On plurality in verbs prefixed by *com-*[*]

María Mare

ABSTRACT

There are some verbs in Latin prefixed by *com-* which bear a symmetric interpretation (iff $R(x, y) \rightarrow R(y, x)$), and consequently, need to satisfy a non-singular reference requirement. These can be classified according to the kind of argument affected by this requirement, the Agent or the Figure; or according to the interpretation of the event, which can be either directional (*confluo* "to converge") or non-directional (*colloquor* "to talk to"). In this paper I show that these two classifications are related to each other and that the non-singular reference requirement can be satisfied in different ways, the comitative phrase being one of them. The alternation between plural DPs and a singular DP plus a comitative phrase (A *cum* B) turns out to be problematic for the *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH) (Baker 1988). The goal of this paper is to solve this problem within a neo-constructionist framework, in which the properties of Roots are contingent on syntactic positions. I propose that COM in the scope of *p*, i.e. [*p* COM], would be interpreted as an argument introducer that cannot assign a thematic role.

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1. Introduction

The data this paper focuses on comprises constructions like (1) and (2), in which *com-* prefixation seems to impose non-singular reference requirements that must be satisfied in some way[1]. In (1), for instance, this requirement is complied with by *ille* "he" and the comitative phrase *secum* "with himself", while in (2), by the quantifier phrase *magnus numerus* "a great number". Moreover, in (2) the event has a directional character, expressed by the phrase *ad eum* "to him".

(1) *Ille* […] *respondit: si velit se-cum colloqui.* (Caes. *Gall*. 5, 36, 2)

"If he wishes to confer with himself".

(2) *quorum magnus* ad eum *cotidie numerus confluebat.* (Caes. *Gall*. 7, 44, 2)

"A great number of whom flocked to him daily".

My concern here is to explain the connection there exists between *com-* and plurality and to outline an analysis that accounts for the derivation of the constructions which are part of what I name 'The Comitative Puzzle'.

(3) The Comitative Puzzle: Some predicates satisfy plurality requirements for their arguments in two ways: either by a plural Determiner Phrase (DP) or by a singular DP in combination with a comitative (prepositional) phrase.

[1] *Com-* prefixation in Latin not only gives rise to the verbs studied along this paper, i.e., verbal predicates which involve a non-singular referent, but also constructions in which the presence of *com-* seems to be related to some kind of intensification (*caleo* "to be hot" > *concaleo* "to be very hot") or to telicity (*buro* "to burn" > *com-buro* "to burn up"). Neither of these two last cases involves a requirement regarding plurality.

The puzzle revolves around the fact that the presence of a comitative phrase is mandatory only when there is not a non-singular DP satisfying the predicate's requirements. The optionality of the comitative phrase violates proposals which relate thematic roles with specific positions in the structure, such as Baker's (1988) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH) and Hale – Keyser's related research (1993, and subsequent work). In an analysis along the lines of Baker's UTAH, one would expect that identical thematic relations derive from identical structural relations, while in this case we find the same theta role in two different structural positions at the same time.

This paper argues that the preposition *cum* behaves as an argument introducer which is unable to assign a theta role on its own. Accordingly, the argument introduced by the comitative is interpreted with the same theta role as that borne by another argument in the structure. The proposal is framed in accordance with the main tenets of Distributed Morphology (Halle – Marantz 1993), which include *Late insertion* of phonological material and the principle of *Syntax all-the-way-down*. Besides, Roots have no grammatical category inherently and are thus categorized by combining with category-defining heads (*Categorization Assumption*), all of which lets us analyze the preposition *cum*, for instance, as a structurally complex syntactic object, consisting at least of the Root COM and a category-defining head.

As regards argument structure, the discussion developed here is based on Acedo-Matellán – Mateu's (2014) and Acedo-Matellán (2016)'s neo-constructionist approach. In these approaches, the interpretation of Roots and DP depends on the manner in which they combine with relational projections like *v*, *n*, Path or Place. For these authors, the conceptual meaning of Roots is opaque to syntactic computation. Accordingly, the prefix *com-* is analyzed as a Root (COM), whose properties are contingent on its syntactic position.

For homogeneity's sake, the *corpus* was constituted by texts in prose from the Classical period. Thus, the authors cited along the paper are Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Pliny and Vitruvius. Unless otherwise stated, the

data as well as the translations have been extracted from *Perseus Digital Library Project*.

2. The comitative puzzle and beyond

This section explores the data that give rise to the Comitative Puzzle. In § 2.1, I present the different ways in which the plurality requirement related to the prefix is satisfied. Then, in § 2.2, I discuss the derivation of constructions with a directional character, as that introduced in example (2).

2.1. Changing the argument structure

The fact that prefixation in Latin introduces an unselected argument has been widely described in the literature (Kühner – Stegmann 1912, Ernout – Thomas 1953, Bassols de Climent 1956, Lehmann 1983, Pinkster 2015, among many others). For instance, an intransitive verb like *sisto* "to sit" becomes transitive when prefixed by *circum-* (4).

(4) *Illi circumsistunt hominem.* (Caes. *Gall*. 5, 7, 9)
"They surround the man".

The most relevant difference between examples like (4) and the group of verbs prefixed by *com-* analyzed in this paper lies in the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the new argument. Notice that in a verb like *confluo* "converge" (Lit. with-flow), prefixation by *com-* introduces a kind of unselected argument to the intransitive verb *fluo* "to flow", but this argument shares its thematic role with the 'selected' argument (*restagnatio Euphratis* "the overflow of the Euphrates" in 5).

(5) *Apameam, sitam ubi restagnatio Euphratis cum Tigri confluat.* (Plin. *nat*. 6, 48)

"Apamea, a town situated at the confluence of the overflow of the Euphrates with the Tigris".

Interestingly, in many cases this new argument is not introduced as an independent phrase, but as an individual in a set denoted by a morphosyntactic plural argument (6a), a collective DP (6b) or a coordinated DP (7). In these cases, then, it is not recognized as an independent phrase (*ii* "they" and *multitudo* "crowd" in 6) or as a different argument (*Mosae et Rheni* "the Meuse and the Rhine" in 7)[2].

(6a) *Ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant.* (Sall. *Cat.* 37)

"They had flocked to Rome as a general receptacle of impurity".

(6b) *Multitudo maior in dies Syracusas confluebat.* (Liv. 24, 24, 1)

"The crowds which flocked to Syracuse in greater numbers every day".

(7) *Eum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent…* (Caes. *Gall.* 4, 15, 2)

"When they (the Germans) had arrived at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine…"

[2] These patterns with symmetric verbal predicates are found in many languages. For instance, English *meet*, a symmetric predicate, also imposes non-singular reference requirements to its argument and, as the following examples show, this property gives rise to identical problems, regarding the way in which this requirement is satisfied: a morphological plural DP (i), a coordinated DP (ii) or a singular DP with a comitative phrase (iii).
i. They meet.
ii. Alan and Octavia meet.
iii. Alan meets with Octavia.

Interestingly, it is possible to find a mass noun as the argument of the prefixed verb (*umor* "moisture" and *sucus* "juice" in 8). In this case, the verb shows singular agreement and there is not a comitative phrase introducing the new argument, as in (5).

(8a) *Postea umor omnis ex tota confluit in ulcus.* (Plin. *nat*. 16, 33)
"Afterwards, all the moisture from the whole tree flows together into the wound".

(8b) *Ut in ipsam confluat sucus.* (Plin. *nat*. 26, 31)
"So that the juice may collect in it (a hollow)".

As shown, the same verb can be part of different predicate frames as long as the plurality requirement is fulfilled. This is a semantic requirement satisfied by syntactic objects that denote a sum of entities or constitutive parts. The elements that present this property are morphological plural nouns, coordinated nouns, collective nouns and mass nouns (Link 1983). We also include the comitative phrase in that group, because, as has been shown, comitatives also spell out the members of a plural set. Table 1 sums up these possibilities.

Predicate frame	**Example**
Comitative phrases	(5)
Plural nouns	(6a)
Collective nouns	(6b)
Coordinated nouns	(7)
Mass nouns	(8)

Table 1. Introduction of arguments in *confluo* "to converge"

It is important to point out that the plurality requirement seems to apply to different DPs in the structure. Zaliznjak – Shmelev (2007) and Revuelta Puigdollers (2015) distinguish between Subject-oriented company and Object-oriented company, depending on the syntactic role to which the comitative phrase relates. For instance, *confluo* would be

a Subject-oriented company predicate, because it establishes a relationship between (at least) two entities that can occupy Subject and Company position (5) or together the Subject position (6 and 7). On the contrary, verbs like *comparo* "to join" (9), *congrego* "to gather" (10) or *convoco* "to summon" (11) involve Object-oriented company because the plurality requirement applies to the object.

(9) *Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas.* (Cic. *Fam.* 7, 23, 2)

"You compare your Bacchae with Metellus's Muses".

(10) *Socius* […]*, quicum te aut voluntas congregasset aut fortuna coniunxisset.* (Cic. *Quinct.* 16, 52)

"Your partner […], with whom either your inclination had connected you, or fortune has associated you"

(11) *Is qui congregat homines et convocat.* (Cic. *Caec.* 21, 59)

"He who assembles men and invites them".

These transitive verbs can also be found in passive constructions, in which case the plurality requirement is satisfied by the Subject, as shown in the following examples.

(12) *Quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur.* (Cic. *Fam.* 2, 4, 2)

"Those qualities by which the noble actions are accomplished".

(13) *Ei qui ab aliquo sunt unum in locum congregati.* (Cic. *Caec.* 21, 59)

"Those who are brought together by any one into one place".

(14) *Si non modo convocati non sunt.* (Cic. *Caec*. 21, 59)

"If they not only were never invited".

Regarding the plurality requirement on arguments, it is worthy to point out that not all transitive verbs involve Object-oriented company. Revuelta Puigdollers mentions that, for instance, verbs like *confero* "to join sth" or *consocio* "to share sth" are Subject-oriented[3].

(15) *Luci Piso, tune ausus es* […] *cum A. Gabinio consociare consilia pestis meae?* (Cic. *Red. Sen.* 7, 16 *apud* Revuelta Puigdollers 2015: 160)

"Lucius Piso, did you dare […] to unite with Aulus Gabinius in forming plans for my ruin?".

(16) *Si quid Θεοφάνης tecum forte contulerit.* (Cic. *Att*. 2, 5)

"if Theophanes by chance has consulted you on that matter".

In an attempt to unify the description for the verbs analyzed in this paper, I take into account the thematic roles involved in the Comitative Puzzle, instead of the syntactic function. Consequently, three basic roles are considered: Agent, Figure and Ground. The Agent is the originator of the event, while, according to Talmy (2000: 312) «(t)he Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived of as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue. The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized».

The data in this paper indicate that the plurality requirement applies to Agents and Figures, regardless of their syntactic function in the

[3] To the best of my knowledge, *confero* does not have a homogeneous behavior and it can be also found in directional constructions (see section 2.2.) in which the non-singular requirement is satisfied by the object (i. and ii. below).

i. *Illi* […] *suaque eodem conferunt.* (Caes. *Gall.* 6, 5, 7)
"They […] convey thither all their properties".

ii. *Helvetii* […] *impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt.* (Caes. *Gall.* 1, 24, 4)
"The Helvetii […] collected their baggage into one place".

sentences. Hence, the verbs previously mentioned would show the distribution in (17).

(17) a. *Confluo* "to converge" → Figure (in a directional event)
b. *Colloquor* "to talk to" → Agent
c. *Consocio* "to share sth with" → Agent (with a Figure in the structure)
d. *Comparo* "to compare sth with" → Figure (with an Agent in the structure)

Section 3 returns to this distribution so as to revisit the interpretation of this kind of predicates.

2.2. On plurality and directionality

Zaliznjak – Shmelev (2007) distinguish two classes of *com*-verbs beyond the Subject/Object-orientation distinction: Class A verbs, which do not codify spatial meaning (*colludo*, *colloquor*) and Class B, which codify spatial meaning (*coeo*, *convenio*, *confluo*)[4]. Interestingly, the verbs belonging to the second group have a strong directional character, as follows from the presence of *ad* + accusative (18), *in* + accusative (19) and *lativus* accusative (20).

(18) a. *Nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt.* (Caes. *Gall.* 5, 39, 3)
"Our men quickly run together to arms".

[4] A reviewer points out that directional value of COM can be traced back to its etymology as de Vaan (2008: 128) remarks. In fact, de Vaan mentions that «[t]he 'perfective' meaning of *co(m)*- present in older Latin is unproblematic […]; nor is it problematic that a preverb meaning 'towards' when movement or action of two or more people is referred to, comes to mean 'together' at a later stage».

b. *Ii qui cuncta ex Italia ad me revocandum convolaverunt.* (Cic. *dom.* 22, 57)

"They who flew hither from all Italy to cooperate in my recall".

(19) a. *In campis confluunt imbres.* (Vitr. 8, 2, 1)

"Rain showers gather in the plains".

b. *Fit celeriter concursus in praetorium.* (Caes. *Gall.* 1, 76, 2)

"There was immediately a mass runing to the head-quarters".

(20) a. *Multitudo maior in dies Syracusas confluebat.* (Liv. 24, 24, 1)

"The crowds which flocked to Syracuse in greater numbers every day".

b. *Carnutes* […] *Cenabum signo dato concurrunt.* (Caes. *Gall.* 7, 3, 1)

"The Carnutes […], upon a signal given, meet together at Genabum".

These directional phrases are very frequent in the *corpus* and, in fact, they also appear with a verb like *convoco* "to call together", which would belong to Class A, but entails movement as Class B. In the examples below, this predicate would involve three eventualities: the event of calling, the event of moving and the state of being in a specific place (as the result of movement). In (21), *convoco* could be paraphrased as "to ask more than one person to come/go together somewhere".

(21) a. *Vercingetorix* […] *suos ad concilium convocat.* (Caes. *Gall.* 7, 14, 1)

"Vercingetorix […] summons his men to a council".

b. *Idemque consul* […] *vos frequentissimos* <u>*in Capitolium*</u> *convocavit.* (Cic. *Red. Sen*. 20, 25)

"And this same consul summoned you repeatedly to the Capitol".

Zalizniak – Shmelev's Class B comprises Subject and Object-oriented company verbs, but the key characteristic of them is that in all cases these predicates involve a DP_{FIGURE} which must both, satisfy the plurality requirement and undergo a change of location. This indicates that they entail a collective movement (in)to the same *locus*. The collective meaning is codified by the prefix, while the directional meaning is codified by a prepositional phrase. Figure 1 represents this interpretation. The different arrows indicate that the plurality requirement is satisfied by at least two entities.

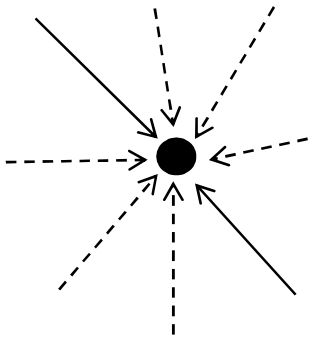


Figure 1. Interpretation of Class B predicates

Interestingly, non-prefixed directional verbs can appear with a comitative phrase, but the DP introduced by the comitative and the DP_{FIGURE} participate in the event together from the very beginning. This means that they do not end up together at a particular point, as Figure 1 represents, but they move together towards a specific point (Figure 2).

(22) *Scribit Labieno* […] cum legione <u>*ad fines Nerviorum*</u> *veniat.*
(Caes. *Gall.* 5, 46, 4)

"He writes to Labienus to come with his legion to the frontier of the Nervii".

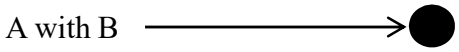


Figure 2. Interpretation of non-prefixed directional verbs

It is important to mention that, at least in our *corpus*, in Class B predicates the sequence A *cum* "with" B and directional phrases (*ad*/*in* + accusative) are in complementary distribution. Put differently, it seems that both phrases encode the end point of a directional event, but while *ad/in* introduces a locus to which entities move, *cum* introduces an entity which moves to meet the DP_{FIGURE} in motion.

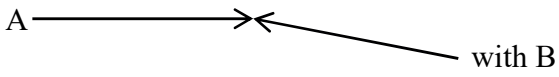


Figure 3. Interpretation of Class B predicates with a comitative

2.3. Summing up

The group of verbs studied in the previous subsections imposes a plurality requirement on one of the arguments in the structure. In some of them, this requirement is satisfied by the Agent (the *colloquor*-class hereinafter), while in others it is fulfilled by the DP_{FIGURE}. In passive constructions this requirement is maintained. Furthermore, the possibility of codifying spatial meaning helps to recognize predicates in which the resulting state/locus is held by the meeting of at least two entities (the *confluo*-class from now on).

3. Symmetric interpretation and the role of the comitative phrase

Many authors have proposed that *com*- verbs are reciprocal (see, for instance, Zaliznjak – Shmelev, García-Hernández 1980, Moussy 2005). The main empirical argument to classify these verbs like this is that they frequently combine with the prepositional phrase *inter se*/*nos/vos*, a well-known reciprocal marker. Nevertheless, Revuelta Puigdollers (2015) defends the idea that *com*- verbs have a symmetrical value, not a reciprocal one. He points out that the reciprocal marker *inter se* can be absent without cancelling the reciprocal reading. Besides, the only marker shared by symmetrical predicates and reciprocal events in Latin is *inter se*. Other reciprocal markers do not frequently appear with *com*-verbs, as they do with non-symmetric predicates. The author also highlights that reciprocal events can be decomposed into two or more sub-events; while symmetric events cannot be decomposed. For the sake of clarity, we present two English examples that illustrate the distinction between reciprocity (23a) and symmetry (23b).

(23) a. Alan and Octavia called each other yesterday.

b. Alan and Octavia discussed yesterday.

While in (23a) the sentence denotes at least two sub-events of calling, one originated by Alan (*Alan*$_{\text{CALLER}}$ *called Octavia*$_{\text{CALLEE}}$) and a second one originated by Octavia (*Octavia*$_{\text{CALLER}}$ *called Alan*$_{\text{CALLEE}}$), (23b) denotes a single event of discussing, in which the entities denoted by the DPs *Alan* and *Octavia* have always the same role. What happens in (23b) is the consequence of the plurality requirement on the verbal predicate *to discuss*: there are at least two entities with the same theta role involved in a single event.

By definition, a two-place predicate is symmetric if, exchanging the order of its two arguments, truth values are preserved. In other words, being symmetric holds for a relation iff $R(x, y) \rightarrow R(y, x)$. That is: for every ordered pair (x, y) in R, the pair (y, x) is also in R. Reciprocity

involves symmetric predicates, but also non-symmetric and asymmetric events (see Dimitriadis 2008). In fact, although a sentence like (24), with plural verbal agreement, may describe a plurality of events, each sub-event expresses a symmetric relation (compare with 25, where there is a single event but the symmetric relation is preserved). Examples like (24) can also be interpreted as a unique event in which the frame 'A *colloquitur cum* B' presents a plural DP for A. In contrast, the presence of *inter se* and the plural DP (*milites*) in (26) give rise to a multiple-symmetric-event- interpretation for *colloqui* "to confer".

(24) *Si colloqui vellent.* (Caes. *civ*. 1, 84, 2)

"If they want to confer (with Caesar)".

(25) *Ipse arcano cum paucis familaribus suis colloquitur.* (Caes. *civ*. 1, 19, 2)

"He conferred privately with a few of his most intimate friends".

(26) *(Milites) inter se* […] *conloquuntur.* (Caes. *civ*. 1, 20, 1)

"(The soldiers) made known their thoughts to one another".

With reference to this kind of verbs and the way in which the arguments are interpreted, Pinkster (2015: 119) states that «[v]erbs denoting an action that requires two active participants, where one is more active than the other, are found with a prepositional *cum*-argument. With some verbs the two participants may also be expressed as coordinated subjects with *inter se* often added». The idea in Pinkster's description is that a specific frame (A *cum* B) entails a more active participant (A). According to the previous discussion, if (this group of) *com*-verbs are symmetric; the arguments involved in that symmetry should be equally active or passive. Referring to this topic, Dimitriadis (2008) proposes the notion of *irreducible symmetry*: A predicate is irreducibly symmetric if (a) it expresses a binary relationship, but (b) its two arguments have necessarily identical

participation in any event described by the predicate (see also Haspelmath 2007: 2092).

Regarding theta roles, Dimitriadis and Haspelmath highlight that this kind of predicates involves two arguments with identical participation. Following Revuelta Puigdollers' argumentation, it is worthy to mention that reciprocity implies interchangeable theta roles, while symmetry implies the same theta role for the entities involved. There can be more than one occurrence of a subevent, but in each subevent the participant entities bear the same theta role.

Going back to *com-* verbs, the presence of *com-* precludes distributivity and reinforces the collective predication. Devine – Stephens (2013: 261) point out that «[s]ome actions can only be undertaken jointly with others or reciprocally or can only be done to a plurality of objects». Nevertheless, it is possible to find a distributive reading on collective subevents and consequently, symmetric and reciprocal interpretations are not clearly distinguished.

(27) *Armati locis patentibus congregantur.* (Liv. 24, 21, 9 *apud* Devine – Stephens 2013: 263)

"The men that were armed gather in open areas".

In the example above, while the collective reading of the event is satisfied by the plural *armati*, the phrase *locis patentibus* contributes to a distributive one, because it does not denote a unique definite locus, but a plurality of open areas. This is roughly interpreted as there are sets of armed men (not one single armed man) "that gathered in different open spaces". This means that *armati congregantur* is in the scope of this plural locative, giving rise to a distributive interpretation for a plurality of collective subevents.

In brief, I agree with Revuelta Puigdollers in that (this group of) *com-* verbs are symmetric, not reciprocal: they denote an event in which the order of its two arguments can be exchanged preserving truth values. This property is found in all the groups represented in (17). The required arguments do not interchange theta roles, but have the same theta role

in a unique event. The multiple event interpretation depends on the quantity properties of the relevant DP. On the whole, the difference pointed out by Pinkster is not concerned with argument structure, but with information structure. I mean, the predicate A *cum* B is different from A *et* B or $A_{[PL]}$ in terms of informative salience, but not in terms of argument selection or semantic interpretation regarding symmetry. (28) completes the information presented in (17) above.

(28) a. A *confluit cum* B > R = to converge, then *R*(A,B) → *R*(B,A) [Figure]

b. A *colloquitur cum* B > R = to talk to, then *R*(A,B) → *R*(B,A) [Agent]

c. A *consociat* C *cum* B > R = to share B, then *R*(A,B) → *R*(B,A) [Agent, with a Figure (C)]

d. C *comparat* A *cum* B > R = to be compared, then *R*(A,B) → *R*(B, A) [Figure, with an Agent (C)]

4. The comitative puzzle and the syntactic structure

In this section, I discuss how a syntactic structure could codify the properties pointed out, without violating the spirit of Baker's UTAH, i.e., the hypothesis that identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relations between those items.

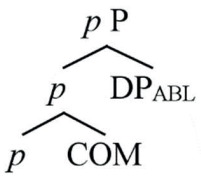
4.1. The comitative phrase

The particularities of comitative constructions have been widely discussed in the literature (see Stolz – Stroh – Urze 2006). The label *comitative* refers to the relationship between two entities, both belonging to the same entity class, to which the same truth conditions apply and which take part in an event simultaneously. The authors also mention that comitatives can function as arguments or as adjuncts,

depending on whether they are selected or not. All these reasons guide Maslova (2007) to propose the label 'Participant set' to refer to the entities related by the comitative marker[5].

In an attempt to account for these remarks and for the data presented above, I propose that the comitative marker (the preposition *cum* [*p* COM] in Latin) introduces a DP but fails to introduce a new theta role[6]. The only way in which this DP can be interpreted thematically is by inheritance: the theta role of a DP introduced by [*p* COM] depends on which part of the syntactic structure the whole *p*P mergers with. This means that the interpretation of this DP is defined by the structure: if it merges above *v* (in Voice), it will be interpreted as an Agent, whereas if it merges below *v*, as a Figure or a Measurer (see § 4.2).

(29)



Our proposal allows us to preserve the spirit of the UTAH and hence solve the Comitative Puzzle: the plurality requirement is satisfied by

[5] Participant set: two or more separate individuals are ascribed the same type of participation in the event (Maslova 2007: 337).

[6] Independent evidence in favor of that hypothesis comes from the so called comitative agreement. In many languages, Latin included (i), the adjacency of the two DPs related by the comitative triggers plural agreement, regardless of the case features of COM's complement (Stassen 2000, Mare 2015, for discussion).

a. *Sulla* *cum Scipione* […] *conditiones* *contuleru-**nt***. (Cic. *Phil*. 12, 27)
Sula.NOM with Scipio.ABL conditions agree.PRFV-3PL
"Sula and Scipio agreed upon conditions".

b. *ipse* *dux* *cum aliquot princibus*
himself.NOM general-NOM.SG with some foremost.ABL.PL
*capiu-**nt**ur.* (Liv. 21, 60, 7)
take-PTE.PAS.3PL
"The general himself, with several of the chief officers, were taken".

the introduction of a new DP, which in turn inherits the theta role from the projection of the structure to which the *p*P adjuncts. Last but not least, the ambiguity between being an adjunct and being an argument is also solved: the comitative phrase merges always as an adjunct, but its interpretation depends on the plurality requirement. Specifically, as Devine – Stephens (2013: 261) point out a required plural noun «cannot be replaced by a singular without adding or understanding another argument phrase». And it is precisely the comitative marker the element that would add this new argument.

4.2. Com- *verbs with plurality requirements*

Acedo-Matellán proposes argument configurations for verbs which are the result of combining three different relational projections (Place, Path and Voice) and the categorizer *v*, with non-relational elements (DPs and Roots). Place establishes a predicative relation between two entities, while Path «takes PlaceP as complement, introducing a transition and inducing the telicity in the predicate if a quantity DP is internally merged as its specifier» (Acedo-Matellán 2016: 41). Voice above *v* introduces the Originator of the event. Roots and DPs are interpreted according to the position they occupy in the syntactic event/argument structure[7].

(30) Interpretation of DPs and Roots

Originator: a DP at Spec-Voice (VoiceP in terms of Kratzer 1996)

Effected object: a DP or a Root at Compl-*v*

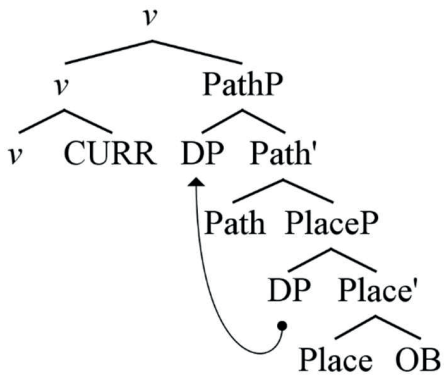
Figure: a DP at Spec-Place

[7] See also Acedo-Matellán – Mateu (2014) for a discussion regarding the interpretation of Roots.

> Central Ground: a DP or a Root at Compl-Place, when no Path is projected.
>
> Terminal Ground: a DP or a Root at Compl-Place when Path is projected.
>
> Measurer: a DP raised from Spec-Place to Spec-Path.
>
> Co-event (Manner): Adjunct to *v*.
>
> Conformation (type of spatial relation): Adjunct to Place
>
> [Adapted from Acedo-Matellán 2016: 44]

The author also proposes that in prefixed verbs, like *oc-curro* "run against", the prefix encodes the result (Terminal Ground) while the verb expresses the Manner (by virtue of its adjunction to *v*). The Movement or Merge of a Root is to provide the phonological empty head *v* with phonological content. According to his analysis a structure like (31) triggers prefixation in Latin. It is named a *transition* since it involves a change of state/location. The DP is interpreted as a Measurer, i.e., an entity which establishes a measure for the change into a specific state or location. In the case of (31), the tree represents a non-externally originated change of state/location.

(31) Analysis of *occurro* "to run against"



[Adapted from Acedo-Matellán 2016: 52]

Going back to *com*- verbs, it appears to be the case that COM is responsible for the symmetric interpretation. The problem is that this interpretation affects different theta roles (DP_{AGENT} or DP_{FIGURE}). A second observation has to do with movement: in verbs of motion, *com*- not only imposes a plurality requirement, but also a directional interpretation. Moreover, I proposed that in a prepositional structure, COM introduces a new DP whose theta role is inherited from the structure. Notice that the different interpretations of COM are related to different positions in the structure: the DP complement of a [*p* COM] (29) is just a new argument introduced (head-complement relation), while the DPs in SpecXP position – SpecVoice or SpecPlace, i.e. Agent/Originator (28a) and Figure (28c), respectively – must comply with a plurality requirement (head-specifier relation).

My proposal is that in the second case, COM merges to the Agent/Figure-introducer heads and in this configuration imposes a plurality requirement on the DP in SpecXP. When COM merges as the complement of Place in a transition (a structure with both Place and Path), the result is a telic structure, COM being interpreted not only as a plural-argument trigger, but also as a resultativity marker[8]. This seems to be the case of verbs like *concurro*, *confluo*, *convenio*, *coeo*, *convoco*, *convolo*[9], which present a strongly directional character, i.e. the *confluo*-class. According to Acedo-Matellán (2016: 185-187), verbs with a directional character license an accusative-marked *p*P as an adjunct to Path. Regarding the relation between prefixes and the change-of-location interpretation, the author points out that «the abstract final location expressed by the prefixal root may be further specified by an adjunct» (p. 113).

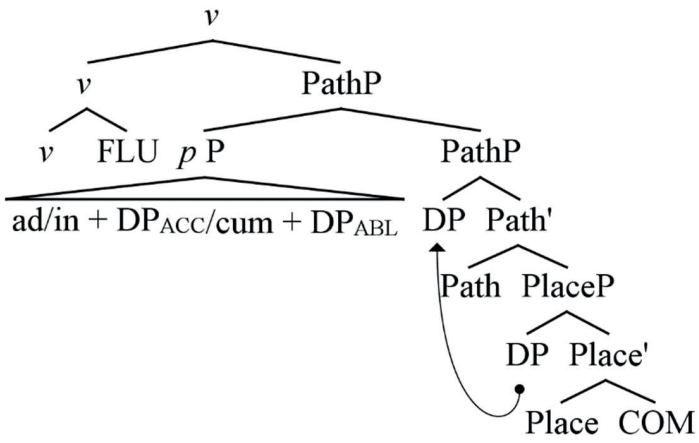
As pointed out previously, the comitative *p*P and the directional *p*P are in complementary distribution. Accordingly, I propose that both of

[8] Acedo-Matellán (2016: 192) points out that «predicates headed by (internally) prefixed verbs are resultative and may thus be telic».

[9] In most of them the directional character is also found in the unprefixed verb (*venio*, *eo*, *curro*).

them are adjoined to PathP. The difference is that [*p* AD/IN] 'assigns'[10] a theta role to the DP introduced as a complement, while [*p* COM] does not. Consequently, the DP introduced by [*p* COM] inherits the theta role from the nearest DP in the structure, i.e., the DP interpreted as a Measurer. As a result, the interpretation obtained is that the end point is reached by the meeting of two entities involved in the same event (Figure 2).

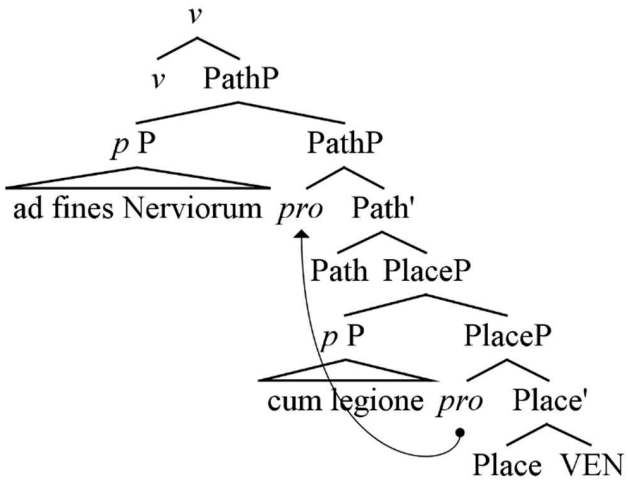
(32) Analysis of *confluo*



Instead, in sequences with unprefixed directional verbs (example 22), [*p* COM] adjoins to PlaceP so the introduced DP is interpreted as part of the Figure which moves to reach an end point (Figure 3).

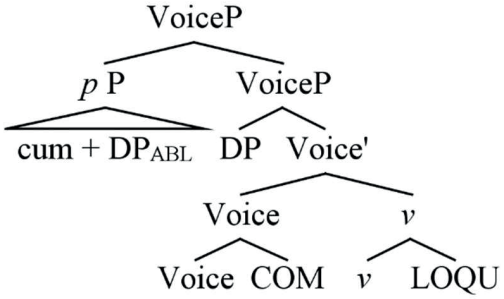
[10] I use 'assign' for expository purposes, but see § 4.1.

(33) Analysis of (22)



Verbs in which the plurality requirement applies to the DP in Spec-Voice (*confero*, *colloquor*, *consocio*), i.e. the *colloquor*-class, pose some theoretical problems. First of all, it is necessary to define the role of COM in the interpretation of the DP introduced by Voice. Regarding theta roles, there is no change between the DP_{AGENT} of the prefix verb and the DP_{AGENT} of the unprefixed one. Accordingly, COM would merge somewhere above *v*. In the light of previous reasoning, COM could be adjoined to Voice, as in (34), but this analysis is far from being unproblematic.

(34) Possible analysis of *colloquor* "to talk to"



Given the *Categorization Assumption* (Marantz 1997), this proposal would be problematic: there would be an uncategorized Root, which could not be interpreted and pronounced[11]. On the other hand, prefixation above *v* could be analyzed as external (see Svenonius 2004), but this kind of prefixation does not affect argument structure and interpretation, and it has been argued that COM is responsible for the symmetric interpretation.

If theta roles are left aside and the symmetric interpretation is taken into account seriously, COM would be merged below *v*. Wood (2015) proposes that the interpretation of Voice depends on the whole interpretation of *v*. In that case, the fact that Voice needs to satisfy a plurality requirement is not a property of Voice, but a property of *v* (and the combination of syntactic objects below it). For reasons of space, I leave this issue open for further discussion. Nevertheless, I consider that the analysis of COM as a Root merged below *v* for the *colloquor*-class is on the right track.

Leaving this problem aside and going back to the Comitative Puzzle, in these cases [*p* COM] merges as an adjunct of Voice and, consequently, the DP complement is interpreted as an Agent.

5. Final remarks

The discussion turned around two main topics: (i.) Comitative Puzzle, which concerns the way in which the plurality requirement for arguments is satisfied without violating the spirit of Baker's UTAH; and (ii.) the way in which the Root COM in interpreted according to the syntactic position it occupies in the structure. In relation to the former,

[11] This problem would be solved in a system in which roots have a post-facto category as determined by a selecting projection (see Borer 2014). Within that system, a root would be categorized as a verb by the presence of T higher in the structure. An anonymous reviewer also remarks that the problem of the uncategorized root arises only if COM is taken to encode nothing more than conceptual information. I leave this discussion open for further research.

I argued that the syntactic object [*p* COM] introduces a DP, but it fails to assign a thematic role to it. Consequently, this DP is interpreted according to the syntactic position of the whole *p*P and inherits the thematic interpretation from the projection in which the *p*P gets adjoined. I identified three projections for adjunction, namely VoiceP (Agent), PlaceP (Figure), PathP (Measurer).

Regarding prefixation, there is a clear-cut distinction between directional and non-directional verbs. The former behave as change-of-location constructions, i.e., COM is the terminal ground and they combine with different directional adjuncts. The latter, in contrast, present symmetric interpretation and the prefix COM affects the DP introduced by Voice, which must satisfy the plurality requirement.

There remain at least two interesting issues open for further research. One of them is the comparison of the *confluo*-class with change-of-state verbs prefixed by *com-* which do not present a plurality requirement (*conlino* "to cover completely", *comburo* "to burn up", *combibo* "to drink up"). The second one involves theoretical discussion about the syntactic position of COM, when it affects the arguments introduced by Voice, like in the *colloquor*-class.

Universidad Nacional del Comahue/IPEHCS-CONICET
maria.mare@fahu.uncoma.edu.ar

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