On the encoding of negation by Source prefixes and the satellite-/verb-framed distinction: Evidence from Latin and Spanish

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Abstract

This paper deals with Talmy's (2000) typological distinction between satellite- and verb-framed systems by comparing the expression of negative meaning through Source prefixes in Latin and Spanish complex verbs. In particular, the claim is made that the different scope relations established between the Source prefixes and the verb root in each language are the reflection of their different typological nature. The core proposal is that Latin Source prefixes lexicalize a Path head that defines a phase, whereas the Path head lexicalized by the Spanish Source prefix is not phase-defining. 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 shown by these prefixed constructions in both languages. The negative meaning of Source prefixes, in turn, is derived from the context in which they are embedded.

Keywords: satellite-/verb-framed typology; Source prefixes; negative meaning; Path; phase domains.

1. Introduction

Latin and Spanish Source prefixes may develop a negative value when embedded in certain contexts.[1] In these cases, the Latin and the Spanish prefixes show different scope effects, as illustrated with the prefixed verbs included in (1) and (2):

(1) Latin

a. *ab-iuro* 'to deny on oath'

b. *de-hortor* 'to encourage not to'

c. *dif-fiteor* 'to deny by confession'

(2) Spanish

a. *des-agradar* 'to dislike' ['not to like']

b. *des-conocer* 'not to know'

c. *des-aprobar* 'to disapprove' ['not to approve']

In the Latin predicates the negative meaning encoded by the Source prefixes does not take scope over the base verb: *abiuro* (1a) does not mean 'not to swear', but 'to deny on oath', and the same holds for *dehortor* 'to encourage not to' (1b) and *diffiteor* 'to deny by confession' (1c), in which the negative meaning expressed by *de-* and *dis-* is not used to negate the verbal base. In the Spanish examples in (2) the prefix also encodes negative

[1] The label *Source prefix* is used here to identify directional prefixes expressing departure or separation, which are usually called *negative prefixes* on the idea that they are regularly used to create antonyms of the bases to which they attach (Brea 1976). Following Gibert-Sotelo 2017b, I will distinguish Source prefixes (which involve a directional value) from proper negative prefixes like *in-* (cf. Latin *in-coctus* 'un-cooked' or Spanish *in-feliz* 'un-happy'). See also Brea (1976, 1994) for a similar characterization.

meaning, but the negation codified through *des-* takes scope over the verbal root, which is understood to be negated.

The different behaviour of Latin Source prefixes, which take narrow scope over the base verb, and the Spanish Source prefix *des-*, which takes scope over the verbal root, can be related to the well-known distinction between satellite- and verb-framed languages (Talmy 2000). In the Latin examples, which show the satellite-framed pattern, the prefix acts as the main predicate of the construction and encodes the idea of denial, and the verbal root is identified with a Co-event expressing the Manner of the denial event: by swearing in (1a), by encouraging in (1b), and by confessing in (1c). The Spanish examples in (2), by contrast, do not show the satellite-framed procedure, since in them the verbal root is not identified with a Co-event, but rather with an abstract Ground interpreted as a state (the opposite state of the prefixed verb).

The aim of this work is twofold. On the one hand, this study aims at contributing to the account of the typological change occurred in the evolution from Latin to Romance, that is, the shift from a satellite-framed pattern to a verb-framed one (on this topic, see Talmy 2000, Bartra & Mateu 2005, Acedo-Matellán 2006, 2016, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013, and Gibert-Sotelo 2017a, 2017b, among others). On the other hand, the paper explores why directional elements encoding departure from a Source can be used to express negation when embedded in certain syntactic contexts.

In section 2 I provide a more detailed description of the different scope of Source prefixes in Latin and Spanish and its relation with the satellite-/verb-framed typology. Section 3 presents the theoretical assumptions on which I base my analysis, which are used to offer a syntactic account of Talmy's typological distinction in section 4. I next put forward a nanosyntactic analysis of the Latin and the Spanish prefixed constructions in section 5, which naturally derives their distinct lexicalization patterns, the different

scope effects of Source prefixes in both languages, and the negative meaning that these prefixes encode in such configurations. I finally summarize the main conclusions reached throughout this paper in section 6.

2. The use of Source prefixes to encode negation

2.1. In Latin

In Latin, the combination of the Source prefix *ab-* 'away from' 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 (2016: 131-132):

(3) *[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 2016: 131 (177)]

(4) *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 2016: 131 (179)]

If we take the case of *abdico* 'to deny by proclamation' in (3), we observe that 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 (4), where the swearing event codified by the verbal predicate *iuro* is understood to take place, and what is negated is the object *pecuniam* ‘debts’.

The Latin Source prefixes *de-* ‘(down) from’ and *dis-* ‘apart’ can also codify a negative value when combined with speech verbs (see García-Hernández 1980: 149 and 155). Again, the prefix takes narrow scope with respect to the event expressed by the verb:

(5) *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. *Jug*. 24, 4]

(6) *tamen adiuvari exercitatione non dif-fitentur*.
nevertheless help.INF.PASS practice.ABL not apart-confess.3PL
‘Nevertheless they do not deny that it can be developed by practice’.
[Perseus: Quint. *Inst.* 2, 17, 5]

(7) *poenam suam dis-suadentes.*
punishment.ACC their.ACC apart-advise.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL
‘Recommending them not to punish’.
[Perseus: Tac. *Ann.* 13, 26].

All these negative predicates show the satellite-framed strategy: 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 (see Acedo-Matellán 2016: 131-132 concerning *ab*-verbs of denial):

(8) a. *abdico*: 'to deny [*ab*] by proclamation [*dico*]'
b. *abiuro*: 'to deny [*ab*] by oath [*iuro*]'
c. *dehortor*: 'to avoid [*de*] by exhortation [*hortor*]'
d. *diffiteor*: 'to deny [*dis*] by confession [*fateor*]'
d. *dissuadeo*: 'to impede [*dis*] by advice [*suadeo*]'

2.2. In Spanish

In Spanish, the Source prefix *des-* can develop a negative meaning when combined with verbs denoting some kind of mental state (9, 10) or attitude (11, 12). In these contexts, the Source prefix takes scope over the verbal root, which is interpreted as being negated:

(9) *Digo en voz alta algunas palabras, pero des-conozco su significado.*
say.1SG in voice loud some words but from-know.1SG their meaning
'I say some words aloud, but I don't know their meaning'.
[CREA: 1994. Javier García Sánchez, *El Alpe d'Huez*]

(10) *Nos des-agradan los delincuentes.*
we.DAT from-like.1PL the criminals
'We don't like criminals'.
[CORPES XXI: 2006. Eduard Punset, *El alma está en el cerebro*]

(11) *la población des-obedecía sus órdenes.*
the population from-obey.IPFV.3SG their orders
'The population disobeyed their orders'.
[CREA: 2002. Press. *Diario de Sevilla*, 03/08/2002]

(12) *la gente des-cuida su salud durante el verano.*
the people from-take_care_of.3SG their health during the summer
'People neglect their health during the summer'.
[Google search]

A characteristic shared by all the *des-* prefixed verbs displaying a negative meaning is that they are non-dynamic (cf. Varela & Martín García 1999: 5021; Martín García 2007: 10-11; Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 152; Gibert-Sotelo 2017b: 78-79). Some of them behave as *Kimian* states, namely, pure states that lack eventivity, cf. (9) and (10); and others behave as *Davidsonian* states, that is, static predicates that show eventive properties, cf. (11) and (12) (Maienborn 2007).[2] A piece of evidence of the non-dynamic nature of these *des-* prefixed verbs, either Kimian (13) or Davidsonian (14) states, is their incompatibility

[2] I take the distinction between pure (or Kimian) states and eventive (or Davidsonian) ones from Maienborn (2007). However, the existence of a hybrid class of eventuality that stands between states and activities had already been acknowledged by Dowty (1979) and Bach (1986): Dowty called these predicates *interval statives*, and Bach labelled them *dynamic states*. Fábregas & Marín (2017) also distinguish a class of *non-dynamic verbs* that express the agentive maintenance of a homogeneous situation (e.g., Spanish *gobernar* 'to rule', *mantener* 'to keep', *proteger* 'to protect', *coordinar* 'to coordinate').

with velocity adverbs, since only dynamic events can be measured as quick or slow (Fábregas & Marín 2017: 461):

(13) a. *Des-conozco (*lentamente) su significado.*
from-know.1SG slowly their meaning
'I don't know their meaning (*slowly)'.

b. *Nos des-agradan los delincuentes (*rápidamente).*
we.DAT from-like.1PL the criminals quickly
'We don't like criminals (*quickly)'.

(14) a. *La población des-obedecía sus órdenes (*despacio).*
the population from-obey.IPFV.3SG their orders slowly
'The population disobeyed their orders (*slowly)'.

b. *La gente des-cuida su salud (*deprisa).*
the people from-take_care_of.3SG their health quickly
'People neglect their health (*quickly)'.

Besides, if non-dynamic, they cannot be telic because they do not imply state change. The examples in (15) (Kimian states) and (16) (Davidsonian states) show that these verbs reject delimiting temporal modifiers like *in*-adverbials, which is a standard diagnostic for atelicity:

(15) a. *Des-conozco su significado (*en cinco minutos).*
from-know.1SG their meaning in five minutes
'I don't know their meaning (*in five minutes)'.

b. *Nos des-agradan los delincuentes (*en una hora).*
we.DAT from-like.1PL the criminals in one hour
'We don't like criminals (*in one hour).

(16)[3] a. *La población des-obedecía sus órdenes (*en diez minutos).*
the population from-obey.IPFV.3SG their orders in ten minutes
'The population disobeyed their orders (*in ten minutes)'.

b. *La gente des-cuida su salud (*en una semana).*
the people from-take_care_of.3SG their health in one week
'People neglect their health (*in one week)'.

As for the possibility of using these predicates in progressive periphrases that focus on the course of events, it is disallowed by *des-* negative verbs that behave as Kimian states (17) and admitted by those that correspond to Davidsonian states (18), which shows that the latter, but not the former, involve an event variable.

(17) a. **Estoy desconociendo su significado.*
be.1SG not_knowing their meaning

[3] Notice that with *des-* prefixed verbs encoding Davidsonian states, *in*-adverbials can be admitted by some speakers in the reading in which this temporal modifier does not measure out the time between the beginning and the end of the event, but the time span before the event starts:

(i) *la población des-obedecía sus órdenes (?en diez minutos).*
the population from-obey.IPFV.3SG their orders in ten minutes
'the population disobeyed their orders (?after ten minutes)'.

b. **Nos están desagradando los delincuentes.*

we.DAT are disliking the criminals

(18) a. *La población estaba desobedeciendo sus órdenes.*

the population was disobeying their orders

'The population was disobeying their orders'.

b. *La gente está descuidando su salud.*

the people be.3SG neglecting their health

'People are neglecting their health".

The interpretation of the Source prefix *des-* as a negator, therefore, is triggered in non-dynamic predicates, which encompass both pure (Kimian) states and eventive (Davidsonian) ones. Crucially, the Spanish negative predicates do not show the satellite-framed procedure, since in them the verbal root is not identified with a Co-event: *desconozco* does not mean 'to deny by knowledge', but 'not to know', with the prefix negating the verbal root and not the object of the construction; and the same holds for *desagradar* 'to dislike' (which involves 'not to like'), *desobedecer* 'to disobey' (which involves 'not to obey'), and *descuidar* 'to neglect' (which involves 'not to take care of'). In fact, the Spanish *des-* prefixed verbs conveying negation identify the verbal root with an abstract Ground that corresponds to the farthest point on a degree scale (the polar contrary).[4] This is made clear in the paraphrases provided in (19) and (20):

[4] For the view that negative *des-* prefixed verbs are the polar contraries of their non-prefixed counterparts, see Brea (1994), Martín García (2007), Rodríguez Rosique (2011), and Gibert-Sotelo (2017b).

(19) a. *desconocer*: 'to have something the farthest possible from [*des*-] knowledge [*conoc*-]'
b. *desagradar*: 'to have something the farthest possible from [*des*-] liking [*agrad*-]'

(20) a. *desobedecer*: 'to keep something the farthest possible from [*des*-] obedience [*obed*-]'
b. *descuidar*: 'to keep something the farthest possible from [*des*-] care [*cuid*-]'

The addition of the Source prefix *des*- to certain speech verbs may also give rise to a negative value. This is what occurs in *desinformar* 'to misinform/ not to inform correctly' and *desaconsejar* 'to advise against', two predicates that encode non-dynamic events:

(21) *Ryanair des-informa a los pasajeros sobre sus derechos, [...]*
Ryanair from-inform.3SG to the passengers about their rights
les informa mal para evitar que pidan indemnizaciones.
them inform-3SG badly to avoid that ask.SBJV.3PL compensations
'Ryanair misinforms the passengers about their rights [...], it informs them badly to avoid being asked for compensations'.
[Google search]

(22) *La OMS des-aconseja destruir el virus de la viruela.*
the WHO from-advise.3SG eradicate.INF the virus of the smallpox
'WHO advises against eradicating the smallpox virus'.
[CREA: 2002. Press. *La Razón*, 15/01/2002]

Desinformar and *desaconsejar* are the polar contraries of their non-prefixed counterparts: *desinformar* identifies the very opposite of *informar* 'to inform', which is 'to inform badly

in order to keep the recipient far from the right information' (21). With regard to *desaconsejar*, it also involves the very opposite of *aconsejar* 'to advise/recommend', which is not exactly 'not to recommend something', but 'to advise against something', that is, 'to keep something far from advice' (22).[5] In both cases, therefore, the verbal root is abstractly interpreted as a Ground from which the internal argument is placed away.

Other *des-* prefixed *speech* verbs found in Spanish involve a reversative, rather than a negative, value. As exemplified in (23) and (24), the verbs *desdecir* 'to go back on what one has said' and *desmentir* 'to refute / to disprove' entail the dynamic Source-oriented idea of reversing a resulting state to go back to a previous situation:

[5] It has been argued that the meaning of *desaconsejar* is 'to advise not to/to dissuade', with the prefix taking scope over the object and not over the base verb (cf. Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 158). Upon this view, *desaconsejar* could be seen as a satellite-framed construction that behaves like the Latinism *disuadir* 'to dissuade' (cf. Latin *dissuadeo* 'to dissuade' in section 2.1). *Desaconsejar* and *disuadir*, though, do not behave alike: *disuadir* is a telic verb and involves a state change of the accusative object (i.e., the recipient of the speech act), which is understood to abandon an idea or a thought —expressed through a PP— by means of a persuasion event (iia). *Desaconsejar*, by contrast, is an atelic predicate (in particular, a Davidsonian state) and involves no change of the accusative object, which in this case is not the recipient of the speech act —expressed though a dative argument—, but the idea or thought that the agent tries to keep away from advice (iib).

(ii) a. *María disuadió a Juan de tales propósitos (en una hora).*
María dissuade.PST.3SG to Juan of such purposes in one hour
'María dissuaded Juan from such purposes (in one hour)'.

b. *María des-aconsejó a Juan tales propósitos (*en una hora).*
María from-advise.PST.3SG to Juan such purposes in one hour
'María advised Juan against such purposes (*in one hour)'.

As for the scope ambiguity of *desaconsejar*, it is a result of the contrary opposition that this prefixed predicate involves: *desaconsejar* not only encodes 'not to advise something' (contradictory opposition), but the polar contrary of 'to advise something', that is, 'to advise against something', which can be understood as 'to advise not to do something'.

(23) *Nada des-hace lo hecho ni des-dice lo dicho.*
nothing from-do.3SG the done or from-say.3SG the said
'Nothing undoes what has been done or unsays what has been said'.
[Google search]

(24) *Rodríguez des-mintió las informaciones publicadas.*
Rodríguez from-lie.PST.3SG the information.PL published
'Rodríguez refuted the news that had been published'.
[CREA: 1996. Press. *El Diario Vasco*, 23/07/1996].

In these constructions the reversative meaning contributed by the prefix *des-* takes scope over the verbal root, which is interpreted as a state that is abandoned (an abstract Ground): the state of being said in *desdecir* (23) and the state of being in a lie in *desmentir* (24).[6] We obtain the same scope relations in other verb-framed languages like Italian, where the prefixed speech verb *sconfessare* cannot mean 'to confess not to', with the prefix taking scope over the object (as in the Latin prefixed speech verbs), but it can only be interpreted as 'to retract / to prove something to be untrue', which also entails the reversative idea of

[6] An anonymous reviewer points out that these verbs could be considered denial predicates that take scope over the object, like in the Latin satellite-framed constructions, since *desdecir* can be paraphrased as 'to deny what has been said' and *desmentir* can be translated as 'to deny something'. However, these verbs always involve the idea of undoing the resulting state expressed by the verbal root, whereas their translation as denial predicates is not possible on all occasions (cf. example (23), where *desdice lo dicho* cannot be translated as 'denies what has been said', but as 'unsays what has been said'). Besides, the verbal roots of these verbs cannot be interpreted as Manner Co-events, which is a diagnostic for satellite-framedness: *desdecir* does not mean 'to deny by saying', and neither does *desmentir* mean 'to deny by lying'.

undoing what has been previously done.[7] In this paper I will concentrate on those predicates in which the prefix is interpreted as negation, and for that reason the prefixed speech verbs with a reversative reading will not be addressed (see Gibert-Sotelo 2017a and 2017b for an analysis of *des*- reversative verbs as an instance of the verb-framed pattern).

As argued by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013) and Gibert-Sotelo (2017a), conflation of the Ground in the verb root is a pattern widely attested in Romance languages, and is one of the ways in which verb-framedness emerges. The present study, thus, provides further evidence of the fact that the evolution from Latin to Romance conveyed the shift from a satellite-framed system with a Co-event conflation pattern (Latin) to a verb-framed system (Romance).

3. Theoretical framework

This section introduces the theoretical machinery used in this paper to account for the different behaviour shown by the Latin and the Spanish prefixed predicates. I first present the neo-constructionist model underlying the analysis: Nanosyntax. Afterwards, I set forth my assumptions concerning the syntax of paths, mainly based on Pantcheva's (2011) nanosyntactic study. Then, I discuss verbal decomposition on the grounds of Ramchand's (2008) model. I conclude the section by examining the syntactic nature of roots, conceived of as those elements that contribute conceptual (not grammatically relevant) content to the configuration.

[7] I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing these Italian data to my attention.

3.1. Nanosyntax

In this study I assume a decomposition model based on the principles of Nanosyntax. Nanosyntax postulates an architecture of grammar in which syntactic structures are not projected from the lexicon. Instead, syntactic structures are considered to be the result of combining morphosyntactic features in a principled way, the function of the lexicon being that of providing lexical exponents to spell out these structures.[8] Therefore, lexical exponents are late inserted, as in other neo-constructionist frameworks (e.g., Distributed Morphology), although in the case of Nanosyntax lexical insertion takes place right after the syntactic derivation, without the need of an intermediate morphological level between syntax and lexical insertion.

A natural consequence of this new conception of grammar is that both phrasal and lexical exponents are built by means of the same syntactic rules. Hence, as stated by Starke (2009: 6), the structures delivered by syntax can be spelled out in the shape of a morpheme, a word, or a phrase. Accordingly, it cannot be maintained that morphemes (or lexical exponents) are the spell-out of a single morphosyntactic feature: morphemes spell out chunks of syntactic trees and, as a result, they are mainly inserted into phrasal nodes:

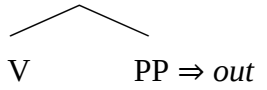
(25) *Phrasal Spell-Out* (Starke 2009, 2014; Caha 2009; Pantcheva 2011)

Lexical exponents can be inserted into phrasal nodes and spell out multiple morphosyntactic features.

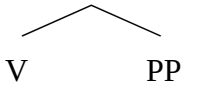
[8] Within Generative Grammar, the way in which syntax and the lexicon interact has been mainly approached from two perspectives: the lexicalist perspective, according to which the lexicon is accessed prior to the syntactic derivation and lexical items determine the structures they appear in; and the neo-constructionist perspective, which assumes that syntax is prior to the lexicon and, therefore, that lexical items do not determine the syntactic derivation. See Acedo-Matellán (2018) for a survey.

One of the advantages of assuming Phrasal Spell-Out is that it provides a way to account for language variation. According to Starke (2014), if language variation reflects different ways of spelling out the syntactic derivation, then it can be derived from the different sizes of the trees spelled out by lexical exponents. This offers a straightforward account of the distinct lexicalization patterns of satellite- and verb-framed languages, as exemplified in (26). The English particle verb *go out*, which is an instance of the satellite-framed procedure, spells out the verbal features (VP) through a verb (*go*) and the adpositional ones (PP) through a satellite (in particular, through a particle: *out*). Its Spanish counterpart *salir* 'to go out', an instance of the verb-framed pattern, spells out both the verbal (VP) and the adpositional (PP) features by using a single lexical exponent: the verb *salir*. Spanish *salir*, therefore, lexicalizes a bigger tree than English *go*.

(26) a. *go out* (English)



b. *salir* 'go out' (Spanish)



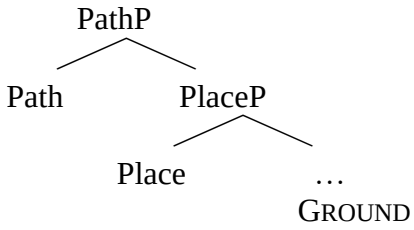
A question that could emerge at this point is how each language defines the sizes of the trees spelled out by their lexical exponents. I will assume, following Real Puigdollers (2013), that the timing of Spell-Out is marked by the phase (Chomsky 2001), and that phase boundaries are parametrizable. Hence, the way in which a particular language spells out a given syntactic derivation (e.g., as a single verb or as a verb plus a particle) depends on where this language fixes phase domains, since phase domains determine the points of transfer to the interfaces (see Marantz 2007 for the relation between phases and word formation). This view will be further explored in sections 4 and 5, where I will implement

Real-Puigdollers' proposal to explain the different lexicalization patterns of satellite- and verb-framed languages.

3.2. Decomposing Path

Directional expressions are generally assumed to involve 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 in relation to the Ground. In structural accounts, this observation has been translated into a configuration consisting of a Path head conveying dynamicity and a Place head conveying stativity, the former taking the latter as complement (Jackendoff 1983; Svenonius 2010; Gehrke 2008; Acedo-Matellán 2016; among others):

(27)

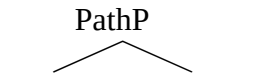


The Path head is usually considered to host all sorts of directional elements regardless of their Goal or Source orientation. Based on the observation that in certain languages Source markers morphologically contain Goal markers, Pantcheva (2010, 2011) puts forth that Goal and Source paths are not equally complex, and that Source paths embed Goal paths in their internal structure, as the data seem to suggest.[9] For Goal paths she

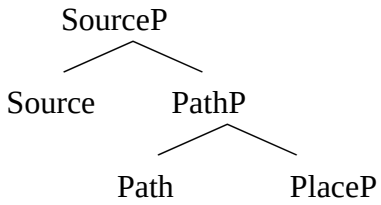
[9] An example of this containment relation provided by Pantcheva (2010, 2011) is the Quechua Ablative (Source) marker *manda*, that consists of the Allative (Goal) marker *-man* plus the morpheme *-da*. The same morphological pattern of embedding the Goal expression in the Source expression is found in Bulgarian, Dime, Chamalal, Ingush, Jingulu, Mansi, and Uchumataqu (Pantcheva 2011: 49, Table 4.2).

proposes a structure that basically corresponds to the one commonly assumed for Path expressions: it involves a head encoding transition from one location to another (a head she labels *Goal* but which is equivalent to the traditional Path head) and a head denoting a region of space (the Place head). Because of the Goal bias (Lakusta & Landau 2005), the transition encoded by the Path head is by default interpreted as Goal-oriented, and therefore the PlaceP at its complement is identified with the end-point of this transition (28a). Source paths, which are structurally more complex according to Pantcheva, involve an extra head, Source, the function of which is to reverse the direction of the transition encoded by the Path head at its complement, in such a way that the region defined by PlaceP becomes the starting point of the transition (28b).

(28) a. Goal path



b. Source path



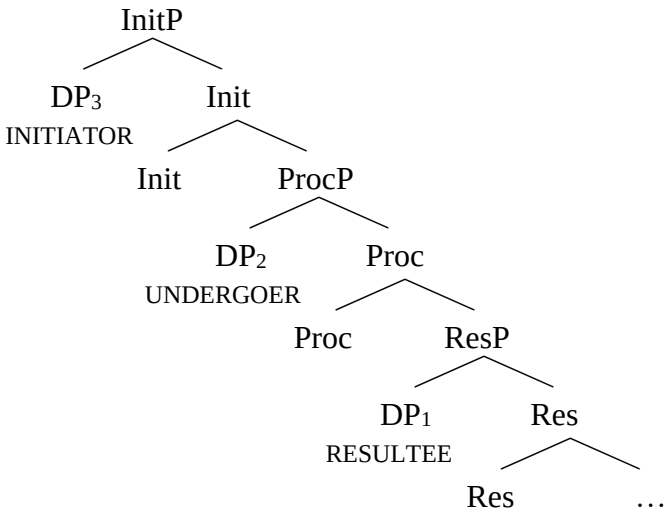
For the discussion to come, it is worth pointing out that Source paths are negatively oriented, since they involve a transition from a positive stage (location in/on/at the Ground) to a negative stage (location NOT in/on/at the Ground). Therefore, the idea of negation may be somehow inferred from the structure of Source paths (see Pantcheva 2011: 69-71, and references therein). In fact, Pantcheva proposes that Source paths can be seen as the negation of Goal paths, since they involve their very opposite direction and produce their very opposite result. However, Pantcheva uses a different label than *Neg(ation)* for the Source head, and refrains from asserting that such a head is in fact a negative operator. Hence, although Source paths can be used to obtain a negative

meaning, they are to be distinguished from pure negative expressions (on the distinction between Source and Negative markers, see Gibert-Sotelo 2017b).

3.3. Decomposing the VP

Concerning verbal predicates, I will mainly follow Ramchand's (2008) syntactic decomposition of the VP into three subeventive projections: an Initiation Phrase (InitP) that identifies the causative subevent and licences the external argument at its specifier; a Process Phrase (ProcP) that corresponds to the dynamic component of the predicate and licenses the Undergoer of the change associated to the process; and a Result Phrase (ResP) that introduces the resulting state and licenses the entity that holds it.[10]

(29)



[10] 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 2016) or to the lower VP in Larson (1988). Her ResP is usually represented by adpositional projections in other theories (e.g., Acedo-Matellán 2016; Real Puigdollers 2013).

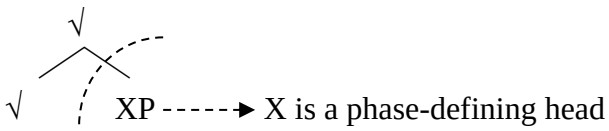
In Ramchand's system, both Init and Res correspond to states: they are basically the same projection, and their being interpreted as introducing causation or result depends on their position above or below Proc. Hence, when a subevent takes another subevent as its complement, a relation of implication is established between the two subevents, and the former is understood to causally implicate the latter (Ramchand 2008: 44). By contrast, when a subevent takes a complement that is not a subevent, this complement —labelled *Rheme* by Ramchand— is understood to further describe the event, and therefore the relation established between the two components is not one of implication, but one of identification or homomorphism (Ramchand 2008; Berro 2015). Ramchand establishes certain restrictions on the kinds of Rhemes that subevents can take as complements: if the subevent is a dynamic Proc, it can only combine with a Rheme providing a multi-valued (Path) structure increasing monotonically with the process; and if the subevent is a stative projection (Init or Res), then the complement must be a mono-valued (Place) measure involving no change. Following insights in Fábregas & Marín (2012) and Berro (2015), I will reject the restriction put forward by Ramchand (2008) on the kind of rhematic complements that subeventive projections can take. Therefore, I will posit that Proc subevents as well as stative (Init/Res) ones can combine either with a mono-valued or a multi-valued measure, which will be shown to have consequences on the interpretation of adpositional elements like the Source prefixes examined in this paper.

3.4. Assumptions on roots

As commonly assumed in neo-constructionist theories, structural meaning is syntactically build, and conceptual content is contributed by opaque elements devoid of any grammatically relevant information: roots. I adhere to the view that roots, as elements lacking any grammatically relevant information, bear no category (Marantz 1997; Borer

2005; among others). Besides, if grammatically opaque, roots are unable to project (Acedo-Matellán 2010, 2016; Real Puigdollers 2013; Fábregas 2016; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014; among others). According to Real Puigdollers (2013: 189), the non-projecting nature of roots is configurationally defined: roots must necessarily occupy the complement position generated at first merge, because in that position they are configurationally interpreted as non-projecting heads. 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, at the bottom-most position of the following phase, as illustrated below:

(30)



In the following sections it will be shown that the ability of roots to be first merged after a phase boundary is crucial to account for the different lexicalization patterns displayed by satellite- and verb-framed languages.

4. On the satellite-/verb-framed typology: a syntactic approach

Based on how the languages of the world tend to lexicalize the semantic components of motion events (i.e., the Figure, the Ground, the Path, the Motion, and the Manner or Cause Co-event), Talmy (1991, 2000) established a typological distinction between *satellite-framed languages* and *verb-framed languages*. Satellite-framed languages tend to express the Core Schema of motion events —which, according to Talmy, corresponds to the Path or to the set conformed by the Path and the Ground— in a satellite (that is, an adpositional element in a sister relation with the verb), whereas verb-framed languages usually express the Core Schema together with the Motion within the verb. The way in which a language lexicalizes the Core Schema has consequences on the way of encoding the Co-event

specifying the Manner or the Cause (Talmy 2000, Slobin 2004). A satellite-framed language like English, in which the Core Schema is typically mapped onto a satellite, tends to express the Co-event conflated with the motion in the verb (the Co-event conflation pattern), as exemplified in (31). In a verb-framed language like Spanish, where the verb slot has already been filled by the Core Schema, the Co-event conflation pattern is not available (32a), and for that reason the Co-event is usually omitted or mapped onto an adjunct, as in (32b).

(31) *Mary*FIGURE *trembled*MOTION+MANNER *into*PATH *the room*GROUND. (English)

(32) a. **María*FIGURE *tembló*MOTION+MANNER *a/en*PATH *la habitación*GROUND. (Spanish)
María trembled at/in the room
Intended: 'María entered the room by trembling'.

b. *María*FIGURE *entró*MOTION+PATH *en la habitación*GROUND *temblando*MANNER. (Spanish)
María entered in the room trembling
'María trembled into the room'.

In this study I am basically adopting Real Puigdollers' (2013) 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. The author provides evidence of the different phasal status of the Path head in satellite and verb-framed languages by comparing the P elements of both systems. Particularly, Real Puigdollers (2013: 88-101) shows that in Romance languages, which are the prototypical instantiation of verb-framedness, there are no Path prepositions: all the seeming Romance directional prepositions are in fact locative: Catalan / Spanish *a* 'at', Spanish *hasta* / Catalan *fins a* /

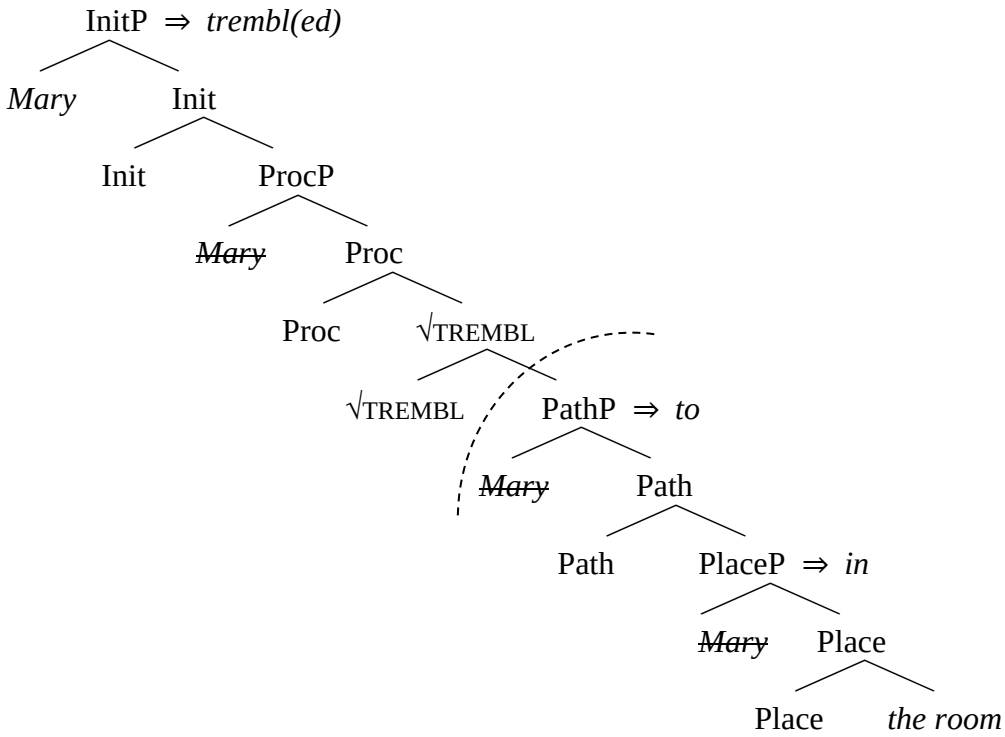
Italian *fino a* / French *jusqu'à* 'until'. By contrast, Germanic languages, which are prototypical cases of satellite-framedness, do have prepositional elements encoding Path: English *to*, Norwegian *til*, and Dutch *naar* are inherently directional (see Thomas 2001, 2003; Tungseth 2006; Gehrke 2008; *apud* Real Puigdollers 2013: 105). From these data Real Puigdollers (2013) concludes that Path is defective in verb-framed Romance and therefore it cannot define a phase: it must belong to the same spell-out domain as the verbal projections. On the contrary, in satellite-framed Germanic Path is a phase head and must not be spelled out in the same phase domain as the vP.

This explains why satellite-framed languages allow the Co-event conflation pattern exemplified in (31) but verb-framed languages do not (32): roots, which must necessarily occupy the bottom-most position of the phase (see section 3.4), can be inserted above a phase-defining head, and Path is such a head in satellite-framed languages but not in verb-framed ones. Accordingly, in the satellite-framed configuration in (31), for which I provide a nanosyntactic analysis like the one in (33),[11] PathP defines a phase domain, and therefore it is possible to merge a root on top of it, at the complement of Proc, where it is interpreted as a Co-event.[12]

[11] A point to bear in mind in the nanosyntactic analyses proposed here is that I am assuming that Phrasal Spell-Out ignores specifiers. The elements merged at a specifier position are considered to be created in an independent work space and, therefore, to be independently spelled out. For example, in the analysis provided in (33), the lexical exponent *trembl-* spells out Init, Proc and the root node √TREMBL, but it ignores the DP *Mary* merged at the Specifier of Init.

[12] 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 Ramchand's (2008) Proc (see footnote 10).

(33) Analysis of (31)



Configurations such as that in (33) can never emerge in verb-framed systems: if PathP does not define a phase domain, then a root cannot be merged at the complement of Proc, which prevents the Co-event interpretation to arise. In the next section, I will further prove 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 by offering a contrastive analysis of Latin and Spanish Source prefixes.

5. The analysis

5.1. Latin vs. Spanish Source prefixes

Latin Source prefixes allow encoding different kinds of departure from a Ground: *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'; *dis-* expresses 'separation from one point in different directions'; and *ex-* denotes 'separation

from the inside' (see, among others, Brea 1976, García-Hernández 1980, and Haverling 2000).

(34) 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'

In Spanish, the only prefix productively used to encode detachment is *des-* (Brea 1976, 1994). This new prefix replaced its Latin predecessors 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. Hence, for example, to specify that a detachment event has its starting point inside the Ground, the Spanish Source prefix must combine with *en-*, a prefix denoting interiority: compare *des-terr-ar* 'to exile, to banish', which expresses the detachment of someone from his/her land, with *des-en-terr-ar* 'to dig out, to unearth', which encodes the removal of an entity from the inside of the land.

In addition to their different topological properties, Latin and Spanish Source prefixes also show a different syntactic behaviour. Latin Source prefixes are widely used as intransitive P elements, that is, as particles not selecting for a complement specifying the Ground, a fact extensively examined in Acedo-Matellán (2016). In these cases, the Ground component is inferred from the meaning of the prefix. This is exemplified in (35):

(35) Latin

De-uolant *omnes.*

from-fly.3PL all.NOM.PL

'All of them fly away'.

[Rhet. *Her*. 4, 48, 61; *apud* Acedo-Matellán 2016: 275 (134)]

Besides, Latin Source prefixes may take a DP complement specifying the Ground, in which case they function as transitive P elements (on the ability of prefixes to semantically govern long-distance DPs, see Lehmann 1983 and Acedo-Matellán 2006). This is the case in (36), where the prefix *ab-* takes the ablative marked DP *cara mensa* 'an expensive stand' as its complement.

(36) Latin

Cara *piscis* *a-verrere* *mensa.*

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. This prefix must necessarily take a root (or a prefixed root) as its complement, imposing to that root the interpretation of Ground. The examples included below exemplify this behaviour: in (37a), the root *terr-* 'land, earth' identifies the Ground from which the Figure *el cofre* 'the trunk' is removed; and in (37b) the Figure *la situación* 'the situation' is asserted to have departed from its prior state of being blocked, such a blocking state being expressed through the root *bloq-*, abstractly

interpreted as a Ground. Although in (37c) the root *hues*- 'bone' can be conceptually understood as a Figure that is removed from the Ground *el pollo* 'the chicken', from a structural point of view the internal argument corresponds to a Figure that changes its state from having bones to not having so, and accordingly the root *hues*- identifies the initial state of this transition (an abstract Ground): the state of having bones.[13]

(37) Spanish

a. *Los exploradores des-en-terr-aron el cofre*.
the explorers from-in-earth-PST.3.PL the trunk
'The explorers unearthed the trunk'.

b. *El diálogo ha permitido des-bloquear la situación*.
the dialogue has enabled from-block.INF the situation
'Dialogue has enabled to unblock the situation'.

c. *Hemos des-hues-ado el pollo antes de cocerlo.*
have.1PL from-bone-PTCP the chicken before of cook.INF=it.ACC
'We have boned the chicken before cooking it'.

It seems, thus, that Latin Source prefixes show a rich semantics that enables them to function as intransitive P elements or to select a long-distance DP, whereas their Spanish

[13] See Labelle (2000), Mateu (2001), Gibert-Sotelo & Pujol-Payet (2015), and Gibert-Sotelo (2017b) for a similar approach to those verbs that incorporate the displaced object (labelled *locatum* verbs by Clark & Clark 1979).

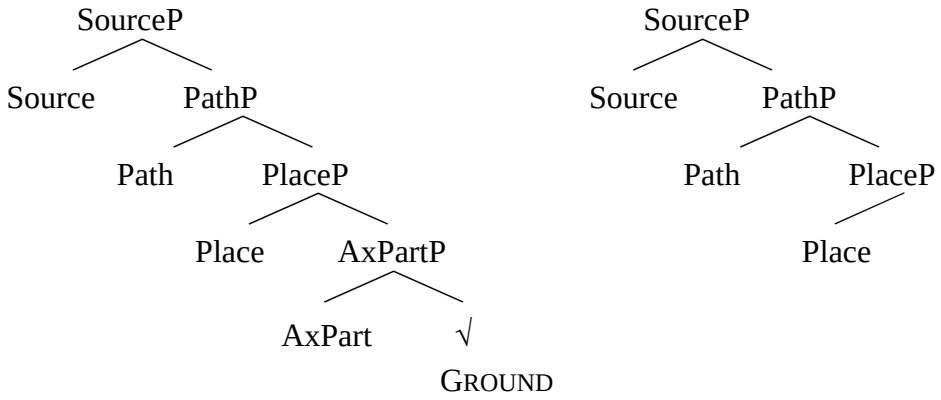
descendant, *des*-, which shows a less rich semantics, must necessarily combine with a root and is unable to select a full DP.[14]

Taking into account all these facts, I propose that both the Latin and the Spanish Source prefixes lexicalize a Source path that accounts for their Source-oriented directional meaning. The difference between the two languages is that the Latin Source prefixes lexicalize two additional features: an Ax(ial)Part[15] specifying the shape of the Ground component, and a root node at the complement of AxPart that corresponds to the Ground of the Source path (see Acedo-Matellán 2016 for the idea that Latin prefixes incorporate a root contributing conceptual information):

[14] An anonymous reviewer wonders whether the different behaviour of Latin and Spanish Source prefixes is linked to the distinction proposed by Di Sciullo (1997) between internal and external prefixes (a distinction that mainly corresponds to that between *lexical* and *superlexical* prefixes in other works; cf. Svenonius 2004). The Latin prefixes, which keep a more elaborate locative semantics and may be projected as prepositions, could be argued to correspond to internal prefixes (see Acedo-Matellán 2016 for a thorough exploration of Latin prepositional prefixes that addresses the internal/external division). The Spanish Source prefix *des*-, in turn, could be seen as an instance of external prefix, since its locative meaning is less salient, cannot be independently realized as a preposition, and allows stacking. However, in Gibert-Sotelo (2017b) it is extensively justified that *des*- is an internal prefix able to determine the argument structure and the aspectual nature of the resulting predicate. Accordingly, I assume that both the Latin and the Spanish Source prefixes examined in this work are VP-internal.

[15] On Axial Parts, see Svenonius (2006, 2010).

(38) a. Syntax of Latin Source prefixes b. Syntax of Spanish *des*-



The different behaviour of the Latin and Spanish Source prefixes can be derived from the structures proposed in (38). Latin Source prefixes have a richer semantics than Spanish *des*- because they contain an AxPart in their internal structures that provides information regarding the topological properties of the Path. Besides, Latin Source prefixes do not need to select a complement specifying the Ground because they contain a root in their internal syntax that occupies this position, which explains their ability to function as intransitive P elements. Finally, if they are specified for the root node, they do not need to take a root as complement, which allows them to govern long-distance DPs. Spanish *des*-, in turn, is underspecified both for AxPart as well as for the root specifying the Ground component, and accordingly it holds a less elaborate semantics and must necessarily combine with a root identifying the Ground of the Source path.

Crucially, the ability of Latin Source prefixes to encode a rich meaning, 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. On the other hand, the less rich Source path lexicalized by Spanish *des*- is a reflection of the verb-framed nature of this language. Taking into account Real Puigdollers' (2013) syntactic approach to the satellite-/verb-framed typology, I put forward that the richer Latin Source prefixes lexicalize a non-defective Path head that defines a phase, whereas the less syntactically

and conceptually elaborate Spanish prefix *des-* lexicalizes a defective Path that does not define a phase. By assuming that Path is a phase-head in satellite-framed Latin but not in verb-framed Spanish, the different scope effects of Latin and Spanish Source prefixes when encoding negative meaning receive a structural account, as explored in the following subsections.

5.2. Latin verbs of denial

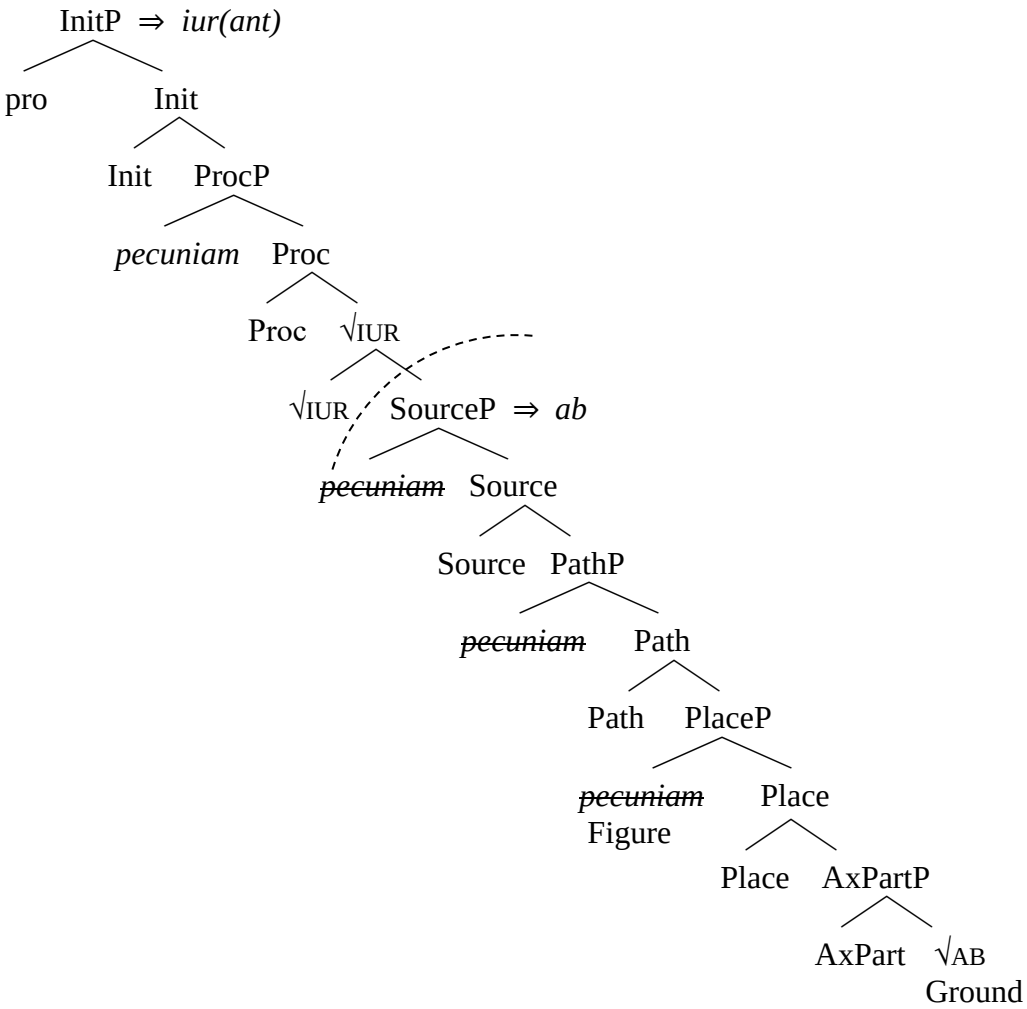
As already presented in section 2.1, the addition of Source prefixes to speech verbs in Latin involves the negation of the object, not of the base verb:

(39) *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 2016: 131 (179)

Constructions like the one in (39) show a satellite-framed pattern where the prefix encodes the Core Schema that structures the event and acts as the main predicate (the denial event), and the verb root corresponds to a concomitant Co-event that specifies the Manner in which the event is performed. The analysis provided in (40) for the Latin prefixed verbs of denial derives the scope effect of the prefix as well as the interpretation of the verb root as a Manner Co-event: given that in these constructions the position at the complement of AxPart is already occupied by the root of the prefix, the verb root cannot be merged in that position. Besides, if roots can only be placed at the bottom-most position of a phase domain (see section 3.4), the only position available for the verb root is the bottom-most position of the following phase. Given that the Latin prefix *ab-*

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.[16] 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 verbal root, which accounts for the fact that in these cases the prefix negates the object of the verb and not the verbal root:[17]

(40) Analysis of (39)



[16] At this point it is crucial to clarify that the phase domain defined by the Path head in satellite-framed languages also encompasses the Source head, given that Source is an extended projection of Path (cf. Gibert-Sotelo 2017b: 293).

[17] See Acedo-Matellán (2016) for an alternative analysis of these constructions that also derives this scope effect.

With regard to the negative meaning of Source prefixes when combined with a speech verb, in section 3.2 it has been argued that it might be inferred from their inherent structure: they lexicalize a Source path, and the result of a Source path is a negative location NOT in/on/at the Ground. I hypothesize that, in these cases, what forces the Source prefix to be interpreted only in its negative dimension, demoting its basic directional meaning, 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 (usually an utterance). In fact, the sentence in (39) 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 anymore.

5.3. Spanish negative verbs

As opposed to Latin verbs of denial, in Spanish negative verbs the negation contributed by the prefix takes scope over the root of the verb:

(41) *des-conozco su significado.*
from-know.1SG their meaning
'I don't know their meaning'.
[CREA: 1994. Javier García Sánchez, *El Alpe d'Huez*]

(42) *la población des-obedecía sus órdenes.*
the population from-obey.IPFV.3SG their orders
'the population disobeyed their orders'.
[CREA: 2002. Press. *Diario de Sevilla*, 03/08/2002]

In section 2.2 it has been shown that *des-* negative verbs, which are non-dynamic, may correspond to Kimian (41) or to Davidsonian (42) states, and that the non-dynamic nature of these predicates is at the base of the interpretation of the prefix as a negator. Importantly, prefixation by *des-* supposes a stronger way of negating a predicate than adverbial negation with *no* 'not', as already put forward by Brea (1994: 113, 116), Battaner (1996: 358), Martín García (2007: 10-11), and Rodríguez Rosique (2011: 154-155), among others. The possibility of using *des-* prefixation to establish a contrast with negation through the negative marker *no* 'not' demonstrates that these two ways of negating are not synonymous (see *NGLE* 2009: 722 and Rodríguez Rosique 2011: 154-155):

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

(44) *El árbitro no nos favoreció, pero tampoco nos des-favoreció.*
the referee not us favour.PST.3SG but neither us from-favour.PST.3SG
'The referee didn't favour us, but he didn't work against us either'.

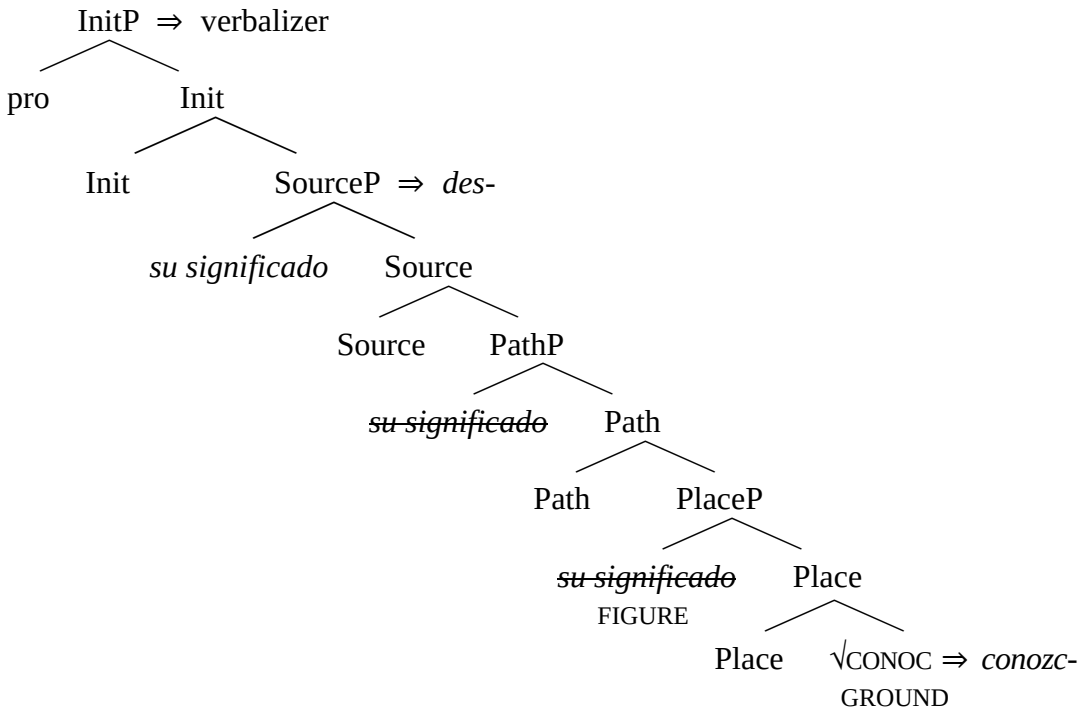
The strengthening conveyed by negation with *des-*, I claim, is due to its Source value: *desagradar* not only encodes a state that does not correspond to *agradar* 'to like' (contradictory negation), but it rather identifies the opposite state of *agradar*, that is, the state placed the farthest on a degree scale, which is 'to annoy' or 'to upset' (contrary negation) (see Aristotle; Horn [1989] 2001). In the same way, *desfavorecer* 'to work against' is evaluated as more opposed to *favorecer* 'to favour' than *no favorecer* 'not to favour'. This idea of contrary (and crucially not contradictory) opposition arises from the Source path that *des-* lexicalizes, which gets statically interpreted as the polar opposite position on a degree scale.

As presented in section 5.1, the Source path lexicalized by *des-* is semantically and syntactically less elaborate than the Source path lexicalized by the Latin Source prefixes, since it is only specified for Source, Path and Place (whereas the Latin Source prefixes also contain an AxPart at the complement of Place and a root at the position of Ground). Besides, the Path head spelled out by this prefix is defective, and, for that reason, it cannot define a phase. This prevents the Co-event conflation pattern typical of satellite-framed languages to emerge: if the Source path that *des-* encodes does not constitute a phase, then the root of the verb cannot be merged on top of it, at the complement of the subeventive projections, and accordingly it cannot be interpreted as a Co-event. The verb root, thus, can only appear at the bottom-most position of the derivation, at the complement of Place, where it is structurally identified with a Source Ground. *Des-* negative verbs, therefore, are to be considered instances of the verb-framed pattern of encoding the Core Schema in a verbal predicate, since in them the two components of the Core Schema, that is, Path and Ground, are spelled out as a complex verbal predicate and are part of the same phase domain.

For *des-* negative verbs encoding Kimian states (e.g., *desconocer* 'not to know') I

propose the syntactic configuration depicted below:

(45) Analysis of (41)

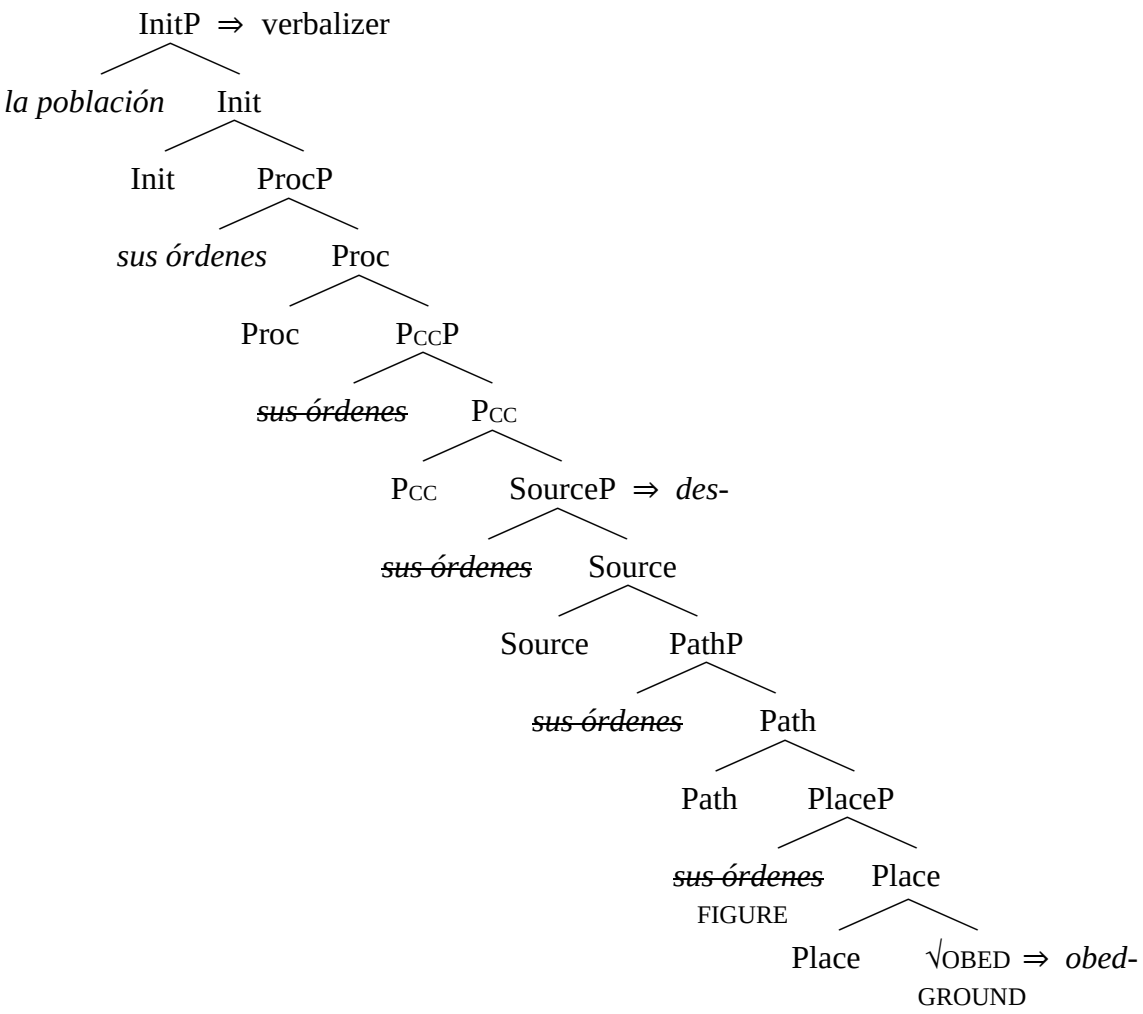


Des- negative verbs corresponding to Kimian states lack eventivity, and therefore they cannot contain a Proc subevent in their internal structure. Hence, as represented in (45), a Kimian state like *desconocer* 'not to know' only contains the Init subevent, which, not taking a Proc subevent as complement, is not interpreted as involving causation, but just as a state. The Source path lexicalized by the prefix *des-*, in turn, cannot denote a dynamic transition, given that it is not dominated by a Proc subevent. Rather, this Source path, dominated by the stative head Init, is statically interpreted as a Source-oriented scale (that is, as a scale closed on its initial boundary) by means of which the internal argument *su significado* 'their meaning' is placed away from √CONOC 'know(ledge)' on a degree scale. The verb root √CONOC, located at the complement of Place and therefore interpreted as a Ground, identifies the initial point of the scale, that is, its lower end. *Desconocer*, thus, expresses the lowest possible degree of the root √CONOC 'know' on a scale, a degree in

which √CONOC does not hold, and for that reason *desconocer* is interpreted as 'not to know'.

Regarding *des*- negative verbs behaving as Davidsonian states, in section 2.2 it has been demonstrated that they involve an event variable, which means that their event structure must be different from the one I have put forward for Kimian *des*-negative verbs. The analysis that I propose for a Davidsonian *des*-negative verb like *desobedecer* 'to disobey' in (42), is the one represented in (46):

(46) Analysis of (42)



As a Davidsonian state, *desobedecer* 'to disobey' contains a Proc subevent in its event structure that introduces the event variable. The Source path lexicalized by *des*-, though,

cannot be merged at the complement of Proc, since Proc-Rheme homomorphism would give rise to a change of state meaning. Following Fábregas & Marín (2012), I assume that the non-dynamic behaviour of Davidsonian states lies in the presence of a central coincidence P (Hale & Keyser 2002) at the complement of Proc that prevents the dynamic interpretation of this subeventive head. The central coincidence P (P_{CC}) is spelled out, together with the subeventive projections, by the verbalizing morpheme *-ec(er)*. The Source path that *des-* lexicalizes is inserted in the structure at the complement of the P_{CC}, and, accordingly, it is not interpreted as a dynamic transition, but as a non-dynamic scale (in particular, a scale closed on the lower endpoint, which triggers the contrary reading). As for the root of these verbs, it is merged at the complement of Place, where it is identified with a Source Ground statively interpreted as the opposite end on a degree scale. The configuration in (46), thus, should be read as follows: the external argument, *la población* 'the population', is the Initiator of a non-dynamic process that consists in keeping *sus órdenes* 'their orders', the internal argument, the farthest possible from 'obedience' [√OBED-] on a degree scale, in particular, at the lowest degree of the scale, a degree in which obedience does not hold (hence the negative interpretation of the predicate).

In sum, *des-* negative verbs are instances of the verb-framed strategy of mapping the Core Schema (i.e., the Path and the Ground) onto the verb, although in these cases the Core schema is statically interpreted as the contrary negation (the Source Path) of the verbal root (the Ground). The negative meaning that *des-* develops in Kimian and Davidsonian states is an inference from its Source-oriented meaning, which can be used to identify the minimal degree (i.e., the initial or lowest point) on a scale in non-dynamic contexts.

6. Conclusions

Source prefixes can develop a negative value both in Latin and Spanish, although the scope of the negation expressed by these prefixes is different in each language. In Latin, the combination of Source prefixes with speech verbs gives rise to predicates encoding ways of denying (cf. *ab-iuro* 'to deny on oath', *dif-fiteor* 'to deny by confession'), and so the prefix does not negate the content of the verb root. In Spanish, the negative meaning of the Source prefix *des-* emerges in non-dynamic contexts and takes scope over the verb root, giving rise to prefixed verbs that are the polar contraries of their unprefixed counterparts (cf. *des-conocer* 'not to know/to ignore', *des-obedecer* 'to disobey').

Throughout this paper it has been shown that the different scope of the prefix in the Latin and the Spanish constructions is a result of their different lexicalization patterns. Latin verbs of denial instantiate the satellite-framed pattern, because in them the prefix encodes the core part of the predicate, which is the denial event, and the verb root corresponds to a concomitant Co-event specifying the Manner of the denial event. Spanish negative verbs, by contrast, show a verb-framed pattern: they encode the Core Schema through a complex verb that identifies both the Path (in the prefix) and the Ground (in the verb root, directly dominated by the prefix), and hence they do not license Co-event conflation.

The principles stated in Nanosyntax, together with Real Puigdollers' (2013) theory of roots and phase-heads, allow for a plausible account of the different typological patterns involved in Latin denial verbs and Spanish negative verbs. In the Latin verbs of denial, the prefix lexicalizes a Source path that contains a phase-defining Path and also a root node, which forces the verb root to be merged at the bottom-most position of the following phase, on top of Source and at the complement of Proc, where it is interpreted as a Manner Co-event (the satellite-framed pattern). As far as the verb root occupies a

higher position than the nodes lexicalized by the prefix, the prefix cannot take scope over it. Conversely, in the Spanish negative verbs, the Source prefix is not specified for the root node and it contains a Path head that does not define a phase, which prevents the insertion of the verb root on top of Source. The root of the verb, thus, is merged at the bottom-most position of the phase, at the complement of Place, where it is interpreted as a Ground (the verb-framed pattern). In this case, the projections lexicalized by the prefix, merged on top of the verb root, take scope over it.

As for the negative meaning of Source prefixes, I have argued that it can be inferred from the structure of Source paths, and that Source prefixes allow for this meaning to emerge if embedded in the right syntactic context. In the Latin satellite-framed constructions, the negative interpretation arises because of the conceptual content of the syntactic components combined with the prefix; and in the Spanish verb-framed predicates, it is due to the presence of a stative projection immediately dominating the Source path lexicalized by *des*-, which disallows its dynamic interpretation and forces it to be statically understood as a scale closed on its initial (or lower) boundary.

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