
Deontic and epistemic verbal periphrases in spoken Continental and Insular Balearic Spanish

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Our talk studies the question of the distinction between variation and change in a situation of language contact, namely contact between Catalan and Spanish on Majorca. We study the variation between the use of two verbal periphrases present in both languages, *haber de* ‘have of’ and *tener que* ‘have that’ + infinitive. These periphrases can be used to express deontic (1) or epistemic (2) readings.

- (1) a. y **tenía que volver** a su sitio
‘and he had to return to his place’
b. y esto lo hemos de defender
‘and we need to defend this’
- (2) a. en aquella época también **tenía que ser** un poco distinto de ahora
‘at that time it must have also been a bit different than today’
b. sí **ha de llover** mucho
‘yes, it must be raining a lot’

Previous studies have found that in comparison to *tener que*, Spanish *haber de* is more likely to express epistemic readings (e.g., Garachana Camarero & Hernández Díaz 2020). In contrast, Catalan *haver de* frequently expresses deontic readings (Blas Arroyo 2016). We maintain that due to contact with Catalan, the opposition between *haber de* and *tener que* in Balearic Spanish is governed to a lesser degree by preferences in terms of modal meanings than in Mainland Spanish. This claim is substantiated by a quantitative analysis of over $n = 5,900$ occurrences of these periphrases in these varieties, taken from corpora of sociolinguistic interviews in Mainland Spanish, the Spanish spoken in Palma de Mallorca, and rural varieties of Spanish spoken by elderly Majorcans.

References: • Blas Arroyo, J. L. (2016). La relevancia del contacto de lenguas como factor condicionante en un proceso de cambio lingüístico en español: la perífrasis haber de + infinitivo. In C. De Benito Moreno & Á. S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, *En torno a ‘haber’*. Construcciones, usos y variación desde el latín hasta la actualidad. New York, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 79-110 • Garachana Camarero, M. & A. Hernández Díaz (2020). From semantics to grammar. Lexical substitution in the evolution of verbal periphrases *haber / tener* + infinitive. In J. Fernández Jaén & H. Provencio Garrigós, *Historical Linguistics. Current Theories and Applications*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins, 78-108.