

LANGUAGE VARIATION AND GRAMMATICALIZATION:

THE CASE OF *ESTAR* + *QUE* IN NORTHERN PERU

by

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(Under the Direction of Chad Howe)

ABSTRACT

Language variation can inform us of language change patterns across languages. In northern Peru, the following periphrasis is produced: *¿Qué estás que haces?* or *Estoy que como* in place of the normative *¿Qué estás haciendo?* and *Estoy comiendo* to describe concomitant actions, that is, actions taking place simultaneously with the speech act or referenced point in the past. The acceptability of this construction, previously researched in Arrizabalaga (2010), was analyzed in the present study using data from Trujillo, Peru and Machala, Ecuador collected during the summer of 2017. The data presented here demonstrate that this structure is grammaticalizing and is accepted in more varied environments than previously attested. Moreover, I explore the possibility of the construction following a similar grammaticalization path as the present progressive given by Torres Cacoullós (1999). This study aims to detail the acceptable use of the *estar que* construction, potential analogous structures and its clausal structure as well social perceptions connected to its use.

INDEX WORDS: grammaticalization, concomitance, verbal periphrasis, Peru, progressivity

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In northern Peru, a periphrastic construction is observed that describes concomitant actions in progress. This structure is used in many of the same environments as the present or imperfect progressive and can be schematized as *estar* (V₁) + *que* + *verb* (V₂), in which V₂ is conjugated in the same person, number and tense as *estar*. Examples of the construction are given in (1):

- (1) a. *Tu papá está que te llama.*
 b. *Estaba que te miraba.*
 c. *Están que se bañan.*

This study aims to describe and analyze this periphrastic structure through the lens of language variation and grammaticalization, building on the work done by Arrizabalaga (2010), who has to date provided the only extensive analysis of this structure and terms it the *perífrasis concomitante norperuana* ‘northern Peruvian concomitant periphrasis.’ *Concomitant*, for the purposes of this paper, is taken to mean that the occurrence of the described event is simultaneous with the speech act or point of reference (Cohen, 1993), and will be discussed in Section 2.1.

This periphrasis can be used in place of the normative *estar* + *present participle* and, according to Arrizabalaga’s study (2010), is limited strictly to concomitant actions, differing from the progressive’s wider range of uses, notably for habitual or durative actions. Observe the examples in (1) and (2), adapted from Arrizabalaga (2010:16):

- (2) a. *Está estudiando para el examen del lunes.*
 bePRS.3SG studyPRES for the test of the Monday
 ‘(He/she) is studying for Monday’s test.’
- b. *Está que estudia para el examen del lunes.*
 bePRS.3SG RELthat studyPRS.3SG for the test of the Monday
 ‘(He/she) is studying for Monday’s test.’
- c. *Está estudiando tercer año de Derecho.*
 bePRS.3SG studyPRES third year of Law
 ‘(He/she) is studying [his/her] third year of Law.’
- d. **Está que estudia tercer año de Derecho.*
 bePRS.3SG RELthat studyPRS.3SG third year of Law

Whereas (2a) and (2b), are acceptable utterances which describe an action that occurs simultaneously with the speech act, (2c) and (2d) describe actions that are ongoing, or durative. Of the latter two examples, only (2c) is grammatical, and not (2d), as, according to current literature, this periphrasis cannot be used for a durative action. Unlike the progressive form, which has extended to include some habitual aspects (Arrizabalaga 2010; Márquez Martínez 2009; Merma Molina 2008; Torres Cacoullós 1999, 2012), such as *Él está estudiando derecho*, ‘He is studying law,’ or actions that denote a change from the norm, *Estoy comiendo mucho últimamente*, ‘I am eating a lot lately,’ the *estar que* structure is described as being restricted to describing only those actions occurring simultaneously with the spoken utterance or referenced point in the past (Arrizabalaga 2010:71):

- (3) a. *Está que come.*
 bePRS.3SG RELthat eatPRS.3SG
 ‘She/he is eating [right now].’ /* ‘She/he eats [in general].’
- b. *Estaba que comía.*
 bePST.IPFV.3SG RELthat eatPST.IPFV.3SG
 ‘She/he was eating [at that time].’ /* ‘She/he was eating [lately/every day, etc].’

Example (3a) demonstrates use in the present tense of third person singular (3SG) and (3b) demonstrates the construction in the imperfect past 3SG, both used to describe actions

concomitant to the speech act or reference point. The *estar que* periphrasis can also be observed in all persons, as seen in the examples in (4), observed by the author in conversation in Trujillo, Peru in 2017.

- (4) a. *Está que llueve.*
 bePRS.EXPL.3SG RELthat rainPRS.EXPL.3SG
 ‘It is raining.’
- b. *Recién estoy que almuerzo.*
 recent bePRS.1SG RELthat eat lunchPRS.1SG
 ‘I am just now eating lunch.’
- c. *Están que lo preparan [un jugo].*
 bePRS.3PL RELthat it preparePRS.3PL [a juice]
 ‘They are preparing it [a juice].’
- d. *Están que se bañan.*
 bePRS.3PL RELthat REFL.3PL bathePRS.3PL
 ‘They are swimming.’

In (4a) the periphrasis is used with an expletive subject. In (4b) it is observed with the first person singular (1SG) and (4c-d) in the third person plural (3PL). (4c-d) also show the construction functioning with direct object and reflexive pronoun complements. It is observed through example (4) that the two verbs (V_1 and V_2) must be conjugated in the same person. Thus, a statement like **Está* (3SG) *que almuerzo* (1SG) is ungrammatical and not observed in speech.

This thesis has three main objectives. First, I will examine the *estar que* periphrasis and show that restrictions on its use are more nuanced and ambiguous than Arrizabalaga was able to describe. Second, I explore the possibilities of grammaticalization processes at work on this construction, specifically in comparison with the present progressive (PROG, in accordance with Bertinetto’s (2000) abbreviation). The term *estar que periphrasis* is adapted from Arrizabalaga’s nomenclature and preferred to the use of *concomitant*, as it will be concluded that the construction is used more amply than solely in concomitant contexts. However, both

concomitant estar que and *estar que periphrasis/construction* will be utilized in this thesis to refer to the same construction. Thirdly, general social perceptions of the structure are explored as to how the construction is accepted. In the course of analysis, potential source structures are analyzed from the point of view of analogy as a source of language change. The syntactic structure of the *estar que* periphrasis is discussed as it relates to these potential source structures.

This thesis is organized into the following chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the phenomenon and provides some examples and comparisons to the progressive. Definitions and clarification of terms are included in Chapter 2, where Arrizabalaga's previous study is also analyzed, looking at the potential analogy origin of the structure and the verbal status of *estar* within this construction. This chapter also looks at the grammaticalization of the progressive tense and provides a potential grammaticalization path for the *estar que* construction based on the extension of PROG. Chapter 3 explains the methodology of the current study and Chapter 4 presents the results and analysis thereof. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results and some further ideas on the development of the construction. Chapter 6 summarizes and offers conclusions as well as ideas for further study.

CHAPTER 2

PERSPECTIVE AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

2.1 PERSPECTIVE ON TENSE AND ASPECT

In the course of this study, various terms will be used extensively. A key term is aspect. I adopt Comrie's (1976) explanation of aspect. Comrie (1976) takes pains to detail the difference between tense and aspect, as aspect is the lesser studied element (Comrie 1976:1). While tense "relates the time of the action or situation referred to to some other time," aspect includes different ways to look at or understand the internal "temporal constituency" of the situation, that is, if the focus is on the beginning, middle, or end of the action/situation (Comrie 1976:3-4). The fundamental distinction between perfective form and imperfective form is aspectual, with perfective being focus on the completion of the action and imperfective being the ongoing nature of a situation.

The definitions of other key terms given here are adopted from various sources. *Concomitance*, in accordance with Cohen (1993:99), is taken to refer to the synchronic relationship between the moment of enunciation or reference point and the moment of occurrence. In this case, Cohen describes the speech act as being "alongside or adjacent to the occurrence (Cohen 1993:103)." Canonically, there exist two ways of expressing concomitance in Spanish: (i) in the present tense: with the progressive; and the simple present; and (ii) in the past tense: with the progressive and the imperfect (Whitley 2002; Comrie 1976).

*Imperfective*¹, as a term of aspect, is utilized in contrast to perfective actions.

Imperfective in the present in Spanish is expressed with the simple present tense (*bailo* ‘I dance/am dancing’) and in the past with the imperfect past (*bailaba* ‘I dance/was dancing/used to dance’), mirroring expressions used to convey concomitance (Arrizabalaga 2010; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). While the imperfective may express progressivity (5a), it can also be used to express habituality (5b).

- (5)
- | | | | |
|----|----|---|---------------|
| a. | A: | <i>¿Adónde vas?</i> | |
| | | ‘Where are you going?’ | |
| | B: | <i>Voy al supermercado.</i> | |
| | | ‘I’m going to the supermarket.’ | progressivity |
| b. | A: | <i>¿Adónde vas los fines de semana?</i> | |
| | | ‘¿Where do you go on weekends?’ | |
| | B: | <i>Voy adonde mi mamá.</i> | |
| | | ‘I go to my mom’s.’ | habituality |

This same extension from progressivity to habituality, seen in (5), has been widely noted in the present progressive form in Spanish (see Chapter 1), and may be occurring in the *estar que* periphrasis as well. *Progressive aspect*², as distinguished from the progressive form (*verb-ndo* in Spanish), denotes an action that is ongoing at the time of reference. As Bybee et. al (1994) point out, progressivity typically applies to dynamic predicates and not stative ones. Similarly, the *estar que* periphrasis with a progressive reading shows low acceptance with stative verbs such as *poder* or *tener* (see Sections 4.2.4 and 5.4). Habitual and durative aspects are also pertinent to this discussion. *Habitual* refers to a repeated event over time (*Siempre cenábamos a las 5:00* ‘We always ate dinner at 5:00’) and *durative* to a single event taking place over an extended period of time (*Está haciendo un doctorado en la universidad* ‘(He/she) is getting a doctorate at

¹ An important distinction to make is one between *imperfective aspect* and *imperfect tense*.

While the imperfect preterite can convey imperfective aspect, it has other aspectual readings.

² Likewise, *progressive aspect* is distinguished from progressive form, although *verb-ndo* is a commonly used form to express progressivity.

the university’). *Iterative* and *attributive* constructions are considered as possible bases for analogy-based origins for the *estar que* periphrasis (see Section 2.2.4).

2.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

Arrizabalaga’s (2010) work on the northern Peruvian concomitant construction is, to my knowledge, the only in-depth study of the *estar que* construction. Arrizabalaga bases his study on observed speech and informal questionnaires obtained while living in Piura, Peru, a coastal region in the far northwest of the country. He concludes that the phrasal structure is limited to concomitant aspect and is attested only in the very northernmost coastal region of the country, explicitly stating that *se extraña*, ‘it is strange’ to hear as far as far south as Trujillo, also a northern coastal city (Arrizabalaga 2010:80). Relying on observed examples and linguistic inquiries given to students at a university in Piura, Arrizabalaga makes various generalizations and conclusions regarding both the genesis of the structure and some of its structural limitations and usage.

In order to describe the production of the concomitant *estar que* construction, Arrizabalaga first recognizes that Spanish has no resource for distinguishing between concomitant events and durative (or habitual) events (2010:15), giving examples that show the present progressive is utilized for both aspects (example 6, Arrizabalaga 2010:15-16).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| (6) | a. <i>Estoy preparando la comida.</i> | (concomitant) |
| | b. <i>Estoy estudiando Ingeniería en la Católica.</i> | (durative) |
| | c. <i>Siempre está estudiando en la universidad.</i> | (habitual) |

In (6a), the present progressive is used with a strictly concomitant reading, while (6b) and (6c) demonstrate present PROG in habitual or durative readings. Without context, the present PROG could be ambiguous in terms of differing between concomitant and durative aspect, whereby (6b)

could potentially be read as ‘I am [at this moment] at the Catholic [university], studying [for] engineering’ or ‘I’m studying [as a field of study] engineering at the Catholic [university]’. This ambiguity between a concomitant reading versus a durative or habitual one of the PROG tense in Spanish is what Arrizabalaga claims allowed for, or created the space for a more specifically concomitant structure to proliferate. The *estar que* periphrasis fills this void and disambiguates the aspectual lens of the utterance.

2.2.1 ASPECTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE NORTHERN PERUVIAN CONCOMITANT PERIPHRAISIS

Arrizabalaga provides generalizations of the possible uses of the structure in terms of tense and complement structure. He states that the *estar que* periphrasis is only compatible with imperfective forms, being the simple present in the present tense and imperfect past tense in the past (see Section 2.1). Arrizabalaga notes that these tenses work with the concomitant periphrasis because of their ability to express concomitance in and of themselves, as noted in the previous section. While both have other interpretations of aspect, the simple present and the imperfect past are capable of expressing simultaneity, or concomitance. Arrizabalaga calls these interpretations “*actual*,” ‘current,’ whose aspect is not distinguishable in form from other possible interpretations such as habitual, durative or “*universal*” (2010:136). These interpretations can be seen in example (7), taken from Arrizabalaga (2010: 136-137).

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------|
| (7) | a. <i>Palacios cabecea y mete gol.</i> | (concomitant/habitual) |
| | b. <i>Al salir del edificio tenía el nuevo contrato en la mano.</i> | (concomitant) |
| | c. <i>El edificio tenía un aspecto imponente.</i> | (durative) |

In example (7) the various interpretations of the simple present and imperfect past can be seen.

In (7a), both a concomitant and a habitual reading are possible, depending on if the soccer match is being commented on while it is occurring or if someone is describing what Palacios usually

does in a soccer match. Likewise, the common question, *¿Qué haces?* can be used to ask someone what he/she is doing in the precise current moment or in a more general, habitual sense, such as *Cuando te levantas por la mañana, ¿qué haces?*

Examples (7b) and (7c) demonstrate the different interpretations of *tenía* in the past. In (7b), a true concomitant interpretation is the only possibility: that the subject has the contract in hand in the moment he/she leaves the building. In (7c), *tenía* only permits a descriptive, durative reading: describing a general, enduring characteristic of the building. While these forms include concomitant readings, (7) shows that they are not limited to simultaneous actions. What Arrizabalaga argues is that the *estar que* periphrasis is only possible in contexts with simultaneous readings. It is therefore only used with the simple present, i.e. *estoy/estás/está/estamos/están* and the imperfect past, i.e. *estaba/estabas/estábamos/estaban*. It follows then that the construction is incompatible with other, perfective verb forms such as the present perfect, **ha estado que ha comido* or the simple past (preterite), **estuvo que comió*. These observations are obvious if we understand that concomitance, as described by Arrizabalaga (2010) and Cohen (1993), requires imperfective aspect. This restriction differs from PROG, which admits both a present perfect and simple past: *ha estado comiendo/estuvo comiendo* (Squartini 1998). It is noted again here that the concomitant *estar que* must agree in person and tense, requiring both verbs, V₁ and V₂, to be conjugated in the same person.

Arrizabalaga also observes that it is uncommon to find the concomitant *estar que* structure with negation and that if it does occur, it only does so before the second verb in the sequence (V₂), i.e. *Está que no me contesta* compared to **No está que me contesta*. This restriction is attributed to the structure's concomitant aspect; if the construction is limited to actions that are happening simultaneously with the speech act, it follows that these actions would

be difficult to negate, in that this would require the action to not be happening (Section 5.1). The construction also does not admit stative verbs, much like the present progressive. However, the construction does permit objects and pronouns, but these only when preceding V_2 . Arrizabalaga provides the examples in (8) to demonstrate these restrictions (2010:17).

- (8) a. *está que te busca/estaba que te buscaba*
 b. **no está que te busca*
 c. **está que hay*

Arrizabalaga's examples in (8) demonstrate the basic acceptable structure of the concomitant construction. In (8a), we see that the concomitant periphrasis is acceptable both in the present (simple present tense) and the past (imperfect preterite). (8a) also shows the acceptable placement of the clitic pronoun *te*, which is found preceding V_2 (see examples (12) and (13) for Arrizabalaga's argument as to this placement). Examples (8b) and (8c) provide instances of ungrammatical uses of the concomitant construction. In (8b), Arrizabalaga attests the incompatibility with negation; however, see Section 4.2.3 for some counter-evidence to this claim. (8c) demonstrates incompatibility with stative verbs, such as *hay* 'there is,' similar to general PROG incompatibility: **está habiendo*.

Arrizabalaga's study (2010), includes of a review of the few mentions of the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis in descriptive studies of the language of the area around Piura in northern Peru, as well as opinions on and examples of the structure provided by Arrizabalaga's university-level students. In his study, Arrizabalaga provides various examples observed in daily encounters with inhabitants of Piura as well as examples provided by 87 of his first-year university students on an explicit questionnaire about the use and acceptance of the *estar que* construction, which he calls an "improvised survey" (Arrizabalaga 2010:75). The questions he used are as follows (9):

- (9) 1. ¿Has escuchado frases del tipo: <<Pedro está que se baña>>?
 2. ¿Qué otras frases parecidas has escuchado?
 3. ¿Es lo mismo decir <<Pedro está que estudia>> que <<Pedro está estudiando>>?
 4. ¿Has escuchado frases del tipo: <<Estaba que te buscaba>>?
 5. ¿Qué otras frases parecidas has escuchado?
 6. ¿Has escuchado frases del tipo <<Estarán que te buscarán>>?
 In response to (9.2) and (9.5), ‘What other similar sentences have you heard?’

Arrizabalaga’s students provide the following (10), among other examples, in response to questions (2) and (5) in example (9) (Arrizabalaga 2010:77-79).

- (10) a. *Estoy que juego. Está que trabaja tarde. ¡Está que te busca!*
 b. *La Alejandra está que se comporta mal. Carmen está que se baña.*
 c. *¿Estás que estudias? ¿Están que esperan a su mamá?*
 d. *Nosotros estamos que jugamos.*
 e. *Estaba que lloraba. Estaba que te contaba.*
 f. *Estaba que te miraba. Él estaba que te cantaba.*

These examples, among others, were used as a basis for the formulation of the examples used in the acceptability questionnaire of the present study (see Section 3.3 and Appendix B). (10a) through (10d) exemplify the production of various person conjugations in the present tense, while (10e) and (10f) demonstrate use in the imperfect past tense.

Arrizabalaga includes mention of this concomitant structure in two previous general dialectal studies of northern Peruvian speech. A group of students in 1966 gathered data on “*incorrecciones y solecismos*” in the province of Piura for a work entitled *Vicios del lenguaje en el departamento de Piura*, and noted the structure as occurring in this region. The Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (INIDE), part of the Ministry of Education, performed a study in 1974 titled, *El castellano hablado en Piura*, which includes the following description of the *piurano* speech:

La característica más singular es la aparición de una forma verbal compuesta por una forma del verbo estar con la conjunción que a la que se le añade una forma del presente de indicativo (1974:49, cited in Arrizabalaga 2010:70).

The INIDE study provides the following examples (11), collected during 10 hours of recorded spontaneous conversation with children, elicited by asking the participants to describe images (Arrizabalaga 2010:70):

- (11) a. *Está que baja la torta.*
 b. *La señora está que cocina.*
 c. *Y después estamos que tomamos el jugo que todos los días nos hacen de papaya*
 (INIDE 1974:49).

Apart from these two sources, which had as their motive the creation of a description of speech in the area, with a decidedly prescriptive tone, Arrizabalaga cites no other mention of the structure in the literature. No studies other than these descriptions and Arrizabalaga's own have been found by the author.

2.2.2 STRUCTURAL RESTRICTIONS

One conclusion made by Arrizabalaga that warrants discussion is that *estar* has the function of an auxiliary in the *estar que* construction and is not a main verb on its own, an attribute that is typical of a verbal periphrasis (2010:137). For comparison, the PROG-gerund construction follows this pattern: *estar* as an auxiliary and the present participle (gerund) as the main, or lexical, verb. This has implications for the syntax of the structure and the placement of pronominal complements. If *estar* is an auxiliary in the concomitant periphrasis, we are dealing with a monoclausal element, not a biclausal one. The clausal structure will be discussed in the Section 2.2.4.

According to Arrizabalaga, an auxiliary within a verbal periphrasis is incapable of selecting arguments, a characteristic used to defend the auxiliary status of the *estar que* periphrasis. In order to support his claim that *estar* functions as an auxiliary, Arrizabalaga discusses the arguments of Fontanella de Weinberg (1970), Hadlich (1973), and Gómez Torrego (1990), concerning the limitations of periphrases which demonstrate the auxiliary status of *estar* in the PROG construction. These studies state that the auxiliary verb of a periphrasis is incapable of selecting arguments on its own; the main verb is necessary to understand pronoun substitution, as seen (12).

- (12) a. i. *Está preparando la sopa.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing the soup.’
 ii. *La está preparando.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing it.’
 iii. **La está.*
 ‘(He/she) is it.’
 b. i. *Está que prepara la sopa.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing the soup.’
 ii. *Está que la prepara.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing it.’
 iii. **La está que prepara./*La está.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing it/is it.’

In both (12a) and (12b), the lexical meaning of this construction is expressed by the verb *preparar* and not *estar*, which lends aspectual meaning to the action of preparing. These studies also state that auxiliaries are incapable of emphasis with equivalent structures such as *lo que*, exemplified in (13), emphasis mine.

- (13) a. *Está que prepara la cena.*
 b. **Lo que está es que prepara la cena.*
 c. *Lo que **está que hace** es que prepara la cena.*

Lastly, Arrizabalaga notes that *estar que + verb* is not an appropriate response to the question *¿Cómo está?* (example 14) in which *estar* expresses the lexical meaning ‘to be.’ That *estar + que + verbo₂* cannot answer the question ‘How is Juan,’ further evidences that the *estar*

of the concomitant periphrasis is not a lexical verb, but rather a grammatical one like that of the progressive periphrasis (12a).

- (14) a. A: *¿Cómo está Juan?*
 B: **Está que come.*
 b. A: *¿Qué está que hace Juan?*
 B: *Está que come.*

Example (14) demonstrates that *estar* in the concomitant periphrasis does not refer to the state of the subject, but rather to the action the subject is carrying out. Arrizabalaga uses examples like those given in (12), (13) and (14) to show that *estar* does not carry lexical meaning in either the present progressive or the concomitant *estar que* construction, evidence for the auxiliary status of *estar*. These arguments and the support given for them will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

In Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, the aspectual and structural restrictions outlined by Arrizabalaga (2010) were summarized. According to Arrizabalaga, negation is not compatible with the structure in question, but clitic pronouns are acceptable (produced) before V₂. The construction is only used with concomitant actions based on his observations and those of the Piuranos (inhabitants of Piura) that use the periphrasis.

2.2.3 DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCOMITANT PERIPHRAISIS

Arrizabalaga details the potential genesis and development of the concomitant *estar que* structure, citing historical and social background of the region and its language to support its origin and proliferation. These historical-social factors are not explored in this thesis, which focuses rather on the structure [i.e. its underlying syntactic structure], its current usage, and speaker attitudes towards it. A well-documented general extension of the standard progressive to allow habitual interpretations (see example (2)) is acknowledged, a phenomenon noted by several authors in various dialects of Spanish (de Granda 1995; Márquez Martínez 2009; Merma

Molina 2008; Perez-Cortes 2012; Torres Cacoullós 1999, 2011; and Whitley 2002). This extension of use creates an ambiguous reading between concomitant and habitual aspect.

Arrizabalaga (2010) states that the progressive itself had concomitant aspect as its origin, which then extended to include habitual interpretations, in line with Torres Cacoullós' (1999) grammaticalization cline for the progressive. According to Arrizabalaga, the semantic extension of the present PROG created potential ambiguity, which set up the conditions for the development of an emergent structure expressing concomitance (i.e. the *estar que* periphrasis). The grammaticalization of the present progressive, referred to by Arrizabalaga and detailed by Torres Cacoullós (1999), is detailed in Section 2.4.

In addition to referring to an internal system change due to the aspectual ambiguity of the PROG construction as a reason for the use of the concomitant periphrasis, Arrizabalaga provides two commonly-observed structures as potential sources of analogy by which the concomitant periphrasis would be accepted. These are discussed in the following section.

2.2.4 COMPARISON STRUCTURES

In analyzing the *estar que* construction, the question is raised as to its structural origin. Analogy is a common source of new structures, as a unique process that can support the process of grammaticalization (Lehmann 2004). Arrizabalaga cites the abundance of compound constructions that include *estar* and/or *que* as a reason for the ease of successful propagation of the *estar que* periphrasis. He specifically compares two constructions as potential sources for analogy: attributives and iteratives, seen in (15) and (16), respectively. In both (15) and (16) *estar* is used with another verb or set of verbs that seem to express the same person, number and tense as *estar*, much like the *estar que* periphrasis in question. Attributive structures refer to any

structure that establishes a relationship between two nominal phrases, attributing one to the other (Penadés Martínez, 1991). Those that concern this study are of the type seen in (15).

- (15) *está que trina*
lit. (he/she) is that (he/she) trills
'(He/she) is angry.'
- (16) *está habla y/que habla*
lit. (he/she) is (he/she) talks and/that talks
'(He/she) is talking/has been talking a lot.'

Structures like those found in (15) are commonly found in many dialects of Spanish (Arrizabalaga, 2010; Penadés Martínez, 1991; Lisyová, 2004), but are not productive in northern Peru, as corroborated by Arrizabalaga (2010). Although the attributive structure in (15) consists of two conjugated verbs, similar to that of the *estar que* construction under study, the structure as a whole functions in a reduced form of an attributive statement with an adjectival complement: *Ella está [tan enojada] que trina*. This statement qualifies the subject *ella* and can be replaced with an adjective without losing its semantic meaning: *Ella está muy enojada* 'She is very angry' or *Ella está enfadada* 'She is mad.' We see that while the structure *está que trina* contains a level of concomitant aspect, it is only found within a figurative reading. This is an attributive expression used to describe a state of being rather than to describe a simultaneous action. The adjective can also be reduced to a pronominal substitution (17). The concomitant *estar que* structure, however, does not have the same flexibility of substitution. As noted in Section 2.2.2, according to Arrizabalaga, the subordinate clause in the example *Está que come* cannot be substituted for **Lo está*.

- (17) a. A: *Está que trina*.
B: *Sí, lo está*.
b. A: *Está que come*.
B: **Sí, lo está*.

Arrizabalaga notes that the attributive structure exemplified in (15) and (17a) is not commonly heard in northern Peru due to the prevalence of the *estar que* periphrasis, which would create ambiguity between the intended meaning of *está que trina* ‘He/she is [so upset] that he/she is trilling,’ and the concomitant interpretation, causing it to be understood as ‘He/she is [literally] trilling [at this moment].’ While this type of attributive structure is prevalent in various dialects, it is stressed here that this construction is distinct from the concomitant, which presents a similar surface structure, as the former does not reference an actual action, but rather an attribute or emotion³. It could be argued that the main difference between these constructions is the use of figurative versus literal language. However, semantically they achieve different goals: the attributive of expressing a mood or attribute and the *estar que* periphrasis of expressing concomitant action. This claim will be further analyzed in comparison with the *estar que* periphrasis in Section 6.6.

Iteratives (see example 16) also appear similar in surface structure to the *estar que* periphrasis and are, indeed, prevalent in the northern Peruvian region under study. Treviño (2004) discusses iterative structures in Spanish (i.e. *está habla y habla*, example (16)), noting that the use of the conjunction *y* is more common than *que*, but that both are observed. While this structure can be used to describe simultaneous events, the repetition of the main verb has the element of a repeated or repetitive action. Examples of this construction appear in the grammars of Butt and Benjamin (2000) and Franch and Blecua (1975), under the categories of “*usos diversos de que*” and “intensification,” respectively, seen in (18).

³ An example of a construction that functions more like a figurative usage of the *estar que* concomitant can be found on the Corpus del Español: *Estoy que me muero de hambre*. In this construction, the speaker is not actively dying, but rather expressing an attribute of being very hungry: *Estoy [tan hambriente] que me muero*, similar to the function of attributives. This structure strikes me as distinct from the active concomitant *estar que* as it serves a different semantic function.

- (18) a. *...y él habla que habla* (Butt and Benjamin 2000:337)
 b. *Casiana le dijo que no tenía nada; pero él, busca que busca, dio con el calcetín.* (Franch and Blecua 1975:1021)
 c. *...otras está sopla que sopla hasta que se cansa...* (Franch and Blecua 1975:1021)

Arrizabalaga (2010) explains that the *estar que* structure could have grammaticalized from the iteratives seen in (18) and (16) by the auxiliary *estar* first grammaticalizing from a locative to a stative function, and the iterative implication eventually bleaching out, leaving only the simultaneous aspectual function in *está que habla*. Section 5.6 provides some anecdotally observed examples of the concomitant use of *estar que* that can have an iterative reading.

Treviño (2004) comes to the conclusion that the compound *verb_i + y + verb_i*, as in (16) and (18), is a fixed expression that only functions with the auxiliary *estar*, much like the present participle or infinitive in conjunction with *estar*: *Está comiendo* o *Está para comer*. She claims that the unmarked representation of this structure ends with an inflectional *-e* morpheme, regardless of thematic vowel, seen in (19), taken from Treviño (2004), emphasis mine:

- (19) a. *Ahí estaban **toque y toque** en honor...de “México Posible”* (152).
 b. *Está **lee y lee** ese poema de Blake* (154).
 c. *...**arme que arme** escándalos* (158).

In (19a) and (19c), examples are given of verbs with the thematic vowel *-a* (*tocar*, *armar*) that in this structure take the morpheme *-e*, providing evidence for its status as a separate fixed verb form rather than a verb conjugated in present tense. (19a) also demonstrates the fixed present tense of the verb string, regardless of the tense of *estar* preceding it. These two verbs are always repetitions of the same and are lent an iterative aspect by this fixed repetition. That the two verbs are always in the simple present tense and usually (according to Treviño) with an *-e* ending, regardless of the tense or mood of the auxiliary *estar*, aid the argument that this sequence constitutes a fixed, finite verb form. Thus, considering this structure, it can be seen that while attributives like (15) and (17) are biclausal, with the assumption that there is an elided element:

Está [tan enojado] que trina, iteratives like (16) and (18) are monoclausal, composed of an auxiliary verb and a main, fixed verb- i.e. the iterative form $verb_i + y + verb_i$ proposed by Treviño. This structure, using (19b), is schematized as (20a) as a finite verb form, as per Treviño, and compared to the structure of the present PROG with a gerund. Attributive structures such as that in (17a) are represented by two clauses (20b):

- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------------|
| (20) | a. i. | [IP[AuxP <i>Está</i> [VP <i>lee y lee</i> [NP <i>ese [poema]]]]]</i> | iterative |
| | ii. | [IP[AuxP <i>Está</i> [VP <i>leyendo</i> [NP <i>ese [poema]]]]]</i> | PROG-gerund |
| | b. | [IP[VP <i>Está_i</i>][CP <i>que</i> [VP <i>trina_i</i>]]] | attributive |

Examples (20a) and (20b) demonstrate the difference in clausal distribution between the two constructions. The monoclausal structure (20a) is more analogous with Arrizabalaga's classification of *estar* as an auxiliary verb, making the iterative a more viable source than attributives for the *estar que* periphrasis, following Arrizabalaga's claim that *estar* is indeed an auxiliary. However, (20b) provides motivation for the person agreement between the two verbs that is seen in the concomitant periphrasis, as opposed to the fixed construction of the monoclausal iterative. Further discussion of structure continues in Section 5.8.

2.3 SUMMARY OF CONCOMITANT *ESTAR QUE* PROPERTIES

Chapter 2 has thus far introduced and described the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis and its properties according to Arrizabalaga (2010). The construction can be used in place of the present or imperfect progressive; however, its structure more closely resembles a biclausal phrase than the monoclausal PROG (20a_{ii}) and it abides by distinct properties from those of PROG. Table 1 compares the *estar que* periphrasis to the present PROG according to Arrizabalaga's arguments.

Table 1. *estar que* properties, as compared to present PROG.

	<i>estar que</i> periphrasis	pres-PROG
used in simple present and imperfect past	YES <i>Está que come/estaba que comía.</i>	YES <i>Está comiendo/estaba comiendo.</i>
used in simple past	NO <i>*Estuvo que comió.</i>	YES <i>Estuvo comiendo.</i>
used with clitic pronouns	LIMITED preposed to V ₂ <i>Está que te busca; *Te está que busca.</i>	YES preposed to V ₁ or postposed to V ₂ <i>Te está buscando; Está buscándote.</i>
used with negation	NO <i>*No está que te busca.</i>	YES <i>No te está buscando.</i>
used with statives	NO <i>*Está que hay.</i>	LIMITED <i>*Está habiendo; Está siendo.</i>
used for habitual actions	NO <i>*Está que estudia.</i>	YES <i>Está estudiando Derecho.</i>

Table 1 summarizes how, while comparable semantically to the PROG construction, the *estar que* periphrasis functions under unique restrictions. These restrictions, especially the placement of clitic pronouns and negation as well as habitual use, are a principal focus of the present study.

Another focus of this thesis is the potential grammaticalization path of the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis, specifically in relation to use with habitual interpretations, an aspect not documented by Arrizabalaga as compatible with the *estar que* periphrasis.

2.4 GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PERIPHRAIS

Grammaticalization is understood here as the description of the process(es) by which lexical elements become grammatical (i.e. lose some lexical meaning or take on a grammatical role in the sentence) or grammatical items become more grammatical (i.e. lose structural autonomy or become fixed morphemes) (Hopper and Traugott 2003). According to Vasilieva-Švede and Stepanov (1974), cited in Lisyová (2004) emphasis mine,

“frases gramaticalizadas son las que pierden por completo su significado independiente y adquieren una cualidad nueva de tiempo, aspecto o modo” (Vasilieva-Švede and Stepanov 1974:245, in Lisyová 2004).

The portions of this definition of grammaticalized items that are particularly relevant to the present study are: i) the loss of autonomy, or ‘independent meaning,’ of the given elements (*estar*, *que*, and the V_2), in that they do not function separately to form other constructions and cannot be split from the phrasal structure except within placement constraints; and ii) that the grammaticalized item acquires a new quality, specifically that of concomitant aspect.

Heine and Narrog (2010) organize the grammatical cline into the following parameters:

1. extension: rise of new grammatical meanings when expressions are extended to new contexts; a pragmatic or semantic development
2. desemanticization: loss or generalization in meaning context
3. decategorialization: loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lesser grammaticalized forms (such as lexical items)
4. phonetic reduction: loss in phonetic substance

The parameters⁴ relevant to the *estar que* periphrasis are desemanticization of *estar* and the potential extension to habitual aspect, both of which have already occurred in the present progressive. In the PROG tense in Spanish, *estar* has lost the meaning and autonomy of a lexical verb and acquired an auxiliary status, lending temporal and aspectual dimension to the finite verb in the present participle (*verb* + *-NDO*). The desemanticization of *estar* from lexical verb to an auxiliary in the concomitant periphrasis is not as clear, as will be discussed in Sections 5.7 and 5.8, but is argued by Arrizabalaga. The extension of PROG to habitual aspect, as already

⁴ The use of the term “parameter” is not to be assumed from formal models of linguistics, but rather a simple organizational term.

mentioned, is highly attested in various dialects of Spanish. The potential extension of the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis to include habitual actions will be discussed in Section 4.2.2.

Insomuch as the *estar que* periphrasis is interchangeable with the present progressive for concomitant actions, a review of the grammaticalization of the present progressive is relevant in order to compare the development of the *estar que* periphrasis. For this review, the cline proposed by Torres Cacoullós (1999) is used (21)⁵:

(21) ESTAR + -NDO

locative construction >

a. *está en Managua, en Nicaragua, visitando*

progressive aspect >

b. *uno nunca puede ver en la cara del juez lo que está pensando*

c. *estoy pensando en mi hija*

habitual/durative aspect

d. *lo que están haciendo es invertir en infraestructura cultural*

f. *está haciendo el doctorado en una universidad privada*

This cline details the diachronic grammaticalization of the progressive, but the examples, all retrieved from the year 2017, show that all three interpretations are still possible in modern Spanish. We therefore see significant functional overlap between the various forms: the habitual aspect can be viewed as in competition with the simple present while in northern Peru, the progressive aspect is in competition with the simple present as well as the *estar que* periphrasis. Arrizabalaga's argument of concomitance would suggest that if the *estar que* structure is undergoing similar language change as the present PROG due to their semantic similarity, it is at the progressive aspect stage, with no evidence of ever having had a locative meaning at the level of the PROG construction. If this structure had a locative meaning, it has not been recorded,

⁵ Examples are from the Corpus del Español (CdE), 5 April 2017, emphasis mine.

possibly because it has been very sparsely attested. However, a locative *estar* is not hard to imagine with this structure, such as with a pause: *Magdalena no está, que prepara la sopa*. It may also have never passed through a locative stage if created through analogy from the iterative or attributive structures mentioned above, in which *estar* does not have a locative reading.

In addition to being at the progressive stage presented by Torres Cacoullós, Arrizabalaga's research adds the element of concomitance to the cline. In the results presented in Chapter 4 and the discussions in Section 5.5, I present a number of examples as evidence for the claim that the *estar que* periphrasis includes habitual aspect. I therefore explore the possibility of it following a similar grammaticalization cline as the one proposed in (21) for present progressives. There are examples from the questionnaire with high percentages of acceptance that suggest the *estar que* periphrasis is admitted in some habitual contexts as well as Arrizabalaga's proposed concomitant aspect (see Table 3 in Section 4.2.1).

(22)⁶ ESTAR QUE + VERBO

progressive concomitant aspect >

a. ...*mi mamá está que cocina*.

b. ...*estoy que estudio*.

habitual/durative aspect

c. ¿*Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?*

d. *Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana*.

I propose (22) as a possible addition to Arrizabalaga's claim of concomitance, in which the structure has extended to include (at least some) habitual interpretations, following the PROG progression that led to the ambiguity Arrizabalaga claims to be the catalyst for the diffusion of the concomitant periphrasis as a specific aspect marker. The examples in (22c) and (22d) are

⁶ Examples for (22) are from highly accepted items on the participant questionnaire described in Chapter 3.

items from the questionnaire of the current study that were accepted by participants. These examples include temporal adjectives that clearly refer to habitual actions: *todos los días* and *todos los fines de semana*. However, while extension to or inclusion of habitual aspect seems parallel to the grammaticalization of the present progressive, there are components such as clitic pronoun and negation placement that point to other modes of grammaticalization. This is discussed more in Sections 5.1 and 5.8.

Detges and Waltereit (2002) break down the typical grammaticalization cline into three processes: i) lexical item > grammatical item, ii) grammatical item > more grammatical item, and iii) phonetic reduction. The separation of types of grammaticalization provides a fitting frame for looking at the grammaticalization of the concomitant *estar que*. Using Detges and Waltereit's description, we can look separately at the possibility of *estar* undergoing process (i) lexical item > grammatical item, which is a clear process in terms of the PROG construction; and the grammaticalization of the *estar que* periphrasis as a string or chunk through process (ii). The grammaticalization of *estar* is assumed by Arrizabalaga due to his conclusions that *estar* is an auxiliary in the concomitant periphrasis in question. While some grammaticalization has occurred in order for this string to become productive with a quantity of verbs, auxiliary status is not presumed in this study. In fact, the auxiliary status of *estar* is countered in Section 5.8.

In this chapter, an overview of the previous studies and a review of terminology related to the current study were given. A description of the grammaticalization of PROG has been provided and related to the use of the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis. The methodology chapter to follow details the study done to attest acceptance of the habitual use and structural restrictions of the northern Peruvian concomitant periphrasis.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Chapters 1 and 2 have outlined the construction in question and the previous literature related to it and its uses. In order to expand on previous research and clarify geographical distribution and usage restrictions, the following study was carried out in the months of June and July of the year 2017.

The main research questions for this study are as follows:

1. Is the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis recognized and used outside of the geographical limitations outlined by Arrizabalaga (northernmost coastal region of Peru)?
2. Is the *estar que* construction limited to concomitant actions?
3. What are placement restrictions on the *estar que* construction in terms of negation and clitic pronouns?

These questions will be evaluated based on Arrizabalaga's previous study (2010) and original research by the author. In addition, I will explore evidence of grammaticalization with the *estar que* periphrasis relying on a base definition of grammaticalization as outlined by Hopper and Traugott (2003). For this study, I understand the term *grammaticalization* to refer to "tendencies" to follow a cline of lexical item > grammatical item, detailed in the previous chapter.

The construction under study is an extremely colloquial structure. As Rivarola (2001:33), cited in Arrizabalaga (2010), notes, these types of colloquial "*peculiaridades*" are difficult to find documented in written sources, although the author has found examples on Twitter (see

Section 6.2). Examples of this construction used with a concomitant aspect (as opposed to the aforementioned attributive, which appears similar in its surface structure; see Section 2.2.4) were searched for on the Corpus del Español (CdE) to no avail⁷. In fact, the one reference found on CdE was in a blog post about the construction written by Arrizabalaga himself. Thus, in order to confirm the claims made by Arrizabalaga (2010) and investigate the geographical distribution of the *estar que* periphrasis without the aid of corpus data, acceptability questionnaires, stimulus-driven elicitations with pictures, and informal observations were carried out in Trujillo, Peru and Machala, Ecuador in the summer of 2017. Trujillo is located 262 miles south of Piura, the city in which Arrizabalaga conducted his research; Machala is only 47 miles north of the Peruvian border. The choice of Trujillo as a research site was intended to begin to delimit a southern reach of the phenomenon⁸. Machala, Ecuador was chosen to document use or recognition of the construction in Ecuador, and to begin to determine a northern reach. Previous research has only taken place in the region of Piura in northern Peru, with Arrizabalaga's only reference to usage across the Ecuadorian border being that "*Sabemos que resulta extraño al otro lado de la frontera, en las provincias del sur del Ecuador*" (2010:80). However, Arrizabalaga does not detail how "we know" that this structure is "odd" in Ecuador.

In order to approximate the degree of usage of the construction, an acceptability questionnaire of 60 items was given to 35 participants in Trujillo and 14 in Machala. It was not deemed necessary to have as many participants in the Machaleño group as in the Trujillo study, as the purpose was first to determine if the construction is recognized and/or used in southern Ecuador (compared to analyzing a known usage in Trujillo).

⁷ As mentioned previously, attributive structures with similar surface structures were found in corpus data.

⁸ This construction had been observed by the author on multiple visits to Trujillo in 2010, 2011 and 2013.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The participants in Trujillo (Trujillanos) were recruited via acquaintances and former colleagues. Most surveys were administered in private residences or places of work and the responses to the image-based elicitation portion were recorded, with participants' consent. Approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) was granted in June of 2017. The audio of this section of the interaction was recorded using a Tascam DR-05 recorder. The questionnaires by participants in Machala (Machaleños) were all facilitated through a contact made via acquaintances in Quito. These surveys were also conducted in private residences and the same image-based elicitation portion was recorded. While an attempt was made to include participants of various socioeconomic statuses and varying age ranges, no specific quota was followed for any group. The surveys included a demographic information section (Appendix Bi). Socioeconomic status was addressed in this demographic information section only by including space for participants to list their level of education. The birthplace of the participant and that of his/her parents were included and participants were asked to list any other places they had lived and for how long. These questions were meant to provide evidence for whether usage or acceptance of usage could be linked to a family or home environment in which members from further north may have influenced the speech of the participants, namely if the participants' parents have origin in or close to the region in which Arrizabalaga conducted his research. If so, it could be argued that use of the *estar que* structure in Trujillo or Machala is due to migration from more northern regions of Peru in which Arrizabalaga has already established its use.

Of the 35 participants from the Trujillo data set, 27 had a university-level education or were in the process of obtaining one at the time of the survey. Three of the participants had completed a degree beyond a university level and three had completed only a high school level

education. Two had an elementary level education, one of the two being in the school system at the time of the survey. Of the 35 participants, 21 were female and 14 were male. The average age of the participants was 34.5, with the eldest being 68 and the youngest being 13. Thirty-one of the participants considered themselves from Trujillo, while four moved to Trujillo from a region further north. The origin of the participants' parents was also asked, as this could have influence on the participants' usage of the construction due to input in the home. Eighteen participants had parents who were from Trujillo, seven had at least one parent who was born in coastal regions further north than Trujillo, and the remaining ten had parents who had moved to Trujillo from other regions, such as the mountain (*sierra*) or jungle (*selva*) regions. These regions, along with the desert coastal region, make up the three most distinct geographical areas of the country, which correspond, to a large degree, to linguistic distinctions.

The Machala data set included 14 participants. Of these 14, 12 responded to the question regarding level of education (the other two neglected to answer this question). Within these 12, eight had a university-level education, three had a high school education and one had completed an elementary level education. Ten of the Machala set were female and four male. The average age of the participants was 41.4 and ranged from 18 to 63. Nine participants were from Machala while five were from regions further north, that is, farther from the Peruvian border. It would be presumed that the *estar que* construction would be more prevalent closer to the border. The same 12 (out of 14) participants responded to the question about their parents' place of origin. Of these 12, five had parents from Machala and seven had at least one parent from regions further north. With Machala being so close to the Peruvian border, there were no participants with origin further south (closer to the border) than Machala or its immediate surroundings.

Participants' data was stored using only the first letter of the name of the city in focus (M for Machala or T for Trujillo) and a number assigned by the order in which they were interviewed. Thus, M02 was the second person in Machala to participate in a survey, etc.

3.3 QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW

The stimulus-driven elicitation exercise was based on the methods of the INIDE study mentioned in Chapter 2 (see example (11)) and consisted showing of various drawings, printed from Totem Field Story Boards online and Spanish-as-a-second-language textbooks (Appendix A), to the participants. The participants were asked to describe the actions of the picture in the current moment. The present tense was used in providing directions so as not to prime the participants with either the present progressive or the concomitant periphrasis. Thus, participants were told, *Describe lo que hace la gente en las fotos, sus acciones*, 'Describe what the people are doing in the pictures, their actions,' or simply, *Describe las acciones en la imagen*, 'Describe the actions in the picture,' hoping to elicit production of the concomitant periphrasis and determine some differences in usage compared with the present progressive. However, only four examples of *estar que* were produced in this task among all participants.

The acceptability portion (Appendix Bii) of the study is comprised of 60 sentences, 40 of which contain the construction under study, 20 of which are distractors. The sentences were created by the author based on Arrizabalaga's elicited written responses to explicit questions regarding the structure (see example 10) and her own observed examples from time spent in the region as well as written messages received from people from the area of Trujillo. Sentences were created in two categories: sentences hypothesized to be acceptable and those hypothesized to be unacceptable, based on the restrictions outlined by Arrizabalaga in Chapter 2 and Table 1.

While the focus of the study was not expressly stated, it was also not hidden from the participants. In fact, speakers were generally aware of the use of the structure in their area, and able to speak about their opinions on it (which were generally pejorative attitudes, as will be discussed in Section 5.2). The items included in the questionnaire were paired with a Likert-style scale from one to five:

- (1) - *No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.*
- (2) - *No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.*
- (3) - *No estoy seguro/a.*
- (4) - *Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.*
- (5) - *Es aceptable y yo lo diría.*

Answers of 2, 4, and 5 were all counted as generally accepted. The term *acceptable*, for this study, is taken to connote recognition of usage of the construction, not necessarily grammatically “correct.” Thus, while the present scale is unique in that (2) is included as “acceptable,” giving the participants these qualifying attributes to a quantitative measurement was aimed at allowing participants to mark what would closest resemble actual usage and not just the opinions or judgments of the person taking the questionnaire on the grammatical acceptance of the examples. By having option (4), participants could acknowledge that the structure was familiar to them, but that they personally, for reasons of upbringing or judgment, or any number of unspecified extra-linguistic reasons, did not use the phrase. Option (2) allowed for participants to make judgments, if they so desired, but without sacrificing the acknowledgment that, regardless of perceived grammatical correctness, the structure is said by others, i.e. the participant has heard it used by others, even though he/she does not agree that it should be used. Option (3) allowed for participants to not feel pressure to definitively know a rating by answering ‘I’m not sure.’

Based on Arrizabalaga's previous study and the author's own observations, it was hypothesized that the *estar que* periphrasis would be accepted with any activity verb in which the present progressive could be used with a concomitant aspect. Stative verbs were hypothesized to be considered unacceptable, parallel to their absence of use in the present progressive. Perfective uses were hypothesized to be unacceptable. It was also hypothesized that only the V₂ would select complements; thus, in sentences with a direct object pronoun or reflexive pronoun, it was hypothesized that these complements would only be accepted preceding V₂ and not V₁ (*estar*). In general, a low acceptance of negation of any type was hypothesized, but for purposes of contrast, it was hypothesized that more examples with a negation element (*no*) preceding V₂ would be accepted than those preceding V₁. It was also hypothesized, in accordance with Arrizabalaga's claim, that the construction would not be accepted with habitual meaning. Examples of these items can be seen in Table 2 below, with references to the examples on the questionnaire (Appendix Bii):

Table 2. Examples of items from author's acceptability questionnaire.

	Example	hypothesized acceptable
active verbs 'base structure'	1. ... <i>está que cocina.</i>	yes
stative verbs	46. ... <i>está que tiene olor de guardado.</i>	no
perfective aspect	27. <i>Ayer, ...estuvo que trabajó.</i>	no
habitual aspect	6.... <i>está que visita a su mama todos los fines de semana.</i>	no
negation V ₁ (<i>estar</i>)	10. ... <i>no está que prepara la sopa.</i>	no
negation V ₂	40. ... <i>está que no me contesta.</i>	yes
pronoun V ₁ (<i>estar</i>)	44. <i>Se está que baña...</i>	no
pronoun V ₂	4. ... <i>está que la prepara ahorita.</i>	yes

The last portion of the interactions consisted of a section in which the participants read a short description of five situations and chose if they would respond to each situation using the present progressive (PROG) or the concomitant periphrasis. They also had the option to respond

that both constructions would be appropriate, or that neither would be appropriate. This section was meant to tease out the pragmatic usage of the *estar que* periphrasis when compared to PROG. Each of the five situations (Appendix Biii) was formulated to detect specific preferences in pragmatic use. Item 1. *Julieta está desayunando/que desayuna muy poco últimamente*, tests usage in a non-concomitant situation. Item 2. *Alfonso está hablando/que habla con su mamá por teléfono [desde hace una hora]*, tests usage in a situation that has been in progress for some time (an hour) and continues into a concomitant situation. Item 3. *Mi hermana no puede salir ahorita; se está bañando/está que se baña*, tests usage as an excuse for not doing something. Item 4. *Estoy pensando/que pienso en mi hija; que ha salido muy tarde y no me llama*, tests usage with a stative verb (*pensar*) and worry and/or blame; and Item 5. *No hagas mucho ruido que el bebé está durmiendo/que duerme [desde hace 15 minutos]*, tests usage for an action that has been taking place for the last 15 minutes, testing for usage with explicit time limitation. This portion was included after the 60-item questionnaire and participants were given the instructions after having completed the acceptability portion. Without having previous research on the semantic and pragmatic reasons for choosing the concomitant periphrasis in place of the PROG-gerund, no specific hypotheses were made as to the responses for this section. However, it was supposed that in general, all five of the situations would be able to allow both the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis and the present progressive. The situations involving specific time durations (Items 2 and 5) and that involving an excuse (Item 3) were created from speculations on pragmatic use given by speakers from Trujillo who use this construction but who were not included as participants in this study.

In addition, at the end of the acceptability portion and after each scenario in the pragmatics section, participants were given the space to write any optional comments. Finally,

select participants were asked to reflect on their answers by responding to simple questions such as: “*¿Puede dar usted una razón por la cual contestó X a número ____, pero Y a número ____?*” “*¿Por qué dice que número _____ no es aceptable?*” Some participants were asked general, explicit questions about the structure, such as, ‘*¿La frase está que [verbo] quiere decir que está ocurriendo en el mismo momento?*’ In addition, this study includes oral examples gathered through informal conversation and observation.

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND ANALYSIS

4.1 ANALYSIS OF STIMULUS DRIVEN ELICITATION

The survey detailed in the previous chapter included, along with the acceptability portion, a stimulus-driven elicitation exercise. This section of the survey was administered before the questionnaire and consisted of 4-6 drawings, obtained from Guzmán, et. al (2016) and Totem Field Story Boards, a website with resources for elicitation research. Participants were shown the picture boards, one at a time, and asked to describe the actions in the picture. At this stage of the survey, participants were not knowledgeable of the nature of the study. Using either the present progressive or the *estar que* periphrasis was avoided in order not to prime the participants' answers.

It was hoped that this activity would elicit examples of the *estar que* periphrasis and thusly could be used to compare participants' election of this structure over the present progressive. However, this activity only produced five examples (23), four of which (23a-c) were produced by the same participant. The majority of the verbs used to describe the images were in the present progressive form. Few cases of the simple present were also used.

- (23) a. ***Están que limpian*** la cocina. (Image 4; Appendix A)
 b. El joven...el hombre ***está que limpia*** el piso con papel...toalla. (Image 4; Appendix A)
 c. ...y la mujer ***está que lava el, está que limpia el...el...recipientes, lavadero...***(Image 4; Appendix A)
 d. ...y la chica ***está que contempla*** el sueño del chico, pero con un carita así de aburrida... (Image 1; Appendix A)

Since only two participants produced the structure spontaneously, providing only five examples, no concluding comparison was able to be made between the examples in (23) and the

present PROG. However, these examples are useful in demonstrating that this construction does occur spontaneously, with recorded evidence to add to the observed data in Chapter 5. A phonetic study is potentially of interest in order to analyze the length and quality of the production of *estar* in comparison with V_2 , which could help determine auxiliary use of *estar*. However, more tokens of the construction are needed in order to carry out this type of study. That few cases were provided spontaneously during the interview is in line with its status as a stigmatized construction. Social perceptions of use of the construction are explored in Section 5.3.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF ACCEPTABILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

After being presented with the stimulus-driven exercise detailed above, participants were given the acceptability portion of the survey, consisting of 60 sentences with a rating scale of 1-5 (detailed in Section 3.3). In addition to the quantitative measurements of 1,2,4,5, the questionnaire contained an option (3) “*No estoy seguro/a.*” This questionnaire aimed to include participants of all ages and backgrounds, including those who had never participated in a study of this type. Thus, an attempt was made to lessen the anxiety a participant might have in completing a questionnaire by offering an option that reflected their uncertainty. However, placing this option in the middle of the scale, while making sense qualitatively, had potential to cause difficulty in the quantitative measurement. In processing mean responses for the various constituents allowed in the construction and their acceptable placement in relation to the periphrasis, having a numerical 3 representing a neutral answer has the potential to affect the scale of acceptability. Thus, means were calculated both including the 3-responses and excluding them and their exclusion was found to be unnecessary. The means (with inclusion of the

qualitatively null ‘3’) are included in Table 3⁹. The mode was also calculated for each group of constituents in order to convey more accurately the most common responses among participants for a given example as it takes into consideration only the exact answers, without quantifying the (3) in relation to the other numbers on the scale. Table 4 provides these modes. The data for the different cities are kept separate.

Table 3. Mean responses by category. Categories in bold are those hypothesized to be unacceptable.

Constituent/Element tested	Trujillo (n = 35)		Machala (n = 14)	
	Mean	Stand Dev	Mean	Stand Dev
Base structure	3.6	1.5	3.3	1.6
Object before V₁ (<i>estar</i>)	2.4	1.5	3.0	1.5
Object before V ₂	3.6	1.4	3.5	1.6
Negation before V₁ (<i>estar</i>)	2.9	1.5	2.7	1.6
Negation before V ₂	2.6	1.5	3.4	1.5
Habitual Use	3.2	1.6	3.4	1.6
Imperfect Past	3.4	1.5	3.8	1.5
Simple Past	1.5	1.0	2.0	1.3
Stative/Emotive	2.2	1.5	2.9	1.6

⁹ Calculating means both including answers of ‘3’ and excluding them was aimed at discerning how much discrepancy exists due to having the 3 factored into the mean when compared with giving that same response a value at the bottom of the scale. It was found that the inclusion of 3 was did not significantly alter the outcome of the mean.

The means presented in Table 3 all fall under an acceptance of 4. “Acceptability,” as mentioned in the last chapter, is understood to mean “acceptability of use,” not as “judged appropriate or correct.” Thus, responses of 2, 4 and 5 are all considered to a degree acceptable, as option 2 is labeled: ‘Unacceptable, but people say it,’ acknowledging its use regardless of personal opinion about its correctness. Therefore, mean responses above 2 reflect some degree of acceptability.

In general, we see support for the hypothesis regarding object placement—i.e. that V_2 is an acceptable host for complements while *estar* is unacceptable—seen in the higher mean acceptance for objects preceding V_2 in both Trujillo and Machala. Likewise, the data support the hypothesis that this structure would be acceptable with the imperfect past (3.4 average acceptance in Trujillo and 3.8 in Machala) but unacceptable with the simple past (1.5 acceptance in Trujillo and 2.0 in Machala) and stative verbs (2.2 acceptance in Trujillo and 2.9 in Machala). Figures 2 and 3 depict overall percentage of acceptances following the idea that 2, 4 and 5 constitute answers signifying acceptability.

However, there is less support for the hypothesis regarding negation, based both on intuition and Arrizabalaga’s claims. In these data, we see the mean acceptance of negation before *estar*, the anticipated unacceptable order, is 2.9 in Trujillo and 2.7 in Machala. Both responses are high for the level of unacceptability anticipated, but the interesting outcome is seen in comparing these responses to those of negation before V_2 . The mean for negation before V_2 , hypothesized to be more acceptable, showed relatively similar results of acceptability as that of negation before *estar* in Trujillo, with a mean of 2.6, a much closer outcome than anticipated when compared to the negation before V_2 acceptance. In Machala, the mean is 3.4, showing a much higher acceptance for negation of V_2 in comparison to negation of *estar*, which was hypothesized. Negation proves to be perhaps more difficult for participants, or perhaps an odder

construction than, say, using an object pronoun with this structure, shown by Trujillanos accepting placement before either verb at relatively the same rate and accepting neither at an average higher than 3.4.

The other noticeable deviation from the hypothesized outcomes is observed with the category of habitual use (example: *Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana* and *¿Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?*). While it was hypothesized that the habitual examples would not be accepted, based on Arrizabalaga's (2010) claim that *estar que + verb* can only be used for concomitant actions, the data show that participants in both Trujillo and Machala gave a relatively high mean acceptance rate mean of 3.2 and 3.4, respectively. This outcome will be discussed in Sections 4.2.2 and 5.5, specifically in terms of potential grammaticalization of the structure.

In addition to mean response, the mode of the responses, that is, the most commonly chosen response, was calculated for each category of interest. Table 4 provides these modes in order to more clearly demonstrate contrasts in responses. The stark difference in acceptance is made clear by the mode¹⁰ which complement the means shown in Table 3.

The modes of each example appear to support the hypothesized acceptability of these cases based on Arrizabalaga's previous study as well as on my own observations, with respect to all categories but two: negation and habitual use.

¹⁰ That no mode came out to be 3 helps assure that these examples were not particularly confusing or ambiguous, and that the aforementioned potential difficulties in reading the data due to the use of a quantitative 3 to represent a qualitative "unsure" response may not have skewed the data due to its lack of response. Out of 2100 possible responses in Trujillo, only 109 were answered with 3, a mere 5% of the responses. In Machala, 30 of 840 responses were given a 3, or 3.6% of the responses. This is helpful in showing that uncertainty was not likely a factor in participant responses.

Table 4. Modes by category. Categories in bold are those hypothesized to be unacceptable.

Mode		
Constituent/Element tested	Trujillo n = 35	Machala n = 14
Object before V₁ (<i>estar</i>)	1	2
Object before V ₂	5	5
Negation before V₁ (<i>estar</i>)	1	1
Negation before V ₂	1	5
Habitual Use	5	5
Imperfect Past	5	5
Simple Past	1	1
Stative/Emotive	1	1

The mode shows that the most common answer among both Trujillanos and Machaleños for both the imperfect past examples and those with object pronoun placement before the second verb (V₂) is 5, which supports the hypothesis that the *estar que* periphrasis is acceptable in these environments. Likewise, the modes for simple past, stative/emotive verbs and pronoun placement before *estar* (V₁) support the hypothesis that the periphrasis is not expected in these contexts, as almost all have a mode of 1 (2 in the case of V₁ object placement in Machala). However, we see the first difference between Trujillanos and Machaleños in their responses to negation before V₂ (NEG-V₂), which was hypothesized to be more acceptable than NEG-V₁. Trujillanos, in fact, largely rejected the use of NEG- V₂, just as they did for NEG- V₁. In

Machala, the mode for this same environment (NEG- V₂) is 5: complete acceptance, a direct contrast to their acceptance of placement before V₁, which has a mode of 1. In this respect, Machaleños follow the hypothesized pattern of acceptance. Reasons for this large discrepancy between responses from the Machaleño data set and the Trujillano are detailed in Section 5.1.

4.2.1 PERCENTAGE RATE OF ACCEPTANCE

Figures 1 and 2 below demonstrate the overall percentage of acceptance among the Trujillano participants and the Machaleños, respectively, for the various elements studied and compare them to the base structure, which is taken to be the *estar que + verb* construction in the present tense without negation or pronouns and referring to a concomitant action. This is considered the base structure because of its hypothesized acceptance based on Arrizabalaga's study and the author's previous anecdotal observations. An example of a base structure sentence is *Mi mamá está que cocina* (Item 1, Appendix Bii). "Acceptance," as already noted, is taken to mean responses of 5, "*Completamente aceptable; yo lo diría,*" 4, "*Aceptable, pero yo no lo diría,*" and 2, "*Unaceptable, pero se dice;*" however, in the charts below, I separate this acceptability by category of responses 2 and another of 4 and 5 in order to better visualize levels of acceptance and/or use. The charts in Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate clearly the level of acceptance by overall percentage of answers 4 or 5, 2, 1 and 3. They also depict the difference in percentage of responses of 2, which admits use by other people but denies personal use, versus those of 4 or 5.

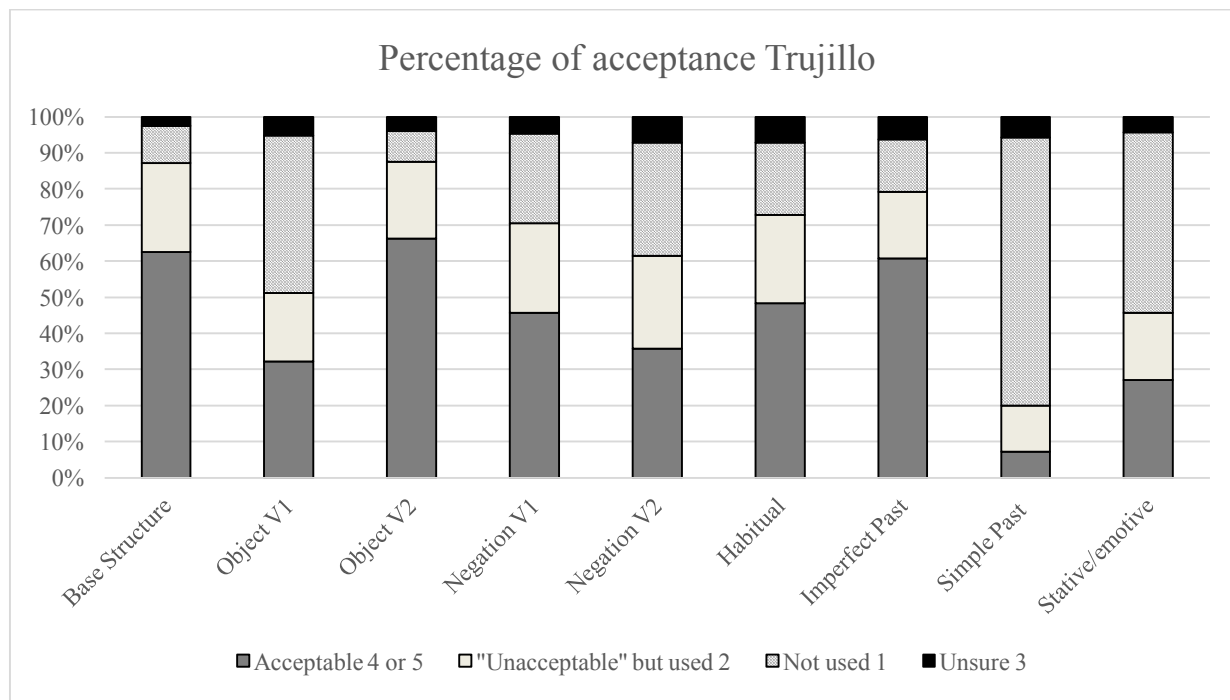


Figure 1. Percentage of acceptance by category: Trujillo.

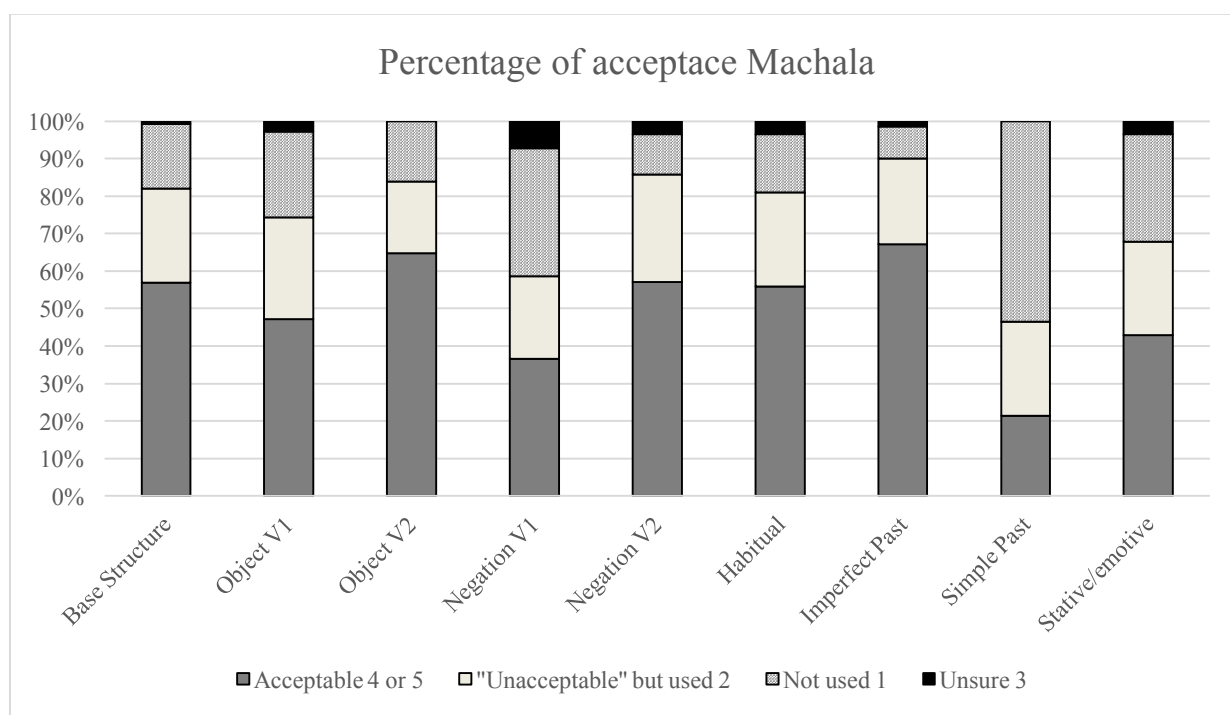


Figure 2. Percentage of acceptance by category: Machala.

We see that the base structure is accepted at 87% in Trujillo and 81% in Machala. In comparison, object clitic placement pre-V₂ was accepted at 87% in Trujillo and 87% in Machala. These charts show a clearly higher acceptance of this placement of clitic pronouns as opposed to pre-V₁, which was anticipated. However, negation shows unexpected results in Trujillo, while following anticipated hypotheses in Machala, although in both cities there is more acceptance of negation in general than was expected, as negation was thought to be generally incompatible with the *estar que* construction.

These charts show that imperfect past has no negative impact on acceptability, but simple past does (although less problematic for Machaleños), which was again, a hypothesized outcome. Statives received a higher acceptability from Machala participants than from Trujillanos: 68% as opposed to 46%. Machaleños also accepted more habitual use than did Trujillanos: 81% acceptability compared to 72%. Although both of these percentages are higher than expected, due to Arrizabalaga's strict concomitance restriction, the higher acceptance in Machala of this and other hypothesized unacceptable categories (like statives and simple past) could demonstrate less familiarity with the construction and how it is used in the region of Machala.

4.2.2 HABITUALITY

The *estar que* periphrasis was hypothesized not to be acceptable in habitual uses, per Arrizabalaga's (2010) conclusions. The modes of the habitual use examples in Table 4 (5 in both data sets), however, demonstrate a stark difference with respect to the hypothesized outcome. While Arrizabalaga insists that the *estar que* periphrasis is not used or accepted for describing habitual or durative actions, unlike the present progressive (i.e. *estoy estudiando tercer año de derecho* vs. **estoy que estudio tercer año de derecho*), the participants in this

questionnaire did not seem to distinguish between these two readings as much as anticipated.

Examples of habitual actions from the questionnaire that were accepted with the concomitant periphrasis are seen in (24), with the element that connotes habituality in bold.

- (24) a. *Antonio está que visita a su mamá **todos los fines de semana**.*
 b. *¿Estás que trabajas **todos los lunes**?*
 c. ***Últimamente**, está que llueve mucho en Trujillo.*

Among Trujillano participants, 48% percent of the answers for (24a) were either 4 or 5 and 37% were 2. In Machala, the same item received 59% answers of 4 or 5 and 29% answers of 2 in Trujillo. (24b) received 54% of answers as either 4 or 5 and 34% as 2. (24c) was the most accepted, receiving 68.5% acceptance with either 4 or 5 and only 14% with 2. The results for all examples indicating a habitual meaning are shown in Table 5. Examples are listed with their corresponding number from the questionnaire (Appendix Bii), in order to better understand the ratings for each example. Overall, Table 5 shows an unexpectedly high percentage of acceptance for habitual readings of the *estar que* construction. Percentages of acceptance were similar between the two data sets, with both Trujillanos and Machaleños accepting 6. *Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana*, 22. *¿Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?* and 31. *Últimamente está que llueve mucho en Trujillo* at high rates. Item 49 *Me hijo está que no me hace caso nunca*, received the least overall acceptance, taking into consideration the responses from both sets of participants, with just 49% given a response above 1. However, in Machala, the total acceptance of Item 49 was 71.5%, showing a much higher acceptance than participants allowed in Trujillo. It is assumed that this low acceptance and the difference in acceptability between the two groups may be due to the presence of the negation element *no*, which is much less accepted than positive statements, as previously mentioned.

Table 5. Habitual aspect acceptance.

	6. Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana.	19. Estamos que tomamos todos los mismos cursos este semestre.	22. ¿Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?	31. Últimamente, está que llueve mucho en Trujillo.	34. Mi mamá estaba que salía con otro chico cuando conoció a mi papá.	49. ¡Mi hijo está que no me hace caso nunca!
Trujillo N=35						
Answered 4 or 5 (Acceptable, but I don't say it; Acceptable and I would say it)	17 48.5%	15 43%	19 54%	24 68.5%	19 54%	7 28%
Answered 2 (Unacceptable, but people say it)	13 37%	8 23%	12 34%	5 14%	6 17%	7 28%
TOTAL percent accepted	85.5%	66%	88%	82.5%	71%	59%
Machala N=14						
Answered 4 or 5	8 57%	6 43%	9 64%	9 64%	9 64%	6 43%
Answered 2	4 28.5%	3 21%	3 21%	4 28.5%	3 21%	4 28.5%
TOTAL percent accepted	85.5%	64%	85%	92.5%	85%	71.5%
TOTAL Machala and Trujillo	86%	65%	88%	86%	75.5%	49%

Item 19 also received a lower overall acceptance, at 65%. This low acceptance was thought to be due to the use of the first person plural, assuming a lower acceptance overall than the other conjugations, but in Section 4.2.5, we will see that assumption was incorrect. Thus, setting aside those items that may have been rated low due to factors other than habituality, we find a higher acceptance for habitual aspect than expected, being that it was hypothesized that items with habitual aspect would have a very low rate of acceptance.

4.2.3 NEGATION AND CLITIC PRONOUNS

Items with negation and pronouns also produced unanticipated results. It was hypothesized that placement of negation and object and reflexive pronouns would only be accepted before V_2 and that negation in general would have low acceptance. While the acceptance of pronouns showed a clear preference for those preceding V_2 , as hypothesized, the negation results did not prove to be so clear. Tables 6 and 7 show the acceptance of examples of negation and pronoun placement in the concomitant construction, along with the specific examples pulled for analyzation.

Table 6 lists hypothesized acceptable and hypothesized unacceptable examples of negation, the only criteria for acceptability in this case being placement pre- V_1 (unacceptable) or pre- V_2 (acceptable). Although acceptability was anticipated to be low overall, the negation examples are grouped assuming that placement would have some effect on the acceptability rating. What is seen is a generally low acceptance of negation in Trujillo and a higher acceptance in Machala. As mentioned above in 4.2.1, Machala's generally more accepting view of the *estar que* periphrasis can be viewed as due to less familiarity with the structure. However, negation in general poses ambiguous data: the item rated highest by Trujillano participants contained negation preceding V_1 (Item 10 in Table 6). Machaleños did follow anticipated results, not in the level of acceptance in general (up to 93% for negation when preceding V_2 , Item 40), but in that they accepted NEG- V_2 examples more than NEG- V_1 examples.

Table 6. Negation placement acceptance.

	Hypothesized acceptable (before V ₂)			Hypothesized unacceptable (before V ₁)	
	16. Estoy que no me siento bien.	36. La vecina está que no quiere venir a visitarnos.	40. La estoy llamando, pero está que no me contesta.	10. Magdalena no está que prepara la sopa.	50. Mi esposa no está que contesta el teléfono.
Trujillo N=35					
Answered 4 or 5	8 23%	7 20%	7 20%	14 40%	8 23%
Answered 2	9 26%	9 26%	9 26%	9 26%	8 23%
TOTAL accepted	49%	46%	46%	66%	46%
Machala N=14					
Answered 4 or 5	8 57%	7 50%	8 57%	2 14%	6 43%
Answered 2	3 21%	4 28.5%	5 36%	4 28.5%	1 7%
TOTAL accepted	78%	78.5%	93%	42.5%	50%
TOTAL Machala and Trujillo	57%	55%	59%	59%	47%

In Table 7, we see that pronouns preceding V₂ are accepted more frequently than those that proceed *estar* in Trujillo. In the Trujillo data, there was a clear preference for the hypothesized placement of pronoun, but the Machala data shows a general acceptance for both placements. The range of acceptance of pre-V₂ placement in Trujillo 83-94% and 71-100% in Machala. The example most accepted in both groups was Item 23 (Table 7), *Carolina está que te busca*. In comparison, the range of acceptance for examples with pronouns pre-V₁ are 40-62% in the Trujillo data and 64-86% in the Machala data.

Table 7. Pronoun placement.

	Hypothesized acceptable (before V ₂)			Hypothesized unacceptable (before V ₁)		
	4. ...está preparando la sopa? -Sí, está que la prepara ahorita	13. Ahorita voy, ¡aún estoy que me alisto!	23. Carolina está que te busca.	35. ¿Los chicos están que hacen su tarea? - Sí, lo están que hacen.	44. Se está que baña mi hermano menor así que está ocupado el baño.	59. Mi mamá le está que explica la receta a mi hermano.
Trujillo N=35						
Answered 4 or 5	26 74%	23 66%	25 71%	9 26%	8 23%	15 43%
Answered 2	6 17%	6 17%	8 23%	6 17%	6 17%	7 19%
TOTAL accepted	91%	83%	94%	43%	40%	62%
Machala N=14						
Answered 4 or 5	8 57%	8 57%	12 86%	5 36%	8 57%	6 43%
Answered 2	2 14%	2 14%	2 14%	7 50%	4 29%	3 21%
TOTAL accepted	71%	71%	100%	86%	86%	64%
TOTAL Machala and Trujillo	86%	80%	96%	55%	53%	63%

Table 7 demonstrates the generally expected response in Trujillo but a more ambiguous distinction in the Machala data set. Overall, considering both data sets, a preference for pronouns preceding V₂ is demonstrated. More discussion of the answers for negation and pronoun placement is appears in Chapter 5.

4.2.4 ACCEPTANCE BY VERB TYPE/CLASS

Figure 3 below provides a visual of acceptance of the base structure (active verb in present tense with no negation or clitic pronouns) in comparison to habitual and stative readings. There were five habitual representations that did not include negation on the questionnaire and

two stative examples. Five base structures were chosen to show alongside the five habitual examples. The chart is organized in “Items,” each simply referring to one of the questions on the survey that fit the targeted reading for this analysis. For the stative category, there are only two items as there were only two examples that treated stative verbs clearly and specifically.

The five base structure examples in Figure 3 are: Item 1) 1. *Mi mamá no puede hablar ahorita; está que cocina*; Item 2) 15. *El supervisor está que sube para hablar contigo*; Item 3) 11. *Limpiemos la sala; está que viene el tío Jorge*; Item 4) 2. *No puedo salir ahorita; estoy que estudio*; and Item 5) 58. *Profesora, no puedo prestar atención porque los chicos están que hablan*. The five habitual items chosen for this representation were Item 1) 6. *Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana*; Item 2) 19. *Estamos que tomamos todos los mismos cursos este semestre*; Item 3) 22. *¿Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?*; Item 4) 31. *Últimamente está que llueve mucho en Trujillo*; and Item 5) 34. *Mi mamá estaba que salía con otro chico cuando conoció a mi papá*.

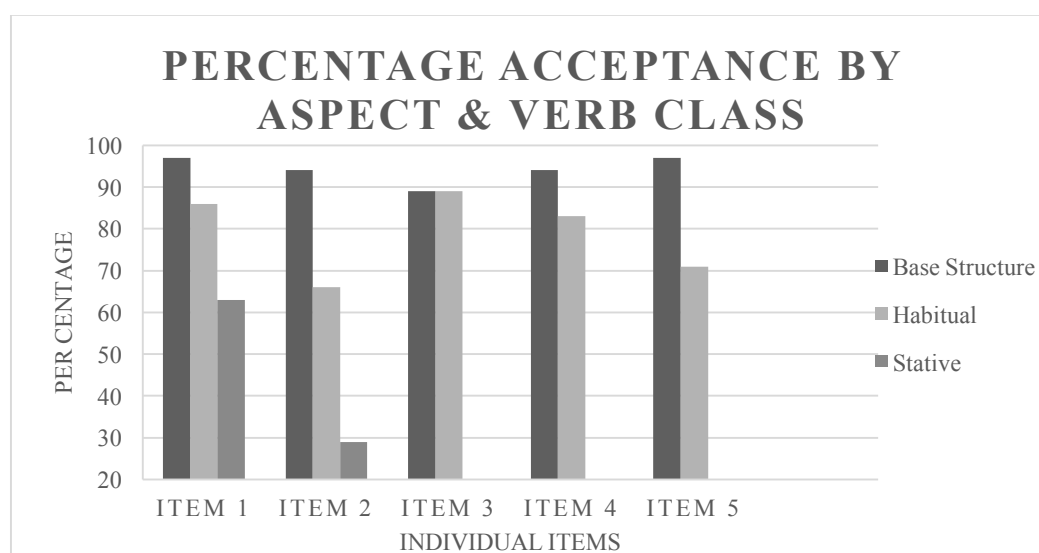


Figure 3. Percentage accepted by example item and aspect/verb class. Trujillo.

In Figure 3, the highest acceptance in general is for the base structure, although there is also a high acceptance of the habitual items chosen for this representation. What is apparent in Figure 3 is the much lower acceptance of both the stative examples, which were seen in (25):

- (25) a. Item 1. *Esta chaqueta **está que tiene** olor a guardado.*
 b. Item 2. *¿**Estás que puedes** salir ahorita?*

(25b) corresponds to Item 2 on the chart. This example received a much lower acceptance (29%) than (25a) (63%), which may be attributable to its question format. While the construction is anecdotally used in question format (corroborated with Item 43 on the acceptability questionnaire, *¿Qué estás que haces?*, which received 74% general acceptance (scoring of 2,4 or 5) in Trujillo), it is recognized that question formations in general adhere to different constraints than do declaratives, which would presumably have effect on the *estar que* periphrasis structure. Habitual readings received lower acceptance than the base structure, with a range of 66%-89% of acceptance. The examples chosen to represent the base structure demonstrate a percentage range of 89%- 97%. The low acceptance of stative expressions, if accepted at all, fits the original hypothesis, while the higher end of the habitual percentage range of acceptance was not expected.

4.2.5 ACCEPTANCE BY PERSON/CONJUGATION

As noted in Section 4.2.1, it was assumed that first person plural (1PL) would receive less acceptance than third person singular (3SG), it being taken as more frequently used. However, Figure 4 shows a comparable acceptance of the two conjugations, with only second person singular (2SG) being noticeably less accepted. Figure 5 provides a visual for comparison of acceptance by person: third person singular (3SG), third person plural (3PL), first person singular (1SG), first person plural (1PL) and second person singular (2SG). Second person plural

is not included as the *vosotros* form is not used in Peru. No examples were included that addressed *ustedes* as a plural second person. *Usted*, the formal singular second person, was also not given in the questionnaire examples. For Figure 4, only examples hypothesized to be acceptable are included, in order to analyze the acceptance of person specifically.

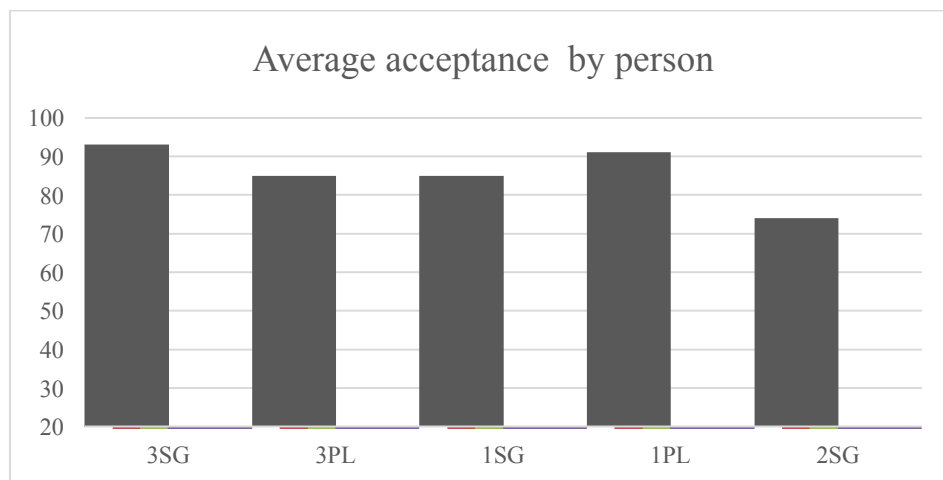


Figure 4. Average acceptance by person. Trujillo.

Figure 4 demonstrates the average percentage of acceptance for the various person conjugations. For 3SG, the number of examples that were hypothesized to be acceptable, that is, concomitant, active, and without negation or pronouns, on the questionnaire was four. The amount of 3PL per questionnaire was five; 1SG, n=six; 1PL, n=one and 2SG, n=one. The only 2SG example hypothesized to be acceptable was in question form: *¿Qué estás que haces?* which, while anecdotally accepted, received only 74% acceptance on the questionnaire, perhaps, like (20b), making this example slightly more unique due to its question form.

In Figure 4, the highest percentage of acceptance is for 3SG (93%), which is to be expected due to its frequency. 1PL has the second-highest percentage of acceptance (91%). This, however, is not necessarily an adequate representation, as n=1 for this set. One other example of

1PL was provided, but with a habitual reading (*Estamos que tomamos todos los mismos cursos este semestre*; see Table 5, Item 19). The 1PL example hypothesized to be accepted was Item 5. *Estamos que lavamos los platos aquí en la cocina*, which received a 85% average acceptance. While all persons are accepted to some extent, in line with Arrizabalaga's claim (2010:16), Figure 5 shows there may be a preference for 3SG. More studies focusing on this element would need to be completed in order to formulate a clear conclusion.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF PRAGMATIC/SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION SECTION

The final section of the survey consisted of the five written scenarios mentioned above in Section 4.2 (Appendix Biii). Participants overwhelmingly chose PROG when given the option between it and the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis; however, there is a noticeable difference in the responses from the Trujillanos and the Machaleños insofar as their choice of *estar que + verb* over the present progressive. This portion was done after the 60-question acceptability portion, at which point the participants were fully aware of the structure under study. Figures 5 and 6 show the responses of both groups. In the Machala group, two participants did not complete the pragmatics section; thus, $n = 12$ for this section whereas $n = 14$ for the acceptability portion.

The first noticeable generalization seen in Figures 5 and 6, after that of the obvious preference for the present progressive, is that preference for the *estar que* periphrasis is minimal and only selected over the progressive within the Trujillo data set. The item with highest preference for the *estar que* construction is Item 1: *Julieta está que desyuna muy poco últimamente*. This was presented in opposition to the present progressive as a way of notifying the mother of the participant's niece that said niece is not eating much lately. Interestingly, at

11% preference, this item, which does not have a concomitant reading, but rather a habitual or durative one, received the most responses in favor of the *estar que* construction.

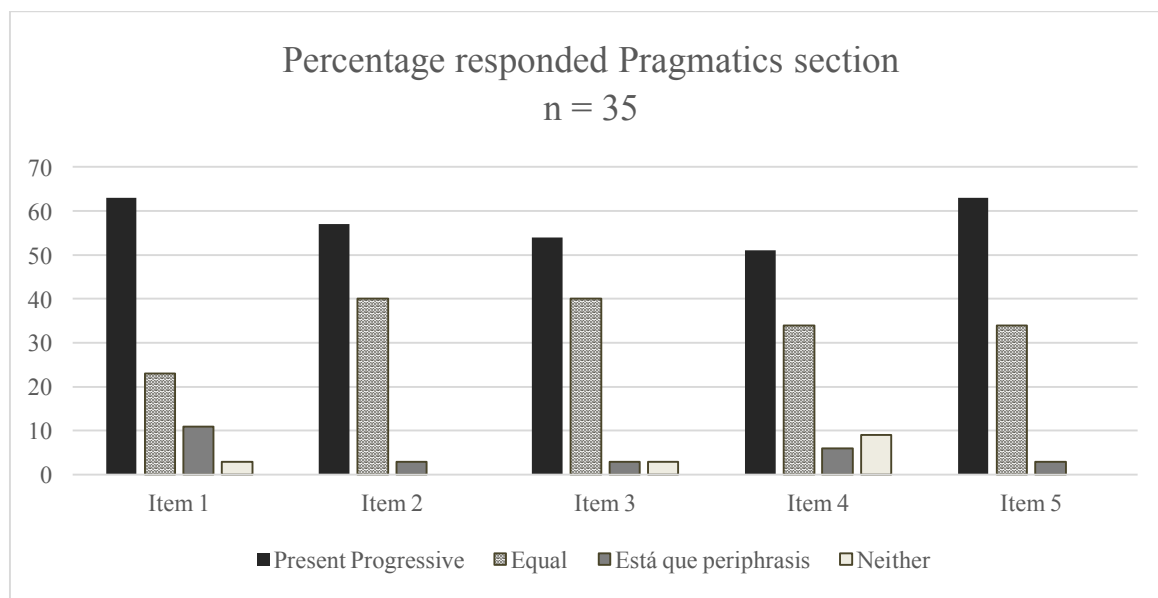


Figure 5. Responses by percentage for pragmatics section, Trujillo.

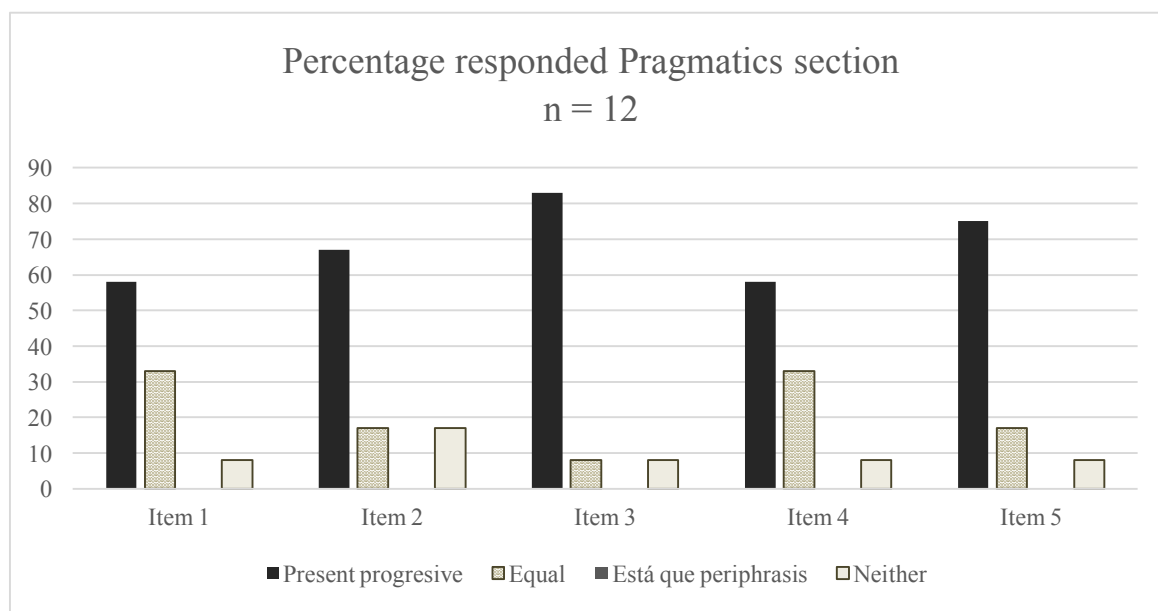


Figure 6. Responses by percentage for pragmatics section, Machala.

While the preference for the *estar que* periphrasis is of interest, so is the response that equates the *estar que* construction to the present progressive in terms of appropriateness of use. While in Trujillo there is an overall higher response of equality for the two structures than in Machala, Figures 5 and 6 show that the *estar que* construction is understood to have the same meaning as the present progressive, especially in Items 1 and 4, in which 33% of the participants in Machala equate the two structures in terms of appropriateness to the concomitant action. These same items received 23% (Item 1) and 34% (Item 4) response of equality between the structures in Trujillo. However, the Trujillo participants admitted equality of the present progressive and the *estar que* periphrasis at 40% for both Items 2 and 3 and at 34% for Item 5, giving an overall higher admittance for either PROG or the *estar que* periphrasis as equally valid options in these contexts.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The previous chapter detailed the data and provided some analysis of the findings compared to the hypotheses given in Chapter 3. The current chapter provides further discussion to explain some of these results.

5.1 NEGATION AND PRONOUNS

Tables 6 and 7 in Section 4.2.3 detail the acceptance of negation and pronoun placement in the *estar que* construction, yielding unanticipated results according to the original hypotheses of this study. First, clitic pronouns loosely follow the hypothesis of only being accepted preceding V_2 as opposed to *estar*. With the examples given of Items 35, 44, and 59, we see that in Trujillo, direct as well as indirect object pronouns are only accepted at 43% and 62%, respectively and that the reflexive pronoun *se* is accepted at 40%. However, in Machala, the rates for the direct object and the reflexive pronoun are much higher, at 86% each. This difference in acceptance rates between Trujillanos and Machaleños may be attributed to the construction being lesser known or lesser used in Machala, Ecuador than in Trujillo, Peru. When asked about the structure outside of the questionnaire, many Machaleños described it as a Peruvian construction, although accepting that it is also used in their area. Multiple participants in Machala confirmed that they understood the construction to imply a concomitant meaning, even if they related it to the region of Peru or did not use it themselves. Participant M02 affirmed that the construction

did not strike her as strange and that it “sounded normal.” An excerpt of the conversation with M02 is in (26), with J representing the interviewer and author.

- (26) J: ¿...*qué quiere decir: está cocinando en este momento o...*
 ‘...what does it mean: [he/she] is cooking at this moment or...’
 M02: *Sí, claro en este momento.*
 ‘Yes, of course, in this moment.’

Thus, (26) demonstrates that while an argument may be made that differing examples are excepted in Machala than in Trujillo due to a lack of use of the construction, the periphrasis is understood with the concomitant reading already known in northern Peru.

In regard to negation, the results show a much more ambiguous acceptance than previously hypothesized. While the data show a low acceptance rate for both NEG-V₁ and NEG-V₂, there was an overall higher acceptance than anticipated. The only example of vastly high acceptance is Item 40 (*La estoy llamando, pero está que no me contesta*), with a 93% acceptance in Machala, but only a 46% acceptance in Trujillo. As a construction connoting concomitant aspect, it is presupposed that the event or action is taking place at the moment of speech or reference point in the past. Thus, it would be difficult to discuss the absence, or negation, of an action taking place simultaneously with the speech act. However, in Item 40, the idea of *está que no me contesta*, with *no* preceding V₂, can be viewed as a deliberate action of not answering the phone, or rather, that not answering is an action itself, perhaps best understood with an iterative meaning, as in ‘What she’s doing [*está*] is not answering [*no contesta*] (multiple times).’ The remaining examples do not connote a similar deliberation, which could make a non-action more similar to an action. As mentioned in Section 4.2.3, in general, negation seems to be a less straightforward element to use with this construction, explaining the generally lower acceptance in both positions.

In addition, if the structure is grammaticalizing, it is fitting that participants would be unpredictable in what they accept in terms of the structure's usage. Thus, we see the vast difference in acceptance of Item 40 between Trujillano and Machaleño participants as well as the 66% acceptance of negation preceding *estar* in Item 10. *Magdalena no está que prepara la sopa*, from Trujillanos and a 59% acceptance from Machaleños, but only a 46% and 47% acceptance respectively, of Item 50. *Mi esposa no está que contesta el teléfono*, both of which have negation preceding V_1 . If the structure is grammaticalizing, it would also be gaining higher acceptance with the higher of the two verbs—i.e. with *estar*. This might provide an explanation for the ambiguous results of negation placement.

The higher-than-anticipated acceptance for clitics and negation preceding V_1 (clitics: 52% average in Trujillo and 74% in Machala; negation: 70% in Trujillo and 59% in Machala) provides conflicting evidence for the case of grammaticalization. On one hand, seeing a higher acceptance of pronoun and negation placement with the higher of the two verbs allows for the possibility of chunking of the construction, or that it is grammaticalizing to becoming a more fixed, bound phrase that can take complements as an entire phrase. However, the possibility of the V_1 accepting complements goes against the clausal structure suggested in Section 5.8.

5.2 PRAGMATICS

In the pragmatics section of the questionnaire, the highest preference for the *estar que* construction was Item 1. *Julia está que desayuna muy poco últimamente*. This example contains the adverb, *últimamente*, 'lately' which can loosely be described as lending a habitual or durative aspect to the statement, but it does not reference a clear time frame, such as *todos los fines de semana* 'every weekend.' This same word choice was used in the acceptability portion, as seen

in Item 31 on the questionnaire (Appendix Bii), shown in (24c): *Últimamente, está que llueve mucho en Trujillo*, which had a total general acceptance of use of 82.5% in Trujillo 92.5% in Machala, demonstrating a high acceptance rate in both regions. While this can be interpreted as signifying an acceptance of the *estar que* construction for habitual actions, the choice of the time referent *últimamente* does not provide an unambiguous habitual reading. With *lately* not specifying a specific time frame, it could be referencing a larger frame that includes a concomitant *now*.

At least one of participants commented that the *estar que* construction in fact, sounds more naturally acceptable if it includes an interpretation of habituality. When asked about his differing answers to the items shown in (27), participant T006 responded that (27a) was not possible precisely because it contained the time referent *ahorita* ‘right now’ but that (27b) was acceptable because although it could be said in moment of the occurrence, he interpreted the event as being a “habit” or “something routine” (both 27a and 27b are presented with their corresponding numbers from the questionnaire):

- (27) a. 1. *Mi mamá no puede hablar ahorita; **está que cocina.***
 b. 2. *No puedo salir en este momento; **estoy que estudio.***

When asked to explain why he accepted (27b) but not (27a), participant T006 created a scenario in which (27b) would be appropriate, providing the following context: “*cuando juegas fútbol, muchos tocan tu puerta, ‘Ey! Vamos a jugar’ ‘No puedo; estoy que estudio.’*” ‘...when you play soccer, a lot [of people] knock on your door, “Hey! Let’s go play” “I can’t; I’m studying.”’ This participant also accepted Item 6. *Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana*, stating when asked that it connoted a habit and that this construction is “mostly used for repeated things.” In the optional commentary section provided on the questionnaire, T006 reiterated his reading of habitual-including-concomitant aspect with the statements in (28) from the pragmatics

section of the survey. To (28a) and (28c), the participant chose PROG over the *estar que* construction. In (28b) and (28d), the participant elected the option equating the two structures in terms of appropriateness for the situation.

- (28) a. “*Últimamente*” *se usa para hablar de hechos recientes y no hábitos.*
[in response to Item 1]
b. *Se puede referir a un hábito o algo que está sucediendo.* [in response to Item 2]
c. *No es algo rutinario. Está pensando en este momento.* [in response to Item 4]
d. *Puede ser una costumbre o una acción del momento.* [in response to Item 5]

While it may be concluded that T006 is a confused participant and appears to not be sure how to talk about this structure, the commentary provided open avenues for ideas on pragmatic use. In addition to use for repeated actions that include a concomitant occurrence (what it seems T006 is referencing with his description of ‘habit’), observations of the structure in spontaneous speech suggest a potential emphatic usage of the *estar que* periphrasis. Apart from the conversational questions asked during the formal interview, the author collected examples observed informally, both in conversation and through written text messages, of the *estar que* construction. A list of these examples is provided in Appendix D and a few are discussed here. Various examples of the *estar que* periphrasis were used by speakers to draw attention to the concomitant action, giving the idea that this construction could be preferred in cases where the speaker wishes to emphasize an action. In (29), the examples can be interpreted as emphasizing the event. In (29a), the speaker is drawing attention to the weather in case there is laundry drying outside so that it won’t get wet. In (29b), a child is tattling on her brother and in (29c), speaker B is correcting speaker A’s interpretation of a movie and drawing attention to the actual event.

- (29) a. *Está que llueve. Mamá, ¿hay ropa al fondo? Está que llueve.*
 b. *¡Mathias está que raya la pared!*
 c. A: *¡Se suicidan!*
 B: *No, están que se bañan.*

The possibility of emphatic use is not hard to grasp; between two options (PROG and the *estar que* periphrasis), the non-normative, more innovative structure (*estar que*) would be chosen to draw attention to the speaker and/or action in a situation. This is particularly of interest in relation to the development of this construction. As Haspelmath (1999) notes, grammaticalization is a common byproduct of extravagant speech – in this case, emphasizing an event. While the current data is not sufficient to assume a usage of emphasis for the *estar que* construction, the examples in (29) are enough to warrant investigation into an emphatic reading in further research.

5.3 SOCIAL PERCEPTION

Some general attitudes toward the construction were recorded from eleven participants as a portion of explicit reflection on their answers. Participants T013, T014 and T015 were asked as a group to respond to certain statements given orally by the author after having completed the written survey. The first question was if someone stated, *Ese chico estaba que me miraba*, if the participants would notice the statement as strange (*¿Te chocaría si alguien dijera...? ‘Would it sound weird to you if someone said...?’*). Two of the participants discussed this question as shown below in (30), emphasis mine.

- (30) A: *Es que suena mal, así no se dice.*
 B: *Pero, no me chocaría porque se escucha diariamente, ¿no? Pero uno sabe que está mal...en la universidad [se] escucha, sí.*
 A: *Hay unos que lo dicen así.*

Example (30) demonstrates the general attitude given by participants and other members of the community when asked about the construction: that it ‘sounds bad,’ is ‘wrong,’ or that ‘that’s not how one [should] speak.’ Participant T011 stated in response to the interviewer asking if *Está que llueve* was something she may have heard before, she responded, “*Claro, pero...no se debería decir...pero se ha vuelto tan común escuchar ese ‘que’ que no te llama la atención.*” This participant notes that this type of phrase “shouldn’t be said,” but that it’s not uncommon.

A few participants also referenced that they themselves used the construction as a child, but didn’t use it as much once they entered school/university. It was also stated that people use the construction more in *provincias*, outside of the city. I was even told to go just outside of the city, in an area known to be of a lower economic level, and that there I would find “*muchos ‘está ques.’*” These statements coincide with what Arrizabalaga received from his students when he asked them explicitly about the structure (examples 31a-b). The questions he asked are presented in Section 2.2 and restated here for convenience (9a):

- (9a)
1. ¿Has escuchado frase del tipo: <<Pedro está que se baña>>?
 2. ¿Qué otras frases parecidas has escuchado?
 3. ¿Es lo mismo decir <<Pedro está que estudia>> que <<Pedro está estudiando>>?
 4. ¿Has escuchado frases del tipo: <<Estaba que te buscaba>>?
 5. ¿Qué otras frases parecidas has escuchado?
 6. ¿Has escuchado frases del tipo <<Estarán que te buscarán>>?

In response to question (9a.1), Arrizabalaga obtained the descriptions in (31a), among others, emphasis mine (Arrizabalaga 2010:76). The responses in example (31a) demonstrate an awareness on behalf of participants of the “incorrectness” of the *estar que* construction. In responses to (9a.3), his participants provide even more explicit statements on social perception of the construction (31b, emphasis mine):

- (31) a. i. *Sí, muchas veces y no solo **en la clase de media** sino también **en la clase baja**.*
 ii. *En Piura sí y es muy frecuente, pero **es incorrecto**.*
 iii. *Sí, siempre, pero **no es una conjugación correcta**.*
- b. i. *La forma **más correcta es <<está estudiando>>**, pero sí significan lo mismo.*
 ii. *...la frase da a entender lo mismo, pero **se oye mal**.*
 iii. *Es lo mismo, lo que es diferente es que **está mal dicho** por la palabra <<que>>.*

The responses provided in (31b) echo those received by participants of the current study, seen in both (30) and (32). Other examples of attitudes toward the construction presented themselves in the space for optional commentary on the questionnaires (32), emphasis mine.

- (32) a. T003: *Las oraciones con “que” se entienden, y las utilizo, pero se [sic] que gramaticalmente **se debe evitar**, ya que es un “queísmo” [sic] en castellano.*
- b. T010: i. *En la alternativa, **usaron innecesariamente el que**.*
 ii. *En la (A) usaron el que cuando **no deberían**.*
- c. T024: *(Que) una palabra que acentúa más la frase y **no deberla usarse**.*
- d. T034: *Se utiliza mucho los vocablos “están que” cuando en realidad **solo necesita conjugar los verbos adecuadamente** para una **comunicación correcta**. Es muy común la utilización de estos tipos de vocablos en nuestro país, **pero no es la correcta**.*

In (32), we see multiple examples of prescriptive ideas about the use of the more innovative *estar que* construction. However, regardless of their viewpoint on the construction's use, the conversation of participants T013, T014 and T015 resulted in agreement that the construction is used, especially by students on campus, and that it references a concomitant action (33).

- (33) J: *Pero si digo eso [está que sufre], ¿eso quiere decir que está pasando en ese momento? ¿Si digo, ‘está que llueve’?*
 A: *Claro, presente.*
 B: *En el momento, sí. Es lo que quiere dar a entender la otra persona.*

Example (33), along with (26) and (28), serve to give concrete examples of the understood interpretation or reading of this construction, regardless of the participants' personal use or social acceptance of the utterance. Participant T010 also replied that the example *Está que viene el tío Jorge* could be replaced with *está viniendo*, referencing that this construction related to a

concomitant action as does the present progressive. Even in the case of (28), in which participant T006 maintained that he uses the construction to describe something “habitual,” he states that it includes the presently occurring action (the subject is actively doing the action that is habitual for him/her). While the ability to accept habitual aspect may not be clear, what is apparent is that the participants all understood the periphrasis to express the same aspect as a concomitant progressive construction. It is also apparent that the construction is widely used, although it is viewed by many as “incorrect.”

5.4 STATIVES

Arrizabalaga expressly states that the *estar que* construction does not admit stative verbs (2010:17). Generally, the data coincide with Arrizabalaga’s statement, as seen in Table 1, Figure 1, Figure 2 and Figures 3-5. However, at least one example with the stative verb *querer* was informally observed in speech, seen in (34).

(34) *Estoy que la quiero tapar [a una perra], pero se levanta y se pone allí.*

The example in (34) shows a clear use of the stative verb *querer* with the *estar que* periphrasis. While this is only one example, it is of interest as, according to previous research, this construction was determined to not be compatible with statives. Usage of the concomitant structure for stative verbs would be an expected extension if the construction is following a grammaticalization path similar to that of the present progressive. It is to be expected that a construction in process of change be used in innovative or different ways than expected. The present progressive has also extended to some stative uses, as commented on by Squartini (1998:120), “American Spanish progressives have neither aspectual nor actional restrictions,” in

that they do not inherently adhere to one verb type or one aspect. Squartini provides the following examples with the verb *ser* (1998:105-106):

- (35) a. ...*están siendo profesionales...*
 b. *El hombre está siendo libre.*
 c. *Esa de racista está siendo una palabra confusa...*

What is seen in example (35) is already common in Portuguese, not only with the verb *ser*, but with various statives. Squartini provides the following examples (36) from Brazilian Portuguese (1998:112), which are used in European Portuguese with the *estar + a + infinitive* progressive construction.

- (36) a. *está sendo impossível*
 b. *não estou entendendo*
 c. *está podendo subir e descer a escada*

While this study is not comparative in nature to other Romance languages, it is worth mentioning the use of stative verbs in progressive constructions in Portuguese, as this use is also seen in Spanish, at least with the verb *ser*, as demonstrated in (29). It could be speculated that progressives in Romance tend to extend to habitual use and stative verbs, but this would, of course, require more research. As these comparisons are not a central component to the present work, these studies are not pursued here.

5.5 HABITUALITY

Habituality was an aspect of interest to this study and it was found that examples with habitual readings were accepted at a higher rate than hypothesized, as seen in Section 4.2.2. In Section 5.2 (specifically example (28)), usage of the *estar que* periphrasis for specifically habitual actions was discussed. An example observed in Machala was used to relate habituality is seen in (37).

(37) *O sea, contigo **está que te da** todo el director.*

This example was interpreted with a habitual reading of ‘Lately, the director is giving you everything.’ While one example is not strong evidence, finding examples of habitual use that occur naturally provoke further interest in the possibility of habitual use of the construction.

Due to the general acceptance of habitual uses on the acceptability questionnaire, the grammaticalization cline proposed in Chapter 2 is viewed as representing a move toward habitual use of this previously concomitant-exclusive periphrasis. Thus, it is explored here that the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis, because of its correlation to the present progressive’s use for simultaneous actions, may follow a similar grammaticalization path, which includes habituality. The construction also, however, may have a gradient reading that is easily blurred into habituality, without having undergone grammaticalization specifically in terms of habituality. A habitual interpretation may not be a case of extension, but rather have always been a possible aspect of the *estar que* periphrasis. Other uses besides strict concomitance as well as more comments on grammaticalization are discussed in the following sections.

5.6 ITERATIVITY

In addition to the unexpected acceptance of habituality, some examples were collected anecdotally that, while including an action with a relative realm of concomitant aspect, are read with an iterative interpretation. Two examples are listed in example (38), emphasis mine.

(38) a. ***Estoy que la quiero tapar** [a una perra], pero se levanta y se pone allí.*
 b. *¿Dónde estás? **que estoy que te llamo.***

Context is necessary for understanding the interpretations: (38a), previously seen in example (34) as an example of stative use, was produced by a woman in her late twenties describing her (female) dog while we were watching it sleep and stated that, since it was cold, she has been

trying to cover it with a blanket. (38b) was said by a woman in her sixties as she answered the phone, implying that she had been trying to reach the other party various times via telephone. She was not calling in the same moment the call in question was intercepted, but was receiving the call.

The examples in (38) provide evidence for a usage of the *estar que* construction that is iterative in nature while including a concomitant aspect. An example from the questionnaire that could potentially carry an iterative meaning is Item 58: *Profesora, no puedo prestar atención porque los chicos están que hablan*. While this example is not overtly iterative nor included with intent to represent an iterative interpretation, it lends itself to a reading that the children are not only talking in the moment simultaneous with the speech act, but rather that they have been talking in the very recent past, including the concomitant present, and thus the speaker is not able to pay attention. This particular item received a 97% acceptance of 2, 4, or 5 (85% of 4 or 5) in Trujillo and 93% acceptance of 2, 4 or 5 (86% 4 or 5) in Machala. This high percentage of acceptance lends an argument to the possible implicit iterativity in some *estar que* constructions. Iterativity can also be closely connected to emphatic speech; iterative structures are used to emphasize the action because it happens various times in a row. The examples in (38) can be seen as being emphatic as well, giving more reason to continue researching emphatic speech with the *estar que* periphrasis in the future.

5.7 DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTRUCTION

The question of origin of the *estar que + verb* structure is difficult to pinpoint with no diachronic and very little synchronic data. Arrizabalaga (2010) addresses the possibility of the structure resulting from contact with Quechua. However, tempting as it may be to try to attribute

this type of variation to language contact, as Arrizabalaga points out, the northern coastal zone of Peru in fact has very little contact with monolingual or native Quechua speakers (Arrizabalaga 2010:85). While the highland regions have a high level of contact with Quechua, the coastal regions, especially in the north, do not. While inhabitants of Trujillo know loan words from Quechua, the language is not widely spoken by any means in this area. While concomitance as an element of aspect exists in Quechua, it is not structurally the same as the *estar que* periphrasis, nor is the contact between Quechua and Spanish great enough to assume influence from the former to the latter in the northern coastal region of Trujillo.

As Comrie (1976) points out, in Spanish, other forms, namely the simple present and the imperfect, are used to replace the present progressive without implying nonprogressive meaning. Since the present progressive is already not the sole provider of progressive aspect, and it has extended to permit habituality in many cases, there is a functional space for a concomitant structure to specifically address actions concomitant to the speech act. The *estar que* periphrasis that supposedly fills this functional space could have arisen from other, similar structures.

In terms of the attributive and iterative structures detailed in Section 2.2.4, we turn again to Arrizabalaga's claim of auxiliary status of *estar*. Arrizabalaga (2010) claims that the absence of the attributive structure in northern Peru, such as *está que arde*, is a result of the prevalence of the *estar que + verb* construction, which makes the interpretation of the latter ambiguous, i.e. *está que arde* could be interpreted as literal instead of figurative. I would argue that the absence of such attributive structures in northern Peru constitutes further evidence that it would not have been used as an analogous construction for the periphrasis in question, making the iterative construction more likely as an analogous structure. However, the claim that *estar* is an auxiliary in the Peruvian *estar que* periphrasis, as it is claimed to be in the iterative structures studied by

Treviño (2004), is not well evidenced. In Section 2.2.2, example (12b), reproduced here for convenience, details the tests used to support the status of *estar* as auxiliary in the concomitant periphrasis.

- (12) b. i. *Está que prepara la sopa.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing the soup.’
 ii. *Está que la prepara.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing it.’
 iii. **La está que prepara./*La está.*
 ‘(He/she) is preparing it/is it.’

It is noted that, while *estar* does not function as a main or lexical verb, in that it cannot admit complements without the presence of another verb in periphrasis (12biii), the concomitant structure is unlike any other structure in which *estar* functions as an auxiliary, such as the present progressive. The correspondence of the conjugation of V_1 and V_2 makes it difficult to assume auxiliary function for *estar*. This structure is discussed in the following section.

5.8 SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

In Section 2.1, the possibility of iteratives and/or attributives assisting in the analogous acceptance of the *estar que* periphrasis was discussed. This section provides a discussion of these possibilities from the perspective of grammaticalization, rather than an argument for one possibility or the other.

In Treviño’s treatment of iterative constructions (2004), she notes that they consist of an auxiliary (*estar*) and a fixed construction (*verb + y/que + verb*). The observation that this second clause is fixed is supported by the occurrence of these verbs with the affix *-e*, regardless of thematic vowel. Thus, as exemplified in example (19), reproduced here, the iterative deals with a monoclausal structure. The syntactic structure is reproduced below in (20a).

- (19) a. *Ahí estaban **toque y toque** en honor...de “México Posible”* (152).

b. *Está lee y lee ese poema de Blake* (154).

c. ...*arme que arme escándalos* (158).

(20a) [IP[AuxP Está [VP lee y lee [NP ese [poema]]]]]

It has also been observed that, on the contrary, attributive constructions (see examples (15) and (17)) are comprised of two clauses: *estar* being a full, lexical stative verb and the V_2 being a lexical verb used to describe a metaphorical attribute of that state. While Arrizabalaga's claim that *estar* is an auxiliary in the concomitant construction makes sense in that it cannot function on its own, it can in attributive statements, as seen in example (17), reproduced below, with its corresponding syntactic structure in (20b):

(17) a. A: *Está que trina.*

B: *Sí, lo está.*

b. A: *Está que come.*

B: **Sí, lo está.*

(20) b. [IP[VP Está_i][CP que [VP trina_i]]]

However, while Arrizabalaga compares *estar* in the northern Peruvian concomitant construction to the auxiliary *estar* in the present progressive, the construction is comprised of very different elements. While the PROG construction consists of a finite auxiliary, *estar* (excluding examples with verb such as *ir*, *venir*, etc, which are not examined here), and a nonfinite verb, the present participle (gerund), the Peruvian concomitant consists of two finite verbs connected by the conjunction *que*. No other periphrasis in Spanish is composed of two finite verbs. Also, if Arrizabalaga's structure of auxiliary + finite verb were true, his conclusions of clitic pronoun placement preceding V_2 would also be contradictory to other auxiliary forms in modern Spanish (**está se bañando*).

The iterative structure presented in (19) by Treviño (2004) and commented on by Arrizabalaga (2010) as a potential source of analogy for the concomitant structure, is highly productive in the northern coastal Peruvian region studied, while the attributive seen in (17) is

not. Thus, it would follow that perhaps the prevalence of the iterative construction made the string of two conjugated finite verbs easily accepted. As frequency plays a large role in grammatical change (Bybee 2003), the frequency of constructions with *estar* and of the conjunction *que* in general in Spanish, as well as the frequency of the iterative construction would have made grammatical change more probable and accessible. As Arrizabalaga (2010) correctly notes, the iterative reading could have bleached out, along with one of the repetitions of the verb. However, if, according to Treviño, the iterative construction is actually a finite, fixed form, [_{VP}verb_i y/que verb_i], dropping one of the two in the verb string may not be entirely plausible.

While the attributive construction is not, in fact, productive in this area of Peru, the concomitant periphrasis does seem to mirror more closely the syntactic structure of the attributive *está [tan enojada] que trina*. It follows that the concomitant may actually be a reading of state: *está [en el estado] que estudia*. Thus, the potential structure for the *estar que* periphrasis may be, very basically, the following, shown in (39):

(39) [_{IP}[_{VP}Está_i [_{CP}que [_{VP}come_i]]]]

This syntactic structure is opposed to Arrizabalaga's (2010) argument that *estar* functions as an auxiliary in the concomitant periphrasis. Due to the person agreement relation between V₁ and V₂, I have chosen to represent the periphrasis in a manner parallel to the attributive structure (see 17 and 20b). Auxiliary structures are also typically monoclausal structures; if the *estar que* periphrasis is not an auxiliary structure, it is more possible that it has a biclausal structure. However, as mentioned in Section 5.1, the evidence of clitics and negation preceding V₁ provides contradictory evidence to the structure being biclausal. If clitic pronouns and negation

are able to “climb” to the higher of the two verbs, we would assume the structure to be monoclausal.

While I have provided an idea of the syntactic structure here, this thesis is not syntax-based and is by no means meant to provide a definitive syntactic representation, but rather an initial approximation to a possible structure. Since the data provide ambiguous evidence, in order to make any conclusions about the syntactic structure of the *estar que* periphrasis, further research is needed.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This study analyzes the *estar que* construction documented and described by Arrizabalaga (2010) that is used in northern Peru to express concomitance, or simultaneity with the speech act. This aspectual meaning is normally expressed with the progressive or simple present, with the progressive being more specific to concomitance (Whitley 2002). The construction was compared in terms of aspectual extension to the present progressive and the possible grammaticalization of the latter was presented following Torres Cacoullos (1999), among other arguments for grammaticalization. A study including an acceptability survey was carried out in the region just south and just north of where Arrizabalaga (2010) collected his data. The construction was found to be acceptable and productive in both regions, being especially productive in Trujillo, a city to the south of Arrizabalaga's research area, where the construction had previously not been attested. In fact, Arrizabalaga specifically states that the construction is "strange" to the Trujillano speaker. The current findings, along with the recognition and acceptance of the construction in Machala, in southern Ecuador, directly contrast the limitations Arrizabalaga had previously set for the concomitant construction. It is concluded that this construction has a larger range of use and acceptance than previously attested.

Based on Arrizabalaga's findings and the author's own observations of the construction in the area of Trujillo, it was hypothesized that the concomitant periphrasis could be used with any active verb (not stative) in which the present progressive could be used with a concomitant

aspect. Negation was hypothesized to have a low overall acceptance, due to incompatibility of negation with concomitant actions. When accepted, it was hypothesized to only be accepted when preceding the V_2 (as opposed to before *estar*). Habitual readings were hypothesized to be rated unacceptable. However, it was found that many habitual actions were accepted with the *estar que* periphrasis.

Items with negation showed no clear tendency of preceding V_1 or V_2 , but did exhibit an overall higher acceptance than anticipated, evidencing a structure that is in flux, which makes the use of the construction more complex and ambiguous than previously determined. The amount of examples that were accepted overall and the dichotomy between acceptance in Trujillo—where there was ambiguous preference for negation placement—and acceptance in Machala—where negation was clearly preferred in examples preceding V_2 —provide unclear or “messy” results, which indicate a change in progress. Placement of object pronouns and reflexive pronouns were preferred when before V_2 in both data sets, as argued by Arrizabalaga (2010) and hypothesized for this study.

The possibility of semantic extension of the *estar que* periphrasis was discussed as a manner of grammaticalization parallel to that of the present progressive. It was proposed that, based on the acceptability of habitual actions in the acceptability questionnaire, the *estar que* periphrasis may be following a similar path to permit habitual aspect. Following this proposed path, the *estar que* periphrasis would be at a stage that allows for both concomitant readings and habitual or durative ones. Not only is this construction accepted in habitual readings, but the data, although unclear, shows some evidence of the structure grammaticalizing as a chunk, allowing clitics and negation to appear preceding V_1 . Thus, while habituality is understood to be more acceptable than previously thought, there is not sufficient evidence to support a

grammaticalization cline like that proposed in (22) in Section 2.4. Due to a dearth of prior research, much is still lacking to obtain an understanding of how this construction has developed.

Despite Arrizabalaga's claim of *estar* being an auxiliary verb to the V_2 discussed in this thesis, this auxiliary status remains to be examined in further empirical study. In addition, further evidence is needed to have a richer understanding of the grammaticalization of this construction and if it is, indeed, following the path created by the canonical progressive. What is clear from this study is that there exists a large degree of variation in the use and acceptance of the concomitant *estar que* construction, which is indicative of a change in progress. More ideas for further research are given in the following sections.

6.2 TWITTER AS A CORPUS

While no examples of the concomitant *estar que* periphrasis structure were found in corpus data, examples were accessed on Twitter. The examples were found by searching for exact phrases using verbs that received high acceptances on the questionnaire and that would be readily discernible as happening at the moment of composing a Tweet: *hacer*, *jugar*, *llover* and *buscar*. Examples are given in (40), emphasis mine, and more can be consulted in Appendix D.

- (40)
- a. Replying to @DjMilton99 **Que estas que haces?** @reateguiangela8 4 Nov 2017
 - b. DESDE QUE ME LEVANTÉ **ESTÁ QUE LLUEVE** :(Y OLVIDÉ MI PARAGUAS @romyhm 6 feb 2018
 - c. **Esta que llueve** a esta hora y fuerte @UltraTorracat 5 Feb 2018
 - d. Alguien detrás de mi casa **está que canta** a grito herido @Primiciero_K 19 Jan 2018
 - e. Parece tengo que hacer un mundo de tareas y mi perrita **esta que me busca** para que le de mimos y no puedo resistir porque es muy linda pero tengo que hacer tareas AYUDA. @_camisblackmail 4 Feb 2018
 - f. Replying to @shelimarroman **Estoy que te busco** ahora mismo @adriana_zayas 24 Oct 2017
 - g. Desde ayer **están que juegan** en apagar las luces, y justo cuando veo series y película de terror. @ZoeKathe 27 Jan 2018

- h. A un niño vecino le regalaron una mesa de Ping Pong y **están que juegan** en la calle, que puta envidia. @_JimenezSF 27 Dec 2017
- i. Esa extraña sensación en tu estomago y corazón, cuando te dicen que esa persona que quieres tanto, **estaba que te buscaba** como un loco. @SARRx03 31 Oct 2014
- j. Replying to @Jhony_Garcia Ayer **estaba que te buscaba** y no te encontré Saludos @OHColombia 14 Aug 2017

The examples shown in (40) are mostly evident of a concomitant use of the *estar que* periphrasis.

In (40a), it is apparent that the question is posed in the concomitant present, as the author is addressing a specific person in the generally simultaneous timeframe of Twitter. Examples (40c) and (40f) demonstrate simultaneity with the action of tweeting as they both include a temporal adverb: *a esta hora* and *ahora mismo*. Example (40e) lends itself to a more iterative interpretation, implying that the author's dog has looked for her various times while she has been trying to do schoolwork. Examples (40i) and (40j) show use of the construction in the imperfect past.

Examples (40b) and (40g) on Twitter demonstrate a potentially interesting realm in which to analyze the usage of the *estar que* periphrasis. The idea mentioned by participant T006 about the habituality of the examples favoring the structure at hand (see Section 5.2) are seen not in an actual habitual sense here, but in a prolonged progressive state similar to the one described by T006. This participant gave the example of people repeatedly knocking on one's door in order to see if they are available to play soccer. This presumably happens in a given time span of studying, as the example given by the participant. Thus it coincides with this idea that (40b) and (40g) focus on events that started at one point in the past and continue progressively into the present. While this preference was not demonstrated in the present study outside of the comments of T006, these examples from Twitter show the possibility of a more in-depth look at this aspectual difference from the previously attested strictly concomitant sense.

While this source was not analyzed extensively for the present study, as an example of current speech that can convey through writing the actions that its users are participating in at the moment of posting, Twitter could be useful for continuing to analyze the *estar que* periphrasis structure, especially since it is difficult to elicit in formal or semi-formal communication such as during a linguistic interview. Using Twitter data will be useful also for analyzing specific verbs or verb classes that favor use of the *estar que* periphrasis.

6.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study is not a perfect nor a complete analysis of the concomitant *estar que* structure. The limitations of the survey are acknowledged, especially in terms of length (60 questions proved to be exhausting for some participants, potentially affecting their responses, especially toward the end of the questionnaire). In addition, a few of the examples on the questionnaire did not clearly target one element over another. For example, Item 49 on the questionnaire is as follows: *¡Mi hijo está que no me hace caso nunca!* This example, while analyzed as an example of habitual use due to the presence of *nunca*, also includes negation, so I am unable to determine if the acceptance rate of this item is due to the habituality of the verb or the negation. Item 16. *Estoy que no me siento bien*, while analyzed with other examples of negation, also includes a stative verb; thus, we cannot know if the level of acceptance of this example is related to the verb class or to negation. In addition, some items that were counted as unacceptable were commented on by participants as not being accepted due to a vocabulary word not used in that region. For example, one participant told me that a sentence I gave her orally was “not said by anyone” because in Trujillo it is more normal to say *ahorita* than *ahora mismo*. Even though, as one who is familiar with the region, the author attempted to use common

Peruvian vocabulary, it was clear that vocabulary uncommon to the region proved a deciding factor for some participants. For further research, examples more tailored to this dialect might be useful to receive more accurate data regarding acceptability.

The written acceptability questionnaire has limitations for rating a predominantly informal oral construction in a formal format. In further research, audio recordings of the *estar que* periphrasis could accompany the same acceptability judgment task, thus lending legitimacy to a socially stigmatized structure in the audio provided. As noted in Gupton and Leal Méndez (2013) and Kitagawa and Fodor (2006), audio stimulus can control for alteration of prosody the speaker may impart when reading an example. This interpretation of prosody could change the clausal structure that the speaker (or listener) is reading into the phrase.

Limitations of this study are also recognized as far as elicitation of the target structure. As noted by Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008:31), elicited data “do not allow indeterminate temporal reference contexts to emerge,” as these are “discursively determined.” Questionnaires do not provide an adequate understanding of speech usage, but in light of the lack of material on this construction, it is seen as a good start. Recordings of the target structure would allow for a phonetic evaluation of natural speech, which would be beneficial to understanding the structure of the concomitant periphrasis and its usage, especially in comparing length and emphasis on *estar* and V_2 . If the two verbs are given similar length and emphasis, the argument for a biclausal structure is stronger.

For further research, I am also left with the specific question as to the extent to which emphasis plays into the usage of the *estar que* construction. The construction should also be evaluated in other regions to register the level of understanding of the meaning of the construction in areas that do not use it. This would serve to better understand the structure and of

course, how far the construction extends. What was not observed in this analysis is the semantic types of verbs (i.e. telic vs. atelic, among others) that are commonly used with the concomitant periphrasis, outside of statives and verbs with habitual aspect. This is also of interest for further research.

Lastly, a further sociolinguistic study is of interest as well. The current study was able to collect general sentiments about the use of the construction from some of its participants, but a full sociolinguistic interview and/or match-guise test, in which participants provide their opinions of audio-recorded readers using the construction in question, would be useful in determining the perception of the structure's use and of those that use it. This analysis is by no means exhaustive and there remain many avenues to explore in terms of this unique concomitant structure.

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APPENDIX A
ELICITATION IMAGES

Image 1



Image 2



Image 3



Image 4



Image 5

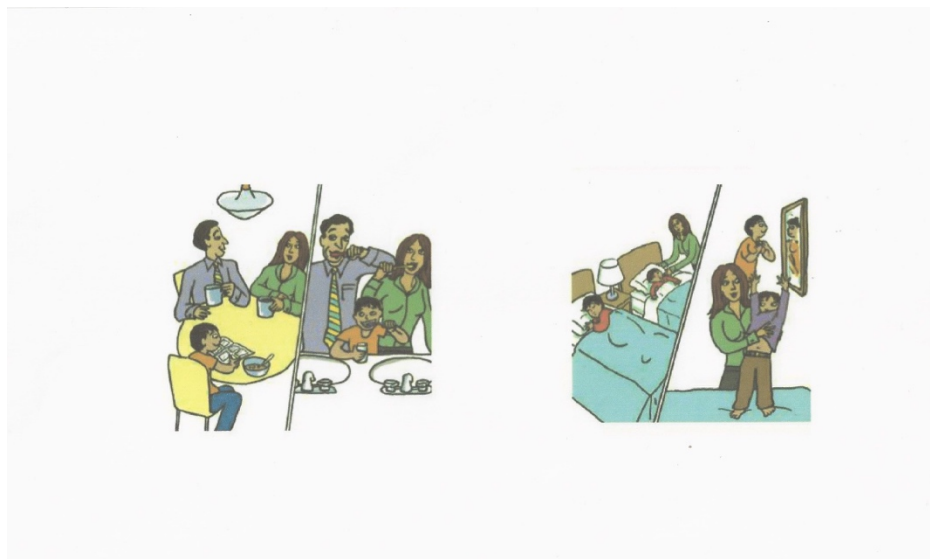
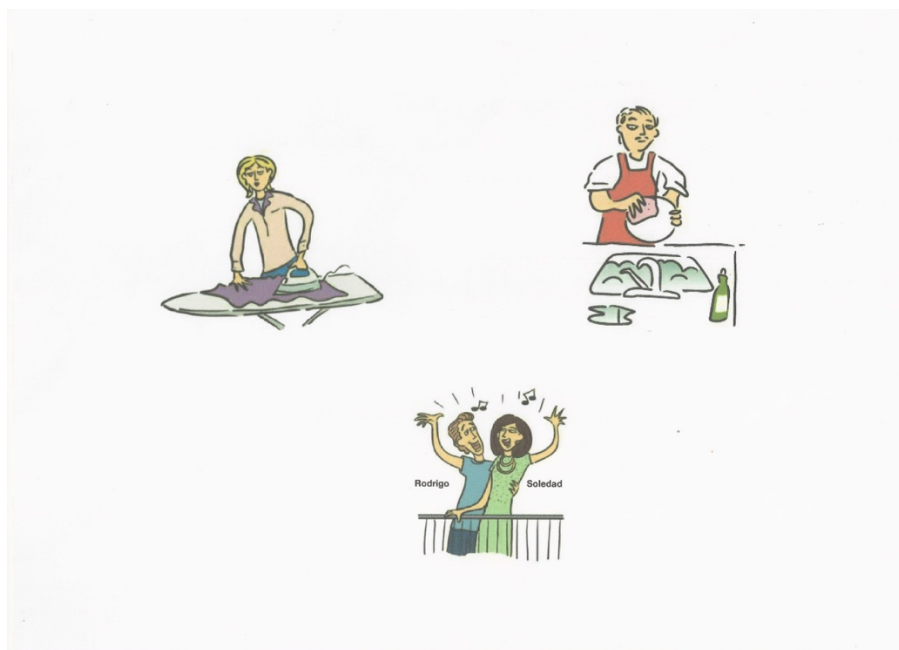


Image 6



APPENDIX B
ACCEPTABILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Bi. Demographic section

Esta encuesta es con propósito de investigación para una tesis de maestría en lingüística hispánica. Este es un estudio de variación de lenguaje por lo cual su identificación será anónima. Gracias por su participación. La encuesta tiene cuatro partes.

I. Por favor, incluya un poco de información demográfica:

1. a. ¿De qué ciudad es (si ha vivido en varios lugares, ¿cuánto tiempo ha pasado en cada uno?)?

b. ¿De dónde son sus padres?

2. Marque su género: M_____ F_____ prefiero no responder_____

3. ¿Qué edad tiene usted?

4. Nivel de educación:

Bii. Questionnaire acceptability

II. Indique si las siguientes frases son frases que usted considera aceptables, que no quiere decir gramaticalmente, sino si son frases que ha escuchado frecuentemente o si las diría usted.

Elija entre 1-5, 5 siendo lo más aceptable y 1 no aceptable.

1. Mi mamá no puede hablar ahorita; está que cocina.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

2. No puedo salir en este momento; estoy que estudio.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

3. Miguel va a pasar por su casa de Mariana.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

4. ¿Manuel Antonio está preparando la comida?

- Sí, está que la prepara ahorita.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

5. Estamos que lavamos los platos aquí en la cocina.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

6. Antonio está que visita a su mamá todos los fines de semana.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

7. ¿Le has llamado a la Señora Noriega?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

8. ¿Estás trabajando mucho en el hospital últimamente?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

9. No pude ir a la fiesta anoche porque estaba que estudiaba.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

10. Magdalena no está que prepara la sopa.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

11. Limpiemos la sala; está que viene el tío Jorge.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

12. Todos estamos tomando el curso de fonética este semestre.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

13. Ahorita voy, ¡aún estoy que me alisto!

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

14. Jaime está manejando su coche de su papá esta semana.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

15. El supervisor está que sube para hablar contigo.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

16. Estoy que no me siento bien.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

17. Habían tres pájaros en el parque esta tarde.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

18. Ésta es su chaqueta de Antonio.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

19. Estamos que tomamos todos los mismos cursos este semestre.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

20. Los chicos han salido anoche hasta muy tarde.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

21. Un momento más; estoy que me arreglo el pelo.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

22. ¿Estás que trabajas todos los lunes?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

23. Carolina está que te busca.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

24. Marisela pintó su pelo de Yasmín.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

25. Habían muchas personas en la discoteca el sábado pasado.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

26. ¿Daniel está que trabaja ahora mismo?

- Sí, lo está.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

27. Ayer, Adriana estuvo que trabajó.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

28. Estoy que pienso en mi enamorado.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

29. Ayer hemos visto la nueva película en el cine.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

30. No están los chicos; están que andan en el parque.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

31. Últimamente, está que llueve mucho en Trujillo.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

32. Mi abuela estaba que caminaba por el parque cuando se cayó.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

33. Marisela ha pintado el pelo del Señor Guerra.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

34. Mi mamá estaba que salía con otro chico cuando conoció a mi papá.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

35. ¿Los chicos están que hacen su tarea?
- Sí, lo están que hacen.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

36. La vecina está que no quiere venir a visitarnos.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

37. Adriana estaba que dormía toda la tarde así que no fue a la fiesta.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

38. Javier está durmiendo mucho esta semana; ¿estará deprimido?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

39. Vino Carolina hace unas horas; estaba que te buscaba.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

40. La estoy llamando, pero está que no me contesta.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

41. Los tíos han tomado el tren para llegar hoy.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

42. Despiértale a tu hermano.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

43. ¿Qué estás que haces?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

44. Se está que baña mi hermano menor así que está ocupado el baño.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

45. ¡Los enamorados han bailado toda la noche!

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

46. Esta chaqueta está que tiene olor a guardado.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

47. ¿Estás que puedes salir ahorita?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

48. ¿Está lloviendo mucho en la sierra últimamente?

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

49. ¡Mi hijo está que no me hace caso nunca!

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

50. Mi esposa no está que contesta el teléfono.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

51. Anoche a las nueve, estuve que miré la televisión.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

52. Los chicos están que toman sol afuera.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

53. ¡Cuidado que no dañes sus zapatos de tu tía!

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

54. Me estoy que lavo los dientes.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

55. Le escuchaba atentamente a la profesora.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

56. ¡Los enamorados estaban que bailaban toda la noche!

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

57. ¿Estás que despiertas al bebé tan temprano?

- Sí, estoy que lo despierto.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

58. Profesora, no puedo prestar atención porque los chicos están que hablan.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

59. Mi mamá le está que explica la receta a mi hermano.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

60. No habían tres pájaros en el parque, sino cuatro.

No es aceptable y no lo dice nadie.	No es aceptable, pero sí se dice.	No estoy seguro/a.	Es aceptable, pero yo no lo diría.	Es aceptable y yo lo diría.
1	2	3	4	5

Comentarios opcionales:

iii. Pragmatics section

III. Por favor, elija la opción que sea mejor para explicar las siguientes situaciones. Si las dos opciones se pueden utilizar de igual manera para las situaciones, elija la opción (c). Si ninguna de las dos es apropiada, marque la (d).

1. Su sobrina, Julieta, no come mucho últimamente y usted está preocupado/a. Quiere notificarle a la mamá de Julieta, entonces le dice que:

- a. Julieta está desayunando muy poco últimamente.
- b. Julieta está que desayuna muy poco últimamente.
- c. Las dos son igual de apropiadas.
- d. Ninguna de las dos es apropiada.

Comentario:

2. Alfonso siempre habla con su mamá cada domingo. Hoy sigue en el teléfono desde hace una hora. Cuando su hermano le pregunta que hace Alfonso, usted le dice:

- a. Alfonso está que habla con su mamá por teléfono.
- b. Alfonso está hablando con su mamá por teléfono.
- c. Las dos son igual de apropiadas.
- d. Ninguna de las dos es apropiada.

Comentario:

3. Un chico a quien su hermana no quiere ver viene a buscarla a la casa. Su hermana le pide a usted que invente algo para decir que no está disponible para ver el chico. Usted le dice al chico:

- a. Mi hermana no puede salir ahorita; se está bañando.
- b. Mi hermana no puede salir ahorita; está que se baña.
- c. Las dos son igual de apropiadas.
- d. Ninguna de las dos es apropiada.

Comentario:

4. Su vecina viene a la casa para conversar con usted. Siempre le cuenta los asuntos de su familia, y hoy está preocupada por su hija. A usted le dice:

- a. Estoy pensando en mi hija, que ha salido muy tarde y no me llama.
- b. Estoy que pienso en mi hija, que ha salido muy tarde y no me llama.
- c. Las dos son igual de apropiadas.
- d. Ninguna de las dos es apropiada.

Comentario:

5. El bebé de su hermana recién se ha dormido hace 15 minutos. Su primo entra a la casa alegre porque su equipo ha ganado un partido. Él le grita un saludo al entrar. Usted le dice:

- a. No hagas mucho ruido que el bebé está que duerme.
- b. No hagas mucho ruido que el bebé está durmiendo.
- c. Las dos son igual de apropiadas.
- d. Ninguna de las dos es apropiada.

Comentario:

APPENDIX C

LIST OF INFORMALLY OBSERVED EXAMPLES

1. Trujillo

- a. ***Está que llueve.*** *Mamá, ¿hay ropa al fondo? Está que llueve.*
- b. A: ***Está que juega su equipo [en la televisión].***
B: *Ah, está que juega su equipo.*
- c. ...y ***está que ve YouTube...***
- d. A: *Cris, ¿qué está que hace Fabián?*
Cris: *Llorando.*
A: *No, qué está que hace?*
Cris: *Está que llora.*
- e. In an instant message: *Tú mamá **está que termina de preparar** los postres (que tú vas a comer).*
- f. *¿Está que llueve en Trujillo?* text message
- g. ***Está que bosteza ya.***
- h. *Recién estoy que almuerzo.*
- i. ***Está que miente. Está que dice así:*** ‘*Qué quieres? Quiero mazamorra.*’
- j. *¡Mathias está que raya la pared!*
- k. *¿Dónde estás que estoy que te llamo?*
- l. *Aquí están que bailan su ‘Despacito [popular song]’.* describing a photo
- m. ***Está que juega.***
- n. *¡Está que pesa!* while carrying a bag of mandarins
- o. ***Estoy que me siento que desmayo.*** narrative present
- p. ***Está que te llama tu papá [to come downstairs].***
- q. A: *¡Se suicidan!*
B: *No, están que se bañan.*
- r. ***Estaba que se iba y se resucitó.*** describing action on TV show
- s. A. *¿Y el jugo?*
B. ***Sí, están que lo preparan.***
- t. ***Están que tocan [música].***
- u. ***Estoy que la quiero tapar, pero se levanta y se pone allí.***

2. Machala

- a. *O sea, contigo **está que te da todo el director.***
- b. ...y ***están que se matan entre ellos...***

APPENDIX D

LIST OF TWITTER EXAMPLES

- a. me frustra mucho no poder hablar sobre algo con un contenido que se aleje del “hola que tal **que estas que haces** jaja me alegro,”... @mralexlopez 19 Nov 2017 ?
- b. Replying to @DjMilton99 **Que estas que haces?** @reateguiangela8 4 Nov 2017 Peru
- c. En el server la gente **esta que juega** el juego con intel hd graphics en medio...
@AlastorAlex 31 Jan 2018
- d. Mi hermana **está que juega** el modo aventura en CTR por mí. @furisawa 30 Jan 2018
- e. Hace frio, **esta que llueve** y a mi mama le dan ganas de hacer tortas fritas
@valenalfaro9 10 Feb 2018
- f. Afuera de la ciudadela de Andrés **está que llueve** a cántaros, pero la mía está casi que con un solazo. Creo que antes de irse dejó haciendo un glitch en el clima. @karoxdiaz 9 Feb 2018
- g. DESDE QUE ME LEVANTÉ **ESTÁ QUE LLUEVE** :(Y OLVIDÉ MI PARAGUAS
@romyhm 6 feb 2018
- h. Replying to @FloroPeruano Ven a Tarapoto ñañito, **esta que llueve** ricoooo.
@Georgooff 6 Feb 2018
- i. **Está que llueve**, tengo clases y estoy que me caaaago de frío amigo @Shyy_cs 6 Feb 2018
- j. **Esta que llueve** a esta hora y fuerte @UltraTorracat 5 Feb 2018
- k. Parece tengo que hacer un mundo de tareas y mi perrita **esta que me busca** para que le de mimos y no puedo resistir porque es muy linda pero tengo que hacer tareas AYUDA.
@_camisblackmail 4 Feb 2018
- l. **Estoy que te busco** y nos vamos pa casa de una @LLacen 24 Jan 2018
- m. Replying to @shelimarroman **Estoy que te busco** ahora mismo @adriana_zayas 24 Oct 2017
- n. **estoy que te busco** por pokemon go así que ya vente o con v me voy @noochukie 24 Sep 2017
- o. ¿Dónde estás, @xlstcarstairs? **Estoy que te busco** por Pokémon Go. @cxllie 18 Sep 2017
- p. Tengo hambre e iba a salir a comprar pero los vecinos de abajo **están que juegan** carnaval que da miedo y vergaaaaa @amolosmemess 12 Feb 2018
- q. Desde ayer **están que juegan** en apagar las luces, y justo cuando veo series y película de terror. @ZoeKathe 27 Jan 2018
- r. A un niño vecino le regalaron una mesa de Ping Pong y **están que juegan** en la calle, que puta envidia. @_JimenezSF 27 Dec 2017
- s. Siento que **están que juegan** fútbol con mi cerebro @SofiRospigliosi 1 Dec 2017
- t. LOS COLOMBIANOS **ESTÁN QUE JUEGAN EN EL PISO** #CHONGOPERU4NO
@blockbanana 10 Oct 2017
- u. Los Argentinos literal **están que juegan** a matar. @Grace_03196 5 Oct 2017

v. #CHONGOPERU4NO **están que juegan** bien chicos, voy a llorar!! @Miyen 5 Oct 2017

w. Esa extraña sensación en tu estomago y corazón, cuando te dicen que esa persona que quieres tanto, **estaba que te buscaba** como un loco. @SARRx03 31 Oct 2014

x. Replying to @Jhony_Garcia Ayer **estaba que te buscaba** y no te encontré Saludos @OHColombia 14 Aug 2017