{ESTAR}$ /*are$_{SER}$ still (un)paid'.

---

[13] Notice that the entailment of a prior event does not necessarily correspond to the grammatical (or syntactic) presence of event-related structure. See the discussion in the following pages.

    c. *Una obra que   estaba/*era   (in)acabada.*

      A   work that   was$_{ESTAR}$ / was$_{SER}$ (NEG)finished

      'A work that wais$_{ESTAR}$ /*was$_{SER}$ (un)finished'.

    d. *Un territorio que estubo/*fue   (in)explorado durante   mucho tiempo.*

      A   territory that was$_{ESTAR}$ / was$_{SER}$ (NEG)explored for   a_long time

      'A territory that   was$_{ESTAR}$ /*was$_{SER}$ (un)explored for a long time'.

As for a-participles behaving as IL predicates, they are related to stative (usually psychological) verbs and lack perfectivity (and accordingly they are not interpreted as resultant states, but just as permanent states of a given individual). As IL predicates, they combine with the copular verb *ser* and not with the copular verb *estar* (although, as any adjective in Spanish, they can be coerced into an SL reading in certain contexts and then allow combination with *estar*). The examples in (49) illustrate this behaviour:

(49)   a. *Mi actuación   *estuvo/fue   (im)premeditada.*

        My action   *was$_{ESTAR}$ / was$_{SER}$ (NEG)premeditated

        'My action was$_{ESTAR}$ /*was$_{SER}$ (un)premeditated'.

    b. *Un hijo   que   *estaba/era   (in)deseado.*

       A son   that   *was$_{ESTAR}$ / was$_{SER}$ (NEG)desired

       'A son that   was$_{ESTAR}$ /*was$_{SER}$ (un)wanted'.

    c. *Aquel   suceso *estuvo/fue   (in)esperado.*

       That   event *was$_{ESTAR}$ / was$_{SER}$ (NEG)expected

       'That event was$_{ESTAR}$ /*was$_{SER}$ (un)expected'.

In sum, a-participles related to stative verbs, like the ones depicted in (49), behave as IL adjectives and bear no perfectivity (but see the discussion below). In turn, a-participles related to telic verbs, as the ones exemplified in (48), keep the perfectivity of the verbal participle they derive from. A crucial question that arises with regard to a-participles related to telic verbs is whether they keep other verbal properties or only that of perfectivity, and, more importantly, if the addition of the negative prefix *iN*- induces any change regarding these verbal properties.

        To deal with this issue I will use the standard tests to identify eventivity (see, for instance, Oltra-Massuet 2014; Fábregas 2016a; among others): the availability of

arguments linked to an underlying event, the licensing of adverbial modification, and the expression of the external argument by means of a *by*-phrase.

As illustrated in (50a), non-negated a-participles allow the expression of the oblique arguments of the underlying event, but this possibility disappears when these predicates are negated by the negative prefix *iN-*.[14] Non-negated a-participles license manner adverbials modifying the event. By contrast, manner adverbials are excluded when *iN-* is added to the a-participles, as shown in (50b). With regard to the expression of the external argument through a *by*-phrase, it is possible both with affixally negated a-participles and with their non-prefixed counterparts,[15] which is exemplified in (50c):

(50)   a. *ser   eliminado   en primera   ronda   del   Open de Australia está*
            be.INF knocked_out in first   round   of=the Australian Open   is_ESTAR
            (*im)pagado con   más   de   45.000 euros.
            (NEG)paid   with more   than   45.000 euros
            'Being knocked out in the first round of the Australian Open is (*un)paid with more than 45.000 euros'.
            [Adapted from:
            http://cadenaser.com/programa/2017/01/16/punto_ser_y_partido/1484533998
            _273445.html]

        b. *Los trajes   están   (*in)acabados   meticulosamente.*
            The suits   are_ESTAR (NEG)finished.F.PL   meticulously
            'The suits are meticulously (*un)finished'.
            [Adapted from: http://desiderata.info/?p=8218]

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[14] To ensure that we get the adjectival interpretation in non-prefixed participles (which could be interpreted as their verbal homologous), I combine these forms with *estar*, since in Spanish adjectival passives are formed with *estar* and verbal passives with *ser* (see Bosque 1990, 1999; Marín 2004; Gehrke & Marco 2014).

[15] It has usually been argued that adjectival passive participles lack external arguments and, thus, that they disallow *by*-phrases (Levin & Rappaport 1986; Kratzer 2000; Embick 2004; among others). However, this standard claim has been rejected in recent studies (cf. McIntyre 2013; Gehrke 2013; Bruening 2014; Alexiadou *et al*. 2014; among others). The availability of *by*-phrases with adjectival passive constructions, however, has been shown to be quite restricted (McIntyre 2013, Grimshaw 1990, Anagnostopoulou 2013). See Gehrke (2012) for a semantic account of the constraints on *by*-phrases with adjectival passive participles. See Alexiadou *et al*. (2015) for a syntactic account of the different sorts of *by*-phrases allowed among adjectival participles that meets Gehrke's proposal. See García-Pardo (2017) for an alternative view that links the (un)availability of *by*-phrases in adjectival passives to the *Aktionsart* (i.e. the lexical aspect) of the underlying verbal predicate.

c. *Ese mercado está   (in)explorado   por las pymes del   país*.

This market is_{ESTAR} (NEG)explored   by   the SMEs of=the country

'This market is (un)explored by the SMEs of the country'.

[http://www.portafolio.co/economia/finanzas/claves-desarrollar-exito-idea-negocio-internet-273186]

Although the inability of *iN*- a-participles to express the oblique arguments of the underlying verb and their impossibility to be modified by manner adverbials point to the lack of event-related structure in their internal syntax, their licensing the encoding of the implicit external argument seems to suggest that these participles involve some event-related projections. However, the availability of *by*-phrases with a-participles must not necessarily entail the presence of eventive features, as noticed by McIntyre (2013) and Gehrke (2013). Following McIntyre (2013: 31), I will assume that the *by*-phrases licensed by affixally negated a-participles are to be understood as "Initiators of the states expressed by the participles", that is, "as an entity which controls the state or ensures its continuation" (McIntyre 2013: 31, footnote 5). Therefore, the expression of the implicit Initiator by means of a *by*-phrase in *iN*- negated a-participles will not be taken as evidence of the syntactic presence of an eventive projection, but as evidence of the presence of a stative one (see §5.6.3.2 and §5.6.3.3 for a formalization of this idea).

With all this in mind, the examples depicted in (46) clearly point to the fact that, whereas non-prefixed a-participles can hold eventive properties, *iN*- prefixed ones cannot. This observation has led Varela (1990, 2002, 2003) and Fábregas (2005) to posit that the negative prefix cancels the eventivity of the participle. These authors, however, assume that the negative prefix is directly added to a verbal participle, contrary to what facts suggest. Notice that in the examples in (50) both the affixally negated participles and the non-negated ones combine with *estar*, the copula of adjectival passives. Moreover, and as mentioned by Oltra-Massuet (2014: 64), "it is unclear […] why negation in the word domain should have this powerful effect on the base; and equally puzzling is how this should be performed in a syntactic approach to word formation". The solution that I will adopt is to posit that *iN*- does not deactivate the eventive projections of the participles to which it is adjoined, but that *iN*- is attached to a-participles that lack such projections. This proposal could be disputed by arguing that what the examples in (50) show is that the non-prefixed a-participles keep eventive properties (they can express oblique arguments and they admit adverbial modification),

and, therefore, that it is the presence of the negative prefix which cancels these eventive properties. Nevertheless, the very same participles can display non-eventive uses —as hallmarked by their enabling the presence of degree modifiers— in which they reject oblique arguments (51a) and adverbial modification (51b), whereas they allow *by*-phrases identifying an implicit Initiator (51c):

(51)   a. *ser   eliminado   en primera ronda del   Open de Australia está*
            be.INF knocked_out   in first   round of=the Australian Open   is_{ESTAR}
            completamente pagado (**con más de   45.000 euros*).
            completely   paid   with more than   45.000   euros
            'Being knoced out in first round of the Australian Open is completely paid
             *with more than 45.000 euros'.

        b. *Los trajes están   absolutamente acabados* (*meticulosamente).
            The suits   are_{ESTAR} absolutely   finished.F.PL meticulously
            'The suits are absolutely finished *meticulously'.

        c. *Ese mercado está   muy explorado   por las pymes del   país*.
            This market   is_{ESTAR} (NEG)explored   by the SMEs   of=the   country
            'This market is very explored by the SMEs of the country'.

What these examples show is that these a-participles can display the same behaviour as their *iN-* negated counterparts, that is, they can be used as non-eventive a-participles even if not affixally negated. Therefore, it is not necessarily the prefix that deactivates their eventivity, as they may display non-eventive behaviour without the presence of the negative prefix. My claim is, then, that *iN-* prefixation only targets a-participles in their non-eventive uses (which does not prevent the a-participles to which *iN-* is added to be involved in other structures in which eventivity is available).

     The reason why *iN-* cannot be added to eventive a-participles is to be found in the restriction imposed by this prefix to exclusively combine with scalar adjectival bases. The eventive uses of a-participles (i.e., those which license the expression of oblique arguments as well as adverbial modification) disallow being modified by degree quantifiers, as illustrated below:

(52) a. *ser   eliminado   en primera ronda   del   Open de Australia*

      be.INF knocked_out   in first   round of=the Australian Open

      está   (*completamente) pagado   con más de   45.000 euros.

      isESTAR completely   paid   with more than 45.000 euros

      'Being knocked out in the first round of the Australian Open is (*completely)

      paid with more than 45.000 euros'.

    b. *Los trajes   están   (*absolutamente) acabados   meticulosamente.*

      The suits   areESTAR   absolutely   finished.F.PL meticulously

      'The suits are (*absolutely) meticulously finished'.

    c. *Ese mercado está   (*muy) explorado a conciencia.*

      This market isESTAR very explored   conscientously

      'This market is (*very) conscientiously explored'.

Since *iN*- only combines with scalar adjectival bases, the a-participles that keep eventivitity are not a matching target for *iN*- prefixation.[16] The non-eventive uses of these a-participles, by contrast, allow degree modification, as already shown in the examples of (51), and therefore they are a perfect match for *iN*- prefixation:

(53) a. *ser   eliminado   en primera ronda   del   Open de Australia*

      be.INF knocked_out   in first   round of=the Australian Open

      está   completamente im-pagado.

      isESTAR   completely   NEG-paid

      'Being knocked out in the first round of the Australian Open is completely

      unpaid'.

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[16] This claim could seem to be in contradiction with the one stated by Embick (2003, 2004), according to whom *un*-prefixation is fully productive with the a-participles he labels *Resultative*s. As already mentioned (see (47)), in Embick's system, two types of a-participles are distinguished: Resultative participles, which show eventive properties and keep the same morphology as verbal participles, and Stative participles, which do not involve eventivity and which can show allomorphy. Embick claims that *un*- is productive with Resultative participles but not with Stative ones on the basis of the observation that *un*- hardly ever attaches to the a-participles that display allomorphy with respect to their verbal counterparts (i.e., Stative participles), whereas the same negative prefix is freely attached to the a-participles that show the same participial morphology as verbal participles (i.e,. Resultative participles): cf. *un-open vs. *un-opened*, *un-rotten vs. *un-rotted*, and so on. However, in this section a further class of a-participle has been distinguished which falls between Embick's Resultative and Stative participles. This third class of participle, which shares the same form as that of verbal participles but which does not involve eventive properties, is the one that most productively allows *iN*-prefixation (see discussion in the following pages). See also Kratzer (1994) for the claim that *un*-prefixation in German is incompatible with "phrasal adjectival passives", which basically correspond to the adjectival passives that involve eventivity. Moreover, and as will be discussed in section 5.5.2, *iN*- and *uN*- do not share the same syntax, which could also account for their different behaviour.

b. *Los trajes   están   absolutamente   in-acabados.*

   The suits   are_{ESTAR}   absolutely   NEG-finished.F.PL

   'The suits are absolutely finished *meticulously'.

c. *Ese mercado está   muy in-explorado   por las pymes del   país.*

   This market is_{ESTAR} very NEG-explored   by   the SMEs of=the country

   'This market is pretty explored by the SMEs of the country'.

Up to this point I have been dealing with a-participles related to telic verbs (e.g. *explorado* 'explored'). It has been shown that among them two different constructions are to be distinguished: a-participles which keep the eventive properties of the underlying verb and disallow *iN-* prefixation as well as degree modification (cf. (50) and (52)); and a-participles which, despite being related to telic verbs, do not keep eventive properties, but only perfectivity and a stative layer that allows for the expression of the underlying Initiator (cf. (51) and (53)). The former mainly correspond to Embick's (2003, 2004) resultative participles, but I will call them *SL eventive a-participles* (for *stage-level eventive adjectival passive participles*) to make it clear that they are SL predicates and that they involve an eventive layer in their internal syntax.[17] The latter, by contrast, do not correspond to any of the two types of a-participles distinguished by this author, but they constitute a hitherto unnoticed class of a-participle, which I have labelled *SL non-eventive a-participles* (for *stage-level non-eventive adjectival passive participles*), and which falls between Embick's resultative and stative participles.

As for the a-participles related to stative verbs, like the ones exemplified in (49), I have pointed out that they bear no perfectivity (which is expected from constructions involving pure stative roots). Nevertheless, what is less clear with regard to these adjectival structures is whether they involve a passive component or rather they behave as pure lexicalized adjectives. It is widely assumed that adjectival passives in Spanish are formed with the copular verb *estar*, whereas verbal passives involve the copular verb *ser* (Bosque 1990, 1999; Marín 2004; Gehrke & Marco 2014). Furthermore, adjectival passives are assumed to describe a resulting state and, thus, to be only possible with predicates involving a transition or a boundary, which prevents pure

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[17] Notice that my *SL eventive a-participles* must not be confused with the sort of participles that Embick (2003, 2004) labels *eventive passive participle*. Embick's uses the label *eventive passive participle* to refer to verbal passive participles, whereas I use the label *SL eventive a-participle* to refer to a class of adjectival passive participles and crucially not to allude to verbal passive ones.

stative predicates (as well as atelic activities) from being involved in such constructions (see Meltzer-Ascher 2011; Gehrke 2013; Gehrke & Marco 2015; García-Pardo 2017). Since the predicates in (49) do not combine with *estar* and do not describe a resulting state either, one must assume that they are not instantiations of adjectival passives. They cannot be cases of verbal passives either, as evidenced by their allowing negative prefixation (recall that *iN*- can never target verbal predicates; see §5.2.1.2). Therefore, the only solution available is to consider the structures in (49) as mere adjectival copulative structures. Notice, though, that with some of these adjectives a *by*-phrase identifying the external argument of the underlying stative verb is allowed in certain contexts, which points towards a passive, rather than a mere copulative, interpretation:

(54) a. *Bestia de metal   in-deseada   por todas   las   criaturas.*
          Beast of metal   NEG-wanted by   all   the   creatures
          'Metallic beast unwanted by all creatures'.
          [*CREA*: 1989. Luis Sepúlveda, *Un Viejo que leía novellas de amor*]

      b. *Con in-esperado   me   refería   a   **in-esperado   por** mí.*
          With NEG-expected REFL referred at   NEG-expected by me
          'With unexpected I meant unexpected by me'.
          [Google: https://librosweb.es/foro/pregunta/1353/comportamiento-inesperado-al-expirar-un-token-junto-con-remember-me-en-symfony/]

The examples in (54) can be rephrased to fit the presence of a copula, although such a copula must necessarily be *ser* and not *estar*:

(55) a. *Una bestia de metal que es/*está   in-deseada por todas las criaturas.*
          A   beast   of metal that is_SER/is_ESTAR NEG-wanted by all   the   creatures
          'A metallic beast that is_SER/*is_ESTAR unwanted by all creatures'.

      b. *Con in-esperado   me   refería a   que   era/*estaba   in-esperado*
          With NEG-expected REFL referred at   that was_SER/was_ESTAR NEG-expected
          por mí.
          by me
          'With unexpected I meant that it was_SER/*was_ESTAR unexpected by me'.

The ability of certain adjectival passives to appear with the copular verb *ser* instead of occurring with the copular verb *estar* in Spanish has already been pointed out by Gehrke & Marco (2015). This type of adjectival passives, in contrast with those formed with *estar*, does not express a resulting state, but a pure state that is not (conceptually or syntactically) related to any prior event. In addition, adjectival passives with *ser* differ from pure copulative structures in their licensing the expression of the implicit Initiator of the state. Accordingly, I will assume that the examples in (49), (54) and (55) are instantiations of adjectival passives, although they are adjectival passives that do not involve a resulting state.[18]

All in all, a further type of a-participle has been identified: the one which is related to stative verbs and bears no perfectivity, but which licenses the expression of the subject of the underlying verb (a state holder) by means of a *by*-phrase (cf. (54) and (55)). I will label this type of adjectives, which are not acknowledged in Embick's classification, *IL non-eventive a-participles* (for *individual level non-eventive adjectival passive participles*), since they are individual-level predicates and do not show eventive properties —see McIntyre (2013), Gehrke & Marco (2015), and Alexiadou *et al.* (2014), for reference to the existence of this type of construction.

It is worth noticing that not all the adjectives showing participial morphology are a-participles. In (56) the adjective *in-adecuado* 'inappropriate', which shares the same lexical root as the verb *adecuar* 'to adjust to', disallows the presence of a *by*-phrase, and the same holds for its non-prefixed counterpart *adecuado* 'appropriate'. This adjective and its non-prefixed counterpart also show a clear preference for combining with the copula *ser* over the copula *estar*, thus evidencing their IL status:

(56) a. *El   texto   es   (in)adecuado   *por su autor*.

      The text   is   (neg)appropriate   by his author

      'The text is (in)appropriate *by his author'.

   b. *El   texto   es/*está   (in)adecuado*.

      The text   is$_{SER}$/is$_{ESTAR}$ (neg)appropriate

      'The text is$_{SER}$/*is$_{ESTAR}$ (in)appropriate'

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[18] The availability of adjectival passives which do not (conceptually or syntactically) involve a result state is in accordance with Rapp's (1996) proposal that verbs containing a stative component in their eventive structure can give rise to adjectival passives, which predicts that not only telic verbs (i.e., accomplishments and achievements) can form adjectival passives, but also pure stative ones (i.e., states). Rapp's (1996) proposal also predicts that activities, which do not involve a stative component, disallow adjectival passives.

Adjectives as (*in*)*adecuado* '(in)appropriate' in (56) are cases of fully *lexicalized adjectives* which are hardly related to the participle they derive from. The tests I use to identify them are: a) their behaving as IL predicates that prefer the copular verb *ser* over the copular verb *estar*, and b) their disallowing the expression of an underlying Initiator through a *by*-phrase. These lexicalized structures, although keeping the morphology of a participle, behave as the simple adjectives addressed in §5.3.1 and are never involved in passive structures. Accordingly, I will not consider them as a type of a-participle, but I will treat them as pure adjectives that share the same structure of simple adjectives.

Before concluding this section the addition of negative *iN*- to perfective adjectives derived from (usually truncated) participles has to be addressed. I use the label *perfective adjective* following Bosque (1989) and the tradition of the Spanish literature. Notice, however, that this fourth class of a-participle basically corresponds to Embick's (2003, 2004) stative participles (e.g. *open*; see (47)). Crucially, like Embick's stative participles, our perfective adjectives usually show a different morphophonology with respect to the one displayed by verbal passive participles (the truncated one), in contrast with the other a-participles, which always share the same morphophonological form as the verbal participle:[19]

(57)   a. *El vaso está lleno.*   → perfective adjective
           'The glass is full'.

        b. *El vaso ha sido llenado*.   → verbal passive participle
           'The glass has been filled'.

As pointed out by Bosque (1989), perfective adjectives express a state interpreted as the result of an event, although they do not syntactically entail prior events. The interpretation of these adjectives as result states is due to their being related to telic verbs, and it is evidenced by their combining with the copula *estar*. In this respect, perfective adjectives are equivalent to SL non-eventive a-participles (as the ones exemplified in (51) and (53), e.g. *muy explorado* 'very explored', which allow *iN*-prefixation): they are conceptually related to a result state, but they do not show eventive properties and, therefore, they disallow the oblique arguments of the

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[19] This is in accordance to Embick's (2003: 150) Allomorphy Generalization, which states that "a 'stand-out' participial allomorph, like the *-en* in *rott-en* as opposed to perfect and passive *-ed*, is found only in the Stative syntactic structure".

underlying verb (58a) and they reject adverbial modification (58b). However, perfective adjectives differ from SL non-eventive a-participles in the fact that they do not license *by*-phrases identifying an implicit Initiator (58c). Crucially, the presence of the negative prefix does not entail any change with regard to any of these properties:

(58)   a. **Este ordenador   está (in)conexo   a   la corriente.*
            This computer   is_{ESTAR} (NEG)connected to   the electricity
        b. **La bomba está   (in)activa   meticulosamente.*
            The bomb is_{ESTAR} (NEG)active   meticulously
        c. **Una obra que está   (in)conclusa por   el autor.*
            A   work that is_{ESTAR}   (NEG)finished by   the author

This contrast in the availability of *by*-phrases suggests that SL non-eventive a-participles and perfective adjectives do not involve the same syntax: SL non-eventive a-participles, which license *by*-phrases corresponding to an implicit Initiator, include a syntactic projection introducing this argument; whereas perfective adjectives, which disallow *by*-phrases, lack this part of the structure (see §5.6.3.2 and §5.6.3.4 for a formalization of this claim).

Some of these perfective adjectives can display IL uses in which perfectivity has been lost, in which case these predicates behave like the simple adjectives reviewed in §5.3.1 and are thus compatible with the copular verb *ser* (they are, therefore, another instantiation of fully lexicalized adjectives, as it was the case of *inadecuado* 'inapproppriate'; cf. (56)). The SL and IL uses of these adjectives are illustrated below:

(59)   a. *El   volcán está   in-activo.*   → SL use
            The volcano is_{ESTAR}   NEG-active
            'The volcano is inactive (it can change in the future)'.
        a'. *Juan es   muy in-activo.*   → IL use
            Juan is_{SER} very NEG-active
            'Juan is very inactive' (it is an inherent property of Juan)'.
        b. *La   fruta todavía está   in-madura.*   → SL use
            The fruit still   is_{ESTAR} NEG-ripe
            'The fruit is still unripe (it will change in the future)'.
        b'. *María es   in-madura.*   → IL use
            María is_{SER} NEG-mature
            'María is inmature (it is an inherent property of María)'

In sum, four classes of a-participles have been distinguished which correspond to different degrees of verbhood (or adjectivehood): SL eventive a-participles, which keep almost all the eventive properties of the underlying verb; SL non-eventive a-participles, which lack eventivity but keep perfectivity and a stative projection that licenses the expression of the implicit Initiator; IL non-eventive a-participles, which lack perfectivity but keep the stative layer that allows the encoding of the implicit Initiator; and perfective adjectives, which keep perfectivity but not the syntactic layer that licenses Initiators. Table 2 summarizes the diagnostics on which this classification is based:

Table 2. Classes of adjectival passive participles: distinguishing properties

		SL eventive a-participles	SL non-eventive a-participles	IL non-eventive a-participles	Perfective adjectives
1.	*ser* vs. *estar*	*estar*	*estar*	*ser*	*estar*
2.	**oblique arguments**	Yes	No	No	No
3.	**adverbial modification**	Yes	No	No	No
4.	*by*-**phrases**	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
5.	*iN*- **prefixation**	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
6.	**degree quantification**	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
7.	**allomorphy**	No	No	No	Yes
8.	**example**	*explorado a conciencia* 'conscientiously explored'	*inexplorado* 'unexplored'	*indeseado* 'unwanted'	*inactivo* 'inactive'

It has also been shown that some of these a-participles underwent a complete lexicalization process by means of which they lost all the verbal properties inherent to the related verbal participle, and that such constructions share the same syntax as simple adjectives.

With regard to *iN*- prefixation, it has been shown that it is only allowed with the a-participles that admit gradation (i.e. SL non-eventive a-participles, IL non-eventive a-participles and perfective adjectives), and that it does not entail any change regarding the (non-)eventive properties of the base.

5.4.2. Relations of opposition

Up to this point it has been shown that the prefix *iN-* is basically used to negate the adjectival base to which it is adjoined. The aim of this section is to elucidate whether the addition of this prefix to the different adjectival bases identified so far gives rise to contrary or to contradictory negation, which are the two basic types of negation distinguished in Aristotelian logic.

The two central laws governing negation are the Law of Contradiction (LC) and the Law of the Excluded Middle (LEM). The LC asserts that a proposition *p* cannot be simultaneously true and false (60a). The LEM states that a proposition *p* is either true or false (60b):

(60)   a. Law of Contradiction (LC):

       ~(p & ~p)

      b. Law of the Excluded Middle (LEM):

       p ∨ ~p

Contradictory negation obeys both laws. The two sentences in (61) are each other's contradictories: they cannot be simultaneously true (they obey the LC), and neither can they be simultaneously false (they obey the LEM), thus excluding a middle term between (61a) and (61b):

(61)   a. *My brother is wise.*

      b. *My brother is **not** wise.*

Contrary negation, in turn, obeys the LC but not the LEM. Sentences (62a) and (62b) are each other's contraries: they cannot be true at the same time (the LC applies), but they can be simultaneously false (the LEM does not hold), thus allowing for a middle term that does not correspond to (62a) nor to (62b), as illustrated in (62c):

(62)   a. *My brother is wise.*

      b. *My brother is **un**wise.*

      c. *My brother is **neither** wise, **nor un**wise.*

In Aristotelian logic "contradiction is restricted to statements or propositions: terms are never, for Aristotle, related as contradictories [...], since only statements (subject-predicate combinations) can be true or false" (Horn [1989] 2001: 8). Departing from Aristotle's restriction, Horn ([1989] 2001: 269-270) applies the notions of contradiction and contrariety to opposite terms. Accordingly, he assimilates strong or immediate contraries (e.g. *odd/even, bald/nonbald*) to contradictories, given that immediate contraries exclude any middle term in between, which disallows their being both negated of the same subject, as (63c) illustrates.

(63)   a. *This skirt is black.*

      b. *This skirt is **non**black.*

      c. **This skirt is **neither** black, **nor** nonblack.*

As for contrariety, in this new scenario it is confined to weak or mediate contraries, which are those that allow for a middle term not corresponding to any of the two opposites (e.g. *bad/good, black/white*):

(64)   a. *This skirt is black.*

      b. *This skirt is white.*

      c. *This skirt is **neither** black, **nor** white.*

Horn ([1989]2001) reformulates the LC and the LEM to allow their application to opposite terms:[20]

(65)   a. Contradictory opposition is governed by the Law of Contradiction (LC) and the Law of Excluded Middle (LEM): if two terms **F** and **G** are contradictories, then

        (i) by LC, for any α in the relevant domain, ~ (Fα a Gα).

        (ii) by LEM, for any α in the relevant domain, (Fα ∨ Gα).

      b. Contrary opposition is governed by the LC but not LEM.

      [Horn ([1989] 2001: 270, examples (2') and (3'))].

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[20] De Clercq (2013: 35, footnote 6), based on Rescher (1969: 149) and Geach ([1972] 1980: 74-75), offers a formulation of the LC (iia) and the LEM (iib) that allows their application to term logic:

(ii)   a. LC: ~∃x (Px & ~Px)

        b. LEM: ∀x (Px ∨ ~Px)

        [De Clercq (2013: 35, fn 6, (i))]

Following Horn, I will not restrict contradiction and contrariety to the level of sentence negation (or predicate denial), and accordingly I will take into account this distinction when dealing with low scope negators such as the Spanish negative prefix *iN-*.

It is usually assumed that negative affixation tends to produce contrary, rather than contradictory, negation (Jespersen 1917, 1942; Zimmer 1964; Funk 1971; Horn [1989] 2001; De Clercq 2013; among others). The tendency of negative affixes to develop contrary senses has been linked to their low scope (Horn [1989]2001; De Clercq 2013) as well as to the (un)productivity of the affixation process: unproductive processes, which generally allow for a lexicalized (or idiosyncratic) meaning, tend to develop contrary interpretations; whereas productive patterns give rise to contradictory ones (Zimmer 1964: 87; Horn [1989] 2001: 276-277).

Regarding *iN-* prefixation, its encoding contradictory or contrary negation depends on the kind of adjectival base and on the productivity of the prefix with that kind of base, which is in accordance with Zimmer's (1964) and Horn's ([1989] 2001) observations. When *iN-* is added to simple adjectival bases the resulting prefixed form tends to develop a contrary, rather than a mere contradictory, interpretation. The examples in (66) illustrate this behaviour: they obey the LC but not the LEM, and accordingly they allow for a middle term in which both the *iN-* prefixed adjective as well as its non-prefixed opposite can be simultaneously denied of the same subject:

(66)   a. *La   Kamagra [...] **no** es legal, aunque **tampoco** i-legal   del todo.*
          The Kamagra   NEG is legal   although neither   NEG-legal completely
          'Kamagra is not legal, although it is not completely illegal either'.
          [http://cronicaglobal.elespanol.com/vida/kamagra-viagra-ilegal-se-impone-
          espana_63144_102.html]

        b. *El   resultado **no** ha sido ni   justo **ni**   in-justo.*
          The result   NEG has been NEG fair   NEG   NEG-fair
          'The result has been neither fair nor unfair'.
          [http://futbol.as.com/futbol/2009/12/13/mas_futbol/1260658861_850215.html]

        c. *El   capitalismo   **no** es moral o in-moral: es, simplemente, a-moral.*
          The capitalism   NEG is moral or NEG-moral is   simply   a-moral
          'Capitalism is not moral or immoral: it is, simply, amoral'.
          [http://www.lanacion.com.ar/869146-el-capitalismo-no-es-moral-o-inmoral-
          es-simplemente-amoral]

d. *Ahora   esperaba, sentado en un sillón   **ni**   cómodo   **ni***

Now   waited   sitting   in an armchair NEG   comfortable NEG

in-cómodo,   que   lo   recibieran   por tercera   vez.

NEG-comfortable that   he.ACC receive.PST.SBJV.3PL for third   time

'Now he was waiting, while sitting on a neither comfortable nor

uncomfortable armchair, to be attended for the third time'.

[Gavrí Akhenazi. 2013. *Zonas inexactas.* Lulu.com]

e. ***No soy   feliz, pero   tampoco   in-feliz.***

NEG be.1sg happy but   neither   NEG-happy

'I am not happy, but I am not unhappy either'.

[Efrén Moreno Benavides. 2008. *Ética borrosa.* 145. Madrid: Éride

ediciones3]

In section 5.3.1 it has been mentioned that the emergence of these contrary values is usually linked to a pejorative or negatively evaluated sense, a fact noticed by Zimmer (1964) and Horn ([1989] 2001). In fact, in the examples included in (66) the reality encoded by the *iN-* prefixed adjective is negatively evaluated: not being legal is not as bad as being illegal (66a), being unfair is much worse than not being fair, and so on. The non-prefixed base, by contrast, is either neutral or positive. This polarization leaves an intermediate zone between the (positively evaluated) base and the (negatively evaluated) *iN-* prefixed adjective, thus triggering a contrary interpretation that allows for a middle term. Crucially, the identification of the *iN-* prefixed adjective with a polar contrary and its being negatively evaluated are idiosyncrasies that cannot be predicted from the mere sum of the prefix and the adjectival base. They are, then, the reflection of a not fully productive process, since idiosyncrasies emerge in those structures showing certain degree of lexicalization.

With regard to *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN-*, their interpretation as contraries or contradictories depends on the degree of lexicalization of the adjectival base. It has been argued that *-ble* adjectives may be of two types: high *-ble* adjectives, which are regularly derived from transitive verbs and reflect an extremely productive process; and low *-ble* adjectives, which show idiosyncratic properties and convey certain degree of lexicalization (Oltra-Massuet 2014). High *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN-* are interpreted as contradictory opposites of their bases and, accordingly, they obey both

the LC and the LEM, and, hence, disallow a middle term corresponding neither to the prefixed nor to the non-prefixed adjective, as illustrated below:

(67)   a. #*Este texto* **no**   *es traducible, pero* **tampoco**   *es in-traducible.*

           This text NEG   is translatable but   neither   is NEG-translatable

           '#This text is not translatable, but it is not untranslatable either'.

        b. #*El   sistema* **no** *es ni   modificable*   **ni**   *in-modificable.*

           The system NEG is NEG   modifiable   NEG   NEG-modifiable

           '#The system is neither modifiable nor unmodifiable'.

The tendency of negative prefixes to produce contradictories of their base when added to regularly derived (i.e. high) *-ble* adjectives has also been highlighted by Jespersen (1917), Zimmer (1964) and Horn ([1989] 2001), among others. Notice, however, that some *iN-* prefixed high *-ble* adjectives can be coerced to develop a contrary reading allowing for a middle space (a coercion that is possible because of the scalar nature of these adjectives):

(68)   *Entre ambos extremos, entre lo claramente modificable y lo inmodificable,*

        está lo que Kofman llama el "área gris de lo tal vez modificable".

        'Between both extremes, between what is clearly modifiable and what is

        unmodifiable, there is what Kofman calls the 'grey area of what is perhaps

        modifiable'.

        [Google books: Andy Freire, *Pasión por emprender: De la idea a la cruda*

        realidad].

Low *-ble* adjectives, in turn, usually develop contrary meanings when prefixed with *iN-*. Therefore, a low *-ble* adjective and its non-prefixed counterpart can both be negated of the same subject in the same circumstances, thus violating the LEM:

(69)   *La interacción es una situación que* **no** *es ni   deseable* **ni**   *in-deseable.*

        The interaction is a   situation that NEG is NEG desirable NEG NEG-desirable

        'Interaction is a neither desirable nor undesirable situation'.

        [Google books: Rafael Álvarez Cáceres, *Estadística aplicada a las ciencias de*

        la salud, p. 652]

Low *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN-* may develop evaluative senses, as previously noted in §5.3.2. In fact, not only can they express depreciatory senses identified with an extreme low degree of the property named by the adjectival base (as is the case of *indeseable* in (64)), but also elative uses that involve a superlative meaning and a positive evaluation (Brea 1980; Montero Curiel 1999: 172-173; Costa 2011). The adjective *in-igualable* 'incomparable, without equal', for instance, is predicated of what is too good to be equalled by anything or anyone else; *in-imitable* 'inimitable' identifies that what is too special to be imitated by anyone else; *in-mejorable* 'unbeatable, excellent' is predicated of what, for its extremely good nature, cannot be even better; etc. In these cases, the structure "prefix-base" has undergone certain degree of lexicalization and has developed a superlative meaning that cannot be deduced from the sum of its parts. Hence, they reflect a not fully productive process and constitute contraries of their bases, although in this case the adjective polarized in the higher part of the scale is the *iN-* prefixed one, and the non-prefixed base, negatively evaluated, is placed in the lower part of the scale.

As for adjectival passive participles prefixed with *iN-*, in §5.4.1.3 it has been argued that they may be of three types: SL non-eventive a-participles, IL non-eventive a-participles, and perfective adjectives (recall that the fourth class of adjectival participle identified in §5.4.1.3, which is that of SL eventive a-participles, disallows *iN-*prefixation). SL non-eventive a-participles prefixed with *iN-* mainly result in contradictory opposites of the base, as illustrated by the impossibility of simultaneously denying the two opposites:

(70) a. *#Estas facturas **no** están ni pagadas **ni** im-pagadas.*
          These receipts   NEG   are   NEG paid.PL   NEG   NEG-paid.PL
       '#These receipts are neither paid nor unpaid'.

      b. *#El trabajo todavía **no** está acabado, pero **tampoco** está in-acabado.*
          The work still   NEG is finished but neither   is   NEG-finished
       '#The work is not finished, but it is not unfinished either'.

      c. *#Un bosque **ni** explorado **ni** in-explorado.*
          A forest NEG   explored   NEG   NEG-explored
       '#A neither explored nor unexplored forest'.

As scalar predicates, however, some of them can be coerced into a contrary reading:

(71)   *Este territorio **no** está inexplorado, pero **tampoco** está explorado del todo.*
        'This territory is not unexplored, but it is not completely explored either'.

IL non-eventive a-participles, in contrast, tend to develop contrary senses, rather than contradictory ones. Accordingly, they do not obey the LEM: between the prefixed a-participle and its unprefixed counterpart there is a middle space in which neither of the two opposites is valid:

(72)   a. *Aquel acontecimiento **no** era esperado,   pero **tampoco** era   in-esperado.*
           That   event   NEG was expected but neither   was NEG-expected
           'That was not an expected event, but it was not unexpected either'.
        b. *No   es un embarazo   ni   deseado ni   in-deseado; es, sencillamente,*
           NEG is a   pregnancy   NEG wanted NEG NEG-wanted is simply
           un   embarazo   que   no   estaba   previsto.
           a   pregnancy   that NEG was   planned
           'It is neither a wanted nor an unwanted pregnancy, it is, simply, a pregnancy that was not planned'.

Finally, *iN-* prefixed perfective adjectives are interpreted as the contradictory terms of their bases, and as such they disallow a middle term corresponding neither to them nor to their bases, as (73) shows:

(73)   a. *#Este volcán   no   está   activo, pero tampoco está   in-activo.*
           This volcano   NEG is_ESTAR   active but   neither is_ESTAR NEG-active
           '#This volcano is not active, but it is not inactive either'.
        b. *#La solicitud   no   está   ni   completa   ni   in-completa.*
           The application   NEG is_ESTAR NEG   complete   NEG NEG-complete
           '#The application is neither complete nor incomplete'.
        c. *#Aquellas   manzanas   todavía no   están   maduras,   pero*
           Those   apples   still   NEG are_ESTAR   ripe.PL   but
           tampoco   están   in-maduras.
           neither   are_ESTAR   NEG-ripe.PL
           '#Those apples are not ripe yet, but they are not unripe either'.

Some of these adjectives, however, can be easily coerced into a contrary interpretation:

(74)   *Las mazorcas [...] no deben estar ni muy tiernas o inmaduras, ni muy maduras*.

'The corncobs do not have to be very tender or unripe, nor very ripe either'.

[Adapted from Google books: Gustavo A. Enríquez. 1994. "Control de calidades durante un proceso productivo". *Iniap*, año 2, nº 1, p. 38]

Therefore, as predicted by Zimmer (1964) and Horn ([1989] 2001), the less productive patterns among affixal negation (and accordingly the most lexicalized ones) are the ones that tend to develop contrary senses, whereas those forms resulting from a productive process encode contradictory meanings. Horn ([1989] 2001) provides a pragmatic account for this tendency:

> Intuitively, if a derived form is produced by a general, predictable, quasisyntactic process, its meaning must be predictable (compositional) as well, or speaker and hearer would fail to communicate. For a negative adjective, this will generally determine a contradictory rather than contrary meaning, since (weak) contrariety is not a function.
>
>   Horn ([1989] 2001: 286-287)

In section 5.6 it will be shown that the emergence of contradictory vs. contrary meanings also depends on the internal syntax of the adjectival bases to which *iN*- attaches.

5.5. Decomposing *iN*-

In this chapter it has been argued that the negative prefix *iN*- is used to negate an adjectival base, and that only (not previously quantified) scalar adjectival bases allow for *iN*- prefixation. It has also been claimed that this prefix systematically rejects nominal and verbal bases, and that if adjoined to acategorial roots, the resulting form is categorized as an adjective. This section explores the syntactic structure that *iN*- lexicalizes and proposes that this prefix is to be analyzed as a negative marker (Neg) that conveys quantification (Q) and involves adjectival categorization (A). This analysis builds, on the one hand, on De Clercq's (2013, 2017) work on affixal negation; and, on

the other hand, on Newell's (2008) morphophonological approach to English negative prefixes. The status of *iN-* as a negative marker conveying quantification is examined in §5.5.1. Its being an adjectival categorizer is dealt with in §5.5.2. The nanosyntactic analysis of this prefix is provided in §5.5.3.

5.5.1. *IN-* as a negative marker conveying quantification

Basing on the restrictions imposed by *iN-* as well as on the properties shown by *iN-*prefixed adjectives, I assume that *iN-* is a negative marker that conveys quantification over a scale. This assumption is in line with De Clercq's (2013, 2017) analysis of Q^{Neg} markers (the label she uses to identify the negative markers taking the lowest scope, as e.g. English prefixes *un-* and *iN-*) as the spell-out of a Neg feature and a Q one (see also De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2017).

Following De Clercq (2013: 4, footnote 4), I use the term *negative marker* to refer to elements that negate predicates, which encompasses all those elements giving rise either to sentence negation or to constituent negation, and which leaves aside negative polarity items, negative quantifiers and negative indefinites.

A piece of evidence of the status of *iN-* as a negative marker is its ability to encode both contradictory and contrary negation, as has been illustrated in §5.4.2. This double possibility is typical of negative markers, which, depending on the context, can yield contradictory or contrary opposition (cf. Horn [1989] 2001; De Clercq 2017). In the particular case of *iN-*, the emergence of contrary or contradictory opposition depends on the kind of base to which the prefix is attached: the more complex the base, the more likely the contradictory reading; the simpler the base, the less distance between prefix and root and the more likely the (non-compositional) contrary reading (see §5.6 and the subsections therein for a formalization of this intuition).

The ability of *iN-* to license negative polarity items (NPIs) under its scope, as illustrated in (75), provides further evidence for the claim that this prefix is a negative marker. The availability of an NPI depends on the characteristics of the base to which *iN-* is added: if the base lacks argument structure, then no NPIs will be licensed; if it is an adjective able to select arguments (as is the case of the adjectives included in (75)), then NPIs will be licensed inside these argumental positions, given that *iN-* is merged on top of the adjectival base and, from that position, it takes scope over the argument structure of the adjectival base (see §5.5.3).

(75)   a. *Trinidad Soler   era   *(in)capaz   de robar   a **nadie**.*

          Trinidad Soler   was   NEG-able   of steal.INF   to nobody

          'Trinidad Soler was *(un)able to steal anything to anyone'.

          [*CREA*: 2000. Lorenzo Silva, *El alquimista impaciente*]

      b. *[…] una realidad poética, *(in)traducible   a **ninguna**   clase de prosa […].*

              a   reality   poetic   NEG-translatable to not a single type of prose

          'a poetic reality, *(un)translatable to any type of prose'.

          [http://blogs.hoy.es/libreconlibros/2008/06/09/recuerdo-gerardo-diego/]

      c. *un horizonte *(in)explorado   por **ningún**   jugador español en la historia.*

          a   horizon   NEG -explored by not a single player Spanish in the history

          'A horizon *(un)explored by any Spanish player before'.

          [http://www.abc.es/deportes/20140427/abci-carolina-marin-badminton-

          201404271427.html]

As for the claim that *iN*- conveys quantification over a scale, it is not new.[21] In fact, Fábregas (2005) and De Clercq (2017) assert that affixal negative markers used to negate gradable adjectives, as is the case of Spanish *iN*- (Fábregas 2005) and English *un*- and *iN*- (De Clercq 2017), set a particular value on the scale introduced by the adjectival base, thus delimiting its denotation.

      That *iN*- conveys quantification over a scale is evidenced, on the one hand, by its requirement to only combine with gradable adjectival bases, and, on the other hand, by its inability to attach to adjectival bases already involving quantification, as is the case of superlative adjectives (see section 5.2.2.2). Fábregas (2005) also relates the systematic possibility of converting adjectives bearing negative prefixes into a noun, vs. the impossibility of their unprefixed counterparts to undergo the same conversion, to the fact that the negative prefix selects a fixed value that delimits the scale denoted by the adjective. According to Fábregas (2005), the fixation of a delimited value is what allows the adjective to express a kind and, thus, to become a noun. If the negative prefix is not present, the scale is not fixed and conversion is banned:

---

[21] As observed by Fábregas (2005), negative markers are assumed to quantify at least since Jespersen (1924). De Clercq (2017), in her nanosyntactic analysis of negative markers, proposes that the basic features all negative markers share are negation (Neg) and quantification (Q), and that depending on their scope they can lexicalize additional features (Deg, Foc and Pol).

(76)   *un tratable ['a friendly'] / un intratable ['an unfriendly'], *un válido ['a valid']
        / un inválido ['an invalid'], *un útil ['a useful']/ un inútil ['a useless'], *un
        conveniente ['a convenient'] / un inconveniente ['an inconvenient'], *un apto
        ['an apt']/ un inepto ['an inept']
        [Examples taken from Fábregas 2005: chapter 2, (118)]

When *iN-* gives rise to contradictory negation, as in *inacabado* 'unfinished' (cf. the oddity of #*un trabajo ni acabado ni in-acabado* 'a work neither finished nor unfinished'), *iN-* quantifies over the adjectival base by picking out the complement of the set of degrees identified by the adjectival base:

(77)   Contradictory opposition

acabado	in-acabado

◄- -►
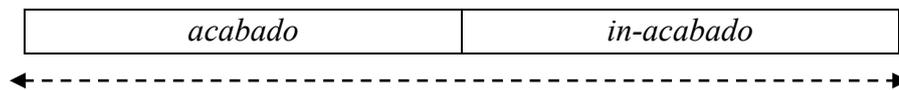
When *iN-* produces contrary negation, as in *infeliz* 'unhappy' (cf. the felicity of *un hombre ni feliz ni in-feliz* 'a neither happy nor unhappy man'), *iN-* quantifies over the adjectival base by picking out a subset of the complement of the set of degrees identified by the adjectival base, particularly, the set of degrees placed in the outer end of the scale, which leaves a middle ground between both opposites (see De Clercq 2013: 35-36, Horn [1989] 2001: 270, for a similar argument):

(78)   Contrary opposition

feliz	neither feliz nor in-feliz	in-feliz

◄- -►
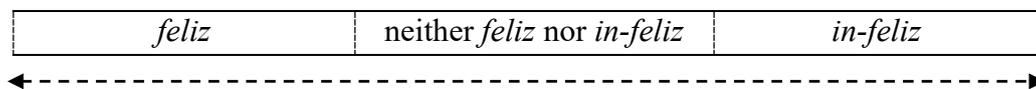
Summing up, the basic meaning of *iN-* is that of negating the adjectival base to which it is attached by selecting a set of degrees on the scale that the adjectival base instantiates. This set of degrees may correspond to the complement set of the adjective or to a subset of it, which results, respectively, in contradictory and in contrary opposition.

5.5.2. *IN*- as an adjectival categorizer

It has been shown that *iN*- can never attach to nominal and verbal roots, and that nouns and verbs displaying this prefix are built upon a (not always attested) *iN*- prefixed adjective (see §5.2.1). The noun *inactividad*, for instance, does not mean 'not activity' or 'non-activity', but it is rather used to encode the property of being inactive, a meaning that is directly related to the *iN*- prefixed adjectival predicate *in-activo* 'inactive' and not to the unprefixed noun *actividad* 'activity', thus pointing to a structure as the following one: [[*in*[*activ*]]$_A$ *idad*]$_N$. In the same vein, a verb such as *incomunicar* does not mean 'not to communicate', but 'to make become incommunicado', which involves the verbalization of a non-attested *iN*- prefixed adjective rather than the addition of the prefix to the verbal base: [[*in*[*comunic*]]$_A$ *ar*]$_V$.

Moreover, some *iN*- prefixed adjectives seem to involve a change of category from noun to adjective. This is the case of the so-called *iN*- parasynthetic adjectives, structures inherited from Latin in which the affixation of *iN*- to a root systematically gives rise to an adjectival predicate: e.g. *imberbe*$_A$ 'beardless' (cf. *barba*$_N$ 'beard'), *implume*$_A$ 'featherless' (cf. *pluma*$_N$ 'feather'), *inánime*$_A$ 'lifeless' (cf. *ánima*$_N$ 'soul'), among others (see the list in §5.2.1.1). All these data suggest that *iN*- contains an adjectivizer (A) feature in its lexical entry that bans its addition to nouns and verbs and accounts for the systematic adjectival interpretation of the structures resulting after *iN*-prefixation.

The idea that *iN*- conveys adjectival categorization has been previously defended for English by Newell (2008). Newell (2008) offers a contrastive analysis of the English negative prefixes *un*- and *iN*-. According to this author, *un*- is an adjunct inserted in the structure counter-cyclically, whereas *iN*- is a category-defining head. The different status of *un*- vs. *iN*- is demonstrated by some phonological and syntactic divergences. First of all, the nasal of *iN*- systematically assimilates to the following consonant, whereas the nasal of *un*- never does (cf. *impolite* vs. *unpopular*; *illegal* vs. *unlucky*; *irrational* vs. *unreal*; etc.), a difference that Newell (2008: 181) argues to be due to the fact that "*in*- but not *un*- is spelled out in the same phase as its sister, and is therefore in the same phonological domain". Secondly, *iN*- is restricted to adjectival bases, but *un*- can be added to adjectives (*unhappy*) and also to nouns (*unperson*) and proper nouns

(*unBritney*).[22] Thirdly, *iN-* may be added to bound roots lacking category features and *un-* cannot. As the result of attaching *iN-* to an acategorial root is always an adjective (*inept*, *inane*), it follows that the category features are carried by the prefix. Finally, *un-* but not *iN-* can give rise to bracketing paradoxes (cf. *unhappier*, which semantically points to the structure [[unhappy]er], as its meaning is 'more unhappy', but the morphophonological shape of which points to the structure [un[happier]], since the allomorphic variant *-er* would not emerge in a three-syllable word), and bracketing paradoxes are argued to be only possible when the structure involves an adjunct able to be inserted counter-cyclically (Newell 2008: 176 (13)). Newell (2008) accounts for all these differences by assuming that *iN-* projects an adjectival label and is therefore merged cyclically, while *un-* is a morphological adjunct able to be counter-cyclically inserted:

(79)   a.   a   b.   a
            ╱ ╲   ╱ ╲
         a   √   happy   a
         in   polite   ╱ ╲   Ø
                                               un   happy
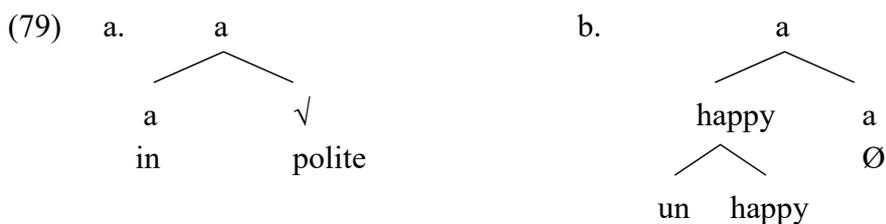
            [Newell 2008: 182, (17)]

Spanish *iN-* shows the same phonological and syntactic properties as its English counterpart: it assimilates the nasal to the following consonant (cf. *imborrable/*inborrable* 'indelible', *imperfect/*inperfecto* 'imperfect', *ilícito/*inlícito* 'illicit', *irracional/*inracional* 'irrational', etc.), it can only be attached to adjectival bases and, when added to Latin acategorial roots, the result is systematically an adjective (cf. *inepto* 'inept'; see also the cases of the so-called *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives (e.g. *imberbe* 'beardless'), the analysis of which I provide in §5.5.3), and it does not induce bracketing paradoxes of any sort. Accordingly, I will assume, in line with Newell (2008), that Spanish *iN-* involves a category feature A(djective), although I will further assume that this prefix is not only specified for this feature in its lexical entry, but also for those of Q and Neg, as previously demonstrated in §5.5.1.

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[22] Notice that the *un-* which is added to verbs in order to encode a reversative meaning is not the same *un-* that we find with adjectives and nouns: the former is the evolution of Old English *on(d)-* (of common descent with Dutch *ont-* and German *ent-*), whereas the latter descends from Old English *un-* (cognate with Latin *iN-*, Greek *a(n)-*, Dutch *on-* and German *un-*). Both prefixes, however, have converged orthographically and phonologically, and they are felt to be semantically connected (Marchand 1969), which has led some authors to offer a unitary analysis of both forms (Maynor 1979, Andrews 1986, Newell 2008). See Horn (2002) for discussion.

5.5.3. Nanosyntax of *iN-*

On the grounds of the above facts, I propose that *iN-* can be decomposed into a sequence of heads such as the one represented below:

(80)   Lexical entry for *iN-*

in   ↔   < /in/,   NegP   >

```
              NegP
             /    \
          Neg      QP
                  /  \
                 Q    AP
                       |
                       A
```
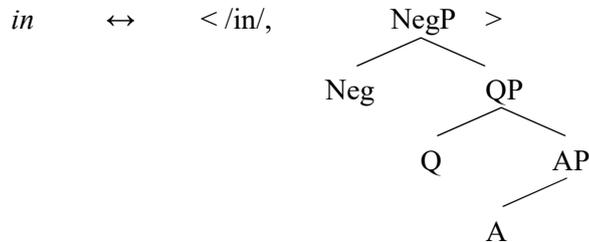
The lexical entry that I propose for *iN-* specifies that this prefix is a predicate negator (Neg) that quantifies over a scale (Q) and contains an adjectival feature (A).

Evidence of the presence of a Neg feature has been provided in §5.5.1: *iN-* licenses NPIs under its scope and can give rise both to contrary and contradictory opposition. The presence of a Q feature has also been argued for in §5.5.1 on the grounds of the restriction imposed by *iN-* to exclusively combine with scalar bases allowing for degree quantification, and on the basis of the almost systematic ability of *iN-* prefixed adjectives to be converted into nouns (vs. the systematic ban of this possibility by the unprefixed base: cf. **un útil* 'a useful' vs. *un inútil* 'a useless'). This ability has been related by Fábregas (2005) to the fixation of a delimited value on a scale. As for the claim than *iN-* contains an A(djectival) feature, it has been put forth in §8.5.2 considering, on the one hand, the impossibility of attaching this prefix to nominal and verbal bases, and, on the other hand, the systematic adjectival categorization of the forms created by the addition of this prefix.

By the Superset Principle, *iN-* can spell out all the features it is specified for, or it can underassociate and spell out a subset of these features. Crucially, the addition of this prefix to adjectival bases systematically involves underassociation of A, as this feature is already identified by the adjectival base. In these cases, thus, *iN-* only spells out Neg and Q, whereas A is spelled out by the adjective that *iN-* is attached to:

(81)   Underassociation of A when *iN-* is attached to adjectival bases

```
              NegP
             /    \
          Neg      QP
           ⌣      /   \
       iN-     Q       AP
                      /   \
                     A     …
                     ⌣_____⌣
                  adjectival base
```
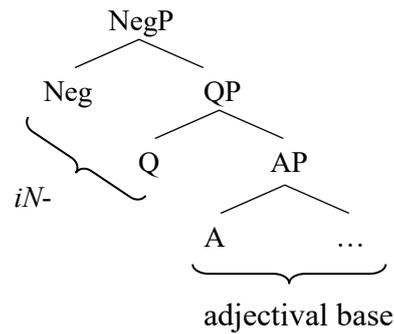
This analysis also accounts for the possibility of adding *iN-* to acategorial roots. So-called *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives are such a case (cf. *imberbe* 'beardless', *implume* 'featherless', *inánime* 'lifeless', *incoloro* 'colourless'). These adjectives do not involve the addition of *iN-* to a noun with a change of category, but the addition of *iN-* to an acategorial root that can be independently realized as a noun. Hence, for instance, the lexical root √*color-* can be categorized as a noun and emerge as the noun *color* 'colour', or it can be categorized as an adjective when combined with *iN-* and then give rise to the parasynthetic adjective *incoloro* 'colourless', as illustrated in (82).[23]

(82)   a. Syntax of the noun *color* 'colour'   b. Syntax of the parasynthtetic
                                                            adjective *incoloro* 'colourless'
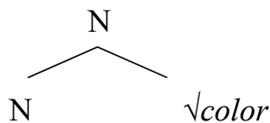
```
          N                                          NegP
         / \                                        /    \
        N   √color                               Neg      QP
                                                  ⌣      /   \
                                              iN-     Q       AP
                                                             /   \
                                                            A     √color
```
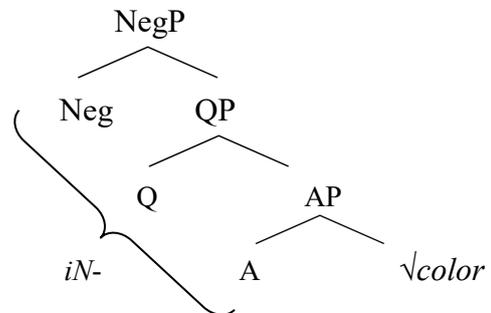
Seemingly, the nouns and verbs involving this prefix (e.g. *inadecuación*N 'inadequacy', *incomunicar*V 'to isolate'), which are crucially not cases of *iN-* prefixation on a nominal or verbal base (cf. §5.2.1), also involve the addition of *iN-* to an acategorial root, the output of which is a (not always attested) *iN-* adjective that is later on categorized as a noun or as a verb. This analysis accounts for the meaning of these forms, which is never

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[23] Notice that the analysis I put forward for *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives has a crucial consequence for the concept of parasynthesis, and it is that what has traditionally been considered to be a parasynthetic form encompasses, at least, two types of syntactic configurations: the addition of a prefix to an acategorial root with a subsequent addition of a categorizing suffix (such is the case of *des-* parasynthetic verbs; see chapter 3, section 3.4.2.1); and the addition of a categorizing prefix to an acategorial root (which is the case of *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives).

that of 'not N' for nouns or 'not V' for verbs, but rather 'the property of being not A' for nouns and 'to make become not A' in verbs (cf. *inadecuación* 'property of being inadequate' and *incomunicar* 'to make become incommunicado', 'to isolate').

Notice that the syntactic restrictions shown by *iN*- with regard to the kind of bases with which they can be combined (cf. §5.2) are expected taking into account the internal structure of this negative prefix. Thus, *iN*- cannot combine with nouns and verbs because it bears a categorizing feature A that is compatible with acategorial roots or adjectival bases (the latter involving underassociation of A by the prefix) but not with nominal or verbal bases. Moreover, *iN*- can only combine with scalar bases because it involves a Q feature that asks for a base over to which quantify. As for the incompatibility of *iN*- with a base already prefixed with a negative prefix, it follows from two constraints: first, the constraint on having two identical prefixes stacked, as the trees they spell out occupy the same position in the syntactic spine; and, second, the restriction imposed by *iN*- to exclusively combine with scalar bases over which it quantifies, since bases bearing affixal negation already involve quantification and, therefore, they cannot be further quantified by another negative affix.

Varela (1983) has suggested that two types of negative *iN*- are to be distinguished: IN$_1$, which is added to categorized words (basically adjectives), gives rise to a compositional meaning, and keeps the phonology of the base it is attached to; and IN$_2$, which can be added either to categorized words or to (acategorial) lexical roots, produces non-compositional meanings, and allows for allomorphy in the root.[24] I believe my analysis is more explicative than the lexicalist analysis proposed by Varela (1983), because she needs to stipulate the existence of two different negative prefixes *iN*- that show the same morphophonology and involve almost the same meaning.

---

[24] The existence of two prefixes *iN*- has also been put forward for French by Apothéloz (2003), and Buchi (2011), among others. The basis for this claim in the French literature is the empirical observation that *iN*- can be realized by different allomorphs in French (/in/, /i/, and /ɛ̃-/), and that one of these allomorphs (/ɛ̃-/) shows a compositional meaning and a systematic syntax as opposed to the others ((in/ and /i/). See Tranel (1976) for the idea that there is only one French *iN*- which can occupy different positions inside the structure.

5.6. Decomposing *iN*-prefixed adjectives

5.6.1. Simple adjectives prefixed with *iN*-

The first class of *iN*- prefixed adjectives I have examined in this chapter is that of simple adjectives prefixed with *iN*-. In this case, the negative prefix takes scope over the scalar property identified by the adjectival base and picks out a set of degrees below the standard of comparison. As a result, this property is understood not to hold for the subject of predication. In (83), for example, the property expressed by the adjectival base, which is that of being happy, is understood not to hold for the subject *un hombre*:

(83)   *Un hombre in-feliz.*

       'An unhappy man'.

For *iN*- prefixed adjectives displaying simple adjectival bases I propose the syntactic structure in (84):

(84)   Syntax of simple adjectives prefixed with *iN*- (e.g. *infeliz* 'unhappy')
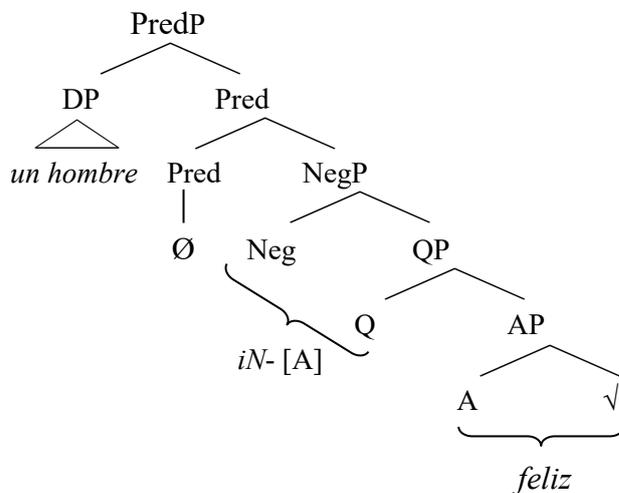
In simple adjectives prefixed with *iN*-, the root first merges with an A(djectival) categorizer that defines it as an adjective. Then, the sequence of heads that *iN*-lexicalizes is merged on top of it. As the A feature that *iN*- contains has been previously identified by the adjectival base, *iN*- leaves this feature underassociated, which I signal, following Ramchand (2008), by introducing this A feature in brackets. The underassociated A feature of the prefix and the A feature lexicalized by the adjective are linked by agree. Therefore, and in accordance with the Superset Principle, *iN*- only

spells out a subset of its features: Q and Neg. Finally, a PredP is merged so as to introduce the subject of predication.

The structure I propose accommodates the two basic properties that this type of *iN*- prefixed adjectives show, namely, that they behave as IL predicates (see §5.4.1.1) and that they tend to encode contrary, rather than contradictory, meanings (see §8.4.3). Regarding the first property, the structure in (84) corresponds to that of an IL predicate, given that, if no aspectual projection is present, the relationship existing between the property expressed by the adjective and the DP subject is understood to be temporary persistent. As for the second property, which is the general trend of this type of predicates to develop contrary readings involving a negative evaluation, it has been shown to be the reflection of a structure that allows for non-compositional meanings (cf. §5.4.2). These strengthened contrary readings emerge because in *iN*- prefixed simple adjectives the prefix and the root are part of the same phase and, hence, they can individually negotiate their meaning (see Marantz 2013). Given that in this case the prefix is added to an already categorized base and, therefore, it underassociates its A feature, it could be argued that prefix and root are not part of the same spell-out domain, since between the features spelled out by *iN*- (Neg and Q) and the root there is a phase-defining head, which is A. However, Neg and Q are not phase-defining heads. Given that non-phase heads belong to the same spell-out domain of the previous phase-defining head (Embick 2010; Marantz 2013), it follows that the root and the features lexicalized by *iN*- (Neg and Q) are part of the same spell-out domain, which allows special meanings (as, for instance, the encoding of contrary rather than contradictory negation) to arise.

5.6.2. *-Ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN*-

The most productive pattern among *iN*- prefixation is the addition of this prefix to modal bases suffixed with *-ble*. As mentioned in sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.1.2, there are two types of modal adjectives suffixed with *-ble*: regularly derived high *-ble* adjectives, which encode potential modality (e.g. *traducible* 'translatable'); and lexicalized low *-ble* adjectives, which may encode non-potential modality (e.g. *admirable* 'admirable'); see Oltra-Massuet (2014) and references therein.

It has been shown that the addition of *iN*- to high *-ble* adjectives does not result in any change with regard to their eventive properties (see §5.4.1.2). Accordingly, I

assume that *iN-* is added on top of the tree lexicalized by high *-ble* in a position that takes scope over the entire adjectival base (hence the possibility of licensing NPIs in the argument positions of the high *-ble* adjective) but that does not perform any change in its syntactic projections. As for the internal structure of high *-ble* adjectives, I adopt Oltra-Massuet's (2014) analysis, although I adapt it to the notation of the present dissertation. Oltra-Massuet (2014: 150-153) proposes a configuration such as the one in (81) for high *-ble* adjectives, which she describes as predicates expressing "a generic property according to which it is possible for some originator to achieve a resultant state out of an eventive subcomponent". In the configuration proposed by Oltra-Massuet, the responsible for the event interpretation and the availability of *by*-phrases expressing the implicit external argument is a passive little *v* head. This verbalizing head is then merged with a resultative Asp$_r$ head that creates a resultant state. After that, merging of the aspectual head with Mod takes place which binds the open variable of the implicit external argument and creates an opacity context that restricts its denotation to non-specific NPs. Finally, a little *a* head is introduced that categorizes the configuration as an adjective and creates a property reading (see Oltra-Massuet 2014: 150-153).

(85)   Potential or high *-ble*, e.g. *modificable* 'modifiable'
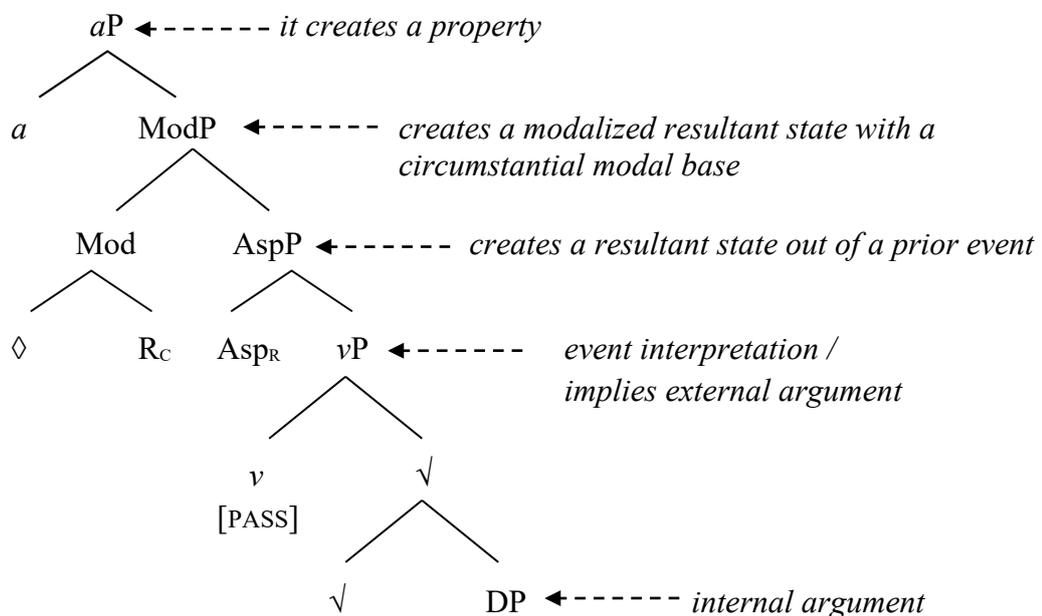
[Oltra-Massuet (2014: 151 (261))]

IN- is added on top of the adjectivizing head, which involves underassociation of the A feature that the prefix lexicalizes. Following Ramchand's (2008) theory on the first

phase syntax of eventualities, I split the *v*P underlying high *-ble* adjectives into InitP, ProcP and ResP. InitP accounts for the implicit external argument, which can be realized by means of a *by*-phrase. Following Fábregas (2016), I assume the InitP involved in passive configurations to be weak in nature (see §5.6.3 for a more detailed account). ProcP introduces the event variable and is the responsible for the eventive interpretation of these adjectives, an eventivity that is reflected in their ability to license adverbial modification (see section 5.4.1.2). According to Ramchand (2008) ResP is only available for verbs that lexically involve result (e.g. *break*). Although a ResP might not be present in all high *-ble* adjectives, I include this subeventive projection in the inner syntax of these constructions for easiness of the exposition. Notice that as predicative configurations, high *-ble* adjectives (either prefixed or non-prefixed) are selected by a PredP that relates them to the subject of which they are predicated.

(86)   High *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN-* (e.g. *intraducible* 'untranslatable')
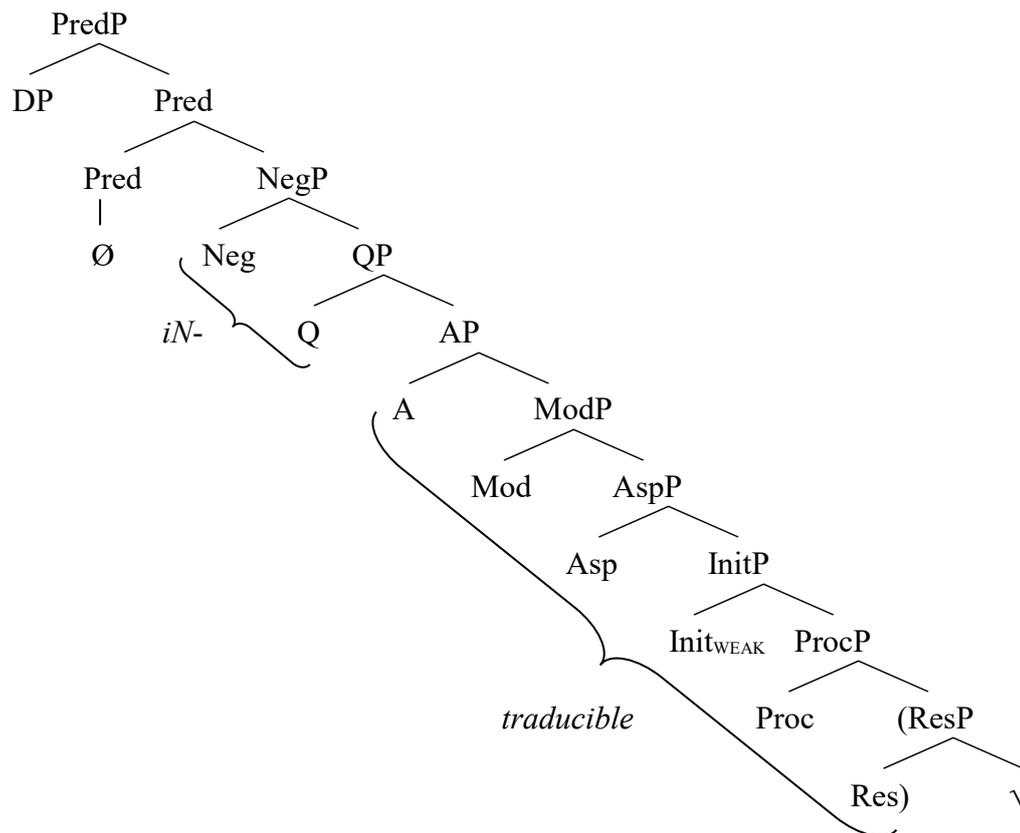
The configuration in (86) accounts for the eventive properties of *iN-* prefixed high *-ble* adjectives, since it contains the subeventive projections in which the underlying verb can be decomposed (Init, Proc and Res). It is also the structure of an IL predicate, given that, as exposed by Oltra-Massuet (2014: 120), ModP induces stativity and genericity,

which gives rise to an IL interpretation of the predicate, given that IL predicates are inherently generic (Krifka *et al*. 1995: 7; Leonetti 1999: 873; *apud*. Oltra-Massuet 2014: 120).

This analysis also accounts for the contradictory interpretation of high *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN-* (see section 5.4.2), given that in this configuration the meaning is compositionally obtained: *iN-* is merged with an adjectival base in which the root has been first categorized as a verb (it is dominated by Init-Proc-Res), then converted into a resultant state (by merging of Asp), and after that categorized as an adjective. In such a scenario prefix and root cannot individually negotiate their meaning (which would allow lexicalized, non-compositional contrary interpretations to arise), since they are not part of the same phase: Proc, a phase-defining head, is placed in between the phase-defining head A and the root and, accordingly, A (and the non-phase heads above it) and the root belong to different spell-out domains.

As for low *-ble* adjectives, the addition of *iN-* does not result in any change on the aspectual properties of the adjective: low *-ble* adjectives are IL predicates and lack any eventive property (they disallow the expression of an implicit Initiator by means of a *by*-phrase and they cannot be modified by manner adverbs or aspectual modifiers; see Oltra-Massuet 2014), and the same holds when they are headed by the negative prefix *iN-* (see §5.4.1.2). Therefore, I draw the inference that the addition of *iN-* to low *-ble* adjectives does not result in any change in their internal syntax. Regarding the structure underlying low *-ble* adjectives, I do not entirely adopt Oltra-Massuet's (2014) analysis, but I rather assume her previous approach in Oltra-Massuet (2010: 103), according to which low *-ble* adjectives are simple modalized adjectives in which the root directly merges with a ModP, and after that the modalized root merges with the categorizing head *a*, as illustrated in (87).[25] In this configuration, ModP individually negotiates its meaning with the root, which accounts for the non-potential interpretation of this sort of adjectives.

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[25] Oltra-Massuet (2014: 153) proposes a different analysis in which low *-ble* adjectives are said to involve an AspP that stativizes the root before ModP insertion. As in the present dissertation AspP is assumed to only involve perfectivity, I will not adopt Oltra-Massuet's (2014) proposal. Moreover, the structure for low *-ble* adjectives assumed here, which corresponds to the one previously stated by Oltra-Massuet (2010), accounts better for the tendency that these adjectives show to develop contrary readings when prefixed by *iN-*, as detailed below.

(87)   Low *-ble*, e.g. *admirable* 'admirable'

```
              aP
            /    \
          a      ModP
                /    \
             Mod      √
```
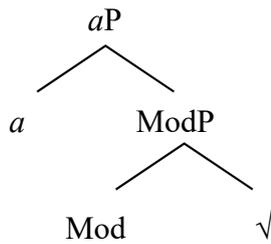
[Adapted from Oltra-Massuet (2010: 103, (199))]

IN- prefixation of these adjectives involves the insertion of the syntactic projections that this prefix lexicalizes on top of the stretch of structure lexicalized by the low *-ble* adjective. Given that low *-ble* adjectives are adjectivally categorized, the A feature that *iN*- lexicalizes remains underassociated, as represented below:

(88)   Low *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN*- (e.g. *indeseable* 'undesirable')

```
              PredP
            /      \
          DP       Pred
                  /    \
               Pred    NegP
                |      /    \
                Ø    Neg     QP
                          /     \
                iN- [A]  Q       AP
                                /    \
                               A     ModP
                                    /    \
                          deseable Mod    √
```
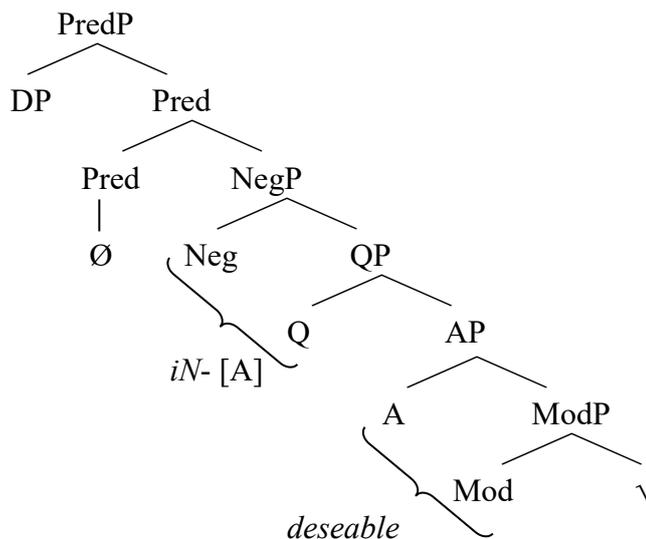
The contrary, rather than contradictory, reading of this configuration is expected, as in low *-ble* adjectives prefixed with *iN*- both the prefix and the root are part of the same phase: Mod is not a phase head, and accordingly the features *iN*- lexicalizes and the root belong to the same spell-out domain. As reported by Embick (2010) and Marantz (2013), special meanings are possible when the two interacting elements are part of the same phase, which accounts for the non-compositional contrary values that iN- prefixed low *-ble* adjectives tend to codify.

5.6.3. Adjectival passive participles prefixed with *iN-*

In §5.4.1.3 four types of a-participles have been distinguished: SL eventive a-participles (e.g. *explorado concienzudamente* 'thoroughly explored'), SL non-eventive a-participles (e.g. *muy explorado* 'very explored'), IL non-eventive a-participles (*deseado* 'wanted'), and perfective adjectives (e.g. *lleno* 'full'). It has been shown that *iN-* prefixation only targets a-participles lacking eventive properties, which prevents combination of *iN-* with SL eventive a-participles but allows the prefix to combine with SL non-eventive a-participles, IL non-eventive a-participles, and perfective adjectives. The internal syntax of each of these a-participles is detailed in the following subsections.

5.6.3.1. A(djectival passive)-participles disallowing iN- prefixation: on SL eventive a-participles

The participles I have labelled SL eventive a-participles mainly correspond to so-called resultative participles (Embick 2003, 2004). I have chosen the label SL eventive a-participles to make it clear that they are SL predicates, as evidenced by their combining with the copular verb *estar*, and that they have event implications, as diagnosed by the fact that they admit the expression of oblique arguments (see (89a)) and being modified by manner adverbials (see (89b, c)). These a-participles can license *by*-phrases identifying an underlying Initiator (see (89c)), although with certain restrictions (see footnote 15 in this chapter). Crucially, SL eventive a-participles are not gradable predicates, and accordingly they disallow degree quantification (89a) as well as *iN-* prefixation (89b):

(89)   a. *Las obras están (*im)pagadas con los impuestos de todos los murcianos.*
              'The public Works are (un)funded by all Murcian citizens taxes'.
              [Adapted from: http://www.murcia.com/noticias/2009/07-15-fuentes-senala-obras-estan-pagadas.asp]
        b. *El habitáculo está (*absolutamente) acabado con esmero.*
              'This dwelling house is (*absolutely) neatly finished'.
              [Adapted from: http://motor.elpais.com/actualidad/land-rover-discovery-sport-mas-carretera-menos-campo/]
        c. *Este campo no está   explorado a conciencia   por la ciencia.*
              'This field has not been thoroughly explored by science'

Taking into account the above-mentioned properties of SL eventive a-participles, I propose that they are to be related to a configuration as the one represented in (90):

(90) SL eventive a-participles (e.g. *explorado concienzudamente* 'thoroughly explored')

PredP
DP   Pred
Pred   AP
Ø
A   AspP
Asp   InitP
Init_WEAK   ProcP
explorado   Proc   (ResP)
(Res)   √
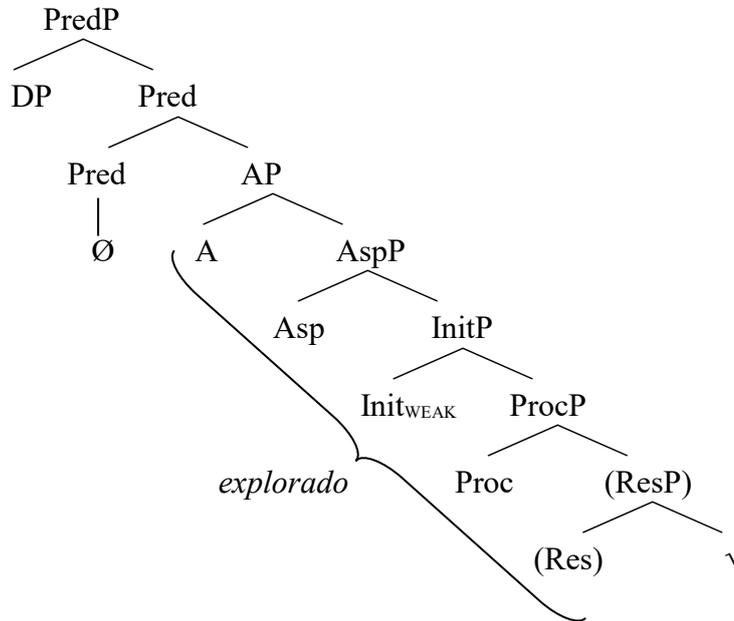
In the configuration in (90) the eventive behaviour of SL eventive a-participles lies in a ProcP that introduces the event variable and enables the presence of oblique arguments (introduced as adjuncts of this projection) as well as manner adverbials (which attach to ProcP to modify the process subevent). ProcP can take the acategorial root as its complement, or, in those constructions syntactically involving a result state, as e.g. *el jamón está cortado en lonchas* 'the ham is cut in slices', a ResP identifying the result of the process. As some SL eventive a-participles allow *by*-phrases expressing an implicit external argument, the projection licensing this argument must be available in their internal syntax. Following Fábregas (2016: 140-141), I assume that passive configurations involve the presence of an InitP that is however weak in nature. Such a weak Init does not constitute a strong phase and is unable to introduce the external argument by itself, which accounts for the need to introduce this component as the complement of a preposition able to assign an Initiator interpretation. Whether this *by*-phrase is generated at [Spec, InitP], as suggested by Fábregas (2016) on the basis of Collins' (2005) proposal, or as an adjunct to this projection, as put forward by García-Pardo (2017) on the grounds of insights in Bruening (2014), is an issue that lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. This structure is selected by an AspP specified for perfective viewpoint aspect that imposes an anteriority reading, which gives rise to a

resultant state out of a syntactically present prior event. The AP merged on top of AspP categorizes the eventive configuration as an adjective. The whole configuration is dominated by a PredP that defines it as a predicate and introduces the subject of predication.

5.6.3.2. SL non-eventive a-participles

As presented in §5.4.1.3, SL non-eventive a-participles correspond to those a-participles which, although sharing the same form as SL eventive a-participles (e.g. *explorado concienzudamente* 'thoroughly explored'), lack eventivity, and so they do not license the expression of oblique arguments related to the event variable (91a) and they disallow adverbial modification (91b). Crucially, however, they admit the expression of an underlying Initiator by means of a *by*-phrase, as exemplified in (91c). Nevertheless, these a-participles, which lack an eventive variable in its internal syntax, involve perfectivity and are interpreted as resulting states, which is evidenced by the fact that they combine with the copula *estar*. Finally, in §5.4.1.3 they have been shown to admit degree modification as well as *iN*- prefixation, two properties that allow putting them out of SL eventive a-participles (cf. *(*muy) explorado concienzudamente* '(*very) thoroughly explored' or *(*im)pagado con dólares canadienses* '(*un)paid with Canadian dollars').

(91)   SL non-eventive a-participles

      a. *Las facturas están absolutamente (im)pagadas *con dólares canadienses*.

        The invoices are_ESTAR absolutely   (NEG)paid   with dollars Canadian.PL

        'The invoices are completely (un)paid *with Canadian dollars'.

      b. *Esta obra está absolutamente (in)acabada *con esmero*.

        This work is_ESTAR absolutely   (NEG)finished with care

        'This work is absolutely (un)finished *with care'.

      c. *Esta porción de tierra está muy (in)explorada por el hombre*.

        This piece of land   is_ESTAR very   NEG-explored by   the man

        'This piece of land is largely (un)explored by humans'.

For *iN*- prefixed SL non-eventive a-participles I propose a configuration as the one in (92), which accounts for all the properties that they show:

(92)   SL non-eventive a-participles prefixed with *iN-* (e.g. *inexplorado* 'unexplored')

```
            PredP
           /    \
         DP      Pred
                /    \
            Pred      NegP
             |       /    \
             Ø    Neg      QP
                  |       /   \
                 iN-    Q      AP
                            /    \
                          A      AspP
                                /    \
                             Asp      InitP
                                     /    \
                                Init_WEAK   √
                       explorado
```
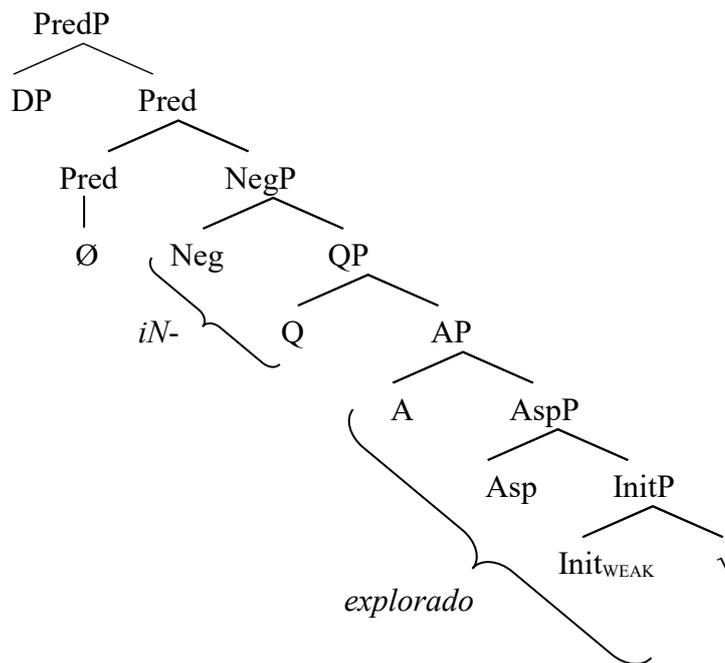
A first point to comment on the structure in (92) is that it lacks ProcP, which is the projection that introduces the event variable (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1) and licenses oblique arguments as well as adverbial modification. Since SL non-eventive a-participles have been shown to disallow oblique arguments and adverbial modification and, thus, to lack eventivity, no ProcP can be present in their internal syntax.

In the configuration I propose for SL non-eventive a-participles the root merges with an InitP. Evidence for the presence of Init is provided by the possibility of the implicit external argument to emerge as a *by*-phrase. Since there is no ProcP in the complement of Init (but instead an acategorial root), Init does not involve causativity, and it is just interpreted as a stative projection giving rise to a state reading (see Ramchand 2008: 55-56 for this idea, see also chapter 2, section 2.4.1 of this dissertation). The state encoded by Init is interpreted as a resultant state because it is dominated by a perfective AspP. The aspectual head is merged with an AP that categorizes the perfective state as an adjective. The features *iN-* lexicalizes, Neg, Q and A, are added on top of AP. Given that the A feature of the prefix has been already identified by the a-participial base, *iN-* leaves this feature underassociated. Finally, PredP is merged on top of the configuration to introduce the subject of predication.

It has been shown that SL non-eventive a-participles give rise to compositional contradictory meanings (see section 5.4.2). This fact is expected from a configuration as the one in (92), in which several layers of structure separate the projections *iN-*

lexicalizes from the root, thus making it difficult for these two elements to individually interact. Moreover, the perfective Asp head imposes a delimited (SL) reading to the state it c-commands, which prevents contrary readings to arise, as contradictory meanings are only available in non-delimited (IL) scalar predicates (see Horn [1989] 2001).

5.6.3.3. IL non-eventive a-participles

IL non-eventive a-participles are those a-participles that share the same root as stative (usually psych) verbs: *deseado* 'wanted', 'desired' (cf. *desear* 'to want', 'to desire'). The state they denote is not interpreted as a resultant state, but as a permanent state of the subject, hence the preference of these a-participles to combine with IL selecting copula *ser*. In §5.4.1.3 it has been argued that these a-participles, which lack perfectivity and behave as IL predicates, are not pure lexicalized adjectives, since they involve a passive component, as evidenced by their ability to license *by*-phrases. The possibility for the implicit external argument to be expressed in a *by*-phrase is kept when *iN*-prefixation applies to the predicate. Crucially, the presence of the negative prefixes ensures that the passive construction is adjectival and not verbal (since verbal predicates, and therefore verbal participles, disallow *iN*- prefixation; see §5.2.1.2). The example in (93) reflects all the mentioned properties: combination with *ser* and not with *estar*, licensing of a *by*-phrase and availability of *iN*- prefixation.

(93)   *Es acoso   cualquier comportamiento que el acosador «sabe   o debería*
       Is   harassment any   behaviour   that the harasser knows or should

       saber» que es   in-deseado por la   víctima.
       know that is$_{SER}$ NEG-wanted   by the   victim

       'Harassing is any behaviour that the harasser «knows or should know» that is unwanted by the victim'.
       [Google books: Mª Fernanda Fernández López. 2008. *La tutela laboral frente a la discriminación por razón de género*, p.43]

The configuration I assume for IL non-eventive a-participles prefixed with *iN*- is detailed in (94):

(94)   IL non-eventive a-participles prefixed with *iN*- (e.g. *indeseado* 'unwanted')

```
                    PredP
                   /    \
                 DP      Pred
                        /    \
                     Pred     NegP
                      |       /   \
                      Ø     Neg     QP
                           /       /  \
                        iN-    Q       AP
                                      /   \
                                    A      InitP
                                          /    \
                                 deseado  Init_WEAK   √
```
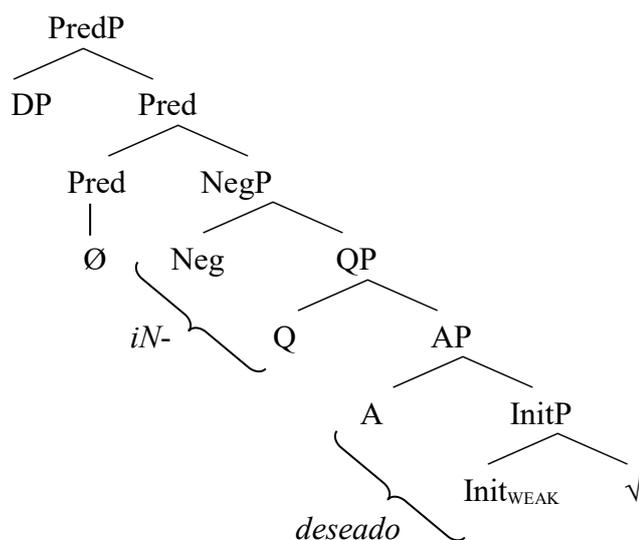
The proposed configuration accounts for the observed properties of these a-participles: in them, the root is merged with a weak InitP that provides the stative reading and licenses the expression of the implicit Initiator (a state holder) in a *by*-phrase. Then, the stativized root is adjectivally categorized. Crucially, no AspP is present in between the stative layer (InitP) and the categorizer layer (AP), which accounts for the non-perfective nature of these a-participles, which, as illustrated above, encode IL states and combine with the copula *ser*. The tree lexicalized by *iN*- is added on top of AP. Given that the unprefixed a-participle conveys adjectival categorization, *iN*- leaves its A feature, already identified in the structure, underassociated. The subject of predication is introduced at the specifier of a PredP merged on top of the configuration.

IL non-eventive a-participles tend to develop lexicalized meanings (see section 5.3.1), which is in accordance with the tendency they show to produce contrary readings when negated by *iN*- (see section 5.4.2). The emergence of not fully compositional meanings is expected given the lack of a perfective AspP in the configuration. When Asp is placed in the complement of AP (as is the case with SL non-eventive a-participles, see (92)), the outcome is a perfective state, and, hence, when *iN*- is added to the configuration the features this prefix lexicalizes do not interact with the stativized root, but with the result reading imposed by the aspectual projection. On the absence of AspP, *iN*- can negotiate its meaning with the stativized root, given that, as previously mentioned in §5.6.3.1, a weak Init does not constitute a phase and, thus, it does not suppose a barrier for the prefix and the root to interact.

5.6.3.4. Perfective adjectives

As argued for by Bosque (1989), and previously introduced in §5.4.1.3, perfective adjectives involve a result state meaning although they do not grammatically involve a prior event. The perfectivity of these adjectives is reflected in their combining with the copula *estar*.[26] In this respect, thus, they are parallel to SL non-eventive a-participles. Differently form SL non-eventive a-participles, though, perfective adjectives do not license *by*-phrases identifying an implicit Initiator, as illustrated below:

(95)   a. *El formulario está relleno *por el usuario.*

          'A filled in form *by the user'.

        b. *El mecanismo está activo *por el controlador electrónico.*

          'The mechanism remains active *by the electronic controller'.

As noticed in §5.4.1.3, perfective adjectives mainly correspond to the predicates that Embick (2003, 2004) labels *stative participles* (e.g. *open*), and like Embick's stative participles, they may involve a different morphophonology than the one displayed by verbal passive participles, given that many of them show a truncated form (cf. *lleno* 'full' vs. *llenado* 'filled').

As for the syntactic configuration related to perfective adjectives, Bosque (1989) provides an analysis for these predicates according to which they involve a perfective AspP that selects the AP as its complement:

(96)   Configuration proposed by Bosque (1989: 207, (27)) for perfective adjectives
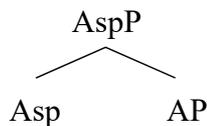
               AspP
              ╱   ╲
          Asp   AP

I will rather assume that the perfective AspP is embedded under the AP, and not the other way around, as is the case with the other SL a-participles, which also contain this projection embedded under the adjectivizer (see also Alexiadou *et al*. 2015 for the view that a-participles involving an aspectual layer contain this layer embedded inside the AP):

---

[26] Some of these adjectives can combine with *ser*, although in these cases they behave as fully lexicalized adjectives and are not perfective anymore (cf. *ser activo* 'being active' vs. *estar activo* 'staying active').

(97)   Configuration for perfective adjectives (e.g. *lleno* 'active') assumed in the present dissertation

```
              PredP
             /    \
           DP      Pred
                  /    \
               Pred     AP
                |      /   \
                Ø     A     AspP
                    lleno  /    \
                       Asp      √
```
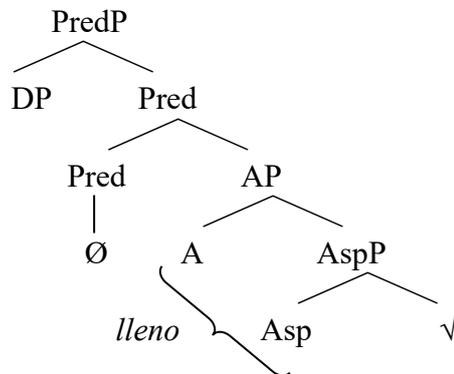
The structure in (97) implies that in perfective adjectives AspP is directly merged with the root which provides the resultant state reading that these adjectives involve and accounts for their behaviour as SL predicates combining with *estar*. The perfectivized root is then selected by an AP that categorizes it as an adjective. The entire predicate is c-commanded by a PredP that introduces the subject of predication.

Some perfective adjectives allow *iN*- prefixation, although it is not a productive pattern due to the fact that perfective adjectives are lexicalized structures and, therefore, they do not involve a generative process: there is not a morphosyntactic process to create perfective adjectives, but they are just the remnants of old verbal participles instead (see Bosque 1989). If perfective adjectives are not the result of a productive pattern, the addition of *iN*- to these adjectives cannot reflect a productive pattern either.[27]

IN- prefixation conveys the addition of NegP, QP and AP to the structure lexicalized by the perfective adjectival base. Since the perfective adjectival base already identifies a categorizing A feature, *iN*- leaves this feature underassociated, as represented below:

---

[27] In fact, *iN*- prefixation of a-participles in general is not a fully productive process, as previously mentioned in §5.3.3. The only configuration showing a fully productive process is the addition of *iN*- to high -*ble* adjectives.

(98)   Perfective adjectives prefixed with *iN-* (e.g. *inactivo* 'inactive')

```
                    PredP
                   /    \
                 DP      Pred
                        /    \
                     Pred    NegP
                      |      /   \
                      Ø    Neg    QP
                          /      /  \
                       iN-     Q    AP
                                   /  \
                                  A   AspP
                                 /   /   \
                            activo Asp    √
```
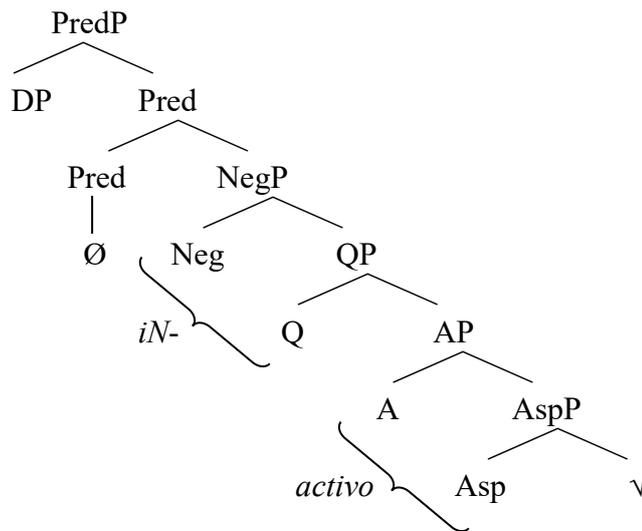
Perfective adjectives prefixed with *iN-* are generally interpreted as the contradictory opposites of their bases, although they can be easily coerced into a contrary interpretation (see section 5.4.2). The configuration I propose for these constructions also accounts for this tendency, as in them a perfective AspP imposes a delimited reading to the scale denoted by the adjectival base. It seems, thus, that when Asp is present in the internal syntax of the adjectival base, a delimited reading is imposed and the configuration is interpreted compositionally,[28] which prevents contrary readings to arise.

5.7. *IN*-prefixed items vs. *des*-prefixed items

The main claim of this section is that *iN-* and *des-* are not prefixes of the same type (contra the predominant trend in treating both items as negative prefixes; see Martín García 1995; Montero Curiel 1999; Varela & Martín García 1999; Costa 2008; among others): *iN-* is a negative marker, whereas *des-* is a P element. Particularly, and as argued throughout this chapter, *iN-* encodes negation and involves quantification as well as adjectival categorization (see §5.5). By contrast, *des-* lexicalizes a Source path and accordingly expresses (physical or abstract) departure, as extensively illustrated in chapters 3 and 4.

---

[28] It could seem contradictory to assert that perfective adjectives, which are the result of a lexicalization process, convey compositional meanings. The process of lexicalization undergone by these structures involves the loss of grammatical projections, but when Asp is still present in the configuration, perfectivity is kept and idiosyncrasies hardly ever emerge. By contrast, when such a grammaticalization process reaches its completion, perfectivity is lost, which allows idiosyncratic meanings to arise.

In this section different properties of these two prefixes are examined which provide evidence in favour of their different nature.

5.7.1. Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)

A straightforward first argument that *iN*- is a negative marker but *des*- is not is that the former may license NPIs, whereas the latter may not:

(99)   a. *Juan es capaz de hablar   con alguien.*

       Juan is able to speak   to someone

      b. *Juan es **in**-capaz de hablar con **nadie**NPI.*

       Juan is un-able to speak to anyone

(100) a. *María es afecta   a algunos   miembros   del   partido.*

        María is sympathetic to some   members   of=the party

      b. **María   es **des**-afecta a **ninguno**NPI de los miembros   del   partido.*

        María   is hostile   to any   of the members   of=the party

It could be argued that *des*- does not license the NPI *ninguno* in (100) because the complement of the adjective is not under its scope (given that, as proposed in chapter 4, *des*- is adjoined to acategorial roots, and not to an adjectival base). However, in the PP arguments introduced by *des*- in verbal predicates, which can be argued to be under the scope of this prefix, NPIs are not licensed either:[29]

---

[29] It must be noticed, however, that certain *des*-prefixed predicates may license an NPI when *des*- takes scope over a propositional argument. Compare (iiia) with (iiib):

(iii)   a. **Te des-aconsejo **ninguna** de estas opciones*.
         'I advise you against any of these options'.
    b. *Te (*des)aconsejo que optes por **ninguna** de estas opciones*.
         'I advise you against opting for any of these options'.

Although (iiib) does not sound natural to all the speakers I have queried, it is a possible utterance. It seems, thus, that although *des*- does not straighforwardly license an NPI, it contributes to create an environment in which NPIs can be licensed. In (iiib), thus, it is probably the sum of the prefix and the subjunctive mood of the propositional argument that licenses the presence of an NPI.

    By contrast, *iN*- prefixed items license NPIs also in those arguments which are not propositional:

(iv)   a. *Juan es (*in)capaz de **nada**.*
         'Juan is unable of anything'.
    b. *La función de juez es (*in)compatible con **ninguna** otra retribución salarial.*
         'The function of judge is incompatible with any other salary remuneration'.
         [http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-carmona-tilda-escandalo-jueces-cobraran-parte-indra-pide-investigacion-20150223152229.html]
    c. *Una marca (*im)batida por **nadie** antes.*
         'A record unbeaten by anyone before'.

(101)   a. *A aquel caballero lo* **des***-terr-aron de   todas las Cortes en las   que estuvo*.

'That knight was exiled from all the Courts in which he was'.

a'. **A aquel caballero lo* **des***-terr-aron de* **ninguna**_{NPI} *de las Cortes en las que*

estuvo.

'*That knight was exileed from none of the Courts in which he was'.

b. *Marta confía en todo el mundo*.

'Marta trusts everybody'.

b'. *Marta **des***-confía de* **nadie**_{NPI}.

'*Marta distrusts nobody'.

5.7.2. Co-occurrence of *iN-* and *des-*

Further evidence on the different nature of these two prefixes is their ability to co-occur. The *DRAE* (2014) lists the adjective *indescifrable* 'indecipherable', in which the negative prefix *iN-* co-appears with the Source prefix *des-*. The *CREA* corpus also contains the following forms, all of them displaying both *iN-* and *des-* prefixation: *indesmentible* 'that cannot be disproved', *indesmentido* 'not disproven', *indescontable* 'that cannot be deducted', *indestejido* 'not unstitched', *indestronable* 'that cannot be dethroned', *indescomponible* 'that cannot be split up', *indesligable* 'that cannot be untied', *indesatable* 'that cannot be unfastened', *indesmontable* 'not detachable', *indescartable* 'that cannot be discarded', and *indescubierto* 'not discovered'.

It could be suggested that the possibility that these two prefixes co-appear in these cases is not due to their being different types of prefixes, but to the fact that *iN-* is not directly stacked on *des-*. As exemplified below, in these constructions *iN-* is added to an adjectival base derived from a verb displaying the prefix *des-*. Therefore, *iN-* applies after adjectival suffixation, and not directly after *des-* prefixation:

(102)   a. [[*des*[*cifr*]]*ar*] >   [[*descifra*]*ble*] >   [*in*[*descifrable*]]

'to decipher'   'decipherable'   'indecipherable'

b. [[*des*[*tron*]]*ar*] >   [[*destrona*]*ble*] >   [*in*[*destronable*]]

'to dethrone'   'that can be dethroned' 'that cannot be dethroned'

c. [[*des*[*lig*]]*ar*] >   [[*desliga*]*ble*] >   [*in*[*desligable*]]

'to untie'   'that can be untied'   'that cannot be untied'

d. [[*des*[*ment*]]*ir*] >   [[*desmenti*]*do*] >   [*in*[*desmentido*]]

'to disprove'   'disproven'   'not disproven'

However, *iN*- cannot co-appear with *iN*- in the same conditions. For instance, the participles of verbs derived from *iN*- prefixed adjectives, as *ilegalizado* 'illegalized' (< *ilegal-izar* < *i-legal*) or *incapacitado* 'incapacitated' (< *incapac-itar* < *in-capaz*), cannot be further prefixed by *iN*-; and neither can the *-ble* adjectives derived from the same deadjectival verbs:

(103)   a. [*i*[*legal*]] >   [[*ilegal*]*izar*] >   [[*ilegaliza*]*do*] >   *[*in*[*ilegalizado*]]

             'illegal'   'illegalize'   'illegalized'

       b. [*in*[*capaz*]] > [[*incapac*]*itar*] >   [[*incapacita*]*do*] >   *[*in*[*incapacitado*]]

             'incapable'   'incapacitate'   'incapacitated'

(104)   a. [*i*[*legal*]] >   [[*ilegal*]*izar*] >   [[*ilegaliza*]*ble*] >   *[*in*[*ilegalizable*]]

             'illegal'   'illegalize'   'that can be illegalized'

       b. [*in*[*capaz*]] > [[*incapac*]*itar*] >   [[*incapacita*]*ble*] >   *[*in*[*incapacitable*]]

             'incapable'   'incapacitate'   'that can be incapacitated'

The inability of *iN*- to co-appear with another instantiation of itself is due to the fact that prefixes of the same type are expected to occupy the same position in the configuration, which forces them to be in complementary distribution.[30, 31] Hence, given the attestation of adjectives containing both *des*- prefixation and *iN*- prefixation, it follows that these two prefixes do not realize the same function and therefore do not occupy the same syntactic position, which is expected from prefixes that do not lexicalize the same features.

5.7.3. Differences in categorial compatibility

That *des*- and *iN*- encode different values and involve a different syntax is also (and mainly) inferable from the fact that the former is extremely productive on verbal derivation, whereas the latter can only give rise to adjectives.

       Due to its inherent directional value, the Source prefix *des*- shows a clear preference for codifying change of place or change of state events. Consequently, *des*-

---

[30] Recall that the Goal prefixes *a*- and *en*- can never co-appear, since they lexicalize the same features and, accordingly, they occupy the same position in the clausal spine (cf. chapter 3, section 3.4.4).

[31] Some learned prefixes allow being iterated: *sistema antiantimisiles* 'anti-antimissile system', *contracontrarrevolución* 'counter-counter-revolution'. The possibility of iterating these prefixes is probably due to the fact that the two instantiations of the same prefix realize different functions and therefore occupy different positions in the spine. I cannot provide a more accurate account for this phenomenon, since it is a topic that exceeds by far the scope of this dissertation.

is mainly involved in the creation of new verbs. However, this prefix can also give rise to adjectives and nouns, although to a much lesser extent. The ability of *des-* to produce verbs but also adjectives and nouns is inferable from the analysis proposed in chapters 3 and 4, according to which *des-* is mainly attached to acategorial roots (√) and, therefore, the categorization of the sequence takes place after the insertion of the prefix. Hence, although the semantics of *des-* fits better in the encoding of dynamic events, this prefix is not restricted to verbal derivation: depending on the projections dominating the set "prefix-root", such a set would arise as a verb (105a), as an adjective (105b), or as a noun (105c):

(105) a.   InitP/ProcP   b.   AP

        Init/Proc   SourceP   A   SourceP

                 Source   GoalP   Source   GoalP

                         Goal   PlaceP   Goal   PlaceP

       des-   Place   √   *des-*   Place   √

        c.   NP

              N   SourceP

                  Source   GoalP

                          Goal   PlaceP

       des-   Place   √
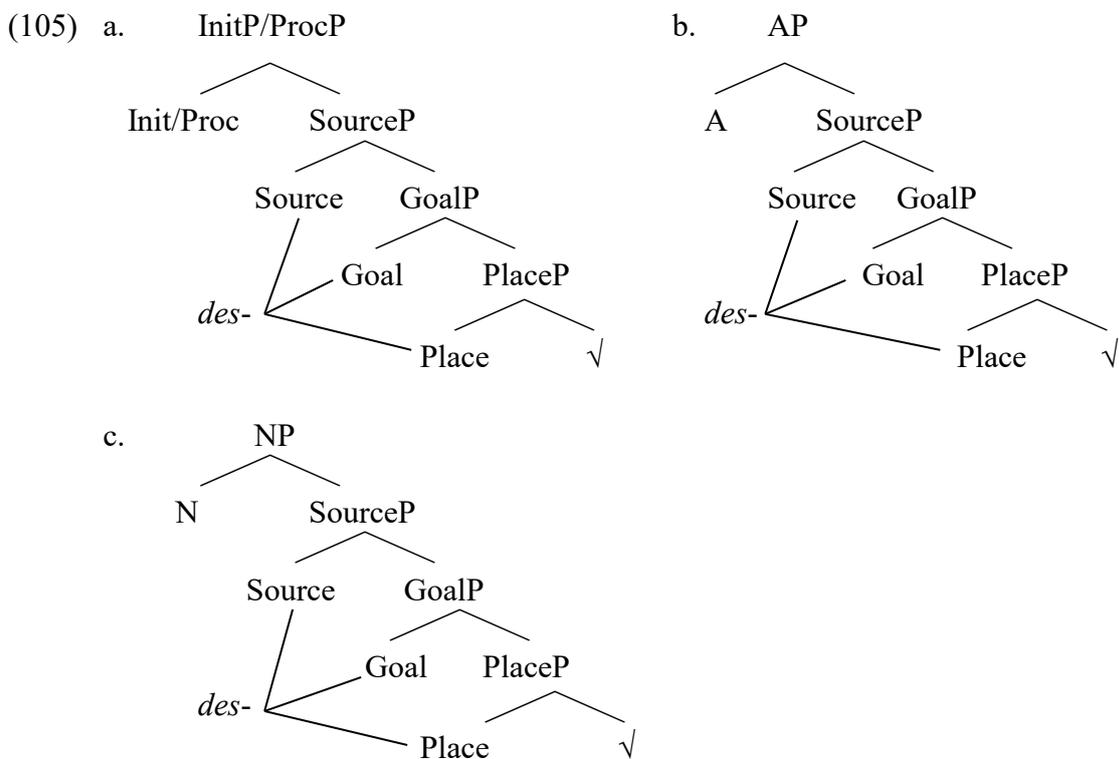
IN-, in turn, can only give rise to adjectives because it contains an A(djectival) feature that prevents its combination with predicates bearing nominal or verbal categorization (see §5.5.3):

(106)

NegP

Neg   QP

Q   AP /*NP/ *InitP/ *ProcP

in-

A   …

The different productivity patterns of *des-* and *iN-* reflect two different attachment sites in the syntactic structure. *Des-* usually enters the structure before categorization takes place, and thus it is part of the inner structure of the predicate (cf. (105)). As for *iN-*, it is usually inserted after adjectival categorization (which conveys underassociation of its A feature), in a position taking scope over the adjectival base (cf. (106)). From this position, *iN-* does not predetermine the inner structure of the base.

The different attachment sites for *iN-* and *des-* are reflected in the position they occupy when they co-appear. In such cases *iN-* is always linearized to the left of *des-*, that is, *iN-* appears in a more external position than *des-* with regard to the root; cf. *indescifrable* 'indecipherable' (see §5.5.2):

(107)   [$_{NegP}$ *in-* Neg [… [$_{AP}$ A *-ble* [… [$_{SourceP}$ Source *des-* […. [$\sqrt{cifr}$-]]]]]]]

5.7.4. Semantic differences

The different meaning of *des-* and *iN-* is pretty clear when comparing change of state verbs containing the former with adjectival predicates containing the latter: change of state verbs displaying *des-* prefixation express departure from a state/place (cf. (108)), whereas *iN-* prefixed adjectives negate a property (cf. (109)):

(108)   a. *El   tren ha   des-carril-ado.*

       The train has from-rail-PTCP

       'The train has derailed'.

   b. *Laura des-corch-ó   la botella.*

       Laura from-cork-PST.3SG   the bottle

       'Laura has uncorked the bottle'.

   c. *He   des-atado   los cordones.*

       Have.1SG   from-tied   the laces

       'I have untied the laces'.

(109)   a. *Jorge es in-fiel*.

       Jorge is NEG-faithful

       'Jorge is unfaithful'.

    b. *Tu   manuscrito   es im-publicable.*

       Your manuscript is NEG-publishable

       'Your manuscript is unpublishable'.

    b. *El   artículo que me   mandaste   está   in-acabado.*

       The article   that DAT.1SG sent   is   NEG-finished

       'The article that you sent to me is unfinished'.

What has led many researchers (Martín García 1995; Varela & Martín García 1999; Montero Curiel 1999; Costa 2008; Rodríguez Rosique 2011) to conclude that *des-* is a negative prefix are not the above cases, in which the Source value of the prefix is easily inferable, but the cases in which this prefix admits being paraphrased as a negator, as in stative verbs (110a) and adjectives (110b, c):

(110)   a. *Me   des-agrada   tu   corte de pelo*.

       I.DAT from-like.3SG   your   haircut

       'I dislike your haircut' (entails 'I do not like your haircut').

    b. *Andrés   es des-cortés   conmigo*.

       Andrés   is from-polite   with me

       'Andrés is rude with me' (entails 'Andrés is not polite with me').

    c. *Carmen   fue   des-honesta*.

       Carnen   was   from-honest

       'Carmen was dishonest' (entails 'Carmen was not honest').

However, and as examined in depth in the chapters devoted to *des-* prefixation (chapters 3 and 4), not even in stative predicates does *des-* behave as a negative operator either; rather, it reverses the scale related to the bases it is adjoined to, and, accordingly, the Source path that *des-* lexicalizes is interpreted as a lower bounded scale by means of which the state/property denoted by the root is understood to be completely absent. Hence, as previously put forward in chapters 3 and 4, the prefix *des-* always lexicalizes a Source path, and its being interpreted as a dynamic source-oriented change of state/place or as a stative lower bounded scale depends on its being under the scope of dynamic projections or under the scope of non-dynamic ones, respectively:

(111)

```
                    XP
                  /    \
                 X      SourceP
                      /    \
                 Source    GoalP
                    \     /    \
                 des- \  Goal   PlaceP
                       \_ \    /    \
                          Place      √
```
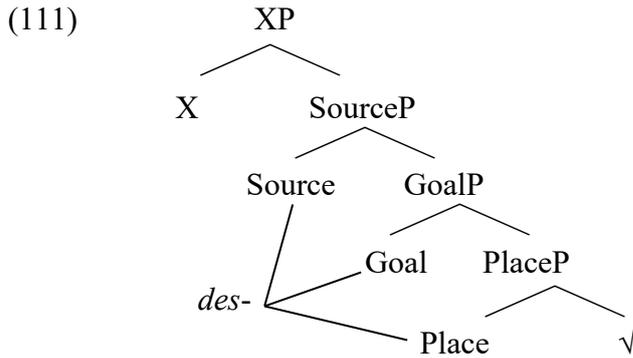
Des- keeps its Source path meaning also in the cases of (110), as shown by the fact that none of these stative predicates instantiate a contradictory reading, but uniquely polar contrary readings. Accordingly, they obey the Law of Contradiction, and therefore the pairs of sentences in (112) cannot be true at the same time. Crucially, however, in these predicates the Law of the Excluded Middle does not hold, and thus the pairs of sentences in (112) can be simultaneously false, as the examples in (113) show:

(112) a. *Tu   corte de pelo   me   agrada.*

      Your haircut   I.DAT   like

      'I like your haircut'.

    a'. *Tu   corte de pelo   me   des-agrada.*

      Your haircut   I.DAT   from-like

      'I dislike your haircut'.

    b. *Andrés   es cortés   conmigo.*

      Andrés   is polite   with me

      'Andrés is polite to me'.

    b'. *Andrés   es des-cortés   conmigo.*

      Andrés   is from-polite   with me

      'Andrés is rude to me'.

    c. *Carmen fue honesta.*

      Carmen was honest

      'Carmen was honest'.

    c'. *Carmen fue des-honesta.*

      Carmen was from-honest

      'Carmen was dishonest'.

(113) a. *Tu   corte de pelo ni   me   agrada   ni   me   des-agrada.*
          Your haircut   NEG   I.DAT   like   NEG   I.DAT from-like
          'Neither do I like your haircut nor I dislike it'.

       b. *Andrés no es   cortés conmigo, pero tampoco   es   des-cortés.*
          Andrés NEG is   polite with me but neither   is   from-polite
          'Andrés is not polite to me, but he is not rude either'.

       c. *Carmen no fue completamente honesta, pero tampoco fue des-honesta.*
          Carmen NEG was completely   honest but   neither was from-honest
          'Carmen was not completely honest, but she was not dishonest either'.

These meanings, which are contrary and —crucially— not contradictory, can be
represented spatially: the non-prefixed item is placed on an extreme of the scale denoted
by its root, and the *des*-prefixed one is placed on the opposite extreme of that scale —
see Horn ([1989] 2001: 37) and *Categories* (6a15-19) for the idea that contrary
opposition invokes a spatial metaphor by means of which polar contraries are taken as
opposite endpoints on a continuum. In between both extremes, there is space for a
middle term that does not correspond to any of the two polar contraries (i.e. the Law of
the Excluded Middle does not apply): I may not like your haircut, but that does not
necessarily mean that I dislike it (113a), as there is a middle space between *like* and
dislike. Seemingly, there is a middle term between *Andrés* being polite or him being
rude (113b); and the fact that *Carmen* is not completely honest does not entail that she
is dishonest (113c). Thus, in these cases the *des-* prefixed item identifies the lower
boundary of the scale related to the root it incorporates, in contrast to its non-prefixed
counterpart, which identifies the upper boundary of the same scale.

(114)

+   −

agradar   *ni agradar ni desagradar*   *desagradar*
like   neither like nor dislike   dislike
cortés   *ni cortés ni descortés*   *descortés*
polite   neither polite nor rude   rude
honesta   *ni honesta ni deshonesta*   *deshonesta*
honest   neither honest nor dishonest   dishonest
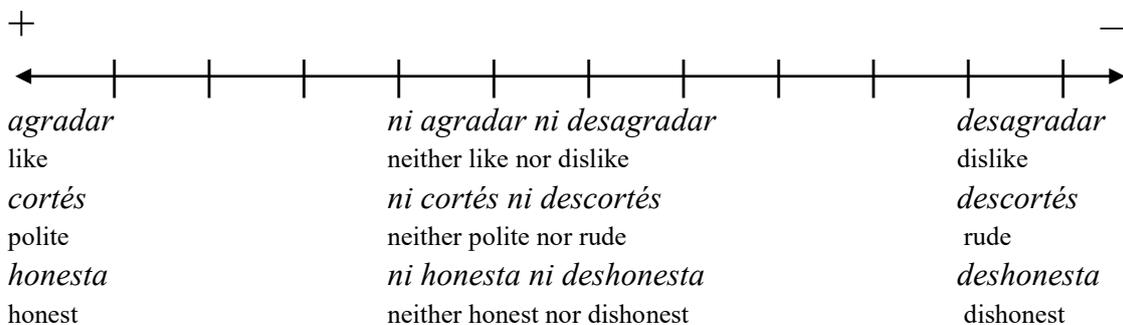
By contrast, *iN*- prefixation can be used to encode contradictory negation. The *iN*-prefixed adjectives illustrated below and their non-prefixed counterparts cannot be simultaneously predicated of the same subject (Law of Contradiction), and neither can they be simultaneously negated of the same subject (Law of the Excluded Middle):

(115) a. *#Tu manuscrito no es publicable, pero tampoco es im-publicable.*
      Your manuscript NEG is publishable but neither is NEG-publishable
      '#Your manuscript is neither publishable nor unpublishable'.

    b. *#El artículo que me mandaste no está completamente acabado,*
      The article that DAT.1sg sent NEG is completely finished
      pero tampoco está in-acabado.
      but neither is NEG-finished
      '#The article that you sent to me is not completely finished, but it is not unfinished either'.

In addition to this basic contradictory meaning, some *iN*-prefixed adjectives (especially those displaying simple adjectival bases) can develop contrary senses in which the Law of Contradiction applies but the Law of the Excluded Middle does not hold and, accordingly, they can be negated together with their non-prefixed counterparts of the same subject:

(116) a. *Luisa no es ni feliz ni in-feliz.*
      Luisa NEG is NEG happy NEG NEG-happy
      'Luisa is neither happy nor unhappy'.

    b. *Su decisión no es moral, pero tampoco es in-moral.*
      His decision NEG is moral but neither is NEG-moral
      'His decision is not moral, but it is not immoral either'.

    c. *Mis consejos no son los más útiles, pero tampoco son in-útiles del todo.*
      My advice.PL NEG are the most useful but neither are NEG-useful completely
      'My advices are not the most useful, but they are not completely useless either'.

This double possibility is typical of negative markers, which depending on their scope can give rise to contradictory (wide scope) or to contrary (narrow scope) opposition (cf. Horn [1989] 2001, De Clercq 2013). Throughout this chapter (and particularly in sections 5.4.2 and 5.6), it has been shown that *iN-* encodes contradictory opposition when it is involved in productive patterns that give rise to transparent, compositional meanings, whereas it usually gives rise to contrary opposition when involved in less productive patterns related to idiosyncratic or lexicalized meanings (a fact that has already been pointed out for English negative prefixes by Horn [1989]2001 and Zimmer 1964).

The basic meaning of *iN-*, as previously argued in section 5.5, is that of negating the adjectival base it is attached to by picking a set of degrees below the standard on the scale that the adjectival base instantiates. Such a set of degrees below the standard might be the complement set of the set of degrees identified by the unprefixed base (which gives rise to contradictory opposition), or a subset thereof that corresponds to the set of degrees placed in the outer end of the scale (which gives rise to contrary opposition). Taking into account all the above mentioned facts, as well as the constraint imposed by this prefix to not combine with nouns and verbs, in section 8.2.3 I have proposed an analysis for *iN-* according to which this prefix expresses negation (Neg), conveys quantification over a scale (Q), and involves adjectival categorization (A), as depicted in (117). The interpretation of *iN-* as a contradictory negator (e.g. *intraducible* 'untranslatable' [not translatable]) or as a contrary one (e.g. *infeliz* 'unhappy, miserable') depends, thus, on the structure underlying the base that *iN-* negates as well as on the degree of lexicalization of the set "prefix-base":

(117)   NegP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
        Neg   QP
         │   ┌────┴────┐
    ┌────┴──   Q   AP
  in-   `──────────┐   ┌──┴──┐
                      A   …
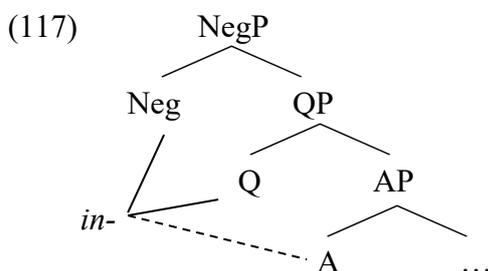
It is worth pointing out, though, that the contrary readings that *iN-* adjectives can display are not as polar as the ones encoded through *des-* prefixation. This difference can be grasped when comparing a *des-* prefixed adjective and an *iN-* prefixed one sharing the same lexical root, as is the case of *des-atento* and *in-atento*. A quick look on

DRAE (2014) and on *Clave* dictionaries makes evident that the meaning of these two (apparently synonymous) adjectives is not the same. According to these dictionaries *desatento* can be predicated of 'someone who turns his/her attention away of what he/she should be attending' (1st sense), and can also be predicated of 'someone who is careless or discourteous' (2nd sense). The first definition corresponds to the stage-level reading that this adjective can have (in a particular moment, someone is deviating his/her attention), and the second definition corresponds to the individual-level use of this adjective (the inherent property of being discourteous or careless). Both meanings are the polar opposites of those displayed by the non-prefixed adjective *atento*: 'that pays attention' (stage-level reading), and 'courteous, solicitous' (individual-level reading). *Atento* and its polar contrary *des-atento* convey opposite directionalities and occupy the extremes of the scale of "attentiveness":

(118) Stage-level uses

    a. *Juan está atento en clase.*

      Juan is$_{ESTAR}$ attentive in class

    b. *Juan está des-atento en clase.*

      Juan is$_{ESTAR}$ distracted in class

(119) Individual-level uses

    a. *Juan es muy atento.*

      Juan is$_{SER}$ very attentive

    b. *Juan es muy des-atento.*

      Juan is$_{SER}$ very discorteous

By contrast, according to the same dictionaries, *inatento* has none of the directional connotations that *desatento* has, as this adjective means nothing but the negation of the positive adjective *atento* 'attentive'. In fact, the adjective *inatento* is mainly used as a neutral term to refer to those children suffering from ADHD (Attention Deficit with Hyperactivity Disorder):

(120) *El niño predominantemente **inatento** es un niño que parece no escuchar cuando se le habla directamente.*

    'The child predominantly inattentive is a child who does not seem to be listening when someone talks directly to him'

    [https://silogia.wordpress.com/2012/10/07/el-nino- predominante-inatento-tdah/]

This adjective allows for more strengthened uses in which a contrary meaning, rather than a contradictory one, arises, allowing for a middle term:

(121)   a. *Juan no está atento en clase, pero tampoco está inatento del todo*.

        'Juan is$_{ESTAR}$ not attentive in class, but he is not completely inattentive either'.

   b. *Juan no es muy atento, pero tampoco es inatento.*

        'Juan is$_{SER}$ not very attentive, but he is not inattentive either'.

In none of these cases, however, is *inatento* perceived as the polar contrary of the non-prefixed *atento*: (122a) does not necessarily entail that *Juan* is deviating his attention; rather, it entails that he is not paying enough attention in class (the stage-level use); and (122b) does not entail that *Juan* is discourteous or careless, but that he is much less solicitous than expected (the individual-level use):

(122)   a. *Juan está muy inatento en clase.*

        'Juan is very inattentive in class'.

   b. *Juan es muy inatento.*

        'Juan is very inattentive'.

In sum, *iN-* negates the (adjectival) base to which it is attached and quantifies over its underlying scale, which can give rise to contradictory opposition (regularly derived *iN-* adjectives) or to contrary opposition (*iN-* adjectives showing a certain degree of lexicalization). By contrast, *des-* does not negate its complement; rather, *des-* places its complement (an acategorial root) in the initial boundary of a path that, depending on the syntactic context, can be interpreted as a change of state/place or as a scale the latter case involving contrary —but, crucially, not contradictory— opposition.

5.8. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that *iN-* is to be analyzed as a negative marker that is specifically used to negate scalar predicates and that imposes an adjectival interpretation to the resulting prefixed form. Support for this analysis has been provided, first, by the constraints attested among *iN-* prefixation, and second, by the properties displayed by *iN-* prefixed adjectives. Moreover, a contrastive examination of the behaviour of *iN-* as

opposed to *des*- has been offered which further supports the view that the former is a negative marker whereas the latter is not.

The constraints existing among *iN*- prefixation have been dealt with in section 5.2. It has been argued that *iN*- imposes a basic requirement to its bases: they can only be categorized as adjectives, which allows acategorial roots as well as adjectival bases to be prefixed by *iN*-, but excludes nominal and verbal bases. As for its combination with adjectival bases, it has been shown to be constrained by certain restrictions, the most fundamental one being the requirement imposed by *iN*- to exclusively combine with gradable (or scalar) adjectives. As a result, from these restrictions, the output of *iN*-prefixation must necessarily be predicative adjectives.

After presenting the main classes of *iN*- prefixed adjectives in section 5.3, I have examined the main syntactic and semantic properties of each class in section 5.4. First, I have inspected their lexical aspect and I have tested if they involve some degree of eventivity, which has allowed me to offer a more fine-grained classification of adjectival passive participles than the standard ones. I have concluded that *iN*- does not perform any change with regard to the lexical aspect and the (non)eventive properties of the adjectival base (contra what had been suggested in the previous literature). After that, I have reviewed which kind of opposition the different types of *iN*- prefixed adjectives encode. It has been argued, in accordance with Zimmer's (1964) and Horn's ([1989] 2001) insights, that contrary opposition is mainly encoded by those constructions showing certain degree of lexicalization, whereas contradictory negation emerges from configurations involving a most transparent semantics.

Taking into account the constraints imposed by *iN*- prefixation as well as the properties displayed by *iN*- prefixed adjectives, in section 5.5 I have put forward an analysis of *iN*- according to which this prefix is to be decomposed into three heads: a Neg(ation) head that accounts for its behaviour as a negative marker, a Q(uantifier) head that accounts for its need to exclusively combine with scalar bases over to which quantify, and an A(djective) head that prevents its combination with nominal and verbal bases and forces the resulting prefixed form to be categorized as an adjective. It has been illustrated that the ability of *iN*- to combine either with acategorial roots or with adjectival bases is easily captured by the Superset Principle, which allows the prefix to leave its A feature underassociated when attached to adjectival bases already identifying this feature, thus making evident the advantages of using the Nanosyntax model when dealing with *iN*- prefixation.

In section 5.6 I have offered a nanosyntactic analysis of the different classes of *iN-* prefixed adjectives that meets their syntactic and semantic properties. It has been shown that the behaviour of each of these classes is to be associated to the internal syntax of the adjectival bases to which *iN-* attaches, and that it mainly depends on the presence or absence of certain functional projections.

Finally, section 5.7 challenges the predominant trend of considering both *iN-* and *des-* as members of the same class of prefixes, namely that of negative prefixes. After offering a contrastive view of the syntactic and semantic properties of each of these prefixes, it is concluded that they are not instantiations of the same syntactic configuration. *IN-*, as demonstrated along the chapter, is a negative marker and is uniquely used to negate the base to which it is affixed. *Des-*, by contrast, is a P element encoding a Source path that, when embedded in a stative configuration, is interpreted as a lower bounded scale picking out the lowest degree (hence the lack) of the property denoted by the root, which is usually translated as the contrary (but crucially not contradictory) negation of such a property.

CHAPTER 6

The Latin predecessors of *des*- and *iN*-

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter Latin Source and negative prefixes are analyzed and compared with their Spanish descendants so as to contribute to a better understanding of the syntax and semantics of the latter. By adopting a diachronic and crosslinguistic perspective, it is shown that the differences existing between Source prefixes in both systems are the result of a typological change occurred in the evolution from Latin to Romance, and that in the step from Latin to Romance the negative prefix *iN*- also experienced a reanalysis. Besides, the discussion provides further evidence of the use of Source-denoting elements to encode negative meaning, although it endeavours to demonstrate that Source prefixes and genuine negative ones hold different structural and semantic properties.

      The chapter is organized as follows. Section 6.2 compares the series of Source prefixes existing in Latin with the Spanish Source prefix *des*-. It is argued that the different behaviour of Source prefixes in both languages is linked to the evolution from a satellite-framed system (Latin) to a verb-framed one (Romance), which is thoroughly explored in section 6.3. After that, section 6.4 deals with the possibility of using Source prefixes in adjectival predicates in Latin, and establishes a contrast between the Latin adjectives containing these prefixes and those headed by the negative prefix *iN*-. Finally, section 6.5 brings into comparison the uses of the negative prefix *iN*- in Latin and Spanish to show that in the evolution from the former to the latter, *iN*- changed its status from a morphological adjunct to a categorizing affix. The main conclusions of the chapter are summarized in section 6.6.

6.2. Latin Source prefixes vs. Spanish *des-*

In Latin, a series of prefixes are available to encode the idea of departure or separation:

(1)   Latin

      a. *ab-* 'away from': *ab-duco* 'to lead away'

      b. *de-* '(down) from': *de-duco* 'to bring away, to bring down'

      c. *dis-* 'from one point in different directions': *di-duco* 'to draw apart'

      d. *ex-* 'out from': *e-duco* 'to draw out'

The basic meaning that all these prefixes share is that of 'direction FROM'. However, they contrast with each other depending on the kind of Source Ground that they involve: *ab-* expresses 'separation from the outside'; *de-* can encode downward detachment (i.e. 'detachment from an upper limit') as well as 'detachment from a boundary';[1] *dis-* expresses 'separation from one point in different directions'; and *ex-* denotes 'separation from the inside'.

    Des- emerged in Castilian Romance as the evolution of *dis-* as well as the evolution of the amalgam *de+ex* (cf. Brea 1976). This new prefix replaced its Latin predecessors in the derivational processes and kept the Source-oriented value that had been common to all of them, although it did not keep the ability to distinguish between different sorts of Grounds: it is basically used to encode departure from a state (see chapter 3), and, when embedded in stative contexts, it is interpreted as a lower bounded scale (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2; and chapter 4). Latin Source prefixes, thus, are conceptually richer than the Spanish prefix *des-*, since the latter is unable to establish the contrasts established by the former.

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[1] According to Brea (1979: 324) and García Hernández (1980: 146), the primitive sense of Latin *de-* was the vertical notion of downward detachment, a notion that, when set in a horizontal perspective, was reanalyzed as 'detachment from a boundary'. Evidence for this diachronic process is provided by García Hernández (1980: 147), who compares the historical evolution of *de-* to that of *sub-*, the ingressive (Goal-oriented) correlative of *de-*. *Sub-*, in addition to its primary vertical sense of 'direction upwards', developed secondary uses where its basic value was that of 'direction to'. Therefore, the Goal-oriented value of *sub-* emerged directly from its primary vertical sense of 'direction upwards' (a process parallel to that undergone by *de-*):

(i)   a. *specio* 'to look'   >   *de-spicio* 'to look down upon'
                                                                      su-spicio 'to look up'
      b. *cedo* 'to go, to move'   >   *de-cedo* 'to go away, to depart'
                                                                      suc-cedo 'to approach, to go near'

The syntactic behaviour of Latin Source prefixes is also different to that attested for Spanish *des*-: the former are widely used as intransitive P elements, that is, as particles not selecting for a complement specifying the Ground. As noticed by Acedo-Matellán (2016a), in these cases the Ground component is to be inferred from the meaning of the prefix. In an example such as that in (2), the Ground from which all of them (*omnes*) depart by flying is interpreted as the departure point of the motion event:

(2)   *De-uolant   omnes.*   (Latin)
        from-fly.3PL   all.NOM.PL
        'All of them fly away'.
        [*Rhet*. Her. 4, 48, 61; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 275 (134)]

Sometimes, these prefixes take a DP complement specifying the Source Ground, in which case they function as transitive P elements. Such is the case in (3), where the ablative marked DP *cara mensa* 'an expensive stand' identifies the Ground from which the Figure *piscis* 'the fish' is removed. This long-distance dependence is known as *p(reverbal)-government* (Lehmann 1983; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2006b):

(3)   <u>*Cara*</u>   *piscis*   *a-verrere*   <u>*mensa*</u>.   (Latin)
        expensive.ABL.F.SG   fish.ACC.PL   away-sweep.INF   stand.ABL.F.SG
        'To sweep away all the fish from an expensive stand'.
        [Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 37; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 131 (146)]

The Spanish Source prefix *des*-, by contrast, cannot function as an intransitive P element and it cannot govern a DP either. The examples included below exemplify this behaviour, since in both of them the Ground component is identified with the root of the verb, which acts as the complement of the prefix. In (4), the place from which the ball (*el balón*) is detached is the path it follows (*vi*-); and in (5) the situation (*la situación*) is asserted to have departed from its prior state of being blocked (*bloq*-).

(4)   *El   portero   des-vi-ó   el balón.*   (Spanish)
        the goalkeeper from-path-PST.3SG   the ball
        'The goalkeeper deflected the ball'.

(5)   *El diálogo   ha permitido des-bloquear   la situación.*   (Spanish)
       the dialogue   has enabled   from-block.INF the situation
       'Dialogue has enabled the situation to be unblocked'.

Notice that nothing prevents *des-* to be added to an already prefixed base: in examples (6) and (7) the complement of *des-* is a root prefixed with the Goal prefixes *a-* and *en-*, respectively. Recall that this possibility has been claimed to be predictable from the analysis I have proposed for *des-* in chapter 3, section 3.4.4, since the inherent structure of Source markers allows them to select Goal markers as complements (cf. Pantcheva 2011). In these cases, the root of the verb is also conceived as a Source Ground: in (6) the house (*la casa*) is asserted to depart from its prior state of having furniture (*muebl-*); and in (7) the trunk (*el cofre*) is removed from inside the earth (*terr-*):

(6)   *Hemos   des-a-muebl-ado   la casa.*   (Spanish)
       have.1PL   from-to-furniture-PTCP   the house
       'We have removed the furniture from the house'.

(7)   *Los   exploradores des-en-terr-aron   el cofre.*   (Spanish)
       the   explorers   from-in-earth-PST.3.PL   the trunk
       'The explorers unearthed the trunk'.

In sum, Latin Source prefixes show a rich semantics that allows them to function as intransitive P elements or to select a long-distance DP, whereas their Spanish descendant, *des-*, shows a less rich semantics and, accordingly, must necessarily combine with a complement specifying the Ground, although that complement cannot be a full DP, but a root or a prefixed base.

    Taking into account all these facts, I propose that Latin Source prefixes lexicalize a Source path that accounts for their Source-oriented directional meaning. Besides, I assume that these prefixes contain an AxPart specifying the shape of the Ground component,[2] as well as a Ground feature that corresponds to the root of the prefix (see Acedo-Matellán 2016a for the idea that Latin prefixes incorporate a root contributing conceptual information). Spanish *des-*, by contrast, lexicalizes a Source

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[2] For axial parts, see Svenonius (2006, 2010).

path but not an AxPart nor the Ground component either, as previously presented in chapter 3:

(8)   a. Syntax of Latin Source prefixes   b. Syntax of Spanish *des-*

```
        SourceP                                      SourceP
        /    \                                       /    \
   Source    GoalP                             Source    GoalP
             /   \                                       /   \
          Goal   PlaceP                               Goal   PlaceP
                 /    \                                      /
              Place   AxPartP                             Place
                      /    \
                  AxPart    √
```
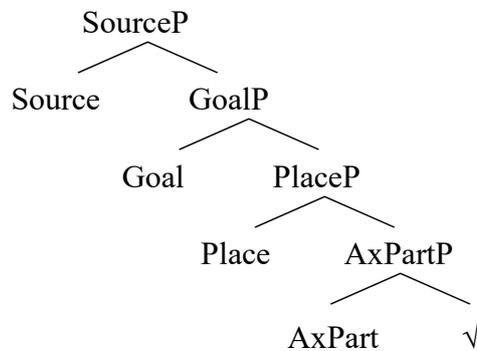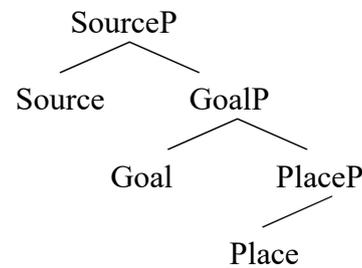
From the analysis that I propose for Latin Source prefixes vs. Spanish *des-* it follows that the former are conceptually richer and syntactically more elaborate: they contain two additional features: AxPart and a Ground feature that corresponds to the root of the prefix. Latin Source prefixes, thus, are expected to be able to function as intransitive particles, since they do not need to select a complement specifying the Ground because they contain a root in their internal syntax that occupies the position of Ground. As for Spanish *des-*, it is underspecified both for AxPart as well as for the Ground component, and accordingly this prefix must necessarily combine with a complement specifying the Ground, and, more specifically, with a root.[3]

Crucially, the ability of Latin Source prefixes to encode a rich meaning that enables them to function as intransitive P elements or to select a DP complement is directly linked to the fact that they are P elements of a satellite-framed language (that is, Latin). On the other hand, the less rich Source path lexicalized by Spanish *des-* is a reflection of the verb-framed nature of this language. As presented in chapter 2, section 2.5.1.2, I follow Real Puigdollers' (2013) syntactic approach to the satellite-/verb-framed typology (Talmy 2000) and assume that the different lexicalization patterns shown by each typological group of languages is due to the fact that PathP defines a phase in satellite-framed languages but not in verb-framed ones. In the following

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[3] From the analysis that I propose for Spanish *des-*, nothing prevents this prefix to govern a DP in addition to a root. However, as will be shown in the next section, the complement of the prefix must necessarily be the verbal root because otherwise this element would not be allowed to be inserted in the structure, since, as presented in chapter 2, section 2.4.3, roots must necessarily appear at the bottom-most position of the phase.

section, I will provide evidence of the satellite-framed nature of Latin vs. the verb-framed nature of Spanish by comparing verbal predicates with Source prefixes in both languages. The basic assumption will be, thus, that the richer Latin Source prefixes lexicalize a non-defective Source path that constitutes a phase, whereas the less syntactically and conceptually elaborate Spanish prefix *des-* lexicalizes a defective Source path that does not constitute a phase.

6.3. From Latin Source prefixes to Spanish *des-*: a typological shift

As presented in section 6.2, Latin Source prefixes show a richer semantics and a more elaborate syntax, whereas their Spanish descendant, *des-*, involves a more bleached semantics and a less complex structure. In this section it will be shown that such a change in the prefixal system is the reflection of a typological shift from a satellite-framed system, Latin, to a verb-framed one, Spanish (and Romance in general; see Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013). In §6.3.1 verbal predicates combined with Source prefixes in Latin will be examined, which will provide further evidence for the non-defective character of Path in this language and, thus, for the classification of Latin as a satellite-framed system (Acedo-Matellán 2016a). After that, the verb-framed nature of Spanish *des-*prefixed verbs will be examined in §6.3.2, where the unavailability of the Co-event conflation reading for these constructions will be explained on the grounds of the non-phasal character of Path in this language. Finally, in §6.3.3, parasynthetic verbs will be addressed in both languages so as to elucidate whether they involve the same syntactic configuration.

6.3.1. Latin verbs headed by a Source prefix showing a satellite-framed pattern

The combination of Source prefixes with activity verbs in Latin gives rise to predicates expressing (physical or abstract) Source-oriented motion occurring in various manners, as illustrated in Table 1.

As pointed out by Talmy (1991, 2000) and examined in depth by Acedo-Matellán (2006b, 2010, 2016a, 2016b) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2009, 2013), Latin (particularly, Archaic and Classical Latin) is a satellite-framed system rich in prefixed verbs in which the prefix encodes a (physical or abstract) Core Schema (that is, the Path or the Path together with the Ground) that structures the event and acts as the

main predicate, and the verb corresponds to a secondary predicate (a concomitant Co-event) that specifies the Manner in which the event is performed (see chapter 2, section 2.5.1 for an introduction to Talmy's typology). Hence, for instance, all the verbs in Table 3 headed by the Source prefix *ex-* 'out' encode various manners of going out of a (physical or abstract) Source Ground; and all the verbs of the table containing the verbal base *curro* 'to run' encode different Source-oriented motion events performed in the same manner: by running.

Table 3. Combination of activity verbs with Source prefixes in Latin

	AB- 'away'	DE- '(down) from'	DIS- 'apart'	EX- 'out'
CURRO **'to run'**	--	*decurro* 'to run down from'	*discurro* 'to run in different directions'	*excurro* 'to run out'
DUCO **'to lead,** **to draw'**	*abduco* 'to take away' 'to carry off'	*deduco* 'to lead away' 'to draw down'	*diduco* 'to draw apart', 'to split'	*educo* 'to draw out'
FLUO **'to flow'**	--	*defluo* 'to flow down from'	*diffluo* 'to flow in different directions' 'to flow away'	*effluo* 'to flow out'
MOVEO **'to move'**	*amoveo* 'to move away' 'to put away' 'to withdraw'	*demoveo* 'to move or turn away'	*dimoveo* 'to move asunder'	*emoveo* 'to move out'
SCRIBO **'to write'**	--	*describo* 'to write/copy from'	*discribo* 'to distribute among'	*exscribo* 'to write out'
VOLO **'to fly'**	*avolo* 'to fly away'	*devolo* 'to fly down' 'to fly away'	--	*evolo* 'to fly out'

A characteristic shared by Latin prefixed verbs displaying a satellite-framed pattern is that, in them, the prefix does not take scope over the verbal base: Latin Source prefixes lexicalize Source paths, but the Source Ground of such a Path is not identified with the verbal predicate that the prefix is attached to (as is the case with *des-* prefixed verbs; see chapter 3, section 3.4; see also section 6.3.2 in this chapter), but rather this Ground is identified by the prefix itself, as presented in (2), repeated below as (9), or by a DP complement, as in (3), repeated here as (10):

(9)   *De-uolant   omnes.*   (Latin)

from-fly.3PL   all.NOM.PL

'All of them fly away'.

[*Rhet*. Her. 4, 48, 61; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 275 (134)]

(10)   <u>*Cara*</u>   *piscis*   *a-verrere*   <u>*mensa*</u>.   (Latin)

expensive.ABL.F.SG   fish.ACC.PL   away-sweep.INF   stand.ABL.F.SG

'To sweep away all the fish from an expensive stand'.

[Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 37; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 131 (146)]

In (9) the prefix *de-* encodes the idea of detachment from a Ground, and the verb *volant* specifies the Manner in which this departure event is performed: by flying. The subject *omnes* 'all of them' is interpreted as the Figure undergoing the detachment event. As illustrated in (11), the prefix acts as an intransitive P element because it does not take a complement specifying the Ground, since its root is merged in the Ground position of the configuration. Besides, the prefix takes narrow scope with respect to the verbal root: the verbal root cannot be merged at the complement of AxPart because that position is already occupied by the root of the prefix. The only position available for the verbal root is, thus, the bottom-most position of the following phase (see chapter 2, section 2.4.3). Given that the Latin prefix *de-* lexicalizes a non-defective Source path that constitutes a phase, the verbal root can be merged on top of it, at the complement of Proc, where it is interpreted as a Co-event (see chapter 2, section 2.5.1.2). As far as the root of the verbal predicate is merged on top of the projections lexicalized by the prefix, the prefix cannot take scope over the root:[4]

---

[4] It is important to bear in mind that, at the moment of Spell-Out, specifiers have been evacuated, which allows lexicalization to proceed (otherwise Spell-Out would crash, given that the material inserted at specifier positions must not be lexicalized by the same exponents lexicalizing syntactic heads. See chapter 3, section 3.4.5.1). Regarding the right linearization of morphemes, I assume that it is obtained at the PF branch. I basically adopt the proposal of Acedo-Matellán (2016a), according to whom weak satellite-framed languages, such as Latin or Slavic, require the elements identifying a vP-internal Path (in our account, elements lexicalizing a GoalP or a SourceP below the subeventive projections) to be necessarily prefixal. As observed by Acedo-Matellán, neither Latin nor Slavic allow complex adjectival resultatives, and they do not allow PP resultatives either. Complex resultative constructions in these weak satellite-framed languages, therefore, are always prefixed, which leads Acedo-Matellán to conclude that in these languages there is a prefixation requirement for complex resultative constructions, a requirement that is satisfied at the PF branch. See chapter 3, section 3.4.5.2, for a detailed account of how linearization proceeds in verb-framed Spanish *des*-prefixed verbs.

(11)   Analysis of (9)

```
                    InitP
                   /    \
            omnes       Init                      ⎫
                       /    \                      ⎬ uolant
                   Init      ProcP                ⎭
                            /     \
                      omnes        Proc
                                  /    \
                             Proc       √UOL
                                       /    \
                                  √UOL        SourceP
                                             /       \
                                        omnes         Source
                                                     /      \
                                               Source        GoalP
                                                            /     \
                                                       omnes       Goal
                                                                  /    \
                                                              Goal      PlaceP                    ⎫
                                                                       /      \                   ⎪
                                                                  omnes        Place              ⎪
                                                                  Figure      /     \             ⎬ de
                                                                         Place        AxPartP     ⎪
                                                                                     /      \     ⎪
                                                                              AxPart         √DE  ⎭
                                                                                            Ground
```
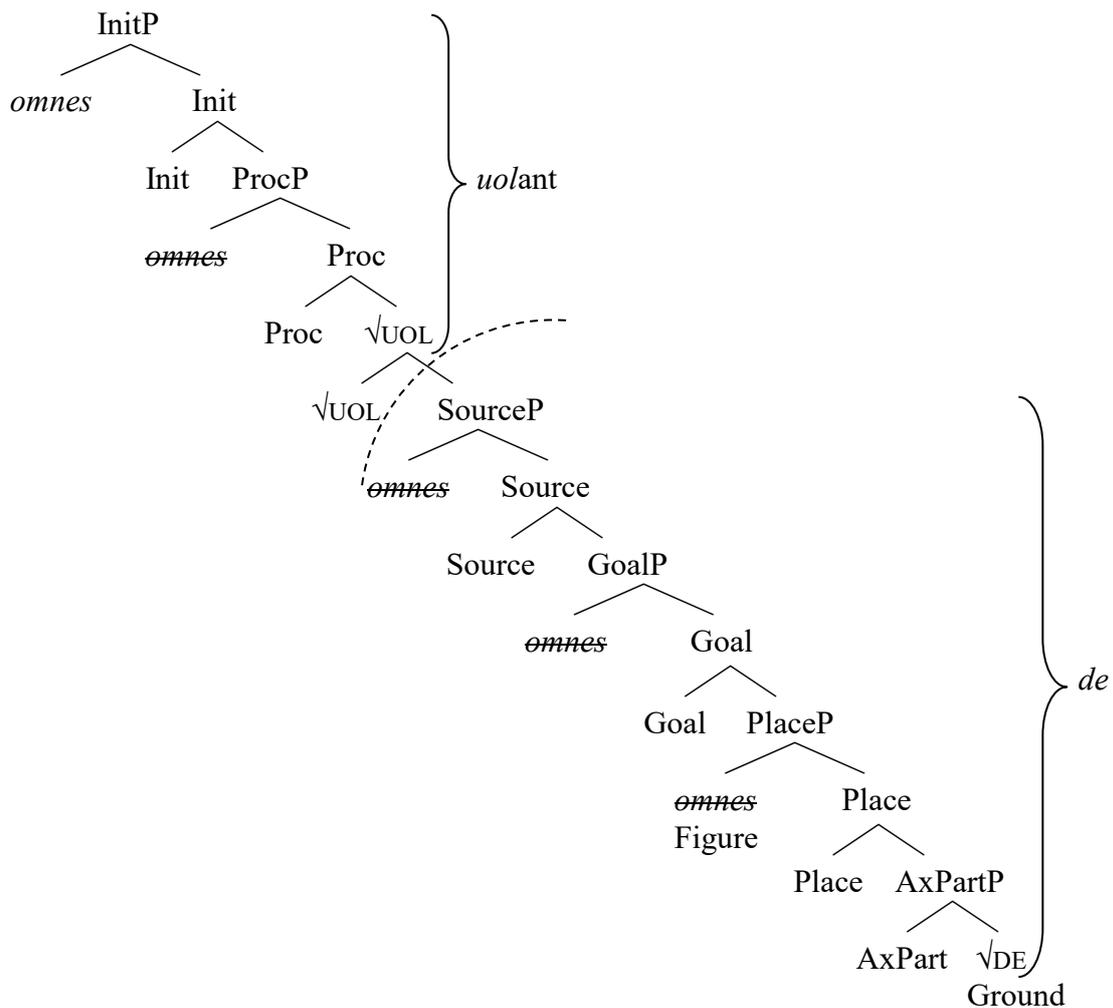
At this point it is crucial to clarify that in this work I am assuming a decomposition of the Path head into Source and Goal, following Pantcheva (2011) (see chapter 2, section 2.5.2). Given that, in the extended projection of PathP, the head that codifies transition is Goal, it follows that it is this head that constitutes a phase in satellite-framed languages. Source, the function of which is to reverse the direction of the transition encoded by Goal, is to be understood as an extension of the phase domain defined by Goal. Therefore, I assume that in satellite-framed languages Goal defines a phase that also encompasses Source when Source is present in the configuration.

In (10), the Source prefix *ab*- p-governs an ablative-marked DP specifying the Source Ground: *cara mensa* 'an expensive stand'. The accusative marked DP *piscis* 'the fish', is interpreted as the Figure detached from the Ground (*cara mensa*). As for the verbal root *verr*- 'to sweep', it is interpreted as a Co-event expressing the Manner in which the detachment of the fish from the stand is performed, that is, by sweeping. As illustrated in (12), I hypothesize that when the prefix governs a DP identifying the Ground, it leaves its Ground component (the root) underassociated:

(12)   Analysis of (10)

```
                    InitP
                  /      \
               PRO       Init
                        /    \
                     Init    ProcP          }
                            /     \         }  verrere
                        piscis    Proc      }
                                 /    \
                              Proc    √VERR ----.
                                     /    \       `-.
                                √VERR    SourceP     \
                                        /      \      |
                                     piscis    Source |
                                             /     \  (dashed)
                                         Source    GoalP
                                                  /     \
                                              piscis    Goal
                                                       /    \
                                                    Goal    PlaceP
                                                           /      \      }
                                                       piscis     Place  }
                                                       Figure    /    \  }  a(b)[ √AB]
                                                             Place  AxPartP }
                                                                   /    \   }
                                                              AxPart  cara mensa
                                                                       Ground
```
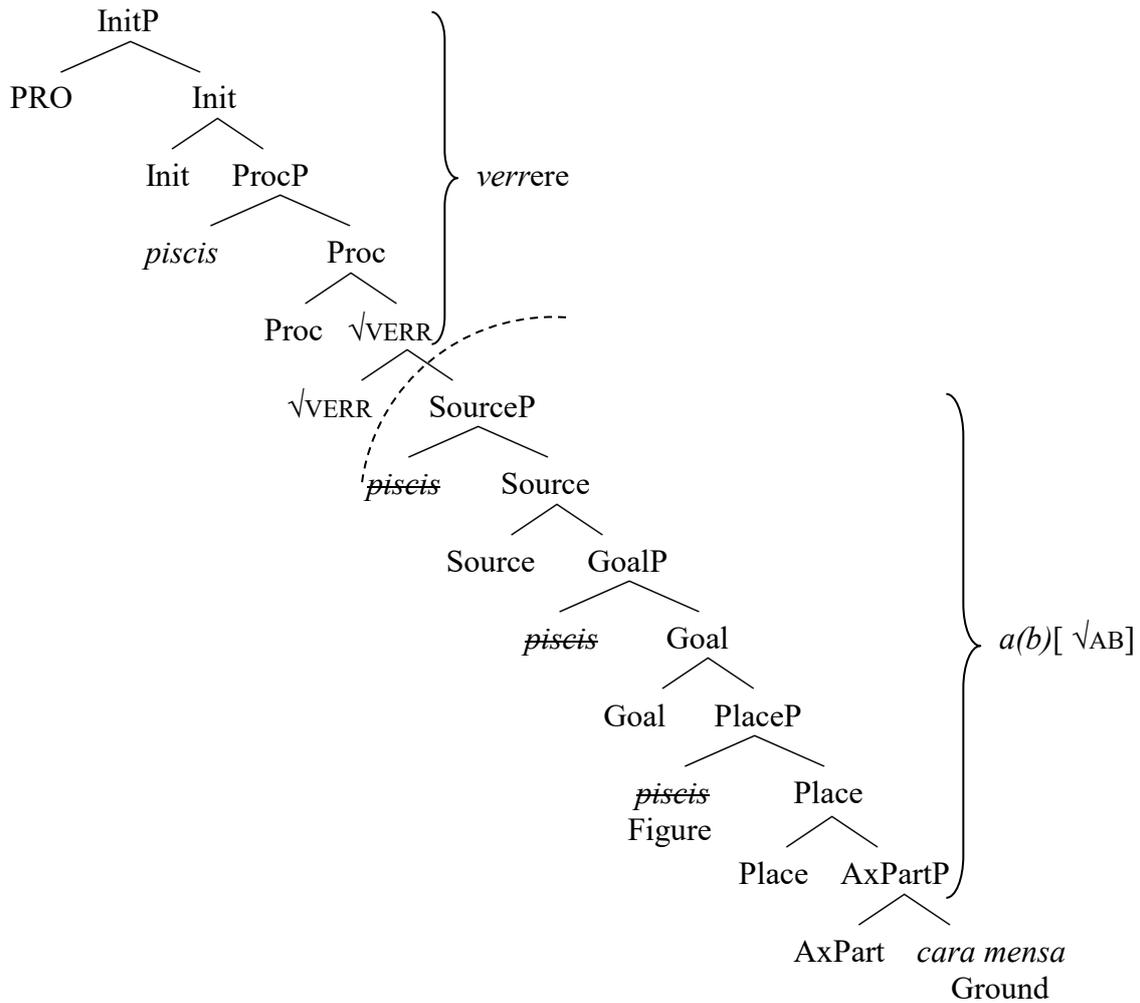
Evidence that the ablative-marked DP *cara mensa* is introduced by the prefix is provided by the fact that the unprefixed verb *verro* 'to sweep' cannot take a complement in the ablative, but it can only select an accusative marked DP specifying the surface on which the sweeping event is performed, like *aedis* 'the house' in (13). Besides, the DP *cara mensa* appears in the ablative case, which is the case selected by the homonymous preposition *ab*.

(13)   *Nil   opust   nobis   ancilla,   nisi   quae [...]*
        Nothing.NOM   is_needed   us.DAT   slave_girl.NOM except who.NOM.F.SG

        aedis   uerrat.
        house.ACC.PL   sweep.SBJV.3SG

        'We need nothing but a slave girl who can sweep the house'.
        [*Plaut*. Merc. 397; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 123 (155c)]

In example (10) the accusative-marked DP *piscis* 'fish' is not a kind of object that the unprefixed verb *verro* 'to sweep' would select, as pointed out by Acedo-Matellán (2016a: 122-123): *verro* is a "surface-contact verb" and, accordingly, it selects an object able to be interpreted as a surface "on which the action portrayed by the verb is exerted". This is the case in the accusative DP *aedis* 'house' in (13), but not in the accusative DP *piscis* 'fish' in (10). This shows a crucial characteristic of satellite-framed languages shared by Latin: the ability of these systems to introduce unselected objects by means of a predicative element other than the verb. As illustrated in the English examples in (14), taken from Mateu (2001b: 83; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2009: 479, (14)) and McIntyre (2004: 525; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 109 (114 b, c)), the verbs *sneeze*, *wrestle* and *work* would not allow the objects *the needle*, *John*, and *her debt*, respectively, but for the presence of the PPs *into the hole*, *to the floor*, and *off*:

(14)   a. *John sneezed the needle *(into the hole).*   (Mateu 2001b)

      b. *Sue wrestled *(John) to the floor.* /

        Sue wrestled John *(to the floor). (McIntyre 2004)

      c. *Sue worked *(her debt) off.* / *Sue worked her debt *(off).* (McIntyre 2004)

In these constructions the Core Schema of the motion event is lexicalized by a PP, and the verbal predicate codifies the Manner in which the motion event takes place: by sneezing (14a), by wrestling (14b) and by working (14c). The same constructions are unavailable in verb-framed systems like Catalan (15) or Spanish (16), which provides evidence of the fact that they are an instantiation of satellite-framedness (see Mateu 2001b; Acedo-Matellán 2016a):

(15)   Catalan

      a. **En John   va   esternudar   l'agulla   en el forat.*

        The John   AUX   sneezed   the needle   in the hole

      b. **La Sue   va lluitar   en John   a terra.*

        The Sue   AUX wrestle   the John   at floor

      c. **La Sue   va   treballar   el   seu   deute fora.*

        The Sue   AUX   work   the   her   debt   off

(16) Spanish

a. * *John*   *estornudó*   *la aguja*   *en el*   *agujero*.

   John   sneezed   the needle   in the   hole

b. * *Sue*   *luchó*   *a Juan*   *al*   *suelo*.

   Sue   wrestled   at John   at_the   floor

c. * *Sue*   *trabajó*   *su deuda*   *fuera*.

   Sue   worked   her debt   off

In Latin, unselected object constructions are attested where the object is licensed by virtue of a prefix (Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2009, 2013; Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016a). Here, I will focus on the cases in which a Source prefix licenses the object, as illustrated below:

(17) *[Serpentes]*   *putamina*   **(ex-)tussiunt.*

   snake.NOM.PL shell.ACC.PL   out-cough.3PL

   'Snakes cough the egg shells out'.

   [Plin. *Nat*. 10, 197; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013: (7)]

(18) *Omne*   *caesum*   *cum*   *melle*   **(ab-)usus eris.*

   all.ACC.N.SG   cheese.ACC.SG with   honey.ABL   away-use.FUT.2SG

   'Till you have used up all the cheese with honey'.

   [Cat. *Agr*. 76, 4; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013: (8)]

The unprefixed verbs *tussio* 'to cough' and *utor* 'to use' are intransitive (in the case of *utor*, it takes ablative and not accusative), as the examples in (19) and (20) show:

(19) *Si quis*   *forte*   *coheredum*   *senior*   *male*   *tussiet.*

   If any.NOM   haply   co-heir.GEN.PL old.COMPAR.NOM badly   cough.SBJV.3SG

   'If haply any of your co-heirs, being advanced in years, should have a dangerous cough'.

   [Hor. *Sta*. 2, 5, 106; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 116 (129d)]

(20) *Minus idoneis*   *equis/*   **equos*   *utebantur.*

   less   idoneous.abl.m.pl   horse.abl.pl   horse.acc.pl use.ipfv.3pl

   'They were using less appropriate horses'.

   [Caes. *Gall*. 7, 65, 5; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2009: 480 (21)]

Therefore, in the constructions in (17) and (18) what licenses the accusative objects are the Source prefixes *ex*- and *ab*-, respectively. In (17), the unselected object *putamina* 'egg shells' is understood as a Figure undergoing a detachment event, the Manner component of such a detachment being 'by means of a cough', which is encoded by the verb *tussio* 'to cough'. In (18), the Source-oriented motion codified by the prefix *ab*- is metaphorically understood as an event of disappearance (Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 123), and the unselected object *caesum cum melle* 'cheese with honey' as the Figure that disappears. The verbal predicate *utor* 'to use' specifies the Manner (or rather the Cause) of such a disappearance event: because of the use. Below I provide an analysis for (17):

(21)   Analysis of (17)

```
                InitP
               /    \
     serpentes       Init
                     /    \              ⎫
                  Init    ProcP          ⎬  tussiunt
                          /    \         ⎭
                   putamina    Proc
                   UNDERGOER   /    \
                            Proc   √TUSS⟋ - - - -
                                  /    \
                            √TUSS ⟋  SourceP
                                    /       \
                              p̶u̶t̶a̶m̶i̶n̶a̶     Source
                                          /       \
                                    Source        GoalP            ⎫
                                                  /     \          |
                                          p̶u̶t̶a̶m̶i̶n̶a̶    Goal        |
                                                      /    \       |
                                                   Goal    PlaceP  ⎬  ex
                                                          /     \  |
                                                  p̶u̶t̶a̶m̶i̶n̶a̶     Place|
                                                  Figure   /    \  |
                                                      Place  AxPartP
                                                            /     \⎭
                                                       AxPart    √EX
                                                                 Ground
```
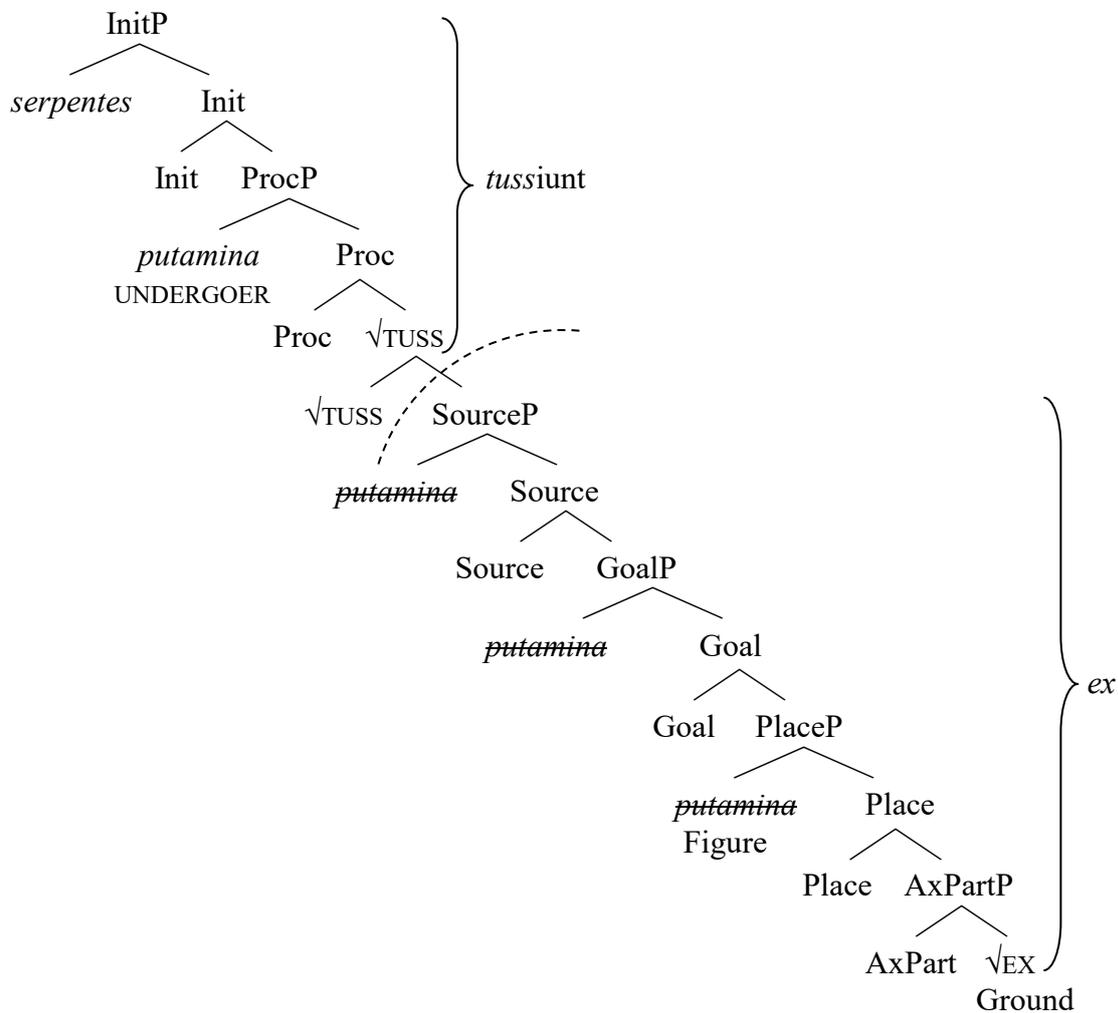
Following Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a) and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), I will assume a small clause approach to unselected objects (Hoekstra 1988; Mateu 2001b) and propose that Latin Source prefixes introduce a secondary predication that licenses the object of the construction as its subject. The unselected complement *putamina* is

first merged at [Spec, Place], where it is interpreted as a static Figure. From that position it moves to [Spec, Goal], where it is understood as a Figure traversing a Goal-oriented path. Then, it moves to [Spec, Source], where it is interpreted as a Figure detaching from a Source Ground. I will further assume that the unselected object moves from [Spec, Source] to [Spec, Proc], where it is identified with an UNDERGOER.

In the following subsections I provide further evidence for the satellite-framed nature of Latin by analyzing other types of predicates headed by Source prefixes.

6.3.1.1. Events of denial

In Latin, the combination of the Source prefix *ab-* with speech verbs gives rise to predicates encoding ways of denying. In them, the negative meaning codified by the prefix does not take scope over the base verb, but over the object it selects, a fact already noticed by García Hernández (1980: 130) and Acedo-Matellán (2016a: 131-132):

(22)   *[Eam]   consanguineam   esse   ab-dicant.*
       her.ACC   consanguineous.ACC   be.INF   away-proclaim.3PL
       'They proclaim her not to share the same blood.'
       [*Pacuv.* Trag. *55*; *apud.* Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 131 (177)]

(23)   *In iure   ab-iurant   pecuniam.*
       In court.abl   away-swear.3pl   money.acc
       'In court they deny by oath that they have debts.'
       [*Plaut.* Rud. *14*; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 131 (179)

If we take the case of *abdico* 'to deny by proclamation' in (22), the negative meaning codified by *ab* does not take scope over the base verb *dico* 'to proclaim': the act of proclaiming is not negated, but it is understood to take place. What is negated is the propositional object *eam consanguineam esse* 'her to share the same blood'. And the same holds for *abiuro* 'to deny on oath' in (23), where the swearing event codified by the verbal predicate *iuro* is understood to take place, and what is negated is the object *pecuniam* 'money'.

The Latin Source prefixes *de*- '(down) from' and *dis*- 'apart' can also codify a similar value when combined with speech verbs (see García-Hernández 1980: 149 and 155):

(24)   *Plura*   *de Jugurtha*   *scribere*   *de-hortatur*   *me*
       more.acc.pl   of Jugurtha.abl   write.inf from-encourage.3sg   me.acc
       fortuna   *mea*.
       fortune.nom   mine.nom
       'My fortune exhorts me not to write further concerning Jugurtha'.
       [Perseus: *Sall*. J. 24, 4]

(25)   *tamen*   *adiuvari*   *exercitatione* *non*   *dif-fitentur*.
       nevertheless   help.inf   practice.abl   not   apart-confess.3pl
       'Nevertheless they do not deny that practice helps'.
       Perseus' translation: 'though they admit that it can be developed by practice'.
       [Perseus: *Quint*. Inst. 2 17.5]

In (24) *dehortatur* does not mean 'not to exhort', but 'to exhort not to do something'. Again, the prefix takes narrow scope with respect to the event expressed by the verb. The example in (25) is especially interesting because it combines propositional negation by *non* with lexical negation encoded through the Source prefix *dis*-. Given that two negations cancel one another and produce an affirmative, the translation of *non diffitentur* that provides *Perseus* is an affirmative predicate: 'they admit', instead of 'they do not deny'. This provides evidence of the fact that in this particular context the Source prefix is understood as a negation.

All these negative predicates show the satellite-framed strategy (see Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 131-132 concerning *ab*-verbs of denial): in them the prefix codifies the Core Schema (interpreted as a denial event) and acts as the main predicate, and the base verb corresponds to a Co-event specifying the Manner of the denial event:

(26)   a. *abdico*: 'to deny [*ab*] by proclamation [*dico*]'
       b. *abiuro*: 'to deny [*ab*] by oath [*iuro*]'
       c. *dehortor*: 'to impede [*de*] by exhorting [*hortor*]'
       d. *diffiteor* : 'to deny [*dis*] by confession [*fateor*]'

Accordingly, I analyze a sentence such as that in (23) as represented in (27). Since in satellite-framed Latin Goal defines a phase that also encompasses Source, the root of the verbal predicate can be merged on top of SourceP. Accordingly, the prefix cannot take scope over the root, which accounts for the fact that in these cases the prefix negates the object of the verb and not the verb root (see Acedo-Matellán 2016a for an alternative account that also derives this scopal effect):

(27)   Analysis of (23)

```
                InitP
              /      \
           pro        Init
                     /     \
                  Init      ProcP              }
                          /      \              }  iurant
                    pecuniam      Proc          }
                               /      \         }
                            Proc      √IUR      }
                                     /    \ - - - - -
                                  √IUR  '  SourceP
                                       /      \
                                 pecuniam      Source
                                             /       \
                                        Source        GoalP
                                                    /       \
                                              pecuniam       Goal
                                                           /      \
                                                        Goal       PlaceP          }
                                                                 /      \          }
                                                           pecuniam      Place     }
                                                            Figure      /    \     }  ab
                                                                    Place   AxPartP }
                                                                          /      \  }
                                                                     AxPart       √AB }
                                                                               Ground
```
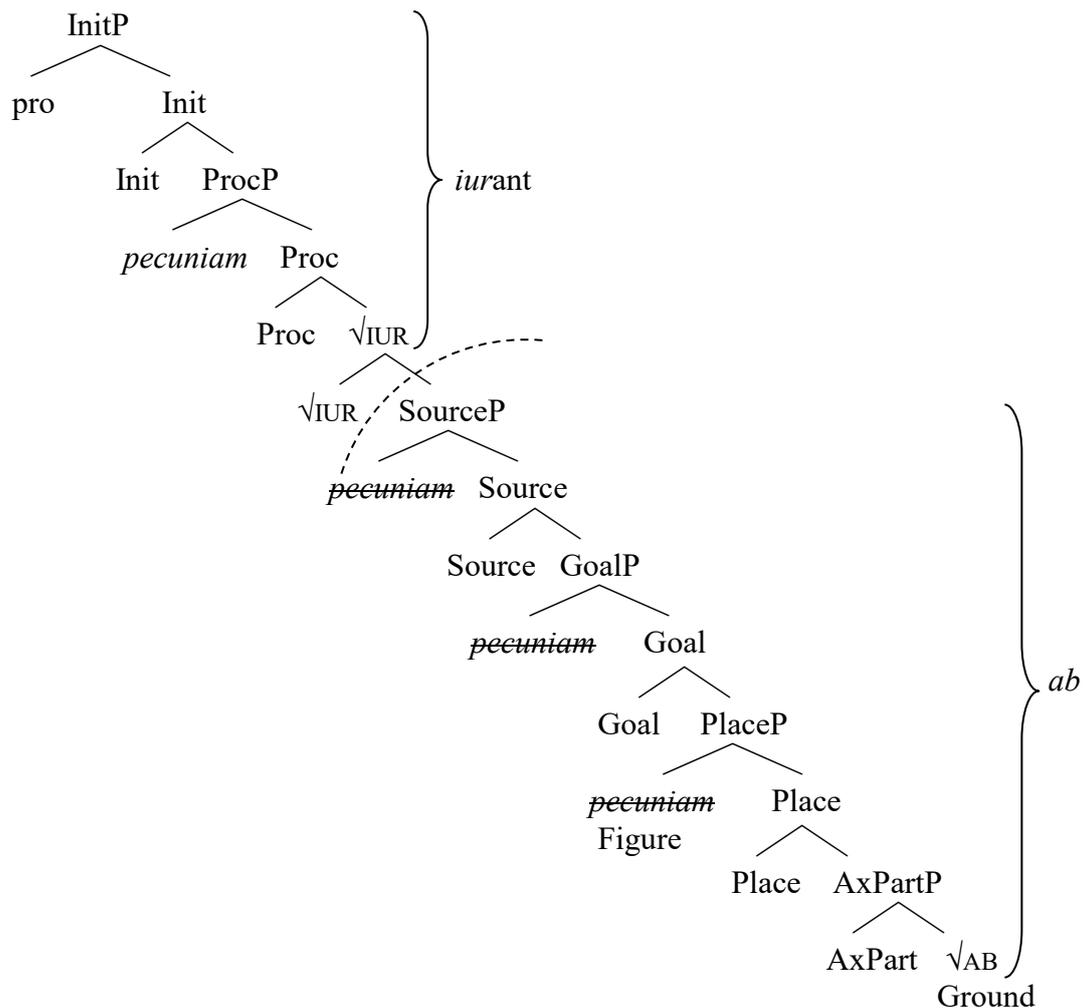
As presented in chapter 2, section 2.5.3, Source-path-denoting elements can be exapted to encode negation because a Source path is negatively oriented towards a location not in the Ground. I hypothesize that what forces Latin Source prefixes not to be interpreted in their directional meaning but only in their negative dimension when combined with speech verbs is the conceptual content of the elements with which it is syntactically combined: it is due to the meaning of the root of the verb (which c-commands the projections lexicalized by the prefix) and to the kind of object that the prefix introduces.

The root of a speech verb does not encode a Manner of motion, but a Manner of speaking; and the object, i.e., the Figure, corresponds to an abstract entity: an utterance. In fact, a sentence as the one in (23), analyzed in (27) and repeated below as (28), encodes the disappearance of the direct object *pecuniam* 'debts' by means of a swearing event, an event of disappearance that is metaphorically interpreted as one of negation, since making the debts disappear involves the debts not to be there.

(28) *In iure   ab-iurant   pecuniam*.
       In court.abl   away-swear.3pl   money.acc
       'In court they deny by oath that they have debts.'
       [*Plaut.* Rud. *14*; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 131 (179)

6.3.1.2. Pseudoreversatives

As presented in chapter 3, the most productive use of the Spanish Source prefix *des-* (see also Catalan *des-*) is the reversative one, that is, the addition of this prefix to the root of a verbal predicate in order to encode the opposite event of that encoded by the unprefixed verb (e.g. *des-atar* 'to untie', cf. *atar* 'to tie'). In these cases, the prefix takes scope over the verbal root, which is configurationally interpreted as a Source Ground (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1).[5] As I will argue in section 6.3.2.2, I take this sort of constructions as an instantiation of verb-framedness.

In Latin, some verbs with Source prefixes are attested which seem to convey a reversative meaning (see García-Hernández 1980 for more examples):

(29) *dedisco* 'to unlearn, to forget' (*disco* 'to learn'), *decresco* 'to grow less, to decrease' (*cresco* 'to grow'), *destruo* 'to tear down' (*struo* 'to arrange'), *discingo* 'to ungird' (*cingo* 'to go around in a circle, to gird'), *disiungo* 'to unyoke' (*iungo* 'to join'), *dissuo* 'to rip open, to unstitch' (*suo* 'to sew, to stitch'), *expungo* 'to strike out, to erase' (*pungo* 'to prick, to puncture'), *explanto* 'to root out' (*planto* 'to set', 'to plant'), *explico* 'to unfold' (*plico* 'to fold').

---

[5] Hence, for example, a sentence such as *desatar los zapatos* 'to untie the shoes' in Spanish can be paraphrased as "sacar los zapatos de atados", that is, 'to remove the shoes from its previous state of being tied'. This Source-oriented transition event is understood as the very opposite of the one codified by the unprefixed *atar* 'to tie', which gives rise to the reversative entailment.

Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a) notices that these constructions are not canonical reversatives, but that they constitute an example of what McIntyre (2002) calls *pseudoreversatives*. McIntyre offers the following list of German particle-verbs to exemplify what pseudoreversatives are:

(30)   a. *auseinander-bauen*, lit.: apart-build, 'dismantle'   (German)

b. *auseinander-montieren*, lit.: apart-construct, 'dismantle'

c. *aus-parken*, lit.: out-park, 'drive (a car) out of a parking space'

d. *aus-packen*, lit.: out-pack, 'unpack (e.g. clothes)'

e. *los-binden*, lit. away/free tie, 'untie (e.g. a horse)'

f. *ab-schwellen*, lit.: swell down, 'become less swollen'

e. *weg-erfinden*, lit.: away-invent, 'uninvent'

[McIntyre 2002: 114 (18), (19)]

What unifies all these German particle-verbs is that in them the addition of a Source particle to a Goal-oriented verb cancels the result implied by the base verb and gives rise to the opposite result. Acedo-Matellán (2016a: 154-155) argues that pseudoreversatives are cases of satellite-framedness: the Source-oriented particle codifies the Core Schema, and the verb specifies the nature of the process. Once again, thus, what acts as the main predicate of the construction is not the verb, but the particle, which imposes its own result to the event.

Moreover, differently from canonical reversative prefixes such as English *un-* and Spanish *des-*, in German and Latin, a multiplicity of particles and prefixes can be used to build a pseudoreversative construction. In them, thus, the spatial meaning of these P elements is preserved, and "the reversative interpretation is a secondary effect derived from a clash between the semantics of the prefix and the semantics of the verb" (Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 156-157).[6] Therefore, if we take the verbs from the list in (29) prefixed with *de-*, we can see that the vertical notion 'from up to down' is still recognizable in some of them: *decresco* means 'to grow less', *destruo* is 'to tear down', and in dedisco 'to forget' the idea of detachment is also implicit; the pseudoreversative verbs prefixed with *dis-* convey the notion of 'motion apart' and 'separation': *dissuo* is

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[6] In fact, the particle used to create pseudoreversatives in German are quite similar to Latin Source prefixes: German *auseinander* holds a meaning similar to that of Latin *dis-* 'apart', *aus-* seems to be the German counterpart of Latin *ex-* 'out', *abs-* entails a downward meaning that makes it close to Latin *de-* '(down) from', and *los-* and *weg-* seem to encode the same meaning as Latin *ab-*: 'away'.

'to rip open', and *disiungo* 'to separate' (cf. *abiungo* 'to loose from harness'); as for those pseudoreversatives involving the prefix *ex*-, the idea of exit from an enclosure or extraction is also latent: *explanto* means 'to root out', *expungo* 'to prick out, to erase' also entails the meaning of extraction, and the same holds for *explico* 'to unfold', which can be contraposed to the *in*- prefixed verb *implico* 'to infold'. In fact, the possibility of attaching other prefixes to the same base verbs of (29) further supports the view that in pseudoreversatives the Source prefix is not used as a mere reversative operator, but that it keeps its topological properties and establishes contrasts with other spatial prefixes:

(31)   a. *de-cresco* 'to grow less' vs. *ac-cresco* 'to increase'

b. *dis-iungo* 'to unyoke' vs. *con-iungo* 'to fasten together, to join'

c. *ex-plico* 'to unfold' vs *im-plico* 'to infold' vs. *dis-plico* 'to scatter' vs. *com-plico* 'to fold together'

Following the line of thought of Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a), I assume that pseudoreversatives are an example of the satellite-framed nature of Latin, and propose that a pseudoreversative predicate such as *dissuo* 'to rip open, to unstitch' involves the syntactic configuration represented below:

(32)   Analysis of *dissuo* 'to rip open', 'to unstitch'
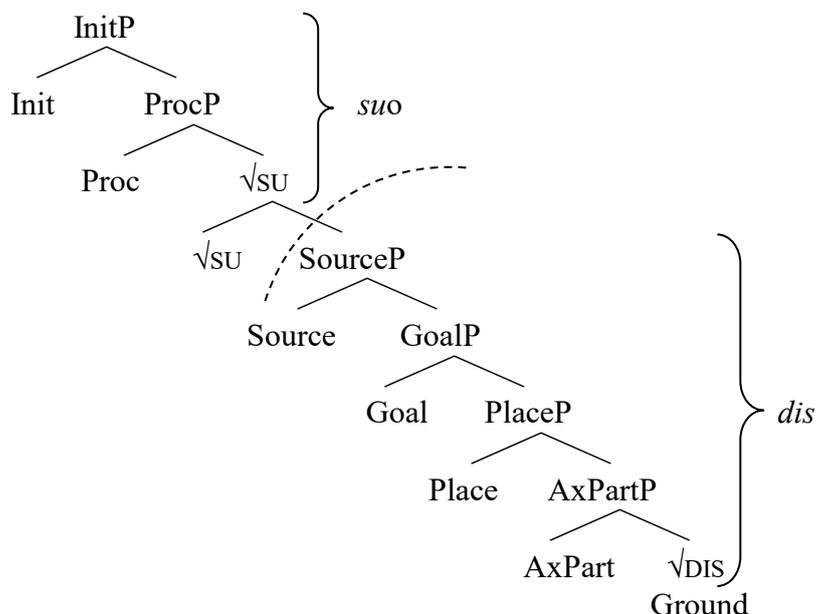
The prefix *dis*-, thus, is assumed to lexicalize the path projections Source and Goal, the Place projection, AxPart and also the Ground position (occupied by the root of the prefix), so that it identifies both the Path and the Ground (the Core Schema) and

imposes its own result (that of being 'apart') to the verbal predicate *suo*. Since the Source path identified by this prefix is non-defective, Goal defines a phase that also encompasses Source, and therefore the verbal root can be merged on top of Source, at the complement of Proc, where it receives the interpretation of a Co-event. The prefix, as in the other satellite-framed constructions, does not take scope over the verbal root.

6.3.1.3. Stative predicates

As extensively studied by Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a) (see also Van der Heyde 1934; García Hernández 1980; Pinkster 1983; Haverling 2000; Romagno 2003; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013), verbal prefixation in Latin usually induces telicity. This is especially obvious when the addition of a prefix turns a simple activity into a telic transition. Consider the following example, where the simple verb *fluo* 'to flow' functions as an atelic predicate, as proven by the fact that it licenses a durative adverbial such as *diu* 'for a long time':

(33)   *Diu*   *lacrimae*   *fluxere*   *per*   *ora.*
       for_long   tears.NOM   flow.PRF.3PL   through   face.ACC
       'Tears flowed down her face for a long time'.
       [Ov. *Am.* 1, 7, 49; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 104 (100)]

By contrast, the prefixed predicate *defluo* 'flow down/away', with the Source prefix *de-* identifying the Core Schema ('down/away') and the verb *fluo* specifying a Manner Co-event ('by flowing'), is necessarily telic, as evidenced by the presence of the expression *extemplo* 'immediately, suddenly':

(34)   *Extemplo*   *tristi*   *medicamine*   *tactae*
       suddenly   harsh.ABL   drug.ABL   touch.PTCP.PASS.F.NOM.PL
       de-fluxere   *comae.*
       down- flow.PRF.3PL   hair.NOM
       'Her hair, touched by the horrible venom, suddenly falls off [lit. 'flows down/away'].'
       [Ov. Met. 6, 134; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2016a: 267 (46)]

One of the main characteristics of Latin Source prefixes (which is shared by the other Latin directional prefixes, with which the present study is not concerned) is, thus, that of giving rise to telic events denoting a transition out of atelic verbs denoting an activity. However, when Source prefixes are adjoined to the stative verb *sum* 'to be', the resulting predicate cannot be argued to be a telic event of change, but a static (and, hence, atelic) predicate expressing location away from a Source:

(35)   *Argentum   de-erat.*
       silver.nom   away-be.ipfv
       'Money was lacking'.
       [Ter. *Phorm*. 298; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 255 (5)]

(36)   *Senex   ab-est.*
       old_man.NOM off-is
       'The old man is missing.'
       [Plaut. *Cas*. 882, *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 255 (6)]

If Latin Source prefixes give rise to telic events because they lexicalize a Source path structure, then the prefixation of *sum*-verbs is unexpected because in these constructions there is no transition and, hence, no path seems to be involved. However, I hypothesize that in these cases the Source path lexicalized by the prefix, structurally dominated by a stative subevent, does not provide a telos to a process but a boundary to a state. Particularly, I propose that *sum* verbs headed by Source prefixes are interpreted as stage-level predicates and that, thus, the idea of change is still latent (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1). As illustrated in (37), the *ab*- stative verb *absum* 'to be away from, to be absent' does not express an inherent property of the subject, but a transitory state. The stage-level nature of this predicate is supported by its licensing the temporal modifier *paulisper* 'for a while', which signals that the state encoded by the verb is not temporarily persistent:

(37)   *Ab-esse   a   domo   paulisper   maluit.*
       Away-be.INF away home.ABL   for_a_while prefer.PRF.3SG
       'He preferred to be away from home for a while'.
       [Cic. *Verr*. 4, 39; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 256 (9b)]

For the stage-level verb *absum* 'to be away from, to be absent' I propose a syntactic analysis as the one detailed below:

(38)   InitP   ⇒ *sum*

```
(38)    InitP    ⇒ sum
         /\
      Init   SourceP
              /\
         Source  GoalP
                  /\
               Goal  PlaceP      ⎫
                      /\         ⎬  ab
                  Place  AxPartP ⎭
                          /\
                     AxPart  √AB
```
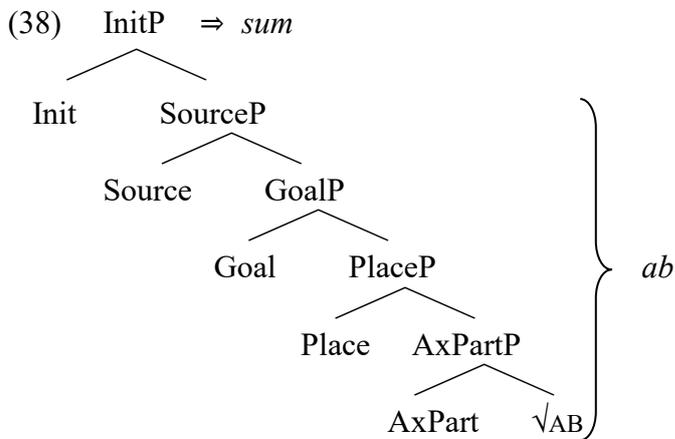
Sum is the Spell-Out of the functional projection InitP, a stative projection that, not merging with a ProcP, is not interpreted as a causative subevent, but just as a state. *Ab*, which spells out Source, Goal, Place, AxPart and Compl-AxPart, does not take scope over the stative verb, but it sits at its complement position, providing a boundary to the stative subevent.

Acedo-Matellán (2010: 98, 2016a: 85-86) uses the above examples to suggest that Latin prefixes are not inherently directional, but that their being interpreted as such is due to the syntactic context where they are embedded. Therefore, when these prefixes are embedded in a stative configuration, then they are not interpreted as directional but as locative. However, he also establishes that in Latin and other satellite-framed languages (e.g. Slavic or Ancient Greek), a vP-internal Path must necessarily be prefixed onto the verbal predicate, which accounts for the inability of these languages, called *weak satellite-framed* by the author, to feature complex adjectival resultative construction nor PP resultatives either (see footnote 4 in this chapter). Therefore, prefixation in Latin is an indicator of the presence of a vP-internal Path in the syntactic configuration. Under this view, thus, prefixed *sum* constructions would also involve the syntactic presence of a vP-internal Path. To solve this puzzle, Acedo-Matellán (2016a: 204, footnote 13) proposes that a vP-internal Place could also be marked as prefixal in Latin, just like Path is. However, this would predict that vP-internal Places must always be prefixed, contrary to fact, as he himself exemplifies with the following examples:

(39) a. *Fuit   certe   contentio   in senatu.*

        be.PRF.3SG certainly struggle.NOM.SG   in senate.ABL

        'There was in fact a struggle in the senate'.

     b. *Nummi   octingenti   aurei   in marsuppio in-fuerunt.*

        coin.NOM.PL eight_hundred.NOM.PL golden.NOM.PL in purse.ABL   in-be.PRF.3PL

        'Eight hundred golden coins were there in a purse'.

        [Liv. 10, 24, 4 and Plaut. *Rud*. 1313; *apud*. Acedo-Matellán 2010: 255 (7)]

Therefore, vP-internal Places cannot be claimed to be always prefixed in Latin, whereas, as extensively shown by Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a), vP-internal Paths always appear prefixed in this language. Besides, the alternation exhibited by *in* is not shared by the Source-oriented prepositional prefix *ab*, which must necessarily appear attached to the verb *sum* even if it governs a DP complement, as illustrated by Acedo-Matellán (2010: 256).

(40) **Ab/ urbe   sum*.

      away city.ABL be.1SG

      'I'm away from the city'. (Intended)

      [Acedo-Matellán 2010: 256 (7a)]

If, as proposed by Acedo-Matellán (2010, 2016a), Latin prepositional prefixes (and, among them, Source prefixes) are not directional and therefore do not necessarily involve Path, these facts remain unexplained. However, the analysis of Latin Source prefixes proposed in this chapter as elements lexicalizing a Source path provides a plausible solution to all the puzzles observed by Acedo-Matellán (2010) in the combination of Latin Source prefixes with stative *sum*-verbs: these constructions involve a vP-internal Path that, being governed by a stative subevent and not by an eventive one, does not give rise to a dynamic telic transition, but to a delimited (stage-level) state.

6.3.2. Spanish *des*- prefixed verbs as verb-framed constructions

Spanish verbs featuring the Source prefix *des*- never show a satellite-framed pattern. As extensively illustrated in chapter 3, the different types of *des*-prefixed verbs always

involve a verbal root configurationally interpreted as a Source Ground, thus disallowing the interpretation of this element as a Co-event. I will re-examine the different types of *des*-prefixed verbs analyzed in chapter 3 to show that they are, in fact, verb-framed constructions.

6.3.2.1. Des- *parasynthetic verbs*

With regard to the so-called parasynthetic verbs (i.e., those verbs the root of which can be independently realized as a noun or as an adjective, e.g. *des-vi-ar* 'to detach from the path', cf. *via* 'path'; or *des-brav-ar* 'to stop being brave', cf. *bravo* 'brave'), I have shown that the ones headed by *des*- correspond to Source-oriented change of state events encoding the departure from the state identified by the root, be that state one of location (41a), one of possession (41b), one of property identification (41c), or one of integrity (41d) (see chapter 3, section 3.4.2):

(41)   a. *des-tron-ar* 'to detach from the throne' (*trono* 'throne')   (ablative/location)

b. *des-pioj-ar* 'to free from lice' (*piojo* 'louse')   (privative/locatum)

c. *des-acerb-ar* 'to make less acerbic' (*acerbo* 'acerbic')   (decreasing property)

d. *des-pedaz-ar* 'to tear apart' (*pedazo* 'piece')   (destruction)

Accordingly, I have proposed that the different subclasses of *des*-parasynthetic verbs lexicalize the same syntactic configuration, which is the one represented in (42).

(42)   Syntactic structure of *des*-parasynthetic verbs
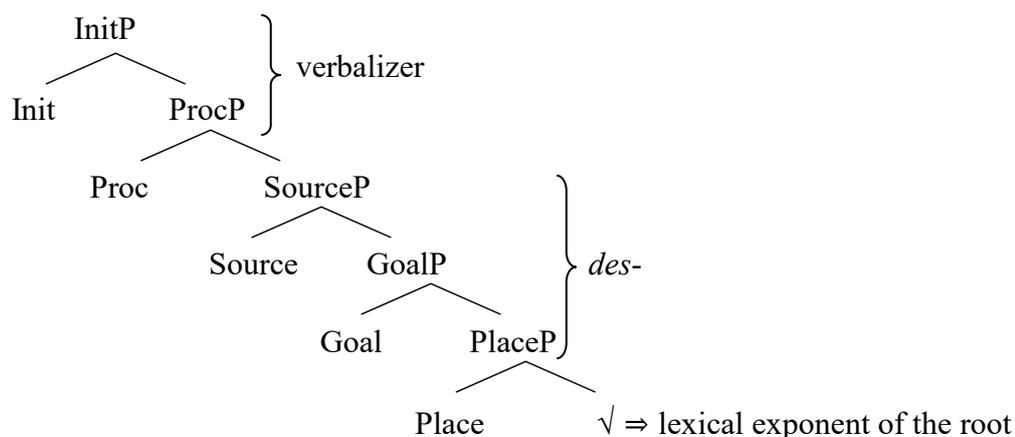
As presented in section 6.2, the Spanish Source prefix *des*- lexicalizes a defective Source path that does not constitute a phase, which prevents the Co-event conflation

pattern typical of satellite-framed languages: if the Source path that *des*- encodes does not constitute a phase, then the root of the verbal predicate cannot be merged on top of it, at the complement of Proc, and accordingly it cannot be interpreted as a Co-event. The root, thus, can only appear at the bottom-most position of the phase, at the complement of Place, where it is interpreted as a Source Ground (particularly, as the initial state of a change of state event).

In Gibert Sotelo (2017) the observation is made that, although it could be argued that parasynthetic verbs are satellite-framed constructions because the path component they involve is expressed through a (semantically bleached) directional prefix (Kopecka 2006; Acedo-Matellán 2006b), parasynthetic verbs are typical from systems tending to a verb-framed pattern, as is the case of Romance languages. In fact, and as observed by Crocco Galèas & Iacobini (1993), the parasynthetic procedure was not the main way to build prefixed verbs in Archaic and Classical Latin (a satellite framed system); rather, its productivity started in Late Latin. Moreover, the step from Ancient Greek (a satellite-framed system) to Modern Greek (a hybrid system that tends towards a verb-framed pattern; see Papafragou et al. 2006), also triggered the spread of parasynthetic verbs (see Papanastassiou 2011; Efthymiou 2015). Therefore, to assume that parasynthetic constructions display a satellite-framed pattern seems to be in contradiction with the empirical fact that this kind of construction is mainly attested in verb-framed systems.

In view of this evidence, and in line with Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), I assume that parasynthetic verbs convey a verb-framed schema, rather than a satellite-framed one. A crucial distinction between parasynthetic verbs and proper satellite-framed structures is that the former do not licence the Co-event conflation pattern, whereas in the latter the lexicalization of the Core schema in a satellite goes hand in hand with the conflation of a Co-event in the verb root. However, what leads me to conclude that parasynthetic verbs are verb-framed constructions is the observation that these structures are nothing but the verbalization of the Core schema, i.e., the verbalization of the sum of a Path element (codified in the prefix) and a Ground element (codified in the root). Taking into account that verb-framedness is identified with the lexicalization of the Core Schema in a verb root, parasynthetic verbs, in which the two components of the Core schema emerge as a complex verbal predicate, must be considered to be an instantiation of the verb-framed strategy.

Therefore, and as observed by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), the new morphological schema to create prefixed verbs reflects the shift from a satellite-framed system with a Co-event conflation pattern (Latin) to a verb-framed system with a Path conflation pattern (Spanish, and Romance in general).

6.3.2.2. Reversative verbs

In chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1, I have put forward that *des-* reversative verbs not only encode the reverse process of their non-prefixed counterparts, but that they express the departure from the state that the verbal base identifies. In fact, a reversative verb like *descasar* 'to divorce' 'to dissolve the marriage' not only encodes the reverse action of that denoted by the unprefixed *casar* 'to marry', but also the departure from the (resulting) state of being married. Besides, I have pointed out that reversative verbs must not necessarily presuppose a previous process, but only a previous state that can be, or not, the result of a previous process. This has led me to conclude that reversative verbs involve the same syntactic configuration as *des-*parasynthetic verbs, which is that of (42), repeated below for convenience:

(43) Syntactic structure of *des-* reversative verbs

```
        InitP        ⎫
       /    \        ⎬ verbalizer
    Init    ProcP    ⎭
           /    \
        Proc   SourceP
              /     \         ⎫
          Source   GoalP      ⎬ des-
                  /    \       
               Goal   PlaceP  ⎭
                     /     \
                  Place   √ ⇒ lexical exponent of the root
```
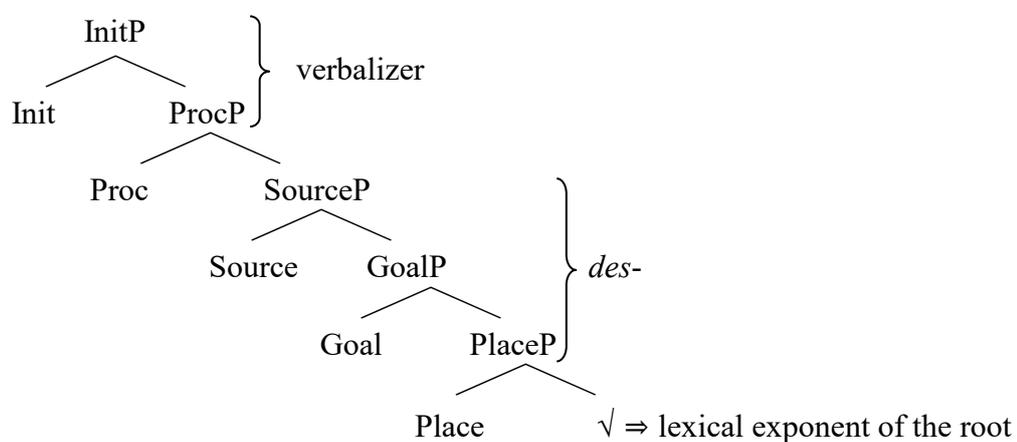
In the analysis I posit that the Source prefix *des-* spells out Source, Goal and Place, and takes an acategorial root as complement, forcing it to be interpreted as the starting point of a transition. An immediate consequence of this analysis is that, like in *des-*parasynthetic verbs, in reversative verbs the prefix is attached to an acategorial root that is later on categorized, together with the prefix, as a verb. Hence, parasynthetic verbs, as well as reversative ones, are the verbalization of the Core schema (i.e., the verbalization of the sum of the Path component and the Ground component) and, therefore,

instantiations of the verb-framed pattern. The main difference existing between *des-*
parasynthetic verbs and reversative verbs is that the root of so-called parasynthetic verbs
can be independently realized as a noun or as an adjective but not as a verb, whereas the
root of reversative verbs can be independently realized as a verb. Hence, for instance,
the root involved in *descasar*, which is √*cas-*, may be independently realized as the verb
casar 'to marry'.

Differently from Latin pseudoreversatives, where the prefix does not take scope
over the verbal root and involves the cancellation of the verbal event, in reversative
constructions the prefix takes scope over the verbal root to encode the departure from
the state that it denotes.

6.3.2.3. Negative verbs

The Source prefix *des-* can develop a negative meaning when combined with stative
verbs encoding some kind of mental state or attitude (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2). In
these cases, the Source prefix takes scope over the verbal root, which is intended to be
negated:

(44)   *Des-conozco   cuáles   son sus   verdaderas   intenciones.*
          from-know   which.PL   are their   true.F.PL   intentions
          'I don't know what their true intentions are'.

These predicates also show a verb-framed pattern: in them, the verbal root is not
identified with a Co-event, but rather with an abstract Ground interpreted as a state. This
is made clear in the paraphrases provided in (45):

(45)   a. *desconocer*: 'to have sth. outside knowledge [*conoc-*]'; therefore 'not to
                                                                                know'
          b. *desagradar*: 'to have sth. outside like [*agrad-*]'; therefore 'not to like'
          c. *desaprobar*: 'to have sth. outside approval [*aprob-*]'; therefore 'not to
                                                                                approve'

The negative meaning of *des-* also emerges when the prefix appears in a verb encoding
a Davidsonian state, as is the case in *desobedecer* 'to disobey' or *desfavorecer* 'to work
against'. As illustrated in (46), these predicates also identify the root with a Ground:

(46)   a. *desobedecer*: 'to keep sth. away from [*obed*-]'; therefore 'not to obey'

        b. *desfavorecer*: 'to keep sth. away from [*favor*-]'; therefore 'not to favour'

For *des*- negative verbs encoding Kimian states (e.g., *desconocer* 'not to know') I have proposed the syntactic configuration depicted below (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2.1 for a justification of the analysis):[7]

(47)   Syntactic structure of *des*- negative verbs denoting Kimian states

```
        InitP   ⇒ verbalizer
       /    \
    Init    SourceP
           /    \
        Source   GoalP        ⎫
                /    \        ⎬ des-
             Goal    PlaceP   ⎭
                    /    \
                 Place    √ ⇒ lexical exponent of the root
```
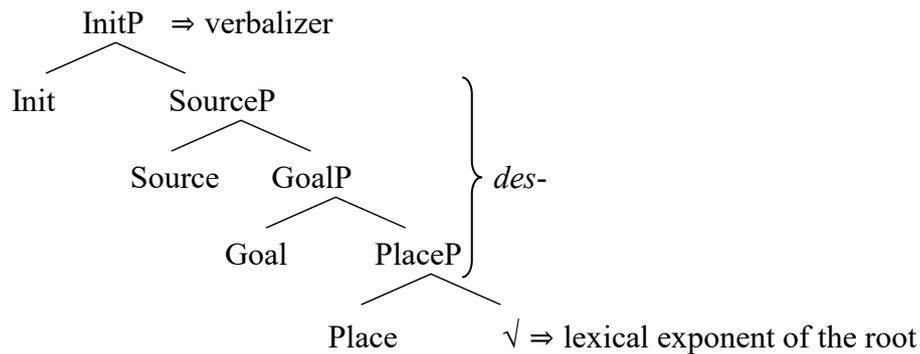
And for *des*-negative verbs encoding Davidsonian states (e.g. *desobedecer* 'to disobey'), I have proposed the analysis in (48), where the presence of a central coincidence P (P_{CC}) between Proc and Source ensures the non-dynamic interpretation of both Proc and the Source path (see Fábregas & Marín 2012a; see chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2.2 for a more detailed account):

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[7] The structure that I propose for *des*-negative verbs encoding Kimian states is that of a state involving a path, which, as I have argued, is a structure that can give rise to a stage-level interpretation (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1, see section 6.3.1.3 in the present chapter). As pointed out in chapter 3, section 3.4.3.2.1, although the basic tests for identifying stage-level predicates do not succeed in all the *des*-negative verbs denoting Kimian states (see the Appendix to chapter 3), all of them admit absolute degree modifiers such as *absolutamente* 'absolutely', *por completo* 'completely' or *totalmente* 'totally' (i.e., modifiers that pick out the boundary of a scale), which provides evidence in favour of the fact that a boundary is involved in the states that these predicates denote.

(48)   Syntactic structure of *des*- negative verbs denoting Davidsonian states

InitP   } verbalizer

Init   ProcP

Proc   P_{CC}P ⇒ Ø

P_{CC}   SourceP

Source   GoalP   } *des*-

Goal   PlaceP

Place   √ ⇒ lexical exponent of the root
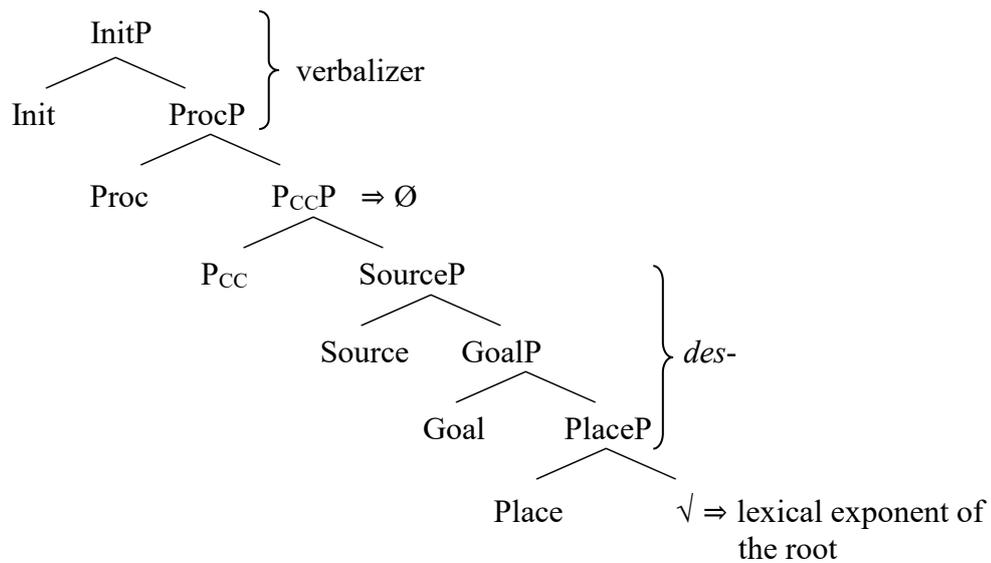
As in the case of parasynthetic and reversative verbs, negative verbs also involve the verbalization of the Core Schema, although in these cases the Core schema is statically interpreted as the (contrary) negation of the root.[8] *Des*- negative verbs, thus, are also an instantiation of the verb-framed pattern.

6.3.3. On Latin parasynthetic verbs

It has been shown that Spanish *des*- parasynthetic verbs are examples of a verb-framed pattern that involve the verbalization of the Core Schema. In Archaic and Classical Latin, some parasynthetic verbs are attested which involve the addition of a Source prefix to a root that can be independently realized as a noun or an adjective:

(49)   *denaso* 'to deprive of the nose' (*naso* 'nose'), *decollo* 'to take off from the neck' (*collo* 'neck'), *decortico* 'to deprive of bark' (*cortex* 'bark'), *deponto* 'to throw from a bridge' (pons 'bridge'), *diffamo* 'to spread abroad by an ill report' (*fama* 'report'), *dilamino* 'to split in two' (*lamina* 'layer'), *dilato* 'to spread out' (*latus* 'broad, wide'), *edento* 'to render toothless' (*dens* 'tooth'), *effemino* 'to make feminine' (*femina* 'female'), *emendo* 'to free from faults' (*mendum* 'fault'), *emollio* 'to make soft' (*mollis* 'soft'), *enervo* 'to take out the nerves' (*nervus*

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[8] See chapter 5, section 5.7.4, for the view that the Source prefix *des*- can encode contrary negation, thus identifying the oposite limit in a scale, but not contradictory negation, which prevents its classification as a negative marker. In fact, the negative meaning that *des*- can develop is an inference from its Source-oriented meaning, which can be used to encode departure in dynamic contexts, or to identify the polar opposite in a scale in static ones.

'nerve'), *exoculo* 'to deprive of the eyes or of the sight' (*oculus* 'eye'), *exsurdo* 'to render deaf' (*surdus* 'deaf'), *extermino* 'to drive out of boundaries' (*terminus* 'boundary').

[Data extracted from *Lewis & Short* and *Gaffiot*]

As pointed out in section 6.3.2.1, Crocco Galèas & Iacobini (1993) notice that the parasynthetic procedure was not very productive in Classical Latin, but that it became widespread during the last periods of Latin as a literary language as well as in Romance. However, some parasynthetic verbs are already attested in Archaic and Classical Latin that involve the Source prefixes *de-*, *dis-* and *ex-* (cf. (49)). I will first deal with Latin parasynthetic verbs of locative semantics in subsection 6.3.3.1. Latin parasynthetic verbs headed by the prefix *dis-* will be addressed in subsection 6.3.3.2. After that, I will provide an analysis for those Latin parasynthetic verbs prefixed with *ex-* the meaning of which seems to be Goal-oriented rather than Source-oriented in subsection 6.3.3.3.

6.3.3.1. Latin locative parasynthetic verbs headed by a Source prefix

Among Latin parasynthetic verbs, the most abundantly attested are those that encode an event of removal where the "nominal" base is understood as the removed entity, and the internal argument of the verb as the location from which the nominal base is removed (the privative semantic class, also labelled *locatum* verbs).[9] The following example, taken from Mateu (2016), illustrates:

(50) *ni   ei   caput   ex-ocul-assitis*
      if.not him.DAT.SG   head.ACC.SG   out-eye-V.FUT.PERF.2PL
      'If you don't beat his eyes out of his head…'.
      [Pl. *Rud*. 3, 662; *apud*. Mateu 2016 (4c)]

From the list provided in (49), the following verbs show a privative meaning: *denaso* 'to deprive of the nose', *decortico* 'to deprive of bark' (*cortex* 'bark'), *edento* 'to render toothless' (*dens* 'tooth'), *emendo* 'to free from faults' (*mendum* 'fault'), *nervo* 'to take

---

[9] In fact, privative verbs are a subtype of locatum verbs. Locatum verbs are those locative verbs in which the noun base is taken as a moving Figure. Privative verbs correspond to the locatum verbs encoding a Source-oriented event by means of which the noun base, a moving Figure, is understood to be removed from the location (or Ground) specified by the internal argument of the verb.

out the nerves' (*nervus* 'nerve'), *exoculo* 'to deprive of the eyes or of the sight' (*oculus* 'eye').

To a lesser extent, some parasynthetic verbs in Latin encode an event of detachment where the "nominal" base is not taken as the removed entity but as the initial location, and the internal argument is thus understood as the entity detached from the referent of the nominal base (the ablative class, also labelled *location* verbs):[10]

(51) *aliquem*   *ex hominum*   *communitate ex-termin-are*

       somebody.ACC.SG   out man.GEN.PL community out-boundary-V.INF

       'to drive someone out of the human community'

       [Cic. *Off*. 3, 6, 32; *apud*. Mateu 2016 (2)]

The following verbs are those from the list in (49) that involve an ablative sense: *decollo* 'to take off from the neck' (*collo* 'neck'), *deponto* 'to throw from a bridge' *extermino* 'to drive out of boundaries' (*terminus* 'boundary').

In chapter 3, section 3.4.2.1 (see also section 6.3.2.1 in the present chapter), it has been shown that privative (or locatum) and ablative (or location) parasynthetic verbs in Spanish involve the same syntactic configuration. However, Mateu (2016) convincingly argues that in Latin these two verbal classes do not share the same syntactic structure. Following insights in Serbat (1989, 2001), Mateu (2016) proposes that the "nominal" root of Latin prefixed location verbs is understood as the complement of the prefix (the Ground), whereas in Latin prefixed locatum verbs the complement of the prefix is the DP internal argument (recall that Latin prefixes can p-govern a long-distance DP, in contrast with bleached Romance prefixes, unable to do so) and the nominal root acts as a mere modifier of the event.[11] Therefore, a prefixed locatum verb such as *edento* does not exactly mean 'to remove the teeth', but rather 'to carry out a removal with regard to the teeth' (Serbat 2001: 151; *apud*. Mateu 2016). In Mateu's (2016) syntactic account, the difference between Latin prefixed location and locatum verbs is reflected by means of the distinction between incorporation and

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[10] Location verbs encode an event of change of location in which the noun base is taken as the location (or Ground) and the internal argument as the moving Figure. Ablative verbs are a subtype of location verbs: they correspond to the location verbs encoding a source oriented event in which the noun base is understood as an initial location (a Source Ground) and not as a final one (a Goal Ground).

[11] See also Acedo-Matellán (2010: 146-147) who, based on Mateu's (2008) analysis of German complex denominal verbs like *unter-keller-n* 'to put a cellar under', provides an analysis of Latin locatum verbs along the same lines.

conflation (see Hale & Keyser 1997, 2002; Mateu & Rigau 2010; Mateu 2012): in prefixed location verbs (e.g. *extermino* 'to drive out of boundaries') the nominal root is merged at the complement position of a PP predicate, where it is configurationally interpreted as a Ground, and from that position it incorporates to a light verb by Internal Merge. For the predicate in (51), thus, he proposes the following analysis:

(52)   Mateu's (2016) analysis of (51)

        [$_{vP}$ -a- [$_{ResultP}$ aliquem$_i$ [$_{Result'}$ [$_{PredP}$ ~~aliquem~~ [$_{Pred'}$ [$_{PP}$ EX TERMIN-]] (ex communitate)]]]]

According to Mateu, Latin prefixed location verbs involve a resultative configuration and therefore are necessarily telic. In his account, this is rendered by the presence of a ResultP (Ramchand 2008; see chapter 2, section 2.4.1) that selects a Small Clause (the PredP) containing the PP headed by the resultative prefix. The fact that the nominal root is first merged at the complement position of the PP headed by the prefix ensures its interpretation as a Ground. Regarding the hyponymous PP *ex hominum*, it is claimed to be a syntactic adjunct further specifying the Source Ground.

        Although I will basically assume Mateu's (2016) analysis of Latin prefixed location verbs, I differ from his account by adopting the view that the prefixes involved in these configurations are the Spell-Out of a series of projections corresponding to the notion of path and encompassing an AxPart projection. I base my claim on the observation that Source prefixes are able to establish contrasts with each other. Hence, for example, *deponto* 'to throw from a bridge' keeps the downward directionality involved by the Source prefix *de-*, whereas *extermino* 'to drive out of boundaries' encodes the departure from a bounded Ground (see section 6.2). Accordingly, I propose that the syntactic structure of (51) is the one represented below in (53):

(53) The analysis that I put forward for (51)

```
                InitP
               /     \
            PRO       Init
                     /    \
                  Init    ProcP          } verbalizer
                         /     \
                   aliquem     Proc
                              /    \
                           Proc    SourceP
                                  /       \
                            a̶l̶i̶q̶u̶e̶m̶      Source
                                         /      \
                                    Source      GoalP
                                               /     \
                                         a̶l̶i̶q̶u̶e̶m̶     Goal
                                                    /     \
                                                 Goal     PlaceP
                                                         /      \
                                                   a̶l̶i̶q̶u̶e̶m̶      Place
                                                    Figure     /     \         } ex [√EX]
                                                            Place    AxPartP
                                                                    /       \
                                                               AxPart    √TERMIN ⇒ termin-
                                                                              Ground
```
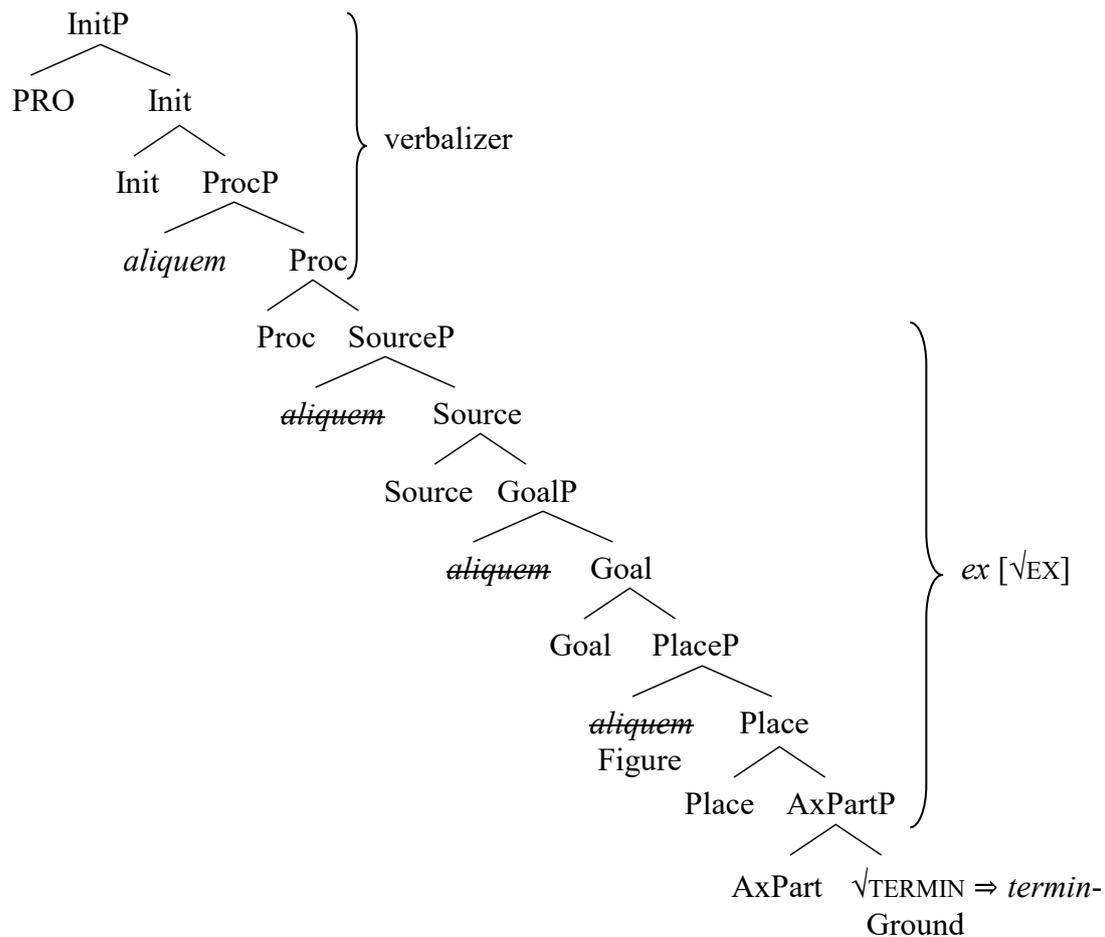
For an ablative (or location) verb as *extermino* 'to drive out of boundaries', I assume that the root of the verb is merged at the bottom-most position of the configuration, at complement of AxPart, where it is identified with a Source Ground specifying the initial location of a motion event. The prefix *ex*- is introduced in the structure to spell out the functional projections dominating the root, namely, AxPart, Place, Goal and Source. The prefix leaves its root (√EX) underassociated because it would occupy the position of complement of AxPart, a position already filled by the root of the verb, √TERMIN, which identifies a Source Ground and is linked by agree with the underassociated root of the prefix. The configuration defined by the prefix and the verbal root is dominated by the subeventive projections Proc and Init, which are spelled out by the verbalizing suffix. Accordingly, the Co-event reading of the verbal root is not available, and therefore *extermino* (and the other Latin location/ablative verbs) cannot be argued to show a satellite-framed pattern. In fact, and as discussed in Acedo-Matellán (2016a), verb-framed configurations are possible in satellite-framed languages, but the reverse is never the case: satellite-framed configurations are not allowed in verb-framed systems.

With regard to prefixed locatum verbs (e.g. *exoculo* 'to deprive of the eyes'), Mateu (2016) claims that in these cases the root is not interpreted as a Ground, but as an adjunct, and that the internal argument corresponds to the Ground component and also to an affected internal argument. In (50), for instance, repeated below as (54), the internal argument *caput* 'head' is both the Ground from which the eyes are removed and the entity affected by this removing event.

(54) *ni   ei   caput   ex-ocul-assitis*
      if.not him.DAT.SG   head.ACC.SG out-eye-V.FUT.PERF.2PL
      'If you don't beat his eyes out of his head…'.
      [Pl. *Rud*. 3, 662; *apud*. Mateu 2016 (4c)]

To capture the double nature of the internal argument of prefixed locatum verbs, Mateu (2016) proposes that it is first merged at the complement of a PP headed by the prefix, where it is interpreted as a Ground, and that it then is promoted to an affected direct argument position at the specifier of ResultP. As far as ResultP is present in the configuration, prefixed locatum verbs are predicted to be necessarily telic.[12] As for the nominal root, it is directly inserted to the causative verbal head by means of External Merge, where it is interpreted as an adjunct specifying the Manner of the event, as illustrated below in an analysis of (54) along the lines of Mateu (2016):[13]

(55) Analysis of (54) along the lines of Mateu (2016)
      [vP OCUL-a- [ResultP caput$_i$ [Result' [PredP Ø [Pred' [PP EX ~~caput$_i$~~]]]]]]

Therefore, according to Mateu (2016), prefixed locatum verbs express both the Manner and the Motion conflated within the verbal predicate, which is the proper pattern of satellite-framed configurations. Latin prefixed locatum verbs, thus, differently from Spanish ones, show a satellite-framed instead of a verb-framed pattern. I will basically adopt Mateu's (2016) view, although I do not take these constructions to involve a ResultP, but rather a Source path that defines a phase and encompasses an AxPartP. Evidence that in prefixed locatum verbs the prefix keeps its rich spatial semantics and

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[12] According to Mateu (2016), locatum verbs that do not involve a prefix, as e.g. *termino* 'to set bounds', do not contain a ResultP in their syntactic configuration and, accordingly, they must not be necessarily telic.

[13] In Mateu's (2016) paper the locatum verb analyzed is not the privative *exoculo* 'to deprive of the eyes', but the Goal-oriented locatum verb *inflammo* 'to put fire in'.

involves an AxPartP is provided by the possibility of establishing contrasts between the different Source prefixes available to encode a removal event. Hence, in (56a) *decorticare*, with the Source prefix *de-*, encodes an event by means of which the bark is removed from the surface of a pine (the internal argument), and not from inside the pine, given that the Source prefix *de-* encodes detachment from the external boundary of the Ground. In (56b), by contrast, where the locatum predicate *edento* is headed by the Source prefix *ex-*, the teeth are intended to be removed from inside the jaws, since *ex-* expresses detachment from inside the boundaries of the Ground component (see section 6.2).

(56) a. *tradunt   et   abietem   circa germinations*
         Say.PRS.3PL   and pine.ACC.SG.F around germination.ACC.PL

         de-cortic-atam (...)   aquis   non corrumpi.
         off-bark-V.PTCP.ACC.SG.F water.ABL.PL not spoil.PASS.INF

         'It is said that the pine whose bark has been striped off about its germination time does not spoil in the water'.

      b. *nimis velim   improbissimo   homini*
         much wish.PRS.SBJV.1SG dishonest.SUPERL.DAT.SG   man.DAT.SG

         malas   e-dent-averint
         jaw.ACC.PL out-tooth-V.PRF.SBJV.3PL

         'I'd very much like them to knock the teeth out of the jaws of the most villainous fellow'.

      [Plin. *Nat*. 16, 221 and Pl. *Rud*. 3, 662; *apud*. Mateu 2016: (4d, 4b)]

In view of the above facts, for the configuration in (54) I propose the analysis detailed in (57), instead of that in (55):

(57)   The analysis that I put forward for (54)

```
                InitP
              /      \
           pro        Init
                     /    \
                  Init     ProcP          }
                          /     \          } verbalizer
                     caput       Proc      }
                   Undergoer    /    \
                            Proc   √OCUL ⇒ ocul-
                                  /    \
                            √OCUL      SourceP
                                      /      \
                                 Source      GoalP
                                            /     \                }
                                        Goal       PlaceP           } ex [√EX]
                                                  /     \
                                             Place      AxPartP
                                                       /       \
                                                  AxPart        caput
                                                               Ground
```
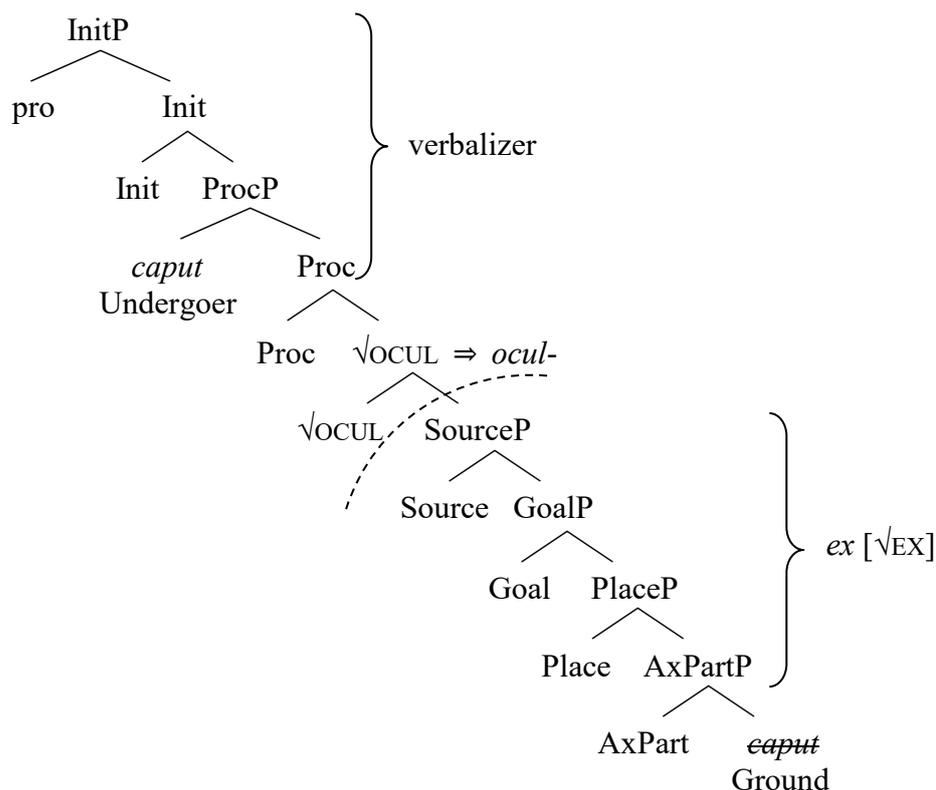
In the analysis that I put forward it is made explicit that the complement of the prefix is not the root of the verb (which I take to be acategorial and not nominal), but rather the internal argument, *caput*, which is first merged at the complement of AxPart, where it is interpreted as a Ground, and then it moves to the specifier of ProcP, where it is configurationally understood as the Undergoer of the event (i.e., the affected entity). There is no Figure in the configuration to be promoted to that position, and accordingly Place, Goal and Source lack an argument in their specifier positions. The Source prefix *ex-* lexicalizes Source, Goal, Place and AxPart and leaves its root underassociated, given that the Ground component has been already identified by the internal argument *caput*. Since in satellite-framed Latin the Source path lexicalized by Source prefixes is able to define a phase (particularly, the Goal head defines a phase that also encompasses Source; see section 6.3.1), the root of the verbal predicate, spelled out as *ocul-*, can be merged on top of SourceP, at complement of Proc, where it is interpreted as a concomitant Co-event. Finally, the verbalizing morphology spells out the subeventive projections Init and Proc. Regarding the interpretation of the root as a removed Figure, I assume that it is an inference from the *qualia* structure (QS) related to the exponent of the root, *ocul-* 'eye', which is conceptually identified with an object located in the head;

and also to the QS related to the internal argument, *caput*, which identifies the entity of which the referent of the root is part: the head.[14] By means of *selective binding* (see footnote 14), thus, the root exploits the information contained in the CONSTITUTIVE *quale* of the internal argument and a relation of possession is established between both elements, which derives the privative (or locatum) reading that the resulting predicate involves:

(58)   a. QS of the root *ocul-* 'eye' (*x*)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Physical object] } x \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: [part of] } y \end{bmatrix}$$

                                                ➔ Relation of **possession**

   b. QS of the internal argument *caput* 'head' (*y*)

$$QS = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORMAL: [Physical object] } y \\ \text{CONSTITUTIVE: } \textbf{[contain] } \boldsymbol{x} \end{bmatrix}$$

In verb-framed Spanish (and Romance), the structure in (57) cannot be built, which rightly predicts that satellite-framed privative (or locatum) verbs of the sort of *edento* 'to remove the teeth from inside' or *denaso* 'to detach the nose from' are banned in that system. In fact, the Spanish privative (or locatum) verbs *desdentar* 'to render toothless' and *desnarigar* 'to leave without a nose' do not involve the same configuration as their Latin predecessors *edento* and *denaso*. In the Latin predicates the prefix establishes a spatial relation with the internal argument (it p-governs the DP internal argument), whereas in Spanish the prefix does not govern the internal argument of the verb. The contrast between Latin *edento* and Spanish *desdentar* in (59) illustrates:

(59)   a. *nimis velim*   *improbissimo*   *homini*

       much wish.PRES.SBJV.1SG dishonest.SUPERL.DAT.SG   man.DAT.SG

       malas   *e-dent-averint*

       jaw.ACC.PL   out-tooth-V.PERF.SBJV.3PL

       'I'd very much like them to knock the teeth out of the jaws of the most villainous fellow'.

       [Pl. *Rud*. 3, 662; *apud*. Mateu 2016: (4b)]

---

[14] See chapter 2, section 2.4.2, for the view that the conceptual content associated to lexical items can be hierarchically arranged in a Q(ualia)S(tructure) configuration (Pustejovksy 1995). See chapter 3, section 3.4.2.2, for an application of this idea to derive the polysemy of *des*-prefixed verbs via *selective binding*, a mechanism proposed by Pustejovksy (1995) that is intended to operate when a predicate selects one of the values contained in the QS of the argument it is combined with.

b. #*Me*   *gustaría*   *mucho que*   *des-dent-aran*
   I.DAT   like.COND.3SG much that   from-tooth-IPFV.SBJV.3PL

   las   mandíbulas   de   este   compañero   tan   deshonesto.
   the   jaws   of   that   fellow   so   dishonest

   (Intended: 'Id very much like them to knock the teeth out of the jaws of that
   so dishonest fellow')

c. *Me*   *gustaría*   *mucho que*   *des-dent-aran*
   I.DAT   like.COND.3SG much that   from-tooth-IPFV.SBJV.3PL

   a   este   compañero   tan   deshonesto.
   at   that   fellow   so   dishonest

   'I'd very much like them to render that so dishonest fellow toothless'.

In (59a) *edento* encodes the idea of extraction from the inside of the referent of the
internal argument with regard to the teeth, and accordingly *malas* 'jaws' is a good
candidate to be the internal argument of the verb. In the Spanish verb *desdentar*, by
contrast, the DP *mandíbulas* 'jaws' is not the best candidate to be the internal argument
of the verb, as illustrated in (59b), since this verb selects for an internal argument
identified with an entity undergoing a change of state (see 59c), and not an internal
argument denoting a specific Ground containing the referent of the root *dent-* 'teeth'.
The internal argument, thus, is understood as a Figure departing from the possessive
state codified by the verbal root. The verbal root, in turn, not being able to be merged on
top of SourceP (since in verb-framed Spanish Goal does not define a phase), is placed at
the bottom-most position of the configuration, where it is not interpreted as a Co-event
but as a Ground. As for the privative/locatum interpretation, it is an inference from the
QS related to the root and the QS of the internal argument (see chapter 3, section
3.4.2.2).

6.3.3.2. Dis- *parasynthetic verbs*

In the list provided in (49) there are three parasynthetic verbs containing the prefix *dis-*:
diffamo 'to spread abroad by an ill report' (*fama* 'report'), *dilamino* 'to split in two'
(*lamina* 'layer'), and *dilato* 'to spread out' (*latus* 'broad, wide'). These verbs encode an
event of division or dispersion performed in a certain Manner. The prefix *dis-* identifies

the dispersive or divisive meaning (see section 6.2), and the root the Manner of such a dispersion or division:

(60)   a. *diffamo*: 'to spread abroad [*dis-*] by an ill report [*fam-*]'
        b. *dilamino*: 'to split in two [*dis-*] with the blade of a cutting instrument [*lamin-*]'
        c. *dilato*: 'to spread out [*dis-*] widely [*lat-*]'

The parasynthetic verbs headed by *dis-* that I have listed are examples of the satellite-framed strategy of encoding the Core Schema in a satellite (in this particular case, the prefix *dis-*) and a Co-event in the verbal root. For these constructions, thus, I propose a syntactic configuration as the one in (61):

(61)   Analysis of Latin *dis-* parasynthetic verbs (e.g. *diffamo* 'to spread abroad by an ill report')
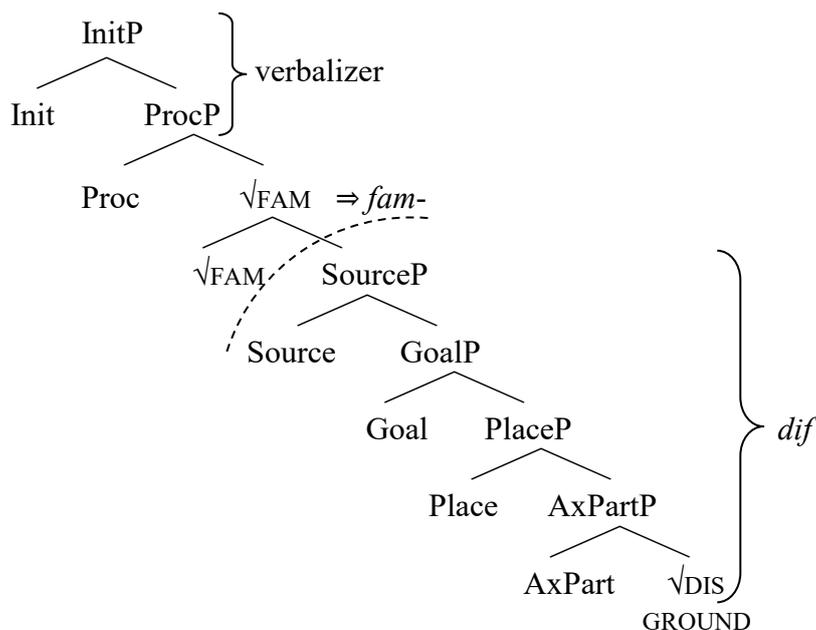
In *dis-* parasynthetic verbs the Source prefix *dis-* spells out the features Source, Goal, Place, AxPart and the root at the complement of AxPart, so it identifies both the Source Path as well as the Ground component (the Core Schema), giving rise to a predicate encoding a Source-oriented event of dispersion or division. The non-defective Path lexicalized by the prefix constitutes a phase, which allows the root of the verbal predicate to be merged on top of SourceP, at the bottom-most of the following phase, where it is interpreted as a Manner Co-event because it occupies the position of complement of Proc and c-commands a Path configuration. The lexical exponent of the

verbal root only spells out the root node at Compl-Proc, and the subeventive projections Init and Proc are lexicalized by the verbalizing morphology.

6.3.3.3. Ex- *parasynthetic verbs apparently encoding a final state*

Some parasynthetic verbs headed by the Source prefix *ex-* seem to encode an event expressing the entrance into, rather than the exit from, a state: *edulco* 'to sweeten' (*dulcis* 'sweet'), *effemino* 'to make feminine' (*femina* 'female'), *emollio* 'to make soft' (*mollis* 'soft'), *exsurdo* 'to render deaf' (*surdus* 'deaf').

According to Mateu (2016), these verbs involve a syntactic configuration parallel to that of location verbs, where the ("adjectival") root is interpreted as the final state of the transition event and, hence, as a Goal Ground. Since these verbs encode a change of state and not a change of place, Mateu (2016) assumes that they do not involve a predicative PP, but rather a predicative adjective. The prefix is taken to realize Result, the projection ensuring the telicity of the predicate:

(62)   *et   umor   arcus   fundasque   et*
        and   moisture.NOM.SG   bow.ACC.PL   sling.ACC.PL.COP_CONJ   and

        iaculorum   amenta   e-moll-ierat
        javelin.GEN.PL thong.ACC.PL   out-soft-PST.PRF.3SG

        [Liv. 37, 41, 4; *apud*. Mateu 2016: (17)]

(63)   Mateu's (2016: (18)) analysis of (62)

        [$_{VoiceP}$ umor… [$_{vP}$ -i- [$_{ResultP}$ arcus$_i$ [$_{Result'}$ e- [$_{PredP}$ ~~arcus$_i$~~ [$_{Pred'}$ Pred [$_{Adj}$ MOLL-]]]]]]]]

In line with Brachet (2000), I do not envisage these verbs as predicates encoding the entrance into the state identified by the ("adjectival") root, but I rather assume that they express the exit of the opposite state of that denoted by the root. Brachet (2000) considers that the predecessor of this type of verbs is to be found in constructions as the one in (64), which expresses a change of state by combining two antonymic predicates, one embedded in a PP headed by *ex* that identifies the state that is abandoned, and the other related to the state that is achieved:

(64)   *hic*   *iam*   *mulier*   *facta*   *est*   *ex uiro*

      this.NOM.SG   now   woman.NOM.SG   do.PPLE.NOM.F   be.PRES.3SG   out man.ABL.SG

      'here is who has become a woman out of a man'

      [Plaut. *Amph*. 814; *apud* Brachet 2000: 262]

In an exhaustive examination of the first occurrences of those verbs headed by *ex-* with an apparent ingressive meaning, Brachet (2000) concludes that the primitive function of the prefix was that of introducing a complement specifying the initial state of a change of state event, an initial state that happens to be the opposite state of that expressed by the ("adjectival") root and that corresponds to an inherent condition of the entity undergoing change (which is that of being masculine in the case of *effemino* 'to make feminine', that of being bitter in the case of *edulco* 'to sweeten', and so on). In (65), for example, the internal argument *uirum* 'man' is understood to abandon its condition of being masculine (the initial state) by behaving in a feminine way. Seemingly, in (66) the internal argument, *corpus animunque uirilem* 'the masculine body and soul', suffers a change of state by means of which it loses its masculinity:

(65)   *fortitudinis*   *quaedam*   *praecepta*   *sunt*   *ac*   *leges,*

      strength.GEN.SG certain.NOM.PL   rule.NOM.PL   be.pres.3PL and law.NOM.PL

      quae   *ef-femin-ari*   *uirum*   *uetant*   *in dolore.*

      which.NOM.PL out-feminine-PRES.INF.PASS   male.ACC   forbid.PRES.3PL in pain.ABL

      'Bravery has certain rules and laws that prevent a man in pain from behaving in a womanly fashion'.

      [Cic. *Fat*. 2, 94; *apud*. Brachet 2000: 266]

(66)   *(auaritia)*   *corpus*   *animum=que uirilem*   *ef-femin-at.*

      greed.NOM   body.ACC   soul.ACC=and masculine.ACC out-feminine-PRES.3SG

      'Greed effeminates the masculine body and soul'.

      [Sall. *Cat*. 11, 3; *apud*. Brachet 2000: 266]

In these predicates, it is possible to recognize both the entity undergoing change as well as the initial state of such a change in the internal argument. Given that the internal arguments of these predicates correspond to entities that have as an inherent condition that of being masculine, their losing this inherent property involves, in a certain way, that they stop being what they are by means of a feminine behaviour. Accordingly, I

hypothesize that verbs such as *effemino* 'to make feminine' involve the same configuration as Latin prefixed privative/locatum verbs, in which the internal argument corresponds both to the Source Ground and to the Undergoer of the transition event, and the verbal root conforms a Co-event specifying the Manner of such a transition event. Along these lines, I propose the following analysis for an example like the one in (65):

(67)   Analysis of (65)
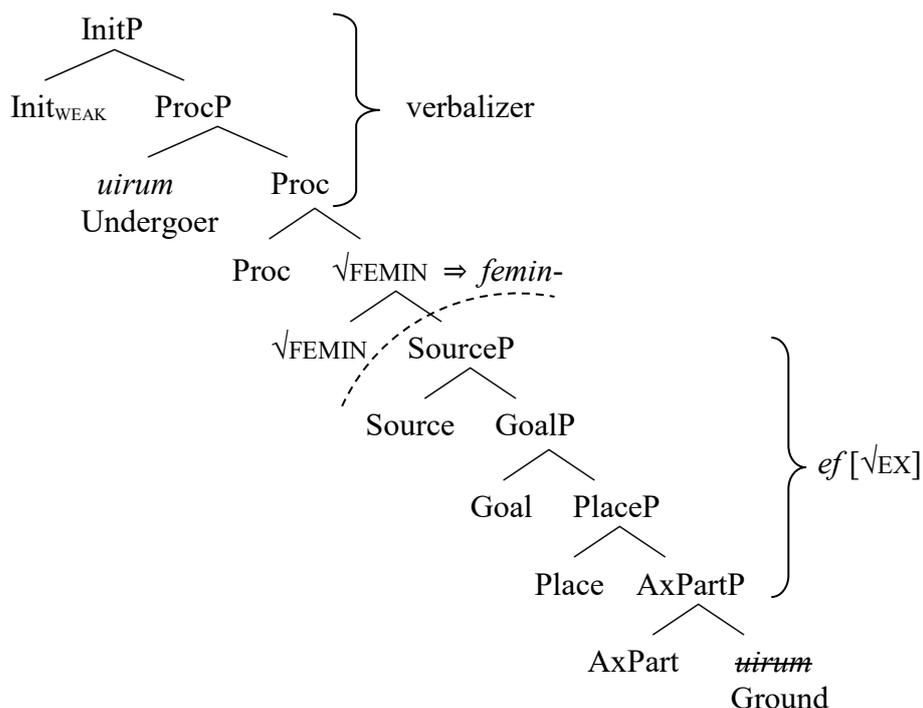
In *effemino*-type verbs, thus, the complement of the prefix is not the verbal root, but the internal argument of the verb, a possibility that is available in Latin because its directional prefixes are able to govern a long-distance DP. The internal argument is first merged at the bottom-most position of the configuration, at complement of AxPart, where it is configurationally identified with a Source Ground specifying the initial state of the change of state event. From that position it is then promoted to the position of specifier of Proc, where it is identified with the Undergoer of the change of state. The prefix, in turn, leaves its root underassociated because the syntactic position of Ground has already been occupied by the DP internal argument. Given that *ex-* lexicalizes a Source path that is non-defective and defines a phase, the root of the verbal predicate can be merged at complement of Proc, which is the bottom-most position of the following phase. The root of the predicate, thus, is configurationally identified with a Co-event, as is the case in privative/locatum verbs. The subeventive projections InitP

(in that particular case, a weak InitP, given that the configuration in (65) is passive)[15] and ProcP are lexicalized by the verbalizing suffix.

In accordance with the analysis I propose, *effemino*-type verbs are satellite-framed constructions. These constructions, then, are not attested in a verb-framed language like Spanish.[16] In fact, in the step from Latin to Spanish the verb *effemino* was reanalized as a Goal-oriented change of state predicate, which triggered the change of the Source prefix *ex*- by the Spanish Goal-oriented prefix *a*-: *afeminar* 'to make feminine'. Seemingly, the verb *edulco* was replaced in Late Latin by *indulco* 'to sweeten', and it was the latter form that survived in Spanish as *endulzar* 'to sweeten'.

6.4. Latin Source and negative prefixes in adjectival predicates

Source prefixes in Latin are also used in adjectival prefixation in order to create antonyms of their non-prefixed counterparts. The list in (68) includes some adjectival predicates in which a Source prefix seems to have been added to an adjectival base in order to negate it:

(68)   *absimilis* 'departing from the similar, unlike' (*similis* 'similar'); *debilis* 'lame, disabled' (*habilis* 'nimble'); *dif-ficilis* 'difficult' (*facilis*$_A$ 'easy'); *dis-par* 'different' (*par*$_A$ 'equal'); *dis-similis* 'dissimilar' (*similis*$_A$ 'similar').

[Data extracted from *Lewis & Short*]

Despite the static character of these predicates, it is possible to identify the Source value of the prefixes they contain. Hence, *absimilis* means 'that which departs from the similar', and can be contrasted with *dissimilis*, which denotes 'that which is different

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[15] See Fábregas (2016: 140-141) for the view that passives involve a weak InitP. See also chapter 5, section 5.6.3.

[16] In verb-framed Catalan, the Source prefix *es*-, which is the evolution of Latin *ex*-, is attested in parasynthetic constructions which seem to encode the entrance into the state related to the root of the verb: *esclarir* 'to clear up/ to untangle', *esgrogueir* 'to turn yellow/ to fade', among others. These verbs, however, still seem to keep some nuance of the Source-oriented meaning of the prefix, since *esclarir* 'to clear up/ untangle' is not exactly the same as *aclarir* 'to clarify, to become clear' (with the Goal prefix *a*-), nor is *esgrogueir* 'to turn yellow/to fade' the same as *engroguir* 'to yellow' (with the Goal prefix *en*-). In French and Italian the descendants of *ex*- are also attested in these seeming Goal-oriented parasynthetic constructions: Fr. *éclaircir* 'to fade, to lighten'; It. *schiarire* 'to clear up, to fade, to wash out'. The analysis of these predicates is an issue that will have to be addressed in future research.

from similar'. Despite the fact that both formations suggest the same negative meaning, which is that of 'not being similar', it is sensible to think that in the case of *absimilis* that meaning is an abstraction of the spatial value 'far from similar', while in *dissimilis* it is derived from the dispersive sense of the prefix, thus being understood as 'different from similar' (i.e., 'in a different place than similar').

The directional value of these prefixes is also made evident when an adjective headed by a Source prefix is compared with an adjective headed by the purely negative prefix *iN-*. Consider the case of *dispar* 'different' and *impar* 'uneven', 'unequal', 'odd'. Whereas *dispar* identifies the opposite of *par* 'equal, even', *impar/inpar* denotes simply what is not *par* 'equal, even'. The different meaning of both adjectives is illustrated in the following examples:

(69) *dis-pares*   *mores*   *dis-paria*   *studia*

   apart-equal.NOM.PL   character.NOM.PL apart-equal.ACC.PL inclination.ACC.PL

   sequuntur

   follow.PRS.3PL

   'different characters lead to different inclinations'.

   [Gaffiot, s.v. *dispar*: Cic. *Lae.* 74]

(70) *stellarum*   *numerus*   *par*   *an im-par*

   star.GEN.PL   number.NOM.SG   even.NOM.SG or *iN*-even.NOM.SG

   sit,   *nescitur*

   be.PRS.SBJV.3SG   not_know.PRES.PASS.3SG

   'It is not known if the number of stars is even or odd'.

   [Lewis & Short, s.v. *impar*: Cic. *Ac.* 2, 10, 32]

The Source prefix *dis-* gives rise to contrary negation, thus identifying the polar opposite of its non-prefixed counterpart. The negative prefix *iN-*, by contrast, can give rise to contradictory negation, identifying the complement of its non-prefixed counterpart. Therefore, it is possible to identify a middle term between what is *par* 'equal' and what is *dispar* 'different' (it could be the case that something is not exactly equal but is not different either), but there is no middle term between *par* 'even' and *impar* 'odd' (see chapter 5, section 5.4.2, for the difference between contrary and contradictory negation. See chapter 5, section 5.7.4, for the same contrast between *des-* and *iN-* in Spanish). The Source value of the prefix *dis-*, when embedded in an

adjectival context, is used to identify what is placed the furthest in a degree scale, which conveys a contrary (but crucially not contradictory) negative meaning.

In addition to the adjectives listed in (68), other adjectives are attested in Latin that seem to have been created by the addition of a Source prefix to a noun with a subsequent change of category from noun to adjective. Since the intermediate stages [prefix-base]$_N$ and [base-adjectivizing suffix]$_A$ are unattested, these adjectives can be descriptively understood as parasynthetic formations:

(71)   *abnormis* 'departing from a fixed rule, irregular' (*norma*$_N$ 'rule'); *absonus* 'deviating from the right tone, dissonant' (*sonus*$_N$ 'sound, tone'); *avius*   'out of the way, remote' (*via*$_N$ 'path, way'); *amens* 'out of one's senses, mad' (*mens*$_N$ 'mind, conscience'); *devius* 'leading from the right way' (*via*$_N$ 'path, way'); *de-mens* 'out of one's mind, foolish' (*mens*$_N$ 'mind'); *deformis*$_A$ 'departing from the right shape' (*forma*$_N$ 'shape'); *desomnis* 'sleepless' (*somnus*$_N$ 'sleep'); *de-famis* 'shameful' (*fama*$_N$ 'reputation'); *enormis* 'out of the rule', 'irregular', 'enormous' (*norma*$_N$ 'rule'); *exlex* 'beyond the law, bound by no law' (*lex*$_N$ 'law'); *expers* 'having no part in, not sharing in' (*pars*$_N$ 'part, share'); *enervis* 'nerveless, weak' (*nervus*$_N$ 'nerve, vigor'); *discolor* 'of a different colour' (*color*$_N$ 'colour'); *dissors* 'of a different fate' (*sors*$_N$ 'fate').

[Data extracted from *Lewis & Short*]

Once again, the Source value of the prefixes is easily recognizable, and it is also possible to establish contrasts between different Source prefixes attached to the same lexical base: *abnormis* 'departing form a fixed rule' vs. *enormis* 'out of the rule, enormous'; *avius* 'out of the way, remote' vs. *devius* 'leading from the right way'. Besides, these adjectives can also be contrasted with *iN-* prefixed ones, the latter lacking any directional nuance:

(72)   a. *avius* 'away from the way' /
            devius 'off the right way'   vs.   *invius* 'without a road'
        b. *deformis* 'departing from the right shape' vs.   *informis* 'shapeless'
        c. *discolor* 'of a different colour'   vs.   *incolor* 'colorless'
        d. *exlex* 'out of the law'   vs.   *illex* 'without law'

I hypothesize that the adjectives listed in (68) as well as the adjectives listed in (71) involve the same syntactic configuration. In particular, I posit that all of them entail the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root and that the set <prefix-root> is later on categorized as an adjective, as illustrated below:

(73)   Syntax of Latin adjectives headed by a Source prefix (e.g. *absimilis* 'departing from similar, unlike', *deformis* 'departing from the right shape')

```
          PredP  ⇒ Ø
         /    \
       DP     Pred
             /    \
          Pred     AP  ⇒ Ø
                  /   \
                 A    SourceP
                     /     \
                Source     GoalP
                          /    \
                      Goal     PlaceP              ⎫  ab [√AB]
                              /     \              ⎬  de [√DE]
                          Place     AxPart         ⎭
                                   /     \
                               AxPart    √SIMIL ⇒ simil-
                                         √FORM ⇒ form-
```
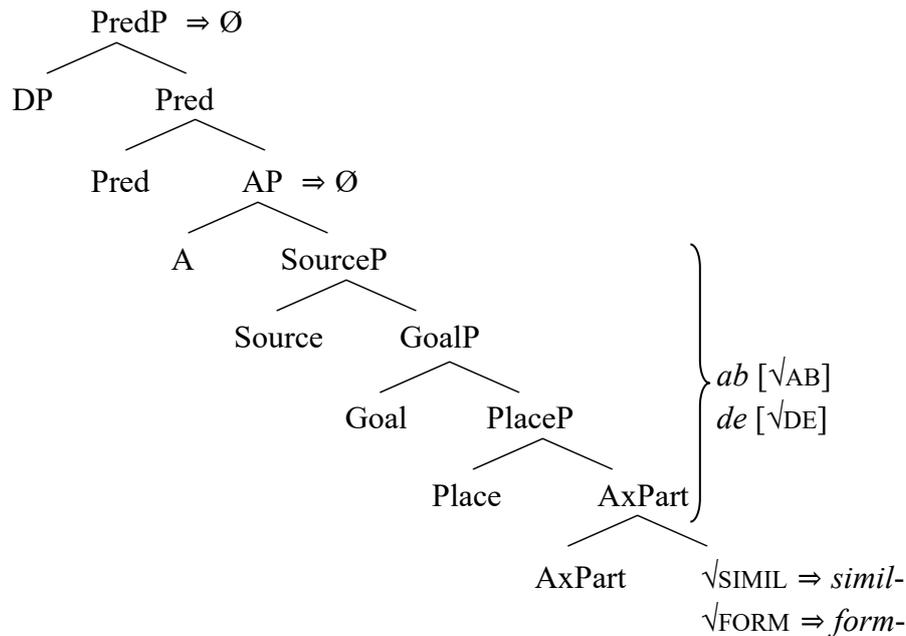
The roots of these prefixed adjectives (√SIMIL in the case of *absimilis* and √FORM in that of *deformis*) are merged at the bottom-most position of the configuration, at complement of AxPart, where they are interpreted as Source Grounds. The Source prefix is introduced (*ab-* and *de-*) to spell out the projections directly dominating the root, that is, AxPart, Place, Goal and Source. Given that the root of the adjective has been first merged at complement of AxPart, the Source prefix leaves its root underassociated, which is possible because both roots identify the same position and are linked by agree. The configuration lexicalized by the root of the adjective and the Source prefix is c-commanded by an A head that categorizes it as an adjective. Finally, a PredP is merged on top of AP to license the subject, which is interpreted as an entity (abstractly) placed away from the property/reality denoted by the root of the adjective (understood as a Ground). Hence, for example, what is *absimilis* is understood to be placed away from [*ab-*] similar [*simil-*] in a degree scale; and what is *deformis* is understood to be placed away from [*de-*] the right shape [*form-*].

Evidence that in these constructions the prefix is attached to an acategorial root is provided by all those cases, listed in (71), in which the addition of a Source prefix to an apparent nominal base triggers a change of category. In fact, these cases do not involve the addition of the prefix to a noun with a successive change of category, but the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root, and the successive categorization of the set <prefix-root> as an adjective. Further evidence of the low position of the prefix in these adjectives comes from cases of apophony as those of *debilis* 'lame, disabled', *difficilis* 'difficult' (both of them listed in 68) and *expers* 'having no part' (an adjective listed in 71). In fact, these vocalic changes in the root are not attested in an *iN*- prefixed adjective as *inhabilis* 'unmanageable, unable' (which shares the same root as *debilis*). As I will explain in the following section, the negative prefix *iN*- is usually added to already categorized bases, which accounts for the fact that in a construction as *inhabilis*, the prefix cannot trigger phonological changes in the root, differently from *debilis*, which involves the addition of the prefix to the uncategorized root *habil*-. The difference existing between the adjectives listed in (68) and those listed in (71), thus, is that the former involve a root that can be independently realized as an adjective, whereas the latter (which I have called parasynthetic as a mere descriptive label) involve a root that can be independently realized as a noun.

In sum, Latin Source prefixes are also used to build adjectival predicates involving a negative meaning, although the basic spatial meaning of departure from a Source is always latent in these constructions. The most productive way to create negative adjectives in Latin, however, is by means of the genuine negative prefix *iN*-, as examined in the following section.

6.5. Evolution of the negative prefix *iN*-

The negative prefix *iN*- is not a case of a prepositional prefix: it does not encode any spatial meaning and it does not possess any corresponding preposition. On the contrary, *iN*- encodes pure negation, differently from the Source prefixes just examined, the negative values of which are secondary meanings derived from their basic spatial, Source-oriented sense. The Proto Indo-European etymon of this prefix is the negative particle **n*- 'not', whose full form, **ne* 'not' is in addition the predecessor of the Latin

negative adverb (and conjunction) *ne* 'not' (cf. Pokorny's [1959] 2011 dictionary, s.v. **ne*).

In chapter 5 it has been shown that the only fully productive pattern for *iN*-prefixation in Spanish is its combination with *-ble* adjectives, in which case *iN*-prefixation seems to be unrestricted (74a; see chapter 5, section 5.3.2). In Spanish, this prefix is also used in a limited set of predicative adjectives that usually display a lexicalized meaning (74b; see chapter 5, section 5.3.1), and it is also attested in a limited series of adjectival passive participles (74c; see chapter 5, section 5.3.3):

(74)   a. *in-traducible* 'untranslatable', *im-parable* 'unstoppable', *ir-rompible* 'unbreakable'

        b. *in-feliz* 'unhappy', *in-humano* 'inhumane', *in-útil* 'useless'

        c. *in-explorado* 'unexplored', *in-acabado* 'unfinished', *im-pagado* 'unpaid'

In any case, *iN*- prefixation is strictly restricted to adjectival predicates in Spanish, and the addition of this prefix to nouns and verbs leads to ungrammaticality (see chapter 5, section 5.2.1).

At first glance, the Latin correspondence of Spanish *iN*- seems to behave alike: in Latin this prefix is basically attested in combination with adjectival predicates. The degree of productivity of *iN*- prefixation in Latin, though, is higher than in Spanish.[17] This contrast is especially striking in the case of adjectival passive participles: *iN*- freely attaches to all sorts of adjectival passive participles in Latin, whereas only a restricted set of adjectival participles admit this prefix in Spanish. In (75) the different degree of productivity of Latin vs. Spanish *iN*- with adjectival passive participles is illustrated by comparing attested forms in Latin with unattested forms in Spanish:

(75)   d. *in-amatus* 'unloved' (Latin)   vs.   **in-amado* (Spanish)

        b. *in-castigatus* 'unpunished' (Latin)vs.   **in-castigado* (Spanish)

        b. *in-cenatus* 'dinnerless' (Latin)   vs.   **in-cenado* (Spanish)

        c. *in-dictus* 'unsaid' (Latin)   vs.   **in-dicho* (Spanish)

        a. *in-uxorus* 'unmarried' (Latin)   vs.   **in-casado* (Spanish)

        f. *in/ir-ruptus* 'unbroken' (Latin)   vs.   **in/ir-roto* (Spanish)

---

[17] The extreme productivity of *iN*- with adjectives has been acknowledged by Bader (1962: 353-354), Brea (1976: 321-323), Baldi (1989: 4), and Montero Curiel (1999: 157), among others. In the words of Baldi (1989: 4), "the prefixation of {IN-} to adjectives is a fully productive process for creating lexical opposites. No list can capture the scope of application of the rule; it is open-ended".

Besides, and as pointed out by Pinkster (2015), in Archaic Latin *iN*- can be added to present participles that seem to keep their verbal character, thus showing a less restrictive character than its Spanish descendant:

(76)   *Non me*   **in**-*dicente*   *haec*   *fiunt.*

      not I.ABL   *iN*-say.PTCP.PRES.ABL   this.NOM   be_made.PRES.3PL

      'I did not fail to predict that this would happen'.

      [Ter. *Ad*. 507; *apud*. Pinkster 2015: §8.8, 734 (a)]

Moreover, Latin *iN*- shows a more autonomous behaviour, as evidenced by the possibility of using this negative prefix separated from the predicate that it negates by the addition of the coordinator -*que* in between:

(77)   *…saepe nocentes /*   *praeterit*   *examinat=que*

      often   hurt.PPLE.PRES.ACC   pass_by.PRES.3SG   swarm.PRES.3SG=and

      in-dignos   **in**=*que*   *merentes.*

      iN-worthy.ACC.PL   *iN*=and   deserve.PTCP.PRES.ACC.PL

      'Often passes the guilty by and slays the innocent and undeserving'.

      [Lucr. 2.1103-4; *apud*. Pinkster 2015: §8.8, 735 (c)]

In fact, Baldi (1989: 6) points out that Latin iN- must not necessarily assimilate the nasal consonant, but that assimilation is optional (see (75f)) and, accordingly, the not assimilated form /in-/ is available in every environment (cf. *inermis* 'unarmed', *inmodestus* 'unrestrained', *inlacerabilis* 'that cannot be torn', *inreverens* 'irreverent), which "shows the strength of the boundary between *iN*- and its host" (Baldi 1989: 6) and clearly points toward the higher degree of autonomy of this prefix in Latin.

      To sum up, Latin *iN*- is more productive and autonomous than Spanish *iN*-, the latter showing more restrictions on the bases it attaches to, disallowing material to be inserted between the prefix and the lexical base, and systematically assimilating the nasal consonant, as examined in chapter 5.

      In line with proposals in De Clercq (2013, 2017), I posit that both in Latin and Spanish, the negative prefix *iN*- lexicalizes a Neg feature that accounts for its negative meaning, as well as a Q feature that accounts for its need to combine with gradable predicates (hence its productivity with adjectival predicates) (see chapter 5, section 5.5.1). Taking into account Newell's (2008) proposal concerning *un*- vs. *iN*- in English

(see chapter 5, section 5.5.2), I put forward that the difference between Spanish (and, presumably, Romance) and Latin is as follows: in Spanish *iN-* has become an adjectival categorizer, which accounts for the higher restrictions imposed by this prefix in this language; in Latin, *iN-* is basically used as an adjunct and, therefore, it shows more freedom in its combinatorial patterns.

Given that Spanish *iN-* lexicalizes a categorizing A(djectival) head, it must necessarily be adjoined cyclically as a sequence of heads on top of the predicate it negates, which precludes any intervening head to be merged between the tree *in-* lexicalizes and the tree lexicalized by the adjectival predicate (see chapter 5, section 5.5.3):

(78)   Basic syntax of *iN-* prefixed adjectives in Spanish

```
              NegP
             /    \
          Neg      QP
                  /   \
                 Q     AP
                      /  \
                     A    …
```
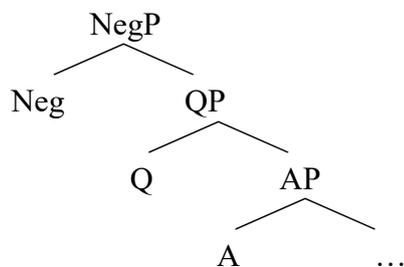
By contrast, Latin *iN-* does not contain a categorizing A feature, and it can thus be merged in the structure counter-cyclically, as an adjunct. This leaves open the possibility of inserting material between the prefix and the adjectival predicate, as in the Latin example in (77). Besides, the analysis of Latin *iN-* as an adjunct does not ban the possibility of using this prefix with non-adjectival predicates, which would account for its use with participles showing verbal behaviour, as in (76). For *iN-* prefixed predicates in Latin, thus, I put forward a basic syntactic structure as the one depicted below, where XP indicates the use of this prefix with non-adjectival predicates:

(79)   Basic syntax of *iN-* prefixed predicates in Latin

```
                  AP/XP
                 /     \
             NegP       AP/XP
            /    \      /    \
          Neg    QP   A/X     …
                  |
                  Q
```
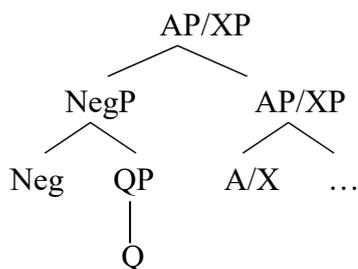
Therefore, I take the view that the evolution from Latin to Romance conveyed the reanalysis of the negative prefix *iN-*, which evolved from a somehow free element (an adjunct) to a derivative morpheme (a categorizing affix). The question that arises at this point, thus, is what triggered such a reanalysis. I hypothesize that one of the factors that favoured the reanalysis of *iN-* as an adjectival categorizer are so-called *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives, that is, cases in which Latin *iN-* is added to a bare root and the output is conceived as a predicative adjective: *implumis/inplumis* 'without feathers' (cf. *pluma* 'feather'), *imberbis/inberbis* 'beardless' (cf. *barba* 'beard'), *inermis* 'without arms' (cf. *arma* 'arms'), *infamis* 'infamous' (cf. *fama* 'reputation'), *informis* 'that has no form' (*forma* 'form').

It has been usually assumed that these constructions involve the prefixation of a noun with a concomitant change of category from noun to adjective. However, in these cases the prefix is not added to a categorized nominal, but to a bare root that can be independently realized as a noun. The fact that in these cases the prefix *iN-* can trigger apophony in the root, as is the case in *inermis* 'unarmed' and *imberbis* 'beardless', further points toward the direct adjunction of the prefix to the uncategorized root. It must be noticed that, given the adjunct nature of *iN-* in Latin, this prefix is predicted to be able to be adjoined at different positions within the configuration. The most attested cases are those in which *iN-* is adjoined to a categorized adjective (e.g., *inhabilis* 'unmanageable', in which case apophony is not triggered). In addition, this prefix can be adjoined low in the structure, at the level of the root (which can trigger apophony to the root).

Crucially, it is not any kind of root that allows adjunction of the negative prefix *iN-* in Latin, but only the roots that denote inalienable possessions or inherent properties and, thus, that are conceptually related to another entity of which they are an intrinsic part. As presented above, Latin *iN-* lexicalizes both a Neg feature as well as a Q feature, so it can only be combined with predicative elements allowing for quantification. This is in fact the case in so-called *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives, since the bare roots to which *iN-* is prefixed are elements that necessarily establish a relation of predication with another entity. In fact, and as noticed by Brea (1976: 323), when *iN-* is used to negate a bare root (in her account, a bare nominal), what is negated is not the existence of the object denoted by the root, but the relation that the denotation of the root establishes with another entity/object. Hence, for instance, in *implumis* what is predicated is not the non-existence of *plum-* 'feathers', but the non-existence of *plum-* 'feathers' in a

particular being. Therefore, the output of combining *iN-* with a bare root must necessarily be a predicative item, which explains the interpretation of these constructions as predicative adjectives. It is not the case, however, that in these Latin constructions the prefix imposes adjectival categorization to the configuration. I conjecture that *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives involve the syntactic configuration detailed below:

(80)   Syntax of *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives in Latin (e.g. *implumis* 'without feathers')

```
                    PredP ⇒ Ø
                   /         \
                 DP          Pred
                            /      \
                          Pred      AP ⇒ Ø
                                   /      \
                                  A       √PLUM ⇒ plum-
                                 /   \        /        \
                           -iN ⇐ NegP       √PLUM
                                  /    \
                                Neg    QP
                                        |
                                        Q
```
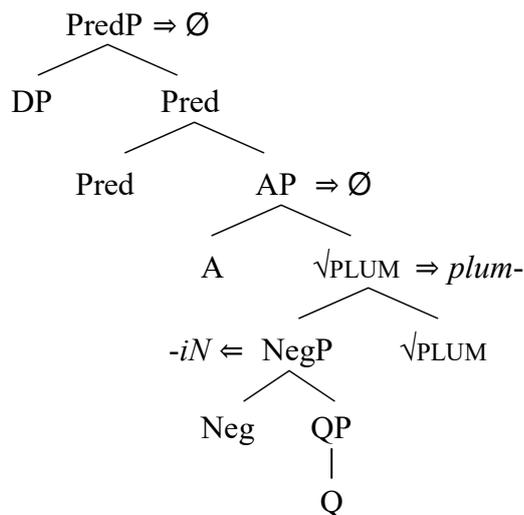
According to the configuration I postulate for Latin *iN-* parasynthetic adjectives, in these cases the syntactic tree lexicalized by *iN-* is merged in the structure as an adjunct of the root, in accordance with the claim made above that Latin *iN-* is an adjunct.[18] The prefixed root is dominated by an AP that categorizes it as an adjective. Finally, a PredP is merged on top of AP to define the configuration as a predicate and license the DP subject.

These *iN-* prefixed predicates, in which the addition of *iN-* to an acategorial root involves systematically the emergence of a predicate conceived as an adjective, together with the fact that this prefix was mainly used in the prefixation of adjectival predicates, could be at the base of the reanalysis of *iN-* as an adjectival categorizer. A more in depth investigation of how such a reanalysis occurred, and if it could be linked to any of the linguistic cycles addressed in Van Gelderen (2011), is an issue I leave for further research (see Gibert Sotelo, in prep.).

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[18] That *iN-* must also be an adjunct even in these cases is evidenced by the fact that it must not necessarily assimilate the nasal consonant: *imberbis/inberbis* 'without beard'; *implumis/inplumis* 'without feathers' (see Lewis & Short, s.v.).

6.6. Conclusion

I have offered a contrastive analysis of Source and negative prefixes in Latin and Spanish (and Romance in general) to provide a more accurate account of the behaviour of these elements and, alongside, draw the evolutionary path from Latin to Romance. I have first shown that Latin Source prefixes involve a richer semantics and a more elaborate syntactic structure than Spanish *des*-. This difference, examined in section 6.2, has been argued to be the reflection of the satellite-framed nature of Latin, as opposed to the verb-framed nature of Spanish. In section 6.3, on the grounds of the principles stated in Nanosyntax and Real Puigdollers' (2013) theory of lexicalization by phase, I have offered a syntactic account of the different typological patterns involved in Latin verbs headed by Source prefixes and Spanish *des*-prefixed verbs. Particularly, I have proposed that the Source path lexicalized by Latin Source prefixes is non-defective and defines a phase, which allows a verbal root to be merged on top of Source, at complement of Proc, and therefore to be interpreted as a Co-event (i.e., the satellite-framed pattern). In Spanish, by contrast, the Source path lexicalized by *des*- is defective and does not constitute a phase, which prevents merging the root on top of Source. The Co-event conflation pattern typical of satellite-framed configurations is therefore not possible in this language. In *des*-prefixed verbs, thus, the root of the verb is merged at the bottom-most position of the phase, as the complement of Place, where it is interpreted as a Source Ground. This verb-framed strategy is available in Latin ablative (or location) parasynthetic verbs, in which the verbal root is configurationally identified with a Source Ground, which provides evidence in favour of Acedo-Matellán's (2016a) prediction that satellite-framed languages allow verb-framed constructions but not the other way around. The rich syntax and semantics of Latin Source prefixes is still traceable in adjectival predicates, which, as opposed to those predicates headed by the negative prefix *iN*-, hold a directional Source-oriented meaning that is at the base of the contrary negation that they can express, as illustrated in section 6.4. As for the negative prefix *iN*-, dealt with in section 6.5, I show that it underwent a reanalysis throughout the evolution from Latin to Romance, evolving from an adjunct element showing a certain degree of syntactic and phonological autonomy to a categorizing affix.

CHAPTER 7

Concluding remarks

In this last chapter I will conduct two tasks. The first one will be to highlight the main conclusions reached throughout this dissertation under the light of the general question raised in chapter 1. The second one will be to point out what I consider to be the main avenues for further research that I expect my can be extended to.

7.1. Main contributions of the dissertation

This thesis offers a contrastive analysis of Source prefix *des-* and negative prefix *iN-* in Spanish, and compares these two prefixes with their Latin predecessors so as to highlight, in the first place, that even though both Source prefixes and negative ones have usually been treated in the literature as conforming a unique class, which is that of negative prefixes (see, e.g., Varela & Martín García 1999; Montero Curiel 1999; among many others), they are crucially different; and, in the second place, that the evolution from Latin to Romance triggered typological changes and reanalyses that are traceable when comparing these elements in both systems. By doing so, I have endeavoured to show the advantages of approaching the relation between the lexicon and the syntactic component from a neo-constructionist perspective that assumes a crucial distinction between structural meaning, i.e., the meaning that emerges from the syntactic configuration, and conceptual content, contributed by the particular exponents inserted in the structures delivered by syntax at the moment of Spell-Out.

The theoretical assumptions underlying this thesis have been presented in depth in chapter 2. I have articulated a theory of the syntax-lexicon interface that mainly draws on the principles of Nanosyntax (see Svenonius *et al*. 2009 and Baunaz *et al*., forthcoming, for a detailed overview) but that also takes into consideration Real Puigdollers' (2013) version of Phase Theory and Pustejovsky's (1995) formalization of lexical semantics in terms of *Qualia* Structure. Accordingly, I have provided an architecture of grammar in which syntax is prior to lexical insertion and lexical exponents are the spell-out of portions of syntactic trees. As conforming to Real Puigdollers' (2013) model, Spell-out is marked by the phase, and phase heads are

parameterizable, which leaves open the possibility for roots, the acategorial elements that can only be merged at the bottom-most position of a given phase, to be inserted on top of a phase-defining projection, and at the bottom of the following phase. Besides, by taking into consideration Pustejovsky's (1995) *Qualia* Structure, I have tried to answer the second question raised in the first chapter of the dissertation: the precise way in which grammar combines structural semantics and conceptual semantics. Adopting a non-canonical approach to the Generative Lexicon theory proposed by Pustejovksy (1995 ff.), I have stated that lexical exponents (and, more specifically, lexical exponents containing a root in their lexically stored trees, which is the locus of conceptual content) are related to a basic and underspecified *Qualia* Structure, and that, after Spell-Out, once the lexical exponents have been inserted in the syntactic configuration, their *Qualia* Structures interact, which allows new, more precise senses to emerge and ultimately determine the exact meaning of the configuration.

The detailed study of the Spanish Source prefix *des-* has been conducted in chapters 3 and 4, where I have tried to demonstrate that *des-* is a Source prefix (with Source path semantics) rather than a negative one. In particular, chapters 3 and 4 have contributed to discussing the first theoretical problem outlined in chapter 1, that is, the question of how the same affix can give rise to different interpretations. Besides, these two chapters, and, especially, chapter 3, have offered examples of how to implement the idea that what ultimately determines the meaning of the configuration is the conceptual content associated to the root, as advanced in chapter 2 and outlined above as the answer to the second question raised in chapter 1 —namely, how grammar combines structural and conceptual semantics.

In chapter 3 I have dealt with verbal predicates prefixed with *des-*. I have provided an analysis of so-called parasynthetic verbs according to which the different semantic classes distinguished in the previous literature (namely, ablative, privative, decreasing property, and destruction verbs) can be reduced to a unique syntactic configuration, which is the configuration that corresponds to a telic Source-oriented transition that encodes the departure from the state identified by the root. In such a configuration, the projections lexicalized by the prefix (that is, Soure, Goal and Place) are merged on top of the acategorial root, below the subeventive projections that define the structure as a verbal one.

Regarding the different semantic subclasses of *des*-parasyntehtic verbs, I have argued that they emerge as a consequence of the connections established, at a conceptual level, between the *qualia* structure of the root and that of the internal argument of the predicate, which specifies if the Source path lexicalized by the *des*- is to be understood as physical departure (ablative verbs, e.g. *desterrar* 'to exile'), as deprivation (privative verbs, e.g. *descabezar* 'to behead'), as decrease of a given property (decreasing property verbs, e.g. *desbravar*(se) 'to (make) become less wild') or as destruction (destruction verbs, e.g. *despedazar* 'to tear to pieces').

With regard to reversative verbs (e.g., *descoser* 'to unsticth'), I have claimed that they share the same structural properties as so-called parasynthetic verbs and that, accordingly, they involve the same syntactic structure. As for their reversative semantics, I have assumed that it emerges from the specific meaning of the root, which is conceptually identified with a dynamic event. Finally, I have posited that the negative meaning of the verbs that I have called negative (e.g., *desconocer* 'not to know'), is the result of embedding the Source path lexicalized by *des*- in a stative configuration, given that this Source path, not being at the complement of Proc but at the complement of stative Init (Kimian states) or of a central coincidence P (Davidsonian states), is not interpreted as a Source-oriented transition (i.e., a transition closed in its initial point) but as a Source-oriented (or lower bounded) scale (i.e., a scale closed in its initial or lower degree) that picks out the outer end of the scale of the unprefixed predicate, which triggers the (contrary) negative meaning.

As for adjectives and nouns, addressed in chapter 4, I have proposed that, like *des*- prefixed verbs, they involve the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root, and that the categorizing projections that define the sequence as an adjective or as a noun are merged on top of the configuration lexicalized by *des* and the exponent of the root. The static interpretation of the prefix as contrary negation (i.e., opposition in a degree scale) and not as a telic Source oriented transition is due to the fact that SourceP is not dominated by ProcP, but by static categorizing heads: A(djective) in the case of adjectives, and N(oun) in the case of nouns. Evidence of the low position of the prefix also in these predicates has been provided by the different scalar structures involved by *des*- prefixed adjectives/nouns and their non-prefixed counterparts: *des*- prefixed adjectives and nouns necessarily involve a lower boundary in their degree scales (which triggers their negative meaning, according to which the property or state denoted by the

root does not hold), whereas the scales inherent to their non-prefixed correlates must not necessarily entail a boundary.

In sum, in chapters 3 an 4 I have proposed that the different classes of *des-* prefixed items share a basic configuration that is the one represented below. Depending on the functional projections dominating the prefix (XP), the Source path that *des-* lexicalizes (Source, Goal and Place) is interpreted as dynamic or as a static; and the conceptual content of the root specifies the cognitive domain to which this Source path applies (e.g., change of place, change of state, change of possession, reversion, minimal degree of a property/state, etc.):

(1)   XP ⇒ categorizing affix

        X   SourceP

              Source   GoalP

                      Goal   PlaceP

        des-

                              Place   √ ⇒ lexical exponent of the root
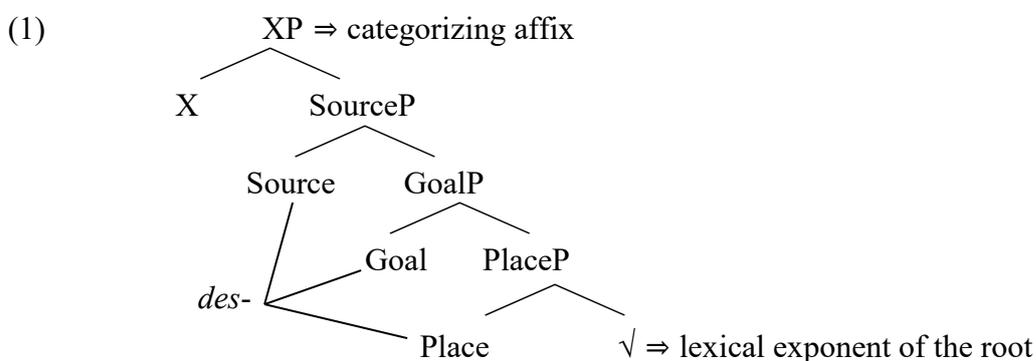
Chapter 5 has been devoted to the analysis of *iN-* and to its comparison with *des-*, so as to provide further evidence for the claim, explicitly stated throughout this dissertation, that *iN-* is a negative marker but *des-* is not. Hence, I have proposed an analysis of *iN-* that has made it clear that the internal structure of this prefix does not correspond to the internal structure of *des-*. This chapter has thus contributed to discussing the third question raised in the first chapter of the dissertation, to wit, how morphemes with similar meanings compete for insertion. In particular, from the analysis I propose it follows that these two prefixes do not compete for insertion: their meanings and their structure are substantially different. The apparent synonymy of *des-* and *iN-*, therefore, only emerges under certain contexts: when *des-* is embedded in static configurations that coerce its Source semantics to be interpreted as contrary negation. As for *iN-*, it is a case of a negative marker. As other negative markers, it can encode both contradictory and contrary negation (2a vs. 2b), and license NPIs under its scope (3):

(2)   a. #*Estas facturas **no** están ni pagadas **ni**   im-pagadas*.   (contradictory neg.)

        These receipts NEG are neg paid.PL NEG NEG-paid.PL

        '#These receipts are neither paid nor unpaid'.

b. *El   resultado **no** ha sido ni   justo **ni**   in-justo*. (contrary neg.)

The result   neg has been neg fair   neg   NEG-fair

'The result has been neither fair nor unfair'.

[http://futbol.as.com/futbol/2009/12/13/mas_futbol/1260658861_850215.html]

(3)   *Mi vecino   es *(in)capaz de hacer nada   bien*.

My neighbour is *(un)able   to do   anything   well

In addition to its Neg(ative) semantics, *iN-* involves Q(uantification) over a scale (see Fábregas 2005 and De Clercq 2013, 2017 for the same claim). Besides, *iN-* cannot combine with nominal and verbal bases, being only productive with gradable adjectival bases or acategorial roots, which clearly indicates that this prefix imposes A(djectival) categorization to the resulting prefixed form (see Newell 2008 for the analysis of English *iN-* as an adjectivizing affix). In view of that, I have provided an analysis of *iN-* according to which this prefix is the spell-out of a Neg, a Q and an A feature, as depicted below:

(4)
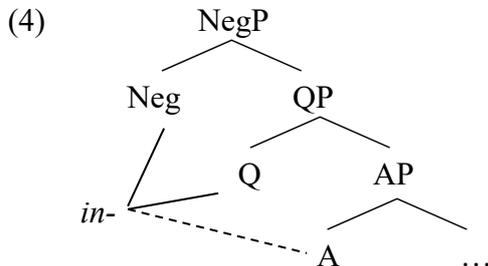
When combined with acategorial roots (e.g., *imberbe* 'beardless'), iN- spells out all the features that it is specified for. By contrast, when it negates an adjectival base (e.g., *intraducible* 'untranslatable'), its A feature remains underassociated, by virtue of the Superset Principle. Concerning the ability of this prefix to give rise either to contradictory or to contrary negation, it has been shown that it depends on the structure lexicalized by the base: if the tree lexicalized by the base contains projections that impede the prefix and the root to individually negotiate their meaning (e.g., when Asp intervenes between the root and the projections lexicalized by the prefix), then the contradictory reading emerges. By contrast, when the prefix and the root are in a sufficiently local domain, then the contrary reading may be triggered.

Finally, chapter 6 has mainly contributed to the discussion of the fourth theoretical aspect pointed out in chapter 1: morphosyntactic diachronic variation. By analyzing the Latin predecessors of *des-* and *iN-* in Latin, I have provided further evidence to the long-standing view that the evolution from Latin to Romance triggered typological changes and reanalysis. In the case of Latin Source prefixes (*ab-*, *de-*, *dis-* and *ex-*), they have been shown to involve a richer semantics and a more elaborate syntactic structure. These prefixes, as opposed to Spanish *des-*, involve conceptual information (they contain a root in their entries) as well as information regarding the shape of the Ground component (AxPart), which allows them to establish contrasts (cf. *ab-duco* 'to lead away' vs. *e-duco* 'to draw out'), to select long-distance DPs as complements, and to act as intransitive P elements. In addition, the path encoded by Latin Source prefixes is non-defective and defines a phase. In particular, the head that defines a phase is Goal, which is the head that defines a transition, Source being an extension of the phase defined by Goal used to reverse its directionality. As per Real Puigdollers' (2013) theory of the merger of roots, this allows a root to be merged on top of SourceP, at the complement of Proc, and to be interpreted, accordingly, as a Co-event (the Co-event conflation pattern) as conforming to a satellite-framed system. The Romance prefix *des-*, not containing a phase head, cannot be involved in a satellite-framed configuration featuring the Co-event conflation pattern.
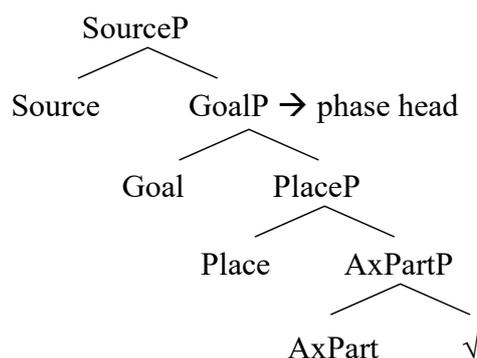
(5)   a. Syntax of Latin Source prefixes   b. Syntax of Spanish *des-*
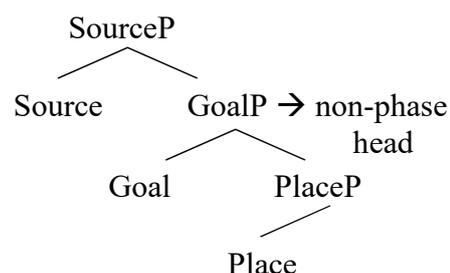
Concerning the negative prefix *iN-*, it has been shown that in Latin this element showed a more autonomous behavior and was not exclusively restricted to adjectival bases, which has led me to hypothesize that, in this language, *iN-* did not contain an (A)djective feature and was merged in the configuration as an adjunct, as is proposed by Newell (2008) for English *un-*:

(6)   Basic syntax of *iN-* prefixed predicates in Latin

```
                        AP/XP
                   ⁄          ⁄
            NegP              AP/XP
           ⁄    ⁄            ⁄      ⁄
       Neg      QP        A/X      …
                  |
                  |
                  Q
```
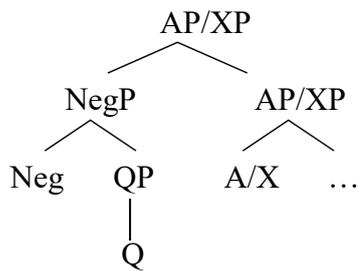
Accordingly, I have postulated that the evolution from Latin to Romance involved the reanalysis of *iN-*, which evolved from an adjunct showing more freedom in its combinatorial patterns to an adjectivizing morpheme.

7.2. Avenues for further research

7.2.1. Linearization

In this dissertation I have concentrated on the interface between syntax and semantics, and consequently I have not paid much attention to the way in which the right linearization of exponents is obtained. Hence, I have limited myself to assuming that the right linearization is achieved at the PF branch, where exponents must satisfy certain phonological conditions stipulated in their lexical entries. Within a neo-constructionist approach as the one pursued in this thesis, however, a more desirable explanation would be one that could derive the right linearization from structural properties, rather than from particular lexical entries.

The analyses I have provided for Source prefixes both in Latin and Spanish do not allow to derive the right linearization of the exponents structurally. In the case of the Spanish prefix *des-*, I have argued that it is always inserted below the categorizing projections, above the root, thus predicting the linear order <categorizing affix-prefix-root>. However, this order does not correspond to the surface shape of these constructions, in which the categorizing affix (be that an overt suffix, a theme vowel or a zero morpheme; see section 7.2.2) happens to be a suffix:

(7)   XP ⇒ categorizing affix

            X   SourceP

                  Source   GoalP

                         Goal   PlaceP

            des-

                                Place   √ ⇒ lexical exponent of the root
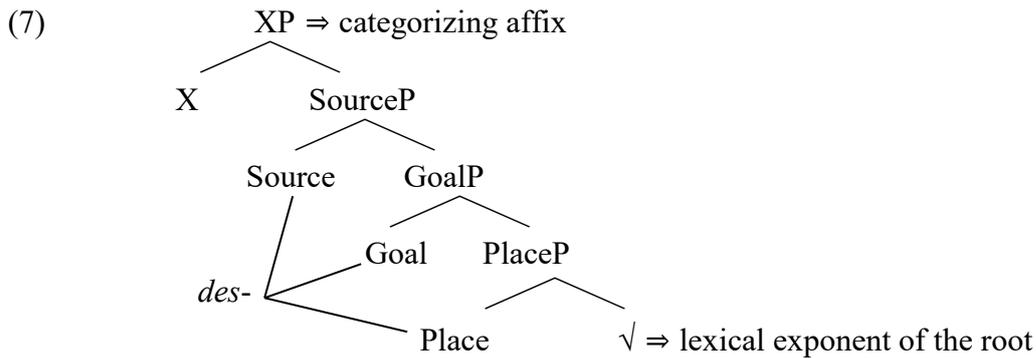
Interestingly, according to Kayne (2017), the fact that certain affixes are prefixes and others are suffixes is not accidental. Hence, it is expected that we find language-internal or even crosslinguistic syntactic properties that help us predict whether a given affix will end up in a prefixal or in a suffixal position.

Against the backdrop of Kayne's proposal, a possibility to be explored in further research is whether it could be justified that the Source prefix *des-* must move to a higher functional projection in order to be interpreted. Hence, it could be the case that in Spanish SourceP, and the projections dominated by that node, should necessarily c-command a node with a categorial label, which would trigger the movement of this element and the elements governed by it to a higher position, above the categorizing projections. If it where the case, a further issue to be explored would be if the same requirement is also present in typologically different languages, such as Latin, which would allow to structurally derive the prefixal position of Source affixes (and other affixes of directional or spatial semantics) also in this language.

7.2.2. Verbalizing suffixes

Throughout the preceding chapters I have explored the relationship existing between prefixes and their bases. In the case of *des-* prefixed verbs, I have argued that they all involve the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root (but see 7.2.3), and I have explored how the conceptual content associated to the exponent of the root ultimately determines the precise meaning of these predicates. However, I have not explored in detail what the relation existing between the verbalizing morphology and the rest of the configuration is, and I have just assumed that the subeventive projections that define the configuration as a verb are spelled out by a verbalizing suffix, the nature of which I have not discussed. Hence, I have not made explicit what I assume is the verbalizer in

des-prefixed verbs without overt verbalizing suffixes: is is a zero morpheme or the theme vowel? For that reason, I have not discussed the exact syntactic status of the theme vowel, which is a long-standing debate (see, among others, Anderson 1982, Rivero 1990, Spencer 1991, Oltra-Massuet 1999; Galani 2002; Fábregas & Pazó 2008). Besides, I have not dealt with the possible contrasts existing between overt verbalizing suffixes such as *-izar* or *-ificar*, and between these overt suffixes and the theme vowel (or zero affix), the meanings of which usually overlap:

(8)   a. *des-gas-ificar* 'to extract the gas from a liquid'   (cf. *gas* 'gas')

        b. *de-salin-izar* 'to extract the salt from the water' (cf. *sal* 'salt' and *salino* 'saline')

        c. *des-cabez-ar* 'to extract the head'   (cf. *cabeza* 'head')

However, certain regularities observed in the choice of verbalizing morpheme suggest that it is not accidental. Hence, as will be shown in the following section, the verbs which seem to have been derived from a relational adjective —*descentralizar* 'to decentralize' (cf. *central* 'central'), *desnacionalizar* 'denationalize' (cf. *nacional* 'national'), etc.; see also *desalinizar* 'to desalinate' in (8)— systematically select for the suffix *-izar*, and so-called parasynthetic verbs hardly ever display an overt verbalizing suffix (see, e.g., (8c)).

        Hence, a line to be explored in further research is, first, whether or not the theme vowel is to be considered a verbalizer,[1] and, second, which is the precise syntactic structure that the different verbalizing affixes lexicalize.

7.2.3. Apparent counterexamples to the claim that *des-* selects acategorial roots

As extensively argued in chapters 3 and 4, *des-* prefixed items regularly involve the addition of the prefix to an acategorial root. However, as pointed out in chapter 3, section 3.4.3.1, footnote 36, some des-prefixed verbs are attested for which it seems difficult to maintain that des- has been added to an acategorial root, given that the base to which *des-* is attached already involves a categorizing suffix. This is basically the case of the verbs listed in (9), where the bases to which *des-* attaches are relational adjectives involving an adjectival suffix:

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[1] See, in this respect, the line of reasoning started by Kayne (2016) and Fábregas (2017), according to whom what defines a verb as a verb is the theme vowel, and that, in fact, theme vowels are to be considered light verbs.

(9)   *descentralizar* 'to decentralize' (*central* 'central'), *deslegalizar* 'to make something stop being legal' (*legal* 'legal'), *desmilitarizar* 'to demilitarize' (*militar* 'military'), *desmovilizar* 'to demobilize' (*móvil* 'mobile'), *desnacionalizar* 'denationalize' (*nacional* 'national'), *desnaturalizar* 'to denature' (*natural* 'natural'), *desnuclearizar* 'to denuclearize' (*nuclear* 'nuclear'), *despenalizar* 'to decriminalize' (*penal* 'criminal, penal'), *desvitalizar* 'devitalize' (*vital* 'vital').

[Data extracted from *Clave* and *DRAE* (2014)]

That the prefix *des-* is sometimes not directly attached to the root is also shown by the stacking of prefixes, as, e.g., *des-en-caden-ar* 'to unchain', where *des-* is not directly attached to the root *caden-* 'chain', but to the prefixed item *en-caden* (lit. "in-cain"). In cases of stacking like this one, *des-* can still be posited to select an acategorial element, given that the prefixe *en-* is not a categorizing affix. In the verbs listed in (9), however, the bases involve an adjectivizing suffix, and accordingly it is hard to maintain that des- selects an acategorial element.

An interesting generalization that could be the key to understand this puzzle is that all the verbs in which *des-* arguably does not select an acategorial base are verbs incorporating a relational adjective. Hence, relational adjectives must have some property that makes them suitable candidates to be selected by a prefix that, otherwise, selects acategorial elements as complements.

According to Fábregas (2007b), the apparent adjectivizing suffix of relational adjectives does not have the ability to change the category of the base to which it is affixed. This accounts for the non-canonical behavior of these elements, which in many respects seem to pattern with nouns rather than with adjectives (see also Bosque 2002, 2006; Bosque & Picallo 1996). In particular, Fábregas provides an analysis of these adjectives according to which the adjectivizing suffix is the spell-out of a little *a* head unable to project its label. Given that Fábregas assumes that relational adjectives involve a nominal base, the structure he proposes for relational adjectives is the following one:

(10)

```
              nP
            /    \
          n       aº
        /   \
      nº     √º
```
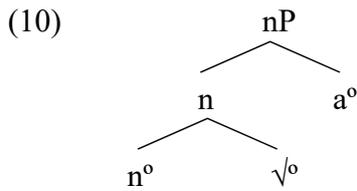
Taking into account Fábregas' (2007b) analysis, it is possible to offer a plausible account of why *des-* can be attached to bases that correspond to relational adjectives: given that the adjectival suffix is the spell-out of an adjective head that cannot project its label, it follows that the addition of this suffix to an acategorial root gives rise to an acategorial element. Therefore, if, departing from Fábregas (2007b), one assumes that relational adjectives incorporate an acategorial root instead of a noun, the verbs listed in (9) may not be counterexamples to the claim that *des-* selects acategorial elements as complements: the relational adjectives that these verbs seem to incorporate would be, in fact, elements that lack category labels.

7.2.4. Source and negative prefixes in other languages

Finally, a task to be conducted in future research is the examination of Source and negative prefixes in other languages. Since in this dissertation I have analyzed the changes undergone by these prefixes in the diachrony from Latin to Spanish, it would be interesting to elucidate whether the cognates in other Romance languages show the same evolutionary pathways.

With regard to Source prefixes, in Spanish only *des-* is productive. However, in other Romance languages it is usually the case that more than one Source prefix is available: in Catalan, for instance, in addition to *des-*, we find the Source prefix *es-*;[2] French counts with the Source prefixes *dé-* and *é-*; in Italian, prefixes *dis-* and *s-* ara available; and in Portuguese, in addition to *des-*, the prefix *es-* is also attested. Hence, it would be interesting to explore how these languages distribute their different Source prefixes and to compare the patterns of all these languages so as to obtain a pan-Romance perspective of these elements. Also interesting for future research is the exploration of how the equivalents of *des-* behave in Germanic languages (e.g., English

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[2] In Old Spanish the prefix *es-* was also attested, and still some verbs remain in Spanish that display this prefix, although the vast majority are lexicalized constructions and usually coexisted with a *des-* prefixed cognate: *espulgar* 'to deflea' vs. *despulgar* 'to deflea', *espabilar* 'to liven up' vs. *despabilar* 'to liven up'. For the scarce productivity of *es-* throughout the history of Spanish and its comparison with *des-*, see Neira Martínez (1969) and Pharies & Pujol Payet (2012).

un-, German *ent-* and Dutch *ont-*), which are typologically different from Romance ones.

As for the pure negative prefix *iN-*, it must be checked if the other Romance languages also reanalyzed this prefix as a categorizing affix, systematically giving rise to adjectival predicates (which, I argue, is the case in Spanish; see chapter 5, section 5.5.2, and chapter 6, section 6.5). Finally *iN-* must be compared in more detail with its Germanic cognates, as, e.g., English *un-*, German *un-* or Dutch *on-*.

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