

Habitual constructions in Spanish

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Abstract

This chapter discusses the Spanish infinitival auxiliary constructions with *solero* and *acostumbrar (a)* from a Functional Discourse Grammar perspective. A preliminary description leads to hypotheses on their semantics: both constructions are expected to apply to Episodes, States-of-Affairs and Situational Properties, and *solero* seems to operate additionally on Propositional Contents, but without expressing genericity, contrary to what the theory predicts. These hypotheses are tested by means of a questionnaire that checks the interaction of the constructions with adverbials and other grammatical operators, and their behaviour in complement clauses. The results confirm the hypothesis regarding *solero*; however, *acostumbrar (a)* turns out to operate maximally on the State-of-Affairs. Finally, a mutual interaction test results in *acostumbrar (a)* being less grammaticalized than *solero*.

Keywords: *solero*, *acostumbrar*, auxiliary, grammaticalization, Functional Discourse Grammar

1. Introduction

Spanish has two dedicated grammatical expressions of habituality, both auxiliary in nature. The first one is Latin-based *solero* and the second one *acostumbrar*, a Romance innovation. Both auxiliaries are constructed with an infinitive either of a lexical verb or of a copula in case of non-verbal constructions. The aim of this chapter is to show the semantic scope of these auxiliaries, applying the criteria described in the Questionnaire provided in the introduction to this book. The individual auxiliaries will be discussed one by one and after that the differences between both strategies will be highlighted.

The description will be based almost exclusively on European Spanish data from 1975 onward, taken from various corpora. All corpora will be specified at the end of this chapter, following the list of references. In order to avoid unnecessary skewing, the data will consist of declarative sentences with positive polarity, except in those cases where negation is at issue.

Before going into more detail, it is necessary to provide some more general information about Spanish as far as relevant for the description of habituality, including some general diachronic and synchronic information about the two auxiliary constructions (Section 2). Section 3 is dedicated to the detailed semantic description of *solero* and *acostumbrar*, respectively, in terms of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG). Section 4 summarizes the results of this chapter.

2. Some relevant properties of Spanish

2.1. Introduction

This section presents a brief and necessarily simplified overview of some relevant aspects of Spanish grammar. A more detailed overview of Spanish grammar and its lexicon can be found in e.g. Green (1988). I will first discuss general aspects of verbal morphology (Section 2.2), and then provide a brief characterization of some aspects of verbal syntax including that

of habitual constructions (Section 2.3). Section 2.4 will concern the principles of glossing followed in this chapter.

2.2. Verbal morphology

Spanish is a language with a complex verbal morphology, which marks tense, mood and aspect as well as highly specific person/number agreement; due to the latter, personal pronouns are used infrequently and dummy subjects do not exist. Morphological tense distinctions are past, present and future. Mood concerns the dichotomy between indicative and subjunctive; whereas the former is the default, the latter is largely restricted to a few types of subordinate clauses. Aspect distinguishes between perfective and imperfective aspect in the past tense (of the indicative mood), as is common in Romance. The perfective past is realized by the *perfecto simple* ‘simple past’ and the imperfective past by the *imperfecto* ‘imperfect’.

The function of the perfective/imperfective dichotomy is twofold. Firstly, in both oral and written narratives that are located in the past, imperfective aspect has the function of providing background information for the events described in the perfective, which is illustrated in (1).

- (1) *En Elche, un anciano murió mientras dormía*
 in Elche a old.man die.PST.PFV.3SG while sleep.PST.IPFV.3SG
por una descarga eléctrica causada por la tormenta.
 by a discharge electric cause.PTCP by the storm
 ‘In Elche, an old man died while he was asleep, due to an electric discharge caused by the storm.’ (*El País*, 02-10-1988. Press, CREA)

Secondly, the imperfective past can also have a habitual reading when used in the description of events occurring in the past, of which (2) is an example.

- (2) [about the period of famine that followed the Spanish Civil War]
estábamos muertecitos de hambre los de Alcalá... yo
 COPLOC.PST.IPFV.1PL dead.DIM from hunger them from Alcalá I
me acuerdo que era un chaval que yo
 REFL.1SG remember that COP.PST.IPFV.1SG a boy COMP I
iba al colegio [...] y empezaba en la esquina
 go.PST.IPFV.1SG to.the primary.school and begin.PST.IPFV.1SG in the corner
de Anselmo Herrero a recoger todas las cáscaras de naranja y todas
 of Anselmo Herrero to collect.INF all the rinds of orange and all
las castañas podridas... y me las comía hasta donde la
 the chestnuts rotten and REFL.1SG them eat.PST.IPFV.1SG until where the
esquina del Banco de Vizcaya ... eso yo lo hacía todos los días.
 corner of.the Banco de Vizcaya that I it do.PST.IPFV.1SG all the days
 ‘[...] and we were starving to death in Alcalá ... I remember that I was a boy, I went to primary school [...] and I began at the corner of the Anselmo Herrero street to collect all the orange rinds and all the rotten chestnuts [from the trees, H.O.] ... and eat them up ... before reaching the corner of the Banco de Vizcaya ... this is what I used to do every day’ (AdH 38, 1991, man 57).¹

¹ “AdH” is followed by the number and year of the interview, and the sex and age of the consultant. To enhance the readability of the examples, some specific marking of oral language, e.g. vowel lengthening and duration of pauses, have been removed.

This example describes the speaker's habit, consisting of a series of events in the beginning of the 1940s. He does so without resorting to any dedicated expression of habituality. Note, however, that it is not the imperfect aspect itself that expresses habitual meaning. Rather, the imperfect may implicate a habitual reading in contexts that make such a reading probable (Rodríguez Espiñeira, 1990). In such contexts, the use of the habitual auxiliary is a marked choice and as such produces context-dependent pragmatic effects, as shown in Hengeveld & Olbertz (2021, pp. 95–99).

Coming back to verbal morphology, there are two non-finite forms of the verb, the gerund and the participle. The latter is a past (or passive) participle; the present participle is no longer productive in Spanish. When occurring independently, the gerund has an adverbial function and the participle an adjectival one. In addition, both forms are used in auxiliary constructions, which will be discussed in Section 2.3.

2.3. Some properties of verbal syntax

The Spanish verbal paradigm has an analytic form in the so-called “compound tenses” formed by means of auxiliary *haber* with a non-inflected participle. They include the present perfect, which in European Spanish has largely lost its aspectual function. In some regional varieties it is barely used and in others it has turned into “hodiernal past” (Dahl, 2013) in a wider sense, i.e. it marks an event for belonging to some moment within an interval that has not yet ended (cf. Schwenter, 1994 for the variety spoken in Alicante). A further analytic verbal form is the passive with auxiliary *ser* and an inflected participle. However, the analytic passive occurs less frequently than the so-called “reflexive passive”, which, as a general rule, does not allow for agent-specification.

A further well-known property of Spanish is the fact that it has two copulas, *ser* and *estar*, the former being the unmarked choice. *Estar* originates from Latin *stare* ‘stand’ and was first used with locations and later also with non-permanent states (Pountain, 1982). This means that *estar*, as opposed to *ser*, is not entirely meaningless (Hengeveld, 1997).

In combination with a gerund, *estar* forms a progressive periphrasis, which is one of the most frequent verbal periphrases in Spanish. Other highly frequent periphrastic constructions are the following infinitival periphrases: prospective *ir a* ‘be going to’, repetitive *volver a* ‘[do] again’ and modal *tener que* ‘have to’ (Olbertz, 2023).

As opposed to the constructions considered so far, the habitual auxiliaries *soler* and *acostumbrar* may occur on their own under certain conditions, i.e., when (i) the clause in which they occur has active voice, (ii) the subject refers to an animate or inanimate concrete entity and (iii) the event they belong to is contained in the immediately preceding or following context. These conditions are met in the following two examples:

- (3) *Ni siquiera la puerta chirrió como solía:*
 not even the door creak.PST.PFV.3SG as HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG
 ‘Not even the door creaked as it used to;’
 (L.G. Egido, *El corazón inmóvil*, 1995. Fiction, CREA)

- (4) *Cierta tarde me fui hasta más lejos de lo que*
 certain afternoon REFL.1 go.PST.PFV.1SG until more far of what
acostumbraba y se me hizo prácticamente de noche.
 HAB.PST.IPFV.1SG and it me.DAT make.PST.IPFV.3SG practically of night
 ‘A certain afternoon I went farther than usual and it was almost dark.’
 (F. Savater, *La hermandad de la buena suerte*, 2008. Fiction, CORPES)

A semantic property which the two auxiliaries have in common is that they occur almost exclusively in the present tense and the imperfective past.² Apart from this, the two auxiliaries differ considerably with respect to their frequencies, as *acostumbrar* is basically restricted to written discourse. The oral corpus AdH (443,533 words) contains 211 tokens of *solero* and none of *acostumbrar*, and the literary corpus ARTHUS-LE (567,739 words) contains 99 tokens of *solero* and only 6 of *acostumbrar*, either with a bare infinitive or with the preposition *a*. Further differences between the two auxiliaries will be discussed in Section 3.

2.4. Some observations on glossing

For the full understanding of the phenomena involved, some of the examples will have to be relatively long. To enhance their readability, the glosses will be simplified in the sense that (i) agreement in the nominal complex will not be glossed for being largely irrelevant for habituality, and (ii) indicative mood will not be glossed for being the default mood (but the few cases of subjunctive mood will be marked as such). With respect to copulas and auxiliaries, the copula *estar* will be glossed as COPLOC, in accordance with its diachronically primary function. Finally, in the cases of many-to-one correspondences, the Spanish elements will be conjoined by means of an underscore.

3. The habitual auxiliaries *solero* and *acostumbrar*

3.1. Introduction

In this section, the properties of each of the two auxiliaries will be discussed separately. In each case, some general properties will be presented, which will then be followed by a preliminary assessment of its applicability to different semantic entities, such as e.g. Propositional Contents, Episodes, i.e. series of different events, or single States-of-Affairs, and, finally, Situational Properties, i.e. predicates and their arguments.

As it may be expected that different semantic scopes of each habitual auxiliary will be reflected in a systematic way in their behaviour in certain lexical and grammatical contexts, this reflection will be considered in detail in this section. For this aim, I will follow the Questionnaire provided as Appendix 2 of the Introduction (Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume), considering for each auxiliary how it behaves in relation to (i) adverbial modifiers, (ii) other grammatical categories, and (iii) complementation. The first two tests are twofold: it will first be considered in each case which kinds of different adverbial modifiers and grammatical operators scope over the habitual construction, and then the reversed scope relation will be looked into, i.e. which kinds of modifiers and grammatical items can be within the scope of the habitual. Note that in applying the Questionnaire, I will also make use of the information on modifiers and operators provided in Gregersen & Hengeveld (this volume).

This section will be structured as follows. For being the most frequent habitual auxiliary, I will first discuss *solero* (Section 3.2) and then turn to *acostumbrar* (Section 3.3).

² Other combinations are infrequent. There are no instances in the closed corpora AdH and ARTHUS-LE. The Spanish section of CORPES, the 21st century corpus of the Spanish Royal Academy, contains a total of 28,191 tokens of *solero*, of which 22,612 are in the present tense and 5,526 in the imperfective past; there is 1 token in the perfective past and 47 in the present perfect. *Acostumbrar* with a bare infinitive occurs 89 times, 36 in the present and 53 in the imperfective past tense.

Section 3.4 will be dedicated to the comparison of the two auxiliaries and to the way in which they interact when co-occurring.

3.2. *Soler*

3.2.1. *Introduction*

In addition to being a dedicated expression of habituality in present-day Spanish, it seems that *soler* has never been a fully lexical verb, at least as far as can be judged from the documentation available (Yllera, 1980, pp. 199–200).³ As mentioned briefly in Section 1, *soler* goes back to classical Latin *solēre* (Cabré Lunas, 2019), which by then already exclusively served for the expression of habituality. Its Latin ancestor behaved in a similar way to modern Spanish *soler* in the sense of not being restricted to describing the habits of human referents, as will be argued for below. Moreover, *soler* inherited the lack of a future tense from its Latin ancestor (Cabré Lunas, 2019, pp. 27–28); as such, it is one of the few truly defective verbs in Spanish. I will return to the matter in Section 3.3.1.

Due to its exclusively auxiliary function, *soler* may be expected to be highly grammaticalized, which from a semantic perspective probably implies a wide array of habitual functions. In this section, I will first, in a preliminary way, consider these functions (Section 3.2.2). The Sections 3.2.3, 3.2.4, and 3.2.5 will be dedicated to the testing procedure; concretely, 3.2.3 to the interaction of *soler* with adverbial modifiers, 3.2.4 to that with grammatical operators and 3.2.5 to its behaviour when appearing in complement clauses, thus following the Questionnaire introduced by Gregersen & Hengeveld (this volume). These tests will show that auxiliary *soler* in fact has a relatively wide scope, but they will not provide positive evidence for all aspects that will come up in the description of its semantics to be given in the next section.

3.2.2. *Preliminary overview of the semantics of soler*

Habituality as expressed by *soler* may apply to expressions of Propositional Contents, which are mental concepts which cannot be located in place or time, i.e. Lyons’ “third order entities” (1977, pp. 442–447). Specifically, it applies to propositions that the speaker believes to be generally true.

- (5) [*Bien, podemos descartar la hipótesis del suicidio. Hemos avanzado ya sobre el primer error del asesino.*]

Y el que ha cometido un error suele haber
 and who AUX.PRS.3SG comit.PTCP one mistake HAB.PRS.3SG AUX.INF
cometido más.
 comit.PTCP more

‘[Right, we can discard the hypothesis of suicide. We have already found the murderer’s first mistake.] And who has made one mistake will have made more.’
 (I. García Valiño, *Las dos muertes de Sócrates*, 2003. Fiction, CORPES)

- (6) *Las personas solemos ver problemas en sitios minúsculos*
 the persons HAB.PRS.1PL see.INF problems in places minuscule
donde no caben las soluciones.
 where not fit.PRS.3PL the solutions

³ Yllera quotes one case of *soler* with a complementizer, which turns out to be unique, as a look at the academic diachronic database CORDE confirms. For a discussion of auxiliaryhood in Spanish see Olbertz (2016).

‘We humans see problems in places that are so tiny that solutions do not fit.’
(E. Sastre, *Días sin ti*, 2019. Fiction, CORPES)

Note that it is not *soler* itself that expresses the general truth, rather, it takes such truisms in its scope. In fact, *soler* seems to be used here as a kind of “hedging” device, in order to provide for possible cases in which this general truth does not hold. In this sense, rather than expressing habituality proper, it apparently has a pragmatic function, thus operating within the interpersonal rather than in the semantic domain.

As a habitual proper it applies at Episodes, i.e. a series of States-of-Affairs that are similar in that they are continuous or partially identical with regard to time and place and participants. Consider the following examples:

- (7) *Y para romper el silencio le conté que solía pintar y vender mis dibujos a los curiosos con la excusa de que era familiar lejano del pintor.*
and to break.INF the silence 3SG.DAT tell.PST.PFV.1SG COMP
HAB.PST.IPFV.1SG paint.INF and sell.INF my sketches to the curious
with the excuse of COMP COP.PST.IPFV.1SG relative distant of.the painter
‘And to break the silence I told her that I used to paint and sell my sketches to the busybodies with the excuse of being a distant relative of the painter.’
(M. Huerta, *Con el amor bastaba*, 2020. Fiction, CORPES)

In this example *soler* scopes over two consecutive States-of-Affairs that share their subject referent. The following example is different:

- (8) *Los parques nacionales suelen estar localizados en áreas de poco interés para los usos humanos, como las zonas montañosas o los desiertos.*
the parks national HAB.PRS.3PL COPLOC.INF localize.PTCP in areas
of few interest for the uses human like the zones mountainous
or the deserts
‘National parks are usually located in areas of little interest for human exploitation such as mountains or deserts.’ (*Agencia SINC*, 29-06-2021. Press, CORPES)

In example (8) the Episode can be understood as the distribution of several stative situations over different occasions. This example shows that *soler* does not only modify dynamic events but can also apply to states, of which it indicates that they typically obtain. As mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, the use of habitual expressions with states extends beyond the realm of habituality proper, which, as such, involves iteration (Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume). Genis & Kyselica (this volume) discuss a similar case in Slovak, where the use of the habitual marker with statives seems to apply to past tense contexts only. It may be worthwhile to look into the application of habitual markers to statives in a more systematic way and across a wider range of languages.

Soler can also apply to single States-of-Affairs, expressing their unbounded repetition, in other words, some very same event occurs repeatedly and is characteristic of the given situation or span of time. In (9), the first person narrator apparently is prone to hangovers, which have the property of typically making him feel pessimistic.

- (9) *La resaca me suele llenar la cabeza de ideas pesimistas.*
 the hangover me.DAT HAB.PRS.3SG fill.INF the head of ideas pessimistic
 ‘Hangovers fill my head with pessimistic thoughts.’
 (E. Benavent, *Toda la verdad de mis mentiras*, 2019. Fiction, CORPES)

Finally, *soler* is sometimes used for the description of a regularly occurring situation which forms a characteristic property of a specific individual, by default a human referent; in terms of FDG this means that it expresses habituality at the layer of the Situational Property.

- (10) *Suelo comer poco.*
 HAB.PRS.3SG eat.INF little
 ‘I eat little.’ (I. Baile Cortés, *Agujero negro*, 2008. Fiction [play], CORPES)

After this overview on the semantic scope of *soler*, I will now apply the different testing procedures in the Questionnaire.

3.2.3. The interaction of *soler* with adverbial modifiers (tests in B)

(i) *Soler* appears within the scope of adverbials (B.1)

Habituality as expressed by *soler* may appear within the scope of modifiers that comment in any way on the content the Speaker communicates. Consider the following example:

- (11) [*La Sanidad Pública tiene un problema de subfinanciación crónica que se ha agudizado con los brutales recortes realizados desde 2009 y cuya cuantía desconocemos exactamente*],
lo que desgraciadamente suele ser frecuente debido a la falta
 what unfortunately HAB.PRS.3SG COP.INF often due to the lack
de transparencia de nuestras administraciones públicas [...]
 of transparency of our administrations public
 ‘[Public Health has a problem of chronic underfinancing, which has become worse due to the harsh budget cuts that took place from 2009 onward; we do not know the exact amount], which unfortunately happens frequently due to the lack of transparency of our civil services [...].’ (*Nueva Tribuna*, 01-11-2016. Press, CORPES)

It should be noted that *soler* within the scope of commentative adverbs occurs infrequently: there is no example in my closed corpora and there are only six examples in the Spanish section of CORPES that are similar to (11).

It occurs just as infrequently that *soler* appears within the scope of an adverb expressing subjective modality, such as *posiblemente* ‘possibly’, *probablemente* ‘probably’, or *quizá* ‘perhaps’. In the following example, the latter is used.

- (12) *no podemos pensar (como quizá suele hacer=se) que esas cualidades son imágenes semejantes a algo inherente al objeto [...]*
 not may.PRS.1PL think.INF as perhaps HAB.PRS.3SG do.INF=REFL.3 COMP
 these qualities COP.PRS.3PL images similar to something inherent
 to.the object
 ‘we should not think (as maybe is usually done) that these qualities are images similar to something inherent in the object [...].’
 (J.L. Pinillos, *Principios de psicología*, 1975. Non-fiction, CREA)

Modifiers of this type apply to Propositional Contents, which have no other existence but in the minds of the speakers or writers and therefore do not exist in place or time.

It happens much more frequently that *soler* occurs within the semantic scope of temporal modifiers in the absolute past, as illustrated in (13) and (14) below. In (13), the temporal modifier, *antes de la guerra* ‘before the war’ is a so-called relative-unique modifier in the sense that it describes a period in time related to some specific event in the past.

- (13) *había sido la primera vez que se atrevió*
 AUX.PST.IPFV.3SG COP.PTCP the first time COMP REFL.3 dare.PST.PFV.3SG
a sentar=se en la terraza de un café que solía frecuentar
 to sit.INF=REFL.3 in the terrace of a café which HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG visit.INF
antes de la guerra
 before the war
 ‘it had been the first time that he dared to sit on the terrace of a café where he used to go to before the war. (C. Blanco Aguinaga, *De mal asiento*, 2010. Fiction, CORPES)

The temporal adverbial *en aquel entonces* ‘in those times’ in (14) is an expression of some non-specific absolute past.

- (14) [travelling light in the 1960s]
Todo lo demás se va encontrando sobre la marcha,
 all the other REFL.3 go.PRS.3SG find.GER on the way
y si no se encuentra que era lo que en aquel
 and if not REFL.3 find.PRS.3SG which COP.PST.IPFV.3SG what in that
entonces solía suceder; tampoco pasa nada.
 then HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG happen.INF also.not happen.PRS.3SG nothing
 ‘Everything else is going to be solved on the way, and if it cannot be found, as usual in those times, there’s no problem either.’ (*Época*, 1997. Press, CREA)

In a similar vein, the *soler*-construction occurs within the scope of objective epistemic adverbials such as *realmente* ‘really’ or similar, as illustrated in the following example.

- (15) [‘Moreover, presently we know that many ways of intensifying agriculture such as the use of nitrogen fertilizers, indifferent treatments with insecticides etc.,’]
lo que realmente suelen provocar es un incremento
 what really HAB.PRS.3SG provoke.INF COP.PRS.3SG a increase
notable de las plagas al incidir fuertemente sobre las
 notable of the plagues at.the have.impact.INF strongly on the
poblaciones de enemigos naturales.
 populations of enemies natural
 ‘what they really do is increase the damaging plagues, because they have a strong effect on the populations of their natural enemies.’
 (J.L. Porcuna, *Manual de agricultura y ganadería ecológica*, 2002. Science, CORPES)

The modifiers illustrated in (13), (14) and (15) apply at the layer of the Episode in terms of FDG.

There are no lower layer adverbial modifiers scoping over *soler*. In other words, the remaining tests of the B.1 category are irrelevant for *soler*.

(ii) *Soler* has scope over adverbial modifiers (B.2)

Soler can scope over adverbial modifiers of absolute location, i.e. locations that do not depend on other locative specifications (Hengeveld, 2023). Consider the following example, in which *soler* takes the absolute locative modifier *a nivel local* ‘locally’ in its scope.

(16) [On the state of coral bleaching between 1950 and 1980]]

El blanqueamiento solía producir=se únicamente
the bleaching HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG produce.INF=REFL.3 exclusively
a nivel local
at level local
‘The bleaching used to occur exclusively locally’
(*El Mundo*, 06-01-2018. Press, CORPES)

At the layer of the State-of-Affairs, *soler* scopes over temporal adverbials that indicate recurring moments or intervals. The following example illustrates this.

(17) *Empieza a las siete de la tarde y suele terminar*
begin.PRS.3SG at the seven of the afternoon and HAB.PRS.3SG finish.PRS.3SG
pasadas las once de la noche.
pass.PTCP the eleven of the night
‘He begins at seven in the evening and usually finishes work after eleven p.m.’
(B. Gopegui, *Quédate este día y esta noche conmigo*, 2017. Fiction, CORPES)

In a similar vein, it takes frequency adverbs in its semantic scope, as in (18).

(18) *No se había cortado la luz eléctrica, como con*
not REFL.3 AUX.PST.IPFV.3SG cut.PTCP the light electric as with
tanta frecuencia solía suceder en esta casa.
so.much frequency HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG happen.INF in this house
‘The electric light had not been cut off, as tended to happen so often in this house.’
(A. García Morales, *Bene*, 1985. Fiction, ARTHUS-LE)

At a lower layer, *soler* can take aspectual adverbs in its scope, as the following example of the durative *continuamente* ‘continually’ indicates:

(19) *A la redacción suelen llegar libros continuamente.*
at the editorial.office HAB.PRS.3PL arrive.INF books continually
‘At the editorial office books continually arrive.’
(S. Torres, “Nadie es tan misterioso como se cree que es”, 2007, Blog, CORPES)

Finally, the auxiliary can take narrow manner adverbs in its scope, as illustrated in the following two examples, with the adverbs *profundamente* ‘profoundly’ and *bien* ‘well’, respectively.

(20) *Suele dormir profundamente.*
HAB.PRS.3SG sleep.INF profoundly
‘She usually sleeps deeply.’
(L. Gabás, *El latido de la tierra*, 2019. Fiction, CORPES)

- (21) [Evaluating a football match]
Lo que solemos hacer bien, lo hicimos mal.
 what HAB.PRS.1PL do.INF well it do.PST.PFV.1PL badly
 ‘What we usually do well, we did badly.’
 (*Diario de León*, 22-05-2011. Press, CORPES)

The present test set seems to show that the semantic scope of *soler* can operate at the layer of the Episode, as illustrated in (16), and it can take modifiers of all lower layers in its scope.

In the following two sections, the interaction of *soler* with other grammatical categories will be considered.

3.2.4. The interaction of *soler* with grammatical categories (tests in C)

(i) *Soler* appears within the scope of grammatical categories (C.1)

Differently from what might be expected, *soler* does not appear within the scope of any operator of subjective epistemic modality, which would be expressed by auxiliary *poder* or *deber* (*de*) in Spanish (Laca, 2002, p. 87). As yet, there is no straightforward explanation for this fact.⁴ As *soler* can be tense-marked by means of absolute tense, past and present tense scope over *soler*. This fact has been illustrated in all examples of Episodes and States-of-Affairs so far. Concretely, examples (8)–(9), (11)–(12), (15), (17), and (19)–(21) are in the scope of the present tense operator, and (7), (10), (13)–(14), and (18) are in the scope of the past tense operator.⁵

Furthermore, *soler* usually occurs within the scope of event negation (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2018), as can be gathered from (22).

- (22) *a lo mejor viene este fin de semana ... pero no suele venir porque trabaja también los fines de semana*
 perhaps come.PRS.3SG this end of week but not HAB.PRS.3SG
 come.INF because work.PRS.3SG also the ends of week
 ‘perhaps she comes this weekend ... but she usually doesn’t come because she also works during the weekends (AdH 24, 1991, woman 21)

There is no other operator that takes *soler* in its scope, i.e. the remaining tests of the C.1 category are irrelevant for *soler*.

(ii) *Soler* has scope over grammatical categories (tests C.2)

The negation within the scope of *soler* can apply to two thematically coherent States-of-Affairs, i.e. Episodes in terms of FDG. Consider the following example:

- (23) [On NGOs in Latin America]
suelen no sumar=se o coordinar=se entre sí,
 HAB.PRS.3PL not unite.INF=REFL.3 or coordinate.INF=REFL.3 among themselves
sino recelar=se y competir por apoyos y recursos
 but.rather mistrust.INF=REFL.3 and compete.INF for support and resources

⁴ Interestingly, the Spanish expressions of prospective aspect *ir a* (*acontecer*) ‘be going to (happen)’ and retrospective aspect *acabar de* (*acontecer*) ‘have just (happened)’ do not allow for epistemic modal modification either, as is evident from extensive corpus analysis.

⁵ Note that the two propositional examples, (5) and (6), are not in the scope of time and therefore neither absolute nor relative tense is relevant to these examples.

‘they do not work together or in mutual co-ordination but rather mistrust each other and compete regarding [financial] support and resources’
 (Desarrollo social en América Latina, 2002. Non-fiction, CORPES [Costa Rica])⁶

The negation in (23) scopes over two thematically coherent States-of-Affairs coordinated by means of the disjunctive *o* ‘or’, i.e. co-negation (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2018).

At the State-of-Affairs layer, *soler* can take all kinds of operators in its scope. It scopes over relative tense, as illustrated in (24); concretely, it expresses the habituality of an event that is anterior with respect to the time marked on the auxiliary in the following example:

- (24) *Para entonces Cosmès solía haber apurado el café*
 by then Cosmès HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG AUX.INF finish.off.PTCP the coffee
y había vuelto a su habitación [...]
 and AUX.PST.IPFV.3SG return.PTCP to his room
 ‘By then Cosmès would have gulped down his coffee and had returned to his room [...]’
 (R. Bodegas, *El ciclista solitario*, 2004. Fiction, CORPES)

Soler can also scope over an expression of event-oriented modality:

- (25) *Las locuciones preposicionales contribuyen a la riqueza*
 the expressions prepositional contribute.PRS.3PL to the richness
expresiva. Suelen poder sustituir=se por una preposición,
 expressive HAB.PRS.3PL can.INF substitute.INF=REFL.3 by a preposition
 ‘Prepositional phrases contribute to the richness of expression. Usually they can be substituted by means of prepositions,’
 (P. Comín Sebastián, *Ortografía y gramática para Dummies*, 2013. Non-fiction, CORPES)

Due to the (reflexive) passive within the scope of *poder* ‘can’, the modal has a general, i.e. event-oriented meaning in (25).

Perhaps unexpectedly, *soler* also takes event negation in its scope.

- (26) *Un tercio de las víctimas del maltrato entre iguales suele*
 a third of the victims of.the abuse between equals HAB.PRS.3SG
no hablar a nadie de lo que le sucede
 not speak.INF to nobody of what 3SG.DAT happen.PRS.3SG
 ‘One third of the victims of the abuse among equals does not speak to anybody about what he or she undergoes’
 (R. Ortega Ruiz, *Malos tratos entre escolares*, 2008. Non-fiction, CORPES)

It seems curious that event negation can both scope over *soler* – as illustrated in (22) above – and be within the scope of *soler*. There is an important semantic difference between the two options: the default case, illustrated in (22) above, presents the inexistence of a habit; conversely, when the habitual scopes over the negation, as in (26), what is being expressed is the existence of a habit which consists in refraining from doing something.

Finally, *soler* scopes over event quantification, i.e. the expression of repetition:

⁶ The example has been adapted to the grammatical norms of European Spanish by adding a reflexive pronoun to *coordinar*, which was lacking in the original.

- (27) [*Vi entonces que el proyector seguía encendido. Nacho había olvidado apagarlo al salir.*]
Cuando acababa la película, solíamos volver a ponerla
 when end.PST.IPFV.3SG the film HAB.PST.IPFV.1PL REPET.INF to put=it
de fondo sin volumen como escenografía del coloquio.
 of background without volume as scenery of.the discussion
 ‘[Then I realized that the projector was still switched on. Nacho had forgotten to switch it off on leaving.] After the end of the film, we used to turn it on again with the sound off as scenery for the discussion.’
 (D. de Fez, *Reina del grito*, 2020. Non-fiction, CORPES)

The infinitival periphrasis *volver a* in (27) expresses the repetition of a State-of-Affairs, which semantically corresponds to the lexical event quantifier *again* in English.

At a lower layer, *soler* has scope over progressive aspect, as illustrated in (28) below.

- (28) *Por otra parte, no son más que las dos de la madrugada*
 on other part not COP.PRS.3PL more than the two of the morning
y a esta hora, en su casa, suele estar trabajando.
 and at this hour en his home HAB.PRS.3SG COPLOC.INF work.GER
 ‘On the other hand, it is no later than two o’clock in the morning and at this [early] hour he is usually working at home.’
 (G. Salvador Caja, *El eje del compás*, 2002. Fiction, CREA)

At the same layer, *soler* can scope over participant-oriented modality, i.e. a modal expression which applies to a specific animate referent, such as *tener que* ‘have to’ in the example below.

- (29) *Marcial solía tener que defender=se de la acusación*
 Marcial HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG have.INF to defend.INF=REFL.3 of the accusation
de escribir poemas demasiado cortos, mientras que ahora la brevedad
 of write.INF poems too short while now the brevity
de sus epigramas [...] juega a su favor.
 of his epigrams play.PRS.3SG to his favour
 ‘Marcial used to have to defend himself against the accusation of writing too short poems, while nowadays the brevity of his epigrams [...] makes his work attractive.’
 (I. Vallejo, *El infinito en un junco*, 2019. Non-fiction, CORPES)

At the layer of the Lexical Property, *soler* scopes over local negation:

- (30) *las cosas más importantes de la vida suelen hacer=se*
 the things most important of the life HAB.PRS.1SG do.INF=REFL.3
no de pie sino en posición horizontal
 not of foot but.rather in position horizontal
 ‘the most important things people do take place not in an upright but in a horizontal position’ (J. García Sánchez, *La historia más triste*, 1991. Fiction, CREA)

The total of the data on the interaction with other operators suggests that *soler* operates at least at the layer of the Episode.

3.2.5. The occurrence of *soler* in complement clauses (tests in A)

The type of complement taking predicate (CTP) determines largely the kind of entity embedded, as has been shown by Noonan (1985, pp. 110–133). Applied to habitual auxiliaries, the type of CTP can be related to the scope of the auxiliary. Complementation will, again, be discussed in a top-down fashion.

In the following examples, the CTP expresses knowledge, i.e. *saber* ‘know’ in (31) and (32):

- (31) [When I ask patients if they use drugs and they “really don’t” I know this means that they “really do”.]

Mi reacción ante el “realmente no” es idéntica a la que tengo ante el tipo de paciente que de repente asegura que me va a “contar toda la verdad” y automáticamente sé que suele mentir.
 my reaction to the really not COP.PRS.3SG identical to the one have.PRS.1SG to the type of patient who of sudden assure.PRS.3SG COMP me.DAT go.PRS.3SG to tell.INF all the truth and automatically know.PRS.1SG COMP HAB.PRS.3SG lie.INF

‘My reaction to this “really don’t” is the same as the one I have with the kind of patient who unexpectedly says he or she is going to “tell me the truth” and I immediately know that he or she would lie.’

(V. Fuster & L. Rojas Marcos, *Corazón y mente*, 2008. Non-fiction, CORPES)

- (32) *Ya se sabe que lo barato a la larga suele resultar caro.*
 already REFL.3 know.PRS.3SG COMP the cheap at the long HAB.PRS.3SG turn.out.INF expensive

‘Meanwhile it is known that whatever is cheap in the long run turns out to be expensive.’ (M.T. Hernández Díaz, *Crónica de un adosado*, 2010. Fiction, CORPES)

This kind of CTP usually embeds Propositional Contents, which allows for the conclusion that *soler* may indeed operate at this layer. In fact, it looks as if *soler* in example (31) modifies an Episode, i.e. a type of event that happens regularly with different participants. As regards (32), the situation is different, as the complement describes what the speaker believes to be a general truth, i.e. a Propositional Content.

The CTPs that embed Episodes are those that are factive, i.e. they presuppose that their complement is real without asserting its reality. Such a predicate is *lamentar* ‘regret’ in (33) and *descubrir* ‘find out’ in (34).

- (33) [On bullfighting]

Personalmente, lamento que suela preferir el camino de la estética al de la lidia,
 personally regret.PRS.1SG COMP HAB.SBJV.PRS.3SG prefer.INF the path of the esthetics to.the of the fight

‘Personally, I regret the fact that he usually prefers to pay more attention to esthetics than to the fight proper,’ (*ABC Cultural*, 14-08-2020. Press)

- (34) [Clyde, a potential suspect, was believed not to have a car at his disposal, and therefore was probably innocent. But when last year Noah included the profile of the two girls of the Edinburgh campus into the list of his potential victims, by accident ...]

descubrió *que Clyde solía conducir el Morris*
 discover.PST.PFV.3SG COMP Clyde HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG drive.INF the Morris
oscuro de una de sus tías.
 dark of one of his aunts

‘he found out that Clyde used to drive the dark-coloured Morris of one of his aunts.’

(D. Redondo, *Esperando al diluvio*, 2022. Fiction, CORPES)

These predicates operate on the Episode, because they have independent time reference, i.e. the complement can be located in time independently of the tense marked on the embedding predicate. In (33) the time reference is the present, and in (34) it is the past, which, due to the restriction of *soler* to the imperfective past, can only be understood from the context.

CTPs that have dependent time reference, such as predicates of immediate perception or causation, embed individual States-of-Affairs. This type of predicate embeds a habitual expression with *soler* in the following example from a linguistics paper.

- (35) [On the confusion of /θ/ and /s/ in some varieties of Peninsular Spanish]

En las dos Castillas, el carácter esporádico de estas confusiones
 in the two Castiles the nature sporadic of these confusions
hace *que suelan considerar=se irrelevantes*
 make.PRS.3SG COMP HAB.SBJV.PRS.3PL consider.INF=REFL.3 irrelevant
desde el punto de vista fonético.
 from the point of view phonetic

‘Due to the sporadic nature of this confusion in the two Castilian regions, it is usually considered irrelevant from a phonetic point of view.’

(D. Vázquez Balonga & P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, *¿Seseo en el centro peninsular?* *Revista de historia de la lengua española*. 2015. Non-fiction, CORPES)

Complementation at lower layers is not compatible with *soler* or any other expression of habituality in Spanish.

3.2.6. Conclusion on the use of *soler*

Section 3.2.2 has shown that *soler* can apply to Propositional Contents. However, the design of the Questionnaire regarding modification (B) and operators (C) is concerned maximally with the Episode, and thus does not foresee that grammatical expressions of habituality can operate at Propositional Contents. Therefore, I will, at this point, provide an example in which *soler* takes a propositional modifier in its scope.

- (36) *Los cánceres de mama diagnosticados en mujeres que consumen*
 the cancers of mama diagnose.PTCP in women who consume.PRS.3PL
anticonceptivos orales suelen estar menos avanzados desde el
 contraceptives oral HAB.PRS.3PL COPLOC.INF less advanced from the
punto de vista clínico que los diagnosticados en no consumidoras.
 point of view clinical than the diagnose.PTCP in non consumers

‘The breast cancers diagnosed in women who take oral contraceptives usually are less advanced from a clinical point of view than those diagnosed who do not take them.’

(*Regulon comprimidos recubiertos*. [Patient information leaflet], 2006. CORPES)

In this example, *soler* has scope over the modifier of perspective, *desde el punto de vista clínico* ‘from a clinical point of view’, which “restricts the perspective from which the truth of the Propositional Content with which they combine has to be evaluated” (Hengeveld 2023: 401).

Table 1 summarizes the results of the application of the Questionnaire to the use of *soler*, and includes the modification of Propositional Contents, illustrated in (36) above. In this Table, the cells in dark grey without any numbering indicate options that are expected to be irrelevant from a language-independent point of view. The light grey cell in the C.1 column indicates that European Spanish has no operator at this layer. The n-dashes indicate that the grammatical or lexical elements at the given layer exist in European Spanish but do not occur in combination with the habitual auxiliary.

Table 1. Overview of the semantic scope relations of *soler*

Layers	Within scope of adverbial (B.1)	Within scope of operator (C.1)	Occurs in complement (A)	Scopes over adverbial (B.2)	Scopes over operator (C.2)
Communicated Content (C)	(11)				
Propositional Content (p)	(12)	–	(31)–(32)	(36)	
Episode (ep)	(13)–(14)	(7)–(21)	(33)–(34)	(16)	(23)
State-of-Affairs (e)	–	(22)	(35)	(17)–(18)	(24)–(27)
Situational Property (s)	–	–	–	(19)	(28)–(29)
Lexical Property (f)	–	–		(20)–(21)	(30)

The application of the Questionnaire shows that *soler* operates at the layers of the Episode, the State-of-Affairs and the Situational Property. Example (36), moreover, indicates that it can also apply to Propositional Contents.

3.3. *Acostumbrar*

3.3.1. Introduction

As already mentioned in Section 1, *acostumbrar* is a Romance innovation. It is a verbalization of the early medieval Spanish noun *costumne* ‘custom’ (from classical Latin *consuētūdo*), which soon became *costumbre* ‘habit’ (Pena Seijas, online). The medieval verb *aconstunbrar* is first attested in the 13th century, where it appeared both in the lexical function of ‘be customary’ and in an auxiliary function, followed by the infinitive of some lexical verb. In both its lexical and auxiliary functions, it appeared with a bare infinitive, and with an infinitive preceded by the prepositions *de* ‘from, of’ and *a* ‘to’ (cf. also Yllera 1980, p. 203). In present-day Spanish, lexical *acostumbrar* occurs with the preposition *a*, which corresponds to its inchoative function ‘accustom someone to’. The auxiliary can have the same form, i.e. with a meaningless preposition *a*, but it can also appear with a bare infinitive. Examples (37) illustrates the most frequent lexical use of *acostumbrar a*, i.e. the inherently reflexive variant ‘get accustomed to’.

(37) [Sarajevo during the civil war]

Hace ya tiempo que Lejla se acostumbro a
 for already time COMP Lejla REFL.3SG acustom.PST.PFV.3SG PRP
repasar sus lecciones a la luz de las velas.
 study.INF her lessons at the light of the candles

‘For some time already Lejla has got accustomed to studying her lessons by candle light.’ (*El Mundo*, 26-01-1995. Press, CREA)

Note that (37) is in the perfective past, which is excluded with *acostumbrar* as a habitual auxiliary. The following examples illustrate auxiliary *acostumbrar* with a bare infinitive (38) and its variant *acostumbrar a* (39), which shows that there is no semantic difference between these variants.

(38) *Acostumbraba comprar la prensa en una librería-papelería*
 HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG buy.INF the press in a bookshop-stationary
próxima a su domicilio.
 near to his home
 ‘He used to buy newspapers in a stationary and bookshop near his home.’
 (F. Aramburu, *Patria*, 2016. Fiction, CORPES)

(39) *Jordi [...] recitó la frase en latín con la que*
 Jordi recite.PST.IPFV.3SG the sentence in Latin with which
acostumbraba a saludar al sol.
 HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG PRP greet.INF DOM.the sun
 ‘Jordi [...] recited the sentence in Latin with which he used to greet the sun.’
 (G. Martínez, *Sólo para gigantes*, 2011. Fiction, CORPES)

Example (40) illustrates a further case of *acostumbrar a*, but what is remarkable here is that it appears in the scope of future tense.

(40) [On the properties of valuable literature, which allows for enjoying both a good story and good writing, and about the “border” between these two aspects]
 a. *En un libro de fácil digestión [...] esa frontera textual*
 in a book of easy digestion that border textual
acostumbrará a ser escuálida, transparente
 HAB.FUT.3SG PRP COP.INF meagre transparent
 ‘In books that read easily [...] that textual border will usually be meagre and transparent’ (*Jot Down Cultural Magazine*, 2014. Press, CORPES)

The future tense with a habitual auxiliary is rather exceptional, as both habitual auxiliaries tend to appear in the present tense or the imperfective past. Moreover, as mentioned in Section 3.2.1, *soler* lacks a future tense.⁷ As is clear from this example, the morphological future does not have a temporal but a conjectural, i.e. modal, meaning.

The remainder of this section on *acostumbrar (a)* will be structured as follows. Section 3.3.2 will be dedicated to a preliminary assessment of the multiple functions of *acostumbrar (a)*, which will be followed by the testing procedure analogous to the one applied to *soler*. Section 3.3.3 concerns the interaction of *acostumbrar (a)* with adverbial modifiers, and 3.3.4 its interaction with different grammatical categories of the verbal domain. Section 3.3.5 deals with the issue of which CTPs can apply to a complement containing *acostumbrar (a)*. The results will be presented in Section 3.3.6.

⁷ Hypothetical analogous forms to *acostumbrará* in (40), could be **solerá*, like the future form of the intransitive verb *doler* ‘hurt’, or **soldrá*, in analogy to the future form of *valer* ‘cost’.

3.3.2. Preliminary overview of the semantics of *acostumbrar* (a)

Acostumbrar (a) is multifunctional, i.e. it can express habituality at different layers. It can be used to express habituality with Episodes, i.e. series of slightly different States-of-Affairs that are related in relative time, place and participants. Consider the following examples:

- (41) *Acostumbra desmenuzar pan en la sopa y fumar entre plato y plato.*
 HAB.PRS.3SG crumble.INF bread in the soup and smoke.INF between
 course and course
 ‘He used to crumble bread in his soup and smoke between the courses.’
 (O. Merino, *Espuelas de papel*, 2004. Fiction, CORPES)

The Episode modified by *acostumbrar* consists of two States-of-Affairs, the participant’s crumbling bread into the soup, and his smoking between the two courses of the meal.

Example (42) illustrates an Episode as well. It begins with a description of a specific crew of a filmset, but the habitual marker refers to similar situations, i.e. to crews in filmsets in general.

- (42) [On a film set]
El equipo era eficaz y muy joven, como acostumbraba a ser normal en los últimos tiempos.
 the team COP.PST.IPFV.3SG efficient and very young as HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG
 PRP COP.INF normal in the recent times
 ‘The crew was efficient and very young, as was usual in recent times.’
 (F. Faltoyano, *Aprobé en septiembre*, 2014. Non-fiction, CORPES)

What is interesting in this example, is that it describes a stative situation, which may obtain at different times under different circumstances; in other words, in this about the repetition of a certain type of State-of-Affairs.

The auxiliary can also express the habituality of individual States-of-Affairs, which implies that some very same event occurs repeatedly and is characteristic of the given situation or span of time. (43) forms part of a description of a love affair.

- (43) *Acostumbrábamos a dormir hasta la hora del desayuno.*
 HAB.PST.IPFV.1PL PRP sleep.INF until the hour of.the breakfast
 ‘We used to sleep until breakfast.’
 (J. Salom, *Un hombre en la puerta*, 1984. Fiction, ARTHUS-LE)

In (44) there is no participant at all involved, but it is clear that the untimely rainfall typically occurs every year.

- (44) [On the curious climate of the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica]
de las dos estaciones, la lluviosa y la seca, acostumbra a llover en la segunda y hay veranillos extraordinarios en la primera.
 of the two seasons the rainy and the dry HAB.PRS.3SG PRP rain.INF
 in the second and EX.PRS warm.spells remarkable in the first
 ‘of the two seasons, the rainy one and the dry one, it usually rains in the latter and there are remarkable warm spells in the former.’
 (J.M. Mendiluce, *La sonrisa de Ariadna*, 2005. Fiction, CORPES)

Like *soler*, auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) is sometimes used to describe habituality in the sense of attributing a characteristic property to an individual:

- (45) *Mujer.* – *De acuerdo, pero mi asiento debe ser de ventanilla.*
of agreement but my seat must.PRS.3SG COP.INF of window
Hombre. – *Me he fijado, acostumbra a apoyar*
REFL.1SG AUX.PRS.1SG notice.PTCP HAB.PRS.2SG.POL PRP rest.INF
la frente.
the forehead
‘Woman. – Alright, but I need to have a window seat.
Man. – I have noticed that you rest your head against the window.’
(E. Caballero, *Nostalgia del agua*, 1996. Fiction [play], CREA)

In the following sections, the properties of *acostumbrar* (*a*) will be put to test.

3.3.3. The interaction of *acostumbrar* (*a*) with adverbial modifiers (tests in B)

(i) *Acostumbrar* (*a*) appears within the scope of adverbials (B.1)

Auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) can occur in the scope of reportative and commentative adverbial modifiers. In (46), the auxiliary appears within the scope of an expression of hearsay:

- (46) *Según tengo entendido, la gente acostumbra*
according.to HAVE.PRS.1SG understand.PTCP the people HAB.PRS.3SG
dormir a sus hijos pequeños con la narración de las
put.asleep.INF DOM their children little with the narration of the
proezas prodigiosas de las hadas [...]
exploits prodigious of the fairies
‘From what I have understood, people usually put their little children asleep with tales
about prodigious exploits of fairies [...].’
(F. Benítez Reyes, *Mercado de espejismos*, 2007. Fiction, CORPES)

Example (47) illustrates *acostumbrar a* in the scope of a commentative adverb.

- (47) *Lamentablemente, el contenido de los mensajes que se pasan*
unfortunately the content of the messages which REFL.3
pasan entre los padres acostumbra a ser áspero [...]
send.PRS.3PL between the parents HAB.PRS.3SG PRP COP.INF rude
‘Unfortunately, the content of the messages parents exchange is usually rude [...].’
(P. Castells, *Los padres no se divorcian de sus hijos*, 2009. Non-fiction, CORPES)

As in the case of *soler*, auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) occurs infrequently in the scope of modifiers of the commentative or reportative type.

Given its relatively low overall frequency, *acostumbrar* (*a*) is found even less frequently than *soler* within the scope of adverbial modifiers of subjective epistemic modality. The following is the only European Spanish example I have found.

- (48) [*Ahí está el tristemente famoso Bárcenas, otro patriota que llevaba el dinero de España “paquí” y “pallá”, mayormente “pa Suiza”,*]
y que seguramente acostumbraba a lucir una pulserita
 and who certainly HAB.PST.IPFV.3SGPRP boast.INF a bracelet.DIM
roja y amarilla en la muñeca o una banderita nacional pegada
 red and yellow on the wrist or a flag.DIM national fastened
al Rolex de oro [...]
 to.the rolex from gold
 ‘[And here we’ve got the infamous Bárcenas, another patriot who moved state money from here to there, and above all to Switzerland,] and who certainly used to boast a little red-and-yellow bracelet around his wrist or a little national flag fastened to his golden Rolex [...]’ (*Diario16*, 08-04-2021. Press)

This type of modifier takes Propositional Contents in its scope. In the case of (48), the fragment in the scope of the habitual auxiliary describes possible facts, but the satirical presentation indicates that they do not exist except in the author’s mind.

Somewhat more frequently, *acostumbrar (a)* appears within the scope of modifiers of absolute time, as in the following example:

- (49) *Todavía en las primeras décadas del siglo XX se*
 still in the first decades of.the century 20 REFL.3
acostumbraba sustituir las cubiertas originales por una
 HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG replace.INF the covers original by a
 encuadernación de piel o de tela como la voluntad de cambiar
 binding from leather or from cloth like the will of change.INF
el rango del libro:
 the rank of.the book
 [*de mero libro en rústica o con cubierta en colores pasa a ser uno de los volúmenes de la biblioteca.*]
 ‘During the first decades of the 20th century the original bindings still used to be replaced with a leather or cloth binding to somehow change the rank of each book: [from a mere paperback or hardback with a coloured cover, the book becomes a library volume.]’ (R. Colombo, “Lecturas de interior” [adapted], 2017. Non-fiction, CORPES)

The time adverbial in (49) is a bit complex due to the *todavía* ‘still’ in the beginning, which, however, just indicates that the events described would have been expected to have ended earlier. Absolute time modifiers can take Episodes in their scope, and, due to the non-specificity of the participants involved, (49) is indeed an Episode.

(ii) *Acostumbrar (a)* has scope over adverbial modifiers (B.2)

The auxiliary scopes over adverbials of relative time which indicate recurring events, as in the following example:

- (50) *Acostumbraba a dejar=le cuatro o cinco libros al salir*
 HAB.PST.IPFV.1SGPRP lend.INF=her four or five books at.the go.out.INF
del colegio y apenas tardaba un par de días
 of.the school and only take.PST.IPFV.3SG a couple of days
en devolvér=me=los y pedir=me más, entusiasmada.
 in return.INF=me=them and ask.INF=me more enthusiastic

‘I used to lend her four or five books on leaving the school and it took her only a couple of days to return them to me and ask me for more, full of enthusiasm.’
(E. Sastre, *Días sin ti*, 2019. Fiction, CORPES)

Similarly, the habitual auxiliary can take adverbials of frequency in its scope. This is the case in (51):

- (51) *Onésima acostumbraba a entrar con frecuencia en el dormitorio*
Onésima HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG PRP enter.INF with frequency in the dormitory
para ver qué tal se portaba Miguel.
to see.INF how REFL.3 behave.PST.IPFV.3SG Miguel
‘Onésima used to enter the bedroom frequently in order to see how Miguel behaved.’
(I. Martínez de Pisón, *La ternura del dragón*, 1988. ARTHUS-LE)

In the next example, the frequency of occurrence is marked by means of a complex adverbial expression:

- (52) *Recuerdo que nuestro padre acostumbraba tomar*
remember.PRS.1SG COMP our father HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG drink.INF
bebidas alcohólicas a cualquier hora del día o de la noche.
drinks alcoholic at any hour of.the day or of the night
‘I remember that our father used to drink alcohol at any moment by day or night.’
(A. García Morales, *Bene*, 1985. Fiction, ARTHUS-LE)

Both, adverbials of relative time and frequency, modify States-of-Affairs or entities of higher layers. The present examples are indeed States-of-Affairs, i.e. individual events that habitually occur.

At the layer of the Situational Property, auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) can occur with adverbials that introduce additional participants in the form of instruments:

- (53) *Durante las horas de sol acostumbraba proteger=se*
during the hours of sun HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG protect.INF=REFL.3
con una sombrilla o con un sombrero.
with a parasol or with a hat
‘During the sunny hours she used to protect herself with a parasol or a hat.’
(A. García Morales, *El testamento de Regina*, 2001. Fiction, CORPES)

Auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) does not take any lower layer modifiers in its scope.

3.3.4. The interaction of *acostumbrar* (*a*) with grammatical categories (tests in C)

(i) *Acostumbrar* (*a*) appears within the scope of grammatical categories (C.1)

Auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) behaves in the same way as *soler* in that it never occurs in the scope of any modal operator (cf. Section 3.2.4).

Acostumbrar (*a*) is in the scope of absolute tense as marked in all examples presented so far; it is in the scope of the present tense in (41) and (44)–(47), in the scope of the past tense in (42)–(43) and (48)–(53), and, exceptionally, in the scope of the future tense in (40).

There are no further operators that take *acostumbrar* (*a*) in their scope.

(ii) *Acostumbrar (a)* has scope over grammatical categories (C.2)

The habitual auxiliary *acostumbrar (a)* differs from its near-synonym *soler* in being applicable only to one grammatical category. Neither in the Spanish and American corpora nor on the internet did I find any example of *acostumbrar (a)* scoping over relative tense, event-oriented or participant-oriented modality, event quantification or phasal aspect, all of which do occur within the scope of *soler* (cf. Section 3.2.4). The only grammatical category *acostumbrar (a)* turns out to scope over is event negation, illustrated in (54).

- (54) *Los druidas acostumbran a no ir a la guerra [...]*
 the druids HAB.PRS.3PL PRP not go.INF to the war
a diferencia del resto de los galos.
 to difference of.the rest of the Gauls
 ‘The druids do not participate in wars [...] as opposed to the rest of the Gauls.’
 (F. Díez de Velasco, *Hombres, ritos, dioses*, 1995. Non-fiction, CREA)

For the time being, I have no explanation of these unexpected facts other than a low level of grammaticalization of *acostumbrar (a)*, which, however, seems to be at odds to the fact that it apparently does apply to Episodes, as has been shown in Section 3.3.2.

3.3.5. The occurrence of *acostumbrar (a)* in complement clauses (tests in A)

The habitual auxiliary can occur in complements introduced by knowledge predicates.

Consider the following example:

- (55) [A police investigation after the death of a marquis under suspicious circumstances]
 –*Alas diez de la noche [...] el marqués despidió a los*
 at the ten of the evening the marquis dismiss.PST.IPFV.3SG DOM the
criados. Sabemos que acostumbraba a hacer=lo cuando
 servants know.PRS.1PL COMP HAB.PST.IPFV.3SGPRP do.INF=it when
esperaba visitas que podríamos definir como... galantes.
 expect.PST.IPFV.3SG visits which can.FUT.PST.1PL define.INF as galant
 ‘– At ten o’clock in the evening [...] the marquis dismissed his servants. We know that he used to do so when he expected visits which we could describe as ... galant.’

The entity modified here by *acostumbrar a* probably is an Episode, as different kinds of occasions are involved, due the temporal modifying clause of relative time, *cuando esperaba visitas [...]*.

Auxiliary *acostumbrar a* also appears in complement clauses that are embedded under CTPs that presuppose the factivity of the complement such as *darse cuenta* ‘realize’ in the following example.

- (56) *Si presta atención a los diálogos de las películas infantiles*
 if pay.PRS.2SG.POL attention to the dialogues of the films for.children
se dará cuenta de que acostumbran a ser muy
 REFL.2.POL realize.FUT.2SG.POL of COMP HAB.PRS.3PL PRP COP.INF very
distintos de los de las películas de Quentin Tarantino.
 different from the of the films by Quentin Tarantino
 ‘If you pay attention to the dialogues of films for children you will realize that they are very different from those of the films by Quentin Tarantino.’
 (O. Jara, et al., *Padre, el último mono*, 2012. Non-fiction, CORPES)

What *acostumbrar a* modifies in this case is probably a State-of-Affairs; although different dialogues in children’s films are involved, this is duly indicated by the plural of this referent.

Finally, *acostumbrar (a)* can appear in time-dependent complements, which are maximally States-of-Affairs. Consider the following lengthy example, in which causative *hacer que* ‘make that’ takes an expression with *acostumbrar* as a complement, which has simultaneous relative tense.

- (57) *el enaltecimiento e instrumentalización del sentimiento español*
 the extolment and instrumentalization of.the feeling Spanish
por el franquismo han hecho que [...] *las reivindicaciones*
 by the franquism AUX.PRS.3PL make.PTCP COMP the revindications
de los nacionalismos periféricos hayan acostumbrado a
 of the nationalisms peripheral AUX.SBJ.PST.3PL HAB.PTCP PRP
ver=se como de izquierdas mientras que la identidad nacional
 see.INF=REFL.3 as of left while the identity national
española se ha presentado como de derechas.
 Spanish REFL.3 AUX.PRS.3SG present.PTCP as of right
 ‘As a consequence of the extolment and instrumentalization of feeling Spanish by the Franco-ideology [...] the revindications of peripheral nationalisms would be considered left-wing and the Spanish national identity has been seen as a right-wing concept.’

As mentioned in Section 3.2.5, complementation at lower layers is not possible with habitual auxiliaries in Spanish.

3.3.6. Conclusion on the use of *acostumbrar (a)*

Table 2 summarizes the results of the testing procedure based on the Questionnaire presented by Gregersen & Hengeveld (this volume). These results do not confirm that *acostumbrar (a)* operates on the Episode, as would have been expected on the basis of examples (41) and (42) in Section 3.3.2. Rather, they indicate that *acostumbrar (a)* applies at the State-of-Affairs and Situational Property layers.

Table 2. Overview of the semantic scope relations of *acostumbrar (a)*

Layers	Within scope of adverbial (B.1)	Within scope of operator (C.1)	Occurs in complement (A)	Scopes over adverbial (B.2)	Scopes over operator (C.2)
Communicated Content (C)	(46)–(47)				
Propositional Content (p)	(48)	–	(55)		
Episode (ep)	(49)	(40)–(53)	(56)	–	–
State-of-Affairs (e)	–	–	(57)	(50)–(51)	(54)
Situational Property (s)	–	–	–	(52)	
Lexical Property (f)	–	–			

In general, there are fewer examples than in Table 1, which is due to the low overall frequency of auxiliary *acostumbrar (a)*. This may also explain why it does not occur with narrow manner adverbs, i.e. with modifiers at the layer of the Lexical Property.

What is strange, however, is the fact that it does not scope over any operators but negation at the State-of-Affairs layer. The only possible explanation can be seen in a restricted degree of grammaticalization. This issue will be considered in more detail in the next section.

3.4. The co-occurrence of *soler* and *acostumbrar a*

In actual use, *soler* and *acostumbrar (a)* co-occur in some contexts. In this section, I will consider a few examples, in order to arrive at conclusions regarding their differences.

In the following example, both auxiliaries occur without any difference in meaning:

- (58) – *Frustración y desgaste por la lucha frente a la infertilidad, que acostumbra a estar presente en muchos de los casos y que suele comportar la renuncia a tener una familia más numerosa.*
 frustration and exhaustion for the struggle in.view.of the infertility which HAB.PRS.3SG PRP COPLOC.INF present in many of the case and which HAB.PRS.3SG lead.to.INF the renunciation of have.INF a family more numerous
 ‘–Frustration and exhaustion from their struggle against infertility, which occurs in many cases and generally results in their giving up their desire for a larger family.’
 (M. Devesa, A. R. Melcón & A. Veiga (eds.) *Ser madre a los 40 (y más allá)*, 2018. Non-fiction, CORPES)

I found three occurrences of this kind of case, in which both auxiliaries are used without any semantic difference, just in the interest of stylistic variation.

More interesting are the redundant combinations of the habitual auxiliaries, which always follow the same order.

- (59) a. *Es más variado, eso puedo asegurar=lo el que se levanta justo sobre mi techo, el C, con sus seis apartamentos en los que, por a saber qué misterio, no suelen acostumbrar a tener perros y pájaros.*
 COP.PRS.3SG more varied that can.PRS.1SG assure.INF=it the which REFL.3 rise.PRS.3SG exactly above my ceiling the C, with its 6 apartments in which for to know.INF what mystery not HAB.PRS.3PL HAB.INF PRP have.INF dogs and birds
 ‘More varied, I can assure you, is the one that arises just above my ceiling, the C, with its six apartments, where, due to whatever mystery, these people usually are not in the habit of keeping dogs or birds.’
 (J. García Sánchez, *Dios se ha ido*, 2003. Fiction, CORPES)
- b. * *no acostumbran a soler tener*
 not HAB.PRS.3PL PRP HAB.INF have.INF

As example (59a) indicates, the default order is such that *soler* precedes *acostumbrar (a)*. The reverse order in (59b) is ungrammatical.

It should be noted that these combinations are infrequent: the Spanish section of CORPES contains 4 examples (and the American section contains 2). Still, one can wonder what motivates this order, particularly as there does not seem to be any obvious semantic motivation for the given order: the scope for both auxiliaries is equally general in (58), where each of them operates on an Episode.

In the following example, where there is no infinitive, the auxiliaries have a more narrow scope, i.e. over a State-of-Affairs, specifying the habitual behaviour of a specific human referent. Nevertheless, the order of the two auxiliaries cannot be reversed.

- (60) a. *Esta vez no venía con flores, ni con un regalo del viaje que acababa de realizar, como a gift of.the trip which REC.PST.3SG PRP make.INF as solía acostumbrar.*
 HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG HAB.INF
 ‘This time he did not come with flowers nor with a gift from the trip he had just made, as he normally used to.’ (J. Moro, *Mi pecado*, 2018. Fiction, CORPES)
- b. * *como acostumbraba soler*
 as HAB.PST.IPFV.3SG HAB.INF

The cause of this order is probably related to the different degrees of grammaticalization of the auxiliaries: *soler*, inherited from Latin *solēre*, has always had an auxiliary function only (cf. Section 3.2.1), whereas auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*) is first attested in the 13th century and co-exists with a lexical variety (cf. Section 3.3.1). It is symptomatic for this difference that *soler* is much more frequent than auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*), the latter being restricted to written discourse (cf. Section 2.3). Additional evidence comes from diachrony. The combination of *soler* and *acostumbrar* occurs already in medieval Spanish. Consider the following example:

- (61) [*Afirmaban, cuanto ellos podían con manos y ojos y meneos mostrar y con gestos de amargos ánimos, que los de aquella isla eran caribes*]
y que los habían preso y traído de Boriquén
 and COMP them AUX.PST.IPFV.3PL catch.PTCP and bring.PTCP from Borinquen
para los comer, como lo solían acostumbrar.
 for them eat.INF as it HAB.PST.IPFV.3PL be.customary.INF
 ‘[They affirmed, as good as they could, showing with manual gestures and with eye movements of bitter feelings, that the people from that island were Caribs] and that they had taken them as prisoners from Borinquen in order to eat them, as it used to be their custom.’ (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1527-1561, CORDE)

In this example, *acostumbrar* is a transitive verb, as shown by the clitic *lo* ‘it’ referring to the habit of eating people. There are several similar examples from Old Spanish to be found in the diachronic database CORDE, which may contribute to explaining this order in modern Spanish.

4. Summary

Spanish has two auxiliary expressions of habituality, *soler* and *acostumbrar* (*a*), which behave differently in various respects. *Soler* is older and has never had a meaning other than habituality whereas *acostumbrar* (*a*) is relatively younger as an auxiliary and continues to be used as a lexical verb. In addition, *soler* occurs much more frequently than auxiliary *acostumbrar* (*a*). The two auxiliaries occur predominantly in the present tense and the imperfective past.

The preliminary semantic descriptions of *soler* and *acostumbrar* (*a*) show that both auxiliaries are multifunctional. The highest layer at which *soler* operates is that of the Propositional Content, where it fulfils a pragmatic mitigating (or hedging) function, rather than expressing habitual meaning. Apparently, both auxiliary constructions apply to Episodes,

States-of-Affairs and Situational Properties. The latter function corresponds to the expression of habits that are characteristic properties of individuals.

The testing procedure applied to each of the two auxiliaries shows that *soler* functions maximally at the layer of the Propositional Content, although the Questionnaire does not foresee this idiosyncratic function of *soler*. The application of the testing procedure to *acostumbrar (a)* disconfirms its applicability to Episodes, but confirms that it operates at the State-of-Affairs and Situational Property layers. It also shows the very limited number of operators within the scope of *acostumbrar (a)*. The explanation for this result is probably related to its relatively low degree of grammaticalization. In addition, this low degree of grammaticalization explains the mutual order of the auxiliaries when they co-occur.

Abbreviations

COPLOC	locative copula (<i>estar</i>)
DOM	differential object marking
EX	existential
POL	polite address
PRP	meaningless preposition

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Corpora

- AdH: Moreno Fernández, F., Cestero Mancera, A. M., Molina Martos, I., & Paredes García, F. (2004). *La lengua hablada en Alcalá de Henares: Corpus PRESEEA-ALCALÁ*. Universidad de Alcalá. <https://preseea.linguas.net/>
- ARTHUS-LE: *Archivo de textos hispánicos de la Universidad de Santiago (ARTHUS)*
<http://adesse.uvigo.es/data/corpus.php>
- CORDE: Real Academia Española. *Corpus diacrónico del español*.
<http://rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corde>
- CORPES: Real Academia Española. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*.
<http://rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi>
- CREA: Real Academia Española. *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*.
<http://rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/crea>

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