VARIATION AND GRAMMATICALIZATION IN PROGRESSIVES
SPANISH -ndo CONSTRUCTIONS*

RENA TORRES CACOULLOS
University of New Mexico

ABSTRACT

This paper presents an account of the variation in Spanish Progressive constructions from the perspective of grammaticization. Retention of features of meaning from the source constructions is reflected in distribution constraints on the different auxiliaries, which, nevertheless, are converging toward continuous meaning. The evidence supports the hypothesis that progressives originate as locative or movement constructions and that the process by which they evolve is semantic generalization (as opposed to metaphor or pragmatic strengthening). An important mechanism in this grammaticization process is frequency of occurrence in certain contexts, in support of the view that frequent repetition plays a role in semantic change (Bybee and Thomspn 1997; Haiman 1994).

1. Synchonic variation and diachronic change

One of the problems in a structuralist approach to language is the search for single invariable meanings for particular grammatical morphemes. Especially in the study of verbal systems, a distinction is often drawn between invariant systemic meaning and secondary non-systemic meanings (e.g., Bull 1965; King 1992; Silva-Corvalán 1991). For example, Silva-Corvalán (1991:258) states that the Spanish Present Progressive indicates simultaneity with the moment of speech "outside a communicative context" in its systemic meaning, but notes that "in context" the same form may refer to situations which are not ongoing at reference time. As appealing as concise statements of systemic meaning may be, matters become complicated when we look at actual data.
Studies of grammaticization suggest that the synchronic variation in the uses of a particular grammatical morpheme corresponds to successive diachronic steps in the evolution of lexical toward grammatical meaning. The data examined in this study support the principles of grammaticization, as outlined succinctly in Hopper 1991. Older uses coexist with newer ones, so that in fact the Spanish Progressive has uses ranging from locative to progressive to habitual, with additional non-aspectual nuances of meaning. At the same time, newer morphemes may come to have the same use as older ones, so that different constructions may have identical meanings. These sets of facts contradict a view based on invariant meanings derivable from systemic oppositions.

Grammaticization is characterized by semantic generalization or bleaching. As grammatical morphemes develop, specific features of the original lexical meaning are lost and more uses are appropriate. Great progress has been made in describing the universal paths of grammaticization for tense, aspect, and mood categories, especially in the work of Bybee et al. (1994). One of the ongoing questions, however, concerns the mechanisms of semantic change in grammaticization. How exactly do morphemes become grammatical?

One way to tackle this question is through the study of language-specific change in progress. In this study I look at synchronic variation in the uses of Spanish progressive constructions. Spanish is a language that combines all the different lexical sources found cross-linguistically for progressives. There is a progressive from a locative source, estar ‘be located’, but also progressives from movement sources, for example ir ‘go’, and from a verb meaning ‘follow’ or ‘keep on’, seguir. I will henceforth apply the term “progressive construction” or “-ndo construction” to periphrastic expressions composed of an auxiliary plus a main verb in the gerund (or present participle) -ndo form; “auxiliary” is a convenient cover term for verbs such as estar, ir, seguir, and is meant to be neutral as to the extent of lexical meaning (or conversely, the degree of grammaticization) of these verbs in -ndo constructions. In what follows I will describe the variation in the uses of -ndo constructions and propose an account of this variation as the synchronic manifestation of the diachronic paths of evolution followed by the auxiliaries in these constructions.

The quantitative analyses of conversational data to be described below reveal that distribution differences reflect the lexical origin of the different auxiliaries in progressive constructions, in support of the principle of persistence (retention) in grammaticization (Hopper 1991: 28). Additionally, the facts of synchronic distribution support the hypothesis that progressives originate in locative constructions and that the process by which they evolve is semantic bleaching, as opposed to metaphorical extension (e.g., Sweetser 1988; Heine et al. 1991) or pragmatic inference (e.g., Traugott 1989; Traugott and König 1991). With respect to the crucial question of mechanisms of change in grammaticization, Bybee and Thompson (1997) have argued that repetition or frequency of use operates in the phenomenon of semantic bleaching, in support of the view put forward by Haiman (1994) that grammatical constructions emerge and evolve as conventionalized patterns of language use through mechanisms effective more generally in ritualization. The present data suggest that frequency of occurrence in certain contexts plays a pivotal role in the loss of features of meaning and the extension of uses of -ndo constructions — specifically, from locative to aspectual, and from progressive to continuous to habitual.

The hypothesized grammaticization paths suggested by the synchronic distribution restrictions on the different auxiliaries may be summarized initially as in (1) for estar ‘be (located)’ and (2) for ir ‘go’.

(1) ESTAR plus -NDO
locative construction >
human agent is at specific location involved in a characteristic activity
Example: ahi estoy en la casa haciendo el quehacer (121)1
‘there I am in the house doing the chores’
progressive aspect >
human agent is involved in an externally perceptible activity or
(later) in an internal mental activity
Example: usted me está grabando (135), usted está pensando
(298)
‘you are recording me’, ‘you are thinking’
habitual aspect
activity or state is characteristic of a period of time
Example: aí...ésta trabajando (334), ella estaba viviendo allí (22)
‘he is working there’, ‘she was living there’
(2) IR plus -ndo

**motion verb harmony**

human agent moves and -ndo form is a manner adverbial describing the type of movement

*Example: me voy andando de aquí hasta allá (462)*

'I go walking (on foot) from here all the way there'

**progressive and other aspects**

subject (not necessarily human) is involved in ongoing, gradually developing, iterative or inceptive situation

*Example: [La semilla]...va creciendo (144)*

'The seed is (literally: goes) growing'

The different uses outlined in (1) and (2) coexist in present-day Spanish, so that the meanings that may be contributed by the auxiliaries in -ndo constructions range from fully lexical to completely grammatical (aspectsual).

The data for the present study are from the *Habla popular de la ciudad de México: Materiales para su estudio* (UNAM 1976), which was designed to provide a corpus of oral popular Mexico City Spanish. In 172,699 running words of text the number of -ndo constructions is 635. The relative frequencies of the different auxiliaries appear in Table 1.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESTAR</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDAR</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEGUIR</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENIR</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>635</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Frequency of auxiliaries in -ndo constructions**

_Estar_ is the most frequently occurring auxiliary, with slightly over half of all -ndo constructions, followed by _ir_, with close to a fourth. _Andar_ has only 14% of the total tokens.  

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, I describe the distribution of the auxiliaries across types of main verbs (-ndo forms); Section 3 is a discussion of the role of motion verb harmony in the evolution of motion verb progressive constructions. In Section 4, I describe

cocurrence restrictions on particular locative expressions and adduce support for a locative origin for _estar-ndo_. In Section 5, I discuss the role played by the use of specific patterns of first person subjects with certain high frequency verbs in the generalization of _estar-ndo_ to habitual uses. Section 6 is a description of the particular uses distinguishing _andar-ndo_ and _ir-ndo_. Finally in Section 7, I look at overlapping uses of the different -ndo constructions and the phenomenon of layering (Hopper 1991: 22) in the domain of progressive and continuous aspect.

2. Retention

The hypothesis that grammaticizing constructions retain features or nuances of meaning of the source construction, known as the retention (Bybee and Pagliuca 1987) or persistence (Hopper 1991) hypothesis, is supported by distribution and cocurrence constraints on the different -ndo constructions. Specifically, retention of the original locative or movement meaning of the auxiliaries is reflected in differences in the main verbs and locative expression with which they are used.

First we will look at the distribution of the different auxiliaries across types of main verb. Table 2 shows the different classes of verbs that _estar_, _ir_, and _andar_ combine with. The third column in Table 2 shows the type frequency of the main verbs, that is, the number of different verbs in each semantic class.

The first fact that emerges from the distribution of -ndo forms by semantic class is the asymmetry in the breadth of verb classes for each auxiliary. For all three auxiliaries, the biggest class is verbs indicating a general activity, such as _ayudar_ ‘help’, _pasarla_ ‘pass the time’, _enseñar_ ‘teach’, followed by the class of verbs indicating a physical activity, such as _bailar_ ‘dance’, _planchar_ ‘iron’, _sembrar_ ‘plant’. But while _estar-ndo_ and _ir-ndo_ are respectively distributed over eight and seven of the semantic classes (counting those with more than five examples), _andar-ndo_ is restricted to four. _Andar_ does not combine with process, state, or “paying” verbs. Another measure of the breadth of distribution of the auxiliaries is the type frequency of the different -ndo constructions, that is, the number of distinct main verbs used with each auxiliary ("Type" column in Table 2): _estar_ combines with a total of 162 different -ndo forms, _ir_ with 97, and _andar_ with 67.
The generality of distribution of estar and ir compared with andar correlates with their frequency and their age. First, from the most frequent auxiliary estar to the least frequent andar there is decreasing generality of application to different main verbs. Second, although ir-nndo is less frequent than estar-nndo, ir actually displays a more even distribution across the different verb types, as shown in the percentages for ir in Table 2. A count of -ndo constructions in the 12th century poem El Cid suggests that ir-nndo may be an older construction. Of 80 -ndo constructions in the Cid, 61 or 76% are with ir; there are 10 cases of estar and 7 of ser, adding up to 21% (cf. Spaundling 1926: 251). There are only 2 andar-nndo constructions.

The second fact concerning the distribution by semantic class summarized in Table 2 is the apparent overlap of the auxiliaries, on the one hand, and their differentiation, on the other. That is, all three combine most frequently with general or physical activity verbs, and least frequently with aspectual verbs such as empezar or terminar (only four examples total). This overlap in main verb distribution indicates that all three auxiliaries have undergone semantic generalization in the same direction. I discuss the convergence of the three auxiliaries later (Section 7). Here I focus on their differentiation. Certain classes of verbs are more common with one rather than the other auxiliaries. For example, while both estar and andar take physical activity main verbs, there were no cases where andar combined with an indoor housework activity. Activities such as bañar ‘bathe’, hacer el quehacer ‘do the housework’, hacer de comer ‘prepare a meal’ are expressed with estar. This distribution is consistent with the lexical meaning of andar, as predicted by the retention hypothesis, since in carrying out housework chores one usually remains confined to a small space as opposed to ‘going around’. Also consistent with the ‘go around’ meaning of andar is the high frequency of what I have called general activity verbs (49%), that is, activities without an associated location or activities which stand for various more specific subactivities, such as hacer trabajos ‘do jobs’ or arreglar ‘fix, arrange’ (see note 4).

Let’s look now at the probability that certain types of main verb determine the use of one as opposed to the other auxiliary. Table 3 shows the results of three separate variable rule (VARBRUL) analyses for the effect of the main verb. The higher above .50 the VARBRUL weight for a semantic class, the more strongly it favors the use of a particular auxiliary. For example, the results for andar show .97 for the class of non-directional motion verbs. This means that if the main verb is a non-directional motion verb such as dar vueltas ‘go around’, andar rather than another auxiliary is more likely to be used. The lower below .50, the less favorable is that class of main verbs to the use of the particular auxiliary.

Table 3: Contribution of the semantic class of the main verb (-ndo form) to the choice of auxiliary (VARBRUL weights)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESTAR N=338/661</th>
<th>IR N=146/632</th>
<th>ANDAR N=89/635</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paying</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mental</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motion, nondir.</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>mental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motion, directional</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estar is strongly favored over ir or andar when the main verb is pagar ‘pay’, with 19 cases, or another paying or money verb such as cobrar ‘charge’, ganar ‘earn’, dar a ‘sell at (a certain price)’. The high frequency of paying verbs (10%) is related to the extension of estar-nndo to habitual
situations, which I discuss later (Section 5). Estar is also more likely to occur than either ir or andar with a mental activity, emotion or sensation verb, such as esperar ‘wait’ (11 cases), ver ‘see’ or mirar ‘see, watch’ (7), gustar ‘like’ (4), pensar ‘think’ (4), aguantar ‘tolerate’ (3), soñar ‘dream’ (3). Verbs of saying, such as decir ‘say’ (12 cases), platicar ‘chat’ (9), hablar ‘speak’ (6), likewise favor estar (and somewhat less andar) over ir. Verbs indicating location or state, such as vivir ‘live’ (8), esperar un hijo ‘be pregnant’ (5), dormir ‘sleep’ (4), are more common with estar (and somewhat less ir) than andar.6

In a discussion of estar-ndo compared with the simple verb forms, Fernández (1960) describes the particular meaning carried by the Progressive form as “nearly cinematic”, observing that estar combines with verbs indicating activities which are very perceptible to the senses. These include speaking and other activities apparent to the eyes and ears, such as gritar ‘shout’, llorar ‘cry’, cantar ‘sing’; actions generally associated with certain movements (those I have called physical activity verbs, such as bailar ‘dance’); and actions associated with very characteristic postures, such as mirar ‘watch’, leer ‘read’, dormir ‘sleep’ (1960: 512).7

As opposed to structuralist treatments, in which some grammatical morphemes are defined by the presence and others by the absence of features in a system of oppositions (e.g. King 1992), the present data support the view that grammaticizing constructions have inherent meaning, contributed by the original meaning of their component parts (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 138). If we subtract mental and state verbs in Table 2, we see that in over 75% of the tokens estar combines with a verb indicating an overt activity or, in Fernández’s (1960) terms, a highly perceptible activity. Why should this be the case? The preference for overt activity main verbs is related to the lexical use of estar, which contributes a sense of personal involvement in the situation to the -ndo construction. Gili Gaya (1943: 53–8) observes that estar ‘to be (located)’ is associated with change and personal experience, as opposed to generic ser ‘to be’. This difference between estar and ser is illustrated below:

(3) a. El chile está muy picoso
    ‘The chili is very hot’
    b. El chile es muy picoso
    ‘Chili is very hot’

To say (a), with estar, one has to have tasted the chili (sauce), but (b), with ser, is a generalization independent of direct experience. Although the relation between simple and corresponding periphrastic forms is beyond the scope of the present study, it is useful here to draw the contrast in certain pairs. The personal involvement nuance of estar-ndo is observable in cases of lexical split between the simple and Progressive form, for example, estoy esperando ‘I am waiting’ but espero ‘I hope’, or estoy pensando ‘I am thinking’ but pienso ‘I think, I am of the opinion that’. The following excerpt from a conversation illustrates:

(4) B: Qué bueno fuera que, como pensamos unos, pensáramos todos.
    A: Pensáramos todos.
    B: Pero, no; pues no todos pensamos iguales.
    Encuestador: Sí.
    B: Ca….-como dice el dicho- cada cabeza es un mundo. Yo no puedo pensar lo que usted está pensando, ni voy a pensar lo que acá, el compañero, está pensando. (298)
    ‘B: How good it would be if we all thought the same way some of us think.’
    A: If we all thought.
    B: But no; since we don’t all think the same.
    Interviewer: Yes.
    B: As the saying goes, every head is a world of its own. I can’t think what you are thinking, nor am I going to think what my friend here is thinking.’

In this example, the simple Present is used to refer to generic situations but the Progressive Present refers to the specific situation of the speaker and his interlocutors (Silva-Corvalán, p.c.). The simple form pienso ‘I think’ refers to a state, while the estar-ndo construction estoy pensando ‘I am thinking’ refers to an active process in which the subject is involved. Support for this analysis is provided by Weber and Bentivoglio’s (1991) finding that creer ‘believe’ and pensar ‘think’ appear overwhelmingly (84%) in the simple Present, which corresponds to the stative meaning of such “cognitive” verbs. In contrast, the very few cases of Progressive estar pensando ‘be thinking’ in the corpus studied “realize an activity meaning” (Weber and Bentivoglio 1991: 202). In terms of the present discussion, my claim is that estar contributes more than aspectual meaning, which is related to its uses outside
the grammaticizing -ndo construction. The involvement-of-the-subject meaning of estar-ndo can be traced to the locative origin of the construction (cf. Hatcher 1952), which I discuss below in sections 4 and 5.

3. The role of use in context: motion verb harmony

Let us now look at the distribution of the motion verb auxiliaries with respect to classes of main verbs. As shown in Table 3, ir is most likely to occur compared to estar or andar with verbs indicating physical motion in a certain direction, such as seguir ‘follow’ and llegar ‘arrive’ (3 examples each) or entrar ‘enter’, pasar ‘pass’, andar ‘walk’ (2 each). On the other hand, andar is favored by verbs indicating physical motion that is not in a particular direction, for example, buscar ‘look for’ (8), dar vueltas ‘go around’ (3), explorar ‘explore’, acompañar ‘accompany’.

The pairing of directional motion verbs with ir and of non-directional motion verbs with andar corresponds to the original lexical meanings of these auxiliaries. This distribution indicates the retention of earlier lexical meaning by the grammaticizing motion verbs. Ir ‘go’ is used lexically in allative constructions, while andar ‘walk, go around’ is used for motion in an undetermined direction. This difference is illustrated nicely below.

(5) **Me fui andando, sí señor. Pregunte y pregunte, pero yo llegué hasta allá.** (273)

‘I went there walking, yes sir. Asking several times, but I got there.’

(6) **Ni aunque andes dando vueltas para allá y vueltas para acá, no te digo nada.** (277)

‘Even if you go around, going around this way and that way, they still won’t say anything.’

The construction of ir and andar with motion verbs which agree in directional specification may be viewed as a kind of directional harmony, similar to the situation of “modal harmony” in which modals and adverbs express the same degree of modality (cf. Lyons 1977; Bybee et al. 1994: 214, 295). I hypothesize that these kinds of harmonic constructions played an early role in the grammaticization of **motion verb + -ndo** constructions. In combination with another motion verb in -ndo form, the semantic contribution of ir or andar is reduced. Initially the combination is a verb-adverbial construction. The -ndo form may start out as a sort of adverbial of manner modifying ir or andar, as in example (5) above, where the gerund andando ‘walking’ specifies the kind of movement referred to by ir(se). The combination then becomes a periphrastic construction. The -ndo form ends up making the only semantic contribution, as in (6), where the gerund dando vueltas ‘going around’ is the main motion verb and auxiliary andar could be omitted with only loss of aspecual meaning.

According to reference grammars surveyed by Spaulding (1926: 236), the original function of -ndo forms in construction with a finite form is to describe the action of the finite verb. One piece of diachronic evidence in support of the hypothesis that **motion verb + -ndo** constructions generalize from earlier harmonic constructions of the motion verb plus a motion-verb gerund acting as a modifier or adverbial of manner is the high occurrence of **ir + motion verb -ndo** in the 12th century Cid. Of 61 ir-ndo constructions, 17 = 28% have a physical directional motion gerund such as llegando ‘arriving’, with 5 cases, tornando(se) ‘(re)turning’ (4 cases), pasando ‘passing’ (2 cases). Example (7) below illustrates this with ir llegando ‘to go arriving’.

(7) **Afevos doña Jimena con sus hijas do va llegando** (verse 262)

‘Here is Doña Jimena who arrives (literally: goes arriving) with her daughters’

An additional 5 cases involve non-physical or metaphoric directional motion, as in example (8).

(8) **sonando van sus nuevas todas a todas partes** (verse 1206)

‘his fame spreads (literally: goes spreading) to all parts’

Combined, the **ir + motion verb -ndo** cases total about one-third of all ir-ndo constructions, a percentage that is nearly double the present-day frequency. The higher proportion of ir plus motion verb -ndo in an earlier text may be taken as evidence that ir-ndo constructions began as directional harmony constructions. In these contexts, the more specific movement verb in the -ndo form would be interpreted as contributing most of the meaning, and the semantic contribution of more general ir would be reduced.

The grammaticizing motion verbs in -ndo constructions ir, andar, venir, start out with a general movement meaning. In contrast, motion verbs expressing a specific type of movement do not undergo semantic bleaching.
to evolve as aspectual markers. In the early 16th century play The Celestina, there are 16 cases of ir and 8 each of andar and venir in construction with an —ndo form. In six cases other motion verbs appear in construction with —ndo. In all cases, however, the motion verb retains its full lexical meaning. There are three cases with pasar ‘pass by’: pase rompiendo ‘pass by breaking’, pasaba haciendo estruendo ‘was passing by making noise’ (Act XII), pasaban vociendo ‘were passing by yelling’ (Act XIX); and one each with the motion verbs bajar ‘descend’, tornar ‘return’, and entrar ‘enter’: bajar corriendo ‘go down running’ (Act V), torno callando ‘come back quietly’, entrando callando ‘go in quietly’ (Act XIV). In the synchronic data studied here, however, the only one of these motion verbs appearing in construction with -ndo is pasar (see note 2). Thus, a requirement for grammaticization is that the finite verb enter the -ndo construction with an already general movement meaning.

To summarize sections 2 and 3: the auxiliaries are not evenly distributed over classes of main verbs. We have seen that the distribution differences are related to the lexical meanings of estar, ir, and andar, in support of the retention hypothesis in grammaticization. Furthermore, in the case of the motion verbs ir and andar, we have seen that the frequency of harmonic constructions with a motion main verb may have played a role in their development as auxiliaries.

4. Locative origin of estar-ndo

In addition to main verb distribution differences, differences with respect to cooccurring locative expressions further support the retention hypothesis. In 149 cases (of 615), the -ndo construction cooccurred with a word or phrase indicating location. The most frequent were aquí ‘here’, ahí, allí, and allá ‘there’ (55 cases). As shown in Table 4, different -ndo constructions are more likely to appear with certain locative expressions.

Let us begin with andar. Andar is most favored compared to estar and ir with expressions indicating a general location, such as por acá ‘around here’, por allí ‘around there’, dondequiera ‘everywhere’. Andar is also more likely than either estar or ir to occur in the presence of a prepositional phrase headed by en ‘in’ or adentro de ‘inside’. The following examples illustrate.

| Table 4: Contribution of different locative expressions to the choice of auxiliary in -ndo constructions (VARBRUL weights) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ESTAR | IR | ANDAR |
| con ‘with’ NP | .89 | donde ‘where’ | .78 | por acá ‘around here’ | .93 |
| | ai ‘around there’ | .77 | ai ‘around there’ | .74 |
| | en ‘in’ NP | .72 |
| ai ‘around there’ | .20 | en ‘in’ NP | .07 | other | .21 |

9. Dondequiera andaba platicando: arriba, en el sexto…(54)
'I would go around talking to people everywhere: upstairs, on the sixth floor…'

10. Los mejores detalles, cuándo era yo chamaco [] era de andar gozando en la calle, jugando, andar con mis amigos, distraídos. (85)
'The best experiences, when I was a kid [] was going around having fun in the street, playing, going around with my friends, having a good time.'

The cooccurrence of andar-ndo with expressions indicating multiple locations (e.g., dondequiera ‘everywhere’) or a general or extensive location (e.g., en la calle ‘in the street’, en el campo ‘in the fields’), and the lack of any examples of andar-ndo with donde ‘where’, which indicates a specific location, follow from the general, non-directional movement meaning of andar, as predicted by the retention hypothesis.

Ir-ndo, on the other hand, is most favored by donde ‘where’ expressions (example 11). Ir and andar are both more likely than estar to occur with the expression ai ‘around there’ (a reduced form of ahí ‘there’), which is itself grammaticizing, often lacking locative meaning (example 12).

11. Y que luego mi mamá se fue llorando a donde estaba mi papá (207)
'And then my mother went crying to where my father was'

12. Porque si no se vende, ai va uno lamentando que…(365)
'Because if it doesn’t sell, then you get to worrying about…(literally: one goes regretting that…)'
In the first example *ir(se)* clearly retains part of its allative motion meaning. In the second, the allative sense is still there, but the physical motion meaning has been lost; what *ir* contributes is additional nuances to progressive meaning, a kind of inchoative and projection into the future meaning, along the lines of English “start to” (see Section 6.2, Inceptive, below).

_Estar-ndo_ is more likely than any of the motion verbs to appear with a phrase headed by _con_ ‘with’ (a person), with 9 of 13 total cases. In the first example below, the use of _estar_ is toward the lexical beginning of the grammaticization path, while in the second it is toward the grammatical end. Even here, however, there are traces of the locative meaning contributed by _estar._

(13) ...menos de un año estuve con ella trabajando. (56)
‘...for less than a year I was with her working.’

(14) _Estuve trabajando con él, de mozo._ (82)
‘I worked with him, as a helper.’

Since _estar_ comes from Latin _stare_ ‘stand’ (and _ser_ from _sedere_ ‘be seated’), a postural source could be hypothesized for the Progressive (Olbertz 1998:303). Heine (1994:271) suggests that _stare_ plus _-ndo_ originates as either an equational or manner construction, from schemas such as “X is a Y” and “X stays in a Y manner”. The distribution of locative expressions with _estar-ndo_, however, strongly supports the hypothesis that progressives with stative auxiliaries derive from locative, rather than postural, equational, or manner sources. Perhaps the best finding in support of the locative source hypothesis with respect to the cooccurrence of locative expressions is the lack of any cases of _estar-ndo_ with _por aquí_, _por allí_, _dóndequiera_ (12 cases total in the corpus). Recall that these are the general location expressions that most favor _andar-ndo_. Since _estar-ndo_ is distributed across all the other locative expression types, the absence of any such cases strongly supports the view that the original meaning of _estar-ndo_ is “being in a specific location doing something”, as proposed for progressive constructions cross-linguistically by Bybee et al. (1994:127ff.). Indeed, examples of _estar-ndo_ in Old Spanish texts indicate the locative origin of the construction (Yllera 1980:26ff.).

_Ir_ displays the reverse distribution. _Ir-ndo_ is disfavored by _en_ ‘in’ or _adentro de_ ‘inside’ expressions, which we saw favor _andar_, and _con_ ‘with’ NP expressions, which favor _estar_ (there were no cases at all, a so-called knockout factor). Both these locative expression types are incongruent with the original andative meaning of _ir._

To summarize: the distribution of _andar_, _estar_ and _ir_ by types of locative expression shows that the auxiliaries retain features of their locative or movement meaning. The retention of meaning shows up in cooccurrence restrictions on the grammaticizing _-ndo_ constructions. Specifically, cooccurrence facts provide evidence for the origin of _estar-ndo_ in a locative construction.

5. Semantic bleaching: extension to habitual uses

Many authors observe that _estar-ndo_ may carry a nuance of transitoriness or deviation from the norm (e.g. Bull 1965:164; cf. Goldsmith and Woisetschlaeger’s 1982 distinction between structural knowledge and phenomenal description). The transitory or deviation from the norm sense may be explained as a carryover from the original meaning of the construction. That is, if an activity is circumscribed in a particular location and if the subject is actively doing it, the activity is necessarily of limited duration (J. Bybee, p.c.). Thus, unlike habitual situations, progressives do not extend indefinitely in time. The use of _estar-ndo_ to refer to a situation which represents a change or something newsworthy corresponds to the high frequency of cooccurring temporal expressions indicating “now”. Of the total 103 cases in which _estar-ndo_ cooccurred with a temporal expression, 44 or 43% were with the expressions _ya_ ‘already’, _ahorita_ ‘now’, _ahora_ ‘now’, _apenas_ ‘just (now), hardly’. For example,

(15) _Pues materialmente ahora sí se me ha estado yendo bien._ (278)
‘Well materially now things have indeed been going well for me.’

Nevertheless, there are cases where _estar-ndo_ can have habitual meaning. In the following example, _estar-ndo_ refers to a situation which is customary and characteristic of a period of time; in fact the construction occurs in a generic definition and cooccurs with the temporal expression _todos los días_ ‘every day’, which indicates the opposite of a temporary situation.

(16) ¿_Sabes cuál es un borracho? El que todos los días está tomando._ (450)
‘You know what a drunk is? Someone who drinks (literally: is drinking) every day.’
Another example is *estar viviendo* ‘be living’, which is assumed to imply temporariness (e.g. Lope Blanch 1962, cited in Luna 1980:203). This need not be the case, as in (17), where *está viviendo* does carry particular nuances of meaning, but these do not concern transitoriness. The speaker is describing the uncooperativeness of some people.

(17) Aunque ya esté cerca de la casa donde está viviendo la persona esa. Se niegan a decirle rotundamente que allí vive. (277)
‘Even if you’re close to the house where that person is living. They flatly refuse to tell you that that is where he lives.’

The use of *estar* with the *-ndo* form of a stative verb, such as *vivir* ‘live, reside’, or to refer to a habitual situation, such as drinking every day, seems to carry some kind of speaker attitude, such as surprise or disgust (cf. Comrie 1976:37, 49–50, note 1). An explanation for the emotive or emphatic use of *estar-ndo* is a carryover from the original locative function of the construction, which implies the active involvement of the subject in an overt activity (cf. Hatcher 1952). Thus, in the example above, *está viviendo* ‘is living’ carries the nuance ‘the person is actively (obviously) living right there’, which makes it all the more consternating that even though you are near, the neighbors won’t tell you. In the case of a drunk (example 16), *está tomando* ‘is drinking’ conveys that the subject is actively engaged in drinking, and perhaps also the speaker’s negative attitude.

When *estar* combines with a directional motion verb the meaning is frequentative or habitual, for example,

(18) ...le dan treinta pesos a la semana, cuando va a la escuela; y *ahorita* que está yendo diario; le dan cincuenta. (258)
‘...he gets 30 pesos a week, when he goes to school; and now that he is going every day; they give him 50.’

(19) **Inclusive ahorita estamos saliendo a hacer unas pruebas...el primer domingo salimos a Xochimilco, ¿verdad?** (315)
‘Now we’re even going out to do some tests...the first Sunday we went to Xochimilco, right?’

The use of *estar-ndo* as opposed to the simple form expresses the speaker’s pragmatic attitude that these are new (ahorita, ahorita ‘now’) newsworthy activities. In his study of the diachronic evolution of Spanish progressive constructions, Spaulding (1926:245) finds only six examples of *estar* with a motion verb, all of which he finds to be “of a rather special nature”. In terms of the present discussion, this special nature lies in the expression of a pragmatic attitude toward the situation described. Furthermore, three of the examples cited by Spaulding cooccur with *siempre* ‘always’ and *todas las noches* ‘every night’, which indicate frequentative or habitual meaning.

Thus, as *estar-ndo* grammaticizes it begins to extend to habitual situations, as in the examples above, albeit with particular nonaspectual or pragmatic nuances. Table 5 shows that *estar* is favored over other auxiliaries to refer to habitual situations.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESTAR</th>
<th>IR</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>limited duration</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradually developing</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inceptive</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state exists</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limited duration</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another example of habitual use, this time with a work-related main verb is in (20).

(20) Hasta en las noches estoy plan...planchando; a las dos de la mañana, estoy planche y planche; lavando, hasta con el foco. (32)
‘Even at night I am (up) ironing; at two o’clock in the morning, I am ironing and ironing; washing, even with the light bulb.’

Now, consider the following example, in which the speaker uses *estar-ndo* to answer a question about her children’s occupations.

(21) – Y sus hijos a qué se dedican?
‘– And what do your children do?’
‘– Well one is working there, at Seguros Atlas. The little one is
at Seguros Atlas. The other is in telegraphs. And the other, right now the boy doesn’t work. The other … is studying (attending school); and the little girl is studying.\textsuperscript{12}

Here the question is not about present location at all, but about situations that are characteristic of a period of time, that is, habitual situations. The main verbs are trabajar ‘work’ and estudiar ‘study, attend school’.

How does estar-ndo generalize to include habitual meaning? Frequent use of certain patterns of estar plus a few high frequency verbs seems to be the best answer. It is important that the single-most frequently occurring verb in construction with estar in the corpus studied is trabajar ‘work’, with 29/338 cases or close to 9\%, followed by pagar ‘pay’, with 19 cases, and then estudiar ‘go to school’ and tomar ‘drink’, with 12 cases each.\textsuperscript{13} Trabajar, estudiar and tomar are ambiguous with respect to location. One can work, study, or drink in a specific location identified with the activity, such as the fields, the university or the tavern, but one can also carry out these activities in other locations. (It would be interesting to investigate whether the notion of work has in fact extended over time, from physical labor to include sitting behind a desk apparently not doing much of anything). Thus, if estar-ndo was originally applied to verbs indicating activities with a characteristic location, or activities that are highly perceptible (see Section 2), the frequent use of the construction with trabajar and other verbs ambiguous with respect to specific location may have led to loss of the specific location meaning feature.

The loss of the requirement that the subject be in a particular location with high frequency verbs trabajar and estudiar is related to the extension of estar-ndo to habitual uses. Vendler (1967:108) distinguishes between what he calls specific states, such as those of being a smoker, a writer, or a taxi driver, and generic states, such as those of being a ruler, servant, or educator. Driving a taxi is a uniform occupation, in that taxi drivers can say that they were driving all morning. Being a ruler, on the other hand, involves disparate activities, so that there is no particular time when rulers are “ruling”. (Compare the use of a verb in I smoke or I drive a taxi with the use of a copula construction in I am a ruler or I am a servant.) Looked at this way, trabajar and estudiar are not only ambiguous with respect to a specific location, they are ambiguous with respect to their inherent aspect. Trabajar can be an activity or it can be a generic state in Vendler’s sense, so that está trabajando can refer to a habitual situation, as in example (21) above.

It is worth noting that estar trabajando occurs primarily in the first person singular. Of the total 29 cases, 11 (=38\%) are first person, 5 are second person, and 7 involve close relatives (my son, my father). That is, close to 80\% of the cases involve the speaker. This fact supports a locative > active-involvement-of-the-subject source for estar-ndo. The frequency of first person subjects in estar trabajando may facilitate the extension from progressive to habitual meaning. Even a habitual situation may seem to involve the subject actively, if that subject is “me”.

Support for the hypothesis that habitual uses of estar-ndo may first appear in first person contexts is provided by the single example found in the Celestina (ca. 1500) in which estar-ndo is compatible with a habitual situation (I found no earlier examples among those cited by Spalding 1926).

\begin{center}
(22) \textit{...que me suelo estar uno o dos días negociando encomiendas ajenas ayuna...(Act IV)}
\end{center}

‘…for sometimes I fast for one or two days while I’m about my neighbors’ business…’ (transl. Simpson 1955:51)

Here habitual meaning is made explicit with the verb soler ‘be in the habit of’; estar may be said to be in construction with both the adjective ayuna ‘unfed, fasting’ and the -ndo form negociando ‘negotiating’. Notice that the main verb negociar refers to Celestina’s occupation (work).

The correlation between frequency and semantic generalization has been noted before. For example, Bybee et al. (1994: 8) explain that grammaticization is associated with an increase in frequency, since the semantic generality of a grammatical morpheme enables it to occur in more contexts. However, what the incipient extension of estar-ndo to habitual in the present corpus indicates is that frequency may precede semantic generalization, being itself one of the mechanisms in semantic change (cf. Bybee and Thompson 1997; Haiman 1994). First, estar is the most frequent auxiliary, with over half of all -ndo constructions (Table 1). Second, estar combines in high frequencies with certain main verbs (trabajar, estudiar), which are ambiguous with respect to location and inherent aspect. If frequency feeds generalization, habitual –ndo constructions should first appear with auxiliary estar, main verb trabajar, and in reference to situations directly involving the speaker. Clear examples of habitual use as in (21) suggest indeed that high frequency patterns such as estar trabajando are precisely the ones making incursions into habitual territory.
6. Andar-ndo and ir-ndo

In this section I describe the distribution and uses of andar-ndo and ir-ndo.

6.1

-ndo constructions are very old, dating back to Vulgar Latin according to Coseriu (1968; also, Dietrich 1983). This means that it is difficult to track the order of appearance of the different auxiliaries in construction with -ndo. However, there is evidence that andar-ndo is the youngest form. From a diachronic perspective, I have already noted that andar-ndo appears only twice in the Cid, compared with 69 occurrences of ir-ndo. From a synchronic perspective, distribution facts indicate that andar-ndo is less grammaticized than ir or estar plus -ndo.

6.1.1

Andar-ndo is restricted to a narrower range of main verb types than estar or ir; andar does not combine with stative predicates at all (see Table 2).

6.1.2

Andar-ndo is restricted to animate subjects. Of the three auxiliaries, andar has the highest frequency of human subjects (98%), followed by estar (91%). It is important to note that the only two non-human subjects in andar-ndo were both animals. On the other end, ir-ndo has the highest frequency of non-human subjects (28%). This percentage is nearly double that found in the 12th century Cid, where 16% (10/61) cases of ir-ndo have a non-human subject. Thus, the ordering of the auxiliaries with respect to human subjects is andar, estar, ir. Notice that this is the reverse of the ordering found with respect to generality of distribution by semantic class (Table 2). Ir-ndo has the most non-human subjects and the most even distribution across different verb types.

6.1.3

Andar and estar are both more likely to occur than ir in the context of a narrative (as defined by Labov 1972). On the other hand, ir is most favored in general descriptions or exchanges of information, such as about the processes in shoe repairing (see Subsection 6.2, Iterative, below). These results are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Discourse contexts differentiating andar, estar, ir from other -ndo auxiliaries (VARBRUL weights).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ANDAR</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 89</td>
<td>N = 338</td>
<td>N = 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>gen.descript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general description</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>personal experiences</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>narrative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.4

Clitic climbing, which has been shown by Myhill (1988) to correlate with degree of grammaticization, was found to be a significant factor only in the case of andar, which is favored over other auxiliaries when clitic climbing does not occur. Of the three auxiliaries, ir has the highest clitic climbing frequency, with 93% (clitic climbing occurred in 53 cases of a total of 57 cases where it was possible), followed by estar, with 89% (103/115). Andar-ndo has the lowest clitic climbing frequency, 79% (26/33). The percentages include cases where the clitic climbs to an auxiliary preceding the -ndo auxiliary. There were five such cases for andar-ndo, where the clitic attached to ir as a future marker, as in qué me voy a andar casoando con ese ‘I’m going to go (around) marrying that guy — for what?’ (UNAM 1976:57). There were two cases for estar-ndo, in which the clitic attached to the Perfect auxiliary haber ‘have’, as in tantos niños que se han desaparecido ‘so many children that have been disappearing’ (UNAM 1976:445). There were no such cases for ir-ndo.

6.1.5

Andar-ndo displays a higher proportion of Imperfect with respect to Preterite forms, 22/6 = 3.7, than estar-ndo, 59/36 = 1.6. The relative frequency of Imperfect andar-ndo is 25%, while Imperfect estar-ndo is 17% of all cases of estar-ndo. Ir reverses the proportion, in favor of the Preterite, 22/11 = 2. In general, the Preterite is more frequent than the Imperfect in Spanish, at about a 2:1 ratio. Since -ndo constructions are generally imperfectives, it is not surprising that here the ratio should favor the Imperfect. The higher proportion in favor of the Imperfect with andar may be taken as an indication that andar-ndo remains closer to its original aspectual function. Unlike ir and estar, andar was found to have only continuous and frequentative uses.
(see Table 8 ahead and Note 15). The relative frequencies of “tense” forms are given in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ESTAR</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>ANDAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>338</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, synchronic as well as partial diachronic evidence indicates that andar-ndo is younger and less advanced along the grammaticization path than ir-ndo and estar-ndo.

6.2

Let us look now at the uses of ir-ndo. As the results in Table 5 (Section 5) indicate, ir-ndo is more likely to occur than other auxiliaries when the situation is viewed as gradually developing, iterative, or inceptive. I briefly describe these particular uses of ir-ndo.

6.2.1 Gradually developing (50/146)

In 50 of 146 cases ir-ndo constructions have an additional nuance of gradual development. Although in their cross-linguistic study Bybee et al. (1994) do not report finding a gradual development gram, this use was coded separately since it distinguishes ir from other -ndo auxiliaries. The distribution of temporal expressions supports this distinction. Poco a poco ‘little by little’ occurs exclusively with ir-ndo, as in example (23); in example (24) ir-ndo cooccurs with ‘bit by bit’, which also implies a gradually developing situation.

(23) Ai vamos al pasito, al pasito, pero pues...se va haciendo...se va haciendo...es se va haciendo el negocio así, poco a poco. (280)

‘We go slowly, step by step, but...the business is (literally: goes) growing...is growing...yes it is growing there, little by little.’

(24) Pero ya va saliendo la cosecha así, por partes. (150)

‘But the harvest now is (literally: goes) coming out this way, bit by bit.’

The distribution of main verbs by semantic class further supports the proposal that ir as opposed to other auxiliaries combines with gradual development meaning. 24 of 37 process verbs, such as hacerse ‘become’ (4 cases), salir ‘turn out’ (2), formarse ‘form’ (2), which are dynamic verbs describing a change of state, occur in construction with ir (see Table 2). While the prototypical process verb crecer ‘grow’ occurs once with estar, there are 10 cases with ir.

Many authors have ascribed a gradual development with future projection meaning to ir-ndo (Arjona 1991; Gili Gaya 1943: 104, Luna 1980: 206, Solé 1990; Spaulding 1926: 252–3, Stowell 1957; for Old Spanish, see Yllera 1980: 59ff.). For example, Arjona (1991: 127) cites Así es como he ido viviendo ‘That is how I have been living’ as an example of “duración con progresión” (duration with progression). The English Progressive may also have a gradual development use in certain contexts, as the translations of the examples above indicate. However, this use with Spanish ir-ndo seems to be conventionalized in that it does not depend on the cooccurrence of a process verb or an expression such as little by little. One way this may have come about is through frequent occurrence in such explicit contexts. That is, the gradual development use of ir-ndo may be a case of meaning absorbed from context. Since ir-ndo occurs more frequently with process verbs or expressions such as poco a poco than either estar or andar, the implication of gradual development is conventionalized as part of the meaning of the construction itself. Thus, ir-ndo may come to mean gradual development with a non-process verb, such as colocarse ‘to position oneself’, as in the example below.

(25) ¿Y cómo se fue él colocando? (193)

‘And how did he go about getting that position?’
6.2.2 Iterative (16/146)

Iterative aspect favors *ir* over other auxiliaries. It is interesting that the biggest concentration of *ir-nndo* in the corpus occurs in a description of processes in shoe repairing (UNAM 1976: 28–39, 26 of 146 cases). Many of these processes involve the repetition of telic or punctual actions, for example: *ese disco va dando vueltas, uno mismo lo va puleando, la máquina va picando, la costura se va metiendo, va enudando en cada pisada*—“the disc goes on turning, you yourself go on polishing it, the machine goes on punching, the seams go on being taken in, it goes on knotting with each step”. Iterative meaning, then, results from the combination of *ir* with telic predicates.

The iterative and gradually developing uses of *ir-nndo* may explain the high frequency of non-human subjects discussed earlier (J. Bybee, p.c.). Since objects, as well as humans, can undergo changes and processes, inanimate subjects are congruent with these uses of *ir-nndo*. Meanwhile, the human subjects *ir* used to have (as in the *Cid*) may have been taken over by the more recent movement source auxiliary, *andar*.

6.2.3 Inceptive (14/146)

Various authors have ascribed an inchoative or terminative meaning, or even a sense of surprise or unexpectedness to *ir-nndo* (cf. Lope Blanch 1972: 13–4; Solé 1990). An example of *ir-nndo* expressing unexpectedness or surprise is the following:

(26) ...y que voy viendo al policía y me dio mucho miedo (199)
    ‘...and just then *I see* the policeman and I got scared (literally: *I go seeing*)’

I find an inceptive meaning translatable into English as ‘about to’ or ‘just starting to’ with punctual motion verbs such as *llegar* ‘arrive’, *entrar* ‘enter’, *salir* ‘go out’, *depar* ‘go’ ‘8 cases’, as in the following example:

(27) Pues, mire, ahorita vamos a las siete. Vamos llegando como a las nueve a la casa. (366)
    ‘Well, look, in a little while we leave at seven. We’ll just be arriving (literally: we go arriving) home around nine o’clock.’

This meaning may be reinforced by lexical material, for example, the adverb *apenas* ‘scarcely, as soon as’, or the grammatical context, for example, hortative *vamos* ‘let’s’.

VARIATION AND GRAMMATICALIZATION IN PROGRESSIVES

(28) ...cualdo apenitas va subiendo en el...el color a un pétalo (149)
    ‘...just as the color begins to rise to a petal’

(29) Entonces le dije: “Si gustas, vamos a...vámonos poniendo a prueba.” (314)
    ‘So I told her, “If you like, we’ll...let’s test ourselves” (let’s go from here testing ourselves)’

The inceptive use of *ir-nndo* appears at least as early as the *Celestina* (ca. 1500), as in the following example:

(30) Ya me voy recordando de ella. (Act IV)
    ‘I’m beginning to remember her.’ (transl. Simpson 1955: 48)
    (literally: Already I go remembering her)

Spaulding (1926: 245) observes that *ir* is commoner with inceptive verbs such as *anochece* ‘to get dark’, *amanecer* ‘to dawn’, than the other auxiliaries. Nevertheless, *ir-nndo* may express inception on its own. In the following example *ir* combines with a stative predicate, *quedarse* ‘remain’.

In this case the main verb does not indicate inception, nor can inceptive meaning be attributed to cooccurrence with a lexical item indicating inception such as *apenas* ‘just’ or *ya* ‘already’. Inceptive meaning in examples such as (31) must therefore have become conventionalized as part of the *ir-nndo* construction itself. The speaker is talking about his present job.

(31) Y por eso yo me fui quedando ahí. Hasta la fecha, ¿no? (129)
    ‘And that’s why *I stayed there* (from that point onward). Until now, right.’
    (literally: I went staying).

The inceptive meaning I impute to the *ir-nndo* construction in (31) is confirmed by the use of the lexical inceptive *empezar* a ‘to begin to’ with the same construction by the same speaker a few lines further down.

(32) Desde luego, viendo la inteligencia, fue por lo que yo empecé a...irme quedando ahí, en ese trabajo, ¿no? (130)
    ‘Of course, because I was smart was why *I began to stay* there, at that job, right.’
    (literally: I began to go staying).

A similar development, the grammaticization of a progressive into an “ingressive” or “intentional” seems to have occurred in the West African
7. **Layering: convergence toward continuous meaning**

In the following example, *estar* and *ir* are both used with the same main verb, *pagar* ‘pay’. Based on our finding that different locative expressions tend to co-occur with particular auxiliaries (Table 4), the use of *ir* may be triggered by the expression *aí* (see example 12) as part of a routine pattern. Nevertheless, there seems to be little difference in meaning between the two auxiliaries here.

(33) a. – *Estoy pagando* mensualidades. *Me salió como en treinta y seis o algo así.* *Yo voy pagando* mensualidades.
   – ¿*Mensualidades* de cuánto?
   b. – *Yo, para salir rápido, estoy dando dos mil*...(379)
   a. ‘I am making’ monthly payments. It came out to around thirty-six or something like that. There *I go making* monthly payments.
   – Monthly payments of how much?
   b. – In my case, to get out quickly, I am paying (giving) two thousand…’

In (a), one might interpret *estoy pagando* ‘I am paying’ (with *estar*) as more of a continuous situation of making payments, as opposed to *voy pagando* (with *ir*), as more of a gradually developing situation of making payments resulting in eventual full payment. However, *estar* is used immediately after in (b), where the monthly payments are explicitly presented as resulting in full payment by the phrase *para salir rápido* ‘to get out quickly’.

In the previous sections we have spent considerable time on the distribution and use differences among *estar*, *ir*, and *andar*. It is important to recognize, however, that in their most frequent uses -ndo constructions overlap, with a continuous meaning. The most frequent aspectual category for all -ndo constructions is continuous or durative, meaning that the situation is viewed as being in progress over a period of time (Comrie 1976: 33). This result is summarized in Table 8. We find 258/338 = 76% for *estar*; 89/89 = 100% for *andar* (combining continuous with frequentative); and 94/146 = 64% for *ir* (combining continuous with gradually developing).

Furthermore, all three auxiliaries combine most frequently with the same two classes of main verb, general activity verbs such as *ayudar* ‘help, assist’ and physical activity verbs such as *bailar* ‘dance’ (see Table 2).
Table 8: Distribution of -ndo constructions by aspeccual category (relative frequencies of aspeccual meanings expressed).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ESTAR</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>ANDAR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (=338)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N (=146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>developing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequentative</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual, state exists</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limited duration</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inceptive</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures for less frequently occurring categories are omitted.

The fact that in their most frequent uses estar, ir, and andar take the same classes of main verbs and have the same aspeccual function indicates that the auxiliaries have grammaticized in the same direction. That is, the original locative and movement lexical meanings have generalized to progressive and continuous aspeccual meanings.

We can see the convergence of meanings — from locative or movement to progressive aspect — in the following set of examples. (34)–(36) illustrate that all three auxiliaries may be used with progressive meaning in the restricted sense, that is, to refer to an action taking place simultaneously with the moment of reference. In (34) with estar, the falling asleep was actually in progress when the lady screamed; in (35) with andar, the playing is in progress when the mother sees the child; in (36) with ir, driving around was in progress when the speaker ran into the other person.

(34) ...yo me estaba quedando dormida [] Y que oigo que echa el grito la señora. (388)
   ‘...I was falling asleep [] When I hear the lady scream.’

(35) Sale a la ventana y ve a la niña que anda jugando en el recreo (416)
   ‘She goes to the window and sees the child who is playing during recess.’
   (literally: who goes around playing)

(36) ...nosotros íbamos dando la vuelta...allá por la Prosperidad. Entonces, lo encontramos... (48)
   ‘...we were driving around...there along Prosperidad street. Then, we saw him...’ (literally: we went driving around)

These examples of progressive use with different auxiliaries, and the fact that continuous overall is the most frequent aspeccual meaning of all -ndo constructions, suggest that the auxiliaries are all converging toward the same grammatical meaning.

In the framework of structuralist schemas in which forms are defined by oppositions within a closed system we would be forced to ascribe some kind of meaning difference to the variation in -ndo auxiliaries. However, while some scholars may insist on finding a meaning difference every time a different form is used, sociolinguistic variationist studies have shown that distinctions can be neutralized in discourse (Sankoff 1988:153). Convergence toward similar meanings in later stages of grammaticization is common cross-linguistically (cf. discussion of the development of pasts in Bybee et al. 1994, Chapter 3). In this case, as the original locative or movement lexical meaning of estar, ir, andar undergoes bleaching, the remaining aspeccual meaning is the same, albeit with particular non-aspeccual nuances such as expressing transitoriness or newsworthiness with estar or future projection with ir.

Thus, all three auxiliaries, estar, ir, and andar, as well as less frequent seguir and venir, are viable competitors for expressing progressive or continuous meaning. Spanish -ndo constructions, then, do not yet show specialization. Specialization refers to the narrowing of choices of forms in a semantic domain, as in the case of French negation, in which various forms competed before pas finally won out as a general negator (Hopper 1991:26). Instead, what seems to be happening with -ndo constructions is that estar, ir, and andar are all assuming more general grammatical meanings in a parallel fashion. The variation in -ndo constructions in Spanish is, at least partially, an example of layering as described by Hopper (1991:22). In grammaticization, new layers emerge without necessarily replacing older layers, so that the same grammatical function may be carried out by different forms. One of the best examples is provided by the English Past Tense, where vowel alternations (I broke) coexist with the /d/ suffix (I walked), as well as newer periphrastic constructions (I have walked). In the case of Spanish -ndo constructions, andar represents the newest and least grammaticized layer and
estar the most grammaticized, with ir somewhere in between, all within the domain of continuous meaning.

To summarize: Spanish -ndo constructions with different auxiliaries present both differences and overlap in distribution and use, which can be accounted for from the perspective of grammaticization. Certain main verb types and locative expressions are more likely to cooccur with one rather than another auxiliary. The distribution differences and particular non-aspectual nuances show the retention of original lexical meaning by the different auxiliaries; in particular, the evidence supports the hypothesis that estar-ndo originates as a locative construction. On the other hand, in their most common use, all -ndo constructions are aspectually continuous. In the grammaticization of the constructions, generalization best describes the resulting semantic change, as illustrated, for example, by the loss of the locative component in estar-ndo. Finally, frequency of occurrence in certain contexts plays an important role in semantic generalization, for example, the frequency of the pattern of estar trabajando in accounting for the erosion of progressive meaning and the extension to habitual situations.

Author's address:

Rena Torres Cacoullos
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, N.M. 87131

NOTES

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1. Numbers in parentheses refer to pages in UNAM (1976).

2. The word count total is reported in Clegg and Rodríguez 1993. My -ndo figures are lower than the ones obtained for the same corpus by these authors through a computer program, maybe because I excluded cases where more than one constituent intervened between the auxiliary and the -ndo form, e.g., estarse uno todo el día haciendo una cosa ‘one to be all day doing something’ (171), sentado está uno, al esperando que... ‘one is seated, waiting there for...’ (83), yo estoy aquí adentro, encerrada, moliendo ‘I am here inside, shut indoors, preparing

the dough’ (202). Clegg and Rodríguez’s figures are: ESTAR 366, IR 153, ANDAR 103, SEGUIR 39, VENIR 23, QUEDAR 17, PASAR 2, SALIR 1 = TOTAL 701.

3. One question that deserves further study is the overall increase in the relative frequency of -ndo constructions with respect to simple verb forms and to -ndo alone. In the present corpus, -ndo alone occurs in 226 = 24% cases (figures from Clegg and Rodríguez 1993); in the 12th century text El Cid, -ndo alone comprises 72 = 47% of all -ndo cases. This diachronic difference seems to be reproduced synchronically in register differences: Clegg and Rodríguez report that the figure for their Habsa Culta sample (educated speech) is 45%, and for the written sample 78%.

4. Included in the general activity class are verbs that do not fit any of the other more narrowly defined verb classes emerging from the data: verbs referring to a non-physical activity, such as estudiar ‘study’ or funcionar ‘work, function’; an activity without a related location, such as llorar ‘cry’ or fumar ‘smoke’; or an activity which is usually made up of specific subactivities, such as atender ‘attend to’ or cuidar ‘take care of’.

5. Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6 show the results of three separate analyses using the IBM PC compatible version of VARBRUL 2S (Sankoff 1988; Pintzuk 1988), one each for estar, ir, andar, against all other auxiliaries. VARBRUL factor weights show the environmental factors which have a statistically significant effect on the occurrence of a particular auxiliary. The factor weights vary between 0 and 1; figures above .5 may be interpreted as favoring the choice of a particular auxiliary, while figures below .5 disfavor it. The N value reported in the tables is the number of tokens.

6. Factor weights for verbs of saying were .59 for estar and .60 for andar; this class disfavors ir, with a weight of .39 (ir occurs only with explicar ‘explain’, which may also be considered a process verb). Verbs of location or state favor estar with .57 and ir with .60 (for example, así es como he ido viviendo ‘in this way I have been (literally: gone) living’ (UNAM 1976:197)); andar is disfavored, with no cases at all (a so-called knockout factor).

7. Fernández (1960:515) finds confirmation of the palpable character of estar-ndo in the distribution of decir ‘say’ and estar diciendo ‘be saying’ in a contemporary novel, where the two cases of estar diciendo appear in the opening of a different scene. In checking the 14th century work El Conde Lucanor, a collection of lessons (Exemplos) in the form of stories within a story, each of which opens with a formula along the lines of “Count Lucanor was talking to Patronio”, I found that estaba fablando (the Imperfect Progressive) appears only in the first Exemplo, while all subsequent Exemplos open with fablava (the simple Imperfect).

8. In examples (5) and (20), the reduplication construction is a continuative or "intensive durative" (Blansitt 1975:4).

9. The use of the progressive to express pragmatic attitudes has been noted by several scholars for English; see Binnick 1991:281–30 for a review.

10. I coded only 8/338 habitual cases for estar-ndo. The number is probably higher, since in a retrospective I realize that some continuous cases should have been coded as habituals. Moreno de Alba (1977:39) classifies his cases of Present estar-ndo into 3 categories: concurrent with the moment of speech, 22/222 = 10%; extended present, 138/222 = 62%; and habitual present 62/222 = 28%.
11. The labels for the aspectual categories follow the definitions established in Bybee et al. (1994:317). I coded for the different aspectual categories according to the meaning I thought the construction had in context, admittedly a subjective procedure, unlike the coding for the other factors, such as cooccurrence with adverbials, humanness of the subject, and even semantic class of the main verb, which is fairly straightforward. However, I used translation into English as an operational diagnostic for some of the categories, along the following lines:
1) ‘be-ing’: continuous
2) ‘used to, usually’: habitual
3) ‘keep on’: continucative
4) ‘begin to, about to’: inceptive
5) ‘little by little’: developing by degrees (see discussion of ir-ndo in Section 6)

The other categories were limited duration (used for coding Preterite estar-ndo), iterative (limited to semelfactive or punctual verbs), state exists, and frequentative, which included verbs with multiple subjects as well as situations repeated multiple times. Progressive was coded under continuous.

12. In example (21), it is striking that in a series of estar-ndo constructions, in the negated clause a simple verb form is used instead (ahoria no trabaja el muchacho ‘right now the boy doesn’t work’). Overall, of the 338 total cases of estar-ndo, only 6 are negated. All three cases of Imperative estar-ndo are negated: No estés chillando ‘Don’t be crying’ (207), No estés echando tierra ‘Don’t be throwing dirt’ (396), No estés molestando ‘Don’t be bothering’ (397).

13. It is interesting that there were only two cases of main verb trabajar ‘work’ with andar, and none with ir. In the corpus of urban educated Spanish varieties studied by Parisi (1992), trabajar is the most frequently occurring verb in construction with estar, with 16/165 = 10% of all cases. (Parisi 1992:98 lists hacer ‘to do’ as the most frequent, with 28/165 = 17% cases, but does not distinguish different predicates, for example haciendo desastres ‘creating disasters’ or haciendo el test ‘taking the examination’.)

14. Spanish reflexive pronouns may also function aspectually to convert durative or stative situations into punctual or inceptive, for example, durmió ‘she slept’ versus se durmió ‘she fell asleep’ (see example (34)). However, as used in example (31) quedarse ‘remain, stay’ represents a lexicalized reflexive and indicates a stative situation.

15. Most cases of andar were coded as continuous, however, it is often difficult to distinguish frequeative from continuous meaning in the case of andar-ndo, since the original ‘going around’ meaning implies repetition on several occasions (cf. Alonso 1954). Likewise, what I have called the gradual development use of ir is counted as part of the continuous category, since gradually developing situations are aspectually continuous.

16. The VARBRUL weights for physical activity and general activity main verbs are close to .50 for both estar and ir, which means that they are nearly equally likely to occur with these types of main verb. The weights are higher for andar (.55 for physical and .72 for general activity verbs, which in this case includes main verb trabajando ‘working’).

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