





Ways of expressing habituality

- Two main strategies to express frequent, iterated or habitual eventualities: (i) verbs bearing morphological markers of imperfective aspect and (*ii*) dedicated "habitual" particles/constructions.
- Verbs bearing morphological markers of imperfective aspect. (Also allow so-called ongoing and dispositional interpretations.)
- (1) Juan fuma Juan smoke.IPFV
 - 'Juan {smokes (as a matter of habit)/is smoking}'
- Dedicated "habitual" particles/constructions. In Spanish, it consists of a periphrastic verb involving the verbal predicate *soler* and its infinitive complement.
- fumar (2) luan suele Juan soler.3sg smoke.inf

'Juan smokes (as a matter of habit)'

QUESTIONS

- What are the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of habitual constructions with *soler* in Spanish?
- What are the main differences wrt. (i) its unmarked (IPFV) counterpart and (ii) similar dedicated expressions of habituality across languages?

Restrictions on *soler*

- Semantically, *soler* is always generic (cannot apply to ongoing events): unlike (1), (2) cannot describe a situation where Juan is currently smoking, it would simply come out as false.
- **2** Syntactically, *soler* shares properties with modals and aspectual periphrases.
 - . Like modal verbs and unlike aspectual periphrases, it cannot appear in the imperative (Gómez Tórrego 1999):
 - {a. *Suele **/ b**. *Puede **/ c**. Empieza a } cantar! (3) begin.IMP to sing.inf can.IMP SOLER.IMP
 - {a. Int.: 'Have the habit of singing!' / b. Int.: 'Have the ability to sing!' / c. 'Start singing!' } ii. Like aspectual periphrases and unlike modal verbs, it cannot combine with compound
 - infinitives, which typically take perfective morphology (Vatrican 2015):
 - / b. Puede } haberle visto por el Retiro {a. *Suele (4) can.IMP have.inf-CL see.pfv at the Retiro SOLER.IMP They {a. *typically have seen / b. could have seen} them in the Retiro park
- **③** Soler cannot apply to once-only predicates.
 - El gorila Maguila {a. vive / b. *suele vivir } en libertad (5) the gorila Maguila lives.IPFV SOLER.3PL LIVE.INF in freedom 'Maguilla Gorilla {live / #typically lives} freely in the wild'
 - Los gorilas {a. viven / b. suelen vivir } en libertad (6) 'Gorillas {live / typically live} freely in the wild'
- Soler is also incompatible with ILPs.
 - Juan {a. es / b. *suele ser } alto (7) 'Juan { is / typically is} tall'
 - Los jugadores de baloncesto {a. son / b. (8)suelen ser } altos the playes of basketball are SOLER.3PL be LIVE.INF tall 'Basketball players {are / typically are} tall'

beatriu depinós

Between Aspect and Modality: *soler* + INF in Spanish Jon Ander Mendia 📽 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Restrictions on *soler* (cont'd)

- Soler-statements may only refer to eventualities that have already been realized. For instance, unlike (9a), (9b) cannot describe a situation where the coffee machine is new and was never used before (Green 2000); again, such statement would come out as false.
 - (9) Esta máquina {a. hace this machine make-IPFV SOLER MAKE.INF a coffee very tasty 'This machine {makes / typically makes} very tasty coffee'
- **6** Generalizations lacking exceptions (e.g. norms, dispositions, uninterrumped states like *be a bachelor*) are not describable by means of *soler*.
 - / ь. #suele salir (10) El sol {a. sale come.out-IPFV SOLER come.out.INF out-of the east the sun 'The sun {rises / #typically rises} in the East'

Such expressions result in infelicity or oddness (not falsehood).

Bare habitual

- Tense heads denote time intervals; they are assignment dependent temporal pronouns.
- ▶ Bare habituals are modal (Deo 2009, Arregi et al. 2014, Ferreira 2016): the Modal Base a function from world-time pairs to a set of (ordered) worlds (Kratzer 1981): gnomic alternatives to world w at time t, where the "dispositions", "propensities" and "habits" are as in w at t (Boneh & Doron 2013).
- Present tense Spanish has a null imperfective morpheme \emptyset_{IMPEV} .
- \emptyset_{IMPEV} states that every accessible world w' is s.t. a plurality of eventualities *P contains t', the time of the eventualities at w'.
- We analyze (1) as in (12). Note that the evaluation world need not be one where *e* holds, and thus the non-actualization of (??) is successfully accounted for.
- (11) $\left[\left[\varnothing_{\mathsf{IMPFV}} \right]^{w,t,g} = \lambda P_{\langle s,\langle \varepsilon,t \rangle \rangle} . \lambda t' . \forall w' \in MB_w^t . \exists e \left[*P(w',e) \land t' \subseteq T(e) \right] \right]$
- (12) $\llbracket (1) \rrbracket = \mathsf{T} \text{ iff } \forall w' \in \mathsf{MB}_{w}^{g(i)} : \exists e [g(i) \subseteq T(e) \land \mathsf{smoke'}_{w'}(e) \land Ag_{w'}(e) = Juan' \rrbracket$

Soler + INF

- Habituality is a notion that rests on event iteration (Vlach 1993, Boneh & Doron 2012). Soler together with perfective aspect requires thus iterative eventualities within a topical time.
- Formally: *soler* holds of a plural eventuality *e* that is equal to the supremum of its propert parts e' (Kratzer 2008). Expressing this via Link's (1983) σ -operator we introduce the required existence of a plurality of such e' sub-eventualities. ✓ Bans once-only predicates.
- Lacking any modal quantification, events must be checked wrt. the evaluation world. Restricts soler to realized eventualities.

(13) $[V \text{ soler}]^{w,g,t} = \lambda t' \exists e [P_w(e) \land T(e) \subset t' \land e = \sigma e' [P_w(e') \land e' < e]]]$

- **2** soler habituals are quantificationally dependent and thus must be bound (c-commanded) by some quantificational expression, overt or covert (cf. Chierchia 1995).
- Quantificational adverbs quantify strictly over times in the actual world (Cable 2022). They determine (i) how often (via quantification) and (ii) during what time spans (through their) associated contextual restriction) soler habitualities occur.
- Suelen ir al fútbol todos los domingos (14)SOLER gO.INF to soccer every the Sunday
 - 'They (tyically) go to a soccer game every Sunday'
- (15) $\forall t' [Sunday(t') \land t' \in C_t \rightarrow$

/ b. suele hacer } un café muy rico

} por el este

 $\exists e[T(e) \subset t' \land go\text{-soccer'}_{w}(e) \land e = \sigma e'[go\text{-soccer'}_{w}(e') \land e' < e]]]$

Discussion

- patible with quantificational adverbs of any force:
- { Siempre / Casi nunca } suelen ir al fútbol los domingos (16)always almost never SOLER go.INF to soccer every the 'They {always / almost never} go to a soccer game on Sundays'
- Exceptionless generalizations. Nothing so far rules out *soler* habituals in generalizations that are known to have no exceptions (like rules, dispositions, etc.).
- Such incompatibilities seem to be *pragmatic*: (i) they lead to oddness as opposed to ungrammaticality and (ii) can be exploited in certain contexts
- ► Idea: soler is odd whenever its corresponding bare imperfective counterpart expresses a "rulebased" (Carlson 2005) or "definitional" (Krifka 2013) generic (similar to but different from "in virtue of" generics; Greenberg 2003).
- Such generic statements uncontroversially convey strong (universal) modal interpretations, true in all accessible worlds.
- Instead, soler habituals depend on their associated quantificational adverb to determine the strength of their statement.
- Even in cases where they combine with adverbs such as *always*, these are further contextually restricted, and thus never seldom hold at all times/situations.
- A pragmatically driven strengthening process involving competition between more informative alternatives (e.g. à la Magri 2009) may account for this oddness.
- This type of solution requires competition between "bare" imperfective forms and soler + INF constructions. It requires the former to be more informative than the later.
- It allows the context to determine whether such stronger alternatives are relevant (wrt. pragmatic competition).
- Los perros {a. tienen / b. suelen tener } cuatro patas (17)the dogs have.IPFV SOLER have.INF four legs 'Dogs {have / typically have} four legs'
- But with overtly quantified statements, things are more complicated:
- La tierra {da / #suele dar} una vuelta alrededor del sol todos los años (18)the earth give a turn to-the sun all the years 'Every year Earth revolves once around the sun'

Conclusions

MAIN TAKE-AWAY

- genercity in general) in Spanish.

References

Arregi, A., M.L. Rivero & A. Salanova. 2014. Cross-linguistic variation in imperfectivity. • Boneh, N. & E. Doron. 2013. Hab and Gen in the expression of habituality. • Cable, S. 2022. Two paths to habituality. • Carlson, G. 2005. Generics, habituals and iteratives. • Chierchia, G. 1995. Individual level predicates as inherent generics. • Deo, A. 2009. Unifying the imperfective and the progressive. • Ferreira, M. 2016. The semantic ingredients of imperfectivity in progressives, habituals, and counterfactuals. • Gómez-Torrego, L. 1999. Los verbos auxiliares: las perífrasis verbales de infinitivo. • Greenberg, Y. 2003. Manifestations of genericity. • Kratzer, A. 1981. The notional category of modality. Kratzer, A. 2008. On the plurality of verbs. • Krifka, M. 2013. Definitional generics. • Link, G. 1983. The logical analysis of plural and mass nouns. • Magri, G. 2009. A theory of individual-level predicates based on blind mandatory scalar implicatures. • Vatrican, A. 2015. Sobre *la perífrasis SOLER + ESTATIVO.* • Vlach, F. 1993. *Temporal adverbials, tenses and the perfect.*

• Quantification. Soler + INF habituals are argued to introduce no quantificational force by themselves (they simply convey iteration). This is welcome because soler statements are com-

• The periphrastic construction soler + INF is a dedicated marker of habituality (not

• To be felicitous, soler requires a plurality of certain minimal size, be it a plurality of situations/events or a plurality of individuals ((5)/(7) vs. (6)/(8)).

• Soler does not contribute any quantificational force of its own, they must be bound by other Q-expressions and are always evaluated wrt. the actual world.

jonander.mendia@uab.cat