

Abstract

This article discusses the question how the existence of more than one copular verb in Spanish should be accounted for in a way that is compatible with the theory of copula support as developed within the framework of functional grammar. Basic to this approach is the idea that the copula is a semantically empty supportive device, functioning as a tense, mood, and aspect carrier. In Spanish, many sentence pairs differ only in the use of one of the two copulas ser and estar. The difference between these sentences is shown to be of an aspectual nature. To account for the difference between these sentences two solutions are proposed: (i) the aspectual difference between them is expressed by means of the different copulas. In other words, a copula may already be filled in for aspect; (ii) the aspectual difference between them is due to differences in the underlying structure of the sentences. These different structures condition the introduction of one of the two copulas. The rules that are needed to realize these solutions also account for the description of attributive and absolute constructions making use of a past participle or a gerund.

Introduction

The theory of copula support, as developed by Dik within the framework of Functional Grammar (FG)¹ in several recent articles (Dik 1980, 1983, 1985) treats the copula as a semantically empty supportive device, functioning as a carrier for tense, mood, and aspect distinctions. A copula is only inserted in those contexts in which it has to appear: that is, when predicate operators are specified and are to be coded on a verbal predicate but no such predicate is present in the underlying predication. The *copula support rule* has the following general format:

(1) Copula support

input: π predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)conditions: $\pi = \dots$ $\beta = \dots$ $\dots = \dots$ output: π copula $_{\nu}$ predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

Languages may differ with respect to the conditions under which the copula is to be inserted. The above rule makes it possible to formulate these conditions as related to the type of the predicate (β), which of course is always nonverbal, the predicate operators (π), and properties of the arguments. The supportive nature of the copula is reflected in the fact that the rule given in (1) does not apply when no values for π are specified.

The following English example may illustrate how this rule works. To form a predication, of which the general schema is given as the input of rule (1), a predicate frame is selected from the lexicon; for example,

(2) impolite $_A$ (x_1 : <human> (x_1)) $_{\emptyset}$

Through term insertion and specification of the predicate operators, underlying predications like the following one are reached:

(3) Pres impolite $_A$ (d1 x_i : George (x_i)) $_{\emptyset}$

As in English the predicate operator *Pres* needs explicit coding on a verbal predicate, copula support should apply as soon as structure (3) is met. This is ensured by the following *be*-support rule (Dik 1983):

(4) *Be* supportinput: π predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)conditions: $\pi =$ any specified predicate operator $\beta \neq V$ output: π be $_{\nu}$ predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

Application of rule (4) to structure (3) yields

(5) Pres be $_{\nu}$ impolite $_A$ (d1 x_i : George (x_i)) $_{\emptyset}$

which will finally be expressed as

(6) George is impolite.

This approach has some clear advantages if compared with an approach that generates the copula in all structures containing a nonverbal predicate:

(i) No deletion rules are needed in those contexts where the copula does not actually appear.

(ii) The difference between languages with or without a copula, or with a limited use of the copula, can easily be accounted for.

As demonstrated for English (Dik 1983) the group of nonverbal predicates may include, apart from nouns and adjectives, predicates formed out of a term, predicates formed out of a term provided with a semantic function, and even the past and present participle. The inclusion of the last category makes it possible to give a unified account of the occurrence of *be* both as a copula and as an auxiliary.

No attention has been given so far to the explanation of the existence of more than one copular verb in languages like Spanish within the theoretical framework outlined in the preceding paragraphs. To the extent that the two Spanish copulas *ser* and *estar* are used under different conditions, their occurrence might be captured in two different support rules, in which these conditions are specified. But where both copulas appear under the same conditions with a concomitant difference in meaning, they cannot be said to be semantically empty and additional rules are needed. The following examples illustrate the need for some kind of copula support in Spanish, if deletion rules are to be avoided:

(7) ¡Hermoso día!

'What a beautiful day!'

(8) Cual la madre, tal la hija.

'Daughters are like their mothers.'

The absence of the copula, especially frequent in exclamatives² and proverbs, as noted by Gili Gaya (1961: 58), should be accounted for by some restriction on the insertion of the copula.

To start with, I will give an overview of the different uses of *ser* and *estar*, both as copulas and as auxiliaries. After that, I will turn to those constructions in which both copulas may appear and propose a treatment of these constructions compatible with the theory of copula support.

1. Uses of *ser* and *estar*1.1. *As copular verbs*

Constructions containing a copula may be used to describe a variety of semantic relations. These are summed up in Dik (1980, 1983). In describing the different uses of *ser* and *estar* I shall make use of his classification. To avoid possible misinterpretations the inflected forms of *ser* and *estar* will be marked (S) and (E) respectively.

Class membership: *ser*.

(9) Antonio es (S) un ladrón.

'Antonio is a thief.'

Class inclusion: *ser*.

- (10) Un ladrón es (S) un ser humano.
'A thief is a human being.'

Identity: *ser*.

- (11) Antonio es (S) el ladrón que detuvieron anoche.
'Antonio is the thief they arrested last night.'

Property assignment, bare nominal: *ser*.

Nominals designating a profession or membership of an ideological group may be used as bare nominal predicates:

- (12) Antonio es (S) guardián.
'Antonio is a security officer.'
(13) Antonio es (S) comunista.
'Antonio is a communist.'

Property assignment, adjectives: *ser* or *estar*.

- (14) a. Antonio es (S) loco.
b. Antonio está (E) loco.
'Antonio is crazy.'

Most adjectives may occur with either *ser* or *estar*. If used with *ser* the property described by the adjectival predicate is presented as an intrinsic or permanent one, if used with *estar* the property is described as a contingent one.

Property assignment, past participles: *estar*.

- (15) El vaso está (E) roto.
'The vase is broken.'

The past participle also combines with *ser* to form the passive voice.

Adpositional predicates: *ser* or *estar*.

Most adpositional predicates require the use of *ser*, with the exception of locative predicates, which allow both *ser* and *estar* under different conditions.

Time: *ser*.

- (16) La boda será (S) a las doce.
'The wedding will be at twelve o'clock.'

Possessor: *ser*.

- (17) Ese reloj es (S) de Pilar.
'That watch is Pilar's.'

Location: *ser* or *estar*.

Although both *ser* and *estar* may be used with locative predicates, they are used under different conditions. *Ser* is used when the first argument is a term designating an event:

- (18) La reunión es (S) en la sala catorce.
'The meeting is in room 14.'

Event terms might be defined as terms that are allowed to appear as the first argument of a predicate indicating beginning, ending, or duration:

- (19) La reunión empieza a las ocho.
'The meeting begins at eight.'
(20) *La mesa empieza a las ocho.
'The table begins at eight.'

Estar is used when the first argument of the locative predicate is a term that does not designate an event:

- (21) La mesa está (E) en la sala 14.
'The table is in room 14.'

Some exceptions to the rule that *ser* and *estar* are in complementary distribution with locative predicates will be discussed later.

So far it has become clear that *ser* is exclusively used with bare nominal predicates, nominal term predicates, and most adpositional predicates. Both *ser* and *estar* are used with locative predicates, but under distinct conditions. Only with adjectival predicates are both *ser* and *estar* used under the same conditions. In this case the difference between the copulas may be said to be meaningful; that is, the difference between sentences containing *ser* or *estar* may be attributed to the different copulas.

The use of *ser* and *estar* with nominal and adpositional predicates is captured in the following two support rules, which will have to be extended later:

(22) *Ser* support

input: π predicate _{β} (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

conditions: π = any specified predicate operator

$\beta \neq V, A$

If predicate = {(term)_{Loc}}, term in (x_1) must designate event.

output: π *ser*_V predicate _{β} (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

(23) *Estar* support

input: π predicate _{β} (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

conditions: π = any specified predicate operator

$\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}$ & term in (x_1) does not designate event.³

output: π *estar*_V predicate _{β} (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

1.2. *As auxiliaries*

Both *ser* and *estar* are used as auxiliaries:

Progressive: *estar*.

- (24) Antonio está (E) escribiendo.
'Antonio is writing.'

Passive: *ser* or *estar*.

In general, *ser* combines with the past participle to form the passive voice:

- (25) El vaso fué (S) robado por Antonio.
'The vase was stolen by Antonio.'

In some cases *estar* is also used:

- (26) a. El camino es (S) bloqueado por las tropas.
b. El camino está (E) bloqueado por las tropas.
'The road is blocked by the troops.'

Later I will return to the difference between *ser* and *estar* passive sentences, as these sentences are the second context found so far in which both copulas may appear.

2. *Ser* and *estar* with adjectival predicates

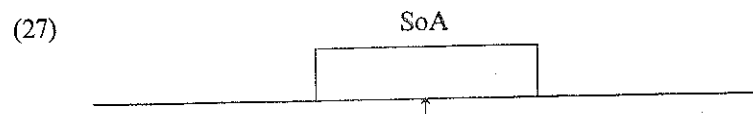
Before turning my attention to the treatment of sentences containing an adjectival predicate and either *ser* or *estar*, I will pay some more attention to the Spanish progressive, as this is the only construction type in which *estar* is used exclusively.

The Spanish progressive is used to indicate that

(i) Some state of affairs (SoA) is going on at the moment referred to by means of the tense distinctions on the verb.

(ii) This SoA is somehow limited in time (see Comrie 1976: 37).

The following figure, taken from Dik (1985), represents both qualities:⁴



Nonprogressive imperfective forms do not exclude progressive interpretation but are generally taken to indicate habitual or continuous aspect. Both defining qualities of the Spanish progressive may be made explicit in adverbial adjuncts:

- (28) Antonio estaba (E) hablando conmigo en ese momento.
'Antonio was talking to me at that moment.'
- (29) Antonio estuvo (E) hablando conmigo durante dos horas.
'Antonio was talking to me for two hours.'

The last example shows that the limitation in time alone may suffice to choose the progressive. The use of the perfective form *estuvo* indicates that the SoA is presented from beginning to end.

The definition given for the progressive might well be applicable to the use of *estar* + adjective. If, for instance, sentence (30) is uttered,

- (30) Antonia está (E) guapa.
'Antonia is pretty.'

what is meant is that at this moment she is looking nice, maybe because she has dressed for a party or because she is in a mood that makes her look good. Just as in the case of the progressive with a gerund, given in (28) and (29), sentences containing *estar* + adjective allow the combination with *en ese momento* or the explicit reference to a certain duration, whereas sentences containing *ser* + adjective do not allow these adjuncts:

- (31) a. José estaba (E) alegre en ese momento.
*b. José era (S) alegre en ese momento.
'José was happy at that moment.'
- (32) a. José estuvo (E) alegre durante dos horas.
*b. José fué (S) alegre durante dos horas.
'José was happy for two hours.'

A distinction similar to that made in Spanish by means of the choice of one of the two copulas can sometimes be made in English, as illustrated in the following sentences, taken from Comrie (1976):

- (33) a. Fred is silly.
b. Fred is being silly.

In (33b) it is the progressive that indicates that silliness is not a permanent quality of Fred but that right at this moment he is acting in a silly manner and will probably stop doing so. A final example from Spanish:

- (34) a. La nieve es (S) fría.
'Snow is cold.'
- b. La nieve está (E) fría.
'The snow is cold.'

Coldness is, of course, an intrinsic quality of snow and may be said to be part of its meaning definition. In uttering (34a) the speaker merely confirms

this. But (34b) may be used if, for instance, the speaker has just touched the snow that surrounds him and describes this particular experience.⁵

A possible conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that sentences containing *ser* or *estar* + an adjectival predicate differ in just the same way as verbal sentences with progressive or nonprogressive aspect. One would expect, within a coherent aspectual system, the occurrence of *estar* with the gerund of *ser* to indicate this progressive meaning. And, in fact, these sentences do occur, although under restricted conditions:

- (35) La reunión estaba (E) siendo (S) tumultuosa.
'The meeting was being tumultuous.'

This sentence does not allow realization with *estar* only:

- (36) *La reunión estaba (E) tumultuosa.

It will have been noted that this sentence contains a term designating an event as its first argument. This seems to be the conditioning factor for the use of the gerund of *ser*, as is indicated by the following sentences:

- (37) La clase estaba (E) siendo (S) interesante.
'The lesson was being interesting.'
(38) El concierto estaba (E) siendo (S) monótono.
'The concert was being monotonous.'
(39) La boda estaba (E) siendo (S) alegre.
'The wedding was being merry.'

This would be a second instance of special behavior of event terms, which may be captured in one restriction, as will be shown later. If the gerund of *ser* is used in other sentences containing an adjectival predicate and *estar*, these sentences are often not completely rejected, but the variant without the gerund is clearly preferred:

- (40) ?a. Estoy (E) siendo (S) indiscreta.⁶
b. Estoy (E) indiscreta.
'I'm being indiscrete.'

The use of the gerund in (40a) is judged to be old-fashioned. However, I have not been able to find indications that this use of the gerund is a relic from an older stage of the language.

I think it may be concluded that *estar*, when combined with an adjectival predicate, serves to express progressive meaning. I will turn now to the formalization of the expression of progressive aspect on verbal and adjectival predicates, respectively.

With regard to the expression of progressive aspect on verbal predicates, the following questions arise:

(i) whether or not the occurrence of the verb *estar* + gerund should be captured by a predicate operator;

(ii) whether or not *estar* should be treated as a copula.

There are two arguments in favor of a positive answer to the first question:

– *Estar* has completely lost its original meaning 'stand'. If it had retained some of this original meaning, it would certainly not combine with a gerund like *corriendo* 'running'. However, there is nothing wrong with the following sentence:

- (41) Antonio está (E) corriendo.
'Antonio is running.'

– As noted by Lenz (1925: 348), *estar* does not carry independent accent if combined with an adjective, a participle, or a gerund. The same holds for *ser*.⁷

Whether *estar* is to be treated as a copula when used with the gerund depends on the question whether the gerund is found with progressive meaning but without *estar*. At first sight, this seems to be the case in absolute constructions, in which the gerund indicates ongoing and cooccurrent action:

- (42) Cantando una canción, Antonio vió a la muchacha.
'While he was singing a song, Antonio saw the girl.'

However, the fact that the gerundial forms of verbs designating a stative SoA may appear in absolute constructions but not in completely specified sentences with progressive aspect contradicts the progressive analysis of the gerund in this context. Compare, for instance,

- (43) Sabiendo eso, salí de la sala.
'Knowing that, I left the room.'
(44) *Estaba (E) sabiendo eso.
'I was knowing that.'

In (43) the state of knowing is presented as relevant to the SoA presented in the main predication. As such, it is only temporarily relevant. This, however, does not imply that the state of knowing ended at the moment when this relevance came to an end nor that it was of a limited duration, characteristic for the progressive. When used in an absolute construction, the gerund merely indicates simultaneity and instructs the hearer to refer to the main predication for the relevant tense distinctions.

But the gerund does express progressive meaning without the use of *estar* when it is used to modify the goal argument of a verb of perception⁸ or representation (see Gili Gaya 1961: 197), as in

- (45) Antonio vió a la muchacha cantando una canción.
'Antonio saw the girl singing a song.'
- (46) Antonio dibujó a la muchacha cantando una canción.
'Antonio made a drawing of the girl singing a song.'

In these sentences, the gerundial construction may be replaced by a relative phrase containing *estar*:

- (47) Antonio vió a la muchacha que estaba cantando una canción.
'Antonio saw the girl that was singing a song.'

Furthermore, just as in the case of progressive sentences, the gerunds of verbs designating a stative SoA may not be used in this way:

- (48) *Antonio vió a la muchacha teniendo un lunar en la mejilla derecha.
'Antonio saw the girl having a birthmark on her right cheek.'

Given the fact that the gerund may be used without *estar* without losing its progressive meaning, as illustrated here, I conclude that *estar* should be regarded as a copular verb when used with the gerund.⁹ We may now formulate the following progressive rule:

- (49) Progr $X_V \rightarrow X_{Vger}$

This rule does not only provide the means to describe the expression of progressive forms making use of *estar* but also allows for the description of the underlying structures of attributive constructions like the one given in (45). The underlying structure of this sentence may be represented as follows (details which are not essential to the phenomenon at hand are not included in FG representations):

- (50) PastPf Ver_v (x_i ; Antonio (x_j))_{EXP} (x_j ; la muchacha (x_k)): Progr Cantar_v (x_j)_{AG} (x_k ; una canción (x_l))_{GO}

If *estar* support is adapted so as to apply also when a gerund is present, the difference between attributive constructions making use of a gerund and progressive sentences is correctly characterized. In the attributive constructions the time of occurrence may be inferred from the context or is left to the interpretation of the hearer, whereas in progressive sentences making use of *estar* it needs explicit coding on a verbal stem, whence the insertion of the copula.

When *estar* is treated as a copula in the construction of progressive forms, the gerund must consequently be regarded as a nonverbal predicate. It should be noted that the gerund does not have the same range of usage possibilities as, for instance, the past participle, which will be treated later. The attributive use of the gerund is, apart from the use just illustrated, in most cases¹⁰ against the rules given by prescriptive grammars. These grammars would consider the following sentence ungrammatical:

- (51) Una chica cantando.
'A singing girl.'

However, in everyday use the gerund is frequently used in this way. As early as the beginning of the century, Hansen (1913) mentions the increasing attributive use of the gerund. To cite just one of his examples,

- (52) Con los blancos cabellos flotando al aire.
'With his white hair dancing in the wind.'

Bouzet (1945: 231) cites the following example from a Spanish novelist, at the same time rejecting it as ungrammatical:

- (53) Llevaban pañuelos de seda cubriendo las espaldas.
'They wore silk kerchiefs covering their shoulders.'

Criado de Val (1976) states that the attributive use of the gerund is increasing from day to day. He gives the following example, among many others:

- (54) Un elector viviendo en la Calle Blanche.
'A voter living in the Calle Blanche.'

There are, however, differences between the gerund and other types of predicates that may be used attributively, like adjectives and past participles. The gerund never agrees with its head, while adjectives and past participles always show this agreement. Both adjectives and past participles may be preceded by an adverb, but not the gerund:

- (55) a. Carlos estaba (E) riendo excesivamente.
*b. Carlos estaba (E) excesivamente riendo.
'Carlos was laughing excessively.'

Notwithstanding these differences, I think the fact that the gerund is extending its use in the attributive domain clearly supports the view expressed earlier in this paper that the gerund should be regarded as a nonverbal predicate.

Having dealt with the expression of progressive aspect on verbal predicates, I now turn to the formalization of the difference between sentences containing an adjectival predicate and either *ser* or *estar*. As the only difference between these sentences resides in the copulas, these cannot be said to be semantically empty. This is accounted for in the following rule, which assigns progressive meaning to *estar* when used in combination with an adjective:

- (56) Progr $X_A \rightarrow Estar_v X_A$

The fact that *ser* and *estar* may be used to express the distinction between progressive and nonprogressive meaning explains the following two phenomena:

(i) Passive sentences with *ser* in imperfective aspect are in general not allowed with telic SoAs, except when a habitual reading is intended:

- (57) La puerta es (S) abierta por Antonio.
'The door is always opened by Antonio.'

According to Lenz (1925: 355) this restriction is due to the fact that *ser* may only be used to assign permanent qualities.

(ii) Quite frequently, *ser* is used with a locative predicate when the first argument is a term designating a nonremovable object. Normally *estar* is used in these cases, but sentences like (58) do occur:

- (58) El museo es (S) en el parque.
'The museum is in the park.'

A possible explanation for this special use of *ser* may be that the speaker distinguishes between permanent and contingent location.¹¹ This distinction can also be made in English by contrasting progressive and nonprogressive forms, as illustrated in the following sentences, taken from Comrie (1976):

- (59) The sphinx stands by the Nile.
(60) Mr. Smith is standing by the Nile.

As *ser* is used only for the location of terms designating an event, apart from the use illustrated in sentence (58), *el museo* in this sentence is likely to be interpreted as 'everything that happens in a museum', if contrasted with the *estar* realization of the same sentence.

The existence of both phenomena supports the view that *ser* and *estar* may be used to express the distinction between progressive and nonprogressive meaning, as formalized in rule (56). Once this rule is accepted, the occurrence of *ser* with adjectival predicates may be accounted for by means of an adaptation of the *ser* support rule. This rule should also apply when an adjectival predicate is present in the underlying predication, except when a progressive operator is specified. This last condition does not hold when the term in (x_1) designates an event.

To conclude this section I reformulate *ser* support and *estar* support on the basis of the extensions and adaptations suggested in the course of the discussion of the various constructions. Summarized, the rules should account for the insertion of the copulas under the following conditions:

– *estar* support applies only when a gerund is met or when the predicate is locative and the term in (x_1) does not designate an event.

– *ser* support applies in all other cases. When the predicate is adjectival and a progressive operator is specified, it applies only when the term in (x_1) designates an event. When it does not, rule (56) applies and introduces *estar* to express progressive meaning.

These different conditions are formalized in the following two rules:

- (61) *Ser* support
input: π predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)
conditions: π = any specified predicate operator
 $\beta \neq V, V_{ger}$
If $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}$ or if $\beta = A$ & π contains Progr term in (x_1) must designate event.
output: π Ser $_V$ predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)
- (62) *Estar* support
000 input: π predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)
conditions: π = any specified predicate operator
 $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}, V_{ger}$
If $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}$ term in (x_1) does not designate event.
output: π Estar $_V$ predicate $_{\beta}$ (x_1) (x_2) ... (x_n)

Two additional rules have been formulated and are repeated here for the sake of convenience:

- (49) Progr $X_V \rightarrow X_{V_{ger}}$
(56) Progr $X_A \rightarrow Estar_V X_A$

3. *Ser* and *estar* passive

I will now turn to the second type of construction allowing both *ser* and *estar*: passive sentences. Normally these are formed with *ser*, although with some restrictions, one of which has been mentioned in a preceding section. In general, it should be noted that the use of passive sentences is quite limited in Spanish. While the use of passive sentences is gradually decreasing, the use of so-called pseudoreflexives is increasing. These sentences enable the speaker to avoid reference, even implicitly, to an agent.

Under restricted conditions, sentence pairs may be formulated that differ only in the copula used. First consider the following English example:

- (63) The document is signed by the ambassador.

This sentence is ambiguous between the following two readings:

- (i) The document is subjected to the action of the ambassador signing it.
(ii) The document has the property 'signed by the ambassador'.

Spanish does not allow this ambiguity. To render the first reading *ser* is used, to render the second one *estar*.

- (64) El documento fué (S) firmado por el embajador.¹²
 (65) El documento está (E) firmado por el embajador.

In fact, the *ser* and *estar* sentences refer to different temporal stages. The *ser* sentence describes an event, the *estar* sentence describes the state resulting from this event. Only the *ser* sentence has an active counterpart.¹³

- (66) El embajador firmó el documento.
 'The ambassador signed the document.'

According to Bull (1965) *estar* passive only applies '... when the state resulting from an action will not persist without the continued intervention of an agent ...'. This formulation is, I think, incomplete. As example (65) shows, it is not the continued intervention of the agent, but the fact that the agent is recognized in the resulting state which allows *estar* passive to apply. This agent may be recognized because he is still present, but also because other signs show who has been the agent, like the autograph of the ambassador in (65), or the specific type of damage caused by moths in the following sentence:

- (67) El abrigo está (E) agujereado por las polillas.
 'The coat is damaged by the moths.'

An interesting sentence pair is given in Ramsey (1956: 384):

- (68) a. Este artículo está (E) escrito por una persona indocta.
 b. Este artículo ha sido (S) escrito por una persona indocta.
 'This article is/has been written by an uneducated person.'

In (68a) *escrito por una persona indocta* is presented as a property of the article, the quality of which reveals the writer's lack of education. (68b) refers to the act of writing the article.

If the agent is not recognized in the state resulting from a previous event, he cannot be mentioned:

- (69) *La paz está (E) firmada por el embajador.
 'Peace is signed by the ambassador.'

According to Moliner (1983: 1220), the fact that sentence parts like *firmado por el embajador* in (65) are presented as properties indicates that they should not be regarded as passive sentences. Indeed these sentence parts may be used attributively:

- (70) El documento firmado por el embajador fué (S) enviado al gobierno.
 'The document signed by the ambassador was sent to the government.'

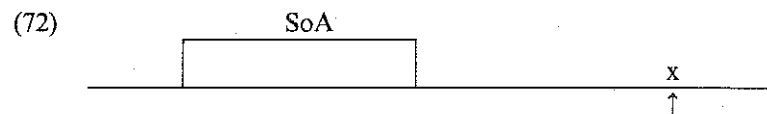
Moliner does not explain, however, how the internal passive structure of this attribution should be accounted for. Suppose now we regard *firmado por el embajador* in (65) as a complex predicate operating on *el documento*, then this would have the following consequences:

- (i) The predicate has its own internal passive structure.
 (ii) *El documento* is first argument (with θ -function) of the complex predicate and at the same time GoSubj within the predicate.
 (iii) The SoA described within the predicate took place before the SoA described in the sentence as a whole came about. Therefore a perfect operator is needed within the predicate.

To account for these different properties of the construction, the following underlying predication may be formulated:

- (71) Pres {Perf Firmar_{Vpass} (d1x_i: embajador_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}} (d1x_j: documento_N (x_j))_φ

The structure presented here resembles the ones given in Shiratsuki (1985) for resultative constructions in Basque. According to Dik (1985) constructions like this may be used to create new aspectual forms through what he calls 'the property channel'. He states that constructions like these are especially suited for the creation of new phasal-aspect distinctions as these may be conceived of as property-assigning expressions. 'Perfect' in its pure aspectual sense could for example be defined as 'it is a property of x now that x participated in a SoA earlier'. This is represented in the following figure (Dik 1985):



In (71) the SoA that took place before the moment referred to by means of the tense distinctions on the verb is described as a complex predicate applied to one of the participants (*el documento*) to indicate its current state which is a result of the participation in the SoA.

There are some indications that the sentence type exemplified in (71) is indeed a relatively new perfect. The function of *estar* in sentences like this was once fulfilled by *ser* (see Bouzet 1945: 283, 1953: 53). This copula construction gradually lost its perfect meaning and was replaced by *estar* + participle. This explains why among the *estar* passive sentences that I have found so far the greatest part describe an atelic SoA, as in (73):

- (73) El camino está (E) bloqueado por las tropas.
 'The road is blocked by the troops.'

Even in this kind of sentence¹⁴ *ser* was originally used to indicate result. As noted by Shiratsuki (1985: 190), to indicate the result of some atelic state of affairs an arbitrary limit is established within an ongoing SoA. It will be clear that especially in those cases the resultative or perfect interpretation is most easily lost, whence the need for a new, disambiguating device in precisely those sentences.

Again the question must be answered whether *estar* should be regarded as a copula when used in these perfect constructions. A positive answer to this question may be derived from the fact that the past participle is found with perfect meaning but without the use of *estar*. This is the case both in absolute constructions and in predications functioning as a restrictor within a term:

- (74) Firmado por el embajador, el documento fué enviado al gobierno.
'Having been signed by the ambassador, the document was sent to the government.'
- (75) El documento firmado por el embajador fué enviado al gobierno.
'The document signed by the ambassador was sent to the government.'

In both cases the participial construction refers both to the current state of the document and to the event that led to this state.

We may thus formulate the following perfect rule:

- (76) Perf $X_V \rightarrow X_{V_{\text{pass}}}$

Estar support should also apply when {Perf...} is present in the underlying predication.

When treated in this way, the constructions in (74) and (75) may be described in the following manner:

- (77) PastPf Enviar_{V_{pass}} (x_j)_{Ag} (x_j: el documento_N (x_j)_{GoSubj} (x_k: el gobierno_N (x_k))_{Rec} (x_l: [Perf Firmar_{V_{pass}} (x_m: el embajador_N (x_m))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}] (x₁))_{Circ}¹⁵
- (78) PastPf Enviar_{V_{pass}} (x_i)_{Ag} (x_j: el documento (x_j): {Perf Firmar_{V_{pass}} (x_k: el embajador (x_k))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}} (x_j)_{GoSubj} (x_l: el gobierno (x_l))_{Rec}

In the above structures the sentence part between brackets is identical but serves different functions. In (77) it serves as a circumstantial satellite, in (78) it is a restrictor within a term.

If *estar* passive sentences are treated as constructions with perfect value, the question arises how to deal with the grammatical distinction that is usually called 'perfect' in Spanish, consisting of an inflected form of the verb *haber* and a nonagreeing past participle. It should be noted that this 'perfect' is a distinction which for the greatest part has been reinterpreted as

a tense distinction. The 'perfect' is in fact a past tense used with certain restrictions:

- (i) the past event has current relevance or
- (ii) the past event took place with immediate anteriority or
- (iii) the past event took place within a stretch of time, overtly mentioned in the sentence, in which the moment of speaking is also located.

To differentiate between perfect in its purely aspectual sense and the Spanish 'perfect' I will call the latter 'Past 2' to stress its temporal reinterpretation. This explains why we may find both of the following constructions:

- (70) El documento está (E) firmado por el embajador.
'The document is signed by the ambassador.'
- (80) El documento ha sido (S) firmado por el embajador.
'The document has been signed by the ambassador.'

The difference between the two sentences may be represented as follows:

	EVENT		CURRENT STATE	
(81)				Perfect
				Past 2

The perfect essentially refers to the current state with reference to the event that led to it, while Past 2 describes a past event with reference to the current state.

It is this subtle difference that is disregarded in the approach to *estar*-passive sentences advocated by Hadlich (1971) in an early transformational framework. He proposes an underlying structure for these sentences that might be roughly represented as

- (82) El documento está [El documento ha sido firmado por el embajador].

He regards the embedded phrase as a predicate nominative and *estar* as a copular verb. Apart from the fact that this analysis requires deletion of several specified elements, it does not recognize the fact that the past participle may express perfect meaning by itself, as illustrated in the absolute and attributive constructions making use of a past participle given in (74)–(75). Past 2 does not carry this perfect or resultative meaning. Both may appear in absolute constructions, with a difference in meaning. Compare for instance (74), repeated here as (83) with (84):

- (83) Firmado por el embajador, el documento fué enviado al gobierno.
'Signed by the ambassador, the document was sent to the government.'

- (84) *Habiendo sido firmado por el embajador, el documento fué enviado al gobierno.*
 'Having been signed by the ambassador, the document was sent to the government.'

The absolute construction in (83) describes a resulting state, whereas the one in (84) describes an event anterior to the SoA described in the main predication. The second one does not allow the addition of *una vez* 'once', whereas it may be added to the first sentence to stress the resultativeness of the state described:

- (85) *Una vez firmado por el embajador, ...*
 'Once signed by the ambassador, ...'
 (86) **Una vez habiendo sido firmado por el embajador, ...*
 'Once having been signed by the ambassador, ...'

Furthermore, an analysis that does not distinguish between perfect and Past 2 would have great difficulties accounting for sentences in which both distinctions appear at the same time. These sentences are, however, perfectly possible, at least when the operators are applied to a verb designating an atelic SoA. In these cases, the maintenance of the state resulting from an event requires the continued intervention of an agent. The resulting state may therefore come to an end when the agent stops intervening. This is expressed in the following sentence:

- (87) *El camino ha estado (E) bloqueado por las tropas.*
 'The road has been "blocked by the troops".'

This sentence might be paraphrased as, 'The road has been in a state that was the result of the troops blocking it and the fact that it has been in this state has current relevance.'

On the other hand, it would be quite difficult to construe an acceptable interpretation for sentences in which both operators are applied to a verb designating a telic SoA. In these cases, application of the perfect operator implies that the event has reached its natural end point, at which moment the resulting state, in which the agent is recognizable but not present, came into existence. Application of the Past 2 operator would imply that this state has come to an end, that therefore the agent is no longer recognizable, but that this state nevertheless has current relevance. This explains why the following sentence is unacceptable:

- (88) **Este artículo ha estado (E) escrito por una persona indocta.*
 'This article has been "written by an uneducated person".'

An article that once had the property 'written by an uneducated person' but

no longer has this property is difficult to conceive of, as the intervention of the agent came to an end when the article was finished.

These facts support the view expressed in this section that Spanish distinguishes between perfect and Past 2 and that these distinctions should be captured by two different predicate operators.

4. Other uses of *estar* with past participle

One construction type in which *estar* occurs has not yet been dealt with. As indicated in the overview of uses of *ser* and *estar*, the last copula may combine with a past participle to assign a property. This characterization has to be refined and formalized. First, let me distinguish between past participles deriving from transitive verbs that do not allow the mention of an agent, unlike the ones treated in the preceding section, and past participles deriving from intransitive verbs, among which the inherent reflexives are especially frequent.

When not recognizable or visible in the state resulting from an event, the agent may not be mentioned explicitly, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (89) *El vaso está (E) roto (*por Antonio).*
 'The vase is broken (by Antonio).'
 (90) *La casa está (E) construida (*por los hermanos).*
 'The house is built (by the brothers).'
 (91) *La puerta está (E) cerrada (*por Pilar).*
 'The door is closed (by Pilar).'

A sentence like 'The door is closed' is ambiguous in English. It may mean either

- (i) The door is subjected to the action of somebody closing it
 (ii) The door has the property 'closed'. When this reading is intended, the agent may not be mentioned explicitly:

- (92) *The door is closed (*by Pilar).*

Spanish disambiguates between these two readings through the use of *ser* and *estar*. The *ser* sentences can, of course, be formalized as passive sentences. The formalization of the *estar* sentences is a bit more complicated. First, consider some of the restrictions on the occurrence of *estar* with the past participle of a transitive verb:

- (i) *Estar* does not combine with participles deriving from a verb designating a nondynamic SoA:

- (93) *Antonio está (E) conocido.
'Antonio is known (= famous).'

These participles only combine with *ser*, in which case the agent may be mentioned:

- (94) Antonio es (S) conocido por todos.
'Antonio is known by anyone.'

(ii) *Estar* does not combine with past participles of transitive verbs if some straightforward adjective is available (Bouzet 1945: 234):

- (95) *La cama está (E) limpiada.
'The bed is cleaned.'
- (96) La cama está (E) limpia.
'The bed is clean.'

(iii) The use of *estar* with past participles indicating a nonvisible state is limited:

- (97) *La chica está (E) besada.
'The girl is kissed.'

Having looked at some properties of the *estar* + past participle construction that should be accounted for, I now turn to the formalization of these constructions. We might treat the participles deriving from transitive verbs that do not allow the mention of an agent as derived predicates which take the same form as the predicate frames for adjectives:

- (98) Input: $X_{V_{trans.}} (x_1)_{A_2} (x_2)_{G_0}$
Output: $A_{V_{pap}} (x_2)_\emptyset$

An advantage of this rule is that both the preference for straightforward adjectives and the not-yet-mentioned tendency of participles to disappear into the lexicon are represented. *Estar* support should now be made sensitive to the presence of an $A_{V_{pap}}$ in the underlying predication to account for the occurrence of *estar* in these sentences.

Past participles deriving from intransitive verbs show a behavior different from that of transitive verbs in that these participles also combine with *estar* when a straightforward adjective is available.

- (99) Antonio está (E) crecido.
'Antonio is "grown".'
- (100) Antonio está (E) grande.
'Antonio is big.'
- (101) Antonio está (E) entristecido.¹⁶
'Antonio is "turned sad".'

- (102) Antonio está (E) triste.
'Antonio is sad.'

The difference between, for example, (101) and (102) may be characterized by saying that (101) describes the sadness of Antonio as the result of a foregoing process, while (102) does not make any reference to the foregoing process but only describes Antonio's current state. Four possibilities to indicate the (non)relation between event and (resulting) current state may be tabulated as follows:

(103)	EVENT	CURRENT STATE
	—————	a. Antonio se entristeció. 'Antonio turned sad.'
	—————	b. Antonio se ha entristecido. 'Antonio has turned sad.'
	-----	c. Antonio está (E) entristecido. 'Antonio is "turned sad".'
	-----	d. Antonio está (E) triste. 'Antonio is sad.'

The difference between (103b) and (103c) is most relevant for the present discussion. Just as in the case of passive sentences, the difference between Past 2 sentences and perfect sentences is that the former refers to a past event that has current relevance, while the latter refers to a current state with reference to the event that led to it. The subtle difference between the two constructions explains why Bouzet (1945: 238) considers them as almost interchangeable in many cases.

The similarity between *estar* passive sentences and sentences containing *estar* + the participle of an intransitive verb requires a similar treatment. The underlying structure of a sentence like (101) might be represented as follows:

- (104) Pres {Perf Entristecerse_V (x_i)_{Proo}} (x_i: Antonio (x_i))_o

No adaptation of the *estar* support rule is needed to account for the insertion of *estar* in this structure.

To prove that this analysis is correct is somewhat more difficult than in the case of *estar* passive sentences. With respect to those sentences it was argued that the fact that the nonaffected participants may be mentioned explicitly shows that the participle retains its argument positions in attributive and absolute use, which shows that they are present within the predicate. As intransitive verbs have only one argument this is, of course, the affected one in the constructions treated here, which makes it impossible to illustrate the fact that this argument position is needed within the predicate, at least when we have to depend on the construction types used

so far to illustrate this point. There is, however, another type of absolute construction in Spanish. When the subject of the absolute construction does not correspond with the subject of the sentence in which it is embedded, it may be mentioned explicitly:

- (105) Entristecido Antonio, Pilar le consolaba.
'Being "turned sad" Antonio, Pilar consoled him.'

This sentence illustrates the need for an argument position within the predicate in a sentence like (103c), if we want to give a unified treatment to the absolute and attributive constructions dealt with here. The underlying structure of (105) may now be represented as

- (106) Past Impf Consolar_v (x_i: Pilar_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: 3 ps.sg. (x_j)_{Go}
(x_k: [Perf Entristecerse_v (x_j: Antonio (x_j))_{Procl}] (x_k))_{Circ}

A final argument in favor of a similar treatment of *estar* passive sentences and sentences containing *estar* + the participle of an intransitive verb is that in the last sentence type also the function of *estar* was once fulfilled by *ser* (see Bouzet 1953).

5. Some applications

Let me, once more, reformulate the rules so that they include the adaptations brought forward in sections 3 and 4. In addition to the conditions summarized in rules (61)–(62), the following should be included:

– *Estar* support also applies when the predicate is a derived adjective of the type A_{v_{pap}} (produced by rule [98]) or a complex predicate including a perfect operator.

– *Ser* support does not apply under these conditions.

These adaptations are incorporated in the following two rules:

- (107) *Ser* support
input: π predicate _{β} (x₁) (x₂) ... (x_n)
conditions: π = any specified predicate operator
 $\beta \neq V, V_{ger}, A_{v_{pap}}, \{Perf \dots\}$
If $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}$ or if $\beta = A$ & π contains Progr, term in (x₁) must designate event.
output: π Ser_v predicate _{β} (x₁) (x₂) ... (x_n)
- (108) *Estar* support
input: π predicate _{β} (x₁) (x₂) ... (x_n)
conditions: π = any specified predicate operator
 $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}, V_{ger}, A_{v_{pap}}, \{Perf \dots\}$
If $\beta = \{(term)_{Loc}\}$ term in (x₁) does not designate event.
output: π Estar_v predicate _{β} (x₁) (x₂) ... (x_n)

I repeat the additional rules that were formulated:

- (49) Progr X_v → X_{v_{ger}}
(56) Progr X_A → Estar_v X_A
(76) Perf X_v → X_{v_{pap}}

To illustrate how these rules work and interact, I will give the derivations, simplified where possible, of some sentences. To do this, one more rule is needed. Without going into the many details of passive formation in Spanish, the following provisional rule may be formulated:

- (109) X_{v_{pass}} → X_{v_{pap}}

If the past participle is regarded as a nonverbal predicate, *ser* support applies automatically when this predicate type is met. Rule (109) should not apply when a perfect operator is present. In that case rule (76) applies and produces a V_{pap} with perfect value. In the derivations given below, the principle stated in Dik (1983), that support rules apply as soon as their conditions are met, is followed.

- (110) a. El camino está (E) bloqueado por las tropas.
'The road is blocked by the troops.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. Pres {Perf Bloquear_{v_{pass}} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}}
(x_j: el camino_N (x_j))₀
c. Pres Estar_v {Perf Bloquear_{v_{pass}} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}}
(x_j: el camino_N (x_j))₀ (*estar* support)
d. Pres Estar_v {Bloquear_{v_{pap}} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j)_{GoSubj}}
(x_j: el camino_N (x_j))₀ (Rule 76)

Ser support does not apply because no predicate operators are specified on the past participle.

- (111) a. El camino es (S) bloqueado por las tropas.
'The road is blocked by the troops.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. Pres Bloquear_{v_{pass}} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj}
c. Pres Bloquear_{v_{pap}} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (Rule 109)
d. Pres Ser_v Bloquear_{v_{pap}} (x_i: las tropas (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (*ser* support)

- (112) a. El camino está (E) siendo (S) bloqueado por las tropas.
'The road is being blocked by the troops.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. PresProgr Bloquear_{Vpass} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj}
 c. PresProgr Bloquear_{Vpap} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (Rule 109)
 d. PresProgr Ser_V Bloquear_{Vpap} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (*ser* support)
 e. Pres Ser_{Vger} Bloquear_{Vpap} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (Rule 49)
 f. Pres Estar_V Ser_{Vger} Bloquear_{Vpap} (x_i: las tropas_N (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: el camino_N (x_j))_{GoSubj} (*estar* support)

- (113) a. Antonio está (E) loco.
'Antonio is crazy.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. PresProgr Loco_A (x_i: Antonio_N (x_i))_φ
 c. Pres Estar_V Loco_A (x_i: Antonio_N (x_i))_φ (Rule 56)

Ser support does not apply because the predicate is an adjective and a progressive operator is specified at the same time.

- (114) a. La reunión está (E) siendo (S) tumultuosa.
'The meeting is being tumultuous.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. PresProgr Tumultuosa_A (x_i: la reunión_N (x_i))_φ
 c. PresProgr Ser_V Tumultuosa_A (x_i: la reunión_N (x_i))_φ (*ser* support)

Ser support applies because term in (x_i) designates event.

- d. Pres Ser_{Vger} Tumultuosa_A (x_i: la reunión_N (x_i))_φ (Rule 49)
 e. Pres Estar_V Ser_{Vger} Tumultuosa_A (x_i: la reunión_N (x_i))_φ (*estar* support)

- (115) a. Bloqueado el camino por las tropas, no pudimos avanzar.
'The road being blocked by the troops, we couldn't move forward.'

Underlying structure and derivation:

- b. PastPf Poder_VAvanzar_{Vinf} (x_i: 1 ps.pl. (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: [Perf Bloquear_{Vpass} (x_k: las tropas_N (x_k))_{Ag} (x_l: el camino_N (x_l))_{GoSubj}] (x_j))_{Circ}
 c. PastPf Poder_VAvanzar_{Vinf} (x_i: 1 ps.pl. (x_i))_{Ag} (x_j: [Bloquear_{Vpap} (x_k: las tropas_N (x_k))_{Ag} (x_l: el camino_N (x_l))_{GoSubj}] (x_j))_{Circ} (Rule 76)

Ser support does not apply because no predicate operators are specified on the past participle.

5. Conclusion

It may be concluded that the existence of more than one copular verb in languages like Spanish is not necessarily incompatible with the theory of copula support as developed within the framework of functional grammar. It was illustrated for Spanish that the choice for one or the other copula can in most cases be related to the different contexts in which they appear. Even in the case of passive sentences, where sentence pairs may be found that only differ in the copula used, the introduction of one or the other copula was shown to be attributable to differences in the underlying structures of these sentences. Where both copulas may appear under the same conditions, with adjectival predicates, the difference between them was characterized as an aspectual one. It was argued that *estar*, if used with an adjectival predicate, is already 'filled in' for progressive meaning, without losing its supportive function with regard to the other distinctions that are captured in predicate operators. If this phenomenon has a more general value, we may expect that other languages making use of more than one copular verb have 'specialized' copulas for other distinctions captured in predicate operators. Further research will have to show if this is indeed the case.

The rules that were formulated to treat *estar* as a copular verb in its auxiliary uses were shown to be highly productive in that they not only account for the copular constructions they were designed for, but also take care of the absolute and attributive constructions making use of a past participle and attributive constructions making use of a gerund. The essential difference between these constructions and constructions making use of *estar* as an auxiliary was thus characterized as residing in the fact that the distinctions carried by *estar* in the latter construction type are inferable from the context in the other construction types.

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Notes

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1. Those unfamiliar with the theory of functional grammar may refer to Dik (1978a) or to the summary given in Dik (1980).

Abbreviations used in this article: pap = past participle, ger = gerund, pass = passive; semantic functions: Ag = agent, Go = goal, θ = semantic zero function, Exp = experiencer, Proc = processed, Circ = circumstance, Loc = location, Poss = possessor; syntactic functions: Subj = subject; predicate operators: Pres = present, Pf = perfective, Impf = imperfective, Perf = perfect, Progr = progressive.

2. To account for this phenomenon it might be useful to add an extra variable in the copula support rule to be able to relate the insertion of the copula to sentence types. The illocutionary operators proposed in Dik (n.d.), which take care of the differences in sentence types, might be used for this purpose.

3. A term in (x_1) designates an event if it contains a lexical item that takes $\text{Event}_N(x_1)$ as one of its defining predicates. For the concept 'defining predicate' and the treatment of meaning definitions within the framework of FG, see Dik (1978b). In line with his approach, the restrictions on *estar* support and *ser* support with locative predicates might be formalized as follows:

- (i) $\phi(x_1) =_{\text{def}} \psi(x_1): \dots : \text{Event}_N(x_1)$ (term in (x_1) designates event)
- (ii) $\phi(x_1) \neq_{\text{def}} \psi(x_1): \dots : \text{Event}_N(x_1)$ (term in (x_1) does not designate event)

4. Compare also the figure given by Mateus et al. (1983) in their treatment of the Portuguese aspectual system to characterize the progressive:

- (iii) (.. p ..)

5. Note that the same distinction can be made in English through the presence or absence of the definite article.
6. This example is cited by Spaulding (1952).
7. Only if two predicate operators are contrasted does *ser* or *estar* carry independent accent, as in

- (iv) No **ESTÁ** (E) guapa, **ESTABA** (E) guapa.
'She isn't pretty, she **WAS** pretty.'

This fact stresses the supportive nature of the copula. Interestingly enough, *ser* and *estar* may also be contrasted in this way, as in

- (v) No **es** (S) guapa, **está** (E) guapa.
'She isn't pretty (intrinsic), she is pretty (contingent).'

which supports the view expressed later in this paper that the difference between *ser* and *estar* should be captured by a predicate operator.

8. For a similar phenomenon in English see Comrie (1976: 40).
9. This view implies that there is an important difference between *estar* progressive sentences and other construction types that may be used to express progressive

meaning, such as for instance *Ir* + gerund 'Go V-ing'. Compare the following sentences:

- (vi) Antonio estaba leyendo el periódico.
'Antonio was reading the newspaper.'
- (vii) Antonio iba leyendo el periódico.
'Antonio "went!" reading the newspaper.'

There are restrictions on the use of sentence (vii) that indicate that the verb *ir* has retained at least some of its original meaning 'go', when used in this way. Sentence (vii) may only be used if the speaker sees Antonio passing by reading the newspaper. It is clearly ungrammatical when it is used to describe Antonio while he is not moving from one point to another while reading the newspaper. Sentence (vi) is neutral with respect to these different situations and may be used in both, which indicates that in this construction the verb *estar* has entirely lost its original meaning 'stand'. Constructions with progressive meaning like the one illustrated in (vii) should be accounted for by a set of predicate formation rules, which I will not try to formulate here. In the case of sentence (vii), the output of one of these predicate formation rules would be something like

- (viii) $\text{Ir}_V \text{ Progr Cantar}_V (x_1)_{\text{Ag}} (x_2)_{\text{Go}}$

10. The Real Academia española (1973) allows the use of *ardiendo* 'burning' and *hirviendo* 'boiling'.
11. In Portuguese this distinction conditions the use of *ser* and *estar* consistently.
12. As in this context imperfective aspect is not allowed due to a restriction that has been discussed in the preceding section, the past perfective is used.
13. There exists a periphrastic construction that comes near an active equivalent of the *estar* sentence:
 - (ix) El embajador tiene firmado el documento.
'The ambassador has (possesses) signed the document.'
14. The example is taken from Bull (1965), who probably had this type of sentence in mind when he formulated the restriction on *estar* passive formation that I criticized.
15. The absolute construction will often be interpreted as describing cause, consequence, or something else. This, however, depends on the context and the hearer and is not coded in the predication as such. Compare also Keniston (1937: 555):

Most frequently, as was the case with the participle modifying the subject, they report a concurrent action or state. But the concepts of cause, condition, manner, means, time, and the like naturally fall within their province. Again, it has seemed unnecessary to try to classify the numerous examples according to their adverbial types, since the particular force must in each case be determined by the context and because each reader may place his own interpretation on the particular meaning of a given example.

16. Although a verb *entristecer* 'make sad' exists, *entristecerse* does not mean 'make yourself sad', as shown by the rejection of

- (x) *Antonio entristeció a sí mismo.
'Antonio made himself sad.'

Entristecer is used only with inanimate subjects:

- (xi) El mal tiempo entristece a Juan.
'The bad weather makes Juan sad.'

From these facts I conclude that we are indeed dealing with an inherent reflexive.

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