A First-Phase Syntax Approach to Grammaticalization: Evidence from the Spanish Pseudo-Copula *Quedar*(*se*)[*]

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Abstract

The pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> in Spanish is used as a test field to understand how the pressures ensuing from the loss of non-syntactic semantic information can be the trigger for changes in a verb's argument structure information. Using data from corpora, we explore how the grammaticalization process of the pseudo-copula unfolded to yield an aspectual copula devoid of lexical meaning. To that end, we examine the properties of the pseudo-copula in current day Spanish and put forth a First-Phase syntax approach (Ramchand 2008) to its argument structure using her notion of *underassociation*.

Keywords: First-Phase syntax; grammaticalization; pseudo-copula; underassociation

Resum. *Un acostament a la gramaticalizació basat en la sintaxi de la primera fase: evidències del verb quasicopulatiu espanyol* quedar*(*se*)*

L'estudi del verb quasicopulatiu del castellà *quedar(se)* és útil per a entendre com les pressions derivades de la pèrdua d'informació semàntica que no es codifica sintàcticament poden desencadenar canvis en el significat de l'estructura argumental verbal. Utilitzant dades de corpus, explorem com es va desenvolupar el procés de gramaticalització d'aquest verb per a produir una còpula aspectual desproveïda de significat lèxic. Amb aquesta finalitat, examinem les propietats d'aquest verb quasicopulatiu de l'espanyol i en proposem una nova anàlisi basant-nos en la teoria de la «sintaxi de la primera fase» de l'estructura argumental proposada per Ramchand (2008) i, de manera més rellevant, en la seva noció de subassociació.

Paraules clau: sintaxi de la primera fase; gramaticalització; verb quasicopulatiu; subassociació

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1. Introduction

This paper explores the grammaticalization process of the verb *quedar* 'to remain / stay' into the pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective>. To account for its properties, we leverage Ramchand's (2008, 2014, 2018) distinction between Type A (i.e. argument structure information) and Type B meaning (i.e. non-syntactic semantic information). As argued in Ramchand (2014), the divide between Type A and Type B can be fruitfully used to contrast a verb's synchronically concurrent light and heavy versions (see Section 3). Here we expand her proposal to grammaticalization processes.

The pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> (Bull 1950; Pavón Lucero & Morimoto 2005; Van Gorp 2013, 2017; García-Pardo 2021) serves as an interesting test field to determine how the pressures developed by the loss of Type B meaning can lead to changes in the verb's Type A meaning such as the loss of subevent components or the expression of these by means of additional predicational elements, which are able to supplement the First-Phase syntax with its category features and contribute conceptual meaning to the derivation of the sequence. To do so, we resort to Ramchand's (2008) notion of *underassociation*, whereby a predicational element may be introduced as part of the spell-out of the First-Phase syntax if its category features belong to the superset of the sequence's features.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 we outline Ramchand's (2008, 2014, 2018) framework and deal with her distinction between Type A and Type B meaning in the First-Phase syntax. Section 3 is devoted to desemantization processes and how these can lead to verbal lightness. Section 4 disentangles the properties of the Spanish pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> and shows how to account for them in the First-Phase syntax of this element. In Section 5 we present data from the *Corpus del Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* (Real Academia Española 2013) to diachronically trace the changes undergone by *quedar* 'to remain / stay', which eventually led to its grammaticalization into a pseudo-copula. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the main conclusions.

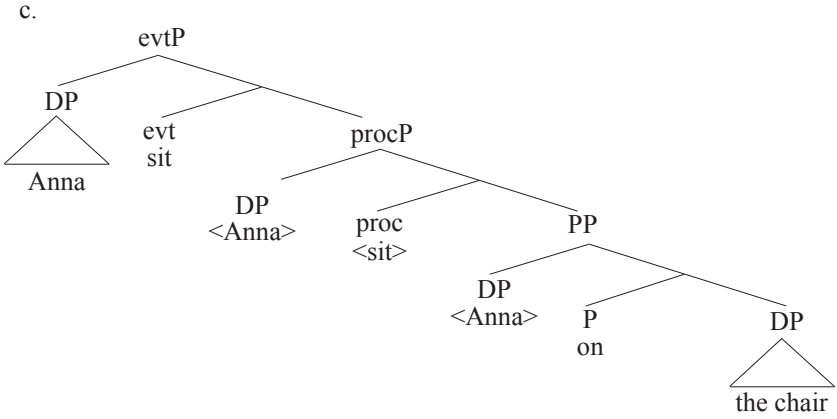## 2. Type A and Type B meaning in the First-Phase syntax

Ramchand's (2014) exploration of the role that the distinction between Type A and Type B meaning plays in grammaticalization processes is paramount to laying the foundations of our work. Type A meaning is part of the linguistic knowledge about argument structure which unfolds syntactic-semantic information in the First-Phase syntax. Among the syntactic-semantic notions considered as part of Type A meaning, Ramchand includes initiation, dinamicity, or resultativity. These meaning bundles are conceived of as category labels contained in roots, that is, *init*, *proc*, *res*, respectively. Event and argument structure are linked together in the First-Phase syntax as these category labels project and instantiate a subevent phrase corresponding to three possible subevents: the initiation subevent, the process subevent, and the result subevent. The initiation phrase (initP) introduces the causative semantics in the First-Phase syntax (Ramchand 2008). Yet, following Harley (2013), the external argument is (internally or externally) merged in the specifier position of the event phrase (evtP), a dedicated phrase introducing the subject of the predication and hierarchically higher than initP (Ramchand 2018; see Kratzer 1996; Pylkkänen 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015, among others). The process phrase (procP) licenses an undergoer argument which experiences the process, as this head bestows dynamicity to the event. Nevertheless, following Gómez Vázquez & Mateu (2022), we take this element to simply instantiate a spatio-temporal unit, or stage (cf. Carlson 1977; Kratzer 1995), assuming with Silvagni (2017) that dynamicity is orthogonal to eventivity as events may be dynamic or non-dynamic. Non-dynamic events are instantiated by verbs such as *stand*, *sit*, *lie,* among others (1) (see Silvagni 2017; Gómez Vázquez & Mateu 2022). Under this assumption, dynamicity would arise as (i) the result of combining an initiation phrase which introduces an initiator in the First-Phase syntax and a process phrase, or as (ii) the result of concatenating several subevents. The first case would be instantiated by verbs such as *eat*, *run*, etc., whose First-Phase syntax includes an initiation and process phrase (2). The second possibility would be instantiated by putting together a process and a scalar phrase such as a resP or path phrase as would be the case for verbs such as *break*, *tear*, etc. (3).[1]

(1) *Processes*

    a. Anna sits on the chair.

    b. [[sit]] = < sit,<proc>,$\lambda e \lambda e_{proc}[e=e_{proc} \wedge sit(e_{proc})]$ >

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1.   For an alternative view on how to disentangle eventivity and dynamicity, see Fábregas & Marín (2017), who explore the possibility that dynamicity may arise from the complement selected by the process head in the First-Phase syntax.
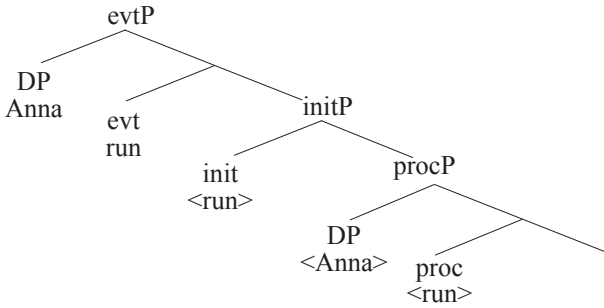
c.

```
                    evtP
             ┌───────┴────────┐
            DP            ┌───┴──────────┐
           ╱│╲           evt          procP
          ╱ │ ╲          sit      ┌─────┴────────┐
          Anna                   DP          ┌───┴──────────┐
                                <Anna>      proc          PP
                                            <sit>    ┌─────┴────────┐
                                                    DP        ┌────┴─────┐
                                                   <Anna>     P         DP
                                                              on       ╱│╲
                                                                      ╱ │ ╲
                                                                   the chair
```

(2) *Dynamic processes with initiator-undergoer subjects*

   a. Anna ran.

   b. $[[\ run\ ]] = <\ run, <init_i, proc_i>, \lambda e \lambda e_{init} \lambda e_{proc}[e=e_{init} \rightarrow [\ e_{proc} \wedge run(e_{init}) \wedge run(e_{proc})\ ]\ >$

   c.

```
                 evtP
          ┌───────┴────────┐
         DP           ┌────┴──────────┐
        Anna         evt          initP
                     run      ┌─────┴──────────┐
                             init          procP
                            <run>     ┌──────┴────────┐
                                     DP          ┌────┴─────┐
                                    <Anna>      proc
                                                <run>
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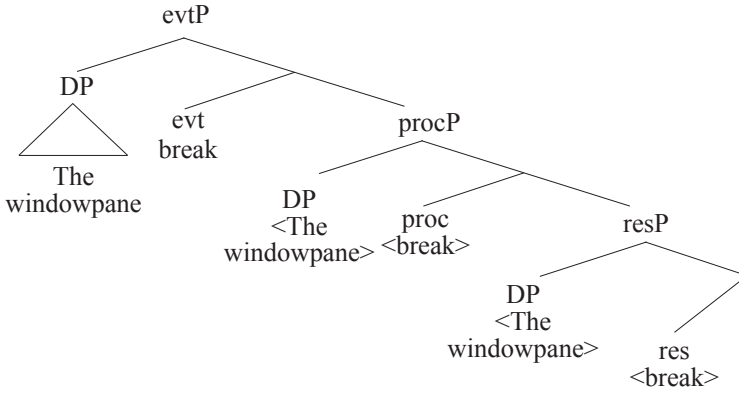
(3) *Dynamic processes with a scalar phrase*

   a. The windowpane broke.

   b. $[[\ break\ ]] = <\ break, <proc_i, res_i>, \lambda e \lambda e_{proc} \lambda e_{res}[e=e_{proc} \rightarrow [\ e_{res} \wedge break(e_{proc}) \wedge run(e_{res})\ ]\ ]>$

c.

It is important to bear in mind that the result phrase (resP) is taken to instantiate itself a spatio-temporal unit denoting the end state of an event. Thus, this phrase does not formally differ from procP, but it bears no resemblance to initP (cf. Ramchand 2008), which introduces a proper state as it does not contain a spatio-temporal unit in its denotation (cf. 3, 4).[2]

(4)   States

   a. Anna knows the answer.

   b. $[[\text{ know }]] = < \text{know},<\text{init}>,\lambda e\lambda e_{init}[e=e_{init}\wedge \text{know}(e_{init})] >$

   c.
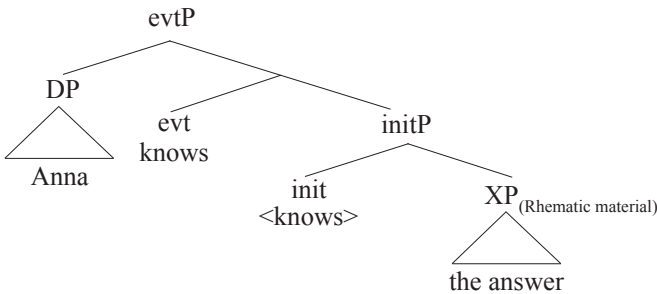
The interpretation of the heads is contingent on their merging positions, which can be formulated as the following rule (5). That is, a state subevent appearing before an event, or process head, will be interpreted as an initiation subevent. In contrast, two consecutive events will be interpreted as a process and result subevent (6).

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2.   See Jaque (2014) for yet another view on how to deal with stativity in Ramchand's (2008) framework.

(5)   IF ∃e1, e2 [State(e1) & Event(e2) & e1 →e2], then by definition Initiation (e1).

(6)   IF ∃e1, e2 [Event(e1) & Event(e2) & e2 →e1], then by definition Result (e1).

On the other hand, non-syntactic semantic meanings pertain to Type B meaning instead. These gather non-linguistic conceptual information which, despite not being relevant to syntax, has a bearing on the conceptual-intentional system. Among these, Ramchand lists notions such as manners of causation and change, location, transfer, or types of scalar change. Eventually, both Type A and B meanings are unified across modules in the derivation of the First-Phase syntax that is being wrought, where every syntactic node corresponds to one of the category labels codified in the root and is lexically realized by the root. Under Nanosyntax's premises (Caha 2019; Starke 2010), a lexical item may then realize more than one terminal node in the First-Phase syntax.

In Section 3 we turn to discuss how Type A and Type B meaning can be leveraged to explain the differences among synchronically concurrent forms of a verb.

3. Verbal lightness and desemantization processes

In Gómez Vázquez & Mateu (2022), an exploration of the synchronic copularization of Germanic posture verbs (*sit*, *stand*, *lie*) in their simple position sense into stage-level copulas was presented. The point of departure was the fact that posture verbs may behave as either copulas, and hence be devoid of lexical meaning, or as full-fledged lexical verbs contributing a manner co-event (see Talmy 2000), along with aspectual information, which results from their containing a single process phrase in their First-Phase syntax (see Section 2, and Gómez Vázquez & Mateu 2022 for further discussion). As an example, consider (7), where the Dutch posture verb *zitten* 'sit' is shown in both modalities. In (7a) the verb instantiates a manner co-event specifying the figure's posture (*Jan*) along with a stage-level unit. However, the manner information is missing in (7b), where the verb provides no information about the figure's posture (*Jan*) with respect to the localizing element (*in Frankrijk* 'in France') and, thus, simply acts as a linker between these two elements. Thus, (7b) has only a localizing meaning.

(7)   a.   Jan zit   op de bank.
            Jan sit.PRS.3SG on the sofa
            'Jan is sitting on the sofa.'

      b.   Jan zit   in Frankrijk.
            Jan sit.PRS.3SG in France
            'Jan is in France.'

(Hengeveld 1992: 238, (3,4))

To that end, Gómez Vázquez & Mateu (2022) exploited Ramchand's (2014) insights on the divide between structural and conceptual meaning in the semantics of some verbs with synchronically concurrent light and full-fledged versions in

English, Bengali, and Persian. Building on Butt & Lahiri (2013), Ramchand (2014) assumes the hypothesis that a single underlying verbal entry may have several synchronically concurrent forms (8).

(8) *Butt and Lahiri's Generalization (Butt & Lahiri 2013)*

Unlike auxiliaries which may become grammaticalized over time to have a purely functional use, light verbs always have a diachronically stable corresponding full or "heavy" version in all the languages in which they are found.

(Ramchand 2014: 217, (11))

The fact that the two versions are systematically related hints at the possibility, says Ramchand, that they differ solely in terms of how much Type A and Type B meaning they contain. Given that Type A meaning is necessary to equip the verb with a syntactic structure, Ramchand concludes that only structural meaning is co-opted into the light version of the verb. This intuition is formulated in the terms below (9).

(9) *Semantics of Structure (SoS) Conjecture on the Limits of Lightness*

The meanings of a light verb and its corresponding heavy alternant are in a subset-superset relation in their conceptual semantics, the light version being a proper subset of the heavy. Only non-syntactic or conceptual information is systematically negotiable within the "same" lexical. Item. Anything that is present in the heavy version but not in the light must therefore be a species of Type B meaning. At its most pared down, a light verb can only be as light as the structural semantics corresponding to the Type A meaning of the pair.

(Ramchand 2014: 218-219, (12))

In the case of Germanic posture verbs, the light verb form has impoverished semantics, as it does not necessarily imply a physical posture meaning (10) and admits both inanimate and abstract figures (11,12). The fact that there is no implication of physical posture in the predication is then indicative of a process of desemantization, whereby the conceptual meaning stored in the verb root is lost. This process is facilitated by the presence of a prepositional phrase acting as rheme of the process head (see Gómez Vázquez & Mateu 2022).[3] The rheme, which might have been an adjunct to the posture verb in the beginning, has been reinterpreted as a complement of the verb validating the localizing function undertaken by the copula (7, 13). This type of reanalysis is not unusual in grammaticalization processes as evidenced by Hengeveld (1992) for *stare* 'stand' in Latin and Van Gelderen (2015) for *remain* in English.

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3.   In Ramchand's framework (2008), rhemes (or rhematic objects) can take different forms (e.g., PPs, APs, DPs) and refer to entities that do not contribute to the subevent structure as they appear in complement position and, hence, work as predicational elements.

(10) a. Stand: when long axis is canonically vertical.

b. Lie: when long axis is canonically horizontal.

c. Sit: when there is no major axis, or object has a wide base in canonical position.

d. Hang: when not supported from below.

(Ameka & Levinson 2007)

(11) a. He was lying on the couch.

b. She was sitting on the sofa.

c. They were standing on the corner.

d. The clothes were hanging on the line.
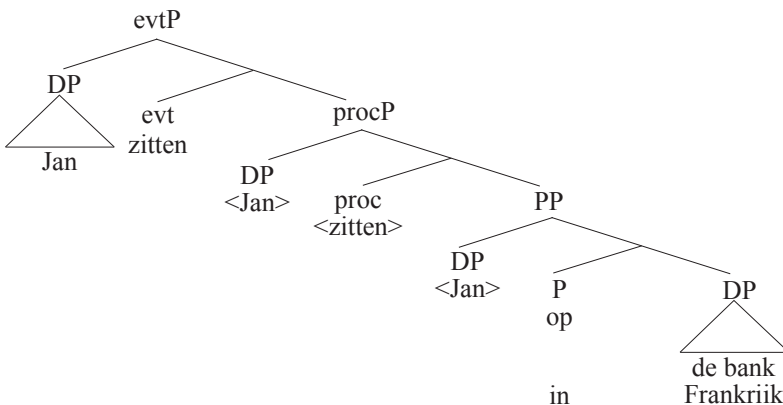
(12) a. The problem lies in the fact that S.

b. The operator is sitting in SpecCP.

c. Water keeps standing in the basin.

d. It is hanging in the balance.

(Den Dikken 2010: 49, (46))

(7) a. Jan zit op de bank.
Jan sits-3SG on the sofa
'Jan is sitting on the sofa.'

b. Jan zit in Frankrijk.
Jan sits-3SG in France
'Jan is in France.'

(Hengeveld 1992: 238, (3,4))

(13)

In Gómez Vázquez (2019), this approach was applied to account for the behavior shown by the pseudo-copulative verb *ponerse* 'become' in Spanish (15) stemming from the transitive verb *poner* 'put' (14), whose First-Phase syntax consists of initiation, process, and result phrases (see also Mateu 2017).[4]

(14) a. María los   puso   nerviosos.
      María them put.PST nervous.PL
      'María made them nervous.'

   b. *María los   puso.
      María   them put.PST

(15) a. Los invitados se   pusieron nerviosos.
      the guests   REFL put.PST   nervous.PL
      'The guests got nervous.'

   b. *Los invitados se   pusieron.
      the   guests   REFL put.PST

Observe that deleting the adjective phrase appearing as complement of this pseudo-copula leads to the ungrammaticality of the sequence (14b, 15b), which suggests that *ponerse* 'become' has a deficient resP, thereby making obligatory the *underassociation* of its *res* category label in the syntax (14a, 15a) and, hence, the selection of an adjective phrase to denote the result subevent.[5] On the other hand, the deletion of the prepositional phrase accompanying the full-fledged version of the verb (16) does not impinge on the sequence's grammaticality, which is suggestive of the presence of Type B meaning in the First-Phase syntax. Consequently, *poner* 'put' in Spanish has concurrent full-fledged and light versions. When *poner* 'put' behaves as a light verb, it solely keeps the heavy version's Type A information about subevents and deixis. The lack of Type B meaning is remedied by an adjectival phrase further qualifying the result state.

(16) a. María puso   la silla en el jardín.
      María put.PST the chair in the garden
      'María put the chair in the garden.'

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4. This would also be true of the pseudo-copulative verb *volver(se)* 'turn' + adjective.
5. *Underassociation* occurs when a verb's category feature is not realized in the First-Phase syntax, and thus an alternate element can morphologically appear in its place agreeing its features with those of the verbal head.
   (i) *Underassociation*
      If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,
      a) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature, by Agree;
      b) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content.
                                                                    (Ramchand 2008: 136, (61))

  b. ?María puso   la silla.[6]
     María put.PST the chair

Another case in point is Ramchand's analysis of the English verbs *give* and *have*. In its full-fledged meaning, *give* instantiates a possession transfer between entities (17). This meaning is lost in the light version (18), in which no exchange takes place. Ramchand contends that the First-Phase syntax in both instances consists of initiation, process, and result phrases. This captures the fact that both versions of the verb denote a punctual event given that a single verb root instantiates all three subevents (see Ramchand 2008). Yet, the argument structures of these verbs are different in that the recipient is absent in the light form, which follows from the omission of such element in the light version such as in the example in (18b). Drawing on these facts and data from Bengali and Persian, Ramchand concludes that valency may not be preserved in the light version of the full-fledged verb; however, the event structure associated to the category labels of the verb root remains intact. This is also evident in the light version of the verb *phæla* 'throw / drop' in Bengali, which stills requires that its complement be a verb with an initiation component just like in its full-fledged form (19, 20).

(17) John gave Mary a book.

(Ramchand 2014: 220, (15a))

(18) a. John gave Mary a kiss.

     b. John / The train gave a shudder/ sigh/ whistle.

(Ramchand 2014: 222, (15b, 19))

(19) a. ritu hat   theke boi-ṭa   phello.
         ritu hand from book-CLF dropped
         'Ritu dropped the book from her hand.'

     b. ritu kaj-ṭa   kor-e   phello.
         ritu work-CLF do-PTCP dropped
         'Ritu finished her work.'

(Ramchand 2014: 233, (41))

(20) a. *dorja-ṭa khul-e phello.
         door-CLF open-e throwed/dropped
         'The door opened.' (intended)

     b. ram bol-e   phello.
         ram speak-e throwed/dropped
         'Ram blurted something out.'

(Ramchand 2014: 234, (43,44))

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6. Note that the verb *poner* 'put' may also mean *colocar* 'place'. Under that interpretation, the postverbal PP is not obligatory, which is also the case in collocational uses (e.g., *poner la mesa* 'set the table').

As to the verb *have*, Ramchand identifies an ordinary stative use which simply denotes a possession relation between entities (21) and a light dynamic form (22). The latter can take different types of complements, e.g. DPs, Ns, Vs, and SCs; nevertheless, they all seem to share the same underlying First-Phase syntax consisting minimally of an initiation and process phrase. The fact that the available specifier positions lodge the same entity allows Ramchand to derive the experiencer semantics linked to the subject of this verb (see Ramchand 2008).

(21) a. John has a dog.

<div align="right">(Ramchand 2014: 224, (23a))</div>

(22) a. John had a heart attack.

   b. John had a good time at the party.

<div align="right">(Ramchand 2014: 224, (24,25a))</div>

To summarize, the process whereby a verb becomes desemantized may imply the loss of Type B meaning along with changes in its valency. What clearly remains is the verb's event structure.[7] Undoubtedly, one of the advantages of Ramchand's approach is its ability to correlate a verb's concurrent light and full-fledged versions. In this paper, however, we undertake the task of studying the grammaticalization process of the pseudo-copulative verb *quedarse* <'end up' + adjective> in Spanish. Thus, our analysis will consider the diachronic evolution of the verb into a pseudo-copula. Section 4 explores the syntactic and semantic properties of the verbs *quedar* and *quedarse* in Spanish. Section 5 delves into the grammaticalization process undergone by *quedarse* using Ramchand's distinction between Type A and Type B meaning to that end.

4. The First-Phase syntax of *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective>

Before unfolding our proposal, we first discuss two previous accounts of the pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> in Spanish. In Section 4.1 we discuss the relevant facts in the accounts by Demonte & Masullo (1999) and García-Pardo (2021). In Section 4.2 we reprise these authors' insights on the pseudo-copula and develop our account.

4.1. Previous accounts of the pseudo-copula quedar(se) < 'end up' + adjective>

Demonte & Masullo (1999) characterize *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> as a pseudo-copulative verb that takes as complement a predicative element introducing

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7. Taking a step forward, Ramchand weighs whether semantic impoverishment could as well imply the total absence of lexical encyclopedic pieces of information, that is, Type B meaning, and some of the identifiers assumed to be part of Type A meaning, thus paving the way for the hypothesis that light verbs might just be bundles of syntactic-semantic information to which *cognitive defaults*, that is, mind brain tokens, such as "motion, location and transfer in space" might be added (2014:240). See Ramchand (2014) for further qualifications.

a result state; however, the verb would not focus on the transition leading to the result state but on the latter. Thus, in (23a) *quedar(se) contento* 'end up pleased' does not imply *to become pleased* (1999: 2512). As a matter of fact, the result state introduced by the pseudo-copula can be focused on by means of a temporal modifier measuring its length (23b).

(23) a. Juan (se) quedó contento con el regalo que le hicieron.
          Juan REFL stayed content with the gift   that him did.3PL
          'Juan was happy with the gift they gave him.'

      b. Juan (se) quedó {ciego / mudo} por muchos años.
          Juan REFL stayed blind   mute   for many   years
          'Juan was blind/mute for many years.'

      c. Juan quedó bien curado después del   tratamiento.
          Juan stayed well healed after   of.the treatment
          'Juan was well recovered after the treatment.'

                                            (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2512, (96))

   Later, Demonte & Masullo (1999:2513) note that *quedarse* may also be used to emphasize the achievement of a result and provide an example (24) similar to that in (23b), where the context (*después del accidente* 'after the accident') aids in obtaining the relevant interpretation, that is, the achievement of the result. In a way, then, this meaning nuance seems to be dependent on the context of interpretation of the utterance. By contrast, *quedar* focuses on the endurance of the resulting state.

(24) Julio (se) quedó ciego después del   accidente.
      Juan REFL stayed blind after   of.the accident
      'Juan was blind after the accident.'
                                           (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2513, (100c))

   The contrast is clearer in the following example, in which *quedarse* emphasizes the achievement of a result, whereas *quedar* would focus on the endurance of the result state (25) (cf. 24).

(25) El barco (se) quedó varado   en el viejo puerto.
      the ship REFL stayed stranded in the old   port
      'The ship was stranded in the old port.'
                                           (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2513, (101a))

   We would like to bring to the fore some qualifications to the alleged focus of *quedar* on the result state. García-Pardo's (2021) analysis builds on Morimoto & Pavón Lucero's (2005) account of *quedar(se)*. According to them, the emphasis the use of *quedar* places on the result state rather than on the achievement of the state would be evidenced by the fact that *quedar* does not accept modifiers such as *poco a poco* 'little by little' (26, 27), which is mostly found with dynamic-like events.

(26) a. Está quedándose   sordo.
           is   staying.3SG.REFL deaf
           'He is becoming deaf.'

     b. *Está quedando sordo.
           is   staying   deaf

(27) a. Se   quedó sordo poco a poco.
           REFL.3SG stayed deaf little to little
           'He got deaf little by little.'

     b. ??Quedó   sordo poco a poco.[8]
           stayed.3SG deaf   little to little
           (García-Pardo 2021: 4-5, (7,8) *apud* Morimoto & Pavón-Lucero 2005: 46)

While it is true that example (26b) is slightly degraded, it is nevertheless possible to find examples where the progressive is acceptable with *quedar* (28). Similarly, an Internet search can also produce examples of *quedar* along with *poco a poco* 'little by little' (29).

(28) a. [L]a manga no está quedando fruncida [...].[9]
           the sleeve not is   staying   shirred
           'The sleeve is not getting shirred.'

     b. [L]as grandes empresas   españolas no están quedando rezagadas
           the   big   companies Spanish   not are   staying   straggled
           en este aspecto.[10]
           in   this aspect
           'The major Spanish companies are not lagging behind in this aspect.'

     c. Los modelos tradicionales usados en el aula   están quedando
           the models   traditional   used in the classroom   are   staying
           obsoletos [...].[11]
           obsolete
           'The traditional models used in the classroom are becoming obsolete.'

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8.   Grammaticality judgements are the authors' own.
9.   Biedma, Miguel. 2016. Cómo remangarse bien las camisas. *The Trendy Man*. <https://www.the-trendyman.com/post/como-remangarse-bien-las-camisas>
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(29) a. [E]l efecto más inmediato de los problemas crediticios queda, poco
         the effect more immediate of the problems credit   stays little
         a poco, en el   olvido […].[12]
         to little in the oblivion
         'The most immediate effect of credit problems sinks, little by litte, into
         oblivion.'

    b. También queda vacío poco a poco Rafiah Yam.[13]
       also   stays empty little to little Rafiah Yam
       'Rafiah Yam is getting empty little by little.'

    c. [E]l aparejo queda poco a poco reducido a una mera capa de
       the rig   stays little to little reduced to a   mere layer of
       apresto.[14]
       sizing
       'The gear is little by little reduced to a layer of sizing.'

That said, we acknowledge that the use of the progressive and the modifier
poco a poco 'little by little' is more natural and common with *quedarse*. In any
case, these examples show that both verbs can be characterized as describing a
change of state. As to the focus on the result or achievement of the state, we have
shown that both *quedar* and *quedarse* could be used in similar ways. One property
clearly setting apart *quedarse* and *quedar* is that only the former can have an agent
controlling the event (30, 31) (Demonte & Masullo 1999:2513). Nevertheless, some
restrictions are in place as *quedarse* does not always denote a volitional event, but
rather indicates a lack of volition if the event does not have an animate entity as
subject and, hence, cannot be controlled (see footnote 15).

(30) La llave (*se) quedó perdida entre   la   hierba.
     the key REFL stayed lost   between the grass
     'The key ended up lost in the grass.'

                                          (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2513, (98c))

(31) a. ¡Quédate   {quieto/ tranquilo}!
        stay.2SG.REFL still   quiet
        'Stay still/quiet!'

12. Espejismos de corto plazo. 2007. *Cinco Días*. <https://cincodias.elpais.com/cincodias/2007/10/09/
    mercados/1192024034_850215.html>
13. Cierco, J. 2005. Los colonos judíos de Gush Katif levantan la mano contra militares y policías.
    ABC. <https://www.abc.es/internacional/abci-colonos-judios-gush-katif-levantan-mano-contra-
    militares-y-policias-200508170300-61238179622_noticia.html>
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    glos XVI y XVII en España. Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan. *Boletín del Museo del Prado* XXVIII, 46,
    39-59. <https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/investigacion/estudios-y-restauraciones/recurso/
    evolucion-de-las-preparaciones-en-la-pintura-de/39cd7ac1-b445-49da-9362-61dbc19c5ed8>

   b. *¡Queda {quieto/ tranquilo}!
      stay.2SG still   quiet

                                (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2513, (99))

A further difference between these verbs, as discussed by García-Pardo (2021), would lie in the fact that *quedarse* and *quedar* denote different types of events. García-Pardo notes that, while both can instantiate a change of state (32), *quedarse* could also refer to a state (32c).[15]

(32) a. Catalina no vino y   su silla se   quedó vacía.
       Catalina not came and her chair REFL stayed empty
       'Catalina didn't show up and her chair remained empty.'

   b. Pedro se   quedó despierto toda la noche.
      Pedro REFL stayed awake   all   the night
      'Pedro stayed awake all night.'

   c. Roberto se   quedó despierto {*en diez minutos/ *poco a poco}.
      Roberto REFL stayed awake   {*in ten minutes/ *little to little
      'Roberto stayed awake {*in ten minutes/ *little by little}.'

                                  (García-Pardo 2021: 3, (3))

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15. In coherence with this proposal, García-Pardo (2021) puts forward a First-Phase syntax containing a single *res* head taking an AP as complement for *quedar*. A caveat is in order as García-Pardo (2021) follows Ramchand's (2008) to the letter, meaning that their *proc* head denotes a dynamic event by itself (see Section 2). On the other hand, in its stative sense, *quedarse* would instantiate both *init* and *res* heads along with an AP complement. Thus, the sequence in (ib) would contain an agent entity (i.e., *Pedro*). However, this conclusion seems premature given that one can also find *quedarse* with non-agentive entities (ii, iii) (but see García-Pardo 2021:12 for a justification of this fact based on the existence of stative causatives in languages such as Finish, among others).

  (i)   a. La silla quedó vacía.
        the chair stayed empty
        'The chair was empty.'

     b. Pedro se   quedó despierto.
        Pedro REFL stayed awake
        'Pedro stayed awake.'

                                  (García-Pardo 2021)

  (ii) La luz se   quedó encendida.
      the light REFL stayed turned_on
      'The light stayed on.'

  (iii) Julio (se) quedó perplejo con los cambios efectuado.
      Julio REFL stayed perplexed with the changes done
      'Julio was perplexed with the changes done.'

                        (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2513, (100a))

  Finally, García-Pardo takes *quedarse* to lexicalize both a *proc* and a *res* head along with an adjective phrase as complement in its change of state sense (iv).

  (iv) La falda se   quedó anticuada.
      the skirt REFL stayed outdated
      'The skirt became outdated.'

These examples would show a "stative-like" sense of *quedarse*, where the subject entity is understood to remain or stay in a state for a period time, which might be specified by means of modifiers such as *toda la noche* 'all night' (32b). The contrast can be better observed in (33, 34). While (34a) is equivalent to (34b) with *dormirse* 'to fall asleep', a change of state verb, (33a) is not equivalent to *despertarse* 'to wake up' (33b), the corresponding change of state verb, a fact which is marked by means of the pound sign (#). A final contrast shows that the endurance of the state is purposeful in (33), as it can be paraphrased by (33c), which is not true in (34c), a fact which is again marked by means of the pound sign (see García Fernández & Gómez Vázquez, 2015).[16] The difference between these examples would amount then to the presence of an initiation phrase exclusively in (33).[17]

(33) a. Se   quedó despierto (*poco a poco/ toda la noche).
         REFL.3SG stayed awake   little   to little all   the night
         'He stayed awake little by little/all night.'

16. The use of the pronoun *se* in examples (33c, 34c) is meant to highlight the agentive-like behavior of the agent in purposefully maintaining the state described by *despierto* 'awake' and *dormido* 'asleep'. A reviewer notes that (33c) and (34c) sound ungrammatical due to the inclusion of the pronoun *se*. We agree that (34c) has limited acceptability as one can hardly conceive an individual to be able to remain asleep purposefully. Yet, our goal is to bring to the fore the logical impossibility of using such paraphrase with *quedarse dormido* 'fall asleep'. On the other hand, we can easily conceive an individual to make some effort to remain awake, which is why we consider our example in (33c) to be acceptable.

17. Demonte & Masullo (1999) note a further difference between *quedarse* and *quedar* 'end up' + adjective. While a participle can appear along *quedar, quedarse* does not seem to allow this possibility (ia,a'). When *quedar* is combined with a participle, the construction would then be similar to a passive sentence (ib,b'). Indeed, it is possible to refer to the agent of the event by means of a complement or even to use an adverb to characterize the agent's action. Yet, *quedar* would be different from a passive sentence in that the former implicates the endurance of the result state.

(i) a. La explicación {(*se) quedó/ fue} cuidadosamente aclarada (por las autoridades).
         the explanation REFL stayed was carefully   clarified by the authorities
         'The explanation was carefully clarified by the authorities.'
     a'. La explicación quedó (*cuidadosamente) clara (*por las autoridades).
         the explanation was   carefully   clear by   the authorities
     b. Los alimentos {(*se) quedaron/ fueron} cuidadosamente limpiados.
         the foods   REFL stayed.3PL were   carefully   cleaned
         'The food was carefully cleaned.'
     b'. Los alimentos quedaron (*cuidadosamente) limpios.
         the foods   were   carefully   clean
                                                              (Demonte & Masullo 1999: 2512, (97))

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this restriction. *Quedarse* does allow some participles such as *sentado* 'sat, sitting', *tumbado* 'lain, lying', *apoltronado/encogido* 'curled up', etc (ii). As shown in Gómez Vázquez (2019), posture verbs can include an initiation component in their First-Phase syntax, thus explaining the agent-like properties of their subjects. Thus, the relevant restriction could be related to the lack of control over the states denoted by the participles mentioned by Demonte & Masullo (1999) (cf. i, ii).

(ii) El niño se   quedó sentado/ tumbado/   apoltronado/   encogido.
    the child REFL stayed seated   lying_down hunkered_down curled_up

   b. #Se   despertó.
      REFL.3SG woke_up
      'He woke up.'

   c. Se   estuvo despierto.
      REFL.3SG was   awake
      'He stayed awake.'

(34) a. Se   quedó dormido (poco a poco/ toda la   noche).
        REFL.3SG fell   asleep   little to little all   the night
        'He fell asleep little by little/all night.'

   b. Se   durmió.
      REFL.3SG fell_asleep
      'He fell asleep.'

   c. #Se   estuvo dormido.
      REFL.3SG was   asleep
      'He stayed asleep.'

Finally, *quedar* can also have a "stative-like" sense (35, 36). Yet, *quedar* behaves here closer to a stage-level copula as it simply locates or relates a figure to a ground.

(35) a. El hotel queda cerca de la playa.
        the hotel is   close of the beach
        'The hotel is close to the beach.'

   b. *El hotel queda poco a poco cerca de la playa.
        the hotel is   little to little close of the beach

(36) a. El vestido te   queda bien.
        the dress   you.DAT.SG stays well
        'The dress fits you well.'

   b. *Te   queda poco a poco bien.
        you.DAT.SG stays   little to little well

### 4.2. The First-Phase syntax of the pseudo-copula quedar(se) <'end up' + adjective>

The previous section has dealt with the similarities and differences between *quedar* and *quedarse*. The First-Phase syntax for each of the senses described are presented below. On the one hand, we assume that the change of state interpretation for the pseudo-copula in (37)[18] would contain process and result phrases in the First-Phase syntax (see Section 2). We assume the verb's *res* category label is underassoci-

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18. Following Alexiadou et al. (2015), we assume that the (reflexive) clitic *se* appears as a specifier of
    the functional category introducing the external argument of the predicate.

ated in the syntax, hence this meaning component is materialized by means of an adjective or participle.

(37) a. El   hombre (se)   quedó ciego.
         the man   REFL stayed blind
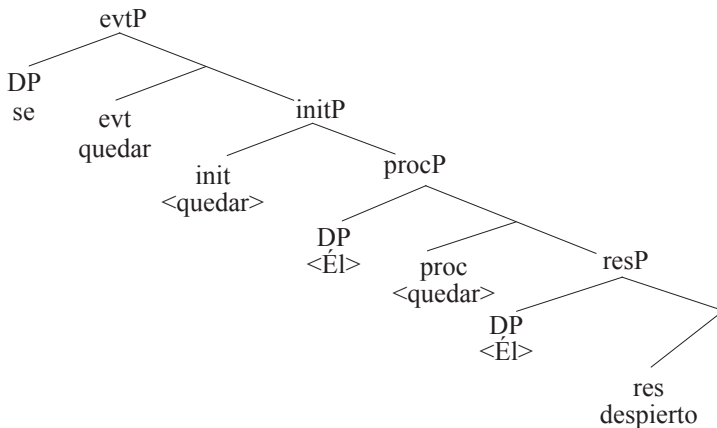   'He went blind.'

   b.
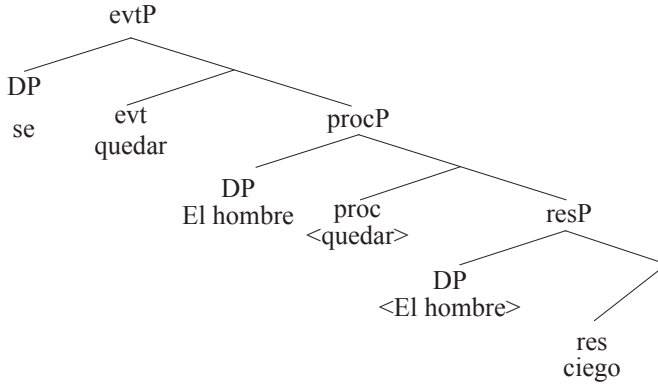
The presence of an initiation phrase is warranted in examples such as (38, 39), where an agent is in control of the event (see Morimoto & Pavón Lucero 2005).

(38) Quédate   quieto.
     stay.2SG.REFL still
     'Stay still.'

(39) a. Él se   quedó   despierto.
         he REFL stayed.3SG awake
   'He stayed awake.'

   b.

As to the "stative-like" meaning of the pseudo-copula *quedar* (40), we put forth that its event semantics correspond to that of a stage-level predicate. Thus, following Silvagni (2017), we take *quedar* in its "stative-like" sense to denote a non-dynamic event consisting of a process phrase, whose denotation simply contains a spatio-temporal unit, or stage (see Section 2).

(40) El   hotel queda cerca de la   playa.
     the hotel stays   close of the beach
     'The hotel is close to the beach.'

(41)
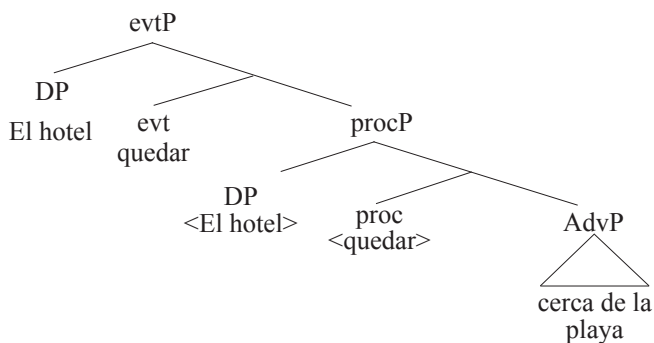
In Section 5 we provide evidence for the grammaticalization process that gave rise to the concurrent forms described in this section.

5. The diachronic evolution of the pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective>

In this section we explore the grammaticalization of the verb *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective>. To do so, we performed searches in the *Corpus del Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* (Real Academia Española 2013). We set to explore the corpus taking Coromines' (2008) insights about *quedar* 'to stay / remain' as starting point. Coromines takes the verb to stem from Lat. *quietāre* 'to bring or put to rest', a transitive verb, which in turn derives from *quiētus* 'at rest', the perfect participle form of the verb *quiescere* 'to rest' in Latin.[19] Two of the first examples found in the corpus show an intransitive use of the verb (42, 43) without any predicational element. They depict a change of state where the verbs have perfective aspect as the action is presented as concluded in time. The Type B meaning found in *quedar(se)* in these examples should be related to this sense of calming down or coming to a halt. Note that these examples show an equivalent meaning although example (42) appears with the reflexive pronoun *se*.[20]

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19. The translations provided for the Latin terms are taken from the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* available on Logeion (<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/>).
20. Relatedly, in the text containing example (42, 43), we also find the verb *aquedar* 'to stop', an intransitive verb, used with the pronoun *se* and with an equivalent meaning to that of *quedar* (i).

(42) quedaronse   las aguas […]²¹
     stayed.3PL.REFL the waters
     'The waters stopped.'
     (circa 1200, ALMERICH, *La fazienda de Ultra Mar*)

(43) quedo   la   pluia e   el pedrisco […]
     stay.3SG the rain   and the hail
     'The rain and hail stopped.'
     (circa 1200, ALMERICH, *La fazienda de Ultra Mar*)

We also find examples of the participial form *quedado* 'still, motionless' (44) in the corpus. The examples below (44-46) show the participle as a predicative element of the sentence, modifying the subject entity. Following Ramchand (2018), we take participles to instantiate a result subevent, that is, a subset of the verb's First-Phase syntax. Furthermore, we also assume the presence of an AspP above the verbal resP, containing the verb root (see Embick 2004). Specifically, the AspP would contain an Asp_R head, which takes the result state to be the direct consequence of a previous event. The participle's First-Phase syntax should include, then, a *res* phrase consistent with the meaning denoted by the Latin verb *quietare* ('to bring or put to rest'). Consequently, we take the intransitive verb *quedar(se)* to consist minimally of both process and result phrases.²²

(44) Pero en su derecha será   él muy quedado […]
     but in his right   will.be he very quiet
     'But on his right he will be very quiet.'
     (circa 1236-1246, BERCEO, GONZALO DE, *Los signos del juicio final*)

(i) Se   aquedaran los truenos e   el pedrisco
     REFL stayed   the thunders and the hail
     'Thunder and hail will stop.'
     (circa 1200, ALMERICH, *La fazienda de Ultra Mar*)

21. Example (42) shows the verb along with the reflexive pronoun *se*. This is the single occurrence found at this stage; thus, we remain cautious as to its relevance. Examples of *quedarse* are not systematically found until 1400 (see below).

22. As Elvira (2001) notes, the behavior of *quedar* is consistent with it having an unaccusative syntax. Among the evidence brought to bear for it, Elvira mentions the verb's selection of *essere* 'be' as auxiliary in the perfect tenses (i) and its use in absolute constructions (ii).

(i) Cuenta la estoria que puesque ordonno vio que las bozes que oy   era de
     tells   the history that because Ordonno saw that the voices that heard.1SG was of
     primero que *eran*   quedadas   […]
     first   that were.3PL stayed.PTCP
     (*ESPAÑA-II*, 233R)

                                                                         (Elvira 2001: 44)

(ii) E   despuès desto es de tener   buena cautela en engendrar   la carne, *quedado*
     and after   that is of to.have good care   in to.engender the flesh stayed.PTCP
     que sea curado […]
     that be healed
     (*Lilio*, 24r)

                                                                         (Elvira 2001: 45)

(45) […] el rëy Alexandre aún durmié   quedado […]
   the king Alexandre still slept.3SG quiet
  'The king Alexandre was still quiet sleeping.'
  (circa 1240-1250, ANÓNIMO, *Libro de Alexandre*)

(46) Et tu   yazies quedado durmiendo […]
  and you lay.2SG quiet   sleeping
  'And you lay quiet sleeping.'
  (circa 1275, ALFONSO X, *General Estoria. Segunda parte*)

  Along with these examples, we found concurrent instances of the verb where its Type B meaning is already fading (47-50). In such cases, the verb simply denotes the permanence of an entity without any nuances of quietness or stillness. Furthermore, the verb appears with no complements or arguments, but a dative (47). The lack of complements such as adjectives, participles, or PPs could have contributed to the loss of Type B meaning, which along with the fact that this is an intransitive verb may have in turn led to changes in its event structure. This could have eventually made possible the existence of a second form to simply denote existence, that is, a form consisting solely of a process phrase, from which the "stative"-like sense in *quedar cerca* 'to be close' might stem (cf. 40), as described in Section 4. As Type B meaning wanes, one might assume that the verb's associated subevents might be affected in that the lack of a complement allows the verb's reanalysis as simply denoting a process, that is, an event consisting of a spatio-temporal unit (hence, without dynamicity).[23]

(47) […] ya   no me   queda otra cosa sino vos.
   already not me.DAT remains other thing but you
  'I have nothing else left but you.'
  (circa 1250, ANÓNIMO, *La historia de la donzella Teodor*)

(48) […] non quedó   quien podiesse la tierra defender.
   not remained.3SG who could   the land defend
  'There was nobody left who could defend the land.'
  (circa 1250, ANÓNIMO, *Poema de Fernán González*)

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23. In addition to these combinations, we also find instances where the verb is combined with a gerund (i), where the meaning nuance conveyed by *quedar* does not seem to include any result meaning either, but rather some sense of permanence or continuation.

 (i) non quedamos orando […]
  not stayed.1PL praying
  'We did not stay praying.'
  (circa 1260, ANÓNIMO, *El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6. Desde el Evangelio de San Marcos hasta el Apocalipsis*)

(49) […] muchas veces queda   la   manzilla […]
          many   times remains the stain
    'Many times there is the stain left.'
    (circa 1237, ANÓNIMO, *Libro de los doce sabios o Tratado de la nobleza y
    lealtad*)

(50) amatós   luego el fuego e   quedó   la   pestilencia […]
    extinguished.3SG then   the fire   and remained.3SG the pestilence
    'He extinguished then the fire and the pestilence remained.'
    (circa 1275, ALFONSO X, *General Estoria. Primera Parte*)

At around the same time, we find examples where the verb can also enroll PPs, which we assume serve the function of further specifying the state in which the subject is left. The fact that the verb is already going through a process of desemantization, as evidenced in examples (51-52), may have led to the *underassociation* of the root's *res* category label in the First-Phase syntax, thus, becoming deficient and requiring the presence of an additional element to provide that meaning nuance.

(51) no sabía darse   remedio a la grandissima pobreza en que
    not knew give.REFL.3SG remedy to the great   poverty in which
    auía   quedado
    had.3SG remained.PTCP
    'He couldn't help himself out of the impoverished state he had been left in.'
    (circa 1250, ANÓNIMO, *La historia de la donzella*)

(52) Et es tal   commo el relánpago, que alunbra un poco et   base
    and is such as   the lightning that lights a   little and leaves
    luego, et   queda el que lo atiende en tiniebla.
    then   and stays he who it waits.for in darkness
    'And it is like the lightning, which illuminates a little and leaves afterwards,
    and the one waiting for it is left in darkness.'
    (circa 1251, ANÓNIMO, *Calila e Dimna*)

In line with these facts, we also find cases where an adjective or participle appears postverbally (53-57), which we also take to instantiate the state in which the subject is left. Again, this may have to do with the decrease in Type B meaning and the verb's intransitive syntax. Thus, the verb seems to instantiate a First-Phase syntax where the root's *res* category label is underassociated in the syntax, hence requiring an additional element to materialize this meaning component.

(53) […] por manera que quedéis   desnudo […]
          by way   that remain.2SG naked
    'so that you are naked.'
    (circa 1250, ANÓNIMO, *La historia de la donzella Teodor*)

(54) […] las quales saetas quedaron   fincadas en esas   paredes
          the which arrows remained.3PL stuck   in those walls
     'Those arrows stayed stuck in the walls.'
     (circa 1255, ANÓNIMO, *Crónica de Sahagún*)

(55) Y   el   señor de la   hueste quedó muy envergonçado
     and the lord   of the army   got   very embarrassed
     'And the lord of the army was left embarrassed.'
     (circa 1300-1305, ANÓNIMO, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*)

(56) E   en aquella primera noche de las bodas   que el Conde e   la
     and in that   first   night of the wedding that the count and the
     Condessa durmieron, queda ella preñada.
     countess slept.3PL   stays she pregnant
     'And during that first wedding night that the Count and Countess slept, she
     got pregnant.'
     (1300, ANÓNIMO, *El caballero del cisne*)

(57) e   los otros   todos quedaron feridos
     and the others all   stayed.3PL injured
     'And the others were all left injured.'
     (circa 1348-1379, ANÓNIMO, *Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*)

Only later, we find cases of the verb with a reflexive pronoun along with a
PP specifying the location occupied by the figure (58-59); however, the subject's
purposeful permanence cannot be inferred from these examples.

(58) &   los otros   quedáronse   essa noche en el   campo desarmando
     and the others stayed.3PL.REFL that night in the field   disarming
     los cavalleros muertos;
     the knights   dead
     'And the others stayed that night on the field disarming the dead knights.'
     (circa 1300-1305, ANÓNIMO, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*)

(59) E   entretanto el Conde quedóse   en el desierto […]
     and meanwhile the count stayed.3SG.REFL in the desert
     'And meanwhile the Count stayed in the desert.'
     (circa 1300, ANÓNIMO, *El caballero del cisne*)

Yet, around 1400, we find an example where the verb in its pronominal form
is used as an imperative, which might be suggestive of the presence of an *init* head
in the First-Phase syntax of the verb (60).

(60) […] ¡Quedate   con tu   dios!
          stay.2SG.REFL with your god
     'Stay with your god.'
     (circa 1400-1421, SÁNCHEZ DE VERCIAL, CLEMENTE, *Libro de los
     exemplos por A. B. C*)

Around this period, we begin to observe instances of the verb with a reflexive pronoun along with a participle or an adjective (61-66). In these cases, there does not seem to be a purposeful control of the situation, but rather the event denoted corresponds to a change of state.

(61) Quedáronse   todos, cadaguno espantado […]
     stayed.3PL.REFL all   each.one terrified
     'They were all of them left terrified.'
     (circa 1370, ANÓNIMO, *El poema de José*)

(62) […] se   quedarían   amenguados et agraviados […]
         REFL.3PL would.stay.3PL diminished and humiliated
     'They would be left diminished and humiliated.'
     (1427, ANÓNIMO, *Ordenanzas de Guadalajara relativas a los oficios concejiles*)

(63) […] los de dentro se   quedaron   escarnidos e burlados
         the of inside REFL remained.3PL mocked   and fooled
     'Those inside were left mocked and fooled.'
     (circa 1435, BAENA, JUAN ALFONSO DE, «*Poesías*»)

(64) se   quedaron   vacíos de lo vno y de lo otro
     REFL remained.3PL empty of the one and of the other
     'They were left empty of the one and the other.'
     (circa 1450, ANÓNIMO, *Traducción castellana del Libro de El Kuzari de Yehudah Halevi*)

(65) quedose   muerto, e ouieronlo   de enterrar en
     remained.3SG.REFL dead   and had.3PL.him of bury   in
     otro   sepulchro
     another tomb
     'He died, and they had to bury him in another tomb.'
     (1422-1433, GUADALFAJARA, MOSE ARRAGEL DE, *Traducción y glosas de la Biblia de Alba*)

(66) Amán se   espantó   y   se   quedó   elado […]
     Amán REFL got.scared.3SG and REFL remained.3SG stunned
     'Amán got scared and stunned.'
     (1530, OSUNA, FRANCISCO DE, *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual*)

In summary, the conversion of the verb *quedar* 'to remain / stay' into a pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> began with the gradual loss of Type B meaning as the verb lost its sense of calming down or coming to a halt. This left the verb bereft of conceptual meaning, but rife with syntactic-semantic meaning. This change came along with the appearance of predicational elements which

could provide the missing conceptual content. The association of the pseudo-copula and the predicational elements was made possible via the *underassociation* of the root's *res* category feature, which was morphologically realized by a predicational element instead. On the other hand, the loss of Type B meaning also came along with the appearance of a second form devoid of dynamicity, which gave way to a stage-level copula. We claim that the copula's development was facilitated by the verb's lack of complements or predicational elements.

6. Conclusions

We have explored how the interplay between the loss of Type B meaning and the role of the elements contributing Type A meaning to the First-Phase syntax of the Spanish verb *quedar* 'to remain /stay' can explain its properties. The changes undergone by the verb paved the way for its reanalysis as a pseudo-copula expressing either a change of state or as a stage-level predicate. The ambivalence of the pseudo-copula *quedar(se)* <'end up' + adjective> can be explained resorting to the notion of *underassociation*, which in Ramchand's (2008) framework allows for the insertion of an element as part of a sequence's spell-out provided that this element's category features are part of the sequence's superset.

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