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On the argument structure of complex denominal verbs in Latin: A syntactic approach*

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Abstract

In this paper I offer a syntactic approach to the formation of complex denominal verbs in Latin. Two basic types of prefixed locative denominal verbs can be distinguished in this language: following Fruyt (2017a,b), location ones (e.g., *exterminare* ‘to drive out of boundaries’; cf. *e(x)* ‘out’ and *terminus* ‘boundary’) “agglutinate” a PP expressing location, whereas locatum ones (e.g., *inflammare* ‘to put fire in’; cf. *in* ‘in’ and *flamma* ‘flame’) contain a noun expressing the *locatum* object. Assuming a syntactic distinction between Incorporation and Conflation in denominal verb formation (cf. Hale and Keyser 2002 and Haugen 2008), I claim that prefixed location verbs are formed via *Incorporation* (i.e. Internal Merge), whereas prefixed locatum verbs are formed via *Conflation* (i.e. External Merge): in incorporation cases, the root *moves* from the innermost position (the complement of P), whereas in conflation cases, the root does not come from an inner complement position but is directly adjoined to the verb. As for unprefixes locative verbs (e.g., *terminare* ‘to set bounds’), these verbs can only be interpreted as locatum predicates. Unlike prefixed locatum verbs, which are claimed to be formed via conflation, the unprefixes ones, which are analyzed as involving a possessive relation à la Hale and Keyser (1993) ([PROVIDE [X WITH $\sqrt{\text{TERMIN-}}$]]), are formed via incorporation. The present approach also provides an explanation of why Romance locatum verbs, unlike location ones, are not necessarily prefixed (e.g., see Di Sciullo (1997) for French). It is also claimed that unprefixes and prefixed locatum verbs in Romance are formed via incorporation rather than via conflation, its reason being related to the typological shift from the presence of a typical conflation pattern in satellite-framed Latin to a lack of it in verb-framed Romance languages (see Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2013, i.a.). Finally, I show that a parallelism can be established between prefixed denominal verbs and

prefixed deadjectival ones: all these Latin verbs are telic and project a ResultP in syntax. In contrast, this projection can be argued to be absent from unprefixes denominal verbs and unprefixes deadjectival ones.

Key words: denominal verbs, locative verbs, syntactic argument structure, incorporation, conflation, Latin

1. Introduction. Complex denominal verbs in Latin

In this paper, I analyze the argument structure of complex denominal verbs in Latin and Romance languages. I concentrate on the productive set of locative verbs: e.g., cf. location verbs like *to bottle* or *to jail* and locatum verbs like *to saddle* or *to flour* (see Clark and Clark (1979), Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002), and Kiparsky (1997), among others, for this famous distinction among locative denominal verbs). The root expresses the location (i.e., the Ground) in the former and the theme (i.e., the Figure) in the latter. The typical semantic paraphrases of these verbs are: ‘to put X {into bottles/into jail}’ and ‘to provide X with {a saddle/flour}’, respectively. The former express a change of location (e.g., ‘to cause the theme to go into the location’), whereas the latter express possession or acquisition (e.g., ‘to cause the location to have a theme’). Unlike in English, location verbs are typically prefixed in Latin and in Romance languages. In contrast, locatum verbs can be prefixed or unprefixes in these languages.

Two basic descriptive types of complex/prefixed locative denominal verbs can be distinguished in Latin: according to Fruyt (2017a,b), the ones in (1) “agglutinate” a PP expressing location (see some examples in (2)), whereas the ones in (3) contain a noun expressing the locatum object (see some examples in (4)). In Talmy’s (1991, 2000) terms, the

verbs in (1) contain a Ground nominal, whereas the ones in (3) contain a Figure noun. See also Mignot (1969), Brachet (2000), and Fruyt (2017a,b), among others, for more examples.

- (1) a. *exterminare* ‘to drive out of boundaries’ (cf. *ex* ‘out’ and *terminus* ‘boundary’);
 b. *adgregare* ‘to add to a flock, to associate’ (cf. *ad* ‘to’ and *grex* ‘flock, troop’);
 c. *inhumare* ‘to bury in the ground, to inhume’ (cf. *in* ‘in’ and *humus* ‘ground’);
 d. *peragrarare* ‘to travel through’ (cf. *per* ‘through’ and *ager* ‘field’);
 etc.

- (2) a. *aliquem ex hominum communitate*
 somebody.ACC.SG from man.GEN.PL community.ABL.SG
exterminare
 out.boundary.INF
 ‘to drive someone out of the human community.’ (Cic. *Off.* 3, 6, 32)
- b. *Ego te semper in nostrum numerum adgregare*
 I.NOM you.ACC always in our.ACC.SG number.ACC.SG ad.troop.INF
soleo
 tend.PRES.1SG
 ‘I am always accustomed to classifying you in our number.’ (Cic. *Mur.* 7.16)
- c. *Non inhumare taleas*
 not inhume.INF cutting.ACC.PL
 ‘Not to bury the cuttings in the ground’ (Plin. *Nat.* 17, 130)
- d. *Cum Asellus omnis se provincias (...)*
 when Asellus.NOM.SG all.ACC.PL him.ACC.SG province.ACC.PL
peragra(vi)sse glorariaretur, ...

through.field.V.PERF.INF glorify.IMP.F.SUBJ.3SG

‘When Asellus was boasting that he had marched through all the provinces, ...’

(Cic. *De Or.* 2, 258)

- e. *Orator* *peragrat* *per* *animos*
speaker.NOM.SG through.field.V.PRES.3SG through spirit.ACC.PL
hominum
man.GEN.PL

‘The orator goes through (i.e., penetrates) the human spirits...’ (Cic. *De Or.* 1, 222)

- (3) a. *inflammare* ‘to put fire in’ (cf. *in* ‘in’ and *flamma* ‘flame’);
 b. *edentare* ‘to render toothless’ (cf. *e(x)* ‘out’ and *dens* ‘tooth’);
 c. *exocularare* ‘to deprive of sight’ (cf. *ex* ‘out’ and *oculus* ‘eye’);
 d. *decorticare* ‘to deprive of bark’ (cf. *de* ‘off’ and *cortex* ‘bark’);
 etc.

- (4) a. *inflammare* *taedas* *ignibus*
in.flame.INF torch.ACC.PL fire.ABL.PL
‘to inflame torches with fire’ (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 48)
 b. *nimis velim* *improbissimo* *homini*
much wish.PRES.SUBJ.1SG dishonest.SUPERL.DAT.SG man.DAT.SG
malas *edentaverint*
jaw.ACC.PL out.tooth.V.PERF.SUBJ.3PL
‘I’d very much like them to knock the teeth out of the jaws of the most
villainous fellow.’ (Pl. *Rud.* 3, 662)

- c. *ni* *ei* *caput* *exoculassitis*
 if.not him.DAT.SG head.ACC.SG out.ey.e.V.FUT.PERF.2PL
 ‘If you don’t beat his eyes out of his head...’ (Pl. *Rud.* 3, 731)
- d. *tradunt* *et abietem* *circa* *germinationes*
 say.PRES.3PL and pine.ACC.SG.FEM around germination.ACC.PL
 decorticatam (...) *aquis* *non corrumpi.*
 off.bark.V.PP.ACC.SG.FEM water.ABL.PL not spoil.PASS.INF
 ‘It is said that the pine whose bark has been stripped off about its germination
 time does not spoil in the water.’ (Plin. *Nat.* 16, 221)

An important empirical generalization that can be drawn from Fruyt’s (2017a,b) excellent descriptive works is that simple/unprefixed locative denominal verbs (e.g, see the verbs in (5)) can only be interpreted as locatum predicates: e.g., a verb like *terminare* in (6) is interpreted as a locatum verb (‘to set bounds to X’) rather than as a location one (‘put X in the limit’). In contrast, location verbs in Latin are consistently prefixed.

- (5) *terminare* ‘to set bounds’; *marginare* ‘to furnish with a border’/‘to border’; *humare* ‘to cover with earth/soil’; *animare* ‘to fill with breath/air’; *crustare* ‘to cover with a rind’, etc.

- (6) *terra* *mare* *et* *contra* *mare* *terras*
 earth.NOM.SG sea.ACC.SG and contrariwise sea.NOM.SG land.ACC.PL
 terminat *omnes.*
 bound.V.PRES.3SG all.ACC.PL
 ‘Earth bounds sea and contrariwise the sea is the boundary of all lands.’ (*Lucr.* 1, 1000)

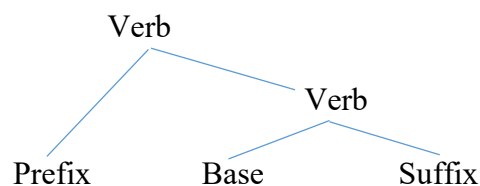
The organization of the paper is as follows: In Section 2, after presenting a relevant previous analysis of Latin prefixed denominal verbs (Serbat 1989; 2001), I offer a syntactic approach to denominal verb formation in Latin. In Section 3, I deal with the syntactic formation of location and locatum verbs in Romance languages. Finally, Section 4 contains a summary of the most important conclusions. The main goal of the present paper is to argue for a syntactic approach to the formation of complex/prefixed denominal verbs in Latin and Romance languages. In particular, special attention is paid to the *conflation* and *incorporation* processes involved in syntactic verb formation (see Hale and Keyser 2002; Haugen 2008; Mateu 2008, 2012; Mateu and Rigau 2010; Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016; Mare 2018; Pinzin 2018, i.a.).

2. A syntactic approach to denominal verb formation in Latin

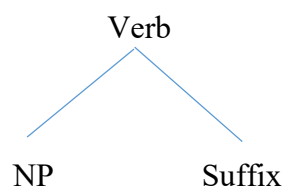
2.1. Serbat's (1989, 2001) analysis of Latin prefixed denominal verbs

Serbat (1989) distinguishes three types of prefixed denominal verbs associated to the following structures: cf. (7a), (7b), and (7c).

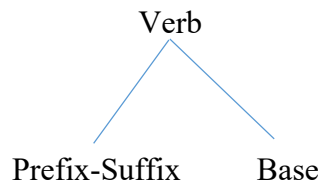
- (7) a. *repugnare* 'to fight against', 'to resist' (cf. *pugnare*)



- b. *eliminare* 'to drive out of doors', 'to banish' (cf. **liminare*)



c. *edentare* ‘to render toothless’ (cf. **dentare*)



In (7a) the prefix *re-* is optional and is external to the basic verb (*pugnare* ‘to fight’). In (7b) the prefix is obligatory and is part of a nominal phrase. According to Serbat (and other structuralist linguists), *ex limine* ‘out of doors’ does not form a prepositional phrase but rather a nominal phrase, i.e., in his framework the preposition is not considered the head of this constituent. Finally, in (7c) the prefix is obligatory and is claimed to form a unity with the verbal suffix (see also Richard (2017) for the proposal that this complex unity can be analyzed as a circumfix). Serbat (1989: 14) points out that in (7c) “the suffix *-āre* is verbalizing the notion assumed by the prefix; and the new verb must be interpreted in relation with the B(ase)”. For example, he paraphrases the meaning of the prefixed denominal verb *ē-dent-āre* (see (3b) and (4b)) as follows: ‘to carry out a removal operation with regard to the teeth’ [Fr. ‘c’est opérer un enlèvement à propos des dents’]. Serbat (2001: 151) makes the important claim that the B(ase) in (7c) is a nominal element inserted into the middle of the complex unity formed by the prefix and the suffix and has the role of a circumstant (i.e., an adjunct in the terminology I use here). The idea that the nominal root in (7c) is an adjunct is not intuitive since this noun seems to encode an obligatory participant: it is the Figure/Theme in the conceptual scene. However, as we will see below in this section, Serbat’s insightful proposal that the nominal Base in (7c) is an adjunct can be claimed to be essentially correct.

2.2. Incorporation and conflation processes in denominal verb formation

Following Mateu's (2012) syntactic approach to the incorporation and conflation processes, I claim that the complex location verbs in (1) are formed via *Incorporation* (i.e. Internal Merge), whereas the complex locatum verbs in (3) are formed via *Conflation* (i.e. External Merge): i.e., the root in complex location verbs is internally merged with the null light verb, whereas the root in complex locatum verbs is externally merged with the null light verb.¹ Cf. also the terminological parallelism with Pottier's (1962) and Mignot's (1969) notions: Fr. "parasynthétiques internes" (the ones of the *eliminare*-type; see (1)) vs. "parasynthétiques externes" (the ones of the *edentare*-type; see (3)), respectively.²

In incorporation cases (see the location denominal verb *exterminare* 'to drive out of boundaries' in (8)), the root moves from the innermost position in the syntactic argument structure: e.g., in (9), the root $\sqrt{\text{TERMIN}}$ - 'boundary' comes from the complement position of the prepositional head, where it is interpreted as the Ground. Moreover, in (9) the direct object *aliquem* 'someone' is claimed to be interpreted both as the Figure/Theme of the inner locative PP and as the Resultee of the ResultP (see Ramchand 2008). As for the hyponymous PP *ex hominum communitate* 'out of the human community' in (8), it has the same function as the lower adjunct PP *on the top shelf* in an example like *John shelved the book (on the top shelf)*; cf. Hale and Keyser (1997, 2002), Haugen (2009), and Mateu (2008), i.a., for related proposals on hyponymous objects. As pointed out by Mateu (2008, 2012), the Ramchandian ResultP can also be regarded as Hoekstra's (1988, 2004) Small Clause Result, whose empirical and theoretical validity has been shown in his syntactic approach to the formation of Germanic prefixed/complex verbs.

(8) *aliquem* *ex hominum* *communitate* *exterminare*

somebody.ACC.SG out man.GEN.PL community.ABL.SG out.boundary.INF

‘to drive someone out of the human community’ (Cic. *Off.* 3, 6, 32)

- (9) [_{VP} -a- [_{RESP} aliquem_i [_{RES} Res [_{PP} ~~aliquem_i~~ [_{EX}- √TERMIN-]]]]]

In contrast, in conflation cases, the root (e.g., *flamm(a)*- ‘flame’ in (10)) does not come/move from an inner Small Clause-like predicate position but is directly adjoined to the causative verb via External Merge, as depicted in (11). The syntactic analysis in (11) captures Serbat’s (1989, 2001) important claim that the root √*FLAMM*- is structurally interpreted as a “circumstant”, i.e., an adjunct (see (7c)), which can also be further specified through the ablative adjunct *ignibus* ‘with fire(s)’. For example, complex locatum verbs like the one in (10) can be syntactically analyzed as in (11) (see also Acedo-Matellán (2010: 146-147)): following Mateu’s (2008) derivational analysis of German prefixed locatum verbs like *unterkellern* ‘to put a cellar under’ or *überdachen* ‘to roof over’, the initial structure of Latin prefixed locatum verbs like (10) can be shown to correspond to the same structure argued for complex location verbs like (8): cf. (11) with (9).

- (10) *inflammare taedas ignibus*
in.flame.INF torch.ACC.PL fire.ABL.PL
‘to inflame torches with fire’ (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 48)

- (11) [_{VP} √*FLAMM*-a- [_{RESP} taedas_i Res [_{PP} Ø [in- ~~taedi-~~]]]]]

In (10) the Figure/Theme argument can be expressed via an instrumental-like adjunct in ablative case (e.g., *ignibus* ‘with fire(s)’); cf. also the *mit*-phrase in German Ground Object

constructions: e.g. Germ. *unterkellern mit einem Kohlenkeller* (lit. ‘under-cellar-V with a coal cellar’). Following Svenonius (2004), Mateu (2008), Acedo-Matellán (2010), and Mare (2018), I claim that there is a correlation between *promoting* the Ground argument *taedas* ‘torches’, which initially occupies the complement position of the prepositional prefix *in-* ‘in’, to an affected direct argument position, i.e., to the specifier of ResultP (see Ramchand (2008)), and *demoting* the Figure/Theme argument, which appears as an instrumental-like adjunct: e.g. in (10) the root $\sqrt{FLAMM-}$, which is adjoined to the verbal head, is further specified by the ablative adjunct *ignibus* ‘with fires’. Following Svenonius, the constructions that involve promotion of the Ground argument to a direct object position and demotion of the Figure to an adjunct status can be analyzed as a sort of passive construction: the internal argument *taedas* ‘torches’ is moved to an upper prominent position, whereas the initial “subject” argument (the specifier of the PP in (11)) is not projected, this being allowed to be recovered as an adjunct (cf. *flamma/ignibus* in (11)).

Ground object constructions are also relevant when dealing with the so-called “locative alternation”. For example, the Ground object variant exemplified in (12) can be compared with the Figure object variant *Aquam_{Acc} frigidam_{Acc} per caput_{Acc} fundere* (‘to spray cold water through the head’). Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013, 2016) argue that the prefixed locatum structure in (12) can be claimed to be derived from the more basic change of location variant *Aquam_{Acc} frigidam_{Acc} per caput_{Acc} fundere* (‘to spray cold water through the head’). The formation of the Ground object variant involves demotion of the Figure object ‘cold water’ (*aquam_{Acc} frigidam_{Acc}*) to adjunct status (*aqua_{Abl} frigida_{Abl}*) and promotion of the Ground object ‘the head’ (*caput_{Acc}*) to direct object.³ Accordingly, an interesting parallelism can be shown to be drawn between the prefixed Ground object variant of the locative alternation (see (12)) and prefixed/complex locatum verbs like the one in (10): cf. (13) with (11).

- (12) *Caput aqua frigida perfundere*
 head.ACC.SG water.ABL.SG cold.ABL.SG through.pour.INF
 ‘to wet the head with cold water’ (Cels. *Med.* 4, 2, 7)

- (13) $[_{VP} \sqrt{FUND-V} [_{RESP} \text{caput}_i \text{ Res } [_{PP} \emptyset [\text{per-} \text{caput}_i-]]]]$

Furthermore, as noted above, simple/unprefixed locative verbs (e.g, see some examples in (14)) can only be interpreted as locatum predicates: e.g., a verb like *terminare* is interpreted as a locatum verb (‘to set bounds’) rather than as a location one (‘put in the limit’): e.g., see (15). In contrast, location verbs in Latin are consistently prefixed.

- (14) *terminare* ‘to set bounds’; *marginare* ‘to furnish with a border’/‘to border’; *humare* ‘to cover with earth/soil’; *animare* ‘to fill with breath’; *crustare* ‘to cover with a rind’, etc.

- (15) *terra mare et contra mare terras*
 earth.NOM.SG sea.ACC.SG and on_the_contrary sea.NOM.SG land.ACC.PL
terminat omnes.
 bound.V.PRES.3SG all.ACC.PL
 ‘Earth bounds sea and contrariwise the sea is the boundary of all lands.’ (*Lucr.* 1, 1000)

As shown in the next section, there is an important connection between prefixation and resultativity in Latin. The syntactic argument structure of unprefixed locatum verbs like (15) is not resultative: there is no ResultP included in (16). The resultative prefix is only necessary

for location verbs. This fact can be accounted for by claiming that complex location verbs like *exterminare* in (8) involve a kind of Small Clause Result (Hoekstra 1988, 2004) (see (9)), whereas locatum verbs like *terminare* in (15) lack it.

(16) [_{VP} -a- [_{PP} mare [WITH $\sqrt{\text{TERMIN-}}$]]]

One could reply that a more intuitive analysis of the Latin locatum denominal verb *terminat* ‘sets bounds’ in (15) is not the one argued by Hale and Keyser (2002), which is depicted in (16) (i.e., ‘to provide the sea with bounds’), but rather the following one: [_{VP} -a- [_{PP} $\sqrt{\text{TERMIN-}}$ [_{IN} mare]]], i.e., ‘to put bounds to the sea’. However, as pointed out by Hale and Keyser (1993) in their analysis of denominal verb formation, no incorporation process can take place from a specifier position. Accordingly, the previous structure where the root occupies a specifier position is not a good source for deriving a locatum denominal verb.⁴

The present analysis of locatum verbs in Latin has then been shown to be based on the two following claims: (i) “true” locatum verbs are unprefixes (e.g., *terminare* ‘to set bounds’; *marginare* ‘to provide with (a) border(s)’, etc.) and (ii) prefixed locatum verbs (e.g., *inflammare* ‘to put fire in’; *edentare* ‘to render toothless’) can be derived from an underlying location structure, which, as claimed above, is always prefixed, i.e., these complex locatum verbs constitute Ground object constructions where the Ground has been generated as the complement of the prepositional prefix and raises to the affected direct argument position (i.e., to the specifier of ResultP).

Before concluding this section, it should also be pointed out that, for those prefixed locatum verbs that turn out to have an equally prefixed adjectival counterpart (e.g., cf. *elinguare-*

elinguis ‘to deprive of the tongue’-‘tongueless’; *exanimare-exanimis* ‘to deprive of spirit’-‘lifeless’; *exossare-exossis* ‘to debone’-‘boneless’, i.a.),⁵ there is an alternative analysis that is worth being pursued: i.e., these verbs can be argued to be derived from a causative change of state structure. For example, *elinguare* can be directly analyzed as a “deadjectival” verb formed from the attested adjective *elinguis* ‘deprived of a tongue’: i.e., ‘to cause someone to become deprived of a tongue’. However, as pointed out by Richard (2017: 23-24), this possibility cannot be extended to all prefixed locatum verbs since it is not the case that all of them turn out to have a prefixed adjectival counterpart. Following him, I conclude that both parasynthetic patterns -the verbal one and the adjectival one- coexisted in Latin.

2.3. On the connection between prefixation and resultativity in Latin

A parallelism can be established between prefixed denominal verbs like the ones analyzed in Section 2.2 and prefixed deadjectival verbs like *emollire* ‘to make soft’ (*e(x)* ‘out’ + *mollis* ‘soft’; cf. Cat. *estovar* ‘to soften’; see (17)). These prefixed verbs are all telic (see Romagno (2003), Haverling (2003, 2010), Devine and Stephens (2013), Acedo-Matellán (2016), and Mateu (2017), i.a.) and can be claimed to project a ResultP headed by the prefix (see (18)).⁶ In contrast, this resultative phrase can be argued to be absent from atelic unprefixes denominal verbs like *terminare* ‘to set bounds’ and atelic unprefixes deadjectival ones like *mollire* ‘to soften’ (e.g., see (20) for the syntactic analysis of the verbal argument structure in (19)).

- (17) *et umor arcus fundasque et*
 and moisture.NOM.SG bow.ACC.PL sling.ACC.PL.COP_CONJ and
iaculorum amenta emollierat
 javelin.GEN.PL thong.ACC.PL out-soft.V.PAST.PERF.3SG

‘and the moisture had softened the bowstrings and slings and the thongs of the javelins.’ (Liv. 37, 41, 4)

(18) $[_{VP} \text{ -}\bar{i}\text{-} [_{RESULTP} \text{ arcusi} [_{RESULT'} \text{ e-} [_{PREDP} \text{ arcusi} [_{PRED'} \text{ Pred} [\sqrt{MOLL}\text{-}]]]]]]]$

(19) *Lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt*
 tears.NOM.PL. my.GEN.PL me.ACC.SG sometimes soften.PRES.3PL
 ‘The tears of those I love sometimes sap my resolution.’ (Cic. *Att.* 10.9.2)

(20) $[_{VP} \text{ -}\bar{i}\text{-} [_{PREDP} \text{ me} [_{PRED'} \text{ Pred} [\sqrt{MOLL}\text{-}]]]]]$

Despite its morphological identity, it is also worth pointing out that the prefix *e(x)-* of the deadjectival verb *emollierat* in (17) and that of an equally deadjectival verb like *erudierunt* in (21) have different properties. In the former the prefix encodes egressive resultativity, whereas in the latter the prefix not only lexicalizes such a resultative meaning but also directly takes the property expressed by the root as its complement: cf. the different argument structure analyses in (18) and (22a), respectively, where $\sqrt{MOLL}$ expresses the goal, whereas $\sqrt{RUD}$ is the source. Note then the parallelism between the syntactic argument structure of complex deadjectival verbs like *erudire* in (22a) and that of prefixed denominal verbs like *exterminare* in (9), repeated in (22b).

(21) *Magnamque Graeciam institutis et*
 Great.ACC.SG-and Greece.ACC.SG institution.ABL.PL and
praeceptis suis erudierunt
 precept.ABL.PL poss.adj.ABL.PL educate.perf.ind.3pl

‘they brought Great Greece out of its ignorance with their teaching and precepts’ (Cic.
Lael. 13)

- (22) a. [VP -ī- [RESP Magnam Graeciam_i [RES' Res [PP ~~Magnam Graeciam~~_i [e- √RUD-]]]]]
 b. [VP -a- [RESP aliquem_i [RES' Res [PP ~~aliquem~~_i [ex- √TERMIN-]]]]]

Similarly, the prefixes of complex verbs like *effeminare* 'to make feminine' and *evirare* 'to emasculate' in (23) involve a different lexicalization: see their different syntactic argument structures in (24). Notice that the syntactic formation of the verb *effeminare* is more similar to that of *emollire* (cf. (24a) with (18)) than to that of *evirare* (see (24b)). In contrast, the syntactic formation of the verb *evirare* is more similar to that of *erudire* (cf. (24b) with (22a)) than to that of *effeminare* (see (24a)).⁷ In the verbs *effeminare* and *emollire* the prefix *e(x)-* just encodes an egressive result and the roots √FEMIN and √MOLL express an abstract goal. In contrast, in the verbs *evirare* and *erudire* the prefix not only lexicalizes a resultative/path head but also the source preposition involved in leaving the state of being male and rude/uneducated, respectively: as a consequence, the roots √VIR and √RUD do not express the goal but the source.⁸

- (23) a. *avaritia (...)* *corpus* *animumque* *virilem* *effeminat*
 greed.NOM.SG body.ACC.SG spirit.ACC.SG-et manly.ACC.SG effeminizes
 ‘Greed effeminizes both body and manly mind.’ (Sal. *Cat.* 11, 3)
- b. *et* *corpus* *evirastis* *Veneris*
 and body.ACC.SG emasculate.PERF.IND.2PL Venus.GEN.SG
nimio *odio*
 excess.ABL.SG hate.ABL.SG

‘You have unmanned your body from excess hate for Venus.’ (Catul. 63)

- (24) a. [VP -a- [RESP corpus_i [RES' ex- [PREDP ~~corpus~~_i [PRED' Pred [√FEMIN-]]]]]]
 b. [VP -a- [RESP corpus_i [RES' Res [PP ~~corpus~~_i [e- √VIR-]]]]]

Furthermore, as for the connection between lack of prefixation and lack of resultativity in Latin, the relevant example in (25) shows an interesting parallelism between the atelic unprefixated verb *languesco* ‘to grow languid’/‘to languish’ and the atelic unprefixated deadjectival verb *mollire* ‘to soften’.

- (25) *Ipsa* *illa* *Martia* *caelestis* *et*
 she.NOM.SG that.NOM.SG Martial.NOM.SG godlike.NOM.SG and

divina *legio* *hoc* *nuntio* *languescet* *et*
 divine.NOM.SG legion.NOM.SG this.ABL.SG news.ABL.SG languid.grow.FUT.3SG and

mollietur
 soften.FUT.PASS.3SG

‘Even that godlike and divine Martial legion will grow languid and be cowed by the receipt of this news’. (Cic. *Phil.* 12, 3, 8); translation by C. D. Yonge, 1903)

As pointed out by Haverling (2010) and Mateu (2017), triplets like the one exemplified in (26a) can typically be found in Latin. Unprefixated verbs like *languere* ‘to be languid’, which contain the *-ē-* suffix, are stative predicates. Unprefixated verbs like *languescere* ‘to grow languid’, which involve the dynamic *-sc-* suffix, express an atelic change of state, whereas prefixed verbs like *elanguescere* ‘to become languid’ encode a telic change of state.

Similarly, the prefixed deadjectival verbs in (26b) are also telic, compared to the unprefixes ones, which are atelic.

- (26) a. *languere* ‘to be languid’; *languescere* ‘to grow languid’; *elanguescere* ‘to become languid’
- b. *mollere* ‘to be soft’; *mollescere* ‘to grow soft’; *emollescere* ‘to become soft’; *mollire* ‘to make soft’; *mollificare* ‘to make soft’, ‘mollify’; *emollire* ‘to render soft’.

Following Ramchand (2008: 89-91), the lack of ResultP in Latin unprefixes deadjectival verbs can be shown to account for their interpretation as degree achievements/indefinite change of state verbs, i.e., with variable telicity. In this respect it is interesting to point out that Haverling (2000, 2010) claims that the affix *-sc-* adds dynamicity to the verb and emphasizes the atelicity of *-sc-* verbs when they are unprefixes. For example, unprefixes verbs like *siccescere* ‘to go drier’ are found to be compatible with the expression *duos_{Acc} menses_{Acc}* meaning ‘for two months’. In contrast, prefixed verbs like *exarescere* ‘to become totally dry’ (lit. ‘out-dry’) are telic and are found with temporal adjuncts in ablative case, which express the amount of time in which the event is brought to its end: e.g., *diebus quindecim exarescere* ‘to become dry in 15 days’ (Var. R. 1.32.1).⁹

Crucially, unlike in Early and Classical Latin, where the prefix in deadjectival verbs indicates telicity, in Late Latin and Romance languages prefixed verbs of change of state can be atelic: e.g., Sp. *engordar* ‘to fatten’ can be atelic, whereas Class. Lat. prefixed *incrassescere* ‘to start to become fat’ is only telic (as noted above, in Classical Latin the atelic reading is expressed without the prefix: i.e., *crassescere* ‘to grow fat(tter)’). As pointed out by Haverling (2003,

2010), this situation holds for Early and Classical Latin but becomes unstable in Late Latin, when prefixed deadjectival verbs can be atelic.¹⁰ The following conclusion quoted from Haverling (2003: 132) nicely summarizes the relevant change: “in Early and Classical Latin the verbal system was characterized by a rich and complex system in which prefixes are used to render verbs telic or to emphasize the beginning or end of a process or activity (...) In the later centuries this system breaks down, and there is a blurring of the semantic distinctions between the prefixed and unprefixed verbs and often also of those between the prefixes themselves”. As pointed out by Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013), the reason of this linguistic change is to be understood in the context of the typological shift from satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance languages (see Stolora (2006, 2015) for the hybrid nature of Late Latin).

To conclude, in Early and Classical Latin prefixed denominal locative verbs behave like prefixed deadjectival verbs: all of them are telic (their structure contain a ResultP: see Ramchand (2008)). In contrast, unprefixed denominal verbs and unprefixed deadjectival verbs can be atelic (their structure lack a ResultP and, as predicted by Ramchand (2008), show variable telicity). Location verbs are consistently prefixed and telic and their structure has a ResultP. Locatum verbs can be prefixed (telic) or unprefixed (with variable telicity). These generalizations support, on the one hand, Haverling’s (2003, 2010), Romagno’s (2003), and Acedo-Matellán’s (2016), i.a., proposals that Lat. resultative prefixes are used to render verbs telic and, on the other, Acedo-Matellán and Real-Puigdollers’s (2015) proposal that location verbs are telic, whereas locatum verbs have variable (a)telicity.

3. Some remarks on location and locatum verbs in Romance languages

If we take a look at Romance languages, it is interesting to point out that in French location verbs are typically prefixed, whereas there are many locatum verbs that are unprefixed. For example, according to Di Sciullo (1997: 71; fn. 9), “a prefix is required in denominal verbs including a location, as in <(27a)>. No prefix is required in denominal verbs including an entity undergoing a change of position, as in <(27b)>”.¹¹

- (27) a. emboîter/*boîter, accrocher/*crocher
 ‘to box’ ‘to hook’
- b. beurrer, saler, seller
 ‘to butter’, ‘to salt’, ‘to saddle’

It is not fully clear what specific meanings the prefixes *en-* and *a(d)-* in (27a) can be associated with. For example, some authors like Lüdtke (2011) have claimed that the Romance prefix *en-* in (27a) can be related with the preposition of the PP ‘*in* box(es)’ (cf. Fruyt’s (2017a) proposal above for the validity of this claim in Latin). However, as pointed out by Iacobini (2010: 2-3), this proposal cannot be maintained synchronically since in languages like French the prefix of location verbs like *enfournier* ‘to put in the oven’ does not always correspond with the relevant locative preposition: cf. *mettre dans le four* ‘to put in the oven’.¹² According to Crocco-Galèas and Iacobini (1993a,b) and Iacobini (2010), i.a., the prefix in Latin verbs typically encodes a clearly specific (locative or aspectual) meaning, whereas the prefix in Romance parasynthetic verbs typically encodes a less clear, more bleached meaning, which, basically, is signalling a change of state. Similarly, in her study of French, Labelle (2000) claims that in prefixed denominal verbs of the location and locatum types the incorporated noun/root semantically identifies the final state of the process/change.

Acedo-Matellán (2006) provides a theoretical account of Crocco-Galèas and Iacobini's (1993a,b) descriptive statement above by claiming that in Latin the semantically rich prefixes can take full arguments (NP/DP) as complements, whereas in Romance the semantically bleached prefixes can only take roots as complements, where the root is, as noted above, interpreted as a Ground that is expressing a final state (see also Gibert-Sotelo (2017) for a development of this idea).

Following Hale & Keyser (2002), my present syntactic analysis of prefixed location verbs like Fr. *emboîter* 'to box' in (27a) is depicted in (28), whereas that of unprefixed locatum verbs like Fr. *beurrer* 'to butter' in (27b) is shown in (29). The relational element involved in the Figure-Ground organization of location verbs is expressed through a prefix (see (28)), whereas this element in locatum verbs can be phonologically empty (see the abstract head *WITH* in (29), which can be claimed to be associated with the semantic notion of possession: 'to provide the bread *with* butter').

(28) $[_{VP} V [_{RESULTP} \text{sardines}_i [_{RESULT'} \text{Res} [_{PP} \text{sardines}_i [\text{en-} \sqrt{\text{BOITE}}]]]]]$

(29) $[_{VP} V [_{PP} \text{le pain} [_{WITH} \sqrt{\text{BEURRE}}]]]$

As for locatum verbs in Romance languages, one may wonder how one should account for the contrast between the French unprefixed locatum verb *fariner* 'to flour' and the Cat. prefixed counterpart *enfarinar* 'to flour'. How should the latter be analyzed? Since conflation processes in path of motion structures are not found in Romance (e.g., unlike in Germanic (see Mateu 2008) and unlike in Latin (see Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013)), it seems more advisable to analyze Cat. prefixed locatum verbs like *enfarinar* 'to flour' or *inflamar* 'to inflame' not as the Lat. complex locatum verb *inflammare* in (11), repeated below in (30), but

rather as the simpler locatum structures in (31), where the root is not directly conflated with the verb (cf. (30)), but rather is incorporated from a complement position. This analysis seems appropriate for those Romance prefixed verbs of change that involve variable telicity, i.e., for those verbs of indefinite change that lack a Result(ative) head. As shown above, in satellite-framed Latin, the root of prefixed locatum verbs like *inflammare* ‘to inflame’ (see (30)) can be conflated with the verb, whereas in verb-framed Catalan their root is incorporated into the verb. See (31a) and (31b), respectively, for the syntactic analyses of Cat. *enfarinar el pastís* ‘to flour the cake’ and Cat. *inflamar la pólvora* ‘to ignite the gunpowder’.

(30) $[_{VP} \sqrt{FLAMM}\text{-a-} [_{RESP} \text{taedas}_i \text{ Res } [_{PP} \emptyset [_{\text{in-}} \text{taed}_i\text{-}]]]] (\text{ignibus})]$

(31) a. $[_{VP} v [_{PP} \text{el pastís} [_{\text{en-}} \sqrt{FARIN}]]]$

b. $[_{VP} v [_{PP} \text{la pólvora} [_{\text{in-}} \sqrt{FLAM}]]]$

It should be noted that it is not accidental that the abovementioned variation in (un)prefixed forms can sometimes be found in the area of locatum/possession meaning (e.g., cf. Fr. *(en)fariner* and Cat. *(en)*farinar* ‘to flour’) but never, or much less frequently, in the area of location meaning (e.g., cf. Fr. *(em)*bouteiller* and Cat. *(em)*botellar* ‘to bottle’). As noted above, the difference between obligatorily prefixed location verbs and optionally prefixed locatum verbs is not accidental but rather can be claimed to have a structural explanation: only the former involve a *Resultative* head in their syntactic argument structure. In contrast, what is indeed accidental is that some locatum verbs are prefixed, while others of the same type are not. For example, it is not accidental that the location verb *to bottle* is consistently prefixed in Romance languages: cf. Cat. *embotellar* / Fr. *embouteiller* / Sp. *embotellar* / It. *imbottigliare*, etc. As shown above, the typical location pattern in Romance languages is the

prefixed one, whereby a possible verb like *°botellar* is not expected to have the location meaning. In fact, a relevant prediction can be made in this case: if a verb like *°botellar* was created in Catalan, its meaning would be ‘to cover a surface with bottles’ rather than ‘to put a locatum or figural object into bottles’.¹³

4. Conclusions

Two basic descriptive types of prefixed locative denominal verbs can be distinguished in Latin: complex location verbs (e.g., *eliminare* ‘to drive out of doors’) and complex locatum verbs (e.g., *edentare* ‘to render toothless’). Drawing on Haugen’s (2008) and Mateu’s (2012) syntactic distinction between incorporation and conflation processes in the formation of denominal verbs and resultative constructions, I have provided a theoretical account of Fruyt’s (2017a,b) descriptive insights on Latin locative verbs: in Early and Classical Latin the root in complex location verbs turns out to be merged with the light verb via Incorporation (i.e. Internal Merge), whereas the root in complex locatum verbs is directly merged with the light verb via Conflation (i.e. External Merge).

An important descriptive generalization is that unprefixes locative denominal verbs can only be interpreted as locatum predicates. I have then argued for the two following claims: (i) “true” locatum verbs are unprefixes (e.g., *terminare* ‘to set bounds’; *marginare* ‘to provide with (a) border(s)’, etc.) and (ii) prefixed locatum verbs (e.g., *edentare* ‘to render toothless’; *inflammare* ‘to put fire in’, etc.) can be derived from an underlying location structure, which is always prefixed, i.e., complex locatum verbs constitute Ground object constructions where the Ground has been initially generated as the complement of the prepositional prefix and raises to the affected direct argument position, i.e., to the specifier of ResultP (see Mateu

(2008) and Acedo-Matellán (2010) for Ground object constructions with prefixed denominal verbs).

In Early and Classical Latin prefixed denominal locative verbs behave like prefixed deadjectival verbs: these verbs are telic. Their structure contain a ResultP (see Ramchand (2008)). This generalization supports Haverling's (2003, 2010), Romagno's (2003), and Acedo-Matellán's (2010, 2016), i.a., proposals that resultative prefixes are used in Early and Classical Latin to render verbs telic. Unprefixed denominal verbs and unprefixed deadjectival ones can be (a)telic (e.g., see Ramchand (2008) for the proposal that variable telicity is expected in change of state verbs that lack a ResultP). Location verbs are consistently prefixed and telic. In contrast, Latin locatum verbs can be prefixed (telic) or unprefixed (atelic or telic, i.e., with variable telicity).

The present approach also provides an explanation of why French locatum verbs must not be prefixed (e.g., see Di Sciullo (1997: 71)) and why locatum verbs in Romance are formed via incorporation rather than via conflation. These results are compatible with Acedo-Matellán and Mateu's (2013) proposal on the descriptive typological shift from the presence of a Manner conflation pattern in satellite-framed Early and Classical Latin to a lack of it in verb-framed Romance languages (see Stolova (2006, 2015) for the hybrid nature of Late Latin).

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¹ As shown by Mateu (2012), the distinction between Incorporation and Conflation can also be exemplified in denominal verb formation with the English verb *smile* in (i). The syntactic formation of an unergative verb like *smile* in (ia) can be argued to involve movement of the root $\sqrt{SMILE}$ from the complement position of the null verb (see Hale and Keyser 1993), whereas the surface transitive use in (ib) can be argued to involve direct adjunction of this root onto the null verb: cf. (iia) and (iib), respectively. Note that in (iib) the root does not come from an inner position, e.g., the complement of the verb, which is occupied by the DP *his thanks*, but is directly adjoined to the null verb. Unlike in (iia), the root is analyzed as an adjunct in (iib). Following Hale and Keyser (2002), both examples in (i) can be claimed to involve a creation predicate: cf. 'to do a smile' and 'to express (i.e., create) his thanks with a smile', respectively. Furthermore, as shown by Mateu (2012), the Conflation analysis is also involved in Small Clause Result constructions (Hoekstra 1988, 2004) such as the ones exemplified in (iii): see (iv).

- (i) a. John smiled.
b. John smiled his thanks.
- (ii) a. [_{VP} V $\sqrt{SMILE}$]
b. [_{VP} $\sqrt{SMILE}$ -V his thanks]
- (iii) a. John smiled his way to the top.
b. John smiled himself stupid.
c. John smiled his sorrows away.
- (iv) a. [_{VP} $\sqrt{SMILE}$ -V [_{SC} his way to the top]]
b. [_{VP} $\sqrt{SMILE}$ -V [_{SC} himself stupid]]
c. [_{VP} $\sqrt{SMILE}$ -V [_{SC} his sorrows away]]

² *Parasynthesis* has often been defined as the word-formation process that requires the presence of two affixes (a prefix and a suffix) for a categorial change to be possible: cf. the non-existence of verbal forms like *liminare* and *dentare*. Three main descriptive proposals of parasynthesis (see Serrano Doladers (2015) for a recent review) are often distinguished: the proposal in (ia) is the one claimed by Crocco Galèas and Iacobini (1993a,b) and Iacobini (2010), which can, in fact, be traced back to Darmesteter (1875), who is the linguist credited with introducing the concept of parasynthesis in the Romance philology; (ib) is the one proposed by Corbin (1980); finally, (1c) is the one posited by Scalise (1986) and Oniga (2014), i.a.

- (i) a. prefixation and suffixation are simultaneous: [pref. [X]_{N/Adj} suf.]_V
b. change of category due to prefixation: [pref. [X]_{N/Adj}]_V
c. first suffixation and then prefixation: [pref. [[X]_{N/Adj} suf.]_V]_V

³ The prefixed Ground object construction (*Caput_{Acc} aqua_{Abl} perfundere*) is sometimes descriptively referred to as an "unselected object construction" in the literature since the unprefixing verb (*fundere* 'to pour') does not semantically select the location argument (*caput_{Acc}*) as its direct object: cf. **caput_{Acc} aqua_{Abl} fundere*. See Spencer and Zaretskaya (1998), Mateu (2001a), Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013, 2016), Lewandowski and Mateu (2014), and Mare (2018), i.a., for different approaches to the so-called "unselected object constructions".

⁴ See also Espinal and Mateu (2011) for further discussion on the related ban that prevents bare singular nominals from occupying specifier positions of syntactic argument structures.

⁵ As shown in (i), parasynthetic adjectives such as *elinguis* ‘deprived of a tongue’ can be argued to be formed by embedding a predicative locatum/possessive structure into a stative adjectival category instead of into an eventive verbal one (see Embick (2004) for the claim that stative adjectival participles do not involve the *v*(erbal) category).

(i) *Elinguis* type (‘(someone) deprived of a tongue’): [_{AP} -is [_{PP} DP [e- √LINGUA]]]

In (i) the DP argument is included in the syntactic representation. Following standard analyses of so-called ‘externalisation’ in adjectival structures, this argument should be external to the adjectival structure, its slot being then occupied by an operator coindexed with it. For the sake of clarity, I omit this further complexity here.

⁶ A Pred(icative)P in the syntactic decomposition of “deadjectival” verbs can be claimed to be posited in order to maintain the syntactic asymmetry between the Figure (the specifier/subject of predication) and the Ground (e.g., the property √MOLL- ‘soft’ in (18)). See Mateu (2002), Kayne (2008), and Fábregas (2002), i.a., for the claim that the syntactic decomposition of adjectives involves a predicative/relational element similar to the adpositional head of PPs.

⁷ See Gibert Sotelo (2017: 326) for an alternative Ground object analysis of the Lat. verb *effeminare*.

⁸ It is also quite instructive to compare the Lat. satellite-framed pattern *effeminare* ‘out-female.inf’ with the Cat. verb-framed pattern *fer* {*sortir/esdevenir*} *algú femella* ‘lit. to make someone become female’, i.e., to make someone acquire properties of a female. Cf. also the satellite prefix *ex-* in *efferrare* ‘to make fierce’ with the Cat. verb-framed construction *fer sortir algú ferotge* ‘to make someone become (lit. go-out) fierce’. According to Talmy (1991, 2000), languages can be classified in two typological groups depending on how they lexicalize the path of a change event. In so-called “satellite-framed languages”, this semantic component is lexicalized as a non-verbal element associated with the verb that he calls *satellite*, instantiations of which are Germanic directional particles and Latin and Slavic directional/resultative prefixes (e.g., the prefix *ex-* ‘out’ in {*effeminare/efferrare*}). In so-called “verb-framed languages”, the path is typically lexicalized in the verbal root (e.g., Cat. *sortir* ‘to exit’ in *fer sortir algú {femella/ferotge}* ‘to make someone become {female/fierce}’). See Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2019) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2015) for two recent overviews of the vast literature on Talmy’s (2000) lexicalization patterns.

⁹ Similarly, Devine and Stephens (2013: 198) conclude: “the unprefix form <*arescit* ‘goes drier’> just denotes attainment of a scalar degree corresponding to a state that qualifies as *aret*, which is not necessarily the state of maximum possible dryness; the prefixed forms <*exaruit* ‘has dried out’ and *perarescat* ‘dry thoroughly’> not only induce the telic reading but also serve to indicate that a point at the high end of the scale of dryness is effectively attained”.

See also Mateu (2017) for the parallelism between Latin unprefix -*sco* verbs and Catalan -*ejar* verbs (Oltra Massuet and Castroviejo 2013): (i) they express a property that is interpreted as internally-caused; (ii) they cannot be causativized directly; (iii) they are atelic; (iv) they do not involve a final state; and (v) they are restricted to imperfective tenses. However, I argue that Oltra Massuet and Castroviejo’s (2013) interesting proposal that Catalan -*ejar* verbs express Davidsonian/dynamic states cannot be applied to Latin -*sco* verbs. Rather the latter can be argued to behave as indefinite change of state verbs.

¹⁰ See Haverling (2003: 123): “In the earlier periods *in-* emphasized the entrance into an action, but now <in Late Latin: JM> it indicates dynamicity more generally. Several new *sco*-verbs prefixed with *in-* occur in Late Latin (...) where they replace the old unprefix verbs.”

¹¹ Cf. Acedo-Matellán and Real Puigdollers (2015), who claim that in Catalan “the presence of this prefix <*en-/em-*> seems orthogonal to the location/locatum distinction”. However, this statement is not quite true: while Catalan location verbs of the *embotellar*-type involve prefixation quite consistently, there are many locatum verbs that are unprefix: e.g., Cat. *ferrar* ‘to shoe’, *minar* ‘to mine’, *salar* ‘to salt’, etc.

¹² However, Schrotten (1997: 196) argues against the typical claim that the prefixes involved in parasynthetic denominal verbs are mere “historical residues” by noting that Spanish verbs like *encajetillar* ‘to pack’ and *emboquillar* ‘to provide with a filter tip’ denote industrial processes related to cigarettes, which suggests that they have been formed in recent centuries (XIXth or XXth). Tordaro (2017) has also shown that parasynthesis is a quite productive process of verb formation in contemporary Italian.

¹³ As pointed out by Gibert Sotelo and Pujol Payet (2015) and Martínez Vera (2016), i.a., a prefixed denominal verb like Sp. *abotellar* is not possible on the locative reading but rather on the property one: i.e., ‘to cause X to have the shape of a bottle’. For relevant distinctions between *en-* and *a-* prefixation in parasynthetic verbs, see these works and Acedo-Matellán (2006), i.a. For example, compare the locative readings of Cat. *envinagrar* (both the location and the locatum interpretations are possible: ‘to put X in vinegar’ and ‘to provide X with vinegar’, respectively) with the property reading of Cat. *avinagrar* ‘to make sour as vinegar’. See also Pujol Payet (2014) for a diachronic approach to the polysemy of denominal parasynthetic verbs prefixed with *a-*.