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CHAPTER 11

The Role Played by Analogy in Processes of Language Change: The Case of English HAVE-to *Compared to Spanish* TENER-que

Olga Fischer and Hella Olbertz

11.1 Introduction*

In this chapter we will argue that the outcome of processes of grammaticalisation may be determined to a large extent by analogy, by the force of analogical relations that language users perceive to be present between constructions in their language,[1] on the basis of both concrete lexical as well as structural and functional resemblances (cf. earlier work by Fischer 2007, 2011, 2013 and De Smet 2009, 2012, 2013). We propose that the pathway of a particular grammaticalisation process can only be understood when we take into account not just the changes that take place on the historical language level but also when we consider the role of the speakers who are ultimately responsible for the change (cf. Fischer 2007: 116ff.). That is, we must look beyond the grammaticalisation process itself by considering both the contemporary grammatical system and the socio-cultural circumstances that speakers function in, which co-determine the way speakers process (and may change) their utterances. From this follows that there is nothing necessarily unidirectional about a grammaticalisation process (even though it frequently moves in one direction because it often involves processes of reduction in both meaning and form), that it is not necessarily steered by pragmatic-semantic factors only (see Section 11.2.1), and also that it is not a process that involves, as it were, some independent mechanism operating by itself. Our approach makes understandable why the process may turn one way in one language and another

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[1] We understand by 'constructions' both lexically concrete structures and more abstract syntactic patterns which are defined by both their formal and pragmatic-semantic content, as is usual in Construction Grammar (cf. e.g. Goldberg 1995; Traugott and Trousdale 2013; Barðdal *et al.* 2015).

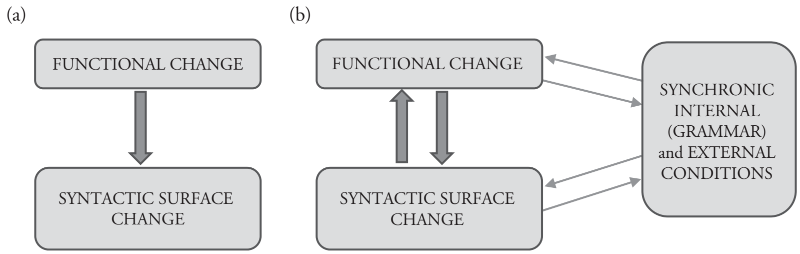

Figure 11.1 (a) The traditional scenario (b) Our scenario

way in another, i.e. it does not necessarily follow some universal pathway, as suggested for example in Haspelmath (1989) with reference to developments of infinitival markers in Germanic.[2]

In brief, we envisage the process of grammaticalisation to work as shown in Figure 11.1b, and not as shown in Figure 11.1a, which represents the traditional account.

Since the working of analogical processes is difficult to prove – especially where it concerns syntax, where there are so many constructions that in one way or another may resemble and thus influence each other – it would advance our knowledge of this area if we investigate whether the grammaticalisation of a particular construction follows a similar pathway in languages where the linguistic circumstances under which the new construction evolves are more or less similar. In the present case, we investigate a construction in English and Spanish involving a possessive verb that develops into a modal verb of obligation/necessity before an infinitive. We consider this against the background of the development of a similar construction in Dutch and German, where the linguistic circumstances are clearly different. This, we hope, will give a firmer foundation to our understanding of what shapes grammaticalisation, and also provide more insight into the way analogy operates in morphosyntax.

We will first briefly present some general background in Section 11.2, both on what has been written on the grammaticalisation process involving the possessive verb in English and the Romance languages (Section 11.2.1) and on the role played by analogy as an important cognitive principle present in language learning, which continues to play a role in the linguistic behaviour of adult speakers (Section 11.2.2). In Section 11.3, we will present

[2] For a counter-view to Haspelmath's 'universality' in the Germanic infinitival case, see Fischer (1997), who argues that the *to*-infinitive behaves differently in English, compared to German and Dutch, as a result of other changes involving infinitivals taking place in the history of English.

a summary of the circumstances under which the English possessive verb grammaticalised and what role analogy has played here, based on Fischer's (2015) study of this case. Section 11.4 provides information about the development of TENER-*que* in Spanish in relation to other constructions involving possessive verbs; here we also note the linguistic circumstances surrounding the grammaticalisation path of TENER-*que* and pay attention to the differences and similarities with the development of English HAVE-*to*. In Section 11.5, we will compare the situation in the two languages with developments in Dutch and German in order to establish whether the circumstances in English and Spanish were indeed similar enough to understand why the possessive verb developed into a modal of necessity in these languages and why it did not happen in Dutch and German, where the construction remained more or less the way it was in the earlier periods. Section 11.6 briefly concludes.

11.2 Some Background to Grammaticalisation and Analogy

11.2.1 The Traditional View of the Grammaticalisation of Possessive Verbs

It has usually been taken for granted that the development of English HAVE in the construction HAVE+*to*-infinitive represents a regular case of grammaticalisation, in line with similar developments involving a possessive verb like HAVE, where HAVE in combination with an infinitive (or a past participle) grammaticalised from a full verb into an auxiliary (and in some cases even into a suffix, as in the Romance future). Thus, van der Gaaf (1931), Visser (1963–1973: §1396ff.) – who do not yet use the term – Brinton (1991), Heine (1993: 42), Krug (2000), and Łęcki (2010) all more or less accept three developmental stages for the change in English from *I have* [*a book* [*to recommend*]] to *I* [[*have to recommend*] *a book*]. In their sketch of the putative development of HAVE-*to*, the grammaticalisation proceeds along a very gradual (almost invisible) path of pragmatic-semantic change with bleaching of possession first, followed by the development of obligative colouring later, while the word order change and the rebracketing are seen as the final stage of the development.

Also characteristic for the description of grammaticalisation processes is that usually only the construction that undergoes change is considered, as if it changes in isolation. Bybee (2010: 107), for instance, writes: 'grammaticalization involves the creation of a new construction *out of an existing construction*' (emphasis added). She also emphasises, as is traditional in grammaticalisation studies, the primary role of pragmatic inferencing in the process: '[s]emantic and pragmatic changes occur *as a result of the contexts* in which the emerging construction is used' (2010: 107; emphasis added). Similar gradual semantic pathways are considered for the development of the possessive verb into future and perfect markers in the Romance languages; see e.g. Fleischman (1982: 15 and *passim*), Heine (1993), Klausenburger (2000, 2008), Ledgeway (2012: 119ff.), and cf. also Heine and Kuteva (2002: 242–5) for the development of possessives to future and modal necessity meaning in non-European languages.

11.2.2 The Ubiquitous Presence of Analogy

Following Holyoak and Thagard (1995), Tomasello (2003), and other usage-based linguists, we believe that analogy plays a crucial role both in the way we learn language and in the way we keep using language as adults, causing changes to occur continuously in how we understand and produce utterances. Behrens (2009, 2017) stresses the strong role played by analogy in children's language acquisition, analogy of both a concrete lexical-semantic type (i.e. analogy caused by the use of the same lexical items in a construction) and also of a more abstract formal type (caused by the use of a similar syntactic pattern). She shows that it helps children to understand and formulate utterances (and, as a next step, learn the conventions of their language) when they can discern concrete similarities between lexical items per se and between structures containing such lexical items. In addition, she stresses that an *overlap* in semantic and syntactic information between two constructions strengthens the working of analogy. This analogical awareness always evolves from concrete to more and more abstract:

> children proceed from concrete to abstract representations. 'Concrete' here refers to the replication of strings of words or chunks without having analyzed their internal structure. [. . . The more abstract] schemas always start out with concrete similarities in the expression, as they are based on concrete usage events [. . .]. (Behrens 2017: 230)

Behrens refers also to Tomasello (1992), who showed that children learn syntactic structures verb by verb in the initial phase of syntax acquisition; that is, they do not yet generalise the argument structure of one specific verb to other verbs, nor do they spot any abstract relation between constructions in the early period. It is only later that children are able to 'generalize over the [concrete] form-function correspondences in the input' (Behrens 2017: 230). Behrens furthermore points to the ability of 'system-mapping', a notion familiar from cognitive science studies (e.g. Gentner and Namy 2006; Gentner 2010; Gentner *et al.* 2011; Gentner and Smith 2012). This concerns the ability to see functional relations between larger structures, which helps children to form abstract connections and enables them to make further analogically based inferences between the source and the target structure.

In what follows, we work from the presumption that the cognitive learning mechanisms in children as indicated above still operate in adults when they are using (and through it often changing) their language. Thus, the concrete and abstract patterns that speakers have conventionalised during acquisition (out of which their grammatical system emerges) will continue to influence neighbouring patterns when similar in lexical or syntactic form and/or function.[3] We also accept Deacon's (1997: 74) view that analogy works *by default*; i.e. it involves not so much the *perception of a similarity* between one form and another that causes the speaker to make one form/structure analogous to another, but rather the fact that the speaker does *not* see a difference between two forms (because they are much alike) and therefore, by *mis*perception as it were, makes the one form analogous to the other.[4] This unawareness would explain why such analogies (resulting in a reanalysis on a metalinguistic level) occur so easily in language use, language acquisition, and language change.[5] Analogies are constantly made by both children and adults. However, since children are still learning their language and hearing many new utterances every day, their analogies do not necessarily stick and may still be adjusted to what is seen as conventional during further learning. Similarly, not all analogies made by adults will cause change in language usage; it is only when the 'mistake' occurs *often enough* (which may well be due to other changes having taken place in the grammar system elsewhere) that such an analogical pattern may become the new norm (and hence become part of the

[3] Hofstadter (2001) and Hofstadter and Sander (2013) show how this analogical thinking pervades all that we do, all through our lifetime; not surprisingly the title of Hofstadter (2001) is 'Analogy as the core of cognition'.

[4] See also Day and Gentner (2007) and Weinert (2009), who show in different experimental studies (involving analogy-making in text comprehension with adults, and in implicit learning with children, respectively) that analogical inferencing processes occur without the participants being aware of it.

[5] Kahneman (2011), who makes a distinction between two ways of thinking (a 'fast' intuitive, emotional system and a 'slow' more deliberate, logical system), notes that it is 'ease of effort' that drives the fast system: a way of thinking that often leads to making the wrong inferences.

grammar system). Not surprisingly, frequency plays a crucial role in whether an analogical innovation will result in a change (for the importance of frequency in matters of change, see Paul 1909: Chapters 4 and 5; Bybee and Hopper 2001; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 126ff.).

Before we move on to the English and Spanish cases, it is necessary to say a few words on the way analogy is traditionally considered. The forms of analogy most widely recognised are those of analogical extension and levelling (and backformation to a lesser extent). These all involve what is usually called 'proportional analogy' (sometimes 'four-part analogy'), where the formation of a new word form is based on the morphological parallelism of three existing word forms, frequent in morphological paradigms. This view, however, involves a rather restrictive understanding of the working of analogy.[6] It should be mentioned that not only form is relevant but also meaning. When we widen the analogical schema to meaning as well as form, it is clear that metaphor is a similar example of analogical extension, but based on perceived similarities in meaning leading to an extension in use of an existing form. In syntax, the formal and semantic-pragmatic parallels may combine and strengthen the analogy as happens also in folk etymology (cf. Coates 1987). A good example of this is the change from Old English (OE) *brideguma* to modern *bride**groom***, where *guma* 'man' has been replaced by *groom* 'stable-boy'. What is interesting is that the extension of the form (*groom*) may take place even when the similarity on both the formal and the semantic level is not perfect. This 'looser', more fluid kind of analogy is what we also see in syntax. It can involve both a perceived similarity between the forms of the two constructions and a perceived similarity in their meaning as well, leading to one form being used for the other. This is what we also see happening in the syntactic cases discussed in Sections 11.3 and 11.4.

11.3 The Case of HAVE-*to* in English: Challenging the Traditional View

In Fischer (1994b), the traditional view described in Section 11.1 and Section 11.2.1 was challenged for the English development of HAVE-*to*.

[6] Cf. Hofstadter and Sander (2013: 15), who write '[t]here is no scarcity of people who believe that this [i.e. proportional analogy], no more and no less, is what the phenomenon of analogy is – namely, a template always involving exactly four lexical items (in fact, usually four words)'. They also mention that the term *proportional analogy* 'is itself based on an analogy between words and numbers – namely, the idea that an equation expressing the idea that one pair of numbers has the same ratio as another pair does (*A/B = C/D*) can be carried over directly to the world of words and concepts'.

Fischer argued on the basis of corpus evidence, which showed the frequencies of the various HAVE+infinitive constructions involved and the rather later emergence of the new grammaticalised form (later, in comparison to the traditional view) that in fact the word order change (whereby HAVE and the *to*-infinitive became adjacent) should be seen as a cause rather than a result of the grammaticalisation process. Fischer (2015), however, partially rejects her own earlier view, namely the idea that the word order change was the *only* cause for the changes seen in HAVE-*to*. She shows in her revised version of the process that in order to come to an understanding of what happened, we need to look not only at the construction itself undergoing change, but also at neighbouring constructions which show similarities in either form or meaning or both.[7]

Word order still remains an important element, related as it is to the fact that elsewhere verbs and infinitives came to be adjacent and fixed in position, thus providing a structural analogy for seeing HAVE+*to*-infinitive also as a unit. The word order change was especially relevant in cases where both HAVE and the *to*-infinitive *shared* an object, as in (1a) below.[8] Since in these cases the semantic relation between the object and the infinitive was often stronger than the one between (weak possessive) HAVE and this object, a strong tendency arose for the object to follow the infinitive when the word order in subordinate clauses (including non-finite ones) changed from OV to VO in the course of the Middle English (ME) period (cf. Fischer 1994b: 147–8). In addition, however, it is argued in Fischer (2015) that the new construction was supported analogically by other constructions, notably constructions involving the noun and verb *need* (see (1b)–(1e)), and the early existential use of HAVE, where it is used as an equivalent form of BE (see (2)).[9]

[7] The importance of multiple sources in the development of new constructions is also emphasised in the articles collected in De Smet *et al.* (2015).

[8] The examples in (1) are taken from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CME), the corpus on which Fischer's (2015) data was based, and (2) is taken from the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC).

[9] This latter development in the grammaticalisation of possessives into existentials is also quite common world-wide. Evidence for this can be found in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 241–2). Heine (1997: 83ff.) discusses in detail the close relation between possessive and existential constructions when he shows the relations and possible developments between the 'Action Schema' of possession, which uses active possessive verbs like HAVE with a possessor as agent and the possessee as object, and the two schemas that function with an existential verb like BE (the 'Companion Schema' and the 'Goal Schema'), where the possessor is not agentive. On the evolution of possessive and existential constructions, see also Creissels (2013).

(1) a. By nyȝte, whanne he hadde no man to teche
by night when he had no man to teach
'By night, when there was no one that he could/should teach'
(CME, Trevisa, *Polychronicon*)

b. ȝif þei **had nede to ride** in þat contrey
if they had need to ride in that country
'if they had a need to ride in that country'
(CME, *Three Kings of Cologne*)

c. **To passe** þe se **hastow** no **nede**.
to cross the sea hast-thou no need
'To cross the sea, you have no need.'
(CME, *Guy of Warwick*)

d. what **nede were the / To selle** thi thrift so hastely?
what need were for-thee to sell thy prosperity so hastily
'what need would there be for you to sell your heritage so hastily?'
(CME, *Altengl. Legenden*)

e. **Me nedith** not no lenger **doon** diligence
me needs not no longer do diligence
'It is no longer necessary for me to do my best.'
(CME, Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Preamble*)

(2) And **her beoð** swyþe genihtsume weolocas [. . .] **Hit hafað**
and here are very abundant whelks it has
eac þis land sealtseaþas, and hit hafaþ hat wæter
also this land salt-springs and it has hot water
'And there are plenty of whelks [. . .] The country also has (or: "there are also") salt springs and hot water.'
(DOEC, c.900, Bede 1, 026.9)

These various neighbouring constructions all contributed to the 'necessity' meaning that HAVE-*to* acquired (rather than e.g. future meaning, another possibility), a development that the traditional gradual semantic-pragmatic grammaticalisation account cannot really explain. Fischer (2015) stresses the strong role played by analogy, analogy of a quite concrete type (i.e. the use of the same lexical items in a construction) as well as of a more abstract formal type (i.e. the use of a particular syntactic pattern). In a nutshell, the following abstract and (partially) concrete structures were seen to be important in and contribute to the development of modal HAVE-*to*:

i. The increasing structural adjacency of HAVE and the *to*-infinitive, due to increased SVO order (including a high frequency of preposed – topicalised or *wh*-moved – direct objects) (for quantitative details of these structures see Fischer 2015: 138)

ii. The increase in the adjacency of HAVE and the verb *to do*, next to the new use HAVE-*to-do* in the sense of 'have dealings with' (a construction without an object), which provided a further structural adjacency pattern (in the latter case the analogy was not functionally supported) (see Fischer 2015: 135, Table 2)

iii. The very high occurrence of the HAVE-*a-need-to*+infinitive construction, which provided a functional (i.e. a similar, necessity meaning) as well as a structural similarity (adjacency) pattern (especially when the object *need* was moved to the front of the clause; see also (i))

iv. The functional similarity between HAVE-*a-need-to* and constructions containing the impersonal verbs *neden*/BE-*nede* followed by a *to*-infinitive, all expressing external necessity

v. The loss of impersonal *neden*/BE-*nede* in late ME (a period in which most impersonal constructions were lost), creating a need for a new construction expressing external necessity (the new personal verb *neden* only expressed internal necessity)

vi. The functional and concrete similarity between the constructions MUST-*nedes*+infinitive and HAVE-*a-need-to*+infinitive, and the fact that *nedes* came to be left out after MUST creating the possibility for also leaving out *need* in the construction HAVE-*a-need-to*

vii. Due to (vi), the new role played by the subject in the HAVE-*to*+infinitive construction, which now (i.e. without the object *need*) resembles constructions with existential HAVE, which also show the use of a subject without a semantic role of 'agent' and no object. This makes HAVE-*to* a suitable replacement for the lost impersonal BE-*nede*/*neden* (see (v) and (1d)–(1e)) which also had no agentive subject.

The frequency and the importance of *nede* in connection with HAVE and the formal and semantic parallelism with MUST-*nedes* and the impersonal BE-*nede* (points (iii) and (iv) above) are shown in Table 11.1, adapted from Fischer (2015: 141): occurrences in CME of HAVE combined with the noun *nede* (usually) together with a *(for) to*-infinitive (the exceptions are subtypes (d) and possibly (e)); of MUST with the adverbial use of the noun *nede(s)* +(usually) zero-infinitive; and of impersonal BE with *nede*+*to*-infinitive.

Table 11.1 Have, must, *and* be *with* nede

Main types	Subtypes	Totals
have + *nede* + infinitive/NP	(a) have + *nede* + PP/NP + *to*-infinitive	9
	(b) have + *nede* + (*for*) *to*-infinitive	78
	(c) *to*-infinitive + have + *nede*	54
	(d) have + *nede* + NP + object	54
	(e) have + *nede* + *to*-infinitive OR NP-object (unclear)	7
	Total of occurrences of have combined with *nede*	**202**
must + *nede(s)* + zero infinitive	(f) *mot(e)(n)* etc. + *nede* + zero (occasionally *to*-) infinitive	131
	(g) *mot(e)(n)* etc. + *nedes* + zero infinitive	96
	Total	**227**
Impersonal be + *nede* + *to*-infinitive	(h) *is*, *was*, *war*, *wer(e)(n)*, *be nede* + *to*-infinitive	**188**
	Grand total of constructions involving *nede*	**617**

Only combinations with *nede(s)* have been counted, other spellings (*neod(e)*, *need(e)*) being rare. It is important to note in connection with Table 11.1 that the form *nede* occurs in total 4,442 times in the corpus, of which at least 174 instances are verbs, leaving roughly 4,268 nouns. This means that about 14 per cent of all occurrences of the noun *nede* occur in the type of constructions collected in Table 11.1.

To sum up, it is argued that all these synchronically available constructions sharing formal and semantic features with each other co-determined the formal and functional development of have+*to* into a semi-modal auxiliary expressing external necessity.

11.4 Spanish Tener-*que*

11.4.1 Introduction

In this section we will discuss the historical development and the modern usage of Spanish tener-*que*, literally ‘have which’, which will turn out to parallel that of have-*to* in a number of respects.[10] Before going into details,

[10] A more detailed study of this phenomenon based on the same data is Olbertz (2018).

however, let us first consider some basic properties of TENER-*que*: (i) the relation with its competitors and (ii) its meanings. Consider the following example of TENER-*que* and its competitors (3).[11]

(3) A las once_y_media sería la reunión con los de la firma
at the half-past-eleven would-be the meeting with the of the firm
y **tenía que** / **había de** / **debía (de)** / **había que**
and had-he to had-he to must-he (to) there-was to
presentarles algo convincente.
present[INF]-them something convincing
'At half past eleven the meeting with the people of the company would take place and he had to show / there had to be shown something convincing to them.'
(1982 Lourdes Ortiz, 'Paisajes y figuras')

Example (3) shows that, in addition to TENER-*que*, there are three competing constructions, namely HABER-*de* 'have to', the modal DEBER and its free variant DEBER-*de* 'must',[12] inherited from Latin *debere*, and the impersonal modal construction with HABER-*que*, literally 'there to-be which'. This means that, whereas English HAVE-*to* is the only possession-based modal expression, Spanish has three possession-based modal constructions. However, there are only a few contexts that allow the use of all three of them.

As regards the meanings of TENER-*que*, consider (4) and (5), which illustrate internal (auto-imposed) and external (directive) deontic necessity meanings.

(4) **Tengo que** **llamar**le como sea, **tengo que** **hablar**
have-I to call[INF]-him how may-be have-I to speak[INF]
con él pase lo_que pase.
with him may-happen what may-happen
'I must call him now, I must talk to him, whatever may happen.'
(1990 Carmen Rico Godoy, *Cómo ser una mujer y no morir en el intento* [CREA])

[11] In order to keep the glosses to a minimum and at the same time provide the necessary morphological information, we have added an appendix listing the relevant parts of the verbal paradigms of the two verbs that are central in this account, viz. TENER and HABER, both for Modern and for Medieval Spanish.

[12] See Eddington and Silva-Corvalán (2011) on the nature of this variation.

(5) Para eso la pagamos, ¿no? [. . .] **tiene que barrer**,
for that her pay-we not has-she to sweep[INF]
fregar, limpiar los cristales, regar las plantas
mop[INF] clean[INF] the windows water[INF] the plants
y acercarse a Correos.
and approach[INF] to post-office
'This is what we pay her for, isn't it? [. . .] she has to sweep, to mop, to clean the windows, to water the plants, and to go to the post-office.'
(1995 Adolfo Marsillach, *Se vende ático* [CREA])

The meanings of (4) and (5) could, in principle, also be expressed by HABER-*de* and DEBER(-*de*), but probably not by the impersonal HABER-*que*.

TENER-*que* expresses a different type of external necessity meaning in (6), in which the source of the modality is not the will of an individual (either the subject-referent or someone else) or a social norm, but an inanimate entity incapable of will (cf. Narrog 2012: 46–9).

(6) La carne **tuvimos que tirar**la:
the meat had-we to throw-away[INF]-it
la humedad la había corrompido.
the wetness it had rotten
'We had to throw away the meat: it had gone off due to the humidity.'
(1985 Julio Llamazares, *Luna de lobos*)

This type of modality can also be expressed by HABER-*de* and HABER-*que*, but not by DEBER(-*de*) (cf. Olbertz forthcoming).

In addition, TENER-*que* can express epistemic modality, albeit less frequently than DEBER(-*de*) – see (7).

(7) Me voy, Julio, es ya tarde y **tienes que estar**
myself go-I Julio is already late and have-you to be[INF]
cansado.
tired
'I'm leaving, Julio, it's already late and you must be tired.'
(2013 Álvaro Pombo, *Relatos sobre la falta de sustancia y otros relatos*)

Apart from TENER-*que* and DEBER(-*de*), HABER-*de* is also possible for the expression of epistemic necessity, but the impersonal construction HABER-*que* is not (Gómez Torrego 1999: 3357; García Fernández 2006: 164, 167).

Table 11.2 *Frequencies of verbal expressions of modal necessity in spoken Modern Spanish*

	TENER-*que*	HABER-*que*	DEBER*(-de)*	HABER-*de*	Totals
absolute numbers	816	232	89	5	1,142
percentages	71.45	20.32	7.79	0.44	100

This means that, like HAVE-*to*, TENER-*que* can express any kind of modal necessity. Although, in principle, the same holds for HABER-*de*, in spoken Peninsular Spanish TENER-*que* is over 150 times more frequent than HABER-*de*. Table 11.2 shows the overall frequency relations of the four constructions.[13]

Finally, it is important to note that, whereas Spanish periphrastic verbal constructions (carrying modal and aspectual meanings) are generally constructed with prepositions before the infinitive, either *a* or *de*, TENER-*que* and impersonal HABER-*que* are the only constructions to be conjoined with the infinitive by means of what was originally a relative pronoun. As will become clear in Section 11.4.2, this relative pronoun functioned at first as the 'shared' object of both TENER/HABER and the infinitive (a situation rather similar to the shared object in the HAVE-construction in OE and ME, cf. (1a) above). Later the pronoun loses its object function, and begins to function as an infinitival marker. This 'loss' of its object function is in some ways comparable to the loss of the object noun *need* in the ME construction (cf. points (vi) and (vii) above in Section 11.3) in that in both cases it allowed the finite verb and the infinitive to become adjacent, enabling the grammaticalisation of the original possessive verb into a (semi-)modal auxiliary.

In the following we will first show how TENER-*que* came into existence in Medieval Spanish (Section 11.4.2). Given that TENER-*que* is the youngest of the four competing constructions, we will have to consider the constructions with HABER too (Section 11.4.3 on Medieval Spanish and Section 11.4.4 on the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), as well as a number of other linguistic facts in order to show how and why TENER-*que* has become the most popular expression of modal necessity in Modern Spanish (Section 11.4.5). We will end this section with a short

[13] These data are based on a 443,533-word oral corpus from Alcalá de Henares (Moreno Fernández *et al.* 2002–2007), which contains a total of 1,142 tokens of modal auxiliaries.

summary (Section 11.4.6). The analysis is based on Spanish literary prose mainly from the two online databases provided by the *Real Academia Española: Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) for historical and the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) for late twentieth-century data.

However, before going into any detail, two preliminary explanations are required. First, Medieval Spanish has two possessive verbs, TENER and AVER (= Modern Spanish HABER). AVER also functions as a perfect auxiliary and loses its lexical function between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, leaving TENER as the only possessive verb. Secondly, whereas the change of constituent order between the OE and ME periods is crucial for the development of semi-modal HAVE-*to*, the corresponding word order change from preferred SOV in Classical Latin to SVO in Romance took place long before the first Spanish documented text (Bauer 2009), which probably dates from the early eleventh century. This means that the documented history of Spanish begins in the period that corresponds to ME rather than OE. This is why the auxiliary, the connecting element, and the infinitive are contiguous in Spanish from the very beginning.[14] It should also be noted that the strict SVO constituent order is what crucially distinguishes English and Spanish on the one hand from Dutch and German on the other (see Section 11.5).

11.4.2 How Did TENER-que *Come into Existence?*

The following two examples (8) and (9) are representative of the earliest occurrences of TENER-*que* in Medieval Spanish literary prose.

(8) **mucho tengo que** vos **gradescer** por el bien que
much have-I which to-you thank[INF] for the good which
de vos me viene
from you to-me come
'much I have to thank you for the good things which come to me from you'
(1482–1492 Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula* [CORDE])

[14] Although the clitic has always tended to precede finite verbs and to follow infinitives or gerunds – a positioning that became standard by the end of the sixteenth century (Nieuwenhuijsen 2006: 1346) – in the earlier texts the clitic occasionally precedes the infinitive, thus interrupting the construction.

(9) e vio los diablos que ponian todos los males que
and saw-he the devils who put all the bad-things which
avia fecho en una balança de peso e de la otra parte
had-he done in a balance of weight and on the other side
estando los angeles tristes porque **non tenian que poner**
being the angels unhappy because not had which put[INF]
en la balança
in the balance
'and he saw the devils who put all the bad things which he had done on the weighing scales and on the other side there were the angels [being] unhappy because they had nothing to put on the scales' (literally: 'they had not which [to] put on the scales')
(1400–1421 Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, *Libro de los exemplos por A.B.C.* [CORDE])

In both examples, possessive TENER and the verb in the infinitive share both their subject and their object. The referent of the object is the head of the relative pronoun *que*. Example (8) illustrates a minimally headed relative clause, the head being the indefinite quantifier *mucho*, and (9) is representative of the frequent case of a headless relative clause which is typically negated, thus implicating *nada* 'nothing' as a head. The way in which the construction must be interpreted depends entirely on the context, i.e. on the verb in the infinitive and on the nature of the shared arguments. In (8) a necessity reading is the most logical one and in (9) the most obvious reading is that of possibility. This situation is again comparable to the situation in OE and ME where a similar construction containing a shared object and subject could also express both possibility and necessity depending on context; see (1a) above.

Given that negated headless relative constructions analogous to (9) have been attested in Latin already (Lehmann 1988: 208), it is not surprising that we find, even before the first attested cases of TENER-*que*, attestations of a parallel construction in Medieval Spanish with the − by then synonymous − verb AVER (Modern Spanish HABER) – see (10).

(10) non puede ser que yo non vaya a aquella isla, ca
not can-it be[INF] that I not go to that island since
non has que temer en ir yo a aquel lugar;
not have-you which fear[INF] in go[INF] I to that place
'it cannot be that I do not go to that island, since you have nothing to fear when I go to that place;' (literally: 'you have not which [to] fear')
(1251 Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna* [CORDE])

Both TENER-*que* and AVER-*que* remain infrequent in Medieval Spanish.[15] However, both come to be grammaticalised into verbal expressions of necessity in the nineteenth century or even later, TENER-*que* more rapidly than AVER/HABER-*que*. In order to account for these facts, we must first have a look at the other expressions of modal necessity based on possessive verbs that were in use before AVER-*que* and TENER-*que*.

11.4.3 Other Possession-Based Modal Constructions

Apart from the ubiquitous Latin-based modal DEBER and its Medieval Spanish variant *dever*, the oldest Medieval Spanish prose texts contain examples of AVER followed by the preposition *a* or *de* and an infinitive. Although these two prepositions have basic locative meanings (directional for *a* and source for *de*), they are virtually meaningless in the present context. Both *a* and *de* are in use until the end of the fifteenth century, although with the highly frequent third-person singular present tense form *ha*, the preposition *de* has always been preferred, probably for euphonic reasons.[16] In the sixteenth century the preposition *a* was definitively ousted by *de*. The 'choice' for the preposition *de* may have been on analogy with the older construction SER-*de* 'be to' (Yllera 1980: 96).[17]

In the remainder of this section, we will first consider the grammaticalisation of AVER-*de* and then provide a possible explanation of how it acquired the meaning of modal necessity. Note that in (11) AVER combines with an intransitive verb, i.e. there is no possible possessee argument for AVER. In (12), auxiliary AVER combines with 'itself', i.e. with AVER as a possessive verb, and in (13) it combines with a copular verb.

(11) Et ssi emienda deue sser ffecha a los omnes, quanto
and if atonement must be[INF] made to the men how-much
más a Dios, que nos ffizo, a cuyo juizio **auemos**
more to God who us made to whose judgement have-we
a yr.
to go[INF]

[15] There is a total of eleven cases of AVER-*que* and thirteen examples of TENER-*que* in the present tense in narrative prose between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries in CORDE, the largest diachronic corpus of Spanish.

[16] In the CORDE juridical prose texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the preposition *a* prevails in the second-person plural forms *auedes/avedes*, but with the third-person singular form *ha*, the preposition *de* is more than three times as frequent as *a*.

[17] Interestingly, it is by analogy with SER-*de* and AVER-*de* that the Latin-based *deber* also comes to be used with the preposition *de* sometimes, and in the first texts occasionally with *a* (Yllera 1980: 128).

'And if atonement must be made to men, how much more to God, who made us, and to whose judgement we will go.'

(1252–1270 Alfonso X, *Setenario* [CORDE])

(12) E dixo que **ha de aver** en el creyente diez_e_seis virtudes
and said-he that has-it to have[INF] in the believer sixteen virtues
'And he said that the believer has to have sixteen virtues.'

(1250 Anonymous, *Bocados de Oro* [CORDE])

(13) Ca todo aquel que es mesturero por fuerça **ha de ser** dezidor & asacador de todo mal
for all that-one who is tell-tale by force has to be[INF] teller & instigator of all evil
'For whoever is a tell-tale, necessarily must be one who tells and instigates all evil.'

(1293 Anonymous, *Castigos* [CORDE])

What motivates this high degree of grammaticalisation is the fact that the construction has its origin as early as Classical Latin. Pinkster (1987: 205–6) shows that the first attested example of the Latin *habere* +infinitive construction is from a text by Cicero dating from 80 BC; the construction becoming somewhat more frequent in the second century AD. The Latin construction had a future-oriented meaning with a modal overtone, such that *habere* could be substituted with a form of *posse* 'can' or of *debere* 'must', the choice between the two being entirely context-dependent.

As regards the semantics of the early construction, it may be that of futurity as in (11) but it may also have a modal meaning, as illustrated in (12) and (13). The future meaning coexists with the modal meaning until early Modern Spanish, and even in twentieth-century texts there are incidental uses of HABER-*de* with a future sense.[18] This may seem strange as there already was a specialised expression for the future in Medieval Spanish, i.e. the combination of an infinitive with auxiliary HABER, which had already fused into a new synthetic form in most contexts. However, the origins of the HABER-*de* construction and the synthetic future are very similar: Latin *habere*+infinitive for what became the modal construction and

[18] In Present-day Spanish HABER-*de* is even used as the default form of the future in some American varieties spoken in e.g. Ecuador and Mexico (see also Real Academia Española and Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española 2009: 2146–7).

infinitive+*habere* for the future (Fleischman 1982: 113; Pinkster 1987: 205–14), which motivates the association of HABER-*de* with the future.[19]

With respect to the modal meaning, (12) and (13) are representative of both Medieval and Modern Spanish HABER-*de* in the sense that they are both expressions of modal necessity, i.e. the meaning no longer depends on the context as in the case of the Latin predecessor. The explanation for this lies probably in the highly frequent collocation of AVER with *menester de* 'need of' followed either by an infinitive or a noun phrase.[20] Consider the following example (14) with an infinitive.

(14) E despues_que en algunos dias oujere assy bolado **has**
and after in several days had-he thus flown have-you
menester de catar otro falcon
need of watch[INF] another falcon
'And after having thus flown for several days, you need to/have to watch a different falcon.'
(1386 Pedro López de Ayala, *Libro de la caça de las aves* [CORDE])

The perceived analogy of AVER-*de*+infinitive with AVER-*menester-de* +infinitive (or NP) will have strengthened the association of AVER-*de* with necessity in very much the same way as the collocation of HAVE with *nede* +*to*-infinitive in English prompted the necessity reading of HAVE-*to*, as indicated in Section 11.3. In addition, the now obsolete noun *menester* 'need', also occurred as an impersonal construction with the copula *ser* 'to be' (again, just like ME, see (1d) in Section 11.3),[21] but from medieval times onward, until its obsolescence in the nineteenth century, the personal construction AVER/HABER *menester de* was the most frequent collocation.

[19] The difference between the two is that infinitive+*habere* is more grammaticalised and probably older: although word order is flexible in Classical Latin, there is a preference for SOV in main clauses, such that the finite verb would be at the end of the clause (Pinkster 1987: 281–3; Bauer 2009), and therefore it is probable that the new future was formed in that period. This difference in periodisation explains why the Medieval Spanish synthetic future is much more frequent in the early texts than HABER-*de*+infinitive: in the thirteenth-century texts of CORDE, there are 6,214 tokens of the third-person singular future against 682 corresponding forms of HABER-*de*+infinitive.

[20] In the *Corpus del Español*, *menester* is one of the most frequent words to immediately follow all forms of AVER in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Only the perfect constructions with the participles *fecho* 'done' and *dicho* 'said' are more frequent.

[21] In the following example the use of *menester* parallels that of *nede* in example (1d) in Section 11.3:
Agora nos es menester de aver consejo como ayamos
now for-us is need to have[INF] advice how would-have-we
de fablar ante nuestro señor Verenguer
to speak[INF] in-front-of our Sir Verenguer
'Now we need to have advice on how to speak in front of our Sir Verenguer.'
(1400–1498 Anonymous, *El baladro del sabio Merlín con sus profecías* [CORDE])

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Once the necessity reading of AVER-*de* had been firmly established, the innovative constructions AVER-*que* and TENER-*que* analogically 'inherited' this reading.

On analogy with AVER-*de*, and possibly also motivated by the Latin-based *ser tenudo a/de* 'be liable to' (see Garachana Camarero 2017), TENER-*de* arises in the course of the thirteenth century and gains a certain frequency in the fourteenth century. Consider (15).

(15) Pero antes fablaré con vos **algunas cosas** que
but before will-speak-I with you some things which
tengo de fablar.
have-I to speak[INF]
'But first I will tell you some things I have to tell.'
(1300–1305 Anonymous, *Libro del Cavallero Cifar* [CORDE])

Example (15) is entirely parallel to (8)–(10), in that the possessive finite verb and the non-finite verb share both the subject and the object referent. However, in the fifteenth century we already find more grammaticalised instances of TENER-*de* – see (16) and (17).

(16) la mysma obydyencya, amor y acatamiento os
the same obedience love and respect to-you
tengo de tener como antes
have-I to have[INF] as before
'the same obedience, love, and respect I will have for you as before'
(1492 Anonymous, *La corónica de Adramón* [CORDE])

(17) yo le dyré que **tengo de yr** allá
I to-him will-say-I that have-I to go[INF] there
con más gente.
with more people
'I will tell him that I have to go there with more people.'
(1492 Anonymous, *La corónica de Adramón* [CORDE])

In (16) the finite verb TENER combines with the infinitive of TENER, due to which the first TENER can only be read as an auxiliary. In (17) TENER occurs with an intransitive verb, so there is no object to be shared by both verbs, and therefore a possessive reading of the finite verb is excluded. With regard to the semantics of TENER-*de* in these examples, (16) illustrates its use for the expression of futurity and (17) for that of modal necessity. This means that, in spite of its initially lexical nature, the development of TENER-*de* is entirely analogous to that of AVER-*a/de*: it grammaticalises rapidly and comes to express the same meanings as its predecessor.[22] However, differently from the construction with AVER, TENER-*de* never becomes really frequent (see Table 11.3 in Section 11.4.4 below).

Having considered the competing possession-based constructions, AVER-*de* and TENER-*de*, let us now return to the constructions with a relative pronoun, TENER-*que* and AVER-*que*.

11.4.4 Postmedieval TENER-que *and* HABER-que

For a better understanding of what happens with TENER-*que*, let us first consider the story of HABER-*que*, which in the course of the fifteenth century disappears in its personal use and takes on an impersonal function instead. This impersonal use arises in the thirteenth century from an existential use of HABER, which begins with the collocation of the third-person singular present tense *ha* 'has-he/she/it' with the now extinct particle *y* 'there', the combination soon being written as *hay*. (Note here again the links between existential possessive verbs and impersonal constructions, as we saw in English too, cf. (iv), (v), and (vii) in Section 11.3.) In the course of the fifteenth century the existential HABER spreads to other tenses. In the same period, impersonal HABER comes to be used with *que*+infinitive in what will gradually become an impersonal expression of modal necessity. Consider the following two examples (18) and (19).

(18) Acábese la misa, que **mucho** **hay** **que** **parlar**
may-end the mass for much there-is which talk[INF]
del sermón.
of-the sermon
'May the mass end soon, for there is much to talk about the sermon.'
(1550 Juan de Arce de Otálora, *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* [CORDE])

(19) **Hay** **que ser** tolerantes con los que están debajo,
there-is to be[INF] tolerant with the which are below
porque si los de debajo se mueven se cae
because if the from below themselves move himself fall-he
el que está encima.
the who is above

[22] For more details on the relationship between AVER-*de* and TENER-*de*, see Garachana Camarero and Rosemeyer (2011: 38–46) and Garachana Camarero (2017).

'One must be tolerant with those from below, because as soon as those from below move, the one who is above will fall.'

(1898 Ángel Ganivet, *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid* [CORDE])

Example (18) is representative for the use of the HABER-*que* construction until the nineteenth century: an existential construction with a headless relative construction indicating a purpose-like function. To the degree that impersonal SER *menester* 'be necessary' becomes obsolete, *hay que* fills the gap and grammaticalises. In (19) it is followed by a copular construction; *que* is no longer a relative pronoun and the construction functions as an impersonal expression of necessity.

The TENER-*que* construction is still rare in Medieval Spanish, and in the fifteenth century it occurs exclusively in contexts that are compatible with a lexical reading of TENER-*que*, like the cases quoted in (8) and (9) above. In the sixteenth century, however, when TENER-*que* becomes more frequent than TENER-*de*, there are first signs of grammaticalisation – see (20).

(20)	Yo	**tengo que**	**pescar**	anguilas	en el	río	Nilo
	I	have-I to	fish[INF]	eels	in the	river	Nile

'I have to fish eels in the river Nile.'

(1542 Anonymous, *Baldo* [CORDE])

In this example (20), *que* can no longer be read as a relative pronoun, because there is an explicit object, *anguilas*, which follows the infinitival verb and cannot be interpreted as the head of a relative clause because *que*, rather than following *anguilas*, precedes the infinitive. Therefore, *que* now merely functions as a nexus between the finite form of TENER and the infinitive, in the same way as *de* precedes the infinitive in HABER-*de* and TENER-*de* and *to* precedes the infinitive in English. In other words, the object (*anguilas*) is no longer 'shared' by the infinitive and TENER as it was in the earlier constructions as in (8)–(10) above – and similarly for English in (1a) – but is now the object of the infinitive only.

In addition, now that TENER-*que* itself can be used without an object, instances with intransitive verbs begin to gradually emerge – see (21).

(21)	Cristo	**tenía**	**que**	**morir**	por	el	hombre.
	Christ	had	to	die[INF]	by	the	human

'Christ had to die by human hand.'

(1613 San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *Algunas penas del justo en el camino de la perfección* [CORDE])

But, as in the case of HABER-*que*, it is only in the nineteenth century, when TENER-*que* begins to become more frequent than HABER-*de*, that the construction comes to be systematically used with intransitive verbs and other expressions that are incompatible with any other reading than that of modal necessity, such as in (22), where TENER-*que* is followed by the copula *ser*.

(22) Ademas, en el clima cálido **tiene que ser** precisamente el
moreover in the climate warm has to be[INF] precisely the
alimento de carne en menor cantidad que en el clima frio,
food of meat in less quantity than in the climate cold
'Moreover, in the warm climate it is precisely meat that has to constitute a smaller part of the food than in the cold climate.'
(1832 Ventura de Peña y Valle, *Tratado general de carnes* [CORDE])

The comparison with English is again noteworthy. Only after the intermediate object *nede* (as in (1c) above) has disappeared between HAVE and the infinitive, and the original shared object (as in (1a)) has acquired a regular position *after* the infinitive, does HAVE-*to* begin to be used with intransitive verbs. This happens slowly, and only becomes regular in the nineteenth century (cf. Krug 2000: 89–90).

The quantitative relations between the different Spanish constructions in postmedieval written texts from the sixteenth to the twentieth century are represented in Table 11.3.[23] It should be noted that the apparent perseverance of HABER-*de* is due to the fact that Table 11.3 is based on literary texts, to which HABER-*de* has become restricted in the twentieth century (Fernández de Castro 1999: 191–3). The situation is very different in the spoken data, with a much stronger preference for TENER-*que* than in written texts (see Table 11.2 in Section 11.4.1 above).

The two sets of parallel HABER/TENER constructions with *de* and *que*, respectively, had very different fates. In principle, only one of the two continues to be used, in the case of *de* this is HABER, while TENER-*de* has in

[23] To keep control over the data, the numbers in Table 11.3 are based on the preterite stems of the auxiliaries, yielding the preterite and the past subjunctive paradigm, which are sufficiently infrequent to allow for a full-fledged count in CORDE and CREA. A count of the more frequent present tense stems would have implied an obligatory random selection of the data, which would have made a quantitative comparison impossible. The 1500–1950 data are from all genres of narrative prose from the diachronic corpus CORDE. The relatively small number of tokens between 1650 and 1800 are due to the reduced literary production of that period. The data from 1950–2000 are a mix from CORDE (1950–1975) and the modern corpus CREA (1975–2000), where only novels have been taken into account.

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Table 11.3 *The quantitative relations between possession-based expressions of necessity*

	HABER-*de*		TENER-*de*		HABER-*que*		TENER-*que*		Totals	
1500–1550	37	56.9%	15	23.1%	0	0.0%	13	20.0%	65	100%
1550–1600	115	78.8%	19	13.0%	0	0.0%	12	8.2%	146	100%
1600–1650	381	88.4%	31	7.2%	6	1.4%	13	3.0%	431	100%
1650–1700	26	81.3%	1	3.1%	3	9.4%	2	6.2%	32	100%
1700–1750	7	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	100%
1750–1800	85	82.5%	5	4.9%	0	0.0%	13	12.6%	103	100%
1800–1850	193	61.1%	3	0.9%	6	1.9%	114	36.1%	316	100%
1850–1900	414	37.9%	12	1.1%	44	4.0%	623	57.0%	1,093	100%
1900–1950	835	52.7%	10	0.6%	61	3.9%	678	42.8%	1,584	100%
1950–2000	572	19.8%	23	0.8%	197	6.8%	2,100	72.6%	2,892	100%

fact ceased to exist.[24] In the *que*-construction, it is probably due to the specialisation of HABER-*que* to the impersonal construction that TENER-*que* has survived. The question now is: why has TENER-*que* become so popular?

11.4.5 The Rise of TENER-que *to the Detriment of* HABER-de

There are at least two reasons why TENER-*que* is replacing HABER-*de*. First, in the seventeenth century HABER definitively loses its possessive meaning, leaving TENER as the only expression of unmarked possession. According to Hernández Díaz (2006: 1064), possessive TENER is already more frequent than HABER in the course of the fifteenth century. Second, HABER becomes the only auxiliary used in the perfect, a process that was completed in the course of the sixteenth century. Whereas HABER is now primarily associated with its auxiliary function, the continuing possessive meaning of TENER allows for the association of modal TENER-*que* with its lexical counterpart, the headed relative clause – see (23a) (cf. Olbertz 1998: 250–3); this construction fully parallels the English one given in (23b). In both Modern Spanish and Present-day English, these are fairly common construction types.

(23) a. **Tenemos** muchas cosas **que** **contar**nos.
have-we many things which tell[INF]-us
'We have many things to tell to each other.'
(1995 Ignacio Carrión, *Cruzar el Danubio* [CREA])

[24] The remaining cases of TENER-*de* in the twentieth century consist of intentional archaisms and quotes from older texts.

b. we **have much to** thank the Romans for
(1993 Robert Rankin, *The Book of Ultimate Truths* [BYU-BNC])

As in (1a) and (8)–(10), the object is shared by TENER/HAVE and the infinitive, and again, as in the older constructions, the examples in (23) may, but need not, be interpreted in terms of necessity.

11.4.6 Summary

The following circumstances may be held responsible for the development of TENER-*que* as a modal expression of necessity and its predominance in this function in Modern Spanish:

i. As in OE, the predominant word order was SOV in Classical Latin. The development into predominant SVO probably took place somewhat earlier than in English, because in Medieval Spanish SVO is standard, so that the order in the new modal constructions is AVER/TENER+nexus+infinitive.
ii. In Latin and Medieval Spanish there are two constructions with possessive verb+infinitive that have a general future-oriented meaning and allow for both a possibility and a necessity reading, i.e. *habere*+infinitive in Latin and the headless relative constructions with AVER and later with TENER in Medieval Spanish.
iii. The first construction mentioned in (ii), inherited into Medieval Spanish as AVER-*de*, has an exclusive necessity reading. This is likely to be motivated by the fact that, from the first Medieval Spanish texts onward and probably long before that in everyday speech, AVER highly frequently collocates with the now obsolete *menester de* followed by an infinitive (or a NP) to express the meaning of 'have a need to (of)'. This situation closely parallels that of ME HAVE+*nede* +*to*-infinitive.
iv. When the second construction-type mentioned in (ii), i.e. AVER/HABER-*que* and TENER-*que*, begins to compete with AVER/HABER-*de*, thus taking over the necessity reading, *que* no longer introduces a headless relative clause. This is made clear by the fact that there is either an explicit object following, or the infinitive is intransitive. Instead, *que* functions as a nexus between the finite verb and the infinitive similar to *de* in Spanish and *to* in English.
v. Based on the existential use of AVER/HABER, AVER/HABER-*que* becomes an impersonal construction, thus filling the gap left by

ser menester 'be necessary', which has become obsolete in the nineteenth century, leaving TENER-*que* as the only 'personal' necessity construction.

vi. HABER becomes the only auxiliary of the perfect and loses its possessive meaning, leaving TENER as the only possessive verb.

vii. Due to (vi), HABER is primarily associated with the perfect, while TENER-*que* has the advantage of maintaining the association with (weak) possession. This is why TENER-*que* is now about to oust HABER-*de*.

11.5 A Comparison of Developments in English and Spanish against the Background of Dutch and German

There are clearly many similarities between the developments of HAVE-*to* and TENER-*que* in Present-day English and Spanish, even though the Spanish expression has a more complicated history due to the occurrence of more than one possessive verb. In both languages they may express any kind of modal necessity: internal, external (including deontic), and epistemic necessity. This is not the case in Dutch and German, as the examples in (24) show.

(24) a. What time do you have to go to work? (external necessity)
(1991 27 conversations recorded by Betty [BYU-BNC])

Dutch: **Hoe laat heb je naar je werk te gaan?*
German: **Um wieviel Uhr hast du zur Arbeit zu gehen?*

b. Anything that feels this good has to be right ... (epistemic necessity)
(1991 Rosalie Ash, *Love by Design* [BYU-BNC])

Dutch: **Iets dat zo goed aanvoelt heeft juist te zijn.*
German: **Was sich so gut anfühlt, hat richtig zu sein.*

In fact, Dutch and German did not advance beyond the medieval stage, where the construction with a 'shared object' (the construction illustrated for English in (1a) and for Spanish in (8)–(10)) could express possibility as well as necessity depending on context and where the possessive verb is still clearly weakly possessive (close to existential). Such a 'weak possessive' construction is also still a possibility in English and Spanish when the object occurs *before* the infinitive, as shown in (23) above and (25). But in English and Spanish this now occurs *next to* the new construction, in which the possessive itself no longer has an object (indicated by the fact that an object, if present, is positioned after the infinitive), as in (26).

(25) a. **Tenía** muchas cosas **que** decir
had-he many things which say[INF]
'He had many things to say.'
(Olbertz 1998: 254)

b. I **have** a book **to** recommend, and that is . . .

(26) a. Ahora **tienes** **que** saber idiomas
today have-you to know[INF] languages
'Nowadays you have to know languages'
(Olbertz 1998: 256)

b. If I **have to** recommend a book, it would be . . .[25]

In other words, while English and Spanish have two types with clearly differentiated functions, Dutch and German have only one type of construction, which we have called the weak possessive construction:

(27) a. Ik **heb** niet veel **te** zeggen, zegt oma.
I have not much to say says granny
'I don't have much to say, granny says.'
(2010 *Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands*)

b. Was ich noch **zu** sagen **hätte**, dauert eine Zigarette . . .
what I yet to say would-have lasts one cigarette
'All that I have left to say, takes one cigarette . . . '
(1972 Reinhard Mey)

The situation in modern Dutch and German shows that the possessive verb construction did not essentially change in these languages, unlike what happened in English and Spanish. Jäger (2013), however, tries to show – probably led by the idea that the grammaticalisation of

[25] The differences between the two word orders is clear from the following. Amazon.com has a regular posting called 'I have a book to recommend'. One of the notices found there (www.examnotes.net/index.php?topic=1005192.0;wap2, accessed 10 October 2013) starts as follows: 'For those that have an interest, *there is a book that I would like* to recommend. It is [. . .].' This example shows that obligation is not involved, but weak (existential) possession. An example of adjacent order of HAVE and *to*-infinitive, illustrating that the context indeed implies (external) obligation, comes from the following dialogue: 'What is the one book that you recommend our community should read and why? Can I recommend a film, instead? My movie, "The Keeper of the Keys" is changing lives. It empowers people and encourages them in a time when we all need to know that we are worthwhile. *If I have to recommend a book*, I think "The Magic" from Rhonda Byrne is fabulous.' (http://ideamensch.com/robin-jay/, accessed 10 October 2013)

possessives follows a universal pathway (cf. Section 11.1 above) – that German *haben+zu*-infinitive developed obligative or necessity meaning just like English HAVE-*to*, and that examples of this are already found in the transition period from Old to Middle High German. However, all her examples are of the early type of 'weak possessives'. Consider e.g. her example (Jäger 2013: 158) from Notker's translation of Boethius: *Tér íst fóne diu sâlíg uuánda er dáz fúrder niecht-es ne* ***hábet ze géronne***, which she translates as 'he is blessed therefore because he has to crave nothing else'. In the philosophical context, which offers advice on how to deal with Fortuna, this in fact means that he is blessed because 'he has nothing to crave', i.e. because 'there is nothing for him to crave anymore'. This also follows from the fact that the original Latin text adds: *quo nihil ultra est* 'through which nothing further exists'. It is clear that the simple adjacency of the possessive verb and the infinitive (as in *hábet ze géronne*) does not *automatically* lead to the new construction. This is a mistake that is often made (see e.g. Łęcki 2010; and comments on Łęcki in Fischer 2015: 130ff.).

While more work will need to be done on the use of weak possessive *haben+zu*-infinitive in Modern German, in a study of Modern Dutch (van Steenis 2013) using the *Corpus of Spoken Dutch*, it was found that weak possessive *hebben+te*-infinitive only (and very rarely) occurs with a necessity sense when the context strongly implies that of all the available possibilities, only one remains, as in (28).

(28)

maar	als	daar	uren	over	zijn	en	ergens	anders
but	if	there	hours	left	are	and	somewhere	else
zijn	geen	uren	dan	**heb**	**je**	**te kiezen**	of	
are	no	hours	then	have	you	to choose	either	
helemaal	geen	uren	of	daar	inderdaad	dus	lesgeven	
completely	no	hours	or	there	indeed	therefore	teach	

'but if there are hours left over there and somewhere else there are no hours then you have to choose between no hours at all, or indeed teach there'

(fn000096.225)

Thus, the necessity sense occurs especially in situations where all other possibilities are excluded, as for instance in contract situations, as in the example from German (29) (this is also relevant in (28)).

(29) Der Mieter **hat sich** **verkehrsgerecht** **zu** **verhalten** und eine
the renter has himself traffic-adequate to behave and a
materialschonende Fahrweise zu gewährleisten.
material-preserving way-of-driving to guarantee
'The renter must adhere to traffic regulations and drive cautiously in order to avoid damage to the car.'
(www.tks-autovermietung.de/agb/)

Not surprisingly, it is also often found in Dutch in combination with the restrictive discourse marker *maar* 'just/simply', indicating that there is indeed only one possibility left, which turns it into a virtual necessity (30a). We see something similar in German with the adverb *einfach* 'simply' (30b).

(30) a. Daar valt nu eenmaal niets aan te veranderen, **je** **hebt**
there falls now for-once nothing in to change you have
het **maar** **te** accepteren.
it but to accept
'There is no way in which you can change this, you just have to accept it.'
(https://books.google.nl/books?isbn=9460234682)

b. Mag jetzt mies klingen, aber er hat das einfach zu machen,
may now shitty sound but he has that simply to do
schließlich ist er Azubi!
after-all is he trainee
'Now [it] may sound shitty, but he just has to do it, after all he's a trainee.'
(www.mediengestalter.info/forum/18/eure-erfahrung-bitte-seminare-waehrend-der-ausbildung-21902–1.html)

We conclude, pending further research, that Dutch and German have preserved the original weak possessive construction, and that, contextually, a necessity meaning may arise (as was indeed possible all along), but only with a subject that has general reference, implying that the particular situation applies to everyone so that one cannot 'escape' it.

11.6 A Brief Conclusion

We have argued here that the similarities in the development of the possessive verb(s) in English and Spanish are the result of a number of similar, analogically based, circumstances (which were not shared by Dutch and German): notably the fixation of word order to SVO, which led to the regular adjacency pattern of verb and infinitive (with the object, if present, relegated to post-infinitival position), and the highly frequent collocation in both languages with a lexical item expressing 'need', which analogically induced the modal *necessity* meaning into the developing Aux-V construction.

There are clearly also differences. In English the necessity meaning that the construction acquired was further helped along by the similarity with MUST-*nedes* and the subsequent loss of *nedes*, as well as the loss of impersonal BE+*need/neden*, which were used to express external necessity, while in Spanish parallel developments in the other 'necessity'-periphrases with HABER/AVER played a crucial (analogical) role (they all developed a *de*-infinitive, and kept replacing one another in various functions), next to the fact that the remnants of the 'shared object' intervening between the finite verb and the infinitive (i.e. the relative pronoun *que*) functions as an infinitival marker, similar to *de*.

Appendix: Medieval and Modern Spanish Paradigms of TENER and AVER/HABER

This list contains only the forms most frequently used in this chapter. In addition, only indicative forms are given, and the future and conditional forms have also been excluded. The Medieval Spanish forms in this list of verb forms are restricted to the orthographical variants that appear in the chapter.

	Present		Imperfect		Preterite	
	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish
TENER						
1sg.	*tengo*	*tengo*	*tenie/tenia*	*tenía*	*tove*	*tuve*
2sg.	*tyenes/tienes*	*tienes*	*tenies/tenias*	*tenías*	*toviste*	*tuviste*
3sg.	*tyene/tiene*	*tiene*	*tenie/tenia*	*tenía*	*tovo*	*tuvo*
1pl.	*tenemos*	*tenemos*	*teniemos/teniamos*	*teníamos*	*tovimos*	*tuvimos*
2pl.	*tenedes*	*tenéis*	*teniedes/teniades*	*teníais*	*tovisteis*	*tuvisteis*
3pl.	*tyenen/tienen*	*tienen*	*tenien/tenian*	*tenían*	*tovieron*	*tuvieron*

(cont.)

	Present		Imperfect		Preterite	
	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish	Med. Spanish	Mod. Spanish
AVER/HABER						
1sg.	*(h)e*	*he*	*auie/avia*	*había*	*ove*	*hube*
2sg.	*aues/aves*	*has*	*auie/avias*	*habías*	*oviste*	*hubiste*
3sg.	*ha/ave/á*	*ha*	*auia/avia*	*había*	*ovo*	*hubo*
1pl.	*auemos/ avemos*	*hemos*	*auiemos/aviamos*	*habíamos*	*ovimos*	*hubimos*
2pl.	*auedes/avedes*	*habéis*	*auiedes/aviades*	*habíais*	*ovisteis*	*hubisteis*
3pl.	*auen/aven*	*han*	*auien/avian*	*habían*	*ovieron*	*hubieron*