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Olbertz, H.

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THE DIACHRONY OF *TENER QUE* AND OTHER POSSESSION-BASED MODAL PERIPHRASES IN SPANISH

Hella Olbertz

Introduction

Linguistic modality as expressed grammatically by means of modal auxiliaries and lexically by verbs, adverbs and adjectival constructions is frequently viewed in terms of possibility and necessity; a prominent example is Lyons (1977). Although this distinction has its origin in modal logic, it turns out to be useful in capturing the basic modal distinctions in a large number of languages as shown by Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). As regards the definition of modality, I follow Narrog (2012, p.6): “A proposition [or a state of affairs, H. O.] is modalized if it is marked for being underdetermined with respect to its factual status, i.e. neither positively or negatively factual.” This definition implies that what is modalized in terms of necessity is not equal to being real or true, but marked for being required in some sense, or for being likely to be real or true.

This paper will discuss the historical development of the expression of modal necessity by means of the periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive, which roughly corresponds to English *have to* + infinitive and to the Portuguese infinitive constructions with *ter de* and

ter que.¹ The diachrony of *tener que* cannot be properly understood without also considering its predecessors and competitors in medieval Spanish *aver de* ‘have to’, *tener de* ‘have to’ and *aver que*. *Aver* (= modern Spanish *haber*) had a possessive meaning, which it gradually lost between the 13th and 17th centuries to become a true auxiliary for the expression of compound tenses, leaving *tener* as the only lexical expression of possession.

Before embarking on this diachronic study, let us first briefly consider the most important semantic values expressed by *tener que* in modern Spanish, and then consider its relation to the competing expressions of modal necessity. Let us begin with deontic modality, a modal distinction concerned with permission and obligation, of which, in the context of modal necessity, only obligation is relevant. Consider the following examples:

- (1) *sé lo que tengo que hacer y no hacer*
‘I know what I have to do and not to do’ (PRESEEA M23)²

- (2) *pues con doce años tendría que saberse hacer la cama*
‘so a twelve-year-old should know how to make up a bed’
(adapted from PRESEEA P41)

There is a difference between the types of obligation expressed in these examples. This is primarily due to the targets of the modalization: in (1) this is a specific human individual, whereas in (2) the target is not a specific person, but any girl or boy fulfilling

¹ As all these periphrases are constructed with an infinitive, it will suffice to mention the auxiliary and the nexus only in order to refer to the periphrastic construction. For a definition and explanation of the concept of periphrasis see Olbertz (1998).

² The abbreviation “PRESEEA” refers to the corpus by Moreno Fernández et al. (2007). The alphanumeric code identifies the speaker. The letters *S*, *M*, and *P* correspond to the educational levels *superior* (university), *media* (secondary school) and *primaria* (primary school) respectively; the letter is followed by the interview number. In the interest of readability, I have ignored several details of the PRESEEA transcription conventions in the examples. Pause indications have been substituted by punctuation.

the criterion of being 12 years old, which is linguistically reflected through the impersonal or pseudo-passive reflexive form of the main verb *saber*. Following Hengeveld (2004), I will refer to this difference as participant-orientation (example 1) *versus* event-orientation (example 2).

A quite different case is found in the following example:

- (3) *La carne tuvimos que tirarla: la humedad la había corrompido.*
'We had to throw away the meat, it had gone off due to the humidity.'
(J. Llamazares, *Luna de Lobos*, quoted from Olbertz 1998, p.380)

Example (3) expresses what, following Narrog (2012), I will term 'circumstantial modality', in which the source of the modality is not the will of an individual or some kind of norm as in (1)-(2), but it is an external circumstance or an inanimate entity incapable of will. In the present case, it is the rotten state of the meat that forces the subject referents to take the action of disposing of it.

Example (4), finally, is an expression of epistemic modality:

- (4) – *¿tú crees ahora que:- que hay mucho problema de: delincuencia y cosas de estas aquí en- en Alcalá? [...]*
– *yo creo que- yo creo que tiene que haber como en todas las ciudades*
'– do you think that- that there are lots of problems of... delinquency and things like that here in- in Alcalá?
– well I think that- I think that there must be like in every city' (PRESEEA S09)

However, the use of *tener que* as an expression of epistemic modality is relatively infrequent: a random selection of 117 tokens of *tener que* from the oral PRESEEA-corpus yields only 10 unambiguously epistemic cases (OLBERTZ; GASPARINI-BASTOS, 2013, p.283). The expression of epistemic necessity corresponds to prop-

osition-oriented modality, i.e. the expression of the more or less strong belief of the speaker in the truth of a given proposition.³ We have now have seen three different targets of modal necessity: (i) the participant in its relation to a state of affairs, (ii) the state of affairs itself, and (iii) the propositional content. Following Hengeveld (2004, 2017) and Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), my hypothesis with respect to the grammaticalization of *tener que* is that the course of grammaticalization proceeds from the lexicon to participant-orientation, then to event-orientation and only in a later stage to proposition-orientation.

Having considered the most important semantic domains *tener que* is able to express, let us now turn to *tener que* in relation to its competitors, i.e. *haber de* (= Old Spanish *aver de*), the impersonal construction *haber que* (= Old Spanish *aver que*) and the Latin-based ‘true’ modal *deber* and its free variant *deber de* ‘must’. In the following variants of examples (1)-(4), *tener que* will successively be substituted by the three alternative periphrastic expressions in the order *haber de* (a), *haber que* (b) and *deber* (c):

- (1) a. *sé lo que he de hacer y no hacer*
 ‘I know what I have to do and not to do’
 b. *≠ sé lo que hay que hacer y no hacer*
 ‘I know what has to be done and what not’
 c. *sé lo que debo hacer y no hacer*
 ‘I know what I must do and not do’

Although (1a)-(1c) are all pragmatically felicitous expressions of modal necessity, the meaning of (1b) is different: being an impersonal construction, *haber que* cannot express participant-oriented deontic necessity, i.e. deontic necessity targeted at a specific individual; rather, it expresses event-oriented necessity.

Let us now apply the same procedure to (2):

³ I will not deal with objective epistemic modality, i.e. epistemic modality that is not related to truth commitment but to the probability of the occurrence of an event, because it seems to be largely irrelevant to modal necessity; for more details see Olbertz and Honselaar (2017).

- (2) a. *pues con doce años habría de saberse hacer la cama*
'so a twelve-year-old should know how to make up a bed'
b. *pues con doce años habría que saber hacer la cama*
'so a twelve-year-old should know how to make up a bed'
c. *pues con doce años debería saberse hacer la cama*
'so a twelve-year-old should know how to make up a bed' (PRESEEA P41)

Given the fact that (2) is not targeted at a specific person, all of these alternatives are semantically equivalent. Whereas the non-specific reference continues to be expressed by means of the reflexive main verb form in (2a) and (2c), in (2b) it is the periphrastic auxiliary that expresses non-specific reference and therefore the main verb *saber* is not reflexive.

The application of the substitution test to (3) and (4) will prove further semantic differences. Let us first consider the alternatives to (3):

- (3) a. *La carne hubimos de tirarla: la humedad la había corrompido.*
'We had to throw away the meat, it had gone off due to the humidity.'
b. ≠ *La carne hubo que tirarla: la humedad la había corrompido.*
'The meat had to be thrown away, it had gone off due to the humidity.'
c. ≠ *La carne debimos tirarla: la humedad la había corrompido.*
'We should have thrown away the meat: it had gone off due to the humidity.'

Whereas (3a) is synonymous to (3), (3b) expresses an event-oriented variant of the circumstantial necessity. But the only way to make sense of (3c) is a deontic interpretation, which illustrates the fact that *deber* cannot express circumstantial modality.

The following reformulations of a shortened version of the answer in (4) show an important restriction on impersonal *haber que*:

- (4) a. *yo creo que ha de haber [delincuencia] como en todas las ciudades*
'I think that there must be [delinquency] like in every city'
- b. \neq *yo creo que hay que haber [delincuencia] como en todas las ciudades*
'I think that there needs to be [delinquency] like in every city'
- c. *yo creo que debe haber [delincuencia] como en todas las ciudades*
'I think that there must be [delinquency] like in every city'

The variant (4b), which is clearly inappropriate in this context, is illustrative of the fact that *haber que* cannot express epistemic meanings, as has been observed earlier by e.g. Gómez Torrego (1999), García Fernández et al. (2006).

In sum, only *haber de* covers exactly the same modal meanings as *tener que*. Nevertheless, in my corpus of spoken Peninsular Spanish, PRESEEA de Alcalá de Henares, (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ et al., 2007), *tener que* is much more frequent than *haber de*. As can be gathered from Table 1, even the semantically less flexible *haber que* is more popular than *haber de*, both in oral and written usage. The latter is represented here by a small corpus of late 20th century Spanish literary prose (LIT).⁴

⁴ The literary sources used in Table 1 are short stories and fragments of novels published between 1970 and 1990. For more information see Olbertz (1998).

Table 1 – Frequencies of possession based expressions of modal necessity in Modern Spanish

	<i>tener que</i>	<i>haber que</i>	<i>haber de</i>	totals
PRESEEA (443,533 words)	816 77.5%	232 22%	5 0.5%	1,053 100%
LIT (106,836 words)	94 60.6%	40 25.8%	21 13.6%	155 100%

Source: Author’s own elaboration.

Table 1 confirms Fernández de Castro’s (1999, p.191-193) claim that *haber de* has become restricted to written usage in present-day Spanish.

The aim of this paper is to provide the answer to two questions. Firstly, how did *tener que* develop from the lexicon to grammar and how did it acquire its different functions within the domain of modal necessity? Secondly, why has *tener que* become so popular to the detriment of its competitors? In order to answer these questions, I will first consider the development of *tener que* in relation to its predecessors and competitors *aver de*, *tener de* and *aver que* in Old Spanish (section “Medieval *aver de* and *tener de* and the early use of *aver que* and *tener que*”), and then account for the development of *tener que* and its relation to the other constructions from the 16th to the 20th century (section “The rise of *tener que* to the detriment of its competitors”). I will end with my conclusions.

All examples quoted in the remainder of this paper from 1100 to 1975 are from the *Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE)* (REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, 2016) and those from 1975 to 2004 are from the *Corpus de referencia del español actual (CREA)* (REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, 2016).

Medieval *aver de* and *tener de* and the early use of *aver que* and *tener que*

Aver de belongs to the immediate Latin heritage and is the most frequent possession-based expression of modal necessity in Old Spanish, whereas the innovative modal construction *tener de* remains relatively marginal. *Aver que* and *tener que* come into

existence in the Old Spanish period, but show almost no signs of grammaticalization. I will first consider *aver de* and *tener de* and will then turn to *aver que* and *tener que*.

The following examples from early medieval prose texts are illustrative of the degree of grammaticalization of *aver de*:⁵

- (6) *Madre siempre fuistes sabidor que yo auia de morir.*
'Mother, you always knew that I had to die / was going to die.'
(1250, Anónimo, *Poridat de poridades*)
- (7) *Et preguntale de las costumbres & de las leyes que auemos de auer en nuestra tierra*
'and ask him about the customs and the laws which we have to have in our land'
(1248, Alfonso X, *General estoria*)
- (8) *E por eso dixo ysayas el profeta hablando de aquella grand paz que auia de ser en la nasçençia suya [...]*
'And therefore the profet Isaiah said speaking about that great peace that there was to be at His birth [...]' (1293, Anónimo, *Castigos*)

None of these examples is compatible with the possessive meaning of *aver*: in (6) the main verb is intransitive, i.e. there is no possible possessee argument for *aver*, in (7) it combines with 'itself', i.e. with possessive *aver*, and in (8) the 'main' verb is a copula, i.e. a semantically empty linguistic item (HENGEVELD, 1997). We can conclude from these examples that, in this construction, *aver* has lost all restrictions that an originally possessive verb might impose on its context, which is indicative of a high degree of grammaticalization.

⁵ Old Spanish *aver* is connected to the infinitive by means of the prepositions *a* or *de*, inherited from late Latin *habere ad* and *habere de*, and incidentally also occurs without a preposition. Both *a* and *de* are in use until the end of the 15th century, but in the 16th century the preposition *a* was definitively ousted by *de*. See Yllera (1980).

As regards the meaning of *aver de*, (6) is ambiguous between a modal and a future reading, while in example (7) a necessity reading is the most probable one, and in (8) *aver de* expresses futurity. The future reading of *aver de* coexists with the modal reading until early modern Spanish. The explanation for the association of *aver de* with the future lies in the fact that both have the same origin in Latin, i.e. *habēre* + infinitive and infinitive + *habēre*, which were basically equivalent (PINKSTER, 1987).

On analogy with *aver de*, the equally possession-based *tener de* arises in the course of the 13th century and gains a certain frequency in the 14th century. Consider example (9):

- (9) *Pero antes hablaré con vos algunas cosas que tengo de hablar.*
'But first I will tell you some things I have to tell.'
(1300-1305, Anónimo, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*)

In this example *tener* and the infinitive *hablar* share both the first person subject and the object referent *algunas cosas*, i.e. there is no sign of grammaticalization in this example.

However, in the 15th century already *tener de* shows the same signs of grammaticalization as *aver de* observed in (6)-(8) above:

- (10) *miremos a los tiempos presentes en los quales fallaremos no pocas ni pequeñas caídas e infortunios de grandes, infantes, condes y caualleros; e que esfuerço tengo de tener quando bien lo miro*
'let us look at the present times in which we will find neither few nor small errors and disgrace of noblemen, princes, counts, and gentlemen; and what an effort I have to make when I take a closer look at this'
(1445, F. de la Torre, *Libro de las veynte cartas e quistiones*)

- (11) *y yo como aquel que en el rigor y discordia te tengo de ser enemigo podría ser que en la concordia te seré leal amigo.*
'and me, as in that hardship and discord I have to be / will be your enemy, may be in concord I will be a faithful friend to you.'
(1482-1492, G. Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*)

In (10) finite *tener* combines with 'itself', i.e. the infinitive of possessive *tener* and in (11) it modifies the copula *ser*, which is a meaningless linguistic item. Consequently, in both cases a possessive reading of *tener* is excluded. As regards the semantics of *tener de*, the construction has not only inherited the necessity meaning from *aver de*, which is expressed in (10), but also its future meaning: (11) allows for both interpretations.⁶

In sum, *aver de* is highly grammaticalized in the first Spanish texts already and expresses the meaning of modal necessity but has also a temporal meaning of future. The semantically equivalent Old Spanish innovation *tener de* has grammaticalized to the same degree as *aver de* by the end of the medieval period. In addition, it should be noted that *tener de* never becomes really frequent: a count from the *Corpus del Español* (DAVIES, 2002), *aver de* is always at least five times as frequent as its early competitor.

The first occurrences of *aver que* and *tener que* date from the 13th century, *aver que* being probably a bit older than *tener que*. Both are possessive verbs with *que* introducing a weakly headed or headless non-finite relative clause as in the following examples of *aver que*.

⁶ It should be noted that this account of *tener de* is not concerned with the much older *ser tenido / tenido* + infinitive, which Garachana Camarero (2016) proves not to be a passive form of *tener de*, as has been claimed in earlier publications.

- (12) *non puede ser que yo non vaya a aquella isla, ca non has que temer en ir yo a aquel lugar*
'it cannot be that I don't go to that island, since you have nothing to fear when I go to that place' (literally: 'you have not which (to) fear')
(1251, Anónimo, *Calila e Dimna*)
- (13) *el castillo[...] çercolo & combatieronlo tanto fasta que los de dentro non oujeron agua que beuer.*
'they encircled the castle and fought until those that were inside had no water to drink.' (literally: '[they] had no water which (to) drink')
(1325, Anónimo, *Crónica de veinte Reyes*)

In (12) there is no lexical head of the non-finite relative clause, and in (13) the lexical head is the noun *agua* 'water'. The examples of *tener que* are analogous:

- (14) *pidiol mercet quel diesse alguna ayuda. E sant paulino non touo que dalle.*
'he asked him kindly to give him some help. And Saint Paul had nothing to give to him.' (literally: 'had not which (to) give') (1270, Alfonso X, *Estoria de Espanna ...*)
- (15) *nin tenemos pan que comer nin otra cosa ninguna*
'neither do we have bread to eat nor any other thing'
(literally: 'have we bread which (to) eat') (1275, Alfonso X, *General Estoria*)

There is no lexical head in (14), and there is a nominal lexical head in (15). Syntactically, the examples are like the lexical *tener de* construction in (9): the subject always has a human referent, who is both the possessor of *aver* and *tener* respectively and the actor of the verb in the infinitive; the (empty) head refers to both the possessee and the patient argument of the verb in the infinitive, *temer* 'fear' in (12), *beuer* 'drink' in (13), *dar* 'give' in (14) and *comer* 'eat' in

(15). Interestingly, almost all the early uses of these constructions are negative, therefore the headless cases are not entirely headless, because *nada* ‘nothing’ is implicated as a head. Consequently, these constructions are not at all grammaticalized. Semantically, the relative construction has the effect that these lexical constructions differ from the lexical *tener de* construction in (9), in that they tend to be difficult to interpret in terms of necessity; rather, they can more readily be read as purposive constructions, expressing the (lack of the) possession of something that serves some purpose: ‘water to drink’ in (13), ‘nothing to give’ in (14) and ‘bread to eat’ in (15).

Now consider the construction in (16):

- (16) *mucho tengo que vos gradescer por el bien que de vos me viene*
‘much I have to thank you for the good things which
come to me from you’
(literally: ‘Much I have which (to) thank you’)
(1482-1492, G. Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*)

Despite having the same syntactic properties as the above examples, (16) differs from these in two ways: (i) it is expressed in positive terms and (ii) it allows for a reading in terms of necessity, which is probably caused by both the marked position and the weakness of the head *mucho* ‘much’. Although still of a lexical nature, this example may be seen as a first indication of the grammaticalization process to follow.

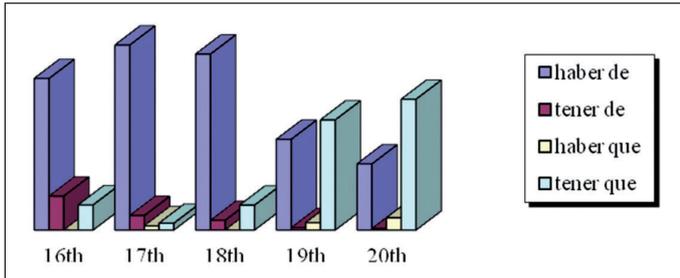
There are very few occurrences of *aver que* and *tener que* in Old Spanish; in CORDE they total less than 30. It is only in the post-medieval period that *tener que* becomes more frequent and *aver que* becomes an impersonal construction.

The rise of *tener que* to the detriment of its competitors

It is useful for a better understanding of the post-medieval developments to consider the quantitative relations between the four competing constructions from the 16th to 20th century.

The data represented in Figure 1 are based on narrative texts from CORDE and CREA and restricted to the forms of the preterite-stems of the auxiliaries (*hub** and *tuv**), yielding the perfective past and the past subjunctive forms.⁷

Figure 1 – Possession-based expressions of necessity (16th to 20th century)



Source: Author's own elaboration.

With respect to the 20th century, this figure does not show the extreme differences between *haber de* and *tener que* to be seen in Table 1, and it also provides a different picture of the relevance of *haber que* than Table 1 does. This difference is due to the fact that the table is based on late 20th and early 21st century material.

In the remainder of this section, I will show how *tener que* develops from a marginal lexical construction in Old Spanish to the most popular grammatical expression of modal necessity in modern Spanish. I will first briefly consider its immediate com-

⁷ I chose this procedure because taking all forms into account would have led to an obligatory random selection of the data, which would have made a comparison impossible. The data from 1500 to 1950 are taken from all kinds of narrative prose in CORDE. The data from 1950 to 2000 are a mix of CORDE (until 1975) and CREA (1975-2000). As CREA is relatively larger than CORDE, I took only novels into account in that period. My count excludes the idiom *tener que ver* 'have to do with', which is highly frequent in the 16th century already (94 hits for *tiene que ver* 'has to do with' in CORDE), long before modal *tener que* began to play a role of any importance. However, Bauman (2016), who approaches the diachrony of *tener que* from a constructionalist perspective, claims that *tener que ver* is relevant for the grammaticalization of modal *tener que*.

petitor *aver que*, predominantly spelled as *haber que* from the 16th century onward, and then I will turn to the grammaticalization of *tener que*. This section will end with a discussion of my findings.

After a short life as an alternative to *tener que*, *haber que* disappears in its personal use in the course of the 15th century and takes on an impersonal function. The impersonal use of *haber que* is based on the existential function in which *aver / haber* can be found incidentally in the 13th century already. The existential use came about through the fusion of the 3rd person singular of the present tense *ha* ‘it has’, with the Old Spanish particle *y* ‘there’, to yield *hay* ‘there is’, literally ‘there it has’. It is important to note that existential *haber* maintains its transitive syntax, i.e. its only argument is an object.

Initially *hay que* is very infrequent and restricted to the present tense, spreading to other tenses in the course of 16th century. Example (17) is representative of the first occurrences of *hay que*:

- (17) *Cypressi. [...] se ponian en las casas de los muertos por que este
linaie de arbol despues que le cortan nunca torna a nascer
como del muerto ya no hay que esperar*
‘Cypresses. [...] they were put in the houses of the dead,
because this type of tree, after pruning it, will never
become alive again, in the same way as there is nothing
to expect any more of the dead’ (literally: there it has not
which (to) expect)
(1490, A. de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en
romance*)

In the impersonal construction in (17), *que* continues to introduce a headless relative construction, and there is no necessity meaning involved. However, what is different is that there is no longer a first argument, which is, of course, inherent in the very impersonal nature of the construction.

In the second half of the 16th century *hay que* is increasingly used for the expression of necessity:

- (18) *en los bienes eternos hay que saber cómo se han de pedir.*
‘with respect to eternal goods it is necessary to know how they have to be asked for.’ (1553-1556, C. de Villalón, *El cróton de Cristóforo Gnofose*)

In this example, an existential reading of *hay* is no longer possible for two reasons. The first reason is a semantic one: obviously, *cómo se han de pedir* ‘how they have to be asked for’ is an argument of *saber* ‘know’, rather than of existential *hay*. The second reason is a syntactic one: the fact that the argument follows the infinitive *saber* rather than the form *hay*, prevents its interpretation as the object referent of *haber*. Therefore, the only possible interpretation of *haber que* in (18) is that of an impersonal expression of necessity. As a consequence, *que* is no longer a relative pronoun but just a nexus between *haber* and the infinitive, and what was a biclausal construction has now become a monoclausal one.

From the 13th century onward, impersonal necessity was predominantly expressed by means of the lexical construction *ser menester* ‘be necessary’. In the course of the 19th century *menester* becomes obsolete, and *haber que* becomes more frequent in this function: whereas in the 18th century there are 862 cases of *es menester* in CORDE against 502 of *hay que*, in the 19th century, *hay que* takes the lead with 4,647 against 829 tokens of *es menester*. In present-day Spanish, *ser menester* is an archaism.

The functional change of *haber que* described above is one of the causes of the increasing frequency of *tener que*. In the 16th century *tener que* becomes more frequent than *tener de*, which is reflected in the increasing necessity reading of *tener que*:

- (19) *Ah, señor don Fruela, suplico a vuesa merced en cortesía entre, que tengo que hablarle dos palabras.*
‘Ah, sir mr. Fruela, may I ask you please to be so kind as to come in, as I must have a word with you.’ (1656, F. B. Quirós, *Aventuras de don Fruela*)

As in the case of (18) it is the word order, i.e. the fact that *dos palabras* follows the verb *hablar* ‘speak’ which precludes a reading of *tener* as a possessive verb and *que* as a relative pronoun, because *dos palabras* cannot be the possessee argument of *tener*. Therefore, like in the case of *haber que* described above, *que* is no longer a relative pronoun in this construction, but functions in the same way as the meaningless preposition *de* in *haber de*. However, although (19) is a case of a monoclausal construction, as opposed to the Old Spanish uses described in the previous section, the use of *tener* in (19) is compatible with a possessive reading, because with a different word order, a (weakly) possessive reading would still be possible:

- (19) a. *tengo dos palabras que hablarle*
literally: ‘I have two words to speak with you’

With very few exceptions, *tener que* continues to be used with transitive verbs with human referents, which are compatible with a possessive reading of *tener* in the same way as (19), until the 18th century when *tener que* begins to be used frequently with intransitive verbs:

- (20) *el día siguiente tenía que ir a una villa que distaba cuatro leguas*
‘on the next day he had to go to a village that was four miles away’
(1758, J. F. de Isla, *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio ...*)

Cases like (20) are no longer compatible with a possessive reading of *tener*, because there is no argument to fulfil a possessee-function. This means that in the periphrasis, *tener* has lost part of its original selection restrictions. Nevertheless, there still is a restriction with respect to the first argument, which must have a human referent.

Semantically, the obligatoriness of the human referent in the period from the 16th century onward, which is illustrated by means of (19) and (20), boils down to the fact that *tener que* expresses participant-oriented modality.

In the 19th century, when the frequency of *tener que* exceeds that of *haber de*, *tener que* begins to be used systematically with non-human subject referents:

- (21) *Así, para romper la tierra virgen, para arrancar la raíz de las silvestres flores, tiene que ser muy profundo el sulco [sic] del arado;*
'Therefore, in order to break the new soil, in order to pull up the roots of wild flowers, the furrow of the plough must be very deep.'
(1850, C. Coronado, *Jarilla*)

In this example, apart from the fact that *tener que* modifies a copula, which has been identified as indication of advanced grammaticalization in the context of *aver de* and *tener de* in the previous section, the subject referent is a non-human concrete entity, *el sulco del arado* 'the furrow of the plough', which cannot be interpreted as a possessor argument. In (22), *tener que* is used with a series of intransitive verbs that have an event as their argument, *la mayor parte de la acción de los individuos* 'the largest part of the activities of individuals':

- (22) *la mayor parte de la acción de los individuos tiene que convertirse, ejercerse y aplicarse hacia el trabajo, hacia la existencia, hacia la vida social, precaria, mísera y necesitada.*
'the largest part of the activities of individuals has to be transformed, be executed and be applied to work, toward survival, toward an uncertain, miserable and poor social life.' (1848, N. P. Díaz, *Los problemas del socialismo*)

Therefore, *tener que* does not express participant-oriented modality in (21) and (22), since participant-oriented modality

implies that the targeted individual has, in principle, the choice to participate or not in a given event. Rather, the target of modal evaluation in (21) and (22) is the event itself.

It is only in the first part of the 20th century that we find unambiguously epistemic uses of *tener que*:

- (23) *Es muy posible que un día se pueda decir: si el vodka y el mezcal son primos hermanos, tiene que haber un grado de parentesco igual entre mexicanos y rusos.*

‘It is very well possible that once one can say: if vodka and mescal are cousins, there must be a family relationship of the same degree between Mexicans and Russians. (1940, J. Moreno Villa, *Cornucopia de México*)

This example is clearly a case of proposition-oriented epistemic necessity, because what the modal expression modifies is a non-factual propositional content, “an imaginary world” as Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008, p.144) dub it, which has no reality outside the imagination of the writer. The capability of expressing epistemic modality corresponds to the state of grammaticalization of *tener que* in its present-day usage. However, as mentioned earlier, *tener que* does not (yet) fulfil the epistemic function very frequently.

Why did *tener que* become so popular? Of the three competitors of *tener que*, *tener de* plays only a marginal role, *haber que* turns into an impersonal construction and as such ceases to be a full competitor, so what remains to be explained is why *tener que* is presently ousting *haber de*. There are two developments that can explain this. First, *haber* loses its lexical meaning of possession between the 15th and the 16th centuries. Hernández Díaz (2006) shows that, whereas in the 13th century *haber* is the predominant expression of possession (91% of 567 tokens), in the 16th century it has a possessive meaning in only 13% of 221 tokens, the remainder being taken over by *tener*. In the 17th century *tener* is the only possessive verb. Secondly, *haber* becomes the only perfect auxiliary in the course of the 16th century, which considerably increases the ‘grammatical load’ of this

verb. These are probably the most important driving forces of the grammaticalization of *tener que* and the gradual elimination of *haber de* from the modal domain. A third aspect, which is in part a consequence of the first two, is that *tener* continues to be used in true relative constructions of the purposive type, headed as in (24) and headless as in (25).

(24) *Tengo una tarea que cumplir*

‘I have a task to fulfil’ (*El País*, 02/06/1985: ‘Una lotería macabra’)

(25) [conversation about the senselessness of being member of a commercial book-club]

al año ya no tengo que pedir, no tengo, porque [...] hay una serie de cosas que no me interesa

‘within a year’s time I don’t have anything to order any more, I don’t, because [...] there are a number of things I’m not interested in’

(*Habla culta de Madrid*, quoted from Olbertz 1998, p.255)

The continuing association of *tener que* with the construction type that is characteristic of its lexical origin, as illustrated in examples (14)-(16), probably is a further cause of its vitality.

Conclusions

In this paper I have shown how the modal periphrasis *tener que* develops out of a headless or weakly headed relative construction in a period in which other possession-based periphrases expressed the meaning of modal necessity. The description of the process of grammaticalization confirms my hypothesis mentioned in the introduction: (i) between the 16th and the 19th century, *tener que* expressed participant-oriented modality; (ii) when *tener que* began to be applied to verbs with non-human subjects, the applicability of the periphrasis widened in the sense that it

also could express event-oriented modality; (iii) in the first half of the 20th century, *tener que* came to express epistemic modality thus being applied to propositional contents. This means that this process of grammaticalization is a process of scope increase, as indicated by Hengeveld (2017), which can be captured in the hierarchy in (26):

- (26) proposition-orientation > event-orientation > participant-orientation

This hierarchy should be read as follows: when a modal construction can express event-orientation, this implies that it can also express participant-orientation, and when it can express proposition-orientation, this implies that it can also express both event-orientation and participant-orientation.

However, there are at least two problems that remain for further research. First, it may have been observed that all the cases of modal necessity in (19)-(22) belong to the circumstantial rather than to the deontic domain. Although there is no doubt that *tener que* did and does express deontic modality as well, it may be that due to its purposive origin *tener que* is typically apt for the expression of circumstantial modality. This is why I suspect that in the case of *tener que* it is circumstantial modality rather than deontic modality that gave rise to the epistemic meaning. This would confirm Narrog's (2012) view that the traditional idea according to which epistemic modality develops out of deontic modality is based on a misunderstanding. Finding out about this would imply a detailed diachronic analysis of the semantics of *tener que*. There has been some research done on this subject by Blas de Arroyo and González Martínez (2014), but this is of little use for the solution of this question, because the authors' criteria for semantic classification are entirely different from the ones used here.

The second problem is the question how *aver de* came to acquire the meaning of necessity, although it is based on the semantically neutral construction in Latin:

(27) *de ... somniis quid habemus dicere*

‘what can we say about dreams?’

(Cicero, first century B.C., quoted from Pinkster (1987, p.207)

Pinkster (1987) shows that this construction type is future-oriented and that its interpretation in modal terms depends on the context. In (27), for instance, a possibility interpretation is more probable than a necessity interpretation. A possible motivation for the grammaticalization of the necessity meaning may be the analogy with the collocation *aver menester (de)*, literally ‘have need of’, which is highly frequent from the earliest Spanish texts onward. However, I believe that a fully satisfactory answer to the question of the origin of the necessity reading of *aver de* can only be given in a study of Latin, which is, however, outside the scope of the present paper.

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