

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations	xi
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Grammaticalization paths	1
1.2. Aspect and actionality	3
1.2.1. Aspect	3
1.2.2. Actional classification	4
1.2.3. The relationship between aspect and actionality	7
1.2.3.1. No distinction between aspect and actionality	10
1.2.3.2. A semantic distinction	11
1.2.3.3. A morphological distinction	13
1.3. Romance periphrases	18
1.3.1. Analytic and synthetic verb forms	19
1.3.2. A list of the analytic verb forms in Romance	23
2. Aspect and actionality in the Spanish Perfective Progressive	35
2.1. Introduction	35
2.2. Aspect	37
2.3. Actionality	41
2.3.1. Actionality and temporally ordered sequences	46
2.3.2. Temporal adverbials	50
2.4. Perfective Progressives vs. synthetic forms	55
2.5. Comparison to the Slavic system	58
2.6. Comparison to English phrasal verbs	66

2.7. Spanish <i>ir</i> + gerund	68
2.8. Concluding remarks	69
3. Aspect and actionality in the grammaticalization of the Romance Progressive	71
3.1. Perfective and Imperfective Progressive	71
3.2. Spanish vs. Italian	73
3.2.1. Some consequences for the grammaticalization theory	89
3.3. Further developments in American Spanish: [- ASPECT] [- ACTIONALITY]	90
3.4. States, habituais and Progressives	103
3.5. The Progressive in the other Romance languages	112
3.5.1. Ibero-Romance languages	112
3.5.1.1. Portuguese	112
3.5.1.2. Galician	115
3.5.1.3. Catalan	117
3.5.2. Sardinian	118
3.5.3. French and Occitan	119
3.5.4. The diachronic development of <i>être en train de</i> + infinitive	125
3.5.5. <i>Stare</i> + gerund and <i>stare a</i> + infinitive in Italian	127
3.5.6. <i>Estar</i> + gerund and <i>estar a</i> + infinitive in Portuguese	133
3.6. "Progressive forms" in Romance: some conclusions	136
3.7. Some definitions of Romance gerundial periphrases	137
3.8. Some definitions of Spanish <i>estar</i> + gerund	144
3.9. Concluding remarks	149
4. The interaction of aspect and actionality in some other Romance periphrases	152
4.1. Portuguese Present Perfect	152
4.1.1. The diachronic evolution of the Portuguese Present Perfect	158
4.1.2. <i>Ter/tener</i> + past participle in the other Ibero-Romance languages	162

4.1.2.1. Standard Spanish	163
4.1.2.2. Asturian	164
4.1.2.3. Galician	165
4.1.2.4. Judaeo-Spanish	166
4.2. Mexican Present Perfect	167
4.2.1. The Present Perfect in other varieties of American and European Spanish	180
4.2.1.1. Puerto Rico	180
4.2.1.2. Colombia	181
4.2.1.3. Argentina	182
4.2.1.4. Canary Islands	183
4.2.2. The diachronic evolution of the Spanish Present Perfect	185
4.3. Sicilian Present Perfect	188
4.4. Non-durative periphrases?	189
4.4.1. Catalan analytic Perfective Past	189
4.4.2. Occitan	192
4.4.3. Other possible non-durative/telic periphrases	196
4.4.3.1. Italian 'Trapassato Remoto'	197
4.4.3.2. French	200
4.4.3.3. Spanish	202
4.4.3.4. <i>Formes surcomposées</i>	203
4.5. Concluding remarks	206
5. Motion auxiliaries and actional restrictions	207
5.1. Introduction	207
5.2. Italian <i>andare</i> + gerund	209
5.2.1. Basic actional requirements: durativity and non-stativity	209
5.2.2. <i>Andare</i> + gerund vs. <i>stare</i> + gerund	212
5.2.3. More details on the actional restrictions of <i>andare</i> + gerund	214
5.2.4. On the diachronic evolution of <i>andare</i> + gerund	223
5.2.5. The actional value of the verb <i>andare</i> and its diachronic evolution	229
5.2.6. <i>Andare</i> + gerund and <i>stare a</i> + infinitive	234

5.2.7. <i>Andare, stare</i> and telicity	236
5.3. Motion periphrases in the other Romance languages	243
5.3.1. French	244
5.3.2. Occitan	247
5.3.3. Catalan	248
5.3.4. Spanish	249
5.3.4.1. <i>Estar</i> + gerund vs. <i>ir</i> + gerund	249
5.3.4.2. <i>Ir</i> + gerund vs. <i>andar</i> + gerund	255
5.3.4.3. Some more details on the actional restrictions of <i>ir/andar</i> + gerund	266
5.3.4.4. <i>Ir</i> + gerund and <i>andar</i> + gerund in Old Spanish	275
5.3.4.5. <i>Andar</i> + gerund and <i>estar</i> + gerund	278
5.3.5. <i>Ir</i> + gerund and <i>andar</i> + gerund (or + infinitive) in Portuguese	280
5.3.5.1. Gerundial and infinitival constructions in Portuguese	285
5.3.6. Other Romance periphrases	287
5.4. 'Come' + gerund in Romance	289
5.5. Concluding remarks	299
Conclusion	301
Notes	304
Sources of material	334
References	336
Index of subjects	363