Following Lüdeling (2001), Particle Verb Constructions (PVC) cannot be treated as a unified class. Nonetheless, work by Wunderlich (1987), Wunderlich & Stiebels (1994) and Stiebels (1996, 1998) among others have shown that non-separable verbal prefixes (e.g., ent-, ver-, be-) are historically derived from prepositions and have cognates (that exist largely in complementary distribution) with separable prefix PVCs (e.g., aus-, für-, bei-). Recently, Biskup (2008 et seq.) has proposed that prefixes and prepositions are identical elements (Ps) and that a homophonous preposition and verbal prefix occurring in one sentence can be two copies of one P element. In this paper we explore the aus-/ent- alternation in German concerning verbal roots that denote movement away from or out of a source. Building on Stiebels’s (1996) suggestion that ent- could be an incorporated aus-paraphrase, we pursue a non-default analysis of dative Case assignment and argue that the assignment of dative Case on the Ground is determined by aus, either by overt aus or a covert copy of aus in the case of the incorporated preposition: ent- V. Our investigation of the aus-/ent- alternation illustrates the different factors (e.g., the lexico-semantic properties of the V and its arguments, which can also take different positions in the decomposed PP) which determine the spell out of aus-/ent- of an ausP.