Pseudo-copular verbs as the origin of the IL/SL distinction in Spanish

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Background. The I(individual)L(evel) / S(tage)L(evel) dichotomy (Carlson 1977) has received a great deal of attention regarding the Spanish double copula system (*ser* / *estar*, 'to be') in synchronic studies (see Fábregas 2012 for an overview of the large literature about this matter). In comparison, change of state pseudo-copular verbs (*hacer(se), volver(se), dejar/quedar, poner(se)*, etc., 'to become'), which are often said to merely reproduce the IL / SL distinction found in true copulas, are much less studied (Porroche 1990, Demonte & Masullo 1999, Marín 2000, 2004; Morimoto & Pavón-Lucero 2007, García-Pardo 2021). From a diachronic perspective, the grammaticalization process undergone by *estar* is enough, though not extensively, documented (Bouzet 1953, Pountain 1985, Ranchhod 1989, Vallcorba 1996, Mateu 2009, Batllori & Roca 2011, Marco & Marín 2015), while the evolution of pseudo-copulas is yet to be explored.

Proposal. This study reveals data showing that the IL / SL distinction started out with change of state pseudo-copular verbs (12th-13th centuries) and spread later to copulas, once *estar* had advanced in its –slower– grammaticalization process (15th-16th centuries). The IL / SL distinction developed in the same way, but at different times, for pseudo-copulas and copulas. In both cases, the key is the grammaticalization of locative verbs that specialize in SL-predicates when they become (pseudo-)copulas, thus forcing the other existing (pseudo-)copulas to specialize in IL predicates. Crucially, change of state pseudo-copulas evolved sooner and faster, creating a model for copulas to adhere to.

The data. The establishment of the IL / SL distinction followed the same path with both pseudo-copulas and copulas, but at different times. First there is a (pseudo-)copula that combines with all adjectives, IL and SL. These were the pseudo-copulas *hacer(se)* and *tornar(se)* (1-2), heirs of latin *facio / fio* and *uerto*, respectively, and the copula *ser* (3):

(1) a. Dixo la mugier: "Quien **te fyzo rey**?" (*Fazienda*, c.1200)
      'The woman said: "Who made you king?"'
    b. Amola tanto troa que**s fizo enfermo por ella** (*Fazienda*, c.1200)
      'He loved her so much he got sick for her'

(2) a. Muchos con grant cobdiçia **tórnanse usureros** (*Aleixandre*, c.1240-1250)
      'Many people become loan sharks out of greed'
    b. Dexen estar la carne tanto en el vino fasta que **se torne blanca** (*Moamín*, c.1250)
      'Leave the meat soaking in wine until it gets white'

(3) a. Longinos **era ciego**, que nuncuas vio alguandre (*Cid*, c.1140)
      'Longinos was blind, he never saw anything'
    b. Pensaron de folgar ca **eran muy cansados** (*Alexandre*, c.1240-1250)
      'They thought they should rest because they were very tired'

The specialisation process takes place when a locative verb grammaticalizes and turns into a (pseudo-)copula, combining with SL predicates thanks to the abstract or metaphorical "locative" meaning these have (see Bouzet 1953; Pountain 1985; Marco & Marín 2015 for *estar*). In doing so, it displaces the other (pseudo-)copulas and forces them to specialise in IL predicates. In the case of pseudo-copulas, this happened first with causative *dejar* ('to leave, abandon') and its middle suppletive counterparts, *fincar, remanir* and *quedar* ('to remain'). These pseudo-copulas are Romance creations and they have never combined with IL predicates. As full locative verbs, they took an optional secondary predicate (A/N/SP) (4) that was reinterpreted as an obligatory result complement along the lines described in (5). This grammaticalization is already complete in the 13th century (although *quedar* did not replace *remanir* and *fincar* until the 15th century) (6).

(4)   **Por muertas las dexaron**, sabed, que non por bivas. (*Cid*, c.1140)
      'They left them thinking they were dead'
(5)   a. He *deja* ('leaves') the soldier in the battlefield blind > He *deja* the soldier blind > 'He causes the soldier to be blind' (causative pseudo-copula)

b. The soldier *queda* ('remains') in the battlefield blind > the soldier *queda* blind >
  'The soldier becomes blind' (middle pseudo-copula)

(6) a. [los siervos] que **auiedes dexado libres** & que fuessen en so poder. (*GE*4, 1280)
     'The servants that you had set free and who belonged to him'
   b. el rey don Pedro… **fincara muy flaco** de la dolencia que ouiera
     'King Pedro got very thin from his illness' (*Crónica de Pedro I*, c.1400)

Hacer(se) and *tornar(se)* react to these new SL-pseudo-copulas in slightly different ways: the variants that start specializing in IL predicates are the causative one for *hacer* (creating an early contrast with *dejar*), and the middle one for *tornar(se)*. In the 14th century the IL / SL opposition of pseudo-copulas is nearly complete: very few examples of *hacer(se)* and *tornar(se)* + SL-ADJ are found in the 15th century.

In turn, *estar*'s grammaticalization took longer because it did not start out with the locative meaning it has today. *Stare* meant 'to stand', so its evolution begins with a semantic change by which it competes with the locative uses of *ser* ('to be somewhere') since the 12th century (7). It also starts competing with *ser* + participle to convey adjectival copulatives (8) and resultative passives (9), which is the crucial step that allowed it to spread to SL-adjectives (Pountain 1985, Batllori & Roca 2011, Marco & Marín 2015). Crucially, despite some scarce examples between the 13th and the 14th centuries, the doble copula system does not develop until the end of the 15th century:

(7) a. Salieron al campo **do eran los mojones** (*Cid*, c.1140)
     'They went to the countryside, where the milestones were'
   b. Vanse pora San Pero, **do está** el que en buen punto nació (*Cid*, c.1140)
     'They go to San Pedro, where he who was born in a good day was born'

(8) a. tomassen … del Jordan demientre que **estaua seco** estas doze piedras (*GE*, c.1280)
     'They took these twelve stones from the Jordan, which was dry'
   b. [este animal] paras al sol fasta que **es seco** el lodo (*GE*, c.1280)
     'This animal lies under the sun until the mud is dry'

(9) a. [Para curar la fístula] …abrir la apostema quando no **es abierta**
     'To cure the fistula, open the abscess when it is not open'(*Tratado de cirugía*, 1493)
   b. Las puertas deste lugar **estauan abiertas** (*Crónica Alfonso XI*, c.1348-1379)
     'The doors of this place were open'

According to Batllori & Roca (2011), the grammaticalization of *estar* consists of a change in its base-position within the tree: as a locative verb, it is base-generated in a low, lexical position, whereas as a copula it is base-generated in a higher, functional position (an aspectual one). An analysis in these lines will be explored for pseudo-copulas.

Conclusion. This chronology sheds new light on the development of the Spanish complex (pseudo-)copular system and highlights the role of change of state pseudo-copulas which, instead of mirroring the behavior of *ser* and *estar*, are the ones that stablish the pattern copulas reproduce.

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