

## Eventive VPs project AspP; Stative VPs do not.

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**Introduction:** We argue for a functional projection (AspP) within eventive (i.e., dynamic) VPs, and claim that it is absent in stative (i.e., non-dynamic) VPs, based in part on Spanish *hacerlo* "do so" substitution. We claim that *hacer* is a light verb that heads Voice and syntactically selects AspP under sisterhood. Moreover, we argue that Spanish verbal interfixes like *-ot-* in *fregotear* "half-wash" or *-iz-* in *lloviznar* "drizzle", provide morphological and interpretative evidence for this same head.

**Hacerlo & statives:** Beyond the observation that Spanish *hacerlo* requires an eventive VP antecedent (see Zagona 2002) little work has been done on *hacerlo* (in contrast to English *do so*). Stative VP antecedents of *hacerlo* give rise to ungrammaticality, in (1b), contrasting with the eventive VP in (1a).

- (1) a. El arbusto creció rápidamente y el árbol lo hizo también. [crecer → eventive]  
The bush grew quickly and the tree it did also  
"The bush grew quickly and the tree did so too."  
b. \*Estos estudiantes saben francés y aquellos lo hace también. [saber → stative]  
These students know French and those it did also  
"These students know French and those do so too."

The same stative-eventive contrast has been assumed for English *do so* (see Lakoff 1996, Hallman 2004) although, statives can be found as noted in Stroik (2001). Houser (2010:3) observes that English stative VPs are perfect antecedents when embedded in a relative clause as in (2a). (See also Bruening 2019). Observe Spanish *hacerlo* in a parallel configuration in (2b); while improved compared to (1b), it is still ungrammatical, in contrast to English.

- (2) a. The students that know French best, do so because they lived in France for a year.  
b. \*Los estudiantes que mejor saben francés, lo hacen por qué vivieron un año en Francia  
the students que better know French, it do because lived a year in France

Importantly, agentivity is not at issue, since, as seen in (1a), no agents are involved and *hacerlo* is grammatical. Spanish *hacerlo* only takes eventive VPs as antecedents.

**Hacer as light verb:** Following Stroik (2001) and Hallman (2004) for English *do* in *do so*, we claim that *hacer* is a light verb that heads Voice. Like light verbs cross-linguistically, *hacer* is semantically light--Alonso Ramos 2004 calls *hacer* a "pure" light verb--and the nominal complement determines the interpretation of the VP. A few examples are provided in (3).

- (3) a. hacer mención      b. hacer alusión      c. hacer reposo      d. hacer uso  
do mention              do allusion              do rest              do use  
"to mention"              "to allude"              "to rest"              "to use"

Ramchand (2014: 217), citing Butt (2003) and Butt & Lahiri (2013), notes that light verbs, in contrast to auxiliaries, have a (diachronically) stable "heavy" version. This is also the case in Spanish, where *hacer*, on its heavy interpretation, is a verb of creation, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. Hicieron la mesa a mano.      b. Hizo la cena para todos.  
made the table at hand              made the dinner for all  
"They made the table by hand."      "S/he made dinner for everyone."

Moreover, Folli & Harley (2007, 2013), who assume a participle phrase below where light verbs merge (on the present account Voice), note that light verbs are not predicted to form passive participles, because of their higher structural position, compared to "heavy" verbs. Observe in (5a) that the light verbs from (3) are out in passive, in contrast to heavy *hacer* in (5b).

- (5) a. \*Fue hecha/o mención/alusión/uso/reposo.      b. Fue hecha la mesa/la cena  
was done mention/allusion/use/rest              was made the table/the dinner  
"Mention/allusion/use/rest was done."              "The table/dinner was made."

Observe in (6) that *hacerlo* patterns with light verbs by also being ungrammatical in passive.

- (6) \*La revista fue comprada ayer y también lo fue hecho el libro.  
the magazine was bought yesterday and also it was done the book  
"The was bought yesterday and the book was done so too."

**Hacer selects AspP:** We assume that from its position heading Voice, *hacer* selects for AspP (sandwiched between Voice and VP à la Travis 1991, 2010, MacDonald 2008), as in (7).

- (7) [<sub>VoiceP</sub> [Ext. Arg.] hacer-Voice [<sub>AspP</sub> Asp [<sub>VP</sub> V (DO) ] ] ]

*Lo* replaces VP and everything it contains. Note that *lo* itself is not responsible for the aspectual restrictions; it can replace stative predicates as well, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) María es medico/simpática y Laura lo es también.

María is doctor/nice and Laura it is too.  
"María is a doctor/nice and so is Laura."

When a stative VP antecedes *hacerlo*, the sectional requirements of *hacer* are not met since, as we claim, stative VPs lack AspP - the result is ungrammaticality, as noted in (1b) and (2b). *Syntactic* selection seems possible. First, since *hacer* is semantically light, it is less likely to impose semantic restrictions. Second, observe in (9) below that the aspectual/phase verb *continue* can predicate of a subject that their current situation holds for more time, whether the situation is eventive as in (9a), or stative as in (9b). Semantically, there is nothing that prevents *continue* from selecting a locative state. (9) a. Pat continued (running) the race. b. Pat continued (\*being) on the terrace.

Syntactically, however, *continue* cannot select a gerundive complement denoting that state. This is evidence for aspect related *syntactic* selection and independent support for our approach to *hacer*.

**Interfixes head AspP:** Spanish has derivational interfixes between the root and theme vowel (TV), as illustrated in (10). We assume with Fábregas (2017) that the TV in Spanish is a light verb; we take the TV to head Voice. If so, the structure of an interfixed verb would be as in (11), where the interfix heads Asp, a natural morphological result assuming the Mirror Principle.

(10)a. llover → lloviznar b. cantar → canturrear c. llorar → lloriquear  
"rain" "drizzle" "sing" "half-sing" "cry" "half-cry"

(11) [<sub>TP</sub> r-T [<sub>VoiceP</sub> a-Voice [<sub>AspP</sub> iz-AspP [<sub>VP</sub> llov-V]]]]

Their structural position heading AspP suggests that these interfixes should interact with the (a)telicity of the VP. As Fábregas (2022) observes, if the original verb is telic, an atelic VP results, as in (12).

(12) Juan fregó/\*fregoteó los platos en media hora.  
Juan washed/half-washed the dishes in half hour  
"Juan (\*half-)washed the dishes in half an hour"

Portolés (1999) observes instances where a frequentative meaning results, as in (13). The addition of the interfixes in these cases seems to derive a semelfactive from a non-semelfactive predicate.

(13)a. pisar → pisotear b. besar → besuquear c. tentar → tentalear  
"step on" "step on repeatedly" "kiss" "kiss repeatedly" "try" "try repeatedly"

**AspP = Eventive/Dynamic VP:** Following Hey, Kennedy, & Levin (1999), Kennedy & Levin (2008), eventive VPs can be analyzed in terms of a model of change along a scale. We claim that AspP introduces an initial minimal degree of a scale (the dimension of which is determined by the lexical properties of the predicate), such that the event transitions from degree zero to an initial non-zero degree along that scale, essentially defining what it means to be an eventive/dynamic VP.

**Interfixes and the scale:** We claim that the dimension of the scale of an interfixed verb is the same as the original verb's scale, and that their meaning differences can be framed in terms of that scale. In the case of (10a) and (10c), perhaps volume of water and amount of tears is the dimension; in (10b), possibly the number of correct words of the song, or amount of effort. The interfix, we claim, derives a meaning that the event is at a lower degree along the shared scale. *Drizzling* is of a lower degree than *raining* on the volume scale; *half-singing* is of a lower degree of *singing* on the correct words or effort scale. We suggest that this underlies De Miguel's (1999) characterization of interfixed verbs like those in (10) in terms of the *intensity* of the event; *intensity* is often framed in terms of degrees on a scale (i.e., *loud*, *very loud*, *unbearably loud*). On this proposal, since the degree on the scale in an interfixed verb is lower than the original verb, there is an entailment that the final degree of the scale will never be reached - the scale will be open-ended and an atelic VP will result, which, as noted in (12) is the case. Interestingly, one verb, *churruscar*, based on *churrar* "toast", means to (almost) burn - indicating a degree greater than the degree of toasting. On our account, a greater degree surpasses the final degree resulting in closed-ended scale. A telic VP would result, which is the case, as in (14).

(14) Churruscaron el pan en 10 minutos.  
browned the bread in 10 minutes.  
"They browned the bread in 10 minutes."

**Interfixes and stative VPs:** If these interfixes head AspP and AspP gives rise to eventive VPs, then, a prediction arises: the Spanish interfixes will not derive stative VPs. As far as we are aware, this prediction--not previously stated before--is borne out, and supports the overall proposal that there is a functional aspectual projection present in eventive VPs (related to degrees along a scale) and absent in stative VPs, which lack a scale altogether.