

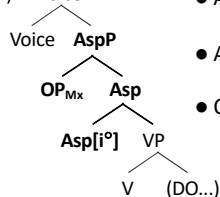
Eventive VPs project AspP; Stative VPs do not (Evidence from Spanish)

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Eventive Verbal Predicates

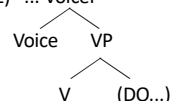
(1) ... VoiceP



- Asp[i°] syntactically projects (Travis 1991, 2010; MacDonald 2008, Kardos & Farkas 2022)
- Asp = Scale with initial minimum degree ([i°])
➢ Dynamic/eventive verbal predicate
- OP_{Mx} = Maximalization OP scopes over scalar degrees (cf. Rothstein & Filip 2005, Filip 2008)
➢ In Spec,Asp (Kardos & Farkas 2022)

Stative Verbal Predicates

(2) ... VoiceP



- Asp[i°] does **not** syntactically project
- No Asp[i°] = No scale = StativeVP
- No Asp[i°] = No OP_{Mx}

Three Main Observations

Observation 1
Hacer can only take eventive VP antecedents, not stative ones (Zagona 2002)

- (3) a. La mentira dio lugar a una revolución y la verdad también lo hizo.
The lie gave place to a revolution and the truth too it did
"The lie gave rise to a revolution and the truth did so too."
b. *Estos estudiantes saben francés y aquellos también lo hacen
These students know French and those too it do
"These students know French and those do so too."

Explaining Observation 1: *hacer* is light verb heading Voice and syntactically selects for AspP as sister; *hacer*'s syntactic selectional requirements aren't satisfied with stative antecedents

➢ Independent support for syntactic selection of eventive predicates ➢

- (4) a. Juan tiene el brazo roto. b. Vi a Juan con el brazo roto. c. Vi a Juan {romperse/*tener} el brazo roto.
Juan has the arm broken I.saw a Juan with the arm broken I.saw a Juan break.self/*have the arm broken
"Juan has a broken arm." "I saw John with a broken arm." "I saw Juan break/*have a broken arm."

Observation 2
Interfixes only occur with eventive VPs, not stative VPs

- (5) a. Manu cantó en la fiesta. b. Manu canturreó en la fiesta.
Manu sang at the party. Manu half-sang at the party.
"Manu sang at the party." "Manu half-sang at the party."

➢ Stative VPs appear to be unattested ➢

Explaining Observation 2: Interfixes head AspP; No Asp in statives = no interfixes in statives

Observation 3
Telicity inducing elements ([f°] = maximal scalar degree) do not induce telicity with Stative VPs

- (6) a. Juan **se** tomó una cerveza en 10 minutos/*durante 10 minutos
Juan **Asp-se** had a beer in 10 minutes/*for 10 minutes
"Juan had himself a beer in 10 minutes"
b. Juan **se** sabe la lección desde el martes.
Juan **Asp-se** knows the lesson since the Tuesday.
"Juan has known the lesson since Tuesday."
(7) a. Jay ate the apple **up** in 10 minutes/*for 10 minutes.
b. Jay ate the apple **to the core** in 10 minutes/*for 10 minutes.
(8) a. John loves/hates that game **to the core**.
b. John wants **out** of the program.

"The maximalization operator MAX_E is a monadic operator, such that MAX_E(Σ) ⊆ Σ. It maps sets of events, (partially) ordered by an ordering criterion for objects on a scale, onto sets of maximal events." Filip & Rothstein (2005)

Explaining Observation 3: No OP_{Mx}, thus, telicity inducing elements outside its scope

Hacer as light verb

- *hacer* participates in light verb configurations
(9) a. hacer mención b. hacer el tonto c. hacer reposo d. hacer uso
do mention do the fool do rest do use
"to mention" "to play the fool" "to rest" "to use"

- *hacer* cannot form passive participle (Folli & Harley 2007, 2013)
(10) a. *Fue hecho reposo (ayer) b. *El tonto fue hecho (ayer).
was done rest (yesterday) The fool was done (ayer).
"Rest/use was done (yesterday)." "The fool was played (yesterday)."

- No passive participle with *hacerlo*
(11) *La bolsa fue robada ayer y también lo fue hecho el anillo.
the bag was stolen yesterday and also it was done the ring.
"The bag was stolen yesterday and the ring was done so too."

- There is a heavy version (Ramchand 2014; Butt 2003). Note contrast:
(12) a. hacer la cena b. La cena fue hecha
make the dinner the dinner was made
"to make dinner" "Dinner was made."

Lo replaces eventive or stative predicates

- *lo* does not explain eventive constraint
(13) María es simpática/médico y Laura lo es también.
María is nice/doctor and Laura it is too.
"María is nice/a doctor and so is Laura."

Interfixes

- Between root and thematic vowel (TV)
Verb Root InTRFX TV "r" Meaning
(14) a. llover → llov e r "to rain"
b. lloviznar → llov izn a r "to drizzle"

- Affects (a)telicity of predicate (Fábregas 2022)
(15) a. Juan fregó los platos en media hora.
Juan scrubbed the dishes (*in half hour)
"Juan scrubbed the dishes in half an hour."
b. Juan fregoteó los platos (*en media hora).
Juan scrubbed the dishes in half hour
"Juan scrubbed at the dishes (in half an hour)."

- Interacts with scalar degrees
Fregar "scrub" → "fregotear "half-scrub"
Cantar "sing" → "canturrear "half-sing"
Llorar "cry" → "lloriquear "whimper"

For a more detailed
handout
with (more)
references

