Chapter 6

*ESSERE/STARE AS A ROMANCE PHENOMENON*

Christopher Pountain

The contrast between the reflexes of *ESSERE-SEDERE* and *STARE* in Castilian has received a great deal of attention from scholars, chiefly because of the elusiveness of any general principle which will satisfactorily describe their distribution.¹ Latterly, interest in the Catalan development (Falk 1979) has revealed discrepancies between different varieties of the language which must betoken an interestingly unstable state of affairs, and has also called attention to the differences between Castilian and Catalan usage. Yet comparative study should not be limited to the Iberian Peninsula: the Romance-wide importance of the *ESSERE/STARE* contrast to which Peral Ribeiro (1958) pointed is worthy of closer scrutiny, as much for what it can suggest about the nature of linguistic change as for illumination of the Ibero-Romance phenomena.

It is nevertheless in Castilian that the *ESSERE/STARE* contrast has been developed most fully, and it is as well briefly to survey the data in this language before embarking on a wider study. In my view, if we are to achieve a satisfactory description of the usage of *ser* and *estar* in modern Castilian we must roundly reject the seductive possibility of seeing in the superficial lexical unity of these verbs a deeper semantic unity. Each verb has several different usages, which are not (except, as we shall see, in purely historical terms) easily reconcilable.

¹ I would like to express my thanks to Stephen Parkinson, Bill Rothwell and Max Wheeler for their most helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
We are therefore on safer ground if we begin by looking simply at the various syntactic contexts in which \textit{ser} and \textit{estar} can occur. Setting aside for the moment the usages of the two verbs with prepositional phrases, many of which have purely idiomatic status, the picture may be summarised as follows:

(a) \textit{Ser} is the only possibility with noun complements.$^2$

(b) \textit{Estar} is the only possibility (except for a very small number of principled exceptions$^3$) with locative adverbial complements.

(c) With a past participle, \textit{ser} forms what may be termed the 'action passive' while \textit{estar} forms what may be termed the 'resultant state passive'. Castilian is hence able to make overt a distinction which in many languages, English included, is covert. In Castilian we have both

(1) a. Las proposiciones fueron [Preterite of \textit{ser}] clavadas a la puerta (por Lutero)  
'The propositions were nailed to the door (by Luther)'

b. Las proposiciones estaban [Imperfect of \textit{estar}] clavadas a la puerta (*por Lutero)  
'The propositions were nailed to the door (*by Luther)'

The English translation is ambiguous between the 'action passive' reading, which is cognitively synonymous with the active sentence '(Luther) nailed the propositions to the door', and the 'resultant state passive' reading, which renders the stative result of the propositions having been nailed to the door, and for which, in English as in Castilian, no agent can be expressed.

(d) With an adjective complement, we may claim as a general principle that the adjective following \textit{estar} cannot be construed syntactically as a nominal or semantically as a classificatory or inherent property: a simple but clear example is the contrast between Juan \textit{está [estar]} enfermo ("John is ill") and Juan \textit{es [ser]} enfermo ("John is an invalid, belongs to the class of ill people, is inherently ill"). Many adjectives used with \textit{estar} have a semantic force akin to that of a resultant state

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passive, e.g. estoy [estar] seguro ('I am sure; something has happened to make me sure'). Others represent a state through which a subject is passing, e.g. la pera está [estar] verde ('the pear is green, unripe'). Estar + adjective may also convey an impression made on the speaker: ¡qué joven estás! ('How young you are, seem!').

Characteristic of Castilian, then, is that it has (a) different copular verbs for noun complements and locative adverbial complements and (b) two systematically contrasting copulas with past participles and adjectival complements.

Portuguese ser and estar come tantalisingly close to their Castilian counterparts in distribution (which may explain the dearth of studies of the phenomenon in this language); but there are differences. Castilian uses estar invariably with locative adverbial complements, while in Portuguese estar is used with such complements only when the subject of the verb is animate, 'necessary' position of inanimate subjects (see Querido (1976: 355-6)) requiring most usually ser; thus:

(2) a. Juan está [estar] en Lisboa
    O João está [estar] em Lisboa
    'John is in Lisbon'

    Lisboa está [estar] en Portugal
    Lisboa é [ser] em Portugal
    'Lisbon is in Portugal'

With adjectives the contrast between Castilian and Portuguese is rather more difficult to establish. Peral Ribeiro (175-6) discusses a number of examples, concluding that the difference between the two languages is one of 'tendência': Portuguese allows, for example, both Os seus olhos estão [estar]/são [ser] cheios de caridade e de doçura ('Her eyes are full of love and sweetness'), whereas Castilian only accepts Sus ojos están [estar] llenos de caridad y de dulzura. It is interesting that Portuguese can use ser in precisely those cases which have sometimes been considered to constitute 'illogical' uses of estar in Castilian, i.e. where the adjective or adjectival past participle, though representing a 'resultant state', also represents an inherent property. In Castilian it is the 'resultant state' idea which seems to take precedence; in Portuguese, it is the idea of inherentness.
Catalan must also be discussed at this stage, since here too it can be claimed that there is a systematic contrast between *esser and estar. However, the distinction appears to have a different basis from that encountered in Castilian and Portuguese. With locative adverbial complements estar occurs with, or implies, a durative adverbial of fixed-time duration, while *esser carries no such implication:

(3) a. Estarem [estarr](dues hores) a Barcelona
    'We shall be, stay, (two hours) in Barcelona'

    b. Som [esser] a Barcelona
    'We are in Barcelona'

For some commentators, notably Badia Margarit (1962: 145ff.) the same aspectual distinction holds with adjective complements too, although this has recently been disputed by Falk (112ff.), who proposes that a subcategory of stative adjectives normally require estar when they occur with an animate subject (e.g. content 'happy', tranquil 'quiet', alegre 'happy', malalt 'ill'). However, the implication of 'fixed time duration' and compatibility with 'fixed time' durative adverbials remains a feature of these adjectives when used with estar. With past participle complements, modern Catalan appears genuinely to be in a state of flux: Badia (156) perceives a tendency to prefer estar, thus creating a resultant state passive as in Castilian; the conservative Vallcorba (1978: 110) admits only *esser in sentences like el gerro és [esser] trencat 'the jug is broken' - obligatorily el jarro está [estar] roto in Castilian) in line with older usage. But in one written text I examined the Castilian-like usage was clearly dominant.

Moving now to the historical perspective, we may say that what has happened in the Ibero-Romance languages is as follows: (a) STARE has weakened to a point at which it is almost entirely copular in function (though still strongly marked for aspect in Catalan); (b) STARE has encroached on some of the functions originally fulfilled by *ESSERE. The process is in origin comparable to the history of verbs like stand and rest in English, which also show some movement towards copular status in fixed expressions like stand corrected and rest assured. Hints not only of the beginning of this process but of its becoming fairly entrenched in the linguistic systems of Romania are widely distributed.
A. Examples of the semantic weakening of STARE:

(a) The notion 'stand', one of the meanings, if not the chief meaning, of CL STARE, is everywhere rendered by a strengthening paraphrase: Fr. être debout, se tenir, Cast. estar de pie, It. stare in piedi, Rum. a sta în picioare.

(b) The reflex of STARE can have a meaning inconsistent with 'stand' or can combine with past participles or adverbs which are inconsistent with the meaning 'stand': Cast. estar sentado, Cat. estar assegut, It. stare seduto, all with the meaning of 'be seated'; Rum. a sta in the sense of 'sit'.

B. Examples of the participation of STARE in verbal paraphrases and idioms:

(a) Continuous verb-forms: Cast. estar cantando, Ptg. estar a cantar, estar cantando, Cat. estar cantant, It. stare cantando, Rum. a sta și....

(b) Immediate future ('to be on the point of...'): Cast. estar para cantar, Ptg. estar para cantar, Cat. estar per cantar, It. stare per cantare, Rum. a sta să + subjunctive.

(c) With IN, meaning 'to consist of': Cast. estar en, Ptg. estar em, Cat. estar en, It. stare in.

(d) With BENE, meaning 'to suit': Cast. estar bien, Ptg. estar bem, Cat. estar bé, It. stare bene, Rum. a sta bine. STARE is used generally with BENE, MALE and their comparatives.

C. With adjective complements. It is interesting to note the 'favouring' of STARE with certain adjectives in Italian and Rumanian, creating in embryo the kind of situation that today obtains with adjective complements in Catalan. In Italian, the adjectives tend to represent mental states, the most common being tranquillo 'quiet', comodo 'comfortable', zitto 'quiet', fresco 'in trouble' and attento 'alert'; associated with the locative function of stare are solo 'alone' and fermo 'motionless'. The Rumanian list is semantically similar: liniștit 'quiet', trist 'sad', posomorit 'gloomy', îngîndurat 'pensive', and the locative nemiscat 'motionless' and țintuit 'motionless' (literally, 'nailed'). Copceag and Escudero (1966: 347-8) call attention
to the use of a sta with negative past participles formed with the prefix ne-, which are used adjectively with much the same force as the Castilian resultant state passive: necitit 'unread', nelocuit 'unlived in', nemaritat 'unmarried', etc.

However, the Castilian-Portuguese development in which STARE is shorn of full lexical value in its progress towards pure copular status is not the only development of interest in the history of STARE. In Classical Latin, the semantic range of STARE is fairly circumscribed; three full meanings can be established, which I shall refer to as 'stand'₁ (with animate subject, opposed to 'sit'), 'stand'₂ (with inanimate subject, in the general sense of 'be situated') and 'stay'. Examples are:

(4) a. Hi stant ambo, non sedent (Plautus, Capt., pro. 1 sq.)
'They both stand, they do not sit'

b. ... quorum statuae steterunt in rostris
(Cicero, de Or., 2,86,353)
'... whose images stood on the tribune'

c. ... qui domi stare non poterant (Cicero,
Fl., 6,13)
'... who were unable to stay at home'
(Examples from Lewis and Short (1879: 1762-3)

Although Peral Ribeiro (149-50) and Bourciez
(1967: 253) have been able to select suggestive examples of the use of STARE from Latin texts, it must be stressed that STARE is in comparison with estar in the modern Ibero-Romance languages by no means common in either Classical or Vulgar Latin documents. Plautus' Aulularia, for instance, yields only one (triple) example, with the clear meaning of 'stand'₁; at the other end of the Latin period, Gregory of Tours' Historia Francorum has no examples at all in a sample I took consisting of the first two books. The Vulgate is more rewarding, where STARE regularly renders Greek ἔτημα, but otherwise appears not to have substantial motivation; and the Peregrinatio Aetheriae has eleven examples in the first book, all with the meaning of 'stand'₁ or 'stand'₂, and all with an overt locative adverbial complement (see Ernout (1954: 214)). Generally in Romance, we find a marked increase in the frequency of STARE, even outside the Iberian Peninsula, and an expansion of its range of full lexical meaning.

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In Italian we may identify the new meanings 'wait', 'live', 'stop', 'take time' and, with di, 'abstain from' - meanings which interestingly are all paralleled in Catalan, where the process of copularisation, as we have seen, is not as advanced as in Castilian and Portuguese:

(5) 'Wait': It. Dobbiamo andare o stare?
    'Should we wait or go?'

    Cat. Quantes hores hi van haver d'estar?
        'How long did you have to wait there?'

'Live': It. Dove sta di casa, Lei?
    'Where do you live?'

    Cat. Ell ara s'està al carrer de Provença
        'He lives in the Carrer de Provença now'

'Stop': It. Stette un po', poi scrisse la lettera
    'He stopped a little, then wrote the letter'

    Cat. Per nosaltres no estiguen: podeu
        continuar
        'Don't stop on our account: you may continue'

'Take time': It. Starà poco a tornare
    'He'll be back soon'

    Cat. Per a fer això han estat quatre hores!
        'To do that they've taken four hours!'

'Abstain from': It. Non ha voluto starsene di
    mangiare
        'He didn't want to give up eating'

    Cat. Jo m'estic d'anar-hi
        'I won't go there'

(Italian examples from Reynolds (1962); Catalan examples from Fabra (1977))
In summary, STARE undergoes one of three different types of fate in Romance. Castilian and Portuguese illustrate the first type, where it is retained as a copula, obligatory in certain contexts, and with a reduction in full lexical meaning. Italian and Rumanian, in different measures, represent the second type, where a range of full lexical meanings is retained and enlarged upon, although there is some development of copular and auxiliary functions too. Catalan and some dialects of Provençal appear to fall somewhere between the two. The third fate of STARE, illustrated conspicuously by French, is total disappearance. I will now examine the histories of these individual developments and suggest reasons for the divergences encountered across Romania.

Old French offers a pattern strongly reminiscent at first glance of the Italian type of solution. Here ester is the reflex of STARE, surviving today only in the archaic expression ester _en justice_ 'to go to court'. Old French texts yield the following range of meanings and usages:

(6) 'Stand'₁: Sur l'erbe verte estut devant sun tref (Chanson de Roland, 671)
    'He stood on the green grass in front of his tent'

'Stand'₂: +Desus un pui vit une vile ester (Aymeri de Narbonne, 160)
    'He saw a town standing below a hill'

'Stay': El camp estez, que ne seiium vencuz (Chanson de Roland, 1046)
    'Stay in the field, let us not be vanquished'

'Stop': +Dameisele, estez! fet li nains
        (Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Enide, 163)
    'Stop, mistress! said the dwarf'

'Live': +Adam formas et puis Evain sa per;
        En paradis les en menas ester.
        (Le couronnement de Louis, 699)
    'You created Adam and then Eve his companion; you took them to live in paradise'
*ESSERE/STARE

Also, as a reflexive, 'stand still':

Li emperere s'estut si l'esclutat
(Chanson de Roland, 2105)
'The emperor stood and listened'

(Examples marked + are taken from Tobler and
Lommatsch (1925-))

Also frequently attested is the widespread idiom
laissier ester (cf. It. lasciare stare, Cat. deixar
estar) 'let alone'; this expression survives in
French for much longer than the simple verb. But
it is significant what ester has not achieved in
Old French: there seem to be no examples of the
widespread use of STARE with BENE, etc., and neither
has a continuous verb-form with ester as an auxiliary
developed (indeed, if Old French can be said to have
a continuous form at all, it is constructed with
estre - see Menard (1973: 131)). As one might ex-
pect, there are no examples of ester with past
participle or adjetival complements. The failure
of ester to achieve anything approaching auxiliary
or copular status in Old French must surely be a
major factor in its fall. Morphological factors may
also contribute to its demise: ester clashed homo-
phonically in the preterite with estovoir 'to be
necessary' (estut, etc.) and in the first and second
persons plural with the new analogical imperfect of
estre (estiiens, estiiiez). This latter clash promp-
ted some scholars to see the new imperfect of estre
as deriving from ester; but it is difficult to square
the other person-number inflections of ester with
this view (see discussion in Peral Ribeiro (156-7)).

The closeness of association between STARE and
*ESSERE in the proto-Romance period is, however,
revealed in morphological mergers elsewhere. In
French, Catalan and Italian, STARE supplies the past
participle of the *ESSERE paradigm, so that in
Catalan and Italian the compound forms of estar/stare
and esser/essere are indistinguishable (e.g. Cat.
ha estat, It. è stato). In Gascon, other replace-
ments seem currently to be in progress: Ronjat
(1937: 289) observes in Béarn, where esta already
supplies the infinitive, the almost total eclipse of
the houi (*PUI) preterite by estêi or estoui and the
coeistence in the imperfect subjunctive of housséi,
estessi and estousséi. The entry for esta in Palay
(1980: 465) further gives estau as a present form
and estarâm as a future, together with serât. Badia
(1950) has interesting data from a neighbouring
Pyrenean dialect which shows an apparently more thoroughgoing mingling of the two verbs: here *ESSERE supplies the imperfect, imperfect subjunctive and conditional of STARE while STARE supplies the past participle and gerund of *ESSERE. 6

The history of Provençal is instructive insofar as STARE appears to have suffered eclipse in several dialects in modern times without there being the same possibilities for homonymic clash as were observed in Old French. Estar is attested in Old Provençal with a fair range of values, although 'stay' seems to be its principal meaning, and I have not come across a convincing example of 'stand' 2:

(7) 'Stand':

Amors o fai si cum lo bons austors
Qe per talan no.is mou ni no.is debat,
Ancéis esta entro c'om l'a gitat.
(Richard de Berbesill)
'Love behaves like the good hawk
which is not disposed to move or flap
but rather stays still until it is
despatched'.

'Stay':

... et ab el estet tro que.l coms mori
(Vidas, 21)
'... and stayed with him until the
count died'

'Stop':

Venec escridan: Estatz, baro (Roman
de Gerard de Rossillon)
'They come shouting: 'Stop, sir'.

'Live':

Ieu am mais estar en Fransa (Rambaud
de Vaqueiras)
'I prefer to live in France'

'Suit':

Conois que miels m'estai
Que si trop altament ames (G. Amiels)
'I know that it suits me better than if
I loved too highly'

'Abstain from':

Seigner Conrat, eu sai dui rei
qu'estan
D'ajudar vos; ara entendatz
qui. (Bertrand de Born)
'Lord Conrad, I know two kings
who do not assist you; now hear
who they are'.

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Also, as a reflexive, 'stand still':
+L'aygua s'estay, que non si mou (La vida
de Sant Honorat, 55,33)
'The water is still, it does not move'

(Examples marked + are taken from Levy (1894-
1924); those marked = from Raynouard (1838-44))

As in Old French, STARE seems to have failed to
form a continuous verb-form. Estar must have sur-
vived very much longer than French ester, however:
Mistral (1885) gives the meanings 'stay', 'live',
suit', 'abstain from' and a number of set phrases,
including the adjectival complements siau 'quiet'
and segur 'sure', together with the ubiquitous
laissa esta 'let alone'. Alibert (1935) gives a full
paradigm for esta.

Old Italian offers a significantly different
picture from Old French and Old Provençal, despite
similarities in the 'full' meanings of stare that
are encountered here as in the modern language.
But stare, in addition to forming the continuous
verb-form, is also regularly found with male and
bene and their comparatives, and with other adverbs
and adjectives which represent a mental, physical or
moral state:

(8) a. Chi starebbe meglio di me se quegli denari
fosser miei? (Decameron, 2,5)
'Who would be better than me if that money
were mine'?

b. Deh, Rinaldo, perché state voi così pensoso?
(ib., 2,2)
'Come, Rinaldo, why are you so pensive?'

Some indication of the possible complements of stare
is shown in the Vocabolario degli Accademici della
Crusca (1738: 7.709ff.), which, illustrating from
Renaissance writers, gives a profile of many adject-
ives and past participles which combine with stare,
as well as adverbs and prepositions (avanti, dietro,
etc.; sopra, sotto, etc.) and even nouns (stare
boccone 'to be face down', stare carpone 'to be on
all fours', stare sicurtà 'to stand surety').

Estar in Old Catalan has certainly not acquired
the virtuosity of Old Italian stare; at first sight
it is much more akin to its closer congener in Old
Provençal:
*ESSERE/STARE

(9) 'Stand'\textsubscript{1}: ... e.\textlslash{s} bons a la part dreta estar far\textacircumflex{}... (from Russell-Gebbett (1965), Text 41 l.33)
'... and he will make the righteous stand on the right...'

'Stand'\textsubscript{2}: Mare, levat agexa pedra que.us sta devant, et auretz ayga. (ib., 48, l.36)
'Mother, lift that stone that is in front of you, and you will have water.'

'Stay': ... car yo.y stegui I mes per fetz del Gran Cham. (ib., 53, l.7)
'... for I stayed there a month on business with the Great Khan'

'Live': Enaxi, un ladre estave en aquel bosch... (ib., 54, l.17)
'So, a robber dwelt in that wood...'

It must be pointed out that 'stay' is without doubt the principal meaning of estar here, especially with animate subjects; the meaning of 'stand'\textsubscript{1} is rare. But already there are examples where a simple locative copula reading is not out of the question:

(10) ... lo corp stava alt en un arbre ab un formatge en lo bech... (ib., 59, l.38)
'... the crow was high in a tree with a [piece of] cheese in its beak...'

Past participle complements are also found, usually with estar in its 'full' meaning of 'stay':

(11) Tancats aquestes portes, estien tancades tro jo torn (ib., 48, l.21)
'Once these doors are shut, let them stay shut until I return'

although there does appear to be movement in later texts towards the modern copular value (pace Vallcorba (52-4)):

(12) L'adolorit Rei... estigu\texteacute; admirat del somni que fet havia (Tirant lo Blanch, ch.6)
'The grieving king... was amazed by the dream he had had...'

Simply on the evidence so far presented, it seems to me that we may refute any suggestion that the early Romance languages are fairly similar in
their adoption of the values of STARE. On the contrary, there are already by the time of the first texts slight but significant differences which will be intensified as each language develops. In particular, the later disappearance of French ester and Provencal esta(r) is not simply a morphological accident but is foreshadowed in the failure of STARE to gain anything like the same ground in these languages as it had gained in Italian and Catalan. The history of STARE in Vulgar Latin cannot be a uniform one, but must be a series of extensions of, restrictions on and preferences for the different meanings of the verb, together with the establishing of certain privileges of occurrence which are eventually to achieve syntactic significance.

It is in this frame of mind that we must turn back now to the Peninsular developments of STARE. We might suspect the nascent impact of STARE in Castilian and Portuguese from a slight but significant morphological phenomenon: STARE is not drawn into the suppletive *ESSERE paradigm at all here, with the result that STARE and *ESSERE are to be kept very distinct; instead SEDERE is the verb that is drawn in to provide the infinitive ser and the past participle sido of *ESSERE. It is interesting to note the consequences for SEDERE, incidentally: although seer continues itself as a copula for some time, it is sentar (associated with the transitive asentar = *ADSEDENTARE – see Corominas 1954: 188) that by the end of the sixteenth century has in its reflexive form taken over the meaning of 'sit (down)', with estar sentado as 'sit, be seated'. In Catalan and Italian, where there is no mingling of *ESSERE and SEDERE, SEDERE remains intact as seure and sedere respectively with its original meaning. French seoir is superseded by s'asseoir, the motivating factor in disappearance here being possible homonymic clash between the future of seoir and estre in Old French (see Orr (1939: 262)).

Looking at early texts in Castilian and Portuguese, it is clear that STARE has already staked out for itself a preference for association with locative adverbial complements to a much greater extent than in other Romance languages. Pace Saussol (1978: 67), who claims that the use of ser and estar with locative adverbial complements in the Poema de mio Cid is arbitrary, I observed that in this text estar almost never took an inanimate subject – a clear favouring of the 'stand' meaning; it is true, however, that ser occurs with both animate and inanimate subjects, although with animate
subjects it often has the overtone of 'arrive':

(13) Antes sere con vusco que el sol quiera rayar.
     (231)
     'I will be with you before the sun begins to shine'

My interpretation of the use of ser and estar at this period of Old Castilian is that while both are possible with animate and inanimate subjects in the context of a locative adverbial complement, estar tends to have a 'marked' meaning with inanimate subjects and ser a 'marked' meaning with animate subjects. Such a value for estar resembles modern Portuguese, where a 'marked' meaning similar to English 'stand' obtains:

(14) a. O banco é [ser] naquela rua
     'The bank is in that street'

b. O banco está [estar] naquela rua
     'The bank stands in that street'

The same might be said of Old Portuguese, where apparently inconsistent examples can be similarly elucidated, e.g.:

(15) E, quando Alamafom, seu rey delles, que estava [estar] em Silves, sobe como aquellas companhas alli erão [ser], sahio a elles do lugar com a mais companha que pode, porque lhe dicerão que estava [estar] alli o mestre com todo seu poder, e ho mestre, como sobe que era [ser] fora, alçou-se loguo de sobre Paderna e veio-çe lançar sobre Silves. (Nunes (1970: 29))
     'And when Alamafom, their king, who was [unmarked] at Silves, knew that those troops were [had arrived] there, he went out to them from the place with all the forces he was able, because he had been told that the master was [unmarked] there with all his power, and the master, when he knew that he was [had moved] outside, rose then from above Paderna and came and threw himself on Silves'.

However, a weakened value of 'stand' is not the only meaning of estar in these early Castilian and Portuguese texts; the sense of 'stay' still seems to be present in some instances, e.g.:
(16) Firme estido Pero Vermuez, por esso nos encamo... (Poema de mio Cid, 3629)
'Pedro Bermúdez stood [remained] firm, he was not upset on that account...'

But I cannot agree with Peral Ribeiro's implication (172) that the values of Old Portuguese estar are similar to those of Italian stare; neither Castilian nor Portuguese estar offer anything like the same range of 'full' meanings evidenced for Italian stare in early texts.

An interesting development in Portuguese particularly, but visible to a certain extent in Castilian and even Catalan, is the rise of alternative copulas which threaten to be rivals for estar. The following table shows frequencies of Castilian fincar, seer, yacer and quedar, Portuguese ficar, seer and jazer and Catalan restar in 10,000 word samples of selected texts.

**Castilian:**

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<tr>
<th>Poema de Mio Cid (12th. Cent.)</th>
<th>SER 144</th>
<th>ESTAR 20</th>
<th>FINCAR 6</th>
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<td>SEER 4</td>
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**Portuguese:**

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<tr>
<th>Os Lusíadas (late 16th. Cent.)</th>
<th>SER 92</th>
<th>ESTAR 49</th>
<th>FICAR 12</th>
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**Catalan:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Libre de Contemplació (late 13th. Cent.)</th>
<th>ESSER 360</th>
<th>ESTAR 11</th>
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<th>Tirant lo Blanc (mid 15th. Cent.)</th>
<th>ESSER 245</th>
<th>ESTAR 39</th>
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(Instances of *ser/esser* as a perfect auxiliary have not been counted).
It can be seen that in the Portuguese Livro de Linhagens text ficar in fact overtakes estar in frequency; it appears with adjective complements at a time when estar generally does not, e.g.:

(17) ... todo o campo ficou cheio de sangue e pedras cuja hi auia. (258) 'all the field was full of blood and stones that were there'

Ficar has of course survived fairly forcefully into modern Portuguese, unlike its Castilian congener. As a copula, it is an alternative for estar in contexts where estar genuinely contrasts with ser (with past participle and adjective complements), but it may in non-contrastive contexts also replace ser itself. Thus as early as the Lusiads we find ficar occurring with a noun complement:8

(18) ... fica herdeiro
    Um filho seu, de todos estimado... (3,90) 'a son of his, held in esteem by all, heis her investigatory.

Ficar thus achieves a remarkable versatility as a copula which Castilian quedar, the form which superseded ficar, by no means shares. Seer and jazer/ yacer make nothing like the same bid for copula status: the former's demise, in its weak copular function as in its 'full' meaning of 'sit', is accounted for, as we have seen, by clash with ser; the latter, now obsolescent and functioning only with the 'full' meaning of 'lie', have lost their weak copular value almost entirely. The importance of ficar in the history of Portuguese once again, therefore, denies us a generalisation about copulas in the two most closely related Peninsular languages, and underlines the capability of languages to develop aleatory preferences.

The early Romance development of *ESSERE and STARE in the Iberian Peninsula can therefore be visualised as a particular evolution of the values of these verbs in Vulgar Latin, similar to, but not identical with, developments in other Romance languages. The general Romance development involves both extension and reduction of their values and functions: the Castilian and Portuguese characteristic is to weaken the 'full' values of STARE whilst tending to grammaticalise its remaining functions, whereas other Romance languages appear to have extended its 'full' values and tended to avoid
grammaticalisation. The failure to grammaticalise at all, however, as in French, leads to disappearance.

It is important to pause at the early medieval stage of Romance, since subsequent developments in the Peninsular languages are going to complicate the general Romance picture and make these languages look much more different from their relatives than in fact they were at this time. The foundations of the modern developments are, however, laid. The crucial feature of medieval Castilian and Portuguese is that estar has achieved copular status and has become associated with locative adverbial complements and with animate subjects. Another tendency can also be faintly glimpsed in the earliest texts — the association of estar with metaphorical locative adverbial complements which represent moral position or state. Saussol (29-30) points to examples in the Poema de mio Cid, and in Portuguese instances can even be found in the early cantigas, which have nowhere near as high an incidence of estar as do the chronicles:

(19) e meteron-m'en seu poder
en que estou [estar] ...
(J Soares Somesso)
'... and placed me in her power in which I [now] am...' 

In Castilian, such usage is very common by the time of El Conde Lucanor (early fourteenth century). Here, there is a tendency for ser to be associated with prepositional phrase complements consisting of de + Noun and estar with those consisting of en + Noun; but ser still seems to be an alternative to estar in the latter context; compare:

(20) a. ... et dixol que fuese cierto que era [ser]
en muy grant peligro del cuerpo et de toda
su faziendra...(58)
'... and said to him that it was certain
that he was in great danger of body and of all his estate...'

b. ... consejól que tomase una manera commo
podría escusar de aquel peligro en que
estava [estar] ... (59)
'... advised him that he should find a way
of getting out of the danger he was in'

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We may note that while Italian texts of the medieval period show no such predilection on the part of stare for metaphorical locatives, Catalan texts show estar as following in this regard its Peninsular congener. I cite an interestingly inconsistent example from the *Libre de Contemplació* of Ramon Llull:

(21) So per que, Sènyer, molt home veg que està [estar] en peccat e nol pot hom alterar ni mudar de vicis en vertuts,... e per assò, ab poca de diligencia e ab poca de devocio no pot hom alterar lome qui es [ésser] en grans peccats e en greus culpes. (17)

'And this, Lord, so that many a man should see that he is in a state of sin and he cannot be be changed, nor can vices be changed into virtues... and so, with little diligence and little devotion a man who is in a state of great sin and grave guilt cannot be changed'.

It is a short semantic step from a prepositional phrase which expresses a state to a past participle or adjective of similar value. These latter complements types take much longer to establish themselves, however. In the texts I have sampled, the *Poema de mio Cid* has no examples of past participle complements with estar; *El Conde Lucanor* has the sole instance

(22) ... estō agora mucho afincado de mengua de dineros (85)

'... I am at the moment very pressed through lack of money'

and although by the time of the Celestina examples are more frequent, there are many cases in which a past participle with apparently 'resultant state' value is accompanied by ser, e.g.:

(23) En Dios y en mi ánima, que en ver agora lo que has porfiado y como a la verdad eres reducido, no parece sino que vivo le tengo delante. (72)

'By God and my soul, seeing now how you have argued and how you have come round to the truth, it seems that he is standing alive in front of me'.

Keniston (1937: 472) traces the demise of ser in this context through the sixteenth century. Only the most marginal examples of adjective complements
with estar occur until fairly late on in the medieval period: thus in El Conde Lucanor I noted

(24) Quando el philosopho que estava cativo... (58) 'When the philosopher who was captive...'

where the choice of estar is most likely to be determined by an understood locative adverbial (see Saussol (39-40) on similar examples in the Poema de mio Cid). Even in the Celestina, adjectives with estar are in a significant minority, and are clearly linked with the idea of 'resultant state' - espantado 'frightened', ensañada 'annoyed' (themselves past participles), perplejo 'perplexed', discorde 'out of tune', loco 'gone mad' and lleno 'full'. The Castilian chronology seems to be paralleled by Portuguese. But Catalan quite noticeably lags behind its neighbours. No examples of estar with past participle complements emerged from the Llull sample I examined, although there were clear instances in the fifteenth century Tirant lo Blanc, e.g.:

(25) ... hages bona confiança que lo Fill e la Mare t'ajudaran en aquesta gran tribulació en què posat estàs. (127) '... have confidence that the Son and the Mother will assist you in this great tribulation in which you are now placed'.

Genuine adjective complements with estar were not even to be found in Tirant.

The extension of estar to past participle complements in Castilian, Portuguese and Catalan makes possible the development of a systematic opposition between *ESSERE and STARE in the form of the action passive and the resultant state passive. It seems that Catalan is slower to achieve this, no doubt because of the continuing importance of estar in its 'full' meaning of 'stay'. But achieve it it eventually does, and thereby takes the critical step that sets it on the same path as Castilian and Portuguese. The further development that we have noted in modern Catalan towards estar becoming associated with adjective complements is not necessarily attributable solely to Castilian interference (although of course it may be, as Falk contends); it may simply represent the later 'drift' of Catalan towards a Castillian-like situation. The remarkable similarity of Castilian and Portuguese (and there is no reason here to assume mutual interference - there are, after all, a number of dissimilarities in the
development of copular patterns in the two languages) may be accounted for by the early achievement by STARE of copular status in both languages, and by subsequent simultaneous expansion by 'drift' to more contexts. Once the systematic opposition between *ESSERE and STARE is reached, it is natural that these languages should capitalise on it. It is interesting to observe that as the domain of estar is being marked out in the three Peninsula languages under review, so that of ser/esser is undergoing restriction. In particular, the use of ser/esser as perfect auxiliaries is on the wane, (cf. Vincent, this volume) so that in all the modern languages the only perfect auxiliary is for Castilian haber, for Portuguese ter (archaically haver) and for Catalan haver. This means that there is a very clear formal opposition in these languages between ser/esser + past participle, which functions only as an action passive, estar + past participle, the resultant state passive, and ter/haber/haver + past participle, the perfect. Overall, estar is therefore able to compete, so to speak, very forcefully with ser/esser. This contrasts with the Italian situation, where the frequency of essere is extremely high, due to its use not only as a copula and action passive auxiliary, but also as the perfect auxiliary for all intransitive and reflexive verbs (and, in combination with ci, as the existential verb). Significantly, the generalisation of Catalan haver as the perfect auxiliary is rather later than in Castilian and Portuguese. While in the Celestina sample I examined there were only three examples of ser still being used as a perfect auxiliary and many examples of haber being used as the auxiliary for intransitive verbs, in Tirant the rule still seems to be that intransitives and reflexives take esser. Obviously this hypothesised dependency between the expansion of estar and the falling of ser/esser as a perfect auxiliary should not be taken too far - it is well to remember that Rumanian has generalised the auxiliary too, yet here a sta has not progressed as far as in Ibero-Romance (though Coceag and Escudero (349) optimistically suggest that Rumanian may be on the way to a Castilian-like situation). But it is a factor which may well play a rôle in the encouragement of the development of STARE.

In conclusion, it is clear that the histories of *ESSERE and STARE should be thought of as a Romance, rather than as simply an Ibero-Romance, phenomenon. All the Romance languages present at the early medieval stage individual and interesting
distributions of the two verbs which suggest the
development of much earlier preferences during the
Vulgar Latin period. The motivation for these early
choices seems scarcely to run deeper than general
semantics, extension and restriction of fields of
reference operating more or less haphazardly, but
with a general drift towards the proliferation of
copular verbs. The crucial association of STARE
with locative adverbials, which takes place in vary-
ing degrees in the three main Peninsular languages,
ensures the strength of estar there and paves the
way for association with other contexts. Morpholo-
gical developments, such as the obsolescence of seer,
and syntactic developments, such as the generalis-
ation of a perfect auxiliary, conspire to create the
opposition between ser/ésser and estar that we know
today. And it is precisely this interplay of seman-
tic and morphosyntactic factors that has produced
the complex synchronic situation in the Peninsular
languages and the intriguing similarities and dis-
similarities in their development.

NOTES

1. A convenient annotated bibliography of the
chief contributions to the topic appears in Navas

2. Counterexamples to this very general rule
have been proposed. They fall into two categories:
(a) usages which appear to be elliptical and are not
spontaneously accepted by all native speakers, e.g.
El mar está espejo ('the sea is [like] a mirror')
= el mar está [hecho un] espejo ('the sea is [has
been] made a mirror'), (b) one or two idioms, e.g.,
estar pez de ('to be ignorant of').

3. These are: (a) sentences in which the subject
of the copula represents an 'event', e.g., la
reunión es en el Aula Magna ('the meeting is in the
Great Hall'), (b) cleft structures, e.g., donde se
reúnen los ministros es en el Palacio Real ('where
the ministers are meeting is in the Palacio Real'),
where the collocation of copula and locative adver-
bial is merely a surface phenomenon.

4. In a sample consisting of the first four
chapters of Mercè Rodoreda's La plaça del Diamant
(Club Editor, Barcelona, 1962), I found 11 clear
examples of the resultant state passive usage with
estar as against one with ésser.

5. Huguet (1946) gives the phrases ester sur
les piedz, ester á droit and laisser ester as sur-
viving in sixteenth century French; ester is not
attested, however, in Rickard (1968).

6. Unfortunately, the data Badía presents is too restricted to admit of principled description. Although he speaks (135) of 'confusión de usos entre ser y estar', his examples of estar being used for ser all involve the infinitive, which may only indicate that, as in the Béarnais dialects I have referred to, estar supplies this form for the *ESSERE paradigm too.

7. Two well-known course books in modern Provençal, Bayle (1980) and Bazalgues (1975), make no mention of esta. I found no instance of the verb in a sample of Mistral's prose I examined.

8. Castilian estar also progressed in this direction: Bouzet (1953: 42-3) and Keniston (475) locate sporadic examples of noun complements.

9. Cf. Badia (1964: 66): '... no hem de veure, en aquesta extensió desmesurada d'estar, un castel-lanisme sistemàtic, sinó que molt sovint es tracta de les darreres etapes d'una evolució que el castellà realitzà en poc de temps, però que en català ha estat lenta i laboriosa'.

10. With pasar, caer and venir; two of these examples are undoubtedly the result of 'balancing' against passives:

    Deshecho es, vencido es, caído es... (65)
    'He is undone, conquered, [has] fallen...'