

The derivation of *en*-prefixed verbs in Spanish*

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In this paper it is argued that Spanish complex words derived by *en*-prefixation (cf. *cárcel*_N ‘prison’ > [[*en* + *carcel*]_V + *ar*]_V ‘to imprison’; *sucio*_A ‘dirty’ > [[*en* + *sucio*]_V + *ar*]_V ‘to dirty’) are not exceptions to the Right-hand Head Rule RHR (Williams (1981a)). It is shown that a Ø-suffix, and not the prefix *en*-, is responsible for the conversion of adjectives and nouns to verbs (cf. Neeleman and Schipper (1992)). The θ-grid of N/A-to-V prefixations provides the empirical evidence in favour of the conversion-suffix.

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1 Introduction¹

It is a well-known fact that affixation processes are typically right-headed in Romance languages (Mascaró (1986)) and, for this reason, Williams’ (1981) Right-hand Head Rule (RHR) is relevant to these languages. The RHR states that the head of a morphologically complex word is rightmost. The head will project its category to the entire word. Hence, prefixes, unlike suffixes, should not change the category of the words they attach to, and indeed this is the general pattern found in Spanish, as evidenced in (1) for prefixes and (2) for suffixes.

* Thanks are due to Anna Bartra as well as the audience at the XVI Colloquium on Generative Grammar for their insightful observations and suggestions. I am also grateful to Ciaran Walsh and Mareen Joy for their useful comments and David Artacho, Ángel J. Gallego, M. Lluïsa Hernanz and Meritxell Mata for their native judgements on the Spanish data. Needless to say, all remaining errors are my own. Research for this project has been supported by the grant MEC and FEDER (BFF2003-08364-C02-01) awarded to the Grup de Gramàtica Teòrica of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

¹ The present investigation constitutes a parallel study to that carried out in Padrosa (2005a, b), where *en*-prefixed Vs in Catalan and English are dealt with. Section 2 is basically a shortened version of the earlier studies just mentioned.

- (1) a. im + posible_A ‘possible’ = imposible_A ‘impossible’
 b. pos + guerra_N ‘war’ = posguerra_N ‘postwar’
- (2) a. blanco_A ‘white’ + ura_N = blanchura_N ‘whiteness’
 b. soldar_V ‘to weld’ + dor_N = soldador_N ‘welder’

In this paper I consider a potential class of counterexamples to Williams’ RHR, namely one class of prefixes. More specifically, I am looking at how the Spanish prefix *en-* apparently converts A(djectives) and N(ouns) to V(erbs) in a productive way, which is not what is expected from the RHR.

- (3) a. pobre_A ‘poor’ > [[em + pobre]_V + (c)er]_V ‘to impoverish’
 b. dulce_A ‘sweet’ > [[en + dulz]_V + ar]_V ‘to sweeten’
 c. caja_N ‘box’ > [[en + caj(a)]_V + ar]_V ‘to put (something) in a box’
 d. ladrillo_N ‘brick’ > [[en + ladrill(o)]_V + ar]_V ‘to pave with bricks’

Two possible analyses are discussed to find out whether the words in (3) are really exceptions to the RHR. According to the first analysis, *en-* prefixations have leftmost heads, i.e. *en-* is an exceptional prefix (cf. Williams (1981a)), and according to the second analysis, *en-* prefixations have a zero-suffix, i.e. *en-* is not an exceptional prefix (cf. Neeleman and Schipper (1992), Varela and Martín (1999)). On the basis of N/A-to-V prefixations, I argue that complex words derived by *en-* prefixation are not real counterexamples to the Rel(ativized) RHR (Di Sciullo and Williams (1987)). I show that a zero-suffix, and not the prefix *en-*, is responsible for the conversion process which takes place before the prefix is attached. The argument structure of the derived Vs and the source of the Θ -roles will be crucial to support the second analysis. To carry out this study I adopt Reinhart’s theta system (Reinhart (2000, 2001)) and a Θ -role percolation approach to the inheritance of thematic information (cf. Neeleman and Schipper (1992), Gràcia (1995)).

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the basics of Reinhart’s (2000, 2001) theta system and of Θ -percolation. Section 3 is devoted to presenting and discussing the data, which is organized into three subsections, according to the base on which the prefixed word is built (i.e. V/A/N-to-V prefixation). Finally, the last section draws the main conclusions from this study.

2 Theoretical Framework

This section provides some background to Reinhart’s (2000, 2001) theta-system and a brief explanation of how Θ -percolation works.

Reinhart derives the Θ -roles of the ‘Theta theory’ found in the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky (1995)) by reducing them to two binary features: [+/-*c*] and [+/-*m*] (which result in eight feature clusters; see below). While the +*c* feature has the meaning of causality (*cause change*) associated with it, the +*m* feature involves some mental state of the participant. In (4) I reproduce the correlations between the clusters and Θ -roles (Reinhart (2001): 3):

- (4) [+c+m] agent
 [-c-m] theme/patient
 [+c-m] instrument
 [-c+m] experiencer
 [+c] cause (unspecified for /m; consistent with agent and instrument)
 [+m] (unspecified for /c) with verbs such as *love, know, believe* (externally generated); *laugh, cry, sleep* (requiring an animate argument)
 [-m] (unspecified for /c) usually expressing subject matter/locative source
 [-c] (unspecified for /m) usually expressing internal roles like goal, benefactor (typically dative or PP)

Any linking theory about Θ -roles has to map the thematic specification of a lexical entry onto syntactic positions. Reinhart (2001) proposes that there is a lexical operation which assigns indices to the roles on the verb’s Θ -grid: 1 marks the external role and 2 marks the internal role. These marking procedures assign index 2 to a [-] cluster ([-c-m], [-c], [-m]) and index 1 to a [+] cluster ([+c+m], [+c], [+m]). The result is that a cluster marked 2 merges internally and a cluster marked 1 merges externally. Reinhart also assumes that all Vs are underlyingly transitive, and she proposes some specific reduction operations to derive reflexives, unaccusatives and unergatives. Although I also assume that a reduction operation is taking place with some Vs, I depart from Reinhart in the workings of the operation. More specifically, Reinhart treats reflexives as unergative entries, thus reducing the internal argument of the Vs.² By contrast, I treat reflexives as unaccusative entries, on the basis of deadjectival Vs, where the external argument is clearly reduced.³

Because Reinhart’s marking procedures apply only for the arguments on a V’s Θ -grid, the Θ -roles of As and Ns cannot follow her marking system, since this is not applicable to them. With respect to the relationship between the Θ -roles of As and Ns and their syntactic position (whether they are external or internal arguments), I follow the regularities already established in other work (for example, Williams (1981b)). That is, a [-c-m] role on an A will

² The reader is referred to Reinhart’s (2000, 2001) own work for a detailed account of her system and her derivation of reflexives, unaccusatives and unergatives.

³ See Padrosa (2005a), where my position is developed and exemplified; cf. Grimshaw (1990).

be external. The same role on a N will be internal and the R-role,⁴ which is associated with Ns, will be external. Such approach seems problematic at first sight, because there are cases where an external argument is apparently internalized. Consider the external argument of the *A readable* (*This book is readable*), which is internalized when it is on the V's node (*I read this book*).⁵ However, this apparent internalization is explained if we adopt the view according to which only Θ -roles percolate, and the notions external or internal are determined by the category the Θ -roles are associated with (see Neeleman & Schipper (1992) for a similar view). In other words, the A will force an argument specified as [-c-m] to be external, whereas the same role on a V will be given index 2, which will determine internal merging.

Concerning the Θ -percolation approach, the basic idea is that the thematic information of a complex word is derived from the different elements that form the word, irrespective of whether they are prefixes or suffixes. This view of Θ -percolation is in conflict with the RHR, which states that only the head is able to transfer its features. The data analysed in this study will show that the strict RHR (Williams (1981)) has to be abandoned, in favour of the Rel. RHR (Di Sciullo and Williams (1987)), according to which the head for a specific feature is the rightmost element that contains the feature in question.

3 Data Analysis and Discussion

This section analyses the role of the Spanish prefix *en-* when added to otherwise underived Vs (section 3.1), deadjectival Vs (section 3.2) and denominal Vs (section 3.3). The data have been taken from the dictionary *Real Academia Española* (RAE) (19th edition) in conjunction with the dictionary RAE online and the database the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) and the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE).

3.1 V-to-V prefixation

⁴ The source of the R-role is to be found in Williams (1981b), who notes that Ns also have external Θ -roles. In sentence (i),

(i) I consider that [destruction of a city by evil forces]

the predicative NP *destruction* has two internal arguments: the Theme *a city* and the Agent *evil forces*, but it also has an external argument which has no counterpart in the verbal system, i.e. *that*, which he gives the label R. That is, *destruction of a city by evil forces* is predicated of *that*. “The label R is meant to suggest ‘referential’, since it is this argument position R that is involved in referential uses of NPs as well” (p. 86)

⁵ Traditionally, one would argue for a derivation going in the opposite direction. That is, there would be an externalization process. The internal argument of the V, *this book*, would become external when the A-forming suffix *-able* was added to the V.

Although V-to-V prefixation cannot answer the question of whether *en-* or a \emptyset -suffix is the element responsible for the conversion of the base to which the prefix is added, because the base is already verbal, this type of prefixation should be able to show which role the prefix plays in the argument structure of the resulting derived word. Let us consider some examples.

- (5) a. El sol curtió la piel del paleta [+c] [-c-m]
 ‘The sun roughened the bricklayer’s skin.’
 b. Su piel se curtió [-c-m]
 ‘His skin became roughened.’
 c. Su abuela siempre encurtía la fruta cuando aún estaba fresca [+c+m] [-c-m]
 ‘Her grandmother always pickled the fruit when it was still fresh.’
- (6) a. La novia lució el vestido [+c+m] [-c-m]
 ‘The bride was sporting her wedding dress.’
 b. Ayer lució un sol radiante [-c-m]
 ‘Yesterday the sun shone brilliantly.’
 c. Él se lució con la fiesta [+c+m]
 ‘He made the party a success.’
 d. El constructor enlució la fachada [+c+m] [-c-m]
 ‘The builder plastered the front wall.’
- (7) a. El muchacho se asustó y se volvió blanco [-c+m]
 ‘The boy was frightened and went white.’
 b. Cuando volví a mi pueblo, todo había cambiado [+c+m]
 ‘When I returned to my village, everything had changed.’
 c. Juan envolvió los regalos [+c+m] [-c-m]
 ‘John wrapped up the presents.’

By looking at the sentences in (5-7), one may initially think that the unprefixated version of the V (*curtir*, *lucir*, *volver*) allows much more variation in the realization of the argument structure of the V than the prefixed V (*encurtir*, *enlucir*, *envolver*). Unprefixated Vs can have transitive, reflexive (typically expressed with the clitic *se*) and unergative variants. It seems then that a reduction process is able to apply quite freely in the case of the unprefixated V, suppressing the internal or external role. In contrast, the prefixed V can only be transitive, suggesting that the reduction process just mentioned is prohibited in the case of the prefixed variant of the V. At this point, one could speculate that the prefix has certain features specifying that the V to which it attaches must be obligatorily transitive. Though believable as it may seem, this possibility has to be rejected on the basis of examples like (*en*)*cargar* (8).

The reduction process has taken place in both variants of the V resulting in a reflexive construction in each case.

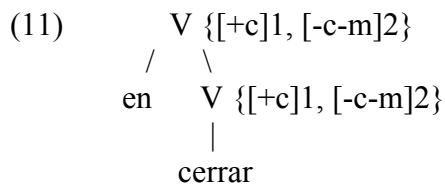
- (8) a. Estoy cargando la batería del móvil [+c+m] [-c-m]
‘I am charging my mobile battery.’
b. La batería del móvil se está cargando [-c-m]
‘My mobile battery is charging.’
c. Encargué la compra a María [+c+m] [-c-m] [-c]
‘I put Mary in charge of the shopping.’
d. María se encargó de la compra [-c] [-c-m]
‘Mary was in charge of the shopping.’

In addition, there exist pairs of Vs like *(en)cerrar* (9) and *(en)coger* (10) whose argument structure has exactly the same possibilities of realization. For example, both the prefixed and unprefixed variants of the V *(en)cerrar* (9) allow the transitive and reflexive entries. Similarly, the prefixed and unprefixed variants of the V *(en)coger* (10) both permit the transitive and unaccusative realization of the argument structure.

- (9) a. Carolina cerró la ventana [+c+m] [-c-m]
‘Caroline closed the window.’
b. La ventana se cerró [-c-m]
‘The window closed.’
c. La vecina encierra el perro en la cabaña cuando hace mal tiempo [+c+m] [-c-m]
‘The neighbour shuts the dog in the shelter during bad weather.’
d. El monje se encerró en un monasterio [-c-m]
‘The monk secluded himself in a monastery.’
- (10) a. El muchacho cogió una manzana sin pagarla [+c+m] [-c-m]
‘The boy took an apple without paying for it.’
b. La mesita de noche no coge aquí [-c-m]
‘The bedside table does not fit in here.’
c. Carmen encogió la pierna [+c+m] [-c-m]
‘Carmen moved her leg backwards.’
d. El jersey (se) encogió [-c-m]
‘The jumper shrank.’

The existence of identical argument structures both in the prefixed and unprefixed variants of a V seems to indicate that the prefix does not have features of its own (at least, visible

features). Now the V (*en*)*cerrar* will illustrate how the θ -percolations and Reinhart's marking system work for any of the previous Vs.



The V *cerrar* has two θ -roles: [+c] (cause) and [-c-m] (theme). The [+] role will get index 1, resulting in an external merger, and the [-] role will receive index 2, determining its internal merger. I assume that the reflexive variant results from θ -role reduction.

Concerning the prefix *en-*, its addition does not seem to have any visible consequences for the resulting argument structure. At this point, one could only speculate that the prefix possesses some features and that these are identical to some of the base, and due to the Rel. RHR, the base (i.e. the rightmost element) will get its features percolated, obscuring those of the prefix.

3.2 A-to-V prefixation

Most en+A Vs can participate in the transitive-unaccusative alternation (to make A – to become A), the unaccusative variant being typically expressed with the reflexive clitic *se* (cf. 12), although this is not always the case (cf. 13). That is, the unaccusative alternate of the V *ensuciar* obligatorily takes the clitic (within parentheses in (12b), i.e. (*se*)), but the unaccusative version of the V *engordar* does not take it (within square brackets in (13b), i.e. [*se*]). The As in (a) are the bases on which the prefixed Vs in (b) are built. The sentences in (c) illustrate the transitive variant of the V, while the sentences in (d) show the unaccusative version. The θ -roles of the A and V have been placed next to them. The [+c] role within parentheses (in (b)) indicates that it is absent in the unaccusative variant of the V, as can be observed in (d).

- (12)
- a. sucio_A ‘dirty’ [-c-m]
 - b. ensuciar(*se*)_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 - c. La cocinera [+c+m] ensució la cocina [-c-m]
‘The cook dirtied the kitchen.’
 - d. La cocina [-c-m] se ensució
‘The kitchen became dirty.’

- (13)
- a. gordo_A ‘fat’ [-c-m]
 - b. engordar[se]_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 - c. El estrés diario [+c] engordó a las dos actrices [-c-m]
‘Their daily stress fattened the two actresses up.’
 - d. Las dos actrices [-c-m] engordaron
‘The two actresses fattened up.’

To discover if deadjectival Vs are exceptions to the RHR, let us consider whether there is any systematic difference between the argument structure of the As and their corresponding Vs, which could be attributed either to the presence of the prefix *en-* or the putative \emptyset -suffix. If the argument structure of any A is compared with that of the derived V, it can be argued that the [-c-m] role of the V is inherited from the A, but this explanation cannot apply to the [+c] role present in the transitive variant of the V, since this role is absent in the adjectival θ -grid. One could suggest that the element responsible for the [+c] role is the prefix. On this account, the prefix would have the feature cluster [+c], which would get reduced in the unaccusative alternate of the V, sometimes leaving the reflexive *se* as a result of the deletion process (compare (12d) with (13d)). This explanation would also be able to account for Vs which can only be transitive (14) and those which can only be unaccusative with the presence of the clitic *se* (15) or without (16).

(14) grande_A ‘large’ [-c-m] > engrandar_V⁶ ‘to make A’ [+c] [-c-m]

(15) terco_A ‘stubborn’ [-c-m] > entercarse_V ‘to become A’ [-c-m]

(16) recio_A ‘strong’ [-c-m] > enreciar_V ‘to become A’ [-c-m]

For all the Vs in (14-16), the A would provide the [-c-m] role and the prefix the [+c] role. Vs like *engrandar* would not allow any reduction process to take place, whereas Vs like those in (15) and (16) would delete the [+c] role, leaving the unaccusative realization as the only possible one. The difference between (15) and (16) would be the absence of the clitic *se* in the latter. It remains to be explained the reason why the reduction process does not uniformly give *se* as a result.

Although the hypothesis that the prefix is the element responsible for the [+c] role is able to cope with the data presented so far, it runs into problems when considering unprefixed deadjectival Vs with a [+c] role.

⁶ The form *engrandar* seems to be replaced by other Vs (*engrandecer*) or expressions (*hacer más grande* ‘make bigger’).

- (17) a. rancio_A ‘rancid’ [-c-m]
 b. ranciar[se]_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 c. enranciar(se)_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 d. El paso del tiempo [+c] ranció la manteca de cerdo
 ‘With time, the lard went rancid.’
- (18) a. tesoro_A ‘tight’ [-c-m]
 b. tesar_V ‘to make A; tighten’ [+c] [-c-m]
 c. entesar_V ‘to make A; tighten’ [+c] [-c-m]
 d. Los marineros tesaron la vela del barco
 ‘The sailors tightened the ship’s mainsail.’
- (19) a. tibio_A ‘lukewarm, tepid’ [-c-m]
 b. tibir(se)_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 c. entibir(se)_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 d. La madre sacó la leche de la nevera y la tibió para bebérsela
 ‘The mother took the milk from the fridge and warmed it up slightly to drink.’

If it is assumed that the prefix is the source for the [+c] role, Vs like *ranciar*, *tesar* and *tibir* cannot be accounted for. Despite the absence of the prefix, the [+c] role is present. Another source for such role must then be found. I propose that the source for the [+c] role is a Ø-suffix, also responsible for the conversion of As to Vs.⁷ Inflectional suffixes do not change category and the prefix cannot be the element responsible for the conversion either, given the existence of deadjectival Vs without a prefix (cf. *ranciar(se)*, *tesar*, *tibir(se)*).

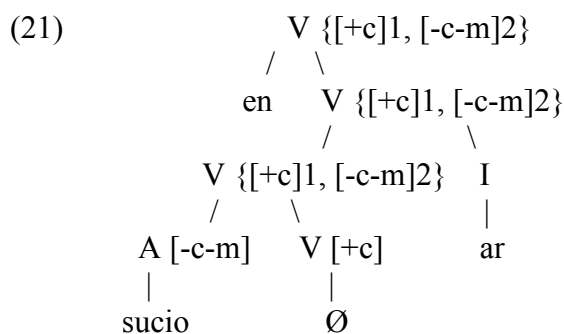
Although one could object to the fact that the Vs in (17-19) are not that common, the analysis just proposed gets support from deadjectival Vs such as *humedecer* (20), which has phonetic realization of the conversion-suffix, i.e. *-ec-*. Although most unprefixated deadjectival Vs having the suffix *-ec-* are old forms (e.g. *magreecer[se]* ‘to make/become thin’, *noblecer* ‘to make noble’, *vilecer(se)* ‘to make/become mean’) and some of these are not used transitively (e.g. *calvecer* ‘to become bald’, *canecer* ‘to become white-haired’), their prefixed version is an existing form of the language (e.g. *enmagreecer[se]*, *ennoblecer(se)*, *envilecer(se)*) and they seem to be quite productive.

- (20) a. húmedo_A ‘humid’ [-c-m]
 b. humedecer(se)_V ‘to make/become A’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 c. enhumedecer_V (old form) ‘to make A’ [+c] [-c-m]
 d. El rocío [+c] humedeció las flores del jardín de David [-c-m]
 ‘The dew moistened the flowers in David’s garden.’

⁷ See Padrosa (2005a, b) where the possibility of the inflectional suffix being the source for the [+c] role is considered and rejected.

I assume that the suffix *-ec-* performs the same function as the \emptyset -suffix does for the rest of deadjectival Vs. In short, the *-ec-* suffix will be responsible for the [+c] role present in some deadjectival Vs (i.e. when it does not undergo reduction) and for the conversion of As to Vs. This conclusion is reinforced by other deadjectival Vs which lack a prefixed counterpart and has a [+c] role like *oscurecer(se)_V* ‘to darken’ (<*oscuro_A* ‘dark’) which contains the suffix *-ec-* and *tensor_V* ‘to tauten’ (<*tenso_A* ‘taut’) which is not *ec-* suffixed.

Now let us consider how en+A Vs are derived according to the analysis adopted here. The V *ensuciar(se)* (12) will illustrate the point, although the same analysis can be applied to any of the Vs presented in this section.



The θ -role of the A and conversion-suffix will percolate up to the verbal node, where a transitive θ -grid will be formed. Following Reinhart’s marking procedures, the [+] role will get index 1 and the [-] role will receive index 2. The indices will determine external and internal merger respectively. Given that the V participates in the transitive-unaccusative alternation, once the transitive alternate is derived (*ensuciar*), I assume the [+c] role gets reduced to derive the unaccusative alternate (*ensuciar(se)*). For Vs like *humedecer*, the \emptyset -suffix is replaced by *-ec-*, the rest being the same.

The conclusion from this section is that deadjectival Vs observe the RHR. The $\{\emptyset/-ec-\}$ -suffix is responsible both for the conversion of As to Vs and for the [+c] role sometimes present in the derived V. The availability of the [+c] role depends on whether the V participates in the transitive-unaccusative alternation. Again, it is not clear whether the prefix has some features. One can only speculate that if it does, they are the same as those of the base, and that due to the Rel. RHR, the features of the prefix do not surface.

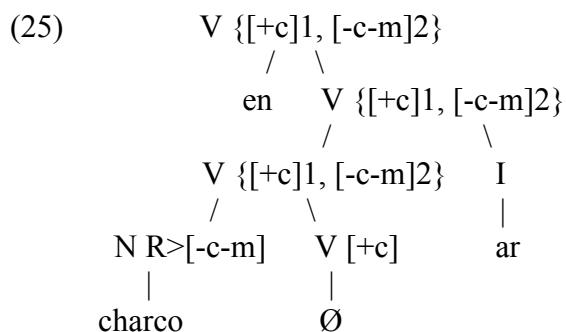
The following section shows that the basic generalization established here also holds for denominal Vs.

3.3 N-to-V prefixation

Three different semantic patterns can be distinguished within denominal V_s: location V_s with the paraphrase ‘to put something/somebody in/into/towards N’ (22), locatum V_s which can be paraphrased as ‘to put N around/in/into something/somebody’ (23), and V_s of creation ‘to make N’ (24).

- (22) a. cárcel_N ‘prison’ R
 b. encarcelar_V ‘to imprison’ [+c] [-c-m]
 c. Los policías [+c] encarcelaron al ladrón [-c-m]
 ‘The police imprisoned the thief.’
- (23) a. cera_N ‘wax’ R
 b. encerar_V ‘to wax’ [+c] [-c-m]
 c. Eva [+c] enceró el suelo de la cocina [-c-m]
 ‘Eva waxed the kitchen floor.’
- (24) a. charco_N ‘puddle’ R
 b. encharcar(se)_V ‘to make/become N’ ([+c]) [-c-m]
 c. La lluvia [+c] encharcó el campo [-c-m]
 ‘The rain formed in puddles on the field.’
 d. El campo [-c-m] se encharcó
 ‘The field was covered with puddles.’

Concerning V_s of creation, they have the same meaning as deadjectival V_s (i.e. ‘to make/become A’), and accordingly they should have the same θ -percolations. Although the [+c] role can come from the { \emptyset /-ec-}-suffix, this being present in the derivation of the V, the [-c-m] role has no apparent source, given that N_s, unlike A_s, contain an R-role. However, I follow Williams’ (1981b) view according to which the R-role can be reinterpreted as a theme, a [-c-m] role. This view is in accord with the feature bundle one would expect from the N. The derivation of the V *encharcar(se)* would be as follows.

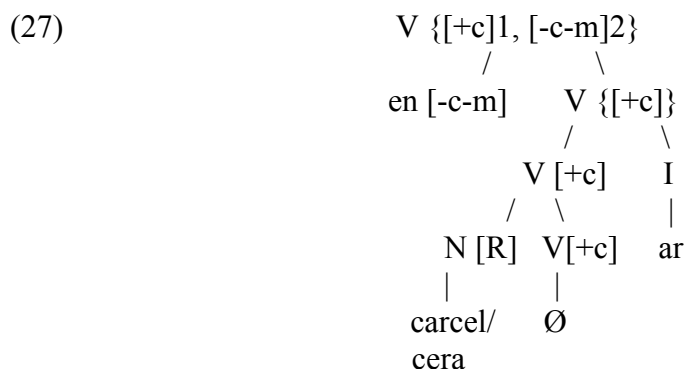


Once the reinterpreted R-role of the N and the [+c] role of the \emptyset -suffix have moved up to the next verbal node, they will receive index 2 and index 1. These indices will determine internal

and external merger respectively. The reflexive version of the V (*encharcarse*) results from reducing the external role. The reinterpretation of the R-role into [-c-m] can then explain Vs of creation, but it can derive neither location Vs nor locatum Vs. The meaning of the locative Vs is not ‘to make prison/wax’, but ‘to put somebody into prison’ (location V) and ‘to put wax on a surface’ (locatum V). Although these locative interpretations look quite different from each other, the existence of Vs which can have both readings leads me to argue for a unique derivation for both location and locatum Vs. Consider some Vs which can be interpreted as ‘to put N on/into something/somebody’ or ‘to put something/somebody in N’: *enfangar(se)_V* <*fango_N* ‘mud’, *enlejiar_V* <*lejía_N* ‘bleach’, *entubar_V* <*tubo_N* ‘tube’. The following pair of sentences is illustrative.

- (26) a. Los científicos entubaron el líquido peligroso
 ‘The scientists put the dangerous liquid into tubes.’
 b. Los médicos entubaron a la paciente para que sobreviviera
 ‘The doctors inserted tubes into the patient so that she could survive.’

I propose that for these locative Vs the [-c-m] role comes from the prefix whose features, being the same as those of the base, have been obscured so far due to the Rel. RHR. In locative Vs the prefix is the rightmost element specified for the features [-c-m], given that the R-role of the base is not reinterpreted. As for the [+c] role, I also assume it comes from the Ø-suffix, this also being responsible for the conversion of Ns to Vs. The [-c-m] features of the prefix and the [+c] role of the Ø-suffix will be indexed 2 and 1, which will force their internal and external merger. The resulting picture is illustrated in (27).



More evidence showing that the Ø-suffix is the element responsible for the presence of the [+c] role and for the conversion process comes from unprefixated denominal V_s like those in (28) and (29).

- (28) a. corte_N ‘cut’ R
 b. cortar_V ‘to make N’ [+c] [-c-m]
- (29) a. beso_N ‘kiss’ R
 b. besar_V ‘to make N’ [+c+m] [-c-m]

The [-c-m] role comes from the reinterpreted R-role and the [+c] role can only originate in the Ø-suffix. There is no other element in the word, i.e. the prefix, which can explain the presence of the [+c] role and the conversion process.

Like in the case of deadjectival V_s, there are some denominal V_s, which have phonetic content for the Ø-suffix, namely the suffix -ec-. Although en+A V_s taking the suffix -ec- are quite common, suggesting that these forms are productive in the language, there are not many denominal V_s having the suffix -ec- (e.g. *enrumecerse* ‘to turn into curds’) and only a few of these are still existing forms, like *enlustrecer* ‘to polish’ and *ensombrecer(se)* ‘to make/become dark’, the latter being exemplified in (30):

- (30) a. Las nubes ensombrecieron el palacio [+c] [-c-m]
 ‘The clouds cast a shadow over the palace.’
 b. El palacio se ensombreció [-c-m] cuando llegó la noche
 ‘The palace darkened at night.’

Although unprefixated ec-suffixed denominal V_s are non-existing and one cannot confirm that the -ec- suffix performs the same function as the Ø-suffix does, I assume a uniform analysis for both deadjectival and denominal V_s. That is, I assume the -ec- suffix is the element responsible for the conversion and presence of the [+c] role.

There is still another type of denominal V_s, i.e. those which can have both a creation and locative reading.

- (31) a. cauce_N ‘(irrigation) channel’
 b. encauzar_V ‘to make N’, ‘to put something in N’
- (32) a. caña_N ‘stem, cane’
 b. encañar_V ‘to make stem’, ‘to put cane in a place’

Those Vs will be interpreted one way or another depending on the source of the [-c-m] role. If it originates in the prefix, the locative reading (either the location one (31) or the locatum one (32)) will surface. If the R-role is reinterpreted as a [-c-m] role, the interpretation will be that of a V of creation.

My analysis presupposes a specific direction of derivation. That is, a N first becomes a V, and then the prefix *en-* is added to the V, giving it the locative reading. From such a proposal, it follows that unprefixated Vs should not have a locative interpretation, given that this interpretation is brought about by the prefix. Although this is the general pattern in the data, there are some unprefixated Vs which contradict my predictions.

Concerning location Vs, there are pairs of Vs like *caminar* ‘to walk’ and *encaminar* ‘to put somebody in the correct path’, based on the N *camino* ‘path’. The locative reading is associated with the prefixed V, which according to my analysis follows from the fact that the prefix has the [-c-m] role. The unprefixated V (*caminar*) provides further evidence for the Ø-suffix being the conversion-suffix, because the prefix is absent. Given this picture, the V *centrar*_V (<*centro*_N ‘centre’) ‘to put something in N’ would not be expected. The location reading has no apparent source, and its prefixed version, *encentrar* is not used nowadays.

As for locatum Vs, most of them are in agreement with my analysis, but some are not. Within locatum Vs, one has to distinguish between those prefixed Vs which have related meanings with their unprefixated version, and those prefixed Vs which are identical in meaning with their unprefixated counterpart. The first group can be subdivided into two subgroups, the first of which would only include the V *aguar(se)* (<*agua* ‘water’) ‘to put N in something’. Its prefixed version is non-existing and one would not expect *aguar(se)* to have a locative reading. In the second subgroup, there are six pairs of Vs, which are illustrated in (33) to (38).

- (33) a. *arena*_N ‘sand’
 b. *arenar*_V ‘to put N in a place’ (to sprinkle/polish with N)
 c. *enarenar*_V ‘to put N in a place’ (to cover with N)

- (34) a. *tinta*_N ‘dye, ink’
 b. *tintar*_V ‘to put dye in clothes’
 c. *entintar*_V ‘to put ink on something’

- (35) a. *clavo*_N ‘nail’
 b. *clavar(se)*_V ‘to put N on something’ (to knock in)
 c. *enclavar*_V ‘to put N on something’ (to nail)

- (36) a. *fre*_N ‘brake’

- b. frenar_V ‘to put N on something’
 - c. enfrenar_V ‘to put N on something’
- (37)
- a. vicio_N ‘vice’
 - b. viciar(se)_V ‘to put N into somebody’
 - c. enviciar(se)_V ‘to put N into somebody’
- (38)
- a. grapa_N ‘staple, cramp’
 - b. grapar_V ‘to put the staple on something’
 - c. engrapar_V ‘to put the cramp on something’

At first sight, all the unprefixated Vs listed above go against my analysis. They all have a locative reading without the presence of the prefix. However, if we consider each case carefully, we will notice that most of them are not real counterexamples. Both *arenar* (33b) and *enarenar* (33c) are hardly ever used. (There is only one example of each listed in CREA). The same applies to *tintar* (34b). (CREA only includes three sentences with this V and one of them contains the phrase *tintar la realidad* which has to be interpreted metaphorically as ‘hiding/obscuring the reality’ and not literally as ‘putting dye in something’). Probably this V is being replaced by the V *teñir*. (There are more than 150 occurrences in CREA). Concerning the Vs in (35) to (37), they all have acquired other meanings apart from the locatum interpretation whose literal meaning would be ‘to put N somewhere’. Take for instance the Vs (*en*)*clavar* (35b, c). Apart from having the literal meaning, the V *clavar* can be used in expressions like *clavar la vista en un objeto* ‘to fix your eyes on an object’ and *clavar el cuchillo a tu enemigo* ‘to thrust the knife into one’s enemy’, contexts where no nail is put anywhere. Speakers no longer feel that the V *clavar_V* is formed on the basis of the N *clavo_N*. Of the initial six counterexamples, only one remains as a real exception, i.e. (*en*)*grapapar*.

Now let us turn to those locatum prefixed Vs which seem to have the same meaning as their unprefixated counterparts. Three groups can be distinguished. The first one does not cause any problem to my proposal. It contains Vs whose unprefixated variant is no longer used in the language. Some examples are *enjaezar_V* (<*jaez_N* ‘harness’) ‘to put on the N’ and *enlosar_V* (<*losa_N* ‘flagstone’) ‘to put N somewhere’ with no unprefixated counterpart being currently used. The second group contains Vs whose prefixed version has stopped being in use. The two existing forms are *aceitar_V* (<*aceite_N* ‘oil’) ‘to put N into something’ and *sambenitar_V* (<*sambenito_N* ‘scapular’) ‘to put N on somebody’, although the latter is only given one occurrence in CREA and should probably be disregarded. Finally, the third group includes three Vs whose prefixed and unprefixated variants are both used, i.e. (*en*)*jabonar_V* (<*jabón_N* ‘soap’) ‘to put N on something’, (*en*)*tapizar_V* (<*tapiz_N* ‘tapestry’) ‘to put N on

something', (*en*)*tiznar*_V (<*tizne*_N 'soot') 'to put N on something'. Apart from not being much used, the last form (i.e. (*en*)*tiznar*) is replacing its literal meaning of 'putting soot on something' by that of 'dirtying something'.

To summarize, all the apparent counterexamples to my proposal are reduced to one location V (*centrar*)⁸ and four locatum Vs (*grapar*, *aceitar*, *jabonar*, *tapizar*). By comparing these forms with the large number of over 250 forms which follow my analysis, the conclusion can safely be that the prefix is the real trigger for the locative reading in the V, except for the five aforementioned cases which, I deduce, must be idiosyncrasies of the language.

To conclude this section, denominal *en*-prefixed Vs observe the Rel. RHR. The { \emptyset /-ec-}-suffix is responsible for the conversion of Ns to Vs and for the presence of the [+c] role, this being subject to reduction. Concerning the [-c-m] role, its source will be the reinterpreted R-role of the N when the resulting V has a meaning of creation or the prefix when the derived V has a locative (either location or locatum) reading. The prefix always has the [-c-m] features, but these are able to surface only in the case of locative Vs, because then the prefix is the rightmost element marked with these features.

4 Conclusion

Some evidence has been provided to argue that complex words derived by *en*-prefixation are not real counterexamples to the Rel. RHR (Di Sciullo and Williams (1987)). It has been shown that a { \emptyset /-ec-}-suffix, and not the prefix *en*-, is responsible for the conversion process which takes place before the prefix is attached. The θ -grid of N/A-to-V prefixations has proved crucial to support my analysis, i.e. the { \emptyset /-ec-}-suffix is responsible for the [+c] role and the prefix *en*- is responsible for the [-c-m] role in the case of *en*+N Vs denoting a change of location. Accordingly, the \emptyset -suffix and prefix cannot be seen as adjuncts. They are part of the main thematic structure, also contributing to the resulting Θ -grid of the predicate (cf. Mateu's (2001) view of the preverb of complex denominal Vs in Germanic languages). To carry out this study Reinhart's theta system (Reinhart (2000, 2001)) and a Θ -role percolation approach to the inheritance of thematic information (cf. Neeleman and Schipper (1992), Gràcia (1995)) were adopted.

⁸ Note, however, that the locative meaning can be derived from the meaning of the N.

Appendix

This appendix classifies the *en*-prefixed Vs in Spanish in three different groups, according to the base on which the Vs are built: (a) a V, (b) an A and (c) a N. The base from which the V is derived is given within parentheses after the prefixed V. As for the deadjectival Vs, the masculine form of the A is provided.

On the whole, all deadjectival Vs below follow the semantic pattern ‘to make A’. Regarding denominal Vs, they have been divided into four groups: location Vs, locatum Vs, Vs which can have the two interpretations, and Vs of creation. Each group includes subgroups where intermediate Vs have been listed. These intermediate forms have been grouped depending on whether they have the same meaning as that of the prefixed version or a related one.

Although this appendix provides an extensive list of Spanish *en*-prefixed verbal forms, it is not meant to be a conclusive and definite list. I am aware that some aspects could be ameliorated, but I leave that for the future. In the meantime, suggestions and comments will all be very welcome.

Symbols used in this appendix:

- [] The V can be transitive, and unaccusative without the clitic *se*
- [se] The V can be transitive and unaccusative, which can be either with the clitic *se* or without.
- { } The V can only be unaccusative with no clitic. The V has no transitive counterpart.
- {se} The V can only be unaccusative, which can either have the clitic *se* or without.
- † It indicates an old form of the language.

V → [en+V]_v

List 1

Encabalgá (cabalgá), encalcá (calcá), encantar (cantar), encarcerar (carcerar), encargar(se) (cargar(se)), encastrar (castrar(se)), encerrar(se) (cerrar(se)), encoger[se] (coger[]), encomendar(se) (comendar), encomenzá (comenzá[]), enconrear (conrear), encubrir(se) (cubrir(se)), encurtir (curtir(se)), enderezar[se] (derezar), endurar(se) (durar), enguizgar (guizgar), enjalbegar (jalbegar), enjambrar (jambrar), enlucir (lucir(se)), ensolver (solver), entornar(se) (tornar(se)), entupir(se) (tupir(se)), and envolver (volver(se)).

List 2 (This list includes only existing forms of the language)

Encantar (cantar), encargar(se) (cargar(se)), encastrar (castrar(se)), encerrar(se) (cerrar(se)), encoger[se] (coger[]), encubrir(se) (cubrir(se)), encurtir (curtir(se)), endurar(se) (durar), enjalbegar (jalbegar), enlucir (lucir(se)), entornar(se) (tornar(se)), and envolver (volver(se)).

A → [en+A]_v

Transitive [+c] [-c-m] ‘to make A’ / Reflexive ‘to become A’ [-c-m]

Enalbar (albo), enanchar (ancho), encanijar(se) (canijo), encojar(se) (cojo), encorvar(se) (corva), encrasar(se) (craso), enchuecar(se) (chueco), enchularse (chulo), enderechar (derecho), endulzar(se) (dulce), enfriar[se] (frío), engalanar(se) (galano), engordar[] (gordo), engrandar (grande), engrifar(se) (grifo), engruesar[se] (grueso), enhuecar (hueco), enhuera[se] (huero), enlaciarse (lacio), enlozarse (lozano), enneciarse (necio), enreciar{ } (recio), enrojar(se) (rojo), enromar(se) (romo), enrubiar(se) (rubio), ensalobrase (salobre), enseriarse (serio), ensuciar(se) (sucio), entercarse (terco), entiesar (tieso), enturbiar(se) (turbio), enviejar{ } (viejo), enviudar{ } (viudo), and enzainarse (zaino).

➤ **Some intermediate Vs:**

Ajeno - ajenar(se) † = enajenar(se)
 Angosto - angostar[se] = enangostar(se)
 Crespo - crespar(se) † = encrespar(se)
 Mustio - mustiarse - enmustiar(se) (archaic)
 Rancio - ranciar(se) - enranciar(se)
 Teso - tesar - entesar
 Tibio - tibir(se) (archaic) - entibir(se)

➤ **[en+A+ec]_v**

Enaltecer(se) (alto), encarecer[se] (caro), encrudecer(se) (crudo), encruelecer(se) (cruel), endurecer(se) (duro), enfranquecer (franco), engrandecer (grande), engravecer(se) (grave), enloquecer[] (loco), enmalecer (malo), enmudecer[] (mudo), enralecer{ } (ralo), enrarecer[se] (raro), enriquecer[se] (rico), enrojecer(se) (rojo), enronquecer(se) (ronco), enrudecer(se) (rudo), enruinecer{ } (ruin), ensandecer[] (sandio), enternecer(se) (tierno), entontecer[se] (tonto), entristecer(se) (triste), envanecer(se) (vano), and enzurdar{ } (zurdo).

➤ **Some intermediate Vs:**

Amarillo - amarillecer{ } - enamarillecer{se}
 Calvo - calvecer{ } † = encalvecer{ }
 Cano - canecer{ } † = encanecer[se]
 Flaco - flaquecer{ } † - enflaquecer[se]
 Húmedo - humedecer(se) = enhumedecer †
 Lóbrego - lobreguecer[] - enlobreguecer(se)
 Magro - magreecer[se] ant - enmagreecer[se]
 Negro - negreecer{se} - ennegreecer(se)
 Noble - noblecer † - ennoblecer(se)
 Torpe - torpecer - entorpecer(se)
 Viejo - vejecer{se} † - envejecer[se]
 Verde - verdecer{ } - enverdecer{ }
 Vil - vilecer(se) † - envilecer(se)

N → [**en+N**]_V

A) Trans [+c] (usually [+c+m]) [-c-m] ‘to put something around/in/onto/towards N’ Location Vs.

Enancarse (anca), encabezar (cabeza), encadarse (cado), encajarse (caja), encajarse (cajera), encajonar(se) (cajón), encalabozar (calabozo), encalar (cala), encallejonar (callejón), encamar(se) (cama), encamarar (cámara), encambijar (cambija), encambrar (cambra), encampanar(se) (campana), encanalar(se) (canal), encanastar (canasta), encanillar (canilla), encantarar (cántaro), encanutar (canuto), encañar (caño), encañonar (cañón), encapachar (capacho), encapazar (capaza), encarcelar (cárcel), encarpetar (carpeta), encarrilar(se) (carril), encarrillar (carrillo), encasar (casa), encasillar (casilla), encauzar (cauce), encavarse (cavo), enceldar(se) (celda), encestar (cesta), encodillarse (codillo<codo), encofinar (cofín), encogollarse (cogollo), enconcharse (concha), encopetar(se) (copete), encorachar (coracha), encorralar (corral), encostalar (costal), encostarse (costa), encuadernar (cuaderno), encuadrar (cuadra), encubar (cuba), encuerar(se) (cuero), encuevar (cueva), encumbrar(se) (cumbre), encureñar (cureña), enchiquerar (chiquero), enchironar (chirona), endorsar (dorso), enfilear (fila), enflacar (flaco), enfrascar (frasco), enfrascarse (frasca), enfundar (funda), enganchar[se] (gancho), engargantar (garganta), engarmarse (garma), engaviar (gavia), engolar (gola), engolfar[] (golfo), engranerar (granero), enhornar (horno), enjaretar (jareta), enjaular (jaula), enlabiar (labio), enlatar (lata), enlegajar (legajo), enmallarse (malla), enmararse (mar), enmarcar (marco), enmatarse (mata), enquiciar(se) (quicio), enramarse (rama<ramo), enramblar (rambla), enresmar (resma), enriar (río), enrielar(se) (riel), enristrar (ristre), enrolar (rol), enrostrar (rostro), ensacar (saco), enselvar(se) (selva), enseñar (seno), ensilar (silo), ensobrar (sobre), ensotarse (soto), entalegar (talego), entinar (tina), entonelar (tonel), entorilar (toril), entrampar(se) (trampa), entrojar (troje), entronar (trono), envainar (vaina), envalijar (valija), envasar (vaso), envergar (verga), and enzurronar (zurrón).

➤ **Intermediate Vs which have meanings related to the prefixed Vs (A.1):**

Camino - caminar - encaminar(se)
Carcavina - carcavinar - encarcavinar
Cima - cimar † - encimar
Claustro - claustrar † - enclaustrar(se)
Cuadro - cuadrar - encuadrar
Cuna - cunar - encunar
Dehesa - dehesar - endehesar
Tronera - tronerar - entronerar(se)
Truja - trujar - entrujar
Cápsula - capsular † - encapsular

➤ **Intermediate Vs which have the same meaning as the prefixed Vs (A.2):**

Centro - centrar - encentrar †

B) Trans [+c] (usually [+c+m]) [-c-m] ‘to put N around/in/into/on something somebody’ Locatum Vs

Enalbardar (albarda), enamorar(se) (amor), enartar (arte), enastar (asta), enastillar (astil), encabar (cabo), encabriar (cabrio), encabuyar (cabuya), encachar (cacha), encadenar (cadena), encalostarse (calostro), encambronar (cambrón), encamisar(se) (camisa), encandelillar (candelilla), encandilar (candil), encañamar (cañamo), encañizar (cañizo), encapar(se) (capa), encaperuzar(se) (caperuza), encapillar(se) (capillo), encapirotar(se) (capirote), encapotar(se) (capota), encapricharse (capricho), encapuchar(se) (capucha), encapuzar(se) (capuz), encaratularse (carátula), encariñar(se) (cariño), encarnizar (carniza), encartonar (cartón), encascabelar(se) (cascabel), encascotar (cascote), encasquillar (casquillo), encauchar (caucho), encebollar (cebolla), encelajarse (celaje), encenizar(se) (ceniza), encerar (cera), encernadar (cernada), encerotar (cerote), encespedar (césped), encielar (cielo), enclavijar (clavija), encobrar (cobre), encohetar (cohete), encolar (cola), encolerizar(se) (cólera), encorajar(se) (coraje), encorajinar(se) (corajina), encorchetar (corchete), encordelar (cordel), encordonar (cordón), encorozar (coroza), encorrear (correa), encorsetar(se) (corsé), encortinar (cortina), encostrar(se) (costra), encrestarse (cresta), encristalar (cristal), encurdarse (curda), enchancletar(se) (chancleta), enchapar (chapa), enchavetar (chaveta), enchilar (chile), enchinar (china), enchinarrar (chinarro), enchuletar (chuleta), endemoniar (demonio), endeudarse (deuda), endiablar (diablo), enfeudar (feudo), enfocar (foco), enfrontilar(se) (frontil), engafetar (gafete), engalgar (galgo), engalgar (galga), engaritar (garita), engarrar (garra), engatillar (gatillo), engatuñarse (gatuña), engazar (gaza), engocetar (gocete), engolosinar(se) (golosina), engomar (goma), engonzar (gonce), engrasar(se) (grasa), engredar (greda), engrescar(se) (gresca), engrilletar (grillete), engualdrapar (gualdrapa), enguantar(se) (guante), enguijarrar (guijarro), enguinaldar (guinalda), enharinar(se) (harina), enhatijar (hatijo), enhebrar (hebra), enhenar (heno), enhielar (hiel), enhollinar (hollín), enjalmar (jalma), enjaquimar (jáquima), enjuncar(se) (junco), enjunciar (juncia), enlamar(se) (lama), enlanchar (lancha), enlatar (lata), enlegamar (légamo), enlizar (lizo), enlodar(se) (lodo), enlozar (loza), enlutar(se) (luto), enllantar (llanta), enmaderar (madera), enmalecerse (maleza), enmangar (mango), enmantar (manta), enmaromar (maroma), enmascarar(se) (máscara), enmasillar (masilla), enmordazar (mordaza), enmostar(se) (mosto), enmugrar (mugre), enrabar (rabo), enraigonar (raigón), enramar (ramo), enrasillar (rasilla), enrayar (rayo), enrejar (reja), enrobinarse (robín), enrocarse (roca), enrodrigonar (rodrigón), enrollar (rollo), enroñar(se) (roña), ensabanar(se) (sábana), ensebar (sebo), enserar (sera), ensillar (silla), ensogar (soga), ensolerar (solera), ensortijar (sortija), entabacarse (tabaco), entablillar (tablilla), entamar(se) (tamo), entandar (tanda), entarimar (tarima), entarquinar (tarquín), entarugar (tarugo), entizar (tiza), entoldar (toldo), entomizar (tomiza), entonar (tono), entrapajar (trapajo), entunicar (túnica), envarbasco (varbasco), envenenar(se) (veneno), envigar (viga), envilortar (vilorto), envinagrar (vinagre), envinar (vino), enviscar(se) (visco), enyerbarse (yerba), enyesar (yeso), enyugar (yugo), enzarzar (zarzo), enzoquetar (zoquete), and enzurizar (zuriza).

➤ **Intermediate Vs which have meanings related to the prefixed Vs (B.1):**

Agua - aguar(se) - enaguar †
Arena - arenar - enarenar(se)
Cabestro - cabestrar † - encabestrar(se)
Cinta - cintar † - encintar
Clavo - clavar(se) - enclavar
Flor - florar - enflorar

Freno - frenar - enfrenar
Grapa - grapar – engrapar
Hilo - hilar - enhilar
Rabia - rabiar - enrabiar(se)
Saliva - salivar - ensalivar(se)
Tapujo - tapujarse † - entapujar(se)
Tinta - tintar - entintar
Vicio - viciar(se) - enviciar(se)

➤ **Intermediate Vs which have the same meaning as the prefixed Vs (B.2):**

Aceite - aceitar - enaceitar(se) †
Cizaña - cizañar † - encizañar
Jabón - jabonar - enjabonar
Jaez (used usually in plural) – jaezar † - enjaezar
Ladrillo - ladrillar † - enladrillar
Losa - losar † - enlosar
Ripio - ripiar † - enripiar
Sambenito - sambenitar - ensambenitar †
Tapiz - tapizar - entapizar(se)
Teja - tejar † - entejar
Tizne - tiznar(se) - entiznar

A/B) Some verbs fit into either group A or B:

Encalambrarse (calambre), encalar (cal), encalmarse (calma), encañar (caña), encarar(se) (cara), encarnar (carne), encarpar (carpa), encasquetar(se) (casquete), encastar (casta), encepar (cepo), enejar (eje), enfangar(se) (fango), enfrentar(se) (frente), engarabatar (garabato), engarronar (garrón), engoznar (gozne), enhebillar (hebilla), enhorcar (horca), enjebiar (jebe), enjoyar(se) (joya), enlejiar (lejíja), enligar(se) (liga), enroscar (rosca), entablar (tabla), entestar (testa), and entubar (tubo).

➤ **Some intermediate Vs have related meanings to the prefixed Vs (A/B.1):**

Red - redar † - enredar

**C) N as a result ‘to make N’ [+c] [-c-m] / Reflexive ‘to become N’ [-c-m]
Vs of creation**

Encabezar (cabeza), encabritarse (cabrito), encajetillar (cajetilla), encanallar(se) (canalla), encandelar (candela), encanutar(se) (canuto), encañar[se] (caña), encañonar (cañón), encaparse (capa), encarnar (carne), encartuchar(se) (cartucho), encastar (casta), encastillar (castillo), encauzar (cauce), encopetar(se) (copete), encostrar[] (costra), encharcar(se) (charco), endiosar (dios), endoselar (dosel), fardelar (fardel), enfiestarse (fiesta), enfistolar(se) (fistola<fistula), enfrailar[se] (fraile), engarabatar(se) (garabato), engaratusar (garatusa), engarberar (garbera), engarbullar (garbullo), engarrostar(se) (garrote), engranujarse (granuja), engrillarse (grillo), engringarse (gringo), enhorcar (horca), enjalmar (jalma), enjardinar (jardín), enjorguinarse (jorguín), enlagunar(se) (laguna), enlegajar (legajo), enmadejar

(madeja), enmaniguarse (manigua), enquistarse (quiste), enrafar (rafa), enraizar(se) (raíz), enramar (rama<ramo), enrastrar (rastra), enrejalar (rejal), enrejar (reja), enrielar (riel), enristrar (ristra), enrollar (rollo), enroscar(se) (rosca), ensartar (sarta), ensortijar (sortija), entallar (talla), entallar(se) (talle), entoldar (toldo), entongar (tonga), entornillar (tornillo), entropillar (tropilla), envainar (vaina), envedijarse (vedija), envegarse (vega), and encabrigar (cabrilla).

➤ **Some intermediate Vs have related meanings to the prefixed Vs (C.1):**

acero - acerar - enacerar
Carroña - carroñar - encarroñar(se)
Fardo - fardar(se) - enfardar
Sopa - sopar - ensopar
Trenza - trenzar - entrenzar

➤ **Some intermediate Vs have the same meanings as the prefixed Vs (C.2):**

Arco - arcar - enarcar(se)
Cáncer - cancerar(se) - encancerarse
Compadre - compadrear - encompadrear
Gavilla - gavillar - engavillar
Giba - gibar - engibar(se)
Hacina - hacinar - enhacinar
Maraña - marañar(se) - enmarañar(se)
Rizo - rizar(se) - enrizar(se)
Rollo - rollar - enrollar

➤ **[en+N+ec]_v**

Encabellecerse (cabello), enfurecer(se) (furia), engrumecerse (grumo), enlustrecer (lustre), enmugrecer(se) (mugre), ensilvecerse (silva<selva), ensombrecer(se) (sombra), entenebrecer(se) (tenebra), and entigrecerse (tigre).

➤ **Some existing intermediate forms**

Callo – callecer † – encallecer(se)
Moho – mohecer(se) – enmohecer(se)
Orgullo – orgullecer † – enorgullecer(se)
Tallo – tallecer † – entallecer(se)

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