WHAT SPANISH CAN TELL US ABOUT THE SYNTAX OF EVENTIVES VS. STATIVE VERBAL PREDICATES[*]

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ABSTRACT. The main goal of this article is to argue and provide support for the distinction between eventive and stative verbal predicates being encoded in the syntax. More specifically, following Travis (1991, 2010, MacDonald 2008, Kardos & Farkas 2022), I provide arguments for the existence of an aspectual functional projection situated between Voice and VP: AspP. I argue that eventive verbal predicates project AspP and stative verbal predicates do not. Its syntactic presence serves as input to semantics giving rise to a dynamic predicate, a predicate that entails (some amount of) change along a scale, based on scalar approaches to eventive verbal predicates (Hay et al. 1999, Kennedy & Levin 2008, Beavers 2011, 2013, among others). Empirically, I discuss two phenomena from Spanish: *hacerlo* "do so" substitution and verbal interfixes, like *ot* in *freg**ot**ear* "to scrub at" (vs. *fregar* "to scrub"). I argue that *hacer* selects for AspP while the verbal interfixes head Asp. Support for the main proposal that there is a syntactic distinction between eventives and statives emerges from the ungrammaticality of *hacerlo* when it takes a stative verbal antecedent and the fact that the output of interfixation does not give rise to stative verbal predicates, only eventive verbal predicates.

Keywords: eventives; statives; syntax-semantics interface; *hacerlo;* interfixes

RESUMEN. El propósito principal de este artículo es ofrecer argumentos y apoyo para una distinción sintáctica entre los predicados verbales eventivos y estativos. Más específicamente, siguiendo a Travis (1991, 2010), MacDonald (2008), y Kardos & Farkas (2022), presento argumentos para la existencia de una proyección funcional aspectual situada entre Voice y VP: AspP. Propongo que los predicados verbales eventivos proyectan AspP y los predicados verbales estativos no lo hacen. Su presencia sintáctica sirve como entrada a la semántica y da lugar a un predicado dinámico, es decir, un predicado que implica un cierto grado de cambio en una escala, tal como se propone en las teorías que se basan en escalas para explicar los predicados verbales eventivos (Hay et al., 1999; Kennedy & Levin, 2008; Beavers, 2011, 2013, entre otros). Desde un enfoque empírico, me centro en dos fenómenos del español: la sustitución por "hacerlo" ("do so") y los interfijos verbales como "ot" en "fregotear". Propongo que "hacer" selecciona AspP, mientras que los interfijos son el núcleo de AspP. El respaldo principal para esta propuesta de una distinción sintáctica entre los eventivos y los estativos emerge de la agramaticalidad de "hacerlo" cuando toma como antecedente un predicado estativo, y del hecho de que el resultado de la interfijación no es un predicado verbal estativo, sino únicamente un predicado verbal eventivo.

Palabras claves: eventivos; estativos; interfaz sintáctico-semántico; *hacerlo*; interfijos

1. Introduction

One way in which verbal predicates differ are in terms of their aspectual interpretation. A classic breakdown, widely assumed in the literature, although not the only one, gives four classes: accomplishments, achievements, activities and statives (Vendler 1957).

(1)   a. Dana swam for an hour.   *Eventive verbal predicates*
        b. Pat broke his wrist.
        c. Sandy ate the pizza.

(2)   a. Cindy knows French.   *Stative verbal predicates*
        b. Jay is a doctor.

Verbal predicates classified as the first three can be grouped together as *eventive* (or *dynamic*) *verbal predicates* in contrast with *stative verbal predicates*.[1,2] While I do not provide a formal semantic analysis of statives vs. eventives, it is useful to have a way to identify and characterize them. It has often been noted that eventives contrast with statives in terms of being true down to instants (See Bennett & Partee 1972, Dowty 1979, Rothstein 2004, Maienborn 2005, among others). Statives are true down to instants, while eventives are not. Consider the eventive in (3) and the stative in (4).
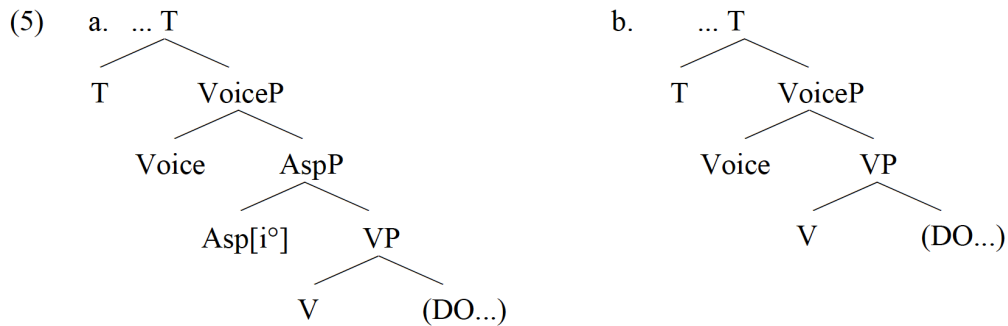
(3)   Dana walked for an hour.   *Eventive*

(4)   Joe was sick for a week.   *Stative*

The verbal predicate in (3) describes an event of walking that took place for the period of one hour. If we consider the event at a single instant, as if we took a snapshot while Dana walked, the image would reveal a still frame of, perhaps, Dana in the middle of stepping. Simply by looking at that single snapshot, we would not be able to determine whether it was true that Dana walked; we would need a longer stretch of time. This contrasts with (4), in which the verbal predicate describes a state of Joe being sick for the period of a week. If we take any instant of that week, we can determine whether it is true that Joe was sick at that instant. In this sense, statives are true down to instants, while eventives are not. This relates to eventives entailing some amount of change over time and statives not entailing any change over time. For instance, in (1a) and (3), Dana's position along a path changes. In (1b), the state of Pat's wrist changes, from unbroken to broken, and in (1c), the physical extent of the pizza changes by being consumed. For the statives in (2) and (4), they simply hold for the relevant periods of time.

The main goal of this paper is to argue that this basic contrast between eventives and statives is manifested syntactically. Specifically, eventive predicates project an aspectual projection (AspP), between Voice and VP, while statives do not, as illustrated in (5a) and (5b) respectively. Voice is the external argument introducing head (associated with accusative case assignment in transitive predicates).

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[1] I focus on verbal predicates in this work. I write *eventives* as shorthand for *eventive verbal predicate* and *stative* as shorthand for *stative verbal predicate* throughout.
[2] See Maienborn (2005) for a breakdown of states into to two classes. That breakdown will not play a role in the present work.

(5) a. ... T

```
          ... T
         /    \
        T      VoiceP
              /    \
          Voice     AspP
                   /    \
              Asp[i°]    VP
                        /   \
                       V    (DO...)
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b. ... T

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          ... T
         /    \
        T      VoiceP
              /    \
          Voice     VP
                   /    \
                  V     (DO...)
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The diacritic [i°] on Asp is to be understood as a property related to scale structure that the semantics reads off of the syntax. Specifically, it represents a minimal degree of change along a scale, the nature and dimension of which is determined by the lexical semantic properties of the verb (syntactically, V or root plus verbalizer). Thus, since Asp[i°] projects in eventives, the semantics interprets the event as undergoing some amount of scalar change over time. Since Asp[i°] does not project in statives, no scalar change is entailed. As I discuss in more detail in Section 4, there are constituents that can introduce a final maximal degree (i.e., [f°]) along the scale, such as English goal PPs, aspectual particles and so-called aspectual *se* in Spanish. When a final maximal degree is introduced (in the right syntactic configuration, see Section 4 below) a bounded scale results and a telic verbal predicate arises.

I focus on two phenomena in Spanish to arrive at this syntactic conclusion regarding eventives vs. statives. First, I discuss a range of facts surrounding *hacerlo* "do so" substitution in Spanish. It has been observed that *hacerlo* can take an eventive antecedent, but not a stative one (Zagona 2002), as illustrated in (6) below. Little beyond this central observation has been discussed regarding Spanish *hacerlo*, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

(6) a. La mentira dio lugar a una revolución y   también la verdad lo hizo.
         The lie   gave place to a   revolution and too   the truth it did
         "The lie gave rise to a revolution and the truth did so too."

     b. *Estos estudiantes saben francés y   también aquellos lo hacen.
         These students   know French and too   those   it do
         "These students know French and those do so too."

I will argue that *hacer* is a light verb heading Voice that *syntactically* selects for AspP as its sister. Since there is no AspP in statives, by hypothesis, *hacerlo* is ungrammatical with a stative antecedent.

The second phenomenon to discuss relates to a class of Spanish interfixes, examples of which are provided in (7b) and (8b).[3]

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[3] The glosses and translations of interfixed verbs are based on the definitions provided for these verbs in Moliner (1998), which have been listed in the appendix.

(7) a. Juan comió el bocadillo.   b. Juan com**isqu**eó el   bocadillo.
         Juan ate   the sandwich   Juan ate.at   the sandwich.
         "John are the sandwich."   "Juan ate at the sandwich."

(8) a. Llovió anoche.   b. Llov**izn**ó anoche.
         rained last.night   drizzled last.night
         "It rained last night."   "It drizzled last night."

   Di Tullio (1997) and Fábregas (2022, 2024) observe that these interfixes interact with the (a)telicity of the verbal predicate, namely by turning a telic verbal predicate into an atelic verbal predicate. These interfixes affect (a)telicity. Moreover, given their position between the root and the thematic vowel of the verb, an analysis in which these interfixes head AspP emerges naturally, as I argue below in Section 3. Significantly, as Di Tuillo (1997) observes, the verb that results from this interfixation process is never stative. This is an important fact to highlight, since as I argue, it offers support for the existence of an aspectual functional projection associated with an eventive interpretation.

   Taken together then, I argue that both the *hacerlo* and the interfixation patterns provide syntactic, morphological and semantic justification for a functional category (see Stroik 2001, Kitahara 1997) related to inner aspect: AspP.

   The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I discuss the properties of *hacerlo*. A brief comparison with English *do so* in 2.1 illustrates that they pattern differently in at least two different ways: English *do so* can take stative antecedents and can form passive participles, while Spanish *hacerlo* cannot. In 2.2. I argued that *hacer* in *hacerlo* is a light verb, and in 2.3. I argue that the eventive restriction arises from *hacer* selecting AspP as its sister. In 2.4, I offer other instances of syntactic selection for eventive predicate types as independent support for the syntactic selection of Asp by *hacer*. In 2.5, I suggest that the conclusions I draw from *hacerlo* allow us to probe the locus of coercion. Concretely, I suggest that the patterns of eventive-stative coercion should be cast as a post-syntactic semantic operation. In Section 3, I discuss interfixes and note how the literature observes that they affect the (a)telicity of the verbal predicate. Moreover, given their position between the verbal root and the verb's theme vowel, I argue that morphologically they are situated to head Asp. In 3.1 I discuss how a scalar approach to eventive verbal predicates offers a way to understand a variety of meaning differences between the base uninterfixed verb and the interfixed verb. In Section 4, I extend the syntactic approach of eventives vs. statives and suggest that Spec,AspP houses a maximalization operator that licenses telicity inducing elements by being in its scope. These elements only induce telicity when merging with eventives, not with statives, adding support for the absence of AspP in statives. Finally, in Section 5, I conclude by briefly recapping the main points of the paper.

2. *Hacerlo*

   In this section, I discuss *hacerlo* substitution in Spanish. I argue that *hacer* in *hacerlo* configurations is a light verb that heads Voice. (See Stroik 2001 and Hallman 2004 for treating English *do* in *do so* as a light verb, although see Bruening 2019 who offers a distinct analysis, as I briefly discuss in Section 2.2. below). As noted above, *hacerlo* can only take eventive verbal antecedents, not stative ones. I propose that the limitation to eventive antecedents is the result of a syntactic condition. As the head of Voice, I claim that

hacer syntactically selects AspP as its sister. Since the syntactic presence of Asp gives rise to an eventive verbal predicate, *hacerlo* will only take eventive verbal antecedents.

We will see that *hacer* patterns like a light verb by contributing little lexical semantics - the nominal complement supplies it. In addition, *hacer* patterns like a light verb by not being able to form a passive participle (Folli & Harley 2007, 2013). Nevertheless, we will see that *hacer* in *hacerlo* does contribute grammatical semantics - it determines that the predicate is eventive (i.e., dynamic), which on the present proposal is a consequence of *hacer*'s syntactic selectional requirements. We will also see that *lo* in *hacerlo* is not responsible for the restriction to eventive antecedents, since it can substitute both eventive and stative predicates.

2.1. The stative-eventive contrast

Consider examples of *hacerlo* "do so" substitution in Spanish in (9), which illustrate that *hacerlo* can take an eventive verbal antecedent. As illustrated in (10), observe that *hacerlo* cannot take a stative antecedent (Zagona 2002: 134).

(9) a. El arbusto creció rápidamente y   también el árbol lo hizo.
         The bush grew quickly   and too   the tree it did
         "The bush grew quickly and the tree did so too."

     b. Dani acabó   la   tarea y   también Mani lo hizo.
         Dani finished the task and too   Mani it did
         "Dani finished the task and Mani did so too."

(10) a.*María posee   una caja de oro y   también Dani lo hace.
         Maria possesses a   box of gold and too   Dani it does
         "Maria owns a box of gold and Dani does so too."

     b.*Estos estudiantes saben francés y   también aquellos lo hacen.
         These students   know French and too   those   it do
         "These students know French and those do so too."

Note that it does not seem to be the case that the lack of an agent in (10) is the source of ungrammaticality, since we find no agents in (6a) and (9a), and *hacerlo* substitution is grammatical. Moreover, note that weather expressions in Spanish are grammatical antecedents of *hacerlo*, as illustrated in (11).[4]

(11) a. Nevó   muchísimo la semana pasada y   también lo hizo ayer.
         snowed much   the week   past   and too   it did yesterday
         "It snowed very much last week and it did so yesterday too."

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[4] As Antonio Fábregas (p.c.) points out to me eventivity seems to be more important to *hacer* than agency, as these impersonal weather expressions illustrate. They are non-agentive, but eventive, one indication of which is that they can appear naturally in the progressive: *Está haciendo mucho calor*. "It's very hot." Another indication is that they can serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo* as noted in (11).

b. Hizo muchísimo frio la   semana pasada y   también lo hizo ayer.
  Did   much   cold the week   past   and too   it did yesterday
  "It was very cold last week and it was yesterday too."

It has been assumed that English *do so* is degraded with stative antecedents as well (see Lakoff & Ross 1966, Hallman 2004), but as noted in Stroik (2001), and as discussed further in Houser (2010) and Bruening (2019), stative antecedents are found. In fact, when embedded within a relative clause that modifies the subject, as observed by Houser (2010) and Bruening (2019), they are clearly grammatical.[5] This is illustrated in (12).

(12) The students that know French best, do so because they lived in France for a year.

Spanish patterns differently. While embedded within a relative clause that modifies the subject, there is some improvement, they are still ungrammatical, as illustrated in (13).[6]

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

    b. *Los hijos   que más se parecen a sus   padres, lo hacen porque también
      the children that most se seem.like to their parents, it do   because too
      se visten como ellos.
      se dress like   them
      "The children that most resemble their parents, do so because they also dress like them."

As Zagona (2002:134) observes, *hacerlo* only takes eventive verbal antecedents.

2.2 Hacer *in* hacerlo *is a light verb*
In this section, I argue that *hacer* in *hacerlo* is a light verb. First observe that, outside of *hacerlo*, *hacer* participates in light verb configurations (Alonso Ramos 2004), in which it contributes little lexical semantics - the nominal complement contributes it, as illustrated in (14).

(14) 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"

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[5] Bruening (2019:14) assumes for English, following Miller (2013), that stative *do so* is grammatical, and when judged unacceptable with stative (or passive) antecedents, it is for reasons external to the grammar.
[6] Observe that in English, by changing *do so* to *do it*, we see the same patterns as in Spanish, namely, that, although embedded in a relative clause a stative antecedent is ungrammatical: *The students that know French best, do **it** because they lived in France for a year.*

e. hacer una siesta   f. hacer el tonto   g. hacer hincapié   h. hacer caso
    do   a   nap   do   the fool   do   emphasis   do   case
    "have a nap"   "play the fool"   "emphasize"   "heed"

Ramchand (2014: 217), citing Butt (2003) and Butt & Lahiri (2013) for the generalization, notes that light verbs have a (diachronically) stable "heavy" version. This is also the case in Spanish, where *hacer,* on its heavy interpretation, is a verb of creation, some examples of which are offered in (15).

(15) a. hacer la cena   b. hacer un desastre   c. hacer una mesa (a mano)
        make the dinner   make a disaster   make a   table (at hand)
   "make dinner"   "make a mess"   "make a table (by hand)"

Folli & Harley (2007, 2013) observe in Italian that light verbs cannot form passive participles, while their heavy versions can. This holds for Spanish *hacer* as well, as illustrated for light *hacer* in (16) and for heavy *hacer* in (17).

(16) a. *Fue hecho reposo (ayer)
        was done rest   (yesterday)
       "Rest was done (yesterday)."

      b. *Una siesta fue hecha (por la tarde).
         A   nap   was done (by the afternoon)
       "A nap was taken (in the afternoon)."

      c. *El   tonto fue hecho (ayer).
        The fool   was done (ayer).
       "The fool was played (yesterday)."

(17) a. La mesa fue hecha (a mano).
        the table was made (at hand)
       "The table was made (by hand)."

      b. La cena   fue hecha (por la niña)
        the dinner was made (by the girl)
       "The dinner was made (by the girl)."

Folli & Harley's (2007, 2013) explanation for this contrast follows from the different structural positions of the light vs. heavy verbs, and the assumption that passive participial morphology emerges from a participial phrase between Voice (or little *v*) and big VP (or the root plus verbalizer). The heavy verb is low enough in the structure (merging as big V) such that, in route to T, it moves through the participial head and picks up the participle morphology. This is illustrated in (18).

(18)
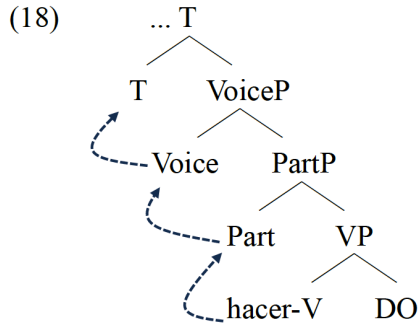
In contrast, since the light verb merges as Voice, it is structurally above Part and will not pick up participial morphology on its way to T, as illustrated in (19).

(19)
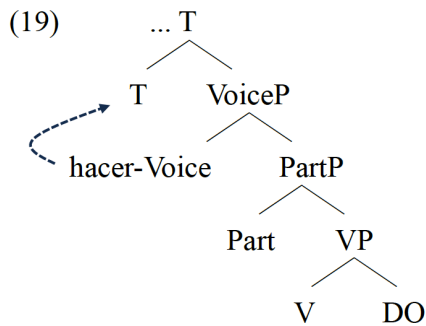
Importantly, *hacer* in *hacerlo* cannot form a passive participle either, as illustrated in (20).[7]

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

   b.*La bolsa fue robada ayer   y   también (lo) fue hecho el anillo.
     the bag   was stolen yesterday and too   (it) was done the ring.
     "The bag was stolen yesterday and the ring was done so too."

Bruening (2019) observes that for English, passive *do so* improves in contexts similar to those in which stative *do so* improves. In fact, he illustrates that, not only are there attested corpus examples of passive *do so*, but there are also passive-active mismatches between *do so* and its antecedent. Two examples are provided in (21), from Bruening (2019: 16-17). In (21a) the antecedent is active and *do so* is passive, while in (21b), the antecedent is passive while *do so* is active.

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[7] It is important to distinguish the passive participle from the perfect participle, since *hacerlo* can form a perfect participle: *María ha acabado la tarea a tiempo y Juan también lo ha hecho*. "María has finished the task on time and Juan has done so too." See Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) who argue that perfect participles are in a different structural position than passive participles. This provides a basis for understanding the contrast between them in *hacerlo* configurations.

(21) a. Some of the sites that we have located were done so with the help of people we met while in the process of trying to locate the site.

    b. To the extent that victory can be achieved with a minimum of personal sacrifice, the Bush administration will try to do so.

The Spanish counterparts only work when *do so* is active, not passive, as illustrated in (22). (22b) shows that active *hacerlo* can take a passive antecedent.

(22) a.*Algunos de los lugares que hemos   localizado (lo) fueron hechos con la ayuda
    Some   of the places that we.have located   (it) were   done   with the help
    de la gente que conocimos en el proceso de encontrar el lugar.
    of the people that we.met   in the process of fin   the place
    "Some of the sites that we have located were done so with the help of people we met while in the process of trying to locate the site."

    b. En la medida que la victoria puede ser lograda con un mínimo   de
    In the measure that the victory can   be achieved with a minimum of
    sacrificio personal,   la   administración intentará hacerlo.
    sacrifice   personnel, the administration will.try do.it.
    "To the extent that victory can be achieved with a minimum of personal sacrifice, the Bush administration will try to do so."

On the one hand, passive *hacerlo* is out in Spanish, which I suggested, following Folli & Harley (2007, 2013) results from *hacer* being too high structurally to form a passive participle. On Bruening's (2019) account, English *do so* is syntactically a VP, the complement of a Voice head, and thus, in line with Folli & Harley (2007, 2013), it would appear to be low enough to form a passive participle and be grammatical in the passive. On the other hand, that active *do so* can take a passive antecedent in English suggests, as Bruening (2019) concludes, that *do so* has its own Voice projection, independent from the Voice projection of its antecedent. This is consistent with the present approach to *hacerlo* in Spanish as well, where *hacer* heads (its own) Voice projection.

2.3 The eventive restriction

As a light verb, *hacer* heads Voice. I claim that in the *hacerlo* configuration *hacer* itself is responsible for the restriction to eventive antecedents through its syntactic selectional requirements. It syntactically selects for AspP as its sister. Since only eventive verbal predicates project Asp, *hacer* will only occur with eventive verbal predicates, since otherwise, its selectional requirement will not be met.

First, observe that *lo* in *hacerlo* is not the source of the eventive restriction, since as illustrated in (23) below, it can substitute stative predicates.

(23) a.   María es simpática y   Laura también lo es.
        María is nice   and Laura too   it is.
        "María is nice and so is Laura."

   b. María es médico y   Laura también lo es.
      María is doctor   and Laura too   it is.
      "María is a doctor and so is Laura."

   c. Juan está en la terraza y   José también lo está.
      Juan is   on the terrace and José too   it is.
      "Juan is on the terrace and José is too."

   d. Juan está cansado y   José también lo está.
      Juan is   tired   and José too   it is.
      "Juan is tired and José is too."

In (23a) *lo* replaces an AdjP predicate and in (23b) *lo* replaces a DP predicate with the stative verb *ser*. In (23c) *lo* replaces a PP predicate and in (23d) an AdjP predicate with the stative verb *estar*. Thus, *lo* is not restricted to eventive predicates.[8] I take this to mean that what *lo* replaces does not contain information about the eventive/stative nature of the predicate. In the structural terms of the present proposal, *lo* does not replace AspP.

Note that while *hacer* contributes little lexical semantics as a light verb, it does appear to contribute grammatical information. Consider the sentence in (24).
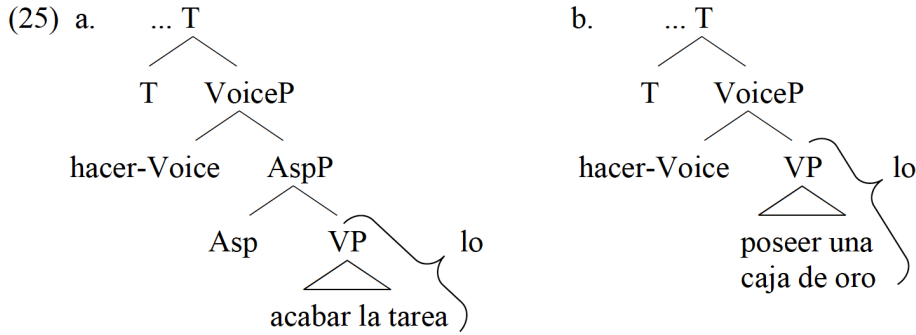
(24)   Lo hicieron ayer   en 10 minutos/durante 10 minutos.
        it did   yesterday in 10 minutes/for   10 minutes.
        "They did it yesterday in 10 minutes/for 10 minutes."

When uttered out of the blue, we have no information about the nature of the event, in part because we do not know the antecedent of *lo*, but also, because *hacer* contributes little (or *no*) lexical semantics. What we do know is that there was some kind of dynamic event, an activity, an accomplishment, or an achievement. This follows from the present account directly if the syntactic presence of AspP gives rise to an eventive verbal predicate, and *hacer* syntactically selects for AspP as its sister.[9]

Moreover, this would also explain why *hacerlo* takes an eventive antecedent, but not a stative one. Consider the structures in (25) where *hacer*, as a light verb, heads Voice, and *lo* replaces the VP, thereby excluding AspP.

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[8] Note that *lo* can also substitute CPs: *Dijeron que iba a llover, pero ya lo sabía yo* "They said that it was going to rain, but I already knew it." where *lo = que iba a llover* "that it was going to rain".

[9] An anonymous reviewer notes that Catalan *fer* "hacer" in *fer-ho* "hacerlo" cannot take stative antecedents, although without *ho*, it can take on stative meanings, as in *fer panxia* "have a belly". In Spanish, there appear to be some stative uses of *hacer* as well, as in the following temporal expression: *Hace una semana que no fumo*. "It has been a week since I smoked." Other examples can be found in light verb configurations like *hacer pie*, literally "do foot", meaning "reach/touch" (as in a pool), or *hacer sombra*, literally, "do shade", meaning "cast a shadow". So, not all uses of uses of *hacer* are obligatorily eventive. Most seem to be, and crucially, all are eventive in the *hacerlo* configuration which is the main focus of the article.

(25) a.   ... T   b.   ... T

        T   VoiceP   T   VoiceP

   hacer-Voice   AspP   hacer-Voice   VP   lo

           Asp   VP   lo   poseer una

                acabar la tarea   caja de oro

In (25a), *hacer*'s selectional restrictions are met, since AspP is its sister.[10] In (25b), on the other hand, *hacer*'s selectional restrictions are not met, since there is no AspP. Thus, *hacerlo* will always be interpreted as eventive, never stative, and thus the grammaticality contrast between eventive and stative antecedents.[11]

2.4 Syntactic or semantic selection

    By hypothesis the presence of AspP gives rise to an eventive predicate, while its absence gives rise to a stative predicate. Eventive predicates differ semantically from stative predicates, as discussed briefly in the introduction. Consequently, an alternative explanation for the *hacerlo* patterns might appeal to *semantic* selection, in contrast to syntactic selection. While a logical possibility, I believe that, minimally, there is evidence to support a syntactic approach. Below, I discuss instances of *syntactic* selection of eventive predicates in configurations other than *hacerlo*, as a way to provide independent support for approaching the *hacerlo* patterns in terms of *syntactic* selection.

    First consider the sentences in (26) that illustrate a variety of stative predications, expressed through the use of the stative verbs *tener* and *estar*.

(26) a. Juan tiene el   brazo roto.   b. Juan está enfermo
         Juan has   the arm   broken   Juan is   sick
         "Juan has a broken arm."   "Juan is sick."

      c. Juan está en la   cama
         Juan is   in   the bed
         "Juan is in bed."

    Observe that the same stative predications can be expressed in complement position of the perception verb *ver* "see", but without the stative verbs, as illustrated in (27).

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[10] Diesing (1998) observes that the Yiddish light verbs *gebn* "give" and *ton* "do" only result in telic predicates, and claims that they syntactically select for an aspectual phrase in a structurally parallel position to where I assume AspP.

[11] An anonymous reviewer suggests that we might approach the presence of AspP in eventive predicates and its absence in statives as related to the presence of a neo-Davidsonian event argument (Parsons 1990) in eventives and its absence in statives. I believe this is one way to think about the contribution AspP, although I leave a full exploration of this connection for future research. See below in Section 4 for a brief discussion of Gibert-Sotelo & Marín (2024) who adopt Ramchand's (2018) ProcP but assume it introduces an event argument.

Semantically there is no issue with these predications in this syntactic context (cf. Marín 2022).

(27) a. Vi   a Juan con el brazo roto.   b. Vi   a Juan enfermo
       I.saw at Juan with the arm broken   I.saw at Juan sick
       "I saw John with a broken arm."   "I saw Juan sick."

      c. Vi   a Juan en la cama
        I.saw at Juan in the bed.
        "I saw Juan in bed."

However, if stative verbs are added to the complement position of *ver* "see" to express the same stative predications that they express in (26) the result is ungrammatical (Marín 2022), as illustrated in (28).

(28) a.*Vi   a Juan tener el brazo roto.   b.*Vi   a Juan estar en la cama
       I.saw at Juan have the arm broken   I.saw at Juan be   en the bed.
       "I saw Juan have a broken arm."   "I saw Juan in bed."

      c. *Vi   a Juan estar enfermo
        I.saw at Juan be   sick
        "I saw Juan sick."

Observe in (29) that eventive verbal predicates can appear grammaticality as complements to *ver* "see".

(29) a. Vi   a Juan romperse el brazo   b. Vi   a Juan acostarse   en la cama.
       I.saw at Juan break.self the arm   I.saw at Juan lay.down.self en the bed
       "I saw Juan break his arm."   "I saw Juan lay down in the bed."

      c. Vi   a Juan ponerse enfermo
        I.saw at Juan put.self sick
        "I saw Juan get sick."

Semantically, a stative predication can appear grammaticality as the complement of *ver* "see", however, the syntactic presence of a stative verbal predicate (i.e. *tener* "have" or *estar* "be") as complement is ungrammatical. (cf. Carrasco Gutiérrez 2017 for a semantic take). Syntactically, if *ver* "see" takes a verbal complement, it must be an eventive one, as illustrated in (29). This illustrates an independent case of syntactic selection for an eventive verbal predicate and suggests that proposing a syntactic source for the eventive restriction imposed in *hacerlo* configurations is a possibility.[12]

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[12] English also provides support for syntactic selection of eventive verbal predicates, as illustrated by the aspectual verb *continue*: i. *Pat continued on the terrace.* ii *Pat continued being on the terrace.* iii. *Pat continued reading on the terrace.* Consider also: *Pat was (*being) ill/on the terrace/ a doctor.*

2.5. Hacerlo *and the locus of coercion*

Based the conclusion that *hacer* in *hacerlo* selects for Asp in the syntax, in this section, I suggest that we can use *hacerlo* in Spanish as a way to probe instances of coercion between stative and eventive verbal predicates, concretely, the *locus* of said coercion, i.e. whether it takes place in the syntax or whether it takes place in the semantics.

De Swart (1998: 36) provides a characterization of coercion that I adopt: "...coercion is syntactically and morphologically invisible: it is governed by implicit contextual reinterpretation mechanisms triggered by the need to resolve aspectual conflicts." In a syntactic model like Chomsky's (1995, 2001) in which syntax precedes semantics, treating coercion as a post-syntactic LF operation that does not manipulate or generate effects in the syntax is natural and consistent with De Swart's characterization. We might conceive of coercion as an operation that inserts the relevant structure in the (post-syntactic) semantic component that is necessary to derive the same semantic effect that the presence of said structure would derive were it read directly off of the syntax by the semantics. On this conception, in conjunction with the conclusions regarding *hacerlo* drawn above, namely that *hacer* syntactically selects for AspP, a straightforward prediction emerges: if coercion takes place in a post-syntactic semantics, a stative verbal predicate coerced into an eventive one should not be able to serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo*, because AspP will not be present in the syntax for *hacer* to select. On the other hand, if coercion employs syntactic means to coerce a stative predicate into an eventive one, then AspP will be present in the syntax for *hacer* to select, and the predicate should be able to serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo,* as a result of the coercion operation.

While I have argued above for a syntactic selection approach to *hacerlo,* consider an additional expectation for coercion if the selection for eventive verbal predicates by *hacer* were in fact *semantic* in nature. Any stative coerced into an eventive should be able to serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo*, since the coercion operation would take place in the semantics (by assumption), which is where *hacer'*s requirements would also be met. As we will see, however, this is not what we find. In many of the instances of purported coercion from the literature, the coerced stative cannot serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo*.

There are cases, nevertheless, in which a stative shifted to an eventive can serve as an antecedent of *hacerlo*. In these cases, it is telling that we also find an accompanying change in the lexical meaning of the verb and/or a change in selectional restrictions. Given the change in lexical meaning and selectional restrictions, it is not surprising that there very well could be a change in aspectual properties. Arguably, different lexical entries would be involved and could (potentially) result in different syntactic properties. In fact, moreover, instances of a change from stative to eventive accompanied by a change in lexical semantics and/or selectional restrictions, add support to the overall claim in this article that there is a syntactic difference between statives and eventives, and *hacerlo* is sensitive to this syntactic contrast.[13] Consider two illustrations in (30) and (31).

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[13] This is the case independently of whether one assumes a lexicalist or a neo-constructivist approach to argument/event structure. On a lexicalist approach, it is not unexpected that different lexical entries can (and do) project different structures. On a neo-constructivist approach, the same root can occur in different syntactic configurations, which on the surface immediately entails that all roots should be able to be interpreted as statives or eventives equally. The problem is that this appears *not* to be the case. The lack of flexibility of a given root to appear in all syntactic configurations is often explained in terms of a clash between the conceptual meaning of the root and the structural meaning of the configuration. In this way, conceptual meaning has some responsibility for the tendencies of certain roots to appear in certain

(30) a. María conoció a Dani en la fiesta y Pablo también lo hizo.
María met at Dani in the party and Pablo too it did
"María met Dani at the party and Pablo did so too."

b.*María conoce la palabra "nefelibata" y Pablo también lo hace.
María knows the word "nefelibata" and Pablo too it did
"María knows the word "nefelibata" and Pablo does so too."

(31) a. Dani pesó una maleta y Mario también lo hizo.
Dani weighed a suitcase and Mario too it did.
"Dani weighed a suitcase and Mario did so too."

b.*Dani pesó más el año pasado y Mario también lo hizo.
Dani weighed more the year last and Mario too it did.
"Dani weighed more last year and Mario did so too"

As indicated in the translations, (30a) means "to meet someone" (i.e., "to come to know someone"), and (30b) means "to have knowledge about something", in this case a word. The former can serve as an antecedent to *hacerlo* while the latter cannot. In (31), there is a change in lexical meaning as well as a change in selectional properties. In (31a), *pesar* expresses an action of determining the weight of some object. In (31b), *pesar* expresses how much an object weighs, selecting not for an object, but for an amount.

Now consider one widely cited case of coercion in Spanish.[14] As Zagona (2012:356) states: "...*saber la lección* 'know the lesson' is stative, but *saber algo de repente* 'suddenly know something' is a punctual change of state." However, if either is the antecedent for *hacerlo* both return ungrammatical results, as illustrated in (32).

(32) a.*Juan sabe la lección y María también lo hace.
Juan know the lesson and María too it does
"Juan knows the lesson and María does so too.

b.*De repente Juan supo la respuesta y María también lo hizo.
Of sudden Juan knew the answer and María too it did
"Suddenly, Juan knew the answer and María did so too."

The verb being in the preterit is important for interpreting *saber* as denoting a change of state. However, as illustrated in (32b), it still cannot serve as the antecedent of *hacerlo*. If the effect of the preterit were a semantic operation that takes place post-syntactically, then, its effect would take place too late for *hacer* to select for AspP in the syntax.

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configurations. In this sense, conceptual meaning is comparable to lexical meaning in determining available structural configurations for a particular root. A difference in conceptual meaning can lead to different syntactic configurations.

[14] This is not limited to Spanish. De Swart (1998: 359) provides a parallel example in English: "Suddenly, I knew the answer."

De Swart (1998) also suggests that stative predicates that appear in the progressive have been coerced into eventives (see also Fábregas 2022 and references therein) prior to the progressive operator applying. Two examples of grammatical statives in the progressive from De Miguel (1999) are offered in (33a) and (34a). I've added (33b) and (34b) with *hacerlo* which take (33a) and (34a) as antecedents respectively.

(33) a. Últimamente estoy teniendo suerte en todo.
      Lately   I.am having luck in all
      "Lately, I'm having luck in everything"

    b. *Y   María también lo está haciendo.
       And María too   it is   doing
      "And María is doing so too."

(34) a. Estoy sabiendo cada vez más cosas sobre ese amigo tuyo tan misterioso.
      I.am   knowing each time more things about that friend yours so mysterious
      "I am knowing more and more things about that such a mysterious friend of yours."

    b. *Y   Dani también lo está haciendo.[15]
      And Dani too   it is   doing
      "And Dani is doing so too."

Note that these progressives contrast quite clearly with eventive verbal predicates in the progressive, as illustrated in (35).

(35) a. Estoy leyendo un libro muy bueno.
      I.am reading a   book very good
      "I'm reading a very good book."

    b. Y   Pablo también lo está haciendo.
      And Pablo too   it is   doing
      "And Pablo is doing so too."

The main goal of this section is to illustrate how the conclusions from *hacerlo* from above can serve as a means of leveraging a better understanding of the locus of coercion within a Chomskian (1995, 2001) architecture. Since coercion is not the main focus of this work and there is more to be said about it, I must leave further discussion for future research.[16] Nevertheless, upon initial inspection, it appears that many cases of aspectual

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[15] An anonymous reviewer remarks that for them (34b) "sounds better", presumably compared to the *saber* examples above in (32) which are not in the progressive. A possibility here is that *saber* "to know" is reinterpreted as something closer to *aprender* "learn" or *descubrir* "discover". If there is a difference in lexical/conceptual meaning, an accompanying change in aspectual properties is not necessarily surprising. See the discussion of examples (30) and (31) and footnote 13.

[16] Other cases to test are "Events ... coerced into states by ... an iterative ... or a habitual reading..." De Swarts (1998:359) and instances where there is a shift between eventive and stative as a function of the presence vs.

shifts from stative to eventive are amenable to a post-syntactic coercion analysis. Importantly, if *hacer*'s selectional requirements were semantic, in contrast to the conclusions above, we would expect *hacerlo* to be ungrammatical in all instances of coercion, which is not the case. An alternative, as argued here, is that selection by *hacer* in *hacerlo* is syntactic in nature. It selects for an aspectual functional category that projects in eventive verbal predicates, but not in stative verbal predicates.

3. Interfixes

In this section, I discuss interfixes in Spanish that appear between the verbal root and the verb's thematic vowel.[17] My focus is on their aspectual contribution. I argue that they head AspP, and provide further support for this aspectual functional projection. As Di Tullio (1997) and Fábregas (2022, 2024) observe, several of these interfixes turn a telic predicate into an atelic predicate. Fábregas (2022: 35) provides the pairs in (36), indicating that the base form is telic and the interfixed form is atelic.[18]

(36) a. lavar los platos   Telic
         wash the dishes

      b. lav**ot**ear los platos   Atelic
         wash.at the dishes

Linguistic tests for (a)telicity confirm this, as illustrated by the examples in (37) from Fábregas (2024:190), and the examples I provide in (38). What we see is that an *in* adverbial is grammatical with the uninterfixed base verb, but ungrammatical with the interfixed verb.

(37) a. Juan comió un sandwich (en diez minutos).
         Juan ate   a   sandwich (in ten minutes)
         "John are the sandwich in ten minutes."

      b. Juan com**isqu**eó un bocadillo (#en diez minutos).
         Juan ate.at   a   sandwich (in ten minutes).
         "Juan ate at the sandwich (in ten minutes)."

---

absence, respectively, of an external argument agent/causer. See, for instance, (Dowty 1979, Rothmayr 2009, Fábregas 2022).
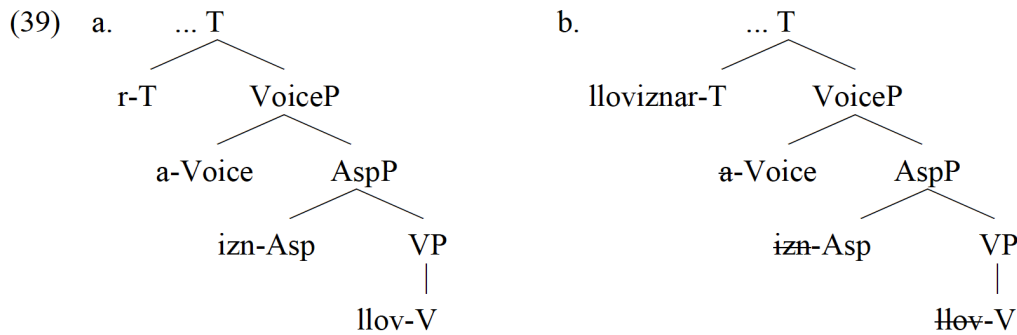
[17] The relation between the uninterfixed base verb and the interfixed verb is derivational in nature. As discussed in this section, there are differences in meaning between the two. There are also instances where the selectional properties differ between the two, for instance, Di Tullio (1997:52) observes the following contrast: *Patricia pintó un cuadro* "Patricia painted a picture." vs. *Patricia pint**arraj**eó un cuadro.* Finally, in some instances the base for the interfix appears not to be a verb, but a noun, as in *ala* "wing" and *aletear* "flap wings"; or *palo* "stick" and *palotear* "hit with a stick", and thus, there is a category change. See footnote 31.

[18] Glosses and translations have been modified throughout for consistency, and are based on the definitions provided for these verbs in Moliner (1998), which have been listed in the appendix.

(38) a. Dani fregó   los sartenes en 10 minutos.
          Dani scrubbed the pans   in 10 minutes
          "Dani scrubbed the pan in 5 minutes."

      b. Dani freg**ot**eó   los sartenes #en 10 minutos.
          Dani scrubbed.at the pans   in 10 minutes
          "Dani scrubbed at the pan in 5 minutes."

As the data above illustrate, the interfix interacts with the (a)telicity of the verbal predicate. In these cases where the base verbal predicate is telic, the result of interfixation is an atelic verbal predicate.[19] To account for this, I propose that these interfixes (and the ones discussed in more detail below in this section) head AspP. In this structural position, they are syntactically situated to be able to interact with the aspectual properties of the predicate. I discuss further aspectual effects below, which I argue can be characterized in scalar terms, in line with scalar approaches to eventive verbal predicates (see Hay et al. 1999, Kennedy & Levin 2008, Beavers 2011, 2013, among others). Before entering into that discussion, however, I provide a morphological argument that, indeed, these interfixes do head AspP.

I assume a recent proposal by Fábregas (2017), which builds on Solà (1994) in which theme vowels are treated as light verbs. Adopting this idea, the morphosyntactic break down of a verb like *lloviznar*, would look like (39a). Assuming the *Mirror Principle* (Baker 1985, Harley 2013), and after head movement, we would straightforwardly derive the final form of the verb, illustrated in (39b).

(39) a.   ... T   b.   ... T
          r-T   VoiceP   lloviznar-T   VoiceP
      a-Voice   AspP   a̶-Voice   AspP
          izn-Asp   VP   i̶z̶n̶-Asp   VP
                  llov-V   l̶l̶o̶v̶-V

I contend that these interfixes provide both morphological and semantic support for AspP (see also Travis 1991, 2010 on Tagalog and Malagasy), a strategy that is typically employed in the justification of functional categories (see for instance, Stroik 2001, Kitahara 1997).

In the context of the overall goals of the present paper, moreover, they provide support for the presence of AspP being syntactically associated with eventive verbal predicates in the following way: the output of this interfixation process is never a stative verbal predicate (Di Tullio 1997, Fábregas 2024). This follows directly from the main claims of the present approach.

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[19] Di Tullio (1997: 52, fn 15) also notes that *gim**ot**ear* "whine", related to *gemir* "moan" cannot be the complement of *terminar de* "finish", which is only compatible with telic predicates: **Magdalena terminó de gimotear...* "Magdalena finished whining...."

3.1. Scalar approach to eventive verbal predicates

Following Hay et al. (1999), Kennedy & Levin (2008), Beavers (2011, 2013), I assume that eventive verbal predicates can be analyzed in terms of a model of change along a scale. Consider the sentences in (40).

(40) a. John ate (the) sandwiches.
     b. John walked (to the store).
     c. John scrubbed the sink (clean).

"On a scalar analysis, each predicate in [40] encodes a three-way relation between an event, a theme, and a scale, and differ only in what the scale is. For change-of state the scale is a property scale, for motion it is a directed path, and for creation/consumption it is the physical extent of the theme." Beavers (2013:685. See also Hay et al. 1999). Thus, for instance, in (40b), the event progresses as a function of the degree along the directed path that John advances on, such that the event of walking begins when John is at the beginning of the path and ends when he is at the end of the path.[20]

Most relevant for the present work is that most scalar approaches assume that closed, or bounded, scales are associated with telicity, while open, or unbounded, scales are associated with atelicity (Hay et. al. 1999, Beavers 2013).[21] Consider the motion event in (41). When there is no final bound to the path, as in (41a), the predicate is atelic. When there is a bounded path, as in (41b), the predicate is telic.

(41) a. John walked   #in an hour/for an hour.
     b. John walked into the store   in an hour/#for an hour.

I schematically illustrate a (un)bounded scale in (42). [i°] represents a minimal initial degree of change along a scale and [f°] represents the final maximal degree of change along that scale.[22] (42a) represents an unbounded scale, while (42b) represents a bounded scale.

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[20] "...a scale is analyzed as a direct path leading from a source state to a final state through all successive states in between." Beavers (2013:686). And what Beavers (2013: 686) refers to as *a Movement Relation*, where *s* is the scale and *e* the event: "each part of *e* corresponds to a part of *s* and vice versa, temporal adjacency in *e* corresponds to spatial/scalar adjacency in *s*, and the initial and final points in *e* are mapped uniquely to the initial and final points in *s* respectively."

[21] "...telicity follows from the overt boundedness of the scale, which determines the bound on the event." (Beavers 2013: 687).

[22] Following Kenney (1997), Hay et al. (1999: 4) I assume that degrees represent "abstract representations of measurement." Moreover, as mentioned in Section 2, I claim that the presence of AspP syntactically defines an eventive predicate, represented as AspP[i°], where [i°] is a notation that entails a minimum amount of change along the scale introduced by the verb. A more formal way to think of it might be as in Hay et al.'s (1999) notion of INCREASE--in the context of a discussion of so-called degree achievements like *widen*--, which is a function they "...assume to be contributed by the verb-forming –en/∅ morpheme, which takes a gradable adjective meaning ϕ and returns a description of an event of some object undergoing a change in the degree to which it is ϕ ." The scale is determined by the lexical properties of the predicate, and what makes a predicate a verbal eventive predicate is that some minimal amount of change along the scale must take place.

(42) a. i°.................   = unbounded scale; no final maximal degree

    b. i°................ f°   = bounded scale; has final maximal degree

In what follows, what is important for the present approach to the aspectual relation between an interfixed verb and its uninterfixed base verb is the presence vs. absence of a bounded scale. As we will see, in some cases, like the ones discussed by Di Tullio (1997) and Fábregas (2022, 2024), the uninterfixed base verb can be understood to introduce a bounded scale. In others, there is no bounded scale introduced. Moreover, an explanation of the role of interfixes in scalar terms is dependent on the following assumption. Both the base verb and the interfixed verb share the same scale (i.e., dimension). For instance, for the two pairs *comer/comisquear* and *fregar/freg**ot**ear* the scalar dimensions are, respectively, a scale of physical extent and a property scale of cleanliness.[23] This is illustrated schematically in (43).

(43) a. comer (*eat*)   b.   fregar (*scrub*)

    i°.............. f°   i°............... f°

    comsiquear (*eat at*)   fregotear (*scrub at*)

The interfix in both cases contributes a meaning such that the event takes place at a lower degree than the base verb along the same scale. A consequence is that the final maximal degree on the scale is not reached. Since the final maximal degree on the scale is not reached, the result is an atelic verbal predicate. This derives the atelicizing effect of the interfixes discussed above.

Consider another set of pairs of uninterfixed and interfixed verbs in (44) and (45) below. The relation in meaning between them is parallel to the relation in meaning between the pairs discussed in (43), where the event denoted by the interfixed verb takes place at a lower degree than the event denoted by the uninterfixed base verb.[24,25]
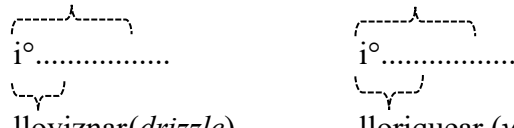
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[23] The uninterfixed base verb and the interfixed verb share the scale and dimension, dimension defined as "the aspect according to which objects in a set are ordered" (Kennedy 1997:24). "Dimension corresponds to a property that permits grading, i.e. temperature, monetary cost, physical size, social grace, skill at manipulating people, etc. that can be used as a basis for imposing an ordering relation on a set of objects...they determine the actual ordering of the objects in a ... domain." (Kennedy 1997:24).

[24] As De Miguel (1999) discusses, several interfixed verbs illustrate "decreased intensity" of the event as compared to the uninterfixed base verbs. She makes several observations of this type, but she explicitly states that she does not approach them in scalar terms. Fábregas (2022) characterizes the event in (44) as happening "in an irregular, diminished way".
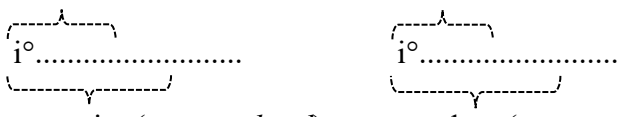
[25] Fábregas (2024: 183) states that "the subject of interfixed verbs must always be interpreted as an animate agent (DiTullio, 1997)." The examples in (44) raise a question about the necessity of an animate agent with all interfixed verbs. Nevertheless, what Fábregas (2024) does show is that for any interfixed verb that requires a subject, that subject must be animate. This is the case even if the corresponding uninterfixed base verb allows for inanimate subjects.

(44) a. Llovió anoche   durante 10 minutos.
rained last.night during   10 minutes
"It rained last night for 10 minutes."

b. Llov**izn**ó anoche   durante 10 minutos.
drizzled   last.night during   10 minutes
"It drizzled last night for 10 minutes."

(45) a. El   niño lloró toda la noche.
The child cried all   the night
"The child cried the whole night."

b. El   niño llor**iqu**eó   toda la noche.
The child whimpered all   the night
"The child whimpered the whole night."

There is an important aspectual difference between the pairs in (44) and (45) and the pairs in (43): the scales underlying the uninterfixed base verbs in (44) and (45) do not contain a final maximal degree - they are unbounded and atelic, as illustrated in (44a) and (45a). Thus, the addition of the interfix does not affect (a)telicity and the resulting interfixed verb is also atelic. Yet, we can represent the same contribution by the interfix, illustrated schematically in (46), in which the same scales are shared between the base and interfixed verbs. In (46a) the dimension is one of volume of water over a specific period of time and in (46b), we can think of the scalar dimension as the property of emotional affectedness.

(46) a. llover (*rain*)   b. llorar (*cry*)

i°................   i°.................

lloviznar(*drizzle*)   lloriquear (*whimper*)

There also appear to be interfixes which result in a verb denoting an event to a greater degree than the base verb. Some examples are provided in (47) and (48), with a schematic representation of the shared scales in (49).

(47) a. Dani me apretó   la mano.
Dani me squeezed the hand
"Dani squeezed my hand"

b. Dani me apret**uj**ó   la mano
Dani me squeeze.hard the hand
"Dani squeezed my hand hard."

(48) a. El   niño pateó   el suelo.
The child stomped.on the floor
"The child stomped on the floor."

b. El   niño pat**al**eó   el suelo.
The child stomped.on.energetically the floor
"The child energetically stomped on the floor."

(49) a. apretar (*squeeze*)   b.   patear (*stomp on*)

i°.........................   i°........................

apretujar (*squeeze hard*)   patalear (*stomp on energetically*)

Importantly, the scale in each case lacks a final maximal degree, i.e., the scales are unbounded, thus, they are atelic. The addition of the interfix does not affect the (a)telicity in these cases. There are also instances parallel to those in (47-49), in which the interfix indicates that the event took place to a greater degree along the scale than the base verb,

but in which the scale has a final maximal degree. These are cases observed by Portolés (1999) which he calls frequentative, some pairs of which are illustrated in (50) and (51).[26,27] See also Fábregas (2024:185-186) for more cases like these.

(50) a. Dani pisó   el libro.   b. Dani pis**ot**eó   el libro.
      Dani stepped.on the book   Dani stepped.on.repetedly the book
      "Dani stepped on the book."   Dani repeatedly stepped on the book."

(51) a. Fran mordió el pan.   b. Fran mord**isqu**eó el pan
      Fran bit   the bread   Fran bit.repeatedly the bread
      "Fran took a bit of the bread."   "Fran nibbled on the bread."

The base verbs in these instances seem to be semelfactives.[28] The addition of the interfixes gives rise to an iterated event (and atelic verbal predicate). Consider the schematic representations in (52).

(52) a. pisar (*step on*)   b. morder (*bite*)

    i°.f° . i°. f° . i°. f° ...   i°. f° . i°. f° . i°. f° ...

    pisotear (*step on repeatedly*)   mordisquear   (*bite repeatedly*)

I conclude from this discussion that interfixes interact with the (a)telicity of the verbal predicate. More specifically, they appear to interact with the scalar properties introduced by the uninterfixed base verbs, resulting in an event that takes place either to a greater degree or to a lower degree along the same scale as the uninterfixed base verb.[29] A variety of interpretations can be captured in terms of whether the scale is bounded or unbounded.

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[26] Consider another pair in which the interfix appears to indicate that the event has taken place to a greater degree: *churrar* "toast" and *churr**usc**ar* "to burn". Several speakers agree that an *in* adverbial with *churr**usc**ar* is grammatical, indicating that it is a telic predicate. However, none of these speakers have the uninterfixed base verb as part of their lexicon. This is not an entirely surprising situation, since the interfixation process is derivational. See footnote 17.

[27] It is important to note that some authors tie the iterative interpretation of some of these interfixed verbs to the theme vowel -*ea*, since on an iterative interpretation, many of the interfixed verbs have that theme vowel. As Di Tullio (1997: 51, f. 12) notes, however, the presence of this theme vowel does not always give rise to an iterative interpretation. She provides the example *pint**arra**jear*: *Dibujar o pintar de cualquier manera sobre una cosa*. "Draw or paint on something in any manner". Other examples might be *corr**et**ear, jug**uet**ear, bail**ot**ear* and *cant**urr**ear*. See footnote 31.

[28] To the extent that a semelfactive verb can be considered an achievement, it appears that interfixes can appear with achievements, pace Di Tullio (1997:52) and Fábregas (2024: 190). On the iterative interpretations of *pis**ot**ear, mord**isqu**ear*, *toq**uet**ear* "touch repeatedly" *golp**et**ear* "hit repeatedly", and *tir**ot**ear* "to shoot repeatedly", what is iterated in each case seems to be a punctual event.

[29] Several authors such as Di Tullio (1997), Fábregas (2024), and references therein, make note of several ways in which these interfixes are similar to appreciative suffixes, including their formal similarity. One can see how an augmentative combining with a verb might give rise to the event taking place to a greater degree and how a diminutive combining with a verb might give rise to the event taking place to a lower degree. The pejorative connotation present with some appreciatives also seems present with some interfixed verbs in the sense that the event denoted by the interfixed verb is carried out in a manner that departs from what is considered prototypical, as noted by Di Tullio (1997: 49-50).

Moreover, morphologically, as discussed above, these interfixes lend themselves to being analyzed as heading AspP.[30] Thus, I conclude that they provide both semantic and morphological evidence for a functional category associated with inner aspect.[31]

4. Scales and a maximalization operator

In this section, I discuss the aspectual contribution of goal PPs likes those from (41b) above--an additional example is provided in (53c)--aspectual particles like those in (53b) and (54b), and so-called Spanish aspectual *se* (Asp-se) illustrated in (55). (See Nishida 1994, Zagona 1994, Basilico 2010, Armstrong 2013, MacDonald 2017 for discussion of aspectual *se*).

(53) a. Jay ate the apple   in 10 minutes/?for 10 minutes.
       b. Jay ate the apple up   in 10 minutes/#for 10 minutes.
       c. Jay ate the apple to the core   in 10 minutes/#for 10 minutes.

(54) a. Pat drank the beer   in 10 minutes/?for 10 minutes.
       b. Pat drank the beer down   in 10 minutes/#for 10 minutes.

(55) a. Juan tomó una cerveza en 10 minutos/ ?durante 10 minutos
       Juan had   a   beer   in 10 minutes/ ?for   10 minutes
       "Juan had a beer for 10 minutes."

       b. 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"

As (53b,c), (54b), and (55b) show, and as has been observed in the past, goal PPs, aspectual particles, and aspectual *se* ensure that the predicates are telic. I propose that what each of these elements introduce that contributes to the telicity of the verbal predicate is a final maximal degree (i.e., [f°]) on the scale introduced by the verb, giving rise to a bounded scale. Moreover, I would like to claim that in order for the final maximal degree on the scale to be able to contribute to aspectual interpretation, the element introducing it must

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[30] One potential problem for the present account are instances where there seem to be two interfixes on the same verb, as in *chup-**err**-**et**-ear* "lick repeatedly" from *chupar* "to lick". There is also *chup**et**ear* "lick repeatedly" which has one interfix. Fábregas (2024: 188) lists two other examples.
[31] I leave aside pairs like *correr/corr**et**ear,* "run/run around", *jugar/jug**uet**ear* "play/play around" and *bailar/bail**ot**ear* "dance/dance around". They may be amenable to an analysis along the lines of Tenny's (1994) "performance" verbs conceptualized as a path through which the object is performed. In these instances, one might say that the interfix removes the specific goal state of motion through the object. In this vein, Di Tullio (1997: 52) observes that while the uninterfixed base verb *correr* admits *hasta* indicating the goal of motion, the interfixed version does not: **Victoria correteó hasta la estación.* "Vitoria ran around to the station." A related observation is that uninterfixed *correr* can take a measure of distance as a complement, while interfixed *corretear* cannot: *Corrió un marathon.*"(S)he ran a marathon.", but **Correteó un maratón*. Another interesting example is *cantar/cant**urr**ear*, "sing/sing softly", which expresses that the singing was carried out at a lower volume, yet, it does not appear to interact with the (a)telicity of the base verb. In this case, the scalar dimension of volume does not track the progression through the event. This is not necessarily surprising. As Kennedy & McNally (2005) observe, a single adjective, for instance, can be interpreted with respect to more than one scale.

merge syntactically in a position lower than AspP. This idea is in line with MacDonald (2008), who has shown that several distinct constituents above AspP do not contribute to telicity, while several elements below AspP can. Goal PPs are standardly thought to merge low in the verb phrase, as well as verbal particles (see Den Dikken 1995 for particles). See MacDonald (2017 and references therein) for arguments that aspectual *se* is also merged low within the verb phrase. Nevertheless, a question arises as to why a constituent must merge below AspP to be able to contribute to the (a)telicity of the verb phrase. I contend here that this generalization results from the presence of an aspectual operator in Spec,AspP. The final maximal degree (i.e., $[f°]$) must be within the scope of this operator; the operator must c-command it. Following Filip & Rothstein (2005) and Filip (2008), I suggest that the relevant operator is a maximalization operator (OP_{Mx}). Kardos & Farkas (2022) argue that this maximalization operator sits in Spec,AspP as well. Filip & Rothstein (2005) define this operator as in (56).

(56)   *The maximalization operator MAX_E is 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.*

By providing an explicit final maximal degree for a scale, goal PPs, aspectual particles, and aspectual *se* contribute to the ordering criterion for objects on that scale.[32,33]

If goal PPs, aspectual particles, and aspectual *se* must be in the scope OP_{Mx} to be able induce telicity, and OP_{Mx} is located in Spec,AspP, a straightforward prediction arises from the syntactic claims in the present work, namely, that AspP only appears in eventive predicates, not in stative predicates: goal PPs, aspectual particles, and aspectual *se* will not result in a telic verbal predicate when merging with statives, since statives lack AspP, and as a consequence they lack OP_{Mx}. As illustrated in (57) to (59), this prediction appears to hold. Data in (59) from MacDonald (2017).

(57)   a.   John is into folk music now.
       b.   John is into the cookies again.
       c.   John owes $100 to his poker-playing buddies.
       d.   John loves/hates that game to the core.

(58)   a.   John doesn't feel up to it right now.
       b.   John is out of it this morning.
       c.   John is out of town for a while.
       d.   John wants out of the program.
       e.   John is down with it.

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[32] One way to approach the contribution of these telicity inducing elements is by treating them as providing an explicit bound to a difference value, since, on scalar approaches, a bounded difference value gives rise to a telic verbal predicate while an unbounded difference value results in an atelic verbal predicate, as argued for degree achievements in Hay et al. (1999).

[33] "We understand 'scale of objects' in the wide of sense: namely, comprising concrete objects like the ordered parts of a single bread stick and also abstract objects like measuring scales based on extensive measure functions such as HOUR." Filip & Rothstein (2005:4)

(59) a. Juan se   sabe la lección desde el martes.
      Juan Asp-se knows the lesson since the Tuesday.
      'Juan has known the lesson since Tuesday.'

     b. Juan se   conoce muy bien a   María desde hace años.
       Juan Asp-se knows   very well DOM María since make years.
       'Juan has known María very well for years now.'

     c. Juan se   cree   la historia desde hace una semana.
       Juan Asp-se believes the story   since makes a   week
       'Juan has believed the story for a week.'

If OP_{Mx} is limited to Spec,AspP, and AspP is only present in eventive verbal predicates, then we can make sense of the inability of goal PPs, aspectual particles and aspectual *se* to induce a telic verbal predicate in statives, since they lack Asp, and therefore the final maximal degree introduced by these otherwise telicity inducing elements, falls outside the scope of the maximalization operator.

Consider a parallel set of patterns from so-called extent verbs (García-Pardo 2020, Gibert-Sotelo & Marín 2024), two examples of which are illustrated in (60) from Gibert-Sotelo & Marín 2024:15).

(60)a. Una valla muy alta rodea   la casa.
        a   fence very high surrounds the house.
        "A very high fence surrounds the house."

     b. Los manifestantes rodearon   el edificio (en muy poco tiempo).
       the protesters   surrounded the building in very little time
       "The protesters surrounded the building (in a very short time)."

As noted in the literature, these verbs can behave as stative predicates (as in 60a), or as eventive predicates (as in 60b). This change in aspectual behavior is tracked by the (in)animacy of the external argument. In (60a), the external argument is animate, and the predicate is eventive. In (60b), the external argument is inanimate, and the predicate is stative. Gibert-Sotelo & Marín (2024) argue extensively that a target state is denoted on both interpretations. The central difference between them is that when eventive, there is an additional change of state which is lacking when stative. They conclude that, syntactically, on the eventive interpretation, there is more structure than on the stative interpretation.[34] Framing this contrast in the syntactic terms of the present work, I assume that when eventive, AspP projects, and when stative, AspP does not project.

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[34] Gibert-Sotelo & Marín (2024) offer an approach couched within Ramchand's (2008, 2018) syntax, with some modifications. For instance, they claim that ProcP introduces a neo-Davidsonian event argument, not a DP. Their central syntactic proposal for extent verbs is that when eventive, IntP and ProcP are projected, which is responsible for the eventive interpretation. When these verbs are stative, IntP and ProcP are not projected.

An interesting observation about these extent verbs is that whether stative or eventive, they can take bounded path prepositional expressions, as illustrated in (61), from Gibert-Sotelo & Marín (2024: 16)

(61)a. Cinco hombres rodearon   la   casa desde el   jardín hasta los costados.
        five   men   surrounded the house from the garden to   the borders
        "Five men surrounded the house from the garden to the borders."

      b. La senda rodea   el   pueblo desde la iglesia   hasta el   puente romano.
        the path surrounds the town   from the church to   the bridge Roman
        "The path surrounds the town from the church to the Roman bridge."

Just like we saw above for the goal PPs, particles and aspectual *se*, the presence of this bounded path expression does not induce telicity with the stative predicate in (61b). If there is no AspP, there is no OP$_{Mx}$ and the bounded path expression cannot induce telicity.

5. Conclusion

The main goal of this paper has been to provide arguments that the eventive-stative distinction is syntactic in nature: eventive verbal predicates project AspP and stative verbal predicates do not. AspP, on this proposal, is an aspectual functional projection that serves as input to the semantics. Its syntactic presence entails that some amount of change along a scale (introduced by the verb) has taken place. I have discussed two phenomena from Spanish: *hacerlo* "do so" substitution and interfixes. I have proposed that *hacer* in *hacerlo* is a light verb that syntactically selects AspP, thus, *hacerlo* can only take eventive antecedents, not stative ones. I have proposed that the interfixes head AspP. As I illustrated, they interact with the scalar properties of the predicate and can affect the (a)telicity of the base verb. Moreover, the output of the interfixation process is never a stative predicate, only an eventive one. Taken together then, I conclude that both the *hacerlo* and the interfixation patterns provide syntactic, morphological and semantic justification for a functional category related to inner aspect: AspP.

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Appendix: Interfixed verbs defined.

The definitions (in italics) come from Moliner (1998). The translations (in quotations) of the definitions are the authors. If an interfixed verb has a more than one form the second is found below the first in parentheses. If multiple definitions appear for a single interfixed verb, the one closest to the intended use in the present paper appears below.

apretujar:
: *Apretar algo arrugándolo o estropeándolo*
"Squeeze something wrinkling it or damaging it"

bailotear:
: *Bailar de cualquier manera, con poca atención*
"Dance in any fashion, with little attention"

canturrear:
: *Cantar con poca voz y descuidadamente*
"Sing softly and uncarefully"

chupetear
(also chuperretear)
: *Chupar algo con insistencia*
"Suck something insistently"

churruscar
: *Socarrar el pan o una comida puesta al fuego*
"Burn bread or food on the stove superficially"

comisquear
(also comiscar)
: *Comer de cuando en cuando muy pequeñas cantidades de cualquier comida*
"Eat very small amounts from any food ocassionally"

corretear
: *Ir corriendo de un lado para otro, como hacen los niños*
"Go running from one side to another, like children do"

fregotear
: *Fregar algo de prisa y a la ligera*
"Scrub something quickly and carelessly"

gimotear
: *Forma despectiva de gemir: hacerlo sin causa o de una manera ridícula*
"Moan in a derogatory way, doing so without cause or in a ridiculous way"

golpetear
: *Dar golpes poco violentos seguidos*
"Hit consecutively in a non-violent way"

juguetear
: *Hacer una cosa determinada o cualquier cosa por entretenerse, sin poner interés o seriedad en ella*

"Do a specific thing or anything to occupy oneself, without putting interest or seriousness into it"

lavotear	*Lavar a la ligera a alguien o con mucho movimiento o ruido* "Wash someone carelessly or with a lot of movement or noise"
lloriquear	*Llorar débilmente, como sin ganas y con un lloro monótono.* "Cry weakly, as if without desire and with a monotone cry"
lloviznar	*Caer llovizna* (llovizna = *lluvia muy menuda y poco violenta*) "Drizzle comes down" (Drizzle = very petite and light rain)
mordisquear	*Morder algo repetidamente y con poca fuerza* "Bite something repeatedly and with little force"
patalear	*Dar golpes con los pies en el suelo por enfadado* "Hit the floor with one's feet out of anger"
pintarrajear	*Dibujar o pintar de cualquier manera sobre una cosa.* "Draw or paint on something in any manner"
pisotear	*Pisar algo violenta y repetidamente, con lo que se lo destroza o estropea* "Step on something violently and repeatedly, destroying or damaging it"
tirotear	*Disparar tiros contra algo o alguien; por ejemplo contra una posición o contras fuerzas enemigas* "Take shots at something or someone; for example at a position or at enemy forces"
toquetear	*Tocar una cosa reiteradamente y con pesadez* "Touch something iteratively and heavily"