

A GUIDE TO SUBJUNCTIVE AND MODALS IN SPANISH: QUESTIONS AND ANALYSES*

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ABSTRACT. The goal of this article is to provide an overview of the range of phenomena that in Spanish are related to modal interpretations, with particular attention to the distribution and analysis of subjunctive. The main questions that are discussed in this article are (a) whether subjunctive can be characterised uniformly; (b) what the proper placement of subjunctive is in the functional structure of the clause, and how subjunctive interacts with modals that are placed in different areas; (c) what kind of analysis is necessary to account in an appropriate way for the different aspects of the grammar of subjunctive.

Keywords: subjunctive; mood; modal auxiliaries; imperatives; future and conditional

RESUMEN. El objetivo principal de este artículo es presentar una visión general de los fenómenos que en español se asocian a las interpretaciones modales, con atención especial a la distribución y análisis del subjuntivo. Las preguntas principales que se discuten en este trabajo son las siguientes: (a) si es posible caracterizar de manera unificada las clases de subjuntivo en español; (b) cuál es la posición estructural del subjuntivo en español, y de qué manera interactúa con los modales que se encuentran por encima y por debajo de él; (c) qué clase de análisis es necesario para dar cuenta de manera clara de las distintas facetas del comportamiento del subjuntivo en español.

Palabras clave: subjuntivo; modo; auxiliares modales; imperativos; futuro y condicional

1. Modals in Spanish: initial questions

The goal of this article is to provide a review of the main facts of mood in Spanish, paying particular attention to the status of subjunctive.

Mood is a semantic notion whose role is to express a viewpoint about the truth value of a proposition, allowing speakers to make judgements about whether the link between a subject and a predicate is necessary or contingent, among other possible distinctions (Melia 2003). The concept is taken originally from logic, and it was fuelled by the necessity to differentiate at least between those truths that were forced by the entailments of a predicate given a hierarchical ontology of concepts (1) and those that are dependent on the circumstances and facts of our real world (2).

- (1) A bachelor is an unmarried man.
- (2) My cousin is an unmarried man.

(1) would correspond to what logicians call an analytic judgement, while (2) corresponds to a synthetic judgement –a distinction usually traced back to Kant–. Given the concept expressed by ‘bachelor’, it is necessarily true that any bachelor is an unmarried man. However, nothing in the meaning of ‘my cousin’ forces it to refer

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to an unmarried man: this is a contingent truth that can be true or not depending on the facts of our world.

From logic, the concept was taken to linguistics, where the term mood is still used to refer to the semantic aspect of the phenomenon, and ‘modality’ is preferred to refer to the grammatical and formal markers of those semantic distinctions. Consider (3).

- (3) El profesor Ciruela asesinó al capitán.
the Professor Plum murdered ACC.the captain
 ‘Professor Plum murdered the captain’

Here, we are predicating a property –being the murderer of the captain– from a subject. Without any further linguistic markers, this proposition is assumed to have a truth value in our real world. That is: for the speaker of this sentence, it is a fact of our current world and time that the property of being the murderer of the captain can be truthfully predicated from Professor Plum. However, we can use different grammatical markers to modify that proposition, giving rise to different mood values.

- (4) a. El profesor Ciruela tiene que haber asesinado al capitán.
the Professor Plum has that have murdered the captain
 ‘Professor Plum must have murdered the captain’
 b. El profesor Ciruela puede haber asesinado al capitán.
the professor Plum might have murdered the captain
 ‘Professor Plum might have murdered the captain’
 c. El profesor Ciruela tal vez haya asesinado al capitán.
the professor Plum perhaps has.subj murdered the captain
 ‘Perhaps Professor Plum murdered the captain’

Here we have introduced qualifications to the truth value of the proposition. The intuitive feeling is that (3) is different from (4a) in the following way: (4a) is the result of a deduction that the speaker has made, on the base of some evidence, that leads the speaker to conclude that in any conceivable state of affairs that is compatible with what she knows, Professor Plum murdered the captain. (4b) describes a different result: what the speaker knows is not enough to rule out Professor Plum as the murderer of the captain; in fact, there is at least one state of affairs that is compatible with what the speaker knows and where Professor Plum murdered the captain.

(4a) and (4b) express this through a particular class of grammatical pieces, modal auxiliaries.

- (5) a. tener que, haber de, hay que...
 have that, have of, have.imp that
 b. poder, deber de...
 can, might...

The first group (5a) expresses a necessity relation between the truth of the proposition and a set of conditions that are taken as granted: given X, Y is necessary. The second group (5b) expresses a possibility relation: given X, Y is possible. But in Spanish this is not the only way to codify mood grammatically. (4c) shows a second option, which in meaning is close to (4b) but uses different means to achieve that result: verbal inflection (and a trigger *tal vez* ‘perhaps’). The verbal form in (4c) is subjunctive, and with this form we are expressing –very roughly, as we will see– that

the speaker is not completely certain about the truth of the proposition in the actual world.

This article is structured as follows. In the remainder of this section, we will introduce some initial distinctions that will be necessary to follow the discussion, and we will define a set of research questions that will be addressed in this state-of-the-art article. Then, a number of sections will discuss subjunctive, which is the manifestation of mood that has received most attention in Spanish and the one that we will use to structure our chapter. §2 presents the meaning distinctions that subjunctive carries with it; §3 discusses the problem of how subjunctive is grammatically licensed; §4 presents the morphological and syntactic effects that are associated with subjunctive; §5 discusses the incompatibility between subjunctive and deontic modals; §6 places the Spanish subjunctive in a typological perspective, and §7 presents a number of influential analyses of what subjunctive really is. Then we move to modal auxiliaries, where we will concentrate on their combinatorial properties and their characterisation as elements placed in a lower functional area. §8 discusses their most relevant empirical properties, and §9 presents a number of analyses that have tried to account for this. §10, finally, discusses whether imperatives, conditionals, futures and imperfective past tenses can also be interpreted as modals. §11 wraps up the discussion.

1.1. *The semantic components of mood*

Given the philosophical origin of the notion of ‘mood’, in order to understand the linguistic analyses that have dealt with mood in natural languages, a short introduction to its semantic analysis is probably necessary.

The semantic analysis of mood that is considered standard by contemporary linguists is arguably the one that is traced back to Kripke (1959, 1963), Lewis (1973) and Stalnaker’s (1976) notion of ‘possible world’, developed inside an analysis of (counterfactual) conditionals. Let us consider the sentence in (6):

- (6) Por lo que sabemos, el padre del hijo de Isabel puede ser Felipe.
 for it that we.know, the father of-the son of Isabel can be Felipe
 ‘For all we know, the father of Isabel’s son may be Felipe’

What Lewis and Stalnaker proposed, in a nutshell, is that the speaker that utters (6) is saying that perhaps Felipe is not the father of Isabel’s son in the actual world, but there is at least a conceivable possible world, similar enough to ours in the relevant respects, in which Felipe fathered Isabel’s son. Thus, when we speak we are entertaining thoughts not only about our world, but about alternate worlds that are similar enough to ours.

- (7) $w_1, w_2, w_3 \dots w_n$

When we talk about the ‘actual’ world, we are just selecting one of the possible worlds that are in principle available to us. Lewis (1973: 85-86) is quite clear about it: an adjective like *actual* in *actual world* acts as an indexical, like *here* or *I*, that simply refers to the circumstances of utterance: it is the world where, given the circumstances at the point of utterance, we are now.

Then, if there is a set of possible worlds –which we can describe as states-of-affairs where some propositions are true and some are not true– and we have expressions that can deictically pick out one of these worlds, we expect also that there

should be expressions that could quantify over these possible worlds, just as in the domain of entities some expressions pick deictically one (*this page*) and some quantify over them (*each page*). This is the role of modals.

1.1.1. Mood as an operator

If we had to reduce Lewis' (1973) claims about modals down to one slogan, it would be that modals are quantifiers over possible worlds. So in (6), we would be saying roughly something like this:

- (8) There exists one possible world, similar enough to our actual world, where Felipe is the father of Isabel's son.

Possibility is, then, analysed as existential quantification: 'there exists at least one'. From this perspective, necessity will be universal quantification over possible worlds. Consider (9):

- (9) Por lo que sabemos, el padre del hijo de Isabel tiene que ser Felipe.
for it that we.know, the father of-the son of Isabel has to be Felipe
'From what we know, the father of Isabel's son must be Felipe'

What we are saying here is that in every possible world that is similar to ours, it is true that Felipe is the father of Isabel's son. Evidence that treating necessity modals as universal quantifiers is on the right track comes from exceptive constructions (Hoecksema 1987, Moltmann 1992, Bosque 2005). We know that exceptive constructions have to introduce exceptions over universally quantified sets:

- (10) a. Han venido todos los estudiantes, salvo Pedro.
have come all the students, except.for Pedro
b. *Han venido muchos estudiantes, salvo Pedro.
have come many students, except.for Pedro

Then, we would expect that an exception to a possible world will only be possible when we have necessity modals, not possibility ones. This is confirmed:

- (11) a. Felipe tiene que ser el padre del hijo de Isabel, salvo que haya habido
Felipe has to be the father of-the son of Isabel, unless that has.subj been
inseminación artificial
insemination artificial
'Felipe must be the father of Isabel's son, unless there has been artificial insemination'
b. ??Felipe puede ser el padre del hijo de Isabel, salvo que haya habido
Felipe can be the father of-the son of Isabel, unless that has.subj been
inseminación artificial
insemination artificial

Thus, modals are generally treated as quantifiers, and as modal quantifiers, they can be existential or universal. Kratzer (1981), in a highly influential article that has become canonic, calls the quantificational flavour of the modal 'modal force'. This makes a number of predictions, because it entails treating modals as operators whose variable ranges over possible worlds.

- (a) Modals must have restrictors and scope
- (b) Modals should show a ‘quantifier rising’ behaviour

1.1.2. Modal base

The modal base is what, roughly, corresponds to the restrictor of the operator in the modal-as-quantifier proposal. Intuitively, the modal base is what allows the speaker to determine under which light a set of possible worlds is similar enough to our actual world. Generally, the possible worlds that are considered are those that share a number of properties with the world where the proposition is uttered. Consider (12).

- (12) a. Por lo que sé, María tiene que estar en casa.
for it that I.know, María has to be at home
- b. Como castigo, María tiene que estar en casa.
as punishment, María has to be at home
- c. Siendo como es, María tiene que estar en casa.
being as she.is, María has to be at home

In (12), we have a necessity modal, so we are saying that María is at home in all possible worlds consistent with something; obviously, we do not mean that María must be home in absolutely every possible world, as we would say if María’s being home was a metaphysical necessity. We restrict the set of worlds that we will consider. In (12a), those worlds are restricted according to the evidence we have about the present situation: the worlds that we consider are those that are consistent with that evidence. That is: if María is not in the office, not in the parking lot, and I know that normally at this time of the day she goes home, then all worlds compatible with this knowledge are worlds in which María is at home now. In (12b), we restrict those worlds in a different way: here we suggest that María did something wrong that led someone to punish her. Here we are not restricting the worlds according to the things we know of them, but according to whether the circumstances that are true in our world are also true in that world (that is, we only consider the worlds where María committed an infraction). In (12c), we say that because of the dispositions that María has given her character, in every world where María has the same dispositions, María will stay home instead of choosing to go out for a walk. Note that we could have expressed these restrictions also in the form of conditional sentences.

These three cases correspond to the three broad families of modals that have been identified in the literature (see Palmer 1986). (12a) illustrates epistemic modality, which restricts the possible worlds according to the information we have and use to deduce further propositions.

- (13) a. Si no lleva anillo de casada, tiene que ser soltera.
if not she.wears ring of married, has to be single
‘If she does not wear a wedding ring, she must be single’
- b. A la luz de los datos, el análisis puede ser correcto.
to the light of the data, the analysis might be right
‘Under the light of the data, the analysis might be right’

(12b) illustrates deontic modality, which –roughly– restricts the worlds according to whether in them some expectations hold, based on laws, rules, desires, wishes, orders, etc., also hold in the way they hold in our actual world.

- (14) a. Con la ley en la mano, tenemos que pagar una multa.
with the law in the hand, we.have to pay a fine
‘Following the law, we must pay a fine’
b. Si no te importa que la paella esté seca, puedes usar este arroz.
if not you mind that the paella is.subj dry, you.can use this rice
‘If you don’t mind that the paella is dry, you can use this rice’

(12c) illustrates so-called root modality, also called dynamic modality by some authors. There the possible worlds considered are restricted to those where the internal properties of things, their capacities and dispositions, are similar to our own world.

- (15) a. Por su educación, Juan puede hablar chino.
for his education, Juan can speak Chinese
‘Thanks to his education, Juan can speak Chinese’
b. Un caballero español tiene que cederle el paso a una dama.
a gentleman Spanish has to give the way to a lady
‘A Spanish gentleman must give way to a lady’

Kratzer (1981) explained these three main classes using two different combined notions: modal base and ordering source. The modal base is the restrictor properly, because it gives you the set of worlds that are accessible from our actual world: those where the information, the expectations or the dispositions are constant. Kratzer (1981) differentiates between two modal bases, although it is an empirical question whether more flavours are necessary: epistemic (based on beliefs and evidence) and circumstantial (based on the facts that are true).

The second component is an ordering source, that, starting from the set of accessible worlds, orders them hierarchically according to some parameter:

- (16) a. deontic: worlds are ordered with respect to whether the laws and regulations of the actual world are respected or not
b. teleological: worlds are ordered with respect to whether a particular aim that exists in our world is still operative in the others
c. bouletic: worlds are ordered with respect to the wishes of the participants
d. doxastic: worlds are ordered with respect to the beliefs of people
e. stereotypical: worlds are ordered with respect to whether the natural course of events in them is similar to the natural course of events in the actual world

Again, it is an empirical question whether other ordering sources are necessary. In (14a) we have a deontic ordering source: note that we claim that we pay a fine not just in all the world where the circumstantial modal base is shared (that is, where we broke the law) but out of them specifically in all the worlds where the laws tend to be followed and thus when one breaks the law, she has to pay a fine. (14b) has a teleological ordering source; (15b), a stereotypical one, etc.

Thus, we can treat modals as operators with the following standard tripartite structure:

- (17) a. Professor Plum must be the murderer.
Op (modal force): for every accessible world w
Restrictor: such as the evidence I have is also true there
Scope: ‘Professor Plum is the murderer’

1.1.3. Scope ambiguities

If modals are quantifiers, then we also expect that, like other quantifiers, they will trigger scope ambiguities in their interaction with other quantifiers. This prediction is confirmed; consider (18), adapted from Rothschild (2007).

- (18) Urdangarín podía haber estado casado con la reina de España.
Urdangarín could have been married with the Queen of Spain
‘Urdangarín could have been married with the Queen of Spain’

Here we have two possible interpretations: in one, there is a particular individual, who in our actual world is Letizia Ortiz, and we say that Urdangarín could have been married to her. In the second one, we say that Urdangarín could have been married to a person with the title of Queen of Spain, whoever the referent is. We have a tendency to think that in the second case, the sentence is plausible, because the actual wife of Urdangarín could have become the Queen of Spain, given some circumstances, but in the first reading what we say is more implausible. This is, of course, the famous *de re / de dicto* ambiguity with definite expressions, which can be represented as follows:

- (19) a. *De re* interpretation:

There is an x, x= queen of Spain, such that U. could have been married to her.

b. *De dicto* interpretation:

U. could have been married to any x, x= queen of Spain

Similar ambiguities arise in other cases:

- (20) Alguien tiene que ocuparse de esto.
someone has to take care of this
‘There is someone whose obligation is to take care of this’ or ‘There is an obligation that someone, I don’t care who, takes care of this’

1.2. *Verb inflection*

In Spanish, there are two main ways of marking the modality of a proposition: the first one, which we have already introduced, is modal auxiliaries; the second way is verbal inflection (see Laca 2010a for an overview).

1.2.1. Subjunctive

Of course, subjunctive is the most widely studied manifestation of modality-related inflection in Spanish.

- (21) Ojalá venga María.
 May come María
 ‘I wish María would come!’

The general consensus is that subjunctive, however, is not a modal operator –or the spell out of a modal operator–, but the marker of a form that has to be contained under the scope of a modal operator. There are several reasons for this. The first one is that subjunctive (normally) cannot appear alone in the sentence (as a free form), but has to be licensed by a family of markers, such as adverbs (22a) or conjunctions, alone (22b) or in combination with main verbs belonging to a particular class (22c).

- (22) a. Posiblemente haga frío.
 possibly it.makes.subj cold
 ‘It might be cold’
 b. En caso de que venga...
 in case of that she.comes.subj
 ‘In case she comes...’
 c. Te ordeno que vengas.
 you I.order that you.come.subj
 ‘I order you to come’

This would suggest that the operator is actually the adverb, the conjunction or the main verb –alternatively, that the operator is somewhere in the structure introduced by the adverb, the conjunction or the verb–. It is not the case that modal auxiliaries have to be licensed in some context; they rather modalise the context where they are (apparently) freely introduced. Subjunctive seems to need some form of licensing in its context. However, we will see in §3 that the situation is actually more complicated, and arguably there is evidence that subjunctive can be in some cases the manifestation of a modal operator.

There is a second quite controversial question, which is whether one can claim that all uses of the subjunctive are modal in nature. As we will see, there is a point where, in order to cover certain uses of the subjunctive, our definition of what counts as mood will have to be stretched too far (§4), particularly in cases like (23), where it has been argued that the presence of subjunctive in the subordinate clause has to do with the presuppositional nature of the complement of factive verbs.

- (23) Me alegro de que estés aquí.
 me I.rejoice of that you.are.subj here
 ‘I am glad that you are here’

1.2.2. Imperative

Traditional grammars have also classified imperatives as one of the manifestations of mood in Spanish, but the situation is again not so simple, as we will see (§10.2). Part of the evidence that imperatives denote mood comes from the following two sources: the parallelism between the interpretation of an imperative and a sentence like (24b), and the fact that imperatives can create referentially opaque contexts where, for instance, non-specific readings of indefinites are allowed (25). As we will see (§10.1), this is generally taken as a test that one has a modal operator.

- (24) a. ¡Sal de mi despacho!
come.out.imp from my office
b. Tienes que salir de mi despacho.
you.have to come.out of my office
- (25) a. ¡Trae un libro que hable de unicornios!
bring.imp a book that talks.subj about unicorns
b. *Traigo un libro que hable de unicornios.
I.bring a book that talks.subj about unicorns

In (25a), there is no presupposition that there exists a book that talks about unicorns; in (25b) the presupposition exists, and because of that subjunctive is ungrammatical, as we will see.

However, there are also important differences that have suggested to some authors that imperatives do not belong to the class of modals, but rather belong to the family of expressions that describe the illocutionary force of the utterance. One such difference, noted by Han (1999) is that, while deontic modals assert the obligation or possibility of a situation in the current world, imperatives do not assert these notions.

- (26) a. No vayas.
not go.imp.neg
'You have the obligation of not going'
*'You don't have the obligation of going'
- b. No tienes que ir.
not you.have to go
'You have the obligation of not going'
'You don't have the obligation of going'

1.2.3. Future and conditional

The future, traditionally classified as a temporal form (RAE & ASALE 2009: §23.14a), is another form that shows some modal properties, to the point that in fact some authors (eg., Ultra-Massuet 1999) have classified it as the spell-out of a mood head. The future creates referentially opaque contexts (27), and just like deontic modals, it has an interpretation that is oriented towards a moment following the current state of affairs (28).

- (27) Mañana te traeré un libro que hable de unicornios.
tomorrow you I.will.bring a book that talks.subj about unicorns
- (28) Tienes que venir.
you.must that come
'You must come (later)'

The interpretation of the conditional is dependent on the interpretation that we assign to the future, in such a way that if we say that the future is mood, the conditional also has to be mood. This is so because whenever a verb uses an irregular stem for the future, the same stem is also used for the conditional. Also, historically the conditional is formed over the imperfective form of the same periphrasis that produces the future (Penny 1993: 198-199).

- (29) a. tene-mos
have-1pl
'We have'
b. tend-r-é
have-will-1sg
'I will have'
c. tend-ría-ø
have-would-1sg
'I would have'
d. *tene-ría-ø
have-would-1sg

However, treating the conditional as a modal form is rejected by some grammars (RAE & ASALE 2009: §23.15a), on the base that modalised contexts tend to reject the conditional, but accept the subjunctive.

- (30) a. Creo que vendrá.
I.think that he.will.come
b. Creí que vendría.
I.thought that he.would.come
c. No creí que viniera.
not thought that he.came.subj
d. *No creí que vendría.
not thought that he.would.come

We will address the question of whether these forms are modals in §10.3 and §10.4.

1.3. *Modal uses of aspectual periphrases*

Next to modal auxiliaries and some aspects of the verb's inflection, Spanish has a third class of constructions that have been classified by some as modals: these are cases of otherwise aspectual or temporal structures that adopt a modal meaning under certain conditions. Consider for instance the periphrasis *ir a + infinitive*, which Bravo (2008) convincingly argues has to be analysed as a prospective aspect periphrasis. In certain contexts –which share some properties with rhetorical questions (31b)–, it has a modalised meaning when it forms part of an exclamative construction:

- (31) a. ¡Qué vas a saber tú!
what go.you to know you!
Lit. 'What are you going to know!'
'What would you know!'
b. ¿Quién me iba a decir esto?
who me was to say this?
Lit. 'Who was going to tell me this?'
'Who would tell me that!'

1.4. *Research questions*

Here we summarise the research questions that we are going to be visiting once and again in the following pages; some of them have already been introduced, while others will come up during the discussion. Some of them are specifically related to the

grammar of Spanish, while others are arguably general and affect the analysis of modal constructions independently of the typological affiliation of the variety under study.

There are some of the crucial questions related to the grammar of mood and modality in Spanish:

- a) Where is mood introduced in the structure? What is its relation to illocutionary force and what is its relation to the viewpoint the speaker introduces when presenting a predicate?
- b) How are the different modal values –epistemic, deontic, dynamic– characterised in grammar?
- c) How many modal forms does Spanish have? Is, for instance, future or conditional a mood or a tense?
- d) Can we say that modals form a natural class? Are there general properties of modals, do they occupy the same area in a syntactic structure, and do they show a common semantic characterisation –as quantifiers over possible worlds–?
- e) Is it possible to provide a unitary account of subjunctive in Spanish? Do we have to differentiate completely among the sources for different uses of the subjunctive? In that case, is the inflection we call ‘subjunctive’ a case of syncretism between different morphosyntactic forms?

2. Subjunctive (I): contrasts and meanings

Let us then start with subjunctive. In this first section we will consider what kind of meaning contribution a subjunctive is making inside a sentence. We will see, at the end, that, while the individual contrasts are relatively well understood, the biggest challenge is to determine whether there is one single meaning contribution that is consistent through all the uses of subjunctive. The difficulty of this view has been noted in several works, including Hummel (2001) and Bosque (2012: 377-379).

2.1. Non-assertion

Assertion, as we will see, is a complex notion that has been interpreted in two different ways: one line, that comes from mathematical logic, treats assertion as a statement that expresses a proposition and is intended to affect the immediate context where it is uttered by updating the set of beliefs that speaker and addressee share, their common ground (Stalnaker 1978). In another distinct sense, though related to the previous one, assertion is one of the flavours of an illocutionary speech act, and particularly one where the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition contained in the utterance (Searle 1975). As we will see in this section and in the next, subjunctive has, descriptively, effects on both sides.

We will start with the second notion of assertion, that is related to whether the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition expressed or not. Hopper & Thompson (1973), in the context of the discussion of which subordinate clauses allowed the kind of operations that main clauses allow, differentiated between five classes of predicates:

- a) Strongly assertive predicates: *asegurar* ‘reassure’, *suced*er ‘happen’, *mencionar* ‘mention’, *ser obvio* ‘to be obvious’, *estar seguro* ‘to be certain’, *estar claro* ‘to be clear’...

- b) Weakly assertive predicates: *creer* ‘believe’, *pensar* ‘think’, *suponer* ‘suppose’, *imaginar* ‘imagine’, *tener la impresión de* ‘to have the impression that’...
- c) Semifactive predicates: *olvidar* ‘forget’, *recordar* ‘remember’, *ver* ‘see’, *entender* ‘understand’, *descubrir* ‘discover’, *enterarse de* ‘to get to know’...
- d) Non-assertive predicates: *dudar* ‘doubt’, *no creer* ‘not to believe’, *no pensar* ‘not to think’, *desear* ‘wish’, *ser posible* ‘to be possible’, *ser dudoso* ‘to be uncertain’...
- e) Factive predicates: *lamentar* ‘regret’, *alegrarse de* ‘to be happy about’, *gustar* ‘like’, *doler* ‘hurt’, *dar asco* ‘lit. give disgust’...

One first meaning carried by subjunctive is the one that characterises the differences between groups (a) and (b), on one side, and group (d), on the other. When the predicate involves a pragmatic commitment of the speaker with the truth of the proposition, indicative has to be used. This extends (unlike in other typologically close languages, like Italian; §6) to predicates where the commitment is not maximal (33):

- (32) a. Sé que estás harto de mí.
I.know that you.are fed.up with me
- b. Te aseguro que estás harto de mí.
 you I.assure that you.are fed.up with me
- c. Estoy seguro de que estás harto de mí.
 I.am sure of that you.are fed.up with me
- (33) a. Creo que estás harto de mí.
 I.believe that you.are fed.up with me
- b. Supongo que estás harto de mí.
 I.guess that you.are fed.up with me
- c. Me parece que estás harto de mí.
 me it.seems that you.are fed.up with me

Non-assertive predicates, on the other hand, are those where the speaker does not make a commitment about the truth value of the proposition: its truth value is suspended in the actual world, in such a way that the speaker does not want to claim that it is true or that it is false. Here, subjunctive is used.

- (34) a. Dudo de que estés harto de mí.
 I.doubt of that you.are.subj fed.up with me
- b. Es posible que estés harto de mí.
 it.is possible that you.are.subj fed.up with me
- c. Es concebible que estés harto de mí.
 it.is conceivable that you.are.subj fed.up with me

Note that a hypothesis is also non-assertive, because it does not commit the speaker with the truth in the actual world, but just says that according to the speaker there is a possible world where that state of affairs can be true. This includes the subordinate conditional sentences of the so-called ‘potential’ class, as *Si María estuviera en casa, podría venir* ‘If María was.subj at home, she could come’. Counterfactual conditionals (Iatridou 2000) are non-assertive also, because the speaker presents states of affairs that she knows are not true in the actual world. This includes cases like *Si María hubiera estado en casa, habría venido* ‘If María had been

home she would have come’, but also *Si María estuviera en casa, vendría* –in the reading where the speaker knows that at the present moment María is not home (Ippolito 2013)–.

In (34), we have shown that a number of predicates, by themselves, are non-assertive. As non-assertivity is the opposite of assertivity, one can expect that negation, combined with these predicates, might send them to the opposite side of the dichotomy. This is confirmed; in (35) we see one case of non-assertive predicate that, in combination with negation, combines with indicative. In (36), we have the opposite case.

- (35) No dudo de que estás harto de mí.
not I.doubt of that you.are.ind fed.up with me
- (36) No creo que estés harto de mí.
not believe that you.are.subj fed.up with me

Here is another example where negation plays a role (and see §3.1.1. for the role of negation in this phenomenon). Causal subordinate clauses are in the indicative, because they are assertive: the speaker that says that something is the cause of a state of affairs is committed to the idea that the cause is true.

- (37) Juan fue al hospital porque se encontraba mal.
Juan went to.the hospital because SE felt bad
‘Juan went to the hospital because he was feeling bad’

If we add a negation and negation takes the causal clause in its scope, then we are suspending its truth value: we deny that it is the effective cause of Juan’s going to the hospital, but the speaker does not want to say whether he was feeling bad or not. Subjunctive is then used.

- (38) Juan no fue al hospital porque se encontrara mal.
Juan not went to.the hospital because SE felt.subj bad
‘Juan went to the hospital, but not because he was feeling bad’

For the same reason, verbs of speech used to deny the truth of what is expressed in their embedded clause select for subjunctive: *negar* ‘deny’, *desmentir* ‘contradict’, *contradecir* ‘contradict’, etc. So far so good, but there are some complications with the notion of assertiveness taken in this sense. It seems that saying that something is possible is weakly assertive in some cases, but as non-assertive in other cases. In (39), when we introduce the notion of possibility through an adverb, indicative and subjunctive are equally possible. However, when the same notion is introduced through a periphrasis (40; cf. §3.2.3.) or through an adjective that subordinates the clause (41), subjunctive is compulsory.

- (39) a. Posiblemente Juan está enfermo.
possibly Juan is.ind sick
b. Posiblemente Juan esté enfermo.
possibly Juan is.subj sick
- (40) Puede ser que Juan esté enfermo.
it.could be that Juan is.subj sick

- (41) Es posible que Juan esté enfermo.
it.is possible that Juan is.subj sick

The same pattern is replicated with *probablemente* ‘probably’ and *es probable que* ‘it is probable that’. It is not clear how this contrast is to be understood. In its surface, it might imply that some notions, like probability and possibility, can be interpreted by speakers as a commitment to a state of affairs existing in a possible world or as absence of commitment to a state of affairs existing in our actual world. If so, it would mean that the notions of assertion and non-assertion are not as tightly tied to the conceptual meaning of predicates as one might expect. Secondly, the fact that, once the form is embedded under a main predicate, subjunctive is compulsory could suggest that there is some truth to the old notion that subjunctive is the form that marks subordination, an idea that in Spanish goes back to Nebrija (1492: III.10). Obviously, not all subordinate clauses impose the requisite that subjunctive is used, but combined with other notions, like non-assertion, subordination might prove to be crucial.

In relation to this, since Emonds (1970) it was noted that some ‘subordinate’ clauses –‘subordinate’ following the traditional terminology, that is, embedded under a main predicate– behave like main clauses in the sense that they allow the set of transformations that main clauses typically allow. Other ‘subordinate’ clauses are really subordinate in the structural sense, because they behave differently from main clauses. Here are some examples: first, main clauses allow focalisation of one of their components (42); they also can combine with speaker- or addressee-oriented adverbs (43).

- (42) a. Juan trajo las manzanas.
Juan brought the apples
b. Las manzanas Juan trajo
the apples Juan brought
- (43) a. Francamente, Juan está harto.
frankly, Juan is fed.up
b. Francamente, ¿qué te ha parecido esto?
frankly, what you has seemed this?
‘Frankly, what did you think of this?’

One of the points made by Hopper & Thompson (1973) is that the clauses embedded under assertive predicates behave like main clauses, while those embedded under non-assertive predicates show different behaviour since they reject the operations in (42) and (43). In our terms, it translates as follows: subordinate clauses in the indicative behave like main clauses (44); those in the subjunctive –at least those embedded under non-assertive predicates– behave like real subordinate clauses (45).

- (44) a. Juan dice que las manzanas trajo Juan.
Juan says that the apples brought Juan
b. Juan dice que francamente esto le ha parecido un desastre.
Juan says that frankly this him has seemed a disaster
- (45) a. *Juan no cree que las manzanas trajera Juan.
Juan not believes that the apples brought.subj Juan
b. *Juan no cree que francamente esto le pareciera un desastre.
Juan not believes that frankly this him seemed.subj a disaster

So there are reasons to think that real subordination is somehow related to assertion, and that both notions have to be taken into account in order to describe this aspect of the use of subjunctive.

2.2. Volitionality, obligation and desire

A natural extension of non-assertiveness, understood as in the previous section, is the idea that when a speaker is wishing something or is giving an order, the propositional content of the wish or the order will be non assertive. Generally, there is a pragmatic explanation for this: if a speaker believes that a state of affairs is real in the actual world, expressing a wish or an order that leads to that state of affairs is incoherent. At least as far as the knowledge of the speaker is concerned, that state of affairs has to be non-real.

Subjunctive is used with predicates that express wish:

- (46)
- a. Deseo que vengas.
I.wish that you.come.subj
 - b. Espero que vengas.
I.hope that you.come. subj
 - c. Es deseable que vengas.
it.is desirable that you.come.subj

But again there are complications; the expression *temerse algo* ‘to be.afraid of something’ can be used to express an expectation about a state of affairs that is not real in the actual world. Even if it is not desired, it is not real in the same sense in which the hopes in (46) are not real. And yet, as Bosque (2012) notes, it combines with indicative:

- (47)
- Me temo que vendrá a la fiesta.
me fears that she.will.come to the party
‘I am afraid she will come to the party’

Subjunctive is also used for orders (48). *Decir* ‘say’ combines with indicative when it communicates information, and with subjunctive when it reports orders that could have been in an imperative form in their direct speech form (49).

- (48)
- a. Te ordeno que vengas.
you I.order that you.come.subj
 - b. Te pido que vengas.
you I.ask that you.come.subj
 - c. Te ruego que vengas.
you I.beg that you.come.subj
 - d. Te prohíbo que vengas.
you I.forbid that you.come.subj
- (49)
- a. Tu padre dice que hace frío.
your father says that it.makes cold
‘Your father says that it is cold’
 - b. Tu padre dice que saques la basura.
your father says that you.dispose.subj the garbage
‘Your father says that you must throw out the garbage’

Sometimes the notion of necessity is associated with this use in orders. Note, however, that necessity combines with subjunctive even in cases where it is implied that in the actual world the state of affairs described holds. We can say that *Es necesario que las cosas sean así* ‘It is necessary that things are subj like this’ in two cases: one where we want to convey that things are not in that way, but we state the necessity that they become like that in a possible world (cf. influence cases, §2.5), but also a second one where we say that in our actual world this is true, but so it is in any accessible possible world. Thus, it does not seem that the use of subjunctive with necessity verbs can always be reduced to a case of non-assertiveness.

2.3. *Prospectivity*

It is rather trivial to note that in the non-assertive notions of wish, desire and order the state-of-affairs that appears in the subjunctive is oriented towards the future. This is a property that could be labeled ‘prospectivity’, in order to differentiate it from ‘futuraity’. In prospective cases, one makes predictions about the future states of affairs, but without any actual commitment about whether they will eventually become true. This notion seems to be crucial in order to differentiate the use of subjunctive from the use of future. Both forms can be used to express situations that belong to a moment that follows the time of utterance, but future forms make a stronger commitment that, as far as the speaker knows, that state of affairs will become real. We can say, then, that prospectivity (expressed with the subjunctive) implies that at a later point in at least an accessible possible world, with a bouletic or deontic ordering source, the state of affairs will be real. Futurity, on the other hand, says that in the actual world, at a later point in time, the state of affairs will be real.

- (50) a. Tal vez venga.
 perhaps he.comes.subj
 ‘He might come’
 b. ??Tal vez vendrá.
 perhaps he.will.come
 c. Vendrá.
 he.will.come

This notion of prospectivity, understood as a state of affairs that is not true in the actual world but that will be true at a later time point in at least some possible worlds, is likely to be behind one of the most systematic uses of subjunctive in Spanish: purpose clauses. Irrespectively of the kind of subordinator used, any expression that denotes goal or aim and subordinates a clause will force presence of a subjunctive form:

- (51) a. Me quedo para que estés tranquila.
 me stays in.order that you.are.subj calm
 ‘I stay here so that you are calm’
 b. Me quedo a fin de que estés tranquila.
 me stays to end of that you.are.subj calm
 c. Me quedo con el objetivo de que estés tranquila.
 me stays with the goal of that you.are.subj calm
 d. Me quedo con la intención de que estés tranquila.
 me stays with the intention of that you.are calm

Of course, goals and intentions will be prospective in the same way as wishes are; it is even conceivable that one can treat goals and intentions as a variety of wishes. In fact, it is a well-known fact that purpose clauses generally require main clause participants with volitional properties. But there are other expressions that suggest an obligation orientation and are, therefore, also prospective in this sense:

- (52) Ha llegado la hora de que empieces a trabajar.
has arrived the time of that you.start.subj to work
'It is high time you started working'

2.4. Futurity

Now, if prospectivity, with its temporal orientation, is associated with subjunctive, could we expect that non-prospective, but future, cases will appear in subjunctive? The fact is that this is the case in Spanish –but not in other typologically close languages, like French and Italian; §6–, even though it is unclear in what way this connects with the notions of non-assertiveness that could tie together the three cases noted before. It is well-known that in temporal subordinate clauses, when they are oriented towards the future from the time of utterance or from the perspective of the event expressed by the main verb in the clause, Spanish needs subjunctive. (53a) and (53b) contrast with (53c): in the first two, the temporal clause expresses present or past events, and indicative is used.

- (53) a. Cuando viene, nos vamos.
when he.comes, us leave
'When(ever) he comes, we leave'
b. Cuando vino, nos fuimos.
when he.came, us left
'When he came, we left'
c. Cuando venga, nos iremos.
when he.comes.subj, us will.leave
'When he comes, we will leave'

This is not a quirk of *cuando* 'when'; any temporal subordinator, when expressing an event that is oriented towards the future with respect to utterance time or the main event time, will have to use subjunctive.

- (54) a. Nos fuimos después de que llegaran.
us left after of that they.arrived.subj
'We left after they arrived'
b. Mientras vivas aquí, harás lo que diga.
while you.live.subj here, you.will.do it that I.say.subj
'While you live here, you will do as I tell you'
c. Quédate hasta que estés mejor.
stay.you until that you.are.subj better
'Stay until you feel better'

Antes de que 'before' is always oriented to the future counting from the event expressed by the main verb, so it systematically uses subjunctive.

- (55) Antes de que llegue, tenemos que limpiar la casa.
before of that he.arrives.subj., we have to clean the house
'Before he arrives, we must clean the house'

Some predicates, like *esperar* 'wait', also orient towards the future the proposition that they introduce; note that here the speaker has the expectation that in the actual world the teacher will arrive.

- (56) Espero a que llegue el profesor.
I.wait to that he.arrives.subj the teacher
'I wait until the teacher arrives'

There is one potential way out that, as we will argue, will not work. In trying to tie these future uses with non-assertive contexts, one could try to take advantage of the analysis of temporal clauses as relative subordinate clauses (RAE & ASALE 2009: §22.7e, §22.9a). In relative clauses, subjunctive is the form that is used to mark non-specificity (Leonetti 1999, 2004). In (57b), subjunctive implies that the antecedent of the relative does not refer to a particular individual, or might even not exist (Pérez Saldanya 1999).

- (57) a. Quiero un libro que habla de unicornios.
I.want a book that talks about unicorns
b. Quiero un libro que hable de unicornios.
I.want a book that talks.subj about unicorns

This extends to other cases where one has, arguably, a relative adverbial and one wants to convey the idea that the entity used as antecedent does not correspond to a specific referent, or might even not exist.

- (58) a. Pon-lo donde está la televisión.
leave-it where is.ind the tv
'Leave it where the TV set is'
b. Pon-lo donde esté la televisión.
leave-it where is.subj the tv
'Leave it wherever the TV set is'
- (59) a. Haz-lo como lo hace tu madre.
do-it as it does your mother
'Do it in the (specific) way your mother does it'
b. Haz-lo como lo haga tu madre.
do-it as it does.subj your mother
'Do it in whatever way your mother might do it'

This non-specific interpretation associated with subjunctive in relative clauses can be connected to non-assertion. Instead of talking about a state of affairs whose truth value is unknown in the actual world, but is true in some possible world, we talk about manners, places or entities that might not exist in the actual world, but have existence in a possible world that is accessible from ours. Now, it seems that some cases of subjunctive with *cuando* 'when' can be associated with these uses: in (60a) we talk about time intervals of our actual world, and in (60b) we talk about a time interval that might not contain the event described in our actual world.

- (60) a. Viene cuando mi abuela está aquí.
 he.comes when my grandmother is.ind here
 ‘He comes when my grandmother is here’
 b. Ven cuando mi abuela esté aquí.
 come.imp when my grandmother is.subj here
 ‘Come when my grandmother is here’

However, the contrast is not identical to the previous cases. Here we had to change the form of the main predicate, and (60a) is interpreted as a habitual, while (60b) refers to one specific instance of coming. Moreover, we cannot simply argue that the subjunctive is used when the specific time of arrival is not known –thus, it is non-specific–, in contrast to (57), (58) and (59), where we can say that the speaker does not know (or does not care about) which specific book, place or manner is involved. (61) shows that the subjunctive can be used even when the time is perfectly known.

- (61) Cuando mi abuela llegue mañana a las cuatro, iremos allí.
 when my grandmother arrives.subj tomorrow at the four, we.will go there
 ‘When my grandmother arrives tomorrow at four, we will go to the movies’

2.5. Influence

Another frequent notion that is associated with subjunctive is ‘influence’. We have seen that subjunctive was used with verbs of ordering, that are a subclass of influence verbs to the extent that they attempt to modify reality by directing entities towards different actions. One of the cases of subjunctive used with influence expressions is represented in (62):

- (62) La crisis hizo que el gobierno subiera los impuestos.
 the crisis made that the government raised.subj the taxes
 ‘The crisis made the government raise taxes’

Here, however, we do not have an order. We just have influence over a state of affairs, and it is implied that the state of affairs has changed from a previous situation. However, this subjunctive is assertive, because (62) cannot be true unless in our actual world taxes have been raised by the government because of the crisis. It is unclear how this kind of subjunctive can be unified with the non-assertive cases, even if they are obviously connected with orders through the notion of influence.

Other main predicates also carry the notion of influence, without implying necessarily whether the state of affairs expressed in the subordinate clause is real in the actual world or is recommended for a future possible world. These verbs carry a component of evaluation, which connects them with the class that we will consider in the next section.

- (63) a. Conviene que las cosas sean así.
 it.is.advisable that the things are.subj like.this
 b. Hace falta que las cosas sean así.
 it.makes.lack that the things are.subj like this
 ‘It is necessary that things are like this’

2.6. *Presupposition*

As we noted in §2.1., there is a second notion of assertiveness that comes from Stalnaker and refers to whether the utterance includes a statement that is expected to modify the common ground. Roughly, if a sentence includes new information, it will have an effect in the common ground; in contrast, when the sentence carries information whose truth is presupposed, it will be non-assertive, because it will not have a direct impact in the common ground.

Subjunctive is generally used with presupposed information. With the verbs that Hopper & Thompson (1973) called ‘factive’ –their class (e)–, the subordinate clause is presupposed. Note that the lexical semantics of these verbs specifies that they do not introduce new information that is not shared by speaker and addressee, that is, that is not already part of their common ground.

- (64) [A woman goes to the doctor, because she feels sick. The woman thinks she might have anemia. The doctor gets the results of an analysis and discovers that the woman is in fact pregnant, so she goes to the woman to give her the good news]
- a. Le informo de que está usted embarazada.
 you I.inform of that you.are you pregnant
 ‘I inform you that you are pregnant’
- b. #Me alegro de que esté usted embarazada.
 me am.happy of that you.are.subj you pregnant
 ‘I am happy that you are pregnant’

With a strongly assertive verb (64a), new information can be added to the common ground, and indicative is compulsory. With a factive verb (64b), no new information can be added to the common ground, because the truth of its complement is already presupposed. Here subjunctive is used.

Note that sentences like (64b) are assertive only in one sense: the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. A condition for uttering (64b) is that the woman, as far as the doctor knows, is pregnant; it must be true in the actual world, then, that the woman is pregnant, to the best of the doctor’s knowledge. However, they fail to be assertive in a second sense: they do not add new information to the common ground. The whole utterance is assertive (in accordance with Searle), but the assertion involves what is claimed in the main predicate, leaving the subordinate as non-assertive in this second sense.¹

This is what explains, from an updated perspective, the traditional idea that subjunctive has to be used when feelings are expressed. Verbs that express feelings and other emotional states happen to assert the emotional attitude of the speaker, but presuppose that the trigger of that emotion is true –otherwise, the emotion would not be triggered–. For this reason, predicates that involve assessments and evaluations of states of affairs have to combine with subjunctive; see specially the contrast between (65a) and (65b), which shows that as soon as we introduce a predicate that evaluates the state of affair, subjunctive is compulsory. Bybee & Terrell (1974), in a classification parallel to the one in Hopper & Thompson (1973), in fact called these verbs ‘verbs of commentary’, because they would introduce something presupposed and make a commentary about them, which is the emotion that they trigger in them.

¹ I am grateful to A. Ahern (p.c.) for pointing this fact to me.

- (65) a. Me parece que María {está / *esté} enferma.
 me seems that María {is.ind / is.subj} sick
 b. Me parece mal que María {*está / esté} enferma.
 me seems bad that María is.ind / is.subj sick
- (66) a. Lamento que María esté enferma.
 I.regret that María is.subj sick
 b. Me da miedo que haya tantas arañas.
 me gives fear that there.are.subj so.many spiders
 c. Está bien que vayas al gimnasio.
 it.is fine that you.go.subj to.the gym

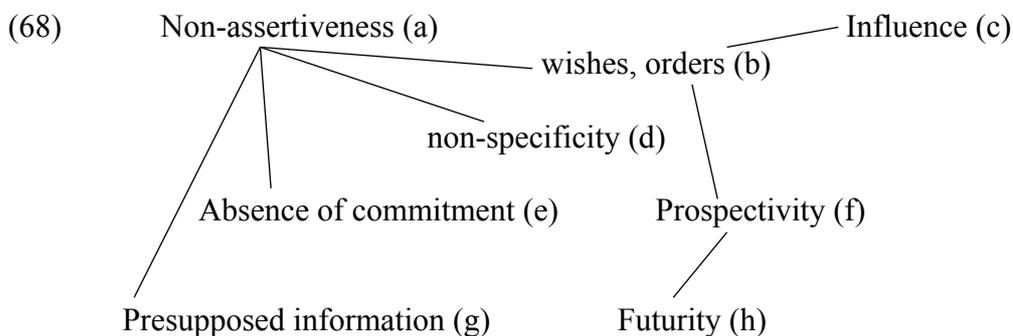
A further contrast that supports the idea that supports the idea that presupposition is behind the use of subjunctive with these predicates is that, when the same verbs are used to communicate information that the addressee is not expected to share with the speaker, indicative is possible. Consider the contrast in (67).

- (67) a. De Tromsø me gusta que haga tanto frío.
 of Tromsø me likes that it.makes.subj so.much cold
 b. De Tromsø me gusta que hace mucho frío.
 of Tromsø me likes that it.makes so.much cold
 c. *De Tromsø me gusta que hace tanto frío.
 of Tromsø me likes that it.makes so.much cold

(67a) can be used to tell someone –crucially, someone that is also aware of how cold Tromsø is– that the feeling I have about this fact is positive. (67b) would be used to inform someone that does not know how Tromsø is about two facts: (a) that Tromsø is quite cold; (b) that I like that. Note that (67a) contains the quantifier *tanto* ‘so.much’, which is not possible when we use indicative (67c). The reason is that *tanto* ‘so much’, when used without further complements, is deictic (RAE & ASALE 2009: §17.10o), so the addressee is supposed to be aware already of the extreme degree of coldness that is typical of Tromsø and assign that degree to *tanto*. In (67c), we use indicative, suggesting that the addressee is not aware of the coldness degree in Tromsø, but we use also a deictic quantifier, suggesting that he should be aware of that degree; hence the ungrammaticality.

2.7. A common core?

We have seen that it is possible to go from one semantic contribution of the subjunctive to the other through associations. There is a family resemblance between all the uses of the subjunctive, which perhaps can be represented informally as in (68):



- a. Si María hubiera venido, nos habríamos ido.
If María had.subj come, us we.would.have left
'If María had come, we would have left' (counterfactual, not true in the actual world)
- b. Espero que vengas.
I.hope that you.come.subj
- c. Luis hizo que María saliera.
Luis made that María came.out.subj
'Luis made María come out'
- d. Necesito un coche que sea magenta.
I.need a car that is.subj magenta
- e. Dudo de que sea cierto.
I.doubt of that is.subj true
- f. Vino para que lo saludaras.
he.came so that him you.greeted.subj
'He came so that you greeted him'
- g. Lamento que se quede.
I.regret that SE stays
'I regret that she stays'
- h. Esperó a que saliera.
he.waited to that he.came.out.subj
'He waited until he came out'

It is possible to understand the connection between any use of the subjunctive and at least another use, but when we put things together, it is unclear whether a single value can behave as an umbrella that covers all uses.

However, there have been some proposals. One of them, which perhaps is intended more metaphorically than literally, has become popular in some pedagogical studies, as well as in some functional approaches. It involves presenting subjunctive as the mood used to relativise claims and present them from the perspective of the speaker, sometimes even playing with the term *subjetivo* 'subjective' (eg., Roca Pons 1960, Hernández Alonso 1984, Veiga 2006). In favour of this view we have the fact that predicates that imply some emotional attitude towards a situation, those that express wishes and perhaps even those that involve orders and prospective meanings could be easily accommodated in this view. However, there are some apparently insurmountable problems, such as the contrast in (69).

- (69)
- a. Parece que María {está / esté} enferma.
it.seems that María is.ind / is.subj sick
 - b. Me parece que María {está / *esté} enferma.
me seems that María is.ind / is.subj sick

Even though (69a) allows both forms, (69b), which at least superficially contrasts minimally in that now the person through whose perspective we present the judgement, only allows indicative. If subjunctive is the form of subjectivity, this fact is completely unexpected. On the other hand, an account in terms of assertion would be able to account for the contrast, because in (69b) the speaker is strictly committing: she states that she personally holds a particular belief.

Another frequent characterisation of the meaning of subjunctive is the term ‘irrealis’, used as a general term to present any state of affairs that is claimed to be not realised in the actual world. This is perhaps the most extended proposal, that can be traced back to Bello (1847: §457, §459), who presents subjunctive as the form for what is potentially true but factually unreal. He differentiates three uses of the subjunctive: optative, to express wishes, hypothetical, to present potential states of affairs, and common, which is necessarily present in subordinate clauses and generally can be related to irrealis contexts. Gili Gaya (1943) associates subjunctive to those situations that do not have an effective realisation in the actual world, along the same lines. Alarcos (1994) also used a version of this proposal. Farkas (1985, 1992) can be seen as a different technical implementation of this idea, where subjunctive marks that the truth of the proposition is not tied to the actual world. Approaches where subjunctive marks non-specificity can also be argued to fall here (Rivero 1977, King 1992). However, this common term also faces some trouble. As we have seen, some subjunctives are used to express real facts –that is, states of affairs that must be true in our world–: the presuppositional subjunctive and the subjunctive related to verbs of influence are two clear examples.

For similar reasons, the label ‘uncertainty’ (Badía Margarit 1953) cannot be used: speakers can use the subjunctive and be certain about the truth value in at least two cases: with presuppositions and also with counterfactuals, because in such cases the speakers does not doubt that the proposition is false in the actual world. (70) implies that the speaker is certain –at least in the usual sense of the term– that his girlfriend has not passed the exam.

- (70) Si hubieras aprobado el examen, podríamos irnos de vacaciones.
If you.had passed the exam, we.could go on holidays

Other approaches tried to relate subjunctive to non-assertiveness, but faced problems that became quite clear in Lunn’s (1989) proposal. Bybee & Terrell (1974) and Terrell (1976) claimed that subjunctive is used when there is no assertion, but this corresponds to two cases that we have distinguished: when there is no commitment to the truth of the proposition and when the proposition is presupposed –therefore, true but not adding new information to the common ground–. For Bybee & Terrell (1974) both situations are under the same label, despite their differences. Lunn (1989) actually uses the distinction to argue for a dual approach to subjunctive: there is a quasi-continuum of situations defined by two parameters, oldness / newness and assertability.

- (71) untrue / less assertable ----- both true and new --- true but old

Subjunctive would correspond to the two extremes of the scale, while indicative would be reduced only to the middle part. This approach, in practice, involves defining the use of indicative, and delimiting the use of subjunctive through negative properties: indicative must have properties A and B; if either is missing, use subjunctive. This is an interesting change of perspective, one where the form that has meaning is the indicative, and the subjunctive can be seen as a default form that emerges when part of what composes the semantics of indicative is missing. Lunn’s approach has a close relative in Givón’s (1994) proposal, where modality is the result of the classification that emerges from independent parameters.

However, this approach still has to face some problems: significantly, the use of subjunctive in future-oriented subordinate clauses would be unaccounted for. Note that in (72) we can be asserting the truth of the clause and it could be new information.

- (72) Sacaré las notas cuando me lleguen las actas.
 I.will.release the grades when me arrive.subj the minutes
 ‘I will release the exam grades when I get the minutes’

The result is perhaps a bit discouraging. Subjunctive is used in a set of situations that, despite their family resemblances to each other, resist a characterisation in terms of a natural class. The challenge, as in other cases, is not to find a definition wide enough to cover all cases, but rather to find a definition that is specific enough to explain why predicates like those in (73), which have been noted by several authors, do not select subjunctive when they could be related to notions like non-assertiveness, irreality, or even wish (cf., for instance, Villalta 2007).

- (73) a. Imagina que soy un perro.
 imagine that I.am a dog
 b. Soñé que estaba en la playa.
 I.dreamt that I.was on the beach

From this point, there are several conceivable options. The first one is, of course, to give up the idea that subjunctive can be characterised in a unitary way, and accept that several different factors interact in complex way, none of them being necessarily deterministic, but defining a tendency away from indicative and towards subjunctive. Arguably, this is the option that Lozano (1995) takes.

A second alternative is the one that Quer (2001) takes: subjunctive does not make a direct meaning contribution, but it is used as a marker that there has been a shift in the kind of model that is used to evaluate the truth of the proposition; thus, different meanings that involve shifting the model would indirectly require subjunctive, without anything necessarily relating these meanings to each other. Quer takes from Stalnaker (1978) and Giannakidou (1998) the idea that any truth value has to be relativised to the model of reality that is accessible in a context and from the perspective of an individual –in this sense, the model would be a set of worlds associated in some sense with an individual *x* that acts as the anchor of those worlds. *Mutatis mutandis*, this notion of model acts as an accessibility function that determines which possible worlds are similar enough, and in the right way, to our actual world. The default model –without shifting– is one where the proposition is evaluated in the set of beliefs that the speaker –or the referent of the predicate’s subject– holds; when there is a shift from this default case, subjunctive is used.

Some verbs, weakly intensional verbs (Farkas 1999), do not involve a shift in the type of model used: (73) takes us from a default epistemic model –a default world where a set of premises is true– to a specific epistemic model that is relative to an individual –the imagined world or the dreamed world defined by that individual–. However, when subjunctive appears, it is because there has been a shift in the type of model used: instead of an epistemic model, for instance, a bouletic model (relative to the desires of an individual) has to be used. Consider (74).

- (74) a. Necesitan un coche que sea grande.
 they.need a car that is.subj big

- b. Necesitan un coche que es grande.
they.need a car that is.ind big

According to Quer, in the first case the subjunctive in the relative clause marks that the descriptive content of the clause must not be evaluated in the default, epistemic model of the speaker, but in a subordinate bouletic model that is relative to the desires of the referent of ‘they’. In the second case, with indicative, there is no model shift: the descriptive content is evaluated inside the epistemic model, triggering the entailment that the speaker (or the referent of ‘they’) believe that in their ‘actual world’ there is a referent that satisfied this description. Bouletic models are also tightly associated, in Quer’s (2001: 105) proposal, to causation, which explains why influence predicates require subjunctive. Quer also proposes to extend this causal-link to the case of factive predicates.

Not all shifts marked by subjunctive involve a change in the type of model used. According to Quer (2001: 91), in (75), subjunctive marks a shift in the individual anchor with respect to which the epistemic model is evaluated. (75a), in indicative, marks that the model where the proposition has to be true is the set of beliefs of the speaker; in subjunctive (75b), it is telling us that the proposition is not true in the epistemic model of the speaker, independently of whether it is part of the model of another individual.

- (75) a. Creo que está bien.
I.believe that is.ind well
b. No creo que esté bien.
not I.believe that is.subj well

It is unclear, however, in what way Quer’s model could account for the use of subjunctive in future-oriented subordinate clauses.

A third solution for the problem of how to unify the uses of subjunctive has already been advanced briefly when Lunn’s (1989) approach was presented. One option would be to leave subjunctive as the unmarked mood form, the one that appears, crucially, if something else, that characterises indicative, is missing. This option is taken in Portner (1997). Schematically, it would correspond to (76), with A...N being notions like ‘new information’ and ‘assertive force’.

- (76) subjunctive + A...N = indicative

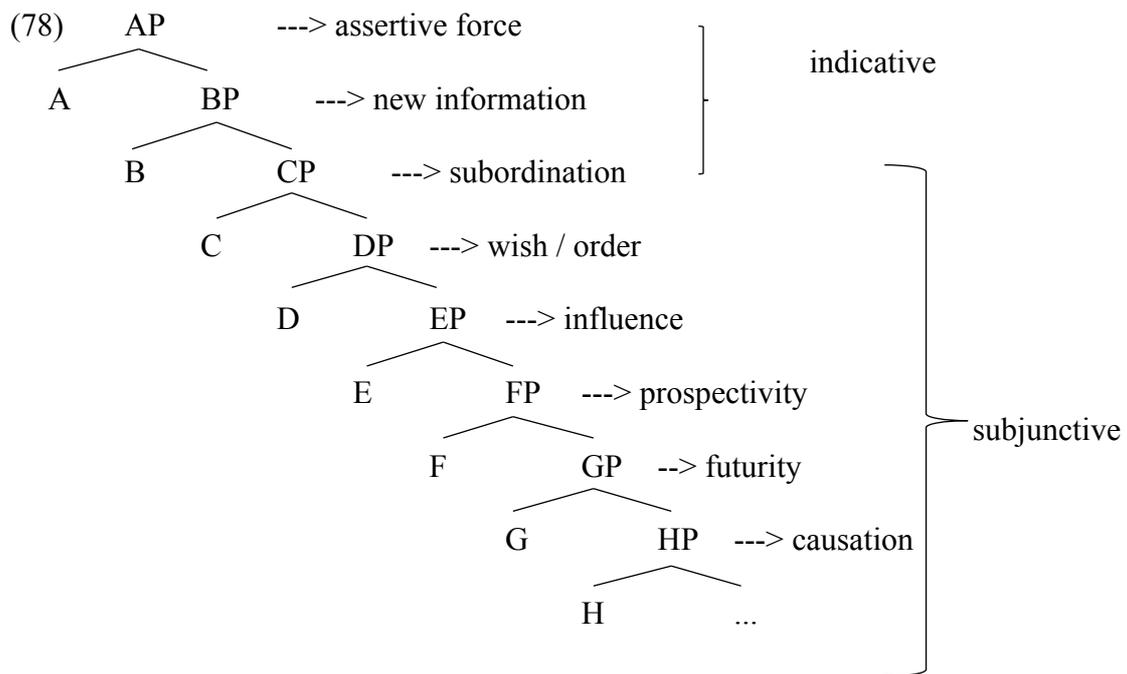
There is, however, a fourth solution that can in principle be combined with Portner’s solution or with the one argued for by Quer and Lozano: that the Spanish subjunctive is a morphophonological representation that is used to spell out, in a late insertion framework (Halle & Marantz 1993), a set of morphosyntactically distinct, but related, forms.

(77)

Form A	Form B	Form C	Form D	Form E	Form F	Form G
Indicative			Subjunctive			

Perhaps indicative is the default form (if A-B-C are forms that lack some property that D-E-F-G carry), and perhaps subjunctive is default. The proposal is neutral, in principle, with respect to that.

The initial plausibility of such an account comes from three facts that we will discuss now –more will come in the course of this article–. First, the family resemblance between the uses of subjunctive. The different notions that trigger subjunctive can be related to each other, even if nothing relates them all together. This is expected if we have a structure of the form in (78), where adjacent heads carry meanings that are partially built on top of each other, and where a head C might change the properties of its complement if it is a function taking objects from type X and giving objects from type Y. Being indicative means projecting some fairly high heads that carry assertive force or informativeness; being subjunctive might be interpreted as lacking these projections. Inside the set of heads that are spelled out as subjunctive –which could be viewed as a ‘default’ materialisation of mood when assertive force and informativeness are missing– one could also attempt to make a series of hierarchical implicational relations. Prospectivity might be a notion built over futurity, adding a component of uncertainty about the ultimate realisation of the outcome, and a causal chain might underly futurity to the extent that results follow its causes. Over prospectivity, the relation might be further specified as one of desire, or one of plain intended influence. An important caveat would be that the resulting structure could not be strictly monotonic, in the sense that the presence of some of the lower heads –like ‘wish’– would have to block projection of some of the higher heads, or at least force a spell out where assertiveness is mapped to a main predicate and subjunctive is realised on the subordinate clause. One option is represented in (78), intended as a first attempt that illustrates the philosophy of the analysis without providing at this point empirical arguments for this particular hierarchical organisation; (78) is a mere conjecture at this point.



The second fact is that not all subjunctives behave in the same way; we know that some subjunctives –non-presuppositional ones– are transparent and make it possible, for instance, that polarity items in a subordinated clause are licensed long-distance (González Rodríguez 2003), while others –presuppositional ones– do not allow this and instead can license a wider variety of temporal forms. This could suggest that,

despite appearances on the surface, the first kind of subjunctive spells out a structure that has less layers than the second.

- (79) a. No creo que sepa nada.
not believe that he.knows.subj nothing
'I don't think he knows anything'
b. #No lamento que lea nada.
not I.regret that you.read.subj nothing
'I don't regret that you read anything'
- (80) a. *Quiero que viniera.
I.want that she.came.subj
b. Lamento que viniera.
I.regret that she.came.subj

The third fact is that in some languages, different classes of subjunctive are selected by different complementisers. For instance, Latin introduced volitional subjunctives –independently of whether they depended from a verb of will– specifically with *ut* 'that'.

- (81) Cura ut venias.
make.sure that you.come.subj
'Make sure that you come'

Thus, to wrap up: subjunctive has a number of different uses, which are difficult to tie together under one single label. Different solutions could be thought to solve this problem, including treating subjunctive as a default form and associating it to an abstract notion that simply marks a shift in the model used to assess the proposition. We have highlighted an additional option: treating subjunctive as the syncretic spell out of a set of distinct forms.

3. Subjunctive (II): free and dependent forms

Let us now move to the problem of whether subjunctive has to be licensed in a context, and in such case, how. Bosque (2012: 374-375) differentiates between three situations:

- a) Selected subjunctive, where subjunctive appears in an embedded structure that directly depends from a lexical or a functional head.
- b) Polarity subjunctive (Stowell 1993), where subjunctive must appear in the scope of a modal operator
- c) Subjunctive in matrix clauses, where there is no main predicate the subjunctive clause is dependent on.

Of particular interest are the cases in (c), because a subclass of these cases could be contradictory with the situation that is suggested by (a) and (b), namely that subjunctive is not the manifestation of a modal operator, but a dependency marker that characterises a set of structures that, in one sense or the other, are c-commanded by constituents with a particular modal flavour. Each of the classes is illustrated in (82):

- (82) a. Quiero que vengas.
I.want that you.come.subj
b. Hay pocos chicos que hayan traído la tarea.
there.are few boys that have.subj brought the homework
c. ¡Muera la tiranía!
die.subj the tirany
'May tirany die!'

(82a) is a case where subjunctive is required by the main verb, *querer* 'want'. In contrast, in (82b) it is not the case that any of the constituents of the main predicate can be claimed to select directly for subjunctive; the cause is, rather, the presence of *pocos* 'few', that creates a downward entailing context (§3.1.2.) where the verb is included. Finally, in (82c) apparently there is no trigger of subjunctive, which is placed inside a main clause.

There are syntactic differences between the first two classes of subjunctive. Note, first, that the lexically-selected subjunctive (intensional subjunctive, in Stowell's 1993 terminology) has to be strictly local to the predicate that introduces it. The clearest case is the class of subjunctives introduced by predicates like *querer* 'want', but verbs like those in (83) also share this property.

- (83) a. Lamento que Luis esté enfermo.
I.regret that Luis is.subj sick
b. Lamento que digas que Luis está enfermo.
I.regret that you.say.subj that Luis is.ind sick
c. *Lamento que dices que Luis esté enfermo.
I.regret that you.say.ind that Luis is.subj sick

In (83b), there are two verbs, but subjunctive is triggered in the highest of them, which is local to the main predicate. Polarity subjunctive does not behave in the same way: the immediate constituent where subjunctive is placed does not need to be strictly local to the operator (84), and the same operator can trigger subjunctive in two sentences, one of them, obviously, not local to it.

- (84) a. No ha conocido [a una chica que sea rica] porque es tímido.
not has met A a girl that is.subj rich because he.is.ind shy
'Because he is shy, he has not met a rich girl'
b. No ha conocido a una chica que es rica [porque sea tímido].
not has met A a girl that is.ind rich because he.is.subj shy
'He has met a rich girl, but not because he is shy'
c. No creo que piense que la quiera tanto.
not think that thinks.subj that her loves.subj as.much
'I don't think that she thinks that he loves her so much'.

See §3.1.3 for a possible case of blocking in the case of polarity subjunctive. The interaction between polarity and lexically-selected subjunctive is complex. Borgonovo (2003) notes that whenever a polarity subjunctive trigger (eg., *no*) is embedded under an intensional subjunctive trigger, the polarity trigger fails to license subjunctive. Let us see this step by step.

First, in (85) we have a sentence that contains a polarity subjunctive trigger (*no*); we see that subjunctive is at least possible here.

- (85) No creo que Pedro sea un buen estudiante.
not think that Pedro is.subj a good student

Second, in (86) we have an intensional-subjunctive trigger (*querer*), that forces subjunctive.

- (86) Quiero que creas eso.
I.want that you.believe.subj this

Now we put them together, and the surprising result is that the subjunctive that should be triggered by the polarity trigger is impossible (87a); however, when the intensional subjunctive is embedded under the polarity trigger, there is no blocking effect (87b).

- (87) a. Quiero que no crea que Pedro {es / *sea} un mal estudiante.
I.want that not believe.subj that Pedro is.ind/ is.subj a bad student
'I want you not to think that Pedro is a bad student'
b. No creo que quiera que {vayas / *vas}.
not think that he.wants.subj that you.go.subj / you.go.ind
'I don't think he wants you to go'

Borgonovo's account of this phenomenon supports the idea that polarity subjunctive is a marker of the scope of an operator, in our case, negation; subjunctive marks a constituent as necessarily contained inside the scope, and thus having narrow scope. This is the case, for instance, of the polarity subjunctive that appears in subordinate clauses, associated with non-specificity:

- (88) a. No tengo un libro que hable...
Not have a book that talks.subj...
b. No tengo un libro que habla...
not have a book that talks.subj...

In (88a) the existential quantifier introduced by the direct object is below negation (there is no book that talks...); in (88b), it is above negation (there is a book that talks about it but I don't have it).

Borgonovo's (2003: 22) account is that the crucial property that explains the blocking effect is the fact that strongly intensional predicates, like *querer* 'want', introduce a set of possible worlds which, crucially, do not include the actual world. She notes that in fact two other constructions where the set of worlds where the truth holds necessarily does not include the actual world also produce the same blocking effect: counterfactual conditionals block it, but not realis conditionals:

- (89) a. Si no crees que Pedro sea culpable, debes...
if not believe.you that Pedro is.subj guilty, you.must...
'If you don't believe that Pedro is guilty, you must...'
b. *Si no creyeras que Pedro fuera culpable, deberías...
if not believed.subj that Pedro was.subj guilty, you.should...
'If you didn't believe that Pedro is guilty, you should...'

Imperatives, also describing states of affairs that are excluded from the actual world, produce the blocking:

- (90) No digas que Pedro {es / *sea} culpable.
not tell.imp that Pedro is.ind / is.subj guilty

Thus, in a sentence like (91), the speaker, with the intensional predicate, is defining a set of worlds, not including the actual one, where Juan does not hold a belief; it follows, then, that in the actual world Juan does hold the belief. Thus, negation is not taking the subordinate clause in its scope: the belief is not being denied, what is being denied is the main verb. Consequently, because polarity subjunctive marks the scope of negation and in (91) the scope of negation must be the verb *creer* ‘believe’, subjunctive is impossible.

- (91) Quiero que Juan no crea que Luis es tonto.
I.want that Juan not believes that Luis is stupid
‘I want that Juan does not believe that Luis is stupid’
(it follows --> in the actual world, Juan does believe that Juan is stupid)

Intensional subjunctive and polarity subjunctive, however, display a similar behaviour in one sense: they are both sensitive to negation, as Bosque (2012: 375-376) notes. With weakly assertive verbs, adding negation can involve turning the predicate into a non-assertive one, and subjunctive is necessary, provided that the subordinate clause is on the scope of negation –that is, subjunctive here implies that the subordinate proposition is not part of the model of the speaker–. Note that indicative could be used if the proposition was attributed to a different speaker (92c).

- (92) a. Creo que han hecho emérito a Juan.
I.think that have.ind made emeritus A Juan
‘I think they have made Juan emeritus’
b. No creo que hayan hecho emérito a Juan.
not think that have.subj made emeritus A Juan
‘I don’t think they have made Juan emeritus’
c. No creo que han hecho emérito a Juan.
not think that have.ind made emeritus A Juan
‘I don’t think [what X said, namely] that they have made Juan emeritus’

This could still be a case of pure polarity subjunctive, but it is more difficult to explain from that perspective (93), where adding negation to a predicate expressing doubt involves introducing the subordinate clause in the indicative:

- (93) a. Dudo de que Juan ya sea emérito.
I.doubt of that Juan already is.subj emeritus
‘I doubt that Juan is already emeritus’
b. No dudo de que Juan ya es emérito.
not doubt of that Juan already is.ind emeritus
‘I have no doubts that Juan is already emeritus’

Intuitive as this might be from a communicative perspective (not doubting implies holding some belief with certainty), it constitutes a counterexample to Borgonovo’s

analysis of polarity subjunctive. In her view, indicative marks the main clause as the scope of negation, while subjunctive implies that the scope of negation has to be the subordinate clause. (93b) shows that some indicatives mark the subordinate clause as the scope of negation.

This mood reversal does not take place with all intensional predicates; strongly intensional predicates (remember Farkas' 1992 terminology) like *para* 'in order to', *querer* 'want' or *es necesario* 'it is necessary' do not show the reversal:

- (94) No es necesario que {vengas / *vienes}.
not is necessary that you.come.subj / you.come.ind

A third issue that is worth mentioning has to do with the items that lexically select subjunctive. It has been repeatedly noted that specific items can select indicative or subjunctive, with particular meaning differences. Let us consider as an illustration three of many possible examples. (95) shows the same verb, which when interpreted as a perception verb asks for indicative, and when interpreted as an intentional verb combines with subjunctive.

- (95) a. Veo que todo marcha como debe.
I.see that all goes as it should
'I see that everything is going as it should'
b. Veo que todo marche como debe.
I.see that all goes.subj as it.should
'I take care that everything goes as it should'

(96) illustrates the same alternation, this time with a conjunction. In indicative, it produces a causal meaning, while in subjunctive it denotes a conditional meaning.

- (96) a. Como estás aquí, podemos ir al cine.
as you.are.ind here, we.can go to.the movies
'As you are here, we can go to the movies'
b. Como sigas aquí, llamo a la policía.
as you.stay.subj here, I.call A the police
'If you stay here, I shall call the police'

(97) shows the same adverb with indicative and with subjunctive; in the first case, the meaning is closer to 'probably'; in the second, it is closer to 'possibly'. That is, each of the two moods expresses a different degree of plausibility for the state of affairs denoted by the sentence.

- (97) a. Tal vez está enfermo.
perhaps he.is.ind sick
b. Tal vez esté enfermo.
perhaps he.is.subj sick
'Perhaps he is sick'

Bosque (2012) notes that there are three conceivable solutions for these alternations: the first is to propose different lexical entries for each of the two items, the one that selects indicative and the one that selects subjunctive. This option is

plausible with some predicates, where the mood distinction is parallel to other selectional restrictions, such as whether the subject is an agent (98a) or a causer (98b).

- (98) a. El autor explica que su obra es así.
the author explains that his work is.ind like.that
b. La personalidad del autor explica que su obra sea así.
the personality of.the author explains that his work is.subj like.that

However, this solution is not possible in most cases, because, first with most predicates a sentence in the indicative can be coordinated with one in the subjunctive (99, Alonso-Cortés 1981; Quer 1998), and, second, because the subjunctive does not deny the communication meaning of the main verb: it just adds a modal value ('that should be like this', Ahern & Leonetti 2002).

- (99) El jefe dice que ya es tarde y que mandes la carta ya.
the boss says that already is.ind late and that you.send.subj the letter already
'The boss says that it is already late and that you must send the letter already'

In such cases, the solution could be syntactic: the selectional requisites of the predicate are always the same, but the clause that contains subjunctive carries a complementiser that contains a modal operator (see §7) under whose scope the verb is placed.

3.1. Mood inductors

Let us look now a bit closer the case of polarity subjunctive, and specifically the kind of contexts where subjunctive is licensed. One important property to note of the set of mood inductors is that they correspond to the items that produce referential opacity, that is, contexts where for instance a bare plural does not denote a group (Grimm 2012) and an indefinite can be interpreted as non-specific.

3.1.1. Referential opacity

Among the modal triggers of subjunctive, we find the following: negation (100), interrogation (101), conditionals (102) and so-called strongly intensional predicates, which, even though they are generally treated in a different way from modal operators, have been argued to contain modal operators (103, Moltmann 1997, 2008; Richards 2001).

- (101) No hay nadie que sepa chino en la clase.
not there.is nobody that knows.subj Chinese in the class
'There is nobody that speaks Chinese in the class'
- (102) ¿Hay alguien que sepa chino en la clase?
is.there anyone that knows.subj Chinese in the class
'Is there anyone that speaks Chinese in the class?'
- (103) Si hay alguien que sepa chino en la sala, que salga.
If there.is someone that knows.subj Chinese in the room, that comes.subj
'If there is someone that speaks Chinese in the room, come out'
- (104) a. Necesito a alguien que sepa chino.
I.need A someone that knows.subj Chinese
b. Prefiero a alguien que sepa chino.
I.prefer A someone that knows.subj Chinese

In some cases, exclamatives (*¡Quién estuviera allí para verlo!* ‘Who was subj there to see it!’; RAE & ASALE 2009: §25.2j) can also induce subjunctive, although it is not a regular phenomenon. To the extent that some gerund clauses can be interpreted as conditionals, some verbs that otherwise do not license subjunctive can license it when used in the gerund: *Suponiendo que esto sea cierto...* ‘Assuming that this is subj true...’, meaning *Si suponemos que esto es cierto...* ‘If we suppose that this is true’ (RAE & ASALE 2009: §25.2i).

These cases happen to coincide with contexts where non-specific readings of indefinites are licensed; in none of the previous sentences is there an entailment that, in the relevant universe of discourse, there is a person with such properties. For this reason it is said that in such cases subjunctive marks an indefinite as having narrow scope (see López 2012 for some qualifications). These are also the contexts where bare plurals can be interpreted as singulars. If someone says (105) they are not saying that they does not have more than one child, but has one, for instance.

- (105) No tengo hijos.
Not I.have children
‘I have no children’
- (106) ¿Tienes hijos?
you.have children
‘Do you have any children?’
- (107) Si tienes hijos, cambia tu vida.
if you.have children, changes your life
‘If you have any children, your life changes’
- (108) Necesitas hijos ya.
you.need children already
‘You need (to have) children’

All this brings plausibility to the general proposal that subjunctive marks the scope of operators.

3.1.2. Downward entailing contexts

Another way to consider this issue is with the notion of downward entailing context, a domain that negation –among other functions– creates (Ladusaw 1980: chapters 5 and 6). A downward entailing function creates a context where the truth of a proposition entails the truth of a proposition whose extension is a strict subset of its extension, following the formula in (109).

- (109) $a \subseteq b \ \& \ f(b) \ \text{---} \> \ f(a)$

Negation creates a downward entailing context: if (110) is true, (111) is also true. With positive polarity, there are no downward entailments: (112) can be true with (113) being false.

- (110) No hay chicos en la clase.
not there.are boys in the class
- (111) No hay chicos con bigote en la clase.
not there.are boys with moustache in the class
- (112) Hay chicos en la clase.

- there.are boys in the class
 (113) Hay chicos con bigote en la clase.
 there.are boys with moustache in the class

Downward entailing contexts have been used to delimit the domains where negative polarity items are licensed. Subjunctive is licensed in negative domains as well, including under predicates and expressions that involve a negative meaning, like prepositions (114).

- (114) a. Sin que haya chicos en la clase...
 without that there.are.subj boys in the class
 b. Sin que haya chicos con bigote en la clase...
 without that there.are.subj boys with moustache in the class...

However, the correlation is not perfect. First, subjunctive is licensed in downward entailing contexts, like a negatively oriented adjective (115) (Kennedy 2007), but also in upward entailing contexts, like positively oriented adjectives (116). (115a) entails (115b), with a more reduced extension, but (116a) does not entail (116b); (116b) entails (116a), which shows that this adjective is upward entailing; however, both license subjunctive (115c, 116c).

- (115) a. Es peligroso conducir en Roma.
 it.is dangerous to.drive in Rome
 b. Es peligroso conducir en Roma de noche.
 it.is dangerous to.drive in Rome by night
 c. Es peligroso que conduzcas aquí.
 it.is dangerous that you.drive.subj here
 (116) a. Es seguro conducir en Roma.
 it.is safe to.drive in Rome
 b. Es seguro conducir en Roma de noche.
 it.is safe to.drive in Rome by night
 c. Es seguro que conduzcas aquí.
 it.is safe that you.drive.subj here

There are also downward entailing contexts that license subjunctive but do not license negative polarity items. One such case is a QP with *poco* ‘few’, as opposed to one with *mucho* ‘many’. (117a) entails (117b), and (118b) entails (118a); only the first licenses subjunctive.

- (117) a. Hay pocos chicos.
 there.are few boys
 b. Hay pocos chicos con bigote.
 there.are few boys with moustache
 c. Hay pocos chicos que tengan bigote.
 there.are few boys that have.subj moustache
 (118) a. Hay muchos chicos.
 there.are many boys
 b. Hay muchos chicos con bigote.
 there.are many boys with moustache

- c. *Hay muchos chicos que tengan bigote.
there.are many boys that have.subj moustache

Note, however, that poco ‘few’ does not license negative polarity items.

- (119) *Hay pocos chicos que sepan nada.
there.are few boys that know nothing

Similarly, there are non entailing contexts that license subjunctive. One such case is the preposition *para* ‘in order to’. (120a) does not entail (120b), and (120b) does not entail (120a), but subjunctive is necessary.

- (120) a. Para que haya un chico...
so that there.is.subj a boy...
b. Para que haya un chico con bigote...
so that there.is a boy with moustache...

The conclusion of this section is that at least three different inductors are necessary for subjunctive: subjunctive appears in the domain of negation and other modal operators, inside other downward entailing contexts that do not license negative polarity items, and also inside contexts which are not downward entailing. This supports a view of subjunctive as a case of syncretism between morphosyntactically (and semantically) different forms.

3.1.3. A blocking effect?

One fact that has been repeatedly noticed in the literature is that subjunctive does not appear in a series of contexts where, given their meaning, it should be expected. They involve indirect interrogatives and the conjunction *si* ‘if’. Attending to the characterisation of subjunctive as the form of uncertainty, and also to the idea that subjunctive is licensed in interrogative contexts, we should expect indirect interrogatives to carry subjunctive. However, the subordinate sentences appear in indicative, excluding some American varieties:

- (121) a. No sé quién {vino / *viniera}.
not I.know who came.ind / came.subj
b. No sé dónde {vive / *viva}.
not I.know where lives.ind / lives.subj
c. No sé si {viene / *venga}.
not I.know if comes.ind / comes.subj

In indirect interrogatives the ban against subjunctive, at least in most Spanish varieties, is total. Bosque (2012) notes this pattern and suggests that it might be due to a blocking effect. Indeed, it is conceivable to think that the indirect interrogative involves the presence of an operator that produces an intervention effect that breaks the connection between the modal operator and its variable, which includes the subjunctive.

- (122) *...Op^{mod} ...Op^{int} ...variable^{subj}

In (121a) and (121b), there is in fact an overt interrogative operator, the wh-words *quién* ‘who’ and *dónde* ‘where’.

Extending this account to the second case is not so straightforward, though: conditionals.

- (123) Si Juan {viene / *venga}...
if Juan comes.ind / comes.subj

Indeed, since Geis (1970) there have been analyses of conditionals involving an operator-variable structure, which have a modern form in the work of Haegeman (2012) and Arsenijevic (2009); also in this case, the presence of an operator could break the relation between the modal operator and the its subjunctive variable. There are two problems, though. The first is that this operator would have to be restricted to the case of *si* ‘if’; other conditional or concessive expressions would not involve the same operation, because they do allow subjunctive.

- (124) a. En caso de que venga...
in case of that he.comes.subj
b. Aunque venga...
although he.comes.subj

Secondly, *si* ‘if’ in conditionals allows other forms of subjunctive that are not the present. It is not clear how an intervention analysis could account for this fact: the operator would only be needed in the case of present (but this line is not completely hopeless: see Ippolito 2013 for the proposal that the past tenses can perform a role similar to a modal operator).

- (125) a. Si viniera...
if he.came.subj
b. Si hubiera venido...
if he.had.subj come...

3.2. Main clause subjunctive

As we have noted, ‘subjunctive’ etymologically refers to the form that appears in subordinate clauses. Despite what this might suggest, the Spanish subjunctive can also appear in main clauses, at least on the surface. Some analyses have argued that the cases that we are going to discuss here are, in fact, cases of implicit subordination, but as we will note, this cannot be true for all cases.

If the previous cases supported a view of subjunctive as an element that has to be dependent, and mostly inside the scope of some operators, the facts that we are going to review here (specially in §3.2.3, and perhaps also in §3.2.2.) argue in favour of a treatment of subjunctive as a form that in itself can carry modal meaning. For clarity: the previous cases showed subordinated subjunctives that, arguably, were placed under the domain of operators or inside the clauses selected by a variety of predicates, but the modal meaning was coming from the operator or the predicate. Some of the cases we will consider now, however, could be instances of subjunctives that directly define a modal meaning.

3.2.1. Adverbial licensing

Cases where the subjunctive is licensed by an adverb in the main clause are not problematic for the idea that subjunctive has to be licensed by a modal operator. These adverbs, marking insecurity or desire, could be the operators or involve an operator in their structure:

- (126) a. Tal vez venga.
 perhaps comes.subj
 b. Quizá venga.
 perhaps comes.subj
 c. Ojalá venga.
 I.wish comes.subj

Three comments are in order. The first is that adverbs of uncertainty do not behave in the same way as the desire marker. Uncertainty adverbs do not force subjunctive, while *ojalá* does.

- (127) a. Tal vez viene.
 perhaps comes.ind
 b. Quizá viene.
 perhaps comes.ind
 c. *Ojalá viene.
 I.wish comes.ind

The second comment is that insecurity adverbs only can license subjunctive when they are in a preverbal position; *ojalá* must always be in a preverbal position.

- (128) a. Viene tal vez.
 comes.ind perhaps
 b. *Venga tal vez.
 comes.subj perhaps
 c. *Venga ojalá.
 comes I.wish

The third comment is that there are proposals that treat *ojalá* as a subordinating conjunction, in which case the subjunctives introduced by it would not be inside main clauses. In favour of this proposal we find the fact that the etymological origin of *ojalá* is a conditional sentence ('if it is God's will' in Arabic), the possibility of finding the form *ojalá que* 'I.wish that' and also the fact that in some American varieties, like the one along the coast of Colombia, *ojalá* is used as a conjunction expressing a concessive meaning (Kany 1945, Seco 1972).

- (129) No haré tal cosa ojalá me maten.
 not will.do such thing I.wish me they.kill
 'I won't do such thing even if they kill me'

3.2.2. Exhortative and desiderative sentences

However, there are other cases where there is no apparent overt mood inductor and no apparent subordination. Spanish has two classes of main clause environments, both of them with a non-declarative illocutionary force, that license subjunctive: desiderative and exhortative sentences.

As the name suggests, desiderative sentences express a wish which normally does not have a direct addressee who is expected to perform the desired task. They are frequent with some predicates, like those in (130):

- (130) a. Bendito seas.
blessed you.be.subj
'May you be blessed'
b. Viva Costa Rica.
live.subj Costa Rica
'May Costa Rica live (long)'
c. Muera la tiranía.
die.subj the tyranny
'May tyranny die'
d. En paz descanse.
in peace rest.subj
'May he rest in peace'

Without a complementiser *que* 'that', the range of verbs that can appear in desiderative sentences is somewhat restricted. However, when this complementiser is added, the construction is quite productive.

- (131) a. *(Que) encuentres felicidad.
that you.find.subj happiness
b. *(Que) te salga novio pronto.
that you comes.out.subj boyfriend soon
'May you find a boyfriend soon'
c. *(Que) paséis una buena noche.
that you.pass.subj a good night
'May you have a good night'

Exhortative sentences, whose limits with imperative sentences are controversial (RAE & ASALE 2009: §42.4e-i), generally express orders and advice which, unlike imperative clauses, do not have a clear addressee who is expected to perform the task. They are more productive than desiderative sentences in the sense that a wider variety of verbs allow for exhortative uses even in the absence of the complementiser. Impersonal subjects are a good way to block an imperative reading.

- (132) a. Hága-se.
make.subj-SE
'It should be done'
b. Véa-se.
see.subj-SE
'It should be seen'
c. Supóngase.
suppose.subj-SE
'It should be assumed'

These sentences also allow the overt complementiser.

- (133) Que se haga lo que dice.

that SE makes.subj it what he.says
 ‘What he says should be done’

This could be a case of a subjunctive not licensed by any operator, but most analyses do not agree with this claim. There are two potential options: one is to assume that there is an implicit modal operator that triggers the subjunctive. The second is to, in fact, propose that these sentences contain in some form an implicit main predicate, a strongly intensional verb which subordinates the material. This is, in fact, a proposal that was first made in Ross (1970), and that has been known since then as the performative hypothesis. In Ross’ proposal, every main verb was actually subordinated to an implicit predicate codifying its illocutionary force. Without taking the proposal that far, it could be thought that in exhortative and desiderative sentences such implicit predicate exists, partially accounting for the possibility that a complementiser appears with these sentences (in the case of desiderative constructions, actually making them productive).

- (134) [SPEAKER WISHES] que paséis un buen día.
 that you.pass.subj a good day

3.2.3. *Quisiera, debiera and pudiera*

However, this (restricted) performative hypothesis cannot be extended to all cases of subjunctive licensed without an overt operator. There are three verbs in Spanish that can appear in subjunctive in main clauses under special conditions.

- (135) a. Debieras hacerlo de otra forma.
 you.should.subj make-it of another way
 ‘You should do it in another way’
 b. Quisiera un billete para México.
 I.wanted.subj a ticket to Mexico
 c. Pudiera ser que tengas razón.
 it.could.subj be that you.have reason
 ‘You might be right’

The construction does not allow an analysis with an implicit main verb, as (136) shows:

- (136) a. *[Me gustaría que] quisiera un billete para México.
 me would.like that I.wanted.subj a ticket to Mexico
 b. *[Te aconsejo que] debieras hacerlo de otra forma.
 you I.advice that you.should.subj make-it of other way

Moreover, in such cases the complementiser is not available.

- (137) *Que quisiera un billete para México.
 that I.wanted.subj a ticket to Mexico

This pattern is extremely restricted, archaic-sounding in Peninsular Spanish and quite formal. First, the only form allowed with these verbs is the imperfective subjunctive (138). Second, from the two forms of the imperfective subjunctive (-*ra* and -*se*), which are generally interchangeable, only the -*ra* forms can be used (139).

- (138) a. *Quiera un billete.
I.want.subj a ticket
b. *Hubiera querido un billete.
I.had.subj wanted a ticket
- (139) *Quisiese un billete.
I.want.subj a ticket

Third, it is unclear whether these three verbs form a natural class to the exclusion of all other modal verbs. The verb *deber* ‘should’ is clearly modal, and *querer* ‘want’ displays some properties of modal auxiliary verbs, such as the possibility to select for meteorological verbs:

- (140) Parece que quiere llover.
it.seems that it.wants to.rain
‘It seems that it is going to rain’

As for *poder* ‘can’, it seems that it can only take part in this construction when it is a member of the complex expression *puede (ser) que* ‘it might be that’, which is itself quite restricted and which Bosque (1999) classifies as a ‘quasi-periphrasis’. Contrast (141) with (135c).

- (141) *Pudieras tener novia.
you.could.subj have girlfriend

However, other modal verbs that in principle should belong to the same class reject the construction:

- (142) a. *Fuera posible que lloviera.
it.was.subj possible that it.rained.subj
b. *Cupiera que fuera cierto.
it.was.conceivable.subj that it.was.subj true

Finally, with the exception of *debiera* ‘should.subj’, the other two verbs are restricted to only one of the persons, first or (impersonal) third:

- (143) a. Debiéramos reconsiderarlo.
we.should.subj reconsider.it
b. *¿Quisieras un café?
you.wanted.subj a coffee
c. *Pudiéramos ser que estemos enfermos.
we.could.subj be that we.are.subj sick

This pattern of data is poorly understood, and it might be unavoidable to make a proposal where the verbs and expressions that can take part into it are lexically or morphologically restricted. It is not unconceivable, even, that these forms have to be stored as idiomatic verbal expressions, as is necessary for (144) given its non-compositional meaning:

- (144) Acabáramos.
 we.finished.subj
 Lit. ‘may we finish’, idiomatically ‘You should have said this before!’

3.3. Subjunctive forms and stylistic variation?

There are two cases where it has been claimed that the use of a subjunctive form does not correlate with a modal notion of any kind. In these two cases, it has been claimed that the use of subjunctive is stylistically marked.

The first case is the well-known use of the imperfective subjunctive in contexts where the indefinite (*pretérito perfecto simple*) is expected (Veiga 1996).

- (145) Ha muerto el que fuera capitán del Real Madrid.
 has died he who was.subj captain of-the Real Madrid
 ‘The person who once was the captain of Real Madrid has died’

Although less frequent than the *-ra* inflection, the imperfective subjunctive forms in *-se* are also documented in this use (Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2925).

- (146) Ha muerto el que fuese capitán del Real Madrid.
 has died he who was.subj captain of-the Real Madrid
 ‘The person who once was the captain of Real Madrid has died’

Several authors (eg., Alcoba Rueda 1991, 1995) have argued that this use of subjunctive as a past form is purely stylistic, as a way, typical from the language of journalism, to vary between indefinite and another form. It is generally accepted that this use is related to the fact that the forms in *-ra* are etymologically derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative (147, cf. Penny 1993: 192). During the Middle Ages, this form was clearly a past tense form; from there, once the *-ra* form was recategorised as subjunctive and the analytic pluperfect *había cantado* ‘had sung’, this temporal use extended to the *-se* forms, that always were used as a past subjunctive.

- (147) cantaveram > cantaram > cantara

More controversial is the proposal that the subjunctive forms are also stylistic in examples like (148, Pérez Saldanya 1999: 3314-3315; Haverkate 2002).

- (148) Nos fuimos después de que {intentaron / intentasen} agredirnos.
 us left after of that they.tried.ind / they.tried.subj attack.us
 ‘We left after they tried to attack us’

In (148) the subordinate event is realis, and it is not prospective with respect to the time of utterance or the main event time. The presence of subjunctive, then, does not clearly fall into any of the uses we have reviewed in §2: it is assertive, it is not presuppositional, it is not hypothetical and it does not express prospectivity or futurity. Sentences with *desde que* ‘since’ also show this use, again in what seems to be free variation with an imperfective subjunctive. To the best of our knowledge, no author has proposed a clear semantic distinction between the use of indefinite and the use of imperfective subjunctive in these sentences. Many authors (Imbs 1953, Dauzat 1954, Bonnard 1977, Rojo & Veiga 1999) have argued that this use is not licensed by the semantic properties of the clause, and is due either to an analogy with *antes de que*

‘before’ or to simple stylistic variation. Lunn (1995) suggested that subjunctive is possible whenever the subordinate clause brings background information, and is also associated with a journalistic style.

4. Subjunctive (III): properties and effects

The goal of this section is to review the different properties and effects associated with subjunctive, beyond the question of whether and how it is licensed in a syntactic context.

4.1. Morphological properties

There are three main issues that can be highlighted with respect to the morphology of subjunctive: the set of temporal forms it allows, and whether they indeed carry temporal meaning; the interaction between subjunctive and person morphology, specially in the case of voseo, and the syncretism between subjunctive and imperatives.

4.1.1. Temporal morphology

Consider the following table, which compares the set of indicative forms with the set of subjunctive forms.

(149)

Present	<i>canto</i>	<i>cante</i>
Imperfective past	<i>cantaba</i>	<i>cantara</i> or <i>cantase</i>
Perfective past	<i>canté</i>	--
Perfect	<i>he cantado</i>	<i>haya cantado</i>
Future	<i>cantaré</i>	--
Conditional	<i>cantaría</i>	--
Pluperfect	<i>había cantado</i>	<i>hubiera</i> or <i>hubiese cantado</i>
Anterior future	<i>hube cantado</i>	--
Future perfect	<i>habré cantado</i>	--

Grammars mention a future subjunctive form (*cantare*); however, this form is almost completely lost from Standard Spanish, after a slow but certain process of progressive loss (Granda 1968).

The descriptive effect of the fact that subjunctive has far less temporal forms than indicative is that one subjunctive form corresponds to several forms in the indicative, something that can be shown comparing notionally equivalent sentences depending from assertive and non-assertive predicates. The present subjunctive corresponds to both the present and the future indicative:

- (150) a. Creo que Luis {está / estará} en casa.
I.think that Luis is / will.be at home
b. No creo que Luis esté en casa {ahora / mañana}.
not I.think that Luis is.subj at home now / tomorrow

Similarly, the perfect subjunctive corresponds to the perfect indicative, but also to the future perfect in the indicative:

- (151) a. Creo que Luis {ha terminado / habrá terminado} la tarea.
I.think that Luis has finished / will.have finished the homework
b. No creo que Luis haya terminado la tarea (cuando llegues).
not I.think that Luis has.subj finished the homework when you arrive.subj

The imperfective subjunctive corresponds to the imperfective indicative, the perfective past and the conditional.

- (152) a. Creía que Luis {estaba / estuvo / estaría} en casa.
I.thought that Luis was.imp /was.per / would.be at home
b. No creía que Luis estuviera en casa.
not I.thought that Luis was.subj at home

One way of interpreting these data is to claim that tense distinctions in the subjunctive do not express temporal orientation, or at least that the subjunctive's ability to express tense is impoverished (an idea that in Spanish goes back to Picallo 1984, 1985). One fact that makes this idea plausible is that imperfective subjunctive – traditionally, a tense form – can be used to refer to the future (153). Laca (2010b) analyses this fact in the following way: the past tense in the subjunctive, when not subordinated to a verb with temporal value, denotes an anchoring to possible worlds that excludes the evaluation world from the domain of possible worlds where the proposition is true. Using the past, then, implies that the speaker does not consider it plausible that her wish will become true in the world defined by what she considers plausible; hence the suggestion that the speaker does not find it plausible that in the actual world tomorrow it will rain, a future-less-vivid reading.

- (153) Ojalá lloviera mañana.
I.wish it.rained.subj tomorrow

In those cases, one can see that the present / imperfective subjunctive distinction marks different degrees of uncertainty, rather than temporal orientation. (154) shows that in (154), with present, the present is interpreted as including the world of evaluation in the domain of worlds where the truth of the proposition possibly holds. Consequently, the speaker holds the belief that it is possible, perhaps even likely, that tomorrow it will rain.

- (154) Ojalá llueva mañana.
I.wish it.rains.subj tomorrow

With epistemic adverbs, however, the imperfective has to be interpreted as a real past. The reason is that, as an epistemic context implies that the speaker thinks that the world where the proposition is evaluated is a world where the proposition is possibly true, so it is not possible to exclude the world of evaluation from the set of worlds that are considered in the domain. Thus, past tense cannot be interpreted 'in a modal way', and a real past tense interpretation emerges.

- (155) Tal vez viniera {ayer / *mañana}.
perhaps came.subj yesterday / tomorrow

In a nutshell, Laca's (2010b) proposal is that the value 'past' in subjunctive can be instantiated in two forms, both roughly meaning 'not actual in the current pair world-time': as a purely temporal form, and as a form that excludes the world of evaluation from the set of worlds where the proposition is possibly true.

In subordinate clauses, not all subjunctives show the same temporal (in)dependence. In desiderative contexts, which as we will see are among those where the subjunctive clause is less independent from the main clause, subjunctives must be ordered prospectively. This is obviously related to the fact that wishes are oriented towards the future, or, as Quer (1998) puts it, that volitionals (just like directives and causatives) need to operate on sets of non-anterior alternatives. However, the interesting constraint is that the subjunctive clause does not have the possibility to change that orientation, something that it should be able to do if it carried strong temporal inflection.

- (156) Quiero que {vengas / *vinieras}.
I.want that you.come.subj / you.came.subj

With epistemic predicates, subjunctive can alternate freely between present, past and future if the main verb is in the present, but a future or a present form are impossible if the main verb is in the past (158). This does not necessarily show a certain degree of temporal impoverishment with respect to the indicative, as the indicative shows the same restriction with the future and the present (159). There is a plausible semantic explanation to the impossibility of (158b) and (158c): the speaker did not hold a belief in the past, but now he holds the belief, so subjunctive does not make sense. However, this would leave the indicative data unexplained.

- (157) a. No creo que esté aquí ahora.
not I.think that he.is.subj here now
b. No creo que estuviera aquí ayer.
not I.think that he.was.subj here yesterday
c. No creo que esté aquí mañana.
not I.think that he.is.subj here tomorrow
- (158) a. No creía que estuviera aquí ayer.
not I.thought that he.was.subj here yesterday
b. *No creía que esté todo tan mal.
not believed that is.subj all so bad
Intended: 'I didn't believe (before) that everything is so bad'
c. *No creía que esté aquí mañana.
not I.believe that is.subj here tomorrow
Intended: 'I didn't believe (before) that he will be here'
- (159) a. Creía que estaba aquí ayer.
I.thought that he.was.ind here yesterday
b. *Creía que las cosas están tan mal.
I.thought that he.is.ind here now
Intended: 'I came to believe that he is here now'
c. *Creía que estará aquí mañana.
I.thought that he.will.be here tomorrow

Kempchinsky (1986), however, notes that there are real temporal effects with subjunctive under directive verbs: an imperfective subjunctive is compatible with two

readings, including one where the action is completed at utterance time (160a', 160a''); a present subjunctive, however, is only compatible with a reading where the order was not fulfilled yet at utterance time (160b', 160b'').

- (160) a. Ordené a Pedro que terminara el proyecto...
I.ordered ACC Pedro that finished.subj the project
a'. ...y efectivamente lo hizo.
and indeed it he.did
a''. ...pero todavía no lo ha hecho.
but still not it has done it.
- b. Ordené a Pedro que termine el proyecto...
I.ordered ACC Pedro that finishes.subj the project
b'. #...y efectivamente lo hizo.
and indeed it he.did.
b''. ...pero todavía no lo ha hecho.
but still not it has done
'I ordered Pedro to finish the project {and in fact he did / but he hasn't done it yet}.'

González Rodríguez (2003) notes that under factive verbs, subjunctive can fully define its temporal reference. In present, reference to the three tenses is possible.

- (161) a. Lamento que venga mañana.
I.regret that he.arrives.subj tomorrow
b. Lamento que llegara ayer.
I.regret that he.arrived.subj yesterday
c. Lamento que te comas el postre ahora.
I.regret that you eat.subj the dessert now

With the verb in the past form, it is perfectly possible to have a past-oriented main verb with a future-oriented subjunctive.

- (162) a. Ayer lamentaba que vengas mañana.
yesterday I.regretted that you.come.subj tomorrow
'I regretted yesterday that you will come tomorrow (but now I have changed my mind)'
b. Ayer lamentaba que estés enfermo.
yesterday I.regretted that you.are.subj sick
'I regretted yesterday that you are sick (but now I have changed my mind)'

The conclusion is, again, that different degrees of 'subjunctive' have to be distinguished; the temporal strength of subjunctive is not uniform across contexts. A temporally impoverished analysis of subjunctive would predict that in subordinate contexts, the temporal interpretation of subjunctive would always be anaphoric to the reference provided by the main predicate, but this is not so in some contexts: with factive verbs (162), but also with epistemic verbs (cf. 157) (see also Suñer 1990, Padilla-Rivera 1990 for arguments that subjunctive must be able to express tense). Given the pattern of data examined here, it seems that at least subjunctives have to be divided in two classes with respect to the strength of their tense node.

4.1.2. Voseo

Another piece of evidence that subjunctive could correspond to a syncretic form, and that speakers differentiate between distinct uses of subjunctive that happen to be spelled out by the same set of exponents comes from Argentinean voseo. It is well known that not all varieties that have inflectional voseo have voseo forms in the subjunctive (RAE & ASALE 2009: §4.7i); the voseante variety in Arequipa (Perú) does not have voseo, and neither does the Ecuadorian variety. Interestingly, in the Argentinean variety not all uses of subjunctive allow for voseo, but one of them does:

- (163) a. Lamento que {comas / *comás}.
I.regret that you.eat.subj / vos.eat.subj
b. No creo que {comas / *comás}.
not I.think that you.eat.subj / vos.eat.subj
c. Quiero que {*comas / comás}.
I.want that you.eat.subj / vos.eat.subj

Again, the divide corresponds to the results of the previous section: the future-oriented subjunctive, that is subordinated to verbs of desire and order, allows a voseante form that the factive and epistemic subjunctives reject. For other facts about the interaction of voseo with temporal and modal forms, see Estomba (2011); for other facts about the variation of subjunctive across American varieties, see Gallego (this volume).

4.1.3. Imperative and subjunctive

Another morphological fact is that the imperative seems to use the subjunctive forms in two contexts: under negation (164) and when the subject is *usted* ‘you’, the polite form of the second person (165).

- (164) a. No comas.
not eat.subj
‘Don’t eat [sg.you]’
b. No comáis.
not eat.subj
‘Don’t eat [pl.you]’
(165) Coma usted.
eat.you you
‘Eat [polite you]’

The controversy has traditionally been whether these forms are syncretic with subjunctive, but morphosyntactically different from it, or whether imperative is impossible in the negative form and with subjects other than *tú* ‘you’ and *vosotros* ‘pl.you’. The facts seem to favour the first option: the forms are morphosyntactically different from subjunctive, but the subjunctive exponent is adopted in yet another case of syncretism. As RAE & ASALE (2009: §43.3e) notes, with the verb *ir* ‘go’, the subjunctive and the form used in imperative contexts are different:

- (166) a. Vamos
let’s.go
b. Vayamos.
we.go.subj

4.1.4. Subjunctive and irregular morphology

We have already mentioned (§2) that there is a controversy with respect to whether indicative is the default mood form, or rather subjunctive should be considered as a default value –where default means ‘lacking defining properties X and Y’–. Morphology can provide some interesting evidence about which one of the two modal forms is more basic than the other.

Some subjunctives are morphologically irregular, and the interesting property is that whenever they are irregular, they choose a form that was also irregular in the indicative (specifically, a first person singular in the present). That is, no subjunctive form displays some irregularity that is not independently attested in the indicative.

Irregular present subjunctives use irregular exponents that correspond to those used in the indicative, first person singular present (Maiden 2005).

- (167) a. yo quep-o
I fit
b. tú cabe-s
you fit
c. yo quep-a
I fit.subj
- (168) a. yo conduzc-o
I drive
b. tu conduce-s
you drive
c. yo conduzc-a
I drive.subj
- (169) a. yo salg-o
I exit
b. tú sale-s
you exit
c. yo salg-a
I exit.subj

Irregular imperfective subjunctives use the irregular exponents that are independently attested in the perfective past.

- (170) a. yo tuv-e
I had
b. yo tuv-iera
I had.subj
- (171) a. yo hic-e
I did
b. yo hic-iera
I did.subj
- (172) a. yo conduj-e
I drove
b. yo conduj-era
I drove.subj
- (173) a. yo sup-e
I knew

- b. yo sup-iera
I knew.subj

The imperfective subjunctive-perfective indicative connection is not very informative, because it could be equally plausible to say that the imperfective subjunctive takes a form of the perfective and to say that the perfective indicative takes a form from the subjunctive. However, the first person singular-subjunctive connection is more restrictive. Given that only one form in the present indicative paradigm uses that irregular exponent, it seems more plausible to say that the subjunctive is built over the form corresponding to ‘I’ in the present (because the subjunctive, in some way, expresses a viewpoint that is relative to the set of beliefs or wishes of a speaker) than to say that one single form in the present is borrowing the stem from the subjunctive. The main reason is that irregular forms are generally identified with forms that are statistically more frequent, because frequency has an effect in helping speakers store the irregular form and not substitute it with an equivalent, but regularly produced, form; in corpora studies, however, the invariable finding is always that indicative forms are way more frequent than subjunctive forms. Díaz Castañón (1982) reports that in a corpus including 4040 verb forms, only 328 forms corresponded to the subjunctive, for instance. These correspondences, then, could provide initial plausibility to the idea that indicative is the basic form and subjunctive is defined over it.

4.2. Syntactic effects

There are four facts that characterise the syntactic behaviour of subjunctive; collectively, they suggest that subjunctive clauses –at least a subclass of them– do not define independent syntactic domains.

4.2.1. Obviation effects

We talk about obviation effects when a pronominal expression cannot be coreferential with another expression that c-commands it. The subjunctive is associated with obviation effects in a number of cases, all of them involving intensional subjunctives that are triggered by expressions that denote wish, purpose or order.

- (174) a. *pro_i Quiero que pro_i esté allí.
I.want that I am.subj there
Intended: ‘I want to be there myself’
b. *Juan_i vino para que pro_i dé regalos.
Juan came so that (Juan) gives.subj presents
Intended: ‘Juan came in order to give presents’
c. *Yo_i pido que pro_i tenga más dinero.
I ask that (I) have.subj more money
Intended: ‘I am asking to have more money myself’

Interestingly –because it is one of the very few cases where presuppositional subjunctive patterns with directives and desideratives– the obviation effect extends to verbs like *lamentar* ‘regret’.

- (175) *Yo_i lamento que pro_i llegara tarde.
 I regret that (I) arrived late
 Intended: ‘I regret to have arrived late’.

However, obviation effects never extend to polarity subjunctive (eg., under the scope of negation).

- (176) pro_i No creo que pro_i llegara tarde.
 not think that (I) arrived.subj late
 ‘I don’t think that I arrived late’.

The obviation effect does not extend to the direct object of the subordinate clause, which can be coreferential with the subject of the main predicate.

- (177) Yo_i quiero que me_i vea.
 I want that me he sees.subj
 ‘I want him to see me’

Obviation effects with subjunctive have been studied in plenty of works: Bouchard (1982), Ruwet (1984), Picallo (1984, 1985), Zaring (1985), Suñer (1986), Kempchinsky (1986, 1990, 2009), Terzi (1992), Farkas (1992), Landau (2001, 2004), Bianchi (2001), Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) or Caballero (2004), among many others. In this literature one of the following three things has generally been proposed: (i) the subjunctive introduces a defective constituent that cannot define its temporal reference autonomously from the main clause, so it has to integrate as part of it; (ii) the main verb introduces a special complementiser that involves an operator that ultimately triggers movement of the subjunctive verb, forcing the integration of the subordinate clause inside the main clause; (iii) the obviation effect is due to an informativeness effect: the subjunctive clause competes with an infinitival construction, and as infinitival constructions force subject coreference, when a subjunctive clause is used there is an implicature that there will not be coreference.

Obviously, the first line of analysis depends on how strongly one can support the idea that subjunctive lacks temporal reference or at least has an impoverished temporal structure. The second line of analysis, where the obviation effect is caused by an operator in the CP structure selected by the main predicate, has some advantages over the temporal analysis: obviation effects only emerge in intensional subjunctives, where subjunctive is selected by a lexical item. It is not clear, however, how such analyses can explain why the obviation effect does not extend to the direct object. The third line of analysis, even though it is arguably the less explicit of the bunch, seems to be able to explain the absence of obviation effects with direct objects: infinitives cannot license (*ceteris paribus*) independently referential subjects, but they are able to license referential direct objects. However, note that this analysis explains a pattern of data (obviation) appealing to a deep difference between subjunctives and infinitives that is, in itself, not analysed.

Ruwet (1984) –apud Quer (2006)– notes that there are some factors that avoid the obviation effect. It is unclear in what way all these factors form a natural class, and to what extent existing approaches can predict the role they have. A modal in the subordinate clause (178), focus on the embedded subject (179), a passive construal (180) and contrastive coordination (181) all avoid the effect, or at least mitigate it. It is easy to see how contrast or focus on the embedded subject can be accounted for in

an pragmatically based analysis, but the role of passive and modals suggests that at least part of the answer has to be syntacticosemantic (Quer 2006: 663-664).

- (178) Espero que pueda ir.
I.hope that I.can.subj go.
'I hope I can go'.
(179) Espero que gane sólo yo ahora.
I.hope that I.win.subj only I now
'I hope I will be the only winner'
(180) Espero que sea autorizado a ir.
I.hope that I.am.subj allowed to go.
'I hope I will be allowed to go'.
(181) Quiero que tú te vayas y que yo me quede.
I want that you you leave.subj and that I me stay.subj
'I want you to go and me to stay'

4.2.2. Long-distance licensing

Another case where subjunctive clauses behave in a transparent way is with respect to the formal licensing of several constituents. Negative Polarity Items, as it is well-known (Bosque 1980), need to be licensed by a negative operator that, generally, must be inside their clause.

- (182) a. No ha venido nadie.
not has come nobody
b. *No ha informado de que ha venido nadie.
not has informed of that has come nobody

In some subjunctive clauses, however, a negative polarity item can be licensed in the subordinate clause with the trigger in the main clause. Note that the idiomatic expression *mover un dedo* 'lift a finger' is a negative polarity item, and that in (183b) and (183c) it does have the idiomatic reading.

- (183) a. No creo que venga nadie.
not think that comes.subj nobody
'I don't think anybody came'
b. No pretendo que muevas un dedo.
not intend that you.lift.subj a finger
'I don't intend you to lift a finger'
c. No espero que muevas un dedo.
not expect that you.lif.subj a finger
'I don't expect you to lift a finger'

With respect to this phenomenon, as (183) shows, some polarity subjunctives pattern with some intensional subjunctives. However, other intensional subjunctives reject this long-distance licensing. Factive verbs do not allow this.

- (184) *No lamento que muevas un dedo.
not I.regret that you.lift.subj a finger
Intended: 'I don't regret that you do nothing'

This opposition between volitional / epistemic subjunctives vs. presuppositional subjunctives is similar to the one we found with respect to temporal strength; this might suggest that there is a connection between these two phenomena.

The standard analysis of this pattern has always suggested, in one way or another, that the sentence boundary between the main clause and the subordinate clause is permeable in the case of subjunctive, which allows the negative polarity item to raise at LF to the projection headed by the negative element –alternatively, without movement ‘which allows the two elements to check features long-distance’–. In support of a movement analysis, Kayne (1981) and Rizzi (1982) noted that negative polarity items cannot be licensed long-distance if they are in subject position.

- (185) #No pretendo que nadie te arreste.
 not intend.I that nobody you arrest.subj
 ‘I don’t want anyone to arrest you’

As Quer (2006: 680) notes, (185) is grammatical in a double-negative reading, where *nadie* ‘nobody’ is licensed by an implicit negation in the subordinate clause (‘I don’t want that no-one arrests you’); however, the reading roughly equivalent to ‘It is not my intention that a person arrests you’ is out. This was explained as follows: the negative polarity item has to move at LF, so it leaves a trace. If the trace is in an object position, it can be properly governed by the verb; however, if the trace is in subject position, because subjunctive is formally impoverished with respect to indicative, the trace is not properly governed, so it is ungrammatical.

Other languages (Quer 2006: 664) can also license long-distance anaphoras in subjunctive contexts. It is not so clear that Spanish also allows this, but there are some (perhaps subtle) contrasts that might suggest this. Consider the adjective *propio* ‘own’, which must take an antecedent. In (186), it is quite marked to try to associate the adjective with the subject of the main clause.

- (186) Juan dice que María vino a la fiesta con su propia hermana.
 Juan says that María came to the party with {her / ??his} own sister.
 ‘Juan says that María came to the party with her own sister’

However, in a subjunctive clause, that long-distance coreference seems to be less marked.

- (187) Juan espera que María vaya a la fiesta con su propia hermana.
 Juan hopes that María goes.subj to the party with {his / her} own sister
 ‘Juan hopes that María will go to the party with {his / her} own sister’

4.2.3. Negation raising

Although related to long-distance NPI licensing, negation raising does not pattern exactly in the same way. Since Prince (1976), it has been noted that in some subjunctive contexts there is a negation raising effect: the negative element that appears in the matrix clause is interpreted in the subordinate clause.

- (188) No quiero que vengas.
 not I.want that you.come.subj
 ‘I want you not to come’

Note in the previous sentence that the speaker is not expressing the absence of a wish (so that he does not mind whether the person comes or not), but a wish that some state of affairs does not take place. There are different tests that have become standard to prove that in some sense negation is semantically and syntactically interpreted in a different position from the one it occupies on the surface (see Horn 1978, Bosque 1980, Borgonovo 2003).

First, negative polarity items –such as *mover un dedo* ‘move a finger’ in the idiomatic meaning ‘not to do anything’– are licensed inside the subjunctive clause with negation outside:

- (189) No creo que haya movido un dedo.
not believe that he.has.subj moved a finger

Second, only when negated does an achievement like *llegar* ‘arrive’ allow a temporal modifier like *hasta las tres* ‘until three’; in our contexts, this combination is licensed with negation in the main clause.

- (190) a. *Llegó hasta las tres.
arrived until the three
b. No llegó hasta las tres.
not he.arrived until the three
- (191) No creo que llegara hasta las tres.
not believe that he.arrived.subj until the three

However, the set of contexts where NPIs are licensed long-distance is not identical with the set of contexts where the higher negation is interpreted as belonging to the subordinate clause. One such case is *esperar* ‘expect’, which –as we already saw in the previous section– introduces subjunctive clauses that allow long-distance NPI licensing. Contrast, however, the two sentences in (192).

- (192) a. No espero que muevas un dedo.
not I.expect that you.lift.subj a finger
b. Espero que no muevas un dedo.
I.expect that not you.lift.subj a finger

In (192a), the speaker is saying that he does not have the expectation that the addressee does something; in (192b), in contrast, the speaker says that he has the expectation that the addressee should not do anything. In both cases, the negative polarity item *mover un dedo* is licensed, but the truth conditions are different, showing that even when the NPI is licensed long-distance, the negation does not need to be interpreted in the subordinate clause.

As expected, presuppositional subjunctives do not allow negation raising either.

- (193) a. No lamento que vengas.
not I.regret that you.come.subj
‘I don’t regret that you come’
b. Lamento que no vengas.
I.regret that not you.come.subj
‘I regret that you don’t come’

4.2.4. Complementiser deletion

Spanish, unlike English, generally needs the complementiser to be overt in cases of subordination.

- (194) a. I don't think he came.
 b. *No creo viniera.
 not think he.came.subj

However, there are some cases where the complementiser can be non-overt, and these cases involve a subset of the subjunctive forms (RAE & ASALE 2009: §43.3b-j). We have seen (194b) that polarity subjunctive does not allow this, but some intensional subjunctives do, specially with verbs of influence, directives and volitionals (195). Factive verbs do not allow it (195d); note that in (195e) the subordinate does not express a presupposed fact, but a desire.

- (195) a. Espero esté todo a su gusto.
 I.hope is.subj all to your liking
 'I hope everything is to your liking'
 b. Le ruego me disculpe.
 I.beg you me forgive.subj
 c. Ordeno sean castigados.
 I.order are.subj punished
 'I order that they are punished'
 d. *Lamento sean castigados.
 I.regret are.subj punished.
 e. Nos gustaría nos hicieran este favor.
 us would.like us you.made.subj this grace
 'We would like you to do this grace to us'

The conjunction can only be eliminated when the two verbs are adjacent, and, interestingly, when the subject of the main clause is a first person.

- (196) a. *Espero todo esté a su gusto.
 I.hope all is.subj to your liking
 b. *Esperó todo estuviera a su gusto.
 he.hoped all was.sujb to their liking

There are some indicative clauses that allow this conjunction deletion, but crucially this is only possible when an operator (eg., a relative operator) is associated with the sentence.

- (197) un proceso que nos parece había sido injusto
 a process that us seems had been unfair
 'a process that it seems to us that had been unfair'

In (197), the relative operator must bind a position inside the subordinate clause (*que*) *había sido injusto* 'that had been unfair'. In the absence of this operation, conjunction deletion is at best marked.

- (198) *Nos parece ha sido injusto el proceso.
 us seems has been unfair the process
 ‘It seems to us that the process has been unfair’

Thus, what seems to tie together all the cases where conjunctions can be deleted is the presence of an operator, following an analysis of intensional subjunctives as contained in subordinate clauses that carry an operator at the CP level. When such operator is present, either because it is lexically selected by a volitional or directive verb, or because it is the result of A'-movement, the conjunction seems to be deletable. See Delbecque & Lamiroy (1999: 2005 and folls.), Bonet (2002), Brovotto (2002)

4.2.5. Interim summary

The set of syntactic properties that we have seen allows us to give some preliminary conclusions.

Subjunctives seem to be more transparent, but they are not transparent in the same way. When we think about obviation effects or complementiser deletion, presuppositional subjunctive patterns with the uses found in volitional or directive contexts. The relevant divide seems to be between intensional and polarity subjunctive. When we think about complementiser deletion, some intensional subjunctives –those that are non presuppositional– stand out, and pattern with other structures in the indicative that arguably carry an operator. In the case of long-distance licensing, some polarity subjunctives pattern with some intensional subjunctive, and the crucial divide seems to correspond to the temporal strength of the clause.

These results suggest that there is more than one way to become subjunctive, something that we already knew, but also that those ways can combine with each other in structured and related ways, because the different kinds of subjunctive establish multiple similarities with each other.

5. Subjunctive (IV): partial incompatibilities with modal verbs

Before continuing, let us take a break to consider a related issue that would have to be kept in mind when considering the different analyses of subjunctive and, particularly, its locus in a functional structure: to what extent is subjunctive compatible, or incompatible, with other modal markers, and specifically with modal auxiliaries? The question is relevant for the following reason: as we will see in §7 and §9, the subjunctive is generally assumed to be placed in the higher clausal structure (in heads from the T or C area), while modal auxiliaries are placed below T or, in some analyses, at most at the level of T. Thus, no incompatibilities are directly predicted: if subjunctive is in area A and modal auxiliaries are in area B, they are expected to co-occur, unless semantic or pragmatic conditions explain the incompatibility.

Let us consider first intensional subjunctive. A possibility auxiliary is compatible with the subjunctive in this context:

- (199) Es posible que Juan pueda venir.
 it.is possible that Juan can.subj come
 ‘It is possible that Juan is able to come’

Note that the auxiliary gets a root or deontic interpretation, while the higher expression gets an epistemic reading. Two deontic readings are impossible. The modal auxiliary appears in the subjunctive.

Consider now necessity modals in the context of intensional subjunctives. Here we see that there is a clear incompatibility. Take the direct order in (200); it can be expressed in the imperative or through a modal auxiliary, but both are incompatible. Perhaps this follows from a semantic property of these verbs, but one cannot completely discard the possibility that it is a structural fact about the incompatibility of two lexical items that at some point compete for the same position (and anyways, depending on the assumptions your theory has about the relation between syntax and semantics, that structural competition would be directly associated to a semantic incompatibility).

- (200) a. Sal
 come.out.imp
 b. Debes salir.
 you.must come.out
 c. *Debe salir.
 must.imp come.out

If we report this order, two options arise: either using the modal auxiliary or using the verb in the subjunctive, without modal auxiliary; the combination of both is out.

- (201) a. Digo que salgas.
 I.say that you.come.out.subj
 b. Digo que debes salir.
 I.say that you.must come.out
 c. Digo que debes salir.
 I.say that you.must.subj come.out

Thus, at least here there is an incompatibility between subjunctive and another modal. *Prima facie*, this suggests that one of the classes of subjunctive must occupy a lower head that is also occupied by a deontic necessity modal.

The incompatibility between deontic modals and subjunctive is not total, though. In polarity subjunctives, this inflection is compatible both with possibility and with necessity deontics.

- (202) a. No creo que debas salir.
 not I.think that you.must.subj come.out
 b. No creo que puedas salir.
 not I.think that you.can.subj come.out

Similarly, we do not find incompatibilities with presuppositional subjunctives.

- (203) a. Lamento que debas salir.
 I.regret that you.must.subj come.out
 b. Lamento que puedas salir.
 I.regret that you.can.subj come.out

The results of this section support, as many other phenomena reviewed in this article, the idea that one has to treat subjunctive as a non-uniform phenomenon, plausibly involving the morphophonological syncretism of a set of distinct morphosyntactic forms. Additionally, it suggests that the intensional subjunctive used to report orders involves a functional head that is otherwise occupied by deontic auxiliaries.

6. Subjunctive (V): a cross-linguistic comparison

In this section we will compare the uses of the Spanish subjunctive to the uses of the form called ‘subjunctive’ in two other Romance languages. As Quer (2006: 661) notes, the term ‘subjunctive’ does not represent a coherent and uniform set of forms typologically; every language where grammatical tradition has identified a subjunctive form uses that form for some cases that in a narrow interpretation of the term fall within mood phenomena, but there are other contexts where one language would use its ‘subjunctive’ form, while another one would use different forms. The following table summarises in an approximative way the distribution of subjunctive in these three languages.

Table 1. Subjunctive in three Romance languages

	Spanish	Italian	French
Strongly assertive predicates			
Weakly assertive predicates			
Volitional, directive... (transparent subjunctive)	Subjunctive	Subjunctive	Subjunctive
Uncertainty			
Presuppositional			
Prospective			
Futurity			

In Italian, there are two main differences with Spanish. The first one is that weakly assertive predicates introduce subjunctive. Not all varieties of Spanish do this, although the Italian pattern is documented, for instance, in Argentina.

- (204) a. Credono che Andrea sia molto stanco.
 they.think that Andrea is.subj very tired
 ‘They think that Andrea is very tired’
- b. %Creen que Andrea esté muy cansado.
 they.think that Andrea is.subj very tired
 ‘They think that Andrea is very tired’

Saltarelli (1974) notes that with weakly assertive verbs, subjunctive is out when the speaker reports his / her own states and actions; in such cases, the subordinate clause is not different from a matrix assertion. It is reported something that from the perspective of the speaker is ‘true’ in the actual world. There has not been any ‘model change’ (in Quer’s terms): the subordinate proposition is evaluated against the

epistemic model of an individual, and this individual (as in default contexts) is the speaker of the utterance.

- (205) Credo che (io) {sono / *sia} stanco.
I.think that (I) am.ind / am.subj tired

Squartini (2010) notes that strongly assertive predicates might admit subjunctive in Italian, but in such cases the subordinate clause has to be interpreted as the informative theme, and appears left-dislocated:

- (206) Che sia partito lo so.
that is.subj left it I.know
'That he has left, I (already) know'

Italian subjunctive appears with strongly assertive predicates also in interrogative contexts:

- (207) Sai se sia partito?
you.know if is.subj left?
'Do you know whether he has left?'

According to Squartini (2010), in Italian there are contexts where Spanish must have subjunctive, but where indicative is possible in Italian. One such case is in relative clauses subordinated under a negative pronoun (208).

- (208) a. Non vedevo nessuno che {conoscevo / conoscessi}.
not I.saw nobody that I.knew.ind / I.know.subj
b. No veía a nadie que {*conocía / conociera}.
not I.saw ACC nobody that I.knew.ind / I.knew subj

If we move to temporal clauses, we see a property that will also appear in the case of French. The conjunctions equivalent to 'before', *prima*, and 'until', *finchè*, require the subjunctive (the second, with expletive negation); in contrast with other conjunctions, when they express a future event, can use the future indicative.

- (209) a. Prima che sia partito...
before that is.subj left...
'Before he leaves...'
b. Aspettami finchè io non sia tornato.
wait.me untl I not am.subj returned
'Wait for me until I come back'
- (210) Giocherò quando sarò pronto mentalmente.
I.will.play when I.will.be ready mentally
'I'll play when I will be ready mentally'

Spanish rejects future in such contexts, as we have seen (211a); interestingly, Catalan allows both, subjunctive and future (211b, Quer 2010: 232):

- (211) a. *Jugaré cuando estaré listo mentalmente.
I.will play when I.will.be ready mentally

- b. Descansaré quan ho {hagi / hauré} entregat.
I.will.rest when it I.have.subj/ I.will.have submitted it

However, Subjunctive is also documented in Italian in such contexts. Squartini (2010: 246) mentions in passing that there are sociolinguistic factors involved in the distribution of subjunctive with adverbial clauses, although he never says whether this applies specifically to this class of temporal clauses, and whether by sociolinguistic factors one should interpret age, socioeconomic class or geographic differences.

- (212) Fammi sapere quando sia pronto.
let.me know when is.subj ready
'Let me know when it is ready'

As for French, subjunctive has a similar distribution to Spanish, also with some significant differences. Starting with temporal clauses, French, like Italian, requires subjunctive in sentences with *avant que* 'before', *en attendant que* 'while waiting for' and *jusqu'à ce que* 'until' (de Mulder 2010: 170-171):

- (213) a. Louis est arrivé avant que Guy ne soit parti.
Louis is arrived before that Guy not is.subj left
'Louis has arrived before Guy left'
b. ...en attendant qu'il soit parti.
in waiting that he is.subj left
c. jusqu'à ce qu'il soit parti.
until to it that he is.subj left

In other conjunctions, however, futurity is not enough to force the subjunctive:

- (214) a. Après qu'il viendra...
after that he will.come
b. Quand il viendra...
when he will.come...

French shows a surprising distribution with conjunctions like *après*, though; subjunctive is documented specially when the clause refers to the past (judging from the way this fact is reported in grammars; Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi 2011: 417).

- (215) Après qu'elle soit arrivée...
after that she is.subj left...

Like in Spanish, and unlike in Italian, French subjunctive is not licensed by weakly assertive verbs; however, grammars report some expressions denoting weak assertion (217) that French allows in the subjunctive, but that would require indicative in Spanish:

- (216) Je crois qu'il est malade.
I think that he is.ind sick
(217) a. À ce que je sache...
for that that I know.subj...
'As far as I know...'

- b. Por lo que {sé / *sepa}...
 for that that I.know.ind / I.know.subj...
 ‘As far as I know...’

Consequently: there is a core where (most) Romance languages use the subjunctive, and that seems invariable, and this core includes presuppositional subjunctives with evaluative predicates, verbs of desire, directives and other non-assertive predicates. The biggest two areas of variation involve temporal subjunctives, where Italian and French generally use indicative, and weakly assertive predicates, where Spanish (with some geographical varieties being the exception) does not allow subjunctive, but Italian (and marginally, French) license the subjunctive. Temporal expressions that lexicalise a future-orientation, like the equivalents of *until* and *before*, systematically require subjunctive in these languages; temporal subordinators that are vague with respect to whether the orientation is towards the future or not, on the other hand, only must combine with the subjunctive in Spanish (and, from what it seems, in some Italian varieties).

6.1. Subjunctive as a subordination marker

We have seen that the Spanish subjunctive is generally licensed when two requisites are met: there is some particular kind of modal meaning and the verb is subordinate. However, the distribution of ‘subjunctive’ in other languages acts rather as a subordination marker. In German, Thieroff (2010: 139-140) notes that the subjunctive (‘subjunctive 1’ in the tradition) is used in reported speech, but it is archaic when used as an optative or exhortative independent form, without subordination. This contrasts with Spanish, Italian and French:

- (218) ABC sei ein Dreieck.
 ABC is.subj a triangle
 ‘Let ABC be a triangle’

In general, its uses as a volitional or directive form are radically impoverished. It is archaic even inside purpose clauses:

- (219) Er sprach sehr langsam un deutlich, damit sie ihn verstehe.
 he spoke very slowly and articulate, so.that she him understands.subj
 ‘He spoke very slowly and articulate so that she understood him’

Contrast this with (220), where the subjunctive appears in reported speech even though there is no implication that the sentence expresses any kind of desire, hypothesis or doubtful state-of-affairs:

- (220) Er sagte, sie habe einen Brief geschrieben.
 he said, she had.subj a letter written
 ‘He said that she had written a letter’

Thus, subjunctive 1 would be characterisable, at least in present-day German, as a subordination marker rather than as a form that expresses different kinds of non-assertiveness. Subjunctive 2, on the other hand, has been claimed to have non-subordinate uses, and it is generally linked to a counterfactual interpretation, even in non-subordinate contexts (Thieroff 2010: 143).

- (221) Der Lothar ginge niemals nach Dortmund.
 the Lothar go.subj2 never to Dortmund
 ‘Lothar would never go to Dortmund’

Thus, subjunctive 2 could be identified, perhaps, with a purely modal marker that does not require subordination. Note, however, that in reported speech contexts, it can appear subordinated under a strongly assertive verb and without a hypothetical or counterfactual interpretation (Thieroff 2010: 145).

German, then, seems to have two kinds of subjunctive that meet in the context of reported speech. One of them (subjunctive 1) marks subordination, and its ‘modal’ use is at best archaic; subjunctive 2, on the other hand, has a modal use (counterfactuality) that does not need to be licensed in subordinate contexts, but allows for a second use as a subordination marker.

6.2. *Subjunctive to mark hypothetic situations*

In Dutch (Boogaart & Janssen 2010) subjunctive is only used to mark directives, hypotheticals and counterfactuals, leaving outside any epistemic and presuppositional uses. Thus, it shares a core with the Romance subjunctive, but as also suggested by the comparison between Spanish, Italian and French, the epistemic uses of the subjunctive have to be differentiated from the directive / desiderative uses.

- (222) Ahmed, het ga je goed in Den Haag!
 Ahmed, it go.subj you well in The Hague
 ‘Ahmed, all the best in The Hague!’
- (223) Ik werd er behandeld als ware ik een VIP.
 I was there treated if was.subj I a VIP
 ‘I was treated there as if I was a VIP’

6.3. *Conclusions*

From this quick and incomplete examination, it already seems that the most stable manifestation of what grammars call ‘subjunctive’ in European languages is found in association with desiderative and directive verbs; epistemic subjunctives are much less stable, and future-oriented subjunctives are less common, with the exception of the uses licensed by conjunctions equivalent to ‘before’ and ‘until’. These are similar conclusions to those reached in Quer (in press). Inside a language, there is a core subjunctive use, with possible extensions; across languages, subjunctive also has a core use (or set of uses), with less clear extensions.

For further uses of what traditional grammars call ‘subjunctive’ in different languages, see the collection of papers in Rothstein & Thieroff (2010).

7. **Subjunctive (VI): analyses**

Even though we have been making occasional reference to specific analyses of the subjunctive in Spanish, here we will highlight the main claims that have been made about it, where the agreements are and where the disagreements lie.

7.1. *Non-presuppositional subjunctive*

Most analyses refer to the kind of ‘transparent’ subjunctive that triggers obviation effects and / or licenses the long-distance licensing of negative polarity items (see Quer 2006 for a more detailed exposition of the analytic options).

The main claims when analysing this kind of subjunctive is that it is contained in a subordinate clause that, in some sense, can only be properly licensed if the subjunctive clause establishes a direct dependency with a constituent in the main clause, something that produces a configuration where it structurally belongs to the main clause. The details differ with respect to the following factors:

- a) whether the trigger of this dependency is the subjunctive inflection or a special property of the complementiser
- b) whether transparency is due to the special properties of the subjunctive inflection or the special properties of the complementiser
- c) whether the subjunctive CP node is interpreted at LF or not
- d) whether subjunctives always have to be licensed by an operator
- e) whether all subjunctive clauses should behave the same or we should expect subjunctives that pattern with indicatives
- f) whether subjunctive is selected on the base of semantic or syntactic principles

Picallo (1984, 1985) develops an analysis where the subjunctive tense is defective, in the sense that it cannot anchor by itself the proposition to the utterance time. This forces the subjunctive clause to anaphorically refer to the tense node of the main clause, establishing a tense chain whose upper link is the main tense, and whose lower link is the subjunctive inflection node. The consequence is that the binding domain for subjects (associated with the verb's inflection) and the licensing domain for negative polarity items gets extended. Alternatively, Progovac (1993) argues that the transparency effects are triggered when at LF the subordinate CP node is deleted; the reason is that the force and temporal interpretation of the subordinate clause are entirely dependent on the properties of the main predicate, so CP and TP are unnecessary for interpretative purposes. Subjunctive is just one case where this happens systematically, so subjunctive clauses would be transparent, but other cases in the indicative where these two nodes are not interpreted would also involve this CP / TP LF deletion.

A version of this idea is Tsoulas (1994), who claims that subjunctive tense cannot be referential, and acts like an indefinite determiner; presuppositional subjunctives are specific indefinite objects, while volitional and directive subjunctives are non-specific indefinites; just like indefinite non-specifics, this kind of transparent subjunctive has to be licensed by an operator, and must remain in the scope of that operator.

Raposo (1985) represents a distinct line of analysis, which is more able to capture the internal distinctions between kinds of subjunctive. In his view, the difference has to do with the kind of complementiser that each class of predicate selects. The transparent subjunctives are cases where the main predicate selects a C node which lacks a temporal operator. Non-transparent subjunctives, on the other hand, are cases where the main predicate selects a C node with a tense operator. When the tense operator is missing in the subordinate CP, the clause has to be anchored to the main verb. In any case, Raposo notes that subjunctives are not univocally associated with C's without a tense operator; polarity subjunctives carry their own tense specification, and for this reason they are not transparent.

The clearest example of an analysis of (transparent) subjunctives as elements that have to be licensed under an operator is Kempchinsky (1986, 1987, 2009). In her analysis, what makes transparent subjunctives special is that the main predicate selects a C node that must carry an imperative operator that gives a prospective orientation to the subordinate clause. This operator has to be checked by the

subjunctive verb, something that is done through covert LF movement to C. The result, then, is that the subordinate predicate ends up at LF in the position.

A version of this general idea –that subjunctive clauses have Cs that in some sense are special– is Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997); in their view, the subjunctive C is an operator that needs to rise to the main clause. However, before this movement takes place, the complex including the V head, tense and subject agreement has also moved to C, with the result that the subject features of the subordinate clause and the subject of the main clause end up in the same domain (but not the object of the subordinate clause, with the result that obviation effects do not extend to objects).

Thus, from the general intuition that transparent subjunctive clauses involve some kind of ‘defective’ property that has to be licensed by establishing a dependency with the main clause, there are many distinct analytic possibilities. Two properties that become apparent in these analyses are the following:

- i) Not all ‘non presuppositional’ subjunctives behave in the same way. Some are transparent, some are not; some are like indicative clauses (because they contain their own tense specification, or because they are not bound by an operator), some are not.
- ii) The main analytical difficulty, but also the underlying intuition of many of these approaches, comes from the fact that subjunctives are used for a variety of notions that in other domains are differentiated by mood, by distinct speech acts, etc. Many of these analysis propose that in some way the subjunctive is underspecified, and it only denotes a specific notion (eg., a directive) when it moves to the position where the lexical item that defines the notion (eg., the main verb projection) is placed. But, at the same time, this predicts radical differences between classes of subjunctive, which means that the analysis provided is not directly explaining which single property triggers subjunctive inflection. Other analyses predict that all subjunctives would behave in the same way (eg., those that treat subjunctive inflection as defective), but these analyses run into trouble when they face the distinct empirical behaviour of the different subclasses.

In this context, analyses like Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Quer (1998) or Giannakidou (1998), that treat subjunctive as the marker of a general semantic context become attractive. We already presented briefly Quer’s approach, where subjunctive does not carry any specific semantic meaning of its own and it is simply the way in which we grammaticalise, in some languages, a shift from the default model in a discourse, which is the specific beliefs that the speaker holds: when we change from the speaker’s beliefs to her wishes, or demands, subjunctive marks this shift; when we change from the beliefs of the speaker to the beliefs of another individual, not shared by the speaker, subjunctive also marks this shift. Giannakidou (1998) related subjunctive to the existence of a downward entailing context, again leaving it underspecified whether that context needs to be defined by negation or by any other operator; however, remember that there are cases where subjunctive is allowed in non-downward entailing contexts, something that makes it impossible to completely reduce subjunctive selection (at least in Spanish) to polarity.

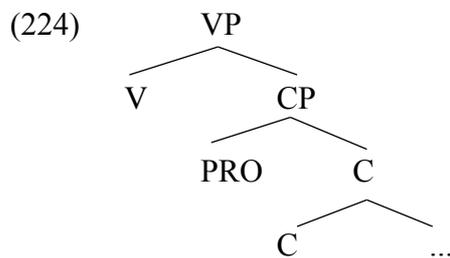
Note that many of the analyses of subjunctive imply some kind of V or T movement to the C domain; we will go back to the question of how plausible an account following these lines is in §10.1, in relation to the grammar of imperative. Let us put forward here that, if one assumes that the standard adjunction position of verbal

clitics in Spanish is T / Infl (Ordóñez 2013), it is quite clear that subjunctive should not move higher than this node, in contrast to imperative.

7.2. Presuppositional subjunctive

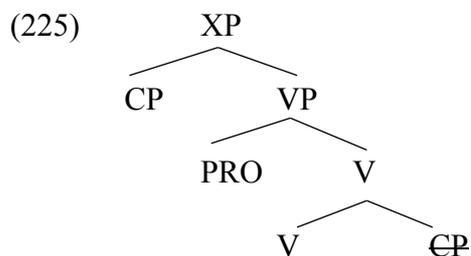
Because of the previous difficulties, it is not common to have unified accounts of directive / volitional subjunctives and the non-transparent subjunctive clauses that depend on factive, evaluative predicates. Quer (2001) associates subjunctive in such cases to the causal link that has to be established between the subordinate clause and the emotion triggered by it. Tsoulas (1994), who argues that subjunctive is the definite equivalent of tense, at least has a base to explain the different behaviour when he notes that presuppositional subjunctives act like specific indefinites in being non-transparent.

Ormazabal (1995), although inside a discussion of subordination that does not make direct reference to the distribution of subjunctive, proposed an account of the CP complements of factive predicates that could be extended to account for the role of subjunctive if one assumes a theory like Quer's (1998). In Ormazabal's account, the CP of factive verbs, although base-generated as a complement to the verb, has to move in LF to avoid being evaluated as a claim made by the subject of the main verb.



In his analysis, that goes beyond factive verbs, Cs take two arguments: the one that is crucial for us is its external argument, that Ormazabal associates to a PRO. This PRO gives the discourse parameters that allow the speaker to associate the proposition to time, world, speaker-addressee coordinates. In a configuration like (224), at LF the coordinates of the subordinate clause would be identified with those of the main predicate. Specifically, it will be interpreted that the speaker that commits to that proposition is the subject of the main predicate, from where the entailment that this subject asserts the proposition follows.

However, the complement of a factive verb actually defines the subordinate clause not as an assertion by the subject of the main predicate, but as backgrounded information that is supposed to be already known –and accepted as true– by speaker and addressee. In these clauses, the CP moves (at LF) outside of the complement position and gets adjoined in a higher position where the external argument does not c-command PRO (in 225 we are neutral with respect to which position this would be; VP is already high enough for our purposes, but it might not be available depending on what one assumes about anti-locality).



Even though Quer (1998) does not take this road, one could interpret the semantic effect of this movement operation as a shift in the model: now the truth of the proposition is not associated with the epistemic beliefs of the speaker, *strictu sensu*, because the proposition is part of a background that is believed to be true by both speaker and addressee.

What this section could suggest is that an approach to subjunctive where this form marks some kind of shift, without necessarily implying that this shift has to be semantically translated as wishes, orders, presupposed info, doubt, etc., seems more successful than an approach where subjunctive is the form that appears under specific operators. Even though some subjunctives, clearly, conform to the empirical behaviour expected from variables licensed by an operator, not all subjunctives follow the same pattern.

7.3. *The locus of subjunctive in the clausal structure*

Let us consider now in which positions subjunctive has been placed inside the extended structure of the clause. Most accounts treat subjunctive as the spell out of a head or a head complex that is quite high in the clausal structure, and that typically involves the C node. The main reason for this is that subjunctive seems to be selected, directly, by some predicates, as in *Quiero [que vengas]* ‘I want that you.come.subj’.

Assuming that selection is a pretty local relation, this restricts drastically the positions where subjunctive has to be generated. Two possibilities are standardly discussed: subjunctive can be defined in C, directly selected by a volitional verb, or it can be imposed at the TP / InflP level by a special complementiser selected by the main verb (for arguments for an against each one of the options, see Rivero 1994 vs. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). Terzi (1992) resolves the problem associating subjunctive to a head intermediate between the T and C areas, MoodP, where a verb inflected as subjunctive has to rise in order to check its features. In cartographic approaches going back to Rizzi (1997), the prototypical head that acts as an intermediary between the C and T domains is Fin(iteness); Giorgi (2009) suggests that subjunctive has effects on the interaction with Fin. In a sense, the discussion is reduced to exactly where the exponent spelling out subjunctive is base generated, because almost invariably it is proposed that with subjunctive C and T/Infl have to establish a local dependency that might force their reanalysis as one single head complex.

A second fact that favours an account of subjunctive that involves the high clausal structure is the relation between subjunctive and speech acts, as manifested for instance in indirect imperative speech acts.

- (226) a. Ven.
 come
 ‘Come’

- b. Que vengas.
 that come.subj
 ‘Come, (I insist)’

However, mood is also defined in the lower projections in the Sentential Middlefield, between the V and T areas. We know since Cinque (1999) that there is a series of irrealis adverbs that are generated in this domain: volitional mood adverbs, for instance, can be ordered below frequentative aspect adverbs.

(227) John often intentionally breaks a glass.

Remember, however, that even if adverbs like *perhaps* or *maybe* are base-generated in a low position, they must appear preverbally to license subjunctive. This is expected if subjunctive is defined high in the tree and it has to end up under the scope of these adverbs.

- (228) a. *Juan venga quizá.
 Juan comes.subj maybe
 b. Juan quizá venga.
 Juan maybe comes.subj

Remember, however, example (199), where it was shown that one kind of subjunctive is incompatible with one kind of modal auxiliary; in the next sections, we will see that there are reasons to think that these auxiliaries are generated low. If so, it might suggest that directive subjunctive is generated lower in the tree, or alternatively, that the directive subjunctive requires an operator that is generated in the same projection as the auxiliary verb. We will go back to this problem in §9.

7.4. Subjunctives are less

A common property to many analyses of subjunctive is the idea that rather than defining subjunctive by the presence of a head, subjunctives are cases where the normal functional sequence of a clause is not fully projected. We have seen this in a number of instances, more clearly as a way to account in some way for obviation effects and Neg-raising. However, it is worth considering some of the arguments that have been proposed in favour of this idea.

Let us be clear, to start, that the proposal has two flavours. In its pure manifestation, all effects related to subjunctive are explained simply because some projections that one expects to find in indicative contexts are not present in subjunctive constructions. In a mixed account, in contrast, some projections are missing but, crucially, they have been replaced by others that encode direct subjunctive features. Let us take a minute to go through the additional pieces of evidence that support this view, where subjunctive involves less high functional structure than indicative.

One first expected property of subjunctive clauses, if they lack some of the projections involved in indicative contexts, is that the number of information-related movement operations allowed by them will be impoverished. Ambar & Jiménez-Fernández (2014) explore this issue, and find that contrastive focus fronting is not materialised in the same way in indicative and in subjunctive clauses depending on presuppositional or volitive verbs. Although they argue that contrastive focus is allowed in these clauses (for Portuguese and Spanish), their materialisation always

has to be postverbal. They explain this fact proposing that the verb moves to a higher functional head, related to assertive and evaluative features. Thus, in their analysis, even if subjunctive clauses are missing some projections that indicatives presumably carry, they are substituted by specific, also high, functional heads. English, on the other hand, would completely lack the instruments necessary to express contrastive focus in a subjunctive context.

Hinzen & Sheehan (2011) are a good example of a pure subjunctive-is-less analysis. In their proposal, which is aimed to explaining how referentiality and difference degrees thereof are mapped in semantics starting from simple syntactic representations, subjunctive marks clauses as not purely referential. Volitional subjunctives represent absence of referentiality in the clausal domain because they do not get mapped to a definite truth-value. This matches, in their analysis, an impoverished functional structure where less material is mapped above the phase-defining head for the clausal domain. Consequently, in contrast to indicative clauses, subjunctives would project less structure in the higher domain of the clause.

7.5. *Some conclusions about subjunctive*

Before we move to modal auxiliaries, let us take a few minutes to see what conclusions we can draw from the discussion in these few sections.

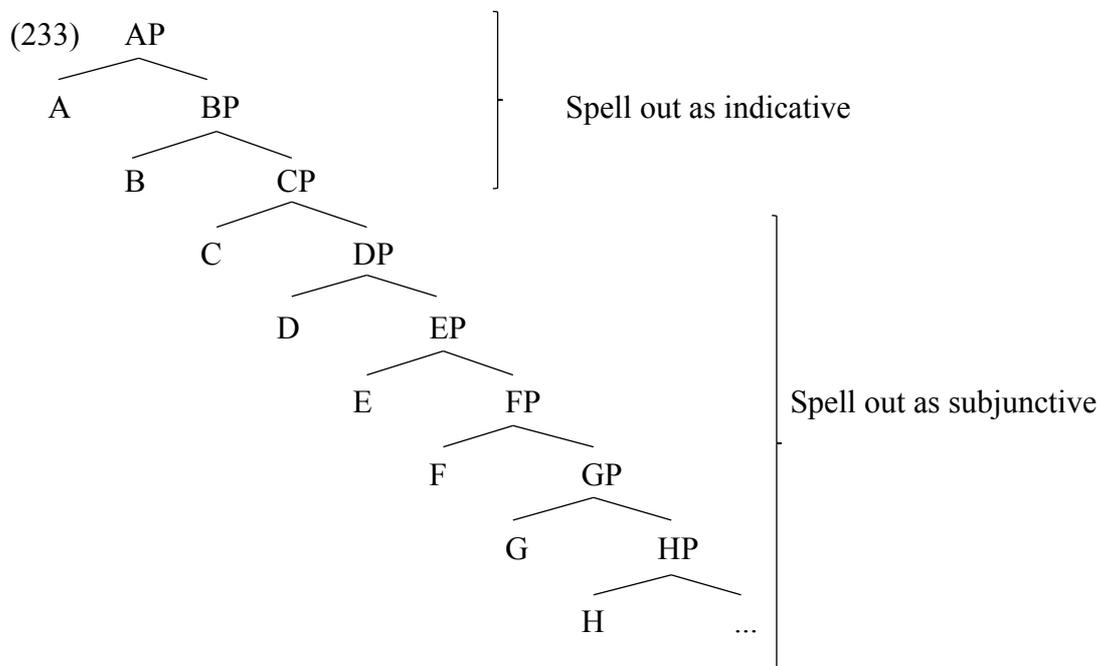
The first fact that seems apparent is that subjunctive covers a set of values that cannot be unified from a semantic perspective. Inside Spanish, we find the following divisions between classes of subjunctive:

- a) Intensional vs. polarity subjunctive; they differ with respect to how local the relation between the licenser and the subjunctive clause has to be, but in both classes we find cases of transparent and non-transparent subjunctives:
 - (229) **Transparent, intensional (eg., obviation effects)**
 Quiero que vengas.
 want that you.come.subj
 - (230) **Transparent, polarity (eg., neg-raising)**
 No creo que venga.
 not think that he.comes.subj
 - (231) **Non-transparent, intensional**
 Es posible que venga.
 it.is possible that he.comes.subj
 - (232) **Non-transparent, polarity**
 No vino porque estuviera enfermo.
 not came because he.was.subj sick
- b) Transparent vs. non-transparent subjunctive
- c) Presuppositional subjunctive vs. the rest; the class of presuppositional subjunctives stands out with respect to its temporal independence, its non-transparency and its realis character.

If we look outside Spanish, the second conclusion is that there is a core component of subjunctive meaning –volitionality, directive speech acts– and that, from there, some languages extend subjunctive to:

- a) Epistemic uses, first non-assertive epistemics (*doubt*), then indirect questions, then weakly assertive verbs.
- b) Futurity and prospectivity, first to markers whose lexical meaning necessarily orders the subordinate event as following the main event (before, until) and then lexically-neutral markers that can order the event before, after and at the same time as the main event
- c) Subordination

Even though we have not used a significantly high number of languages, there seem to be implicational hierarchies. No language uses subjunctive in weakly assertive verbs without using it also in verbs of doubt, or under the negation of weakly assertive verbs. No language we found uses subjunctive for the lexically-neutral temporal conjunctions (*when*) without using it also for the prospectively oriented *before*. This supports a view of subjunctive as in (233), which was advanced in §2, where the different values of subjunctive are members in a syntactic hierarchy and subjunctive is a case of syncretism.



Spanish would syncretise in subjunctive between C and H; Italian would not include H (assuming that *prima* codifies prospectivity but not futurity), but would include B (if new information without strong assertion can be interpreted as weak assertion); French would place its subjunctive between C and G; German would essentially restrict it to the area between C and A –although presumably extra heads would have to be introduced between them in order to account for the distinctions between types of reported speech–, etc. (233) is only intended as an illustration of how such a theory would work; much would have to be said about the nature of the individual heads, the interpretative effect of the combination of several of these heads, and the adjacency relations in each one of the languages under study.

Another conclusion is that analyses agree that subjunctive is a form that, for one reason or the other, has to enter into a syntactic dependency with another constituent and, thus, it is not autonomous; the only potential complication are the apparently free subjunctives with verbs like *querer* and *deber*, discussed in §3. Subjunctive has to be

identified by a special kind of complementiser, must provide a variable for an operator or establishes an anaphoric dependency with the main clause's hierarchical structure. However, such approaches do not identify subjunctives as a natural class. The case where subjunctive seems to be 'stronger' is the presuppositional subjunctive we find in evaluative contexts.

8. Modal periphrases (I): classes

Let us now move to the modal auxiliaries in Spanish; in this section we will consider some of the empirical patterns and properties these elements display, and the next section will be devoted to their syntactic analyses.

8.1. Classes of modal verbs in Spanish

Remember that modal auxiliaries are generally divided into three classes, following the now-canonical text by Palmer (1986):

- i) epistemic modals, which express the attitude of the speaker towards the truth of the predicate
- ii) deontic modals, which express a relation between the eventuality, the subject and a set of rules, norms and regulations
- iii) dynamic modals, which express a relation between the eventuality, the subject and the set of internal properties, capacities and dispositions of the subject

Spanish has a reasonably wide set of modal auxiliary verbs that express these three semantic notions. It is frequently the case that the same modal auxiliary expresses the three values mentioned above, but denotes one single modal force –remember that the modal force refers to the kind of quantification over possible worlds the modal performs: possibility when it is existential, necessity when it is universal–. For instance, the verb *poder* 'can' expresses the three modal bases in i-iii, but it always involves existential quantification:

- (234) a. Puede llover.
it.might rain
Roughly: the speakers considers it possible that it will rain.
- b. Juan puede quedarse en casa.
Juan can stay.se at home
Roughly: given a set of rules, Juan is allowed to stay home.
- c. Juan puede hablar inglés.
Juan can speak English
Roughly: given his knowledge, Juan is able to speak English

The verb *tener que* 'must' also is able to express the three modal bases, and always involves universal quantification over the set of possible worlds that share some crucial characteristics with the actual world.

- (235) a. Tiene que llover.
It.must that rain
Roughly: the speaker considers that, necessarily, it will rain.
- b. Juan tiene que quedarse en casa.
Juan must that stay.se at home

Roughly: given a set of rules, Juan has the obligation to stay home.

c. Juan tiene que decir la última palabra.

Juan has that say the last word

Roughly: given his character, Juan needs to say the last word

This has suggested to researchers that the difference between epistemic, deontics and dynamic modals cannot be lexically specified: it has to come from either semantic or syntactic facts about the configurations where the auxiliaries are introduced, perhaps the position they occupy in the tree or the nature of the complement they select, as we will see in §9.

Other modal auxiliaries are associated only to one modal base. One example of this is the auxiliary illustrated in the following example.

(236) *Haber que* = deontic

a. *Hay que llover.

it.is.necessary that rain

Intended: ‘It must rain’

b. Hay que quedarse en casa.

it.is.necessary that stay.se at home

‘There is an obligation to stay home’

c. #Hay que hablar inglés.

it.is.necessary that speak English

‘There is an obligation to speak English’, not ‘Given our knowledge, there is the capacity to speak English’

(236a) is impossible because the auxiliary has a deontic meaning, and this interpretation imposes the condition that the eventuality must have a subject that in some sense controls it, because what is asserted is that following some rules that subject has the permission or the obligation to take part in this eventuality; a weather verb, as it is well-known (eg., Ruwet 1991), does not select an agent-like subject, so the sentence is expected to be ungrammatical. (236c) is interpretable, but clearly not in a dynamic way. Compare this to *haber de*, which selects weather verbs and therefore can be diagnosed to allow an epistemic meaning.

(237) *Haber de* = epistemic, deontic or dynamic

a. Ha de llover.

it.is.necessary that rain

‘It must rain’

b. Ha de quedarse en casa.

it.is.necessary that stay.se at home

‘She has an obligation to stay home’

c. Ha de hablar inglés.

it.is.necessary that speak English

‘Given his character, he needs to speak English in a situation like this’

According to normative grammars, *deber* and *deber de* are also specialised in one modal base (Gómez Torrego 1999: 3348-3352); the first is deontic, the second is epistemic.

- (238) Debe quedarse en casa.
 he.must stay.se at home
 ‘He has the obligation to stay home’
- (239) Debe de estar en casa.
 he.must of be at home
 ‘It must be true that he is at home’

However, the regular use of these periphrases shows that they are, at least, compatible with epistemic and deontic readings; *deber de* has, as a deontic verb, a meaning of weak obligation, and it is frequently used for giving advice.

- (240) a. Deberías de estudiar más.
 you.would.must of study more
 ‘You should study more’
- b. Debe estar lloviendo.
 it.must be raining
 ‘It must be the case that it is raining’

8.2. Other properties

There are different properties that are associated with these readings. The first one has to do with the ordering. Picallo (1990) noticed, for Catalan, that there are some ordering restrictions. An epistemic modal cannot follow a deontic one; these facts extend to Spanish and many other languages.

- (241) Epistemic-deontic
 Puede tener que estudiar.
 he.might have to study
 ‘It might be the case that he has to study’
- (242) Deontic-dynamic
 Tiene que poder hablar inglés.
 has to can speak English
 ‘He has the obligation to be able to speak English’
- (243) *Deontic-epistemic
 Debe poder estar en casa.
 he.must can be at home
 Intended: ‘There is the obligation that it is possibly the case that he is at home’
- (244) *Dynamic-deontic
 Puede deber hablar español.
 he.can must speak Spanish
 Intended: ‘He has the ability to have the obligation to speak Spanish’

As expected from a semantic perspective, a combination of two identical modal bases is not allowed:

- (245) *Epistemic-epistemic
 Tiene que poder llover.
 it.has to can rain
 Intended: ‘It must be the case that it is possibly the case that it rains’
- (246) *Deontic-deontic

- Tiene que poder estudiar.
has to can study
Intended: ‘He has the obligation to be allowed to study’
- (247) *Dynamic-dynamic
Tiene que poder decir la última palabra.
he.has to can say the last word
Intended: ‘Because of how he is, he cannot help but to be able to say the last word’

The epistemic, deontic and dynamic forms, however, can embed an infinitive in the progressive or the perfect:

- (248) a. Puede haber llovido.
it.might have rained
b. Puede estar lloviendo.
it.might be raining
‘It might be the case that {it has rained / it is raining}’
- (249) a. Un cura puede haber estado casado.
a priest can have been married
‘Someone that becomes a priest is allowed to have been married’
b. Puede estar jugando todo el día.
he.can be playing all the day
‘He is allowed to play for the whole day’
- (250) a. Por como es, puede estar todo el día hablando.
for how he.is, he.can be all the day talking
‘Because of how he is, he is able to talk for the whole day’
b. Por como es, puede haber hablado todo el día.
for how he.is, he.can have talked all the day
‘Because of how he is, he is perfectly able to have talked for the whole day’

The different modal bases are sometimes associated with different temporoaspectual forms. If we focus on the case of *poder* ‘can’, we see that the epistemic reading is associated with the imperfective tenses, while the deontic and dynamic readings allow the perfective past tense, which in the case of the deontic and dynamic readings gives a meaning close to ‘managed’, implying that the eventuality was performed.

- (251) a. *Pudo llover.
it.could.perf rain
Intended: ‘It was the case that it could rain’
b. Podía llover.
it.could.impf rain
‘It was the case that it could have rained’
- (252) a. Pudo quedarse en casa.
he.could.perf stay.se at home
‘He got permission to stay at home, and he did’
b. Podía quedarse en casa.
he.could.impf stay at home
‘He was allowed to stay at home’
- (253) a. Pudo hablar chino.

- he.could.perf speak Chinese
 ‘He managed to speak Chinese’
 b. Podía hablar chino.
 he.could.impf speak Chinese
 ‘He has the capacity to speak Chinese’

See Hacquard (2006) for an analysis of the cases where perfective aspect implies that the situation described by the infinitive was accomplished in the actual world, something that is in principle surprising given the possible world semantics of these auxiliaries.

8.3. Other modal verbs

Next to these auxiliaries, there are a number of verbs that adopt modal meanings whose behaviour is similar to that of auxiliaries when combined with subjects that, because they are inanimate or because of the sentence’s truth conditions, are not interpreted as agents.

Gómez Torrego (1999: 3362-3364) singles out four such verbs. The first ones are *lograr* and *conseguir* ‘manage’ (254).

- (254) {Logró / consiguió} llover.
 it.managed rain
 ‘It finally rained’

The meaning of (254) is interesting. Even though it combines with a weather verb, the meaning does not seem to comply with an epistemic semantics: the aspect can be perfective, and it does not mean anything like ‘it was necessarily or possibly the case that it rained’. Rather, it seems that this expression denotes the meaning that there was a state of affairs that had been blocked for some time, and that finally could take place once the impeding circumstances disappeared. It is close, then, to a dynamic interpretation where the internal properties are those of the spatiotemporal situation. A similar observation can be made with respect to the second pair of verbs singled out by Gómez Torrego.

- (255) {Intentaba / trataba de} llover.
 it.tried to rain
 ‘It was about to rain’

Here what is claimed is that the spatiotemporal situation is such that it was almost going to rain.

The verb *querer* ‘want’ produces a similar interpretation.

- (256) Quiere llover.
 it.wants rain
 ‘It wants to rain’

There are more verbs. RAE & ASALE (2009) note that *prometer* ‘promise’ can have an epistemic reading, ‘it might be the case’:

- (257) Promete ser una velada deliciosa.
 it.promises to.be a soirée delicious

‘It seems that it will be a delicious soirée’

As for *saber* ‘know’, it can get dynamic readings:

- (258) Juan sabe hablar ruso.
Juan know speak Russian
‘Juan is able to speak Russian’

Necesitar ‘need’ can also get modal readings, which are closely in their meaning to dynamic or deontic readings:

- (259) a. Esta paella necesita tener más sal.
this paella needs have more salt
‘Because of its properties, this paella must have more salt’
b. Juan necesita reunir todas las facturas.
Juan needs group all the invoices
‘Because of the rules, Juan must collect all the invoices’

García Fernández & Bravo (2014) note that *caber* ‘fit’ can be used as a deontic or dynamic modal:

- (260) a. Cabe solicitar más facturas.
it.fits request more invoices
‘Because of our rules, it is allowed to request more invoices’
b. Cabe hacer algunas consideraciones.
it.fits make some considerations
‘Because of our circumstances and someone’s capacities, it is possible to make some observations’

Finally, Ausín & Depiante (2000) have argued that *parecer* ‘seem’, when combined with an infinitive and not combined with a dative, is an epistemic modal:

- (261) Juan parece estar enfermo.
Juan seems be sick
‘Given the evidence I have, Juan might be sick’

There is an important conclusion that comes from the consideration of the list of verbs above: whether a verb is modal or not plausibly does not depend on its lexical semantics. If that was the case, we would be forced to distinguish between a lot of homophonous verbs, such as the semantically-strong *caber* (262) and the modal *caber* in (260). The problem with this approach is that both ‘verbs’ would share the same paradigm of irregular forms (263).

- (262) No caben más libros en la caja.
not fit more books in the box
‘The box does not fit more books’
(263) a. Cupo hacer una observación.
it.fit.perf make one observation
b. Cupo un libro más.
it.fit.perf one book more

The analysis that is preferred, then, is one where the modal meaning of the verb comes from the syntactic or semantic context, again, the position occupied by the verb in the clausal structure or the nature of the complement that it takes. This topic will be discussed in the next section.

9. Modal periphrases (II): analyses

In the previous section, there are two lessons to take home. The first one is that it is possible to identify positional restrictions between the three modal forces:

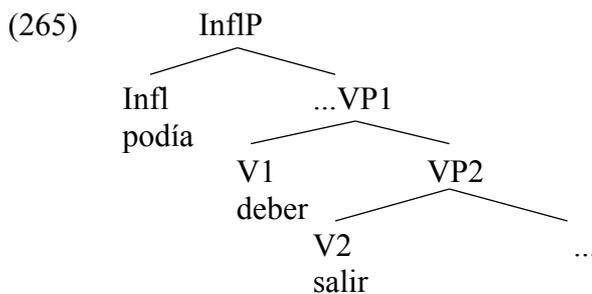
- (264) epistemic > deontic > dynamic
 Puede deber poder hablar inglés.
 he.might must can speak English
 ‘It is possibly the case that he has the obligation to be able to speak English’

The second one is that the same verb can express two or more of these modal bases, and some verbs can have a use as a semantically-strong verb and another one as a modal auxiliary.

This situation has favored a particular kind of account of modal auxiliaries where they are ‘regular’ verbs which are introduced in a syntactic context that gives them its modal force. There are two distinct takes on this: one where the verb is introduced in a special position in the tree, and one where the crucial difference is the kind of complement that the verb takes.

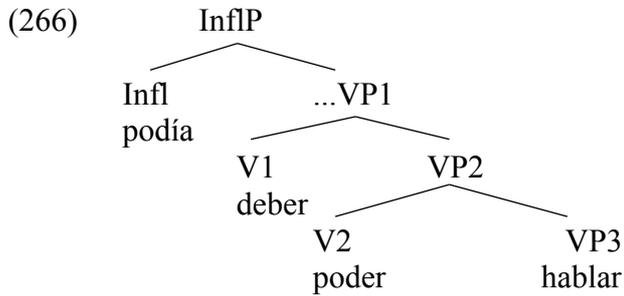
9.1. The position of modals

Picallo (1990) offers an account that is based on the position where the auxiliary is introduced. In her account, that differentiates between two modal forces –epistemic and deontic– is that in the first reading, the modal appears in Infl(ection) (\approx T), while in the second case they are VP constituents:



‘It might be the case that he had the obligation to come out’

Note that even if Picallo did not distinguish the dynamic reading, there is no reason to think that it could not be treated in essentially the same way, as a VP constituent lower than deontic modals.



‘It might be the case that he had the obligation to be able to speak’

Picallo’s account accounts for many of the properties noted in the previous section. It directly accounts for the ordering restrictions, on the assumption that Infl / T cannot be subordinated directly to V. As she notes, it also accounts for another set of differences between the modal readings:

i) Epistemic readings cannot be preceded by aspectual auxiliaries; this is expected if epistemics are higher in the tree than the locus of aspectual markers, which presumably occupy the area between Infl / T and V.

(267) #Ha podido llover.
 it.has can.part rain
 Intended: ‘It has been possibly the case that it rained’

ii) Deontic readings impose selectional restrictions on the subject, while epistemic readings cannot. This is noticeable in the fact that deontic (and dynamic) readings need subjects that can control the embedded event, while epistemic readings don’t. Again, this is expected if deontic (and dynamic) auxiliaries are VP constituents, because at this level they can define an argument structure; at the functional Infl level, on the other hand, argument structure is not defined.

Picallo’s ideas were adopted and stated in a minimalist framework in Wurmbrand (1998), where deontic modals are placed in a ModP that immediately dominates the verbal highest projection, vP (eg., Wurmbrand 1998: 268).

9.2. Modals and the raising / control divide

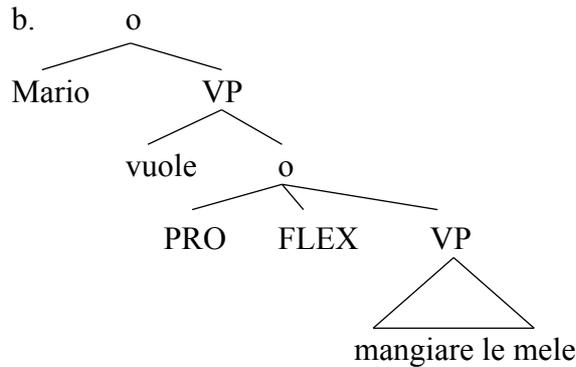
A second line of analysis is to treat the difference between epistemic and deontic modals as an effect of their different nature as verbs, frequently combined with Rizzi’s (1982) analysis of restructuring, where provided restricted conditions, a verb and its complement can end up in a configuration where they form one single verb complex.

Following these lines, epistemic verbs are raising verbs, while deontic modals are control verbs. Ross (1969) was the first one to propose this: deontic modals are transitive in the sense that they assign two theta-roles, while epistemic modals only assigned one theta-role, to its complement.

An early attempt to develop this analysis was Hernanz & Rigau (1984), closely following proposals by Zubizarreta (1982) and Manzini (1983). In their analysis, there are two closely related, though independent, ideas:

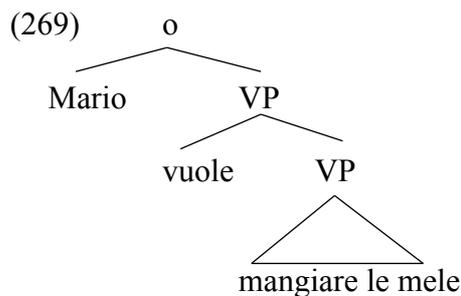
- i) Epistemic modals act like raising verbs, and deontic modals are closer to control verbs (following Manzini 1983). This explains the different kind of subjects that each one of the two classes of auxiliary take.

(268) a. Juan_i puede [S e_i visitar a María].
 Juan can visit ACC María
 ‘Juan might visit María’ [adapted from Hernanz & Rigau 1984: (87)]



[adapted from Hernanz & Rigau 1984: (88)]

- ii) Even though initially both auxiliaries take a subordinate clause as their complement, restructuring produces as a result a verb complex for both epistemic and deontic modals.

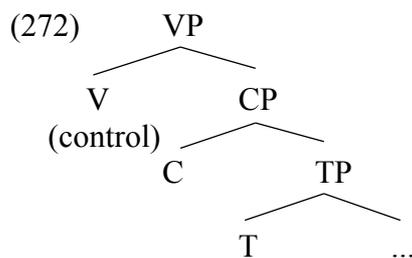
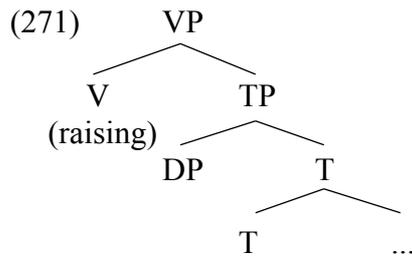


Picallo (1990) criticised the raising analysis of epistemic verbs on the base that the subject of a verb like *seem* cannot license an anaphor. Note that raising is impossible whenever the dative is present, with or without anaphor (270b):

- (270) a. *Juan se parece estar enfermo.
 Juan SE seems to.be sick
 Intended: ‘Juan seems to himself to be sick’
 b. *Juan me parece estar enfermo.
 Juan me seems to.be sick
 Intended: ‘Juan seems to me to be sick’

Ausín & Depiante (2000) actually use this data point to argue that datives block raising in Spanish, in general; thus, (270) would not be an argument against a raising analysis of epistemic verbs.

Treating the two classes of periphrases as distinct classes of verbs –raising vs. control– in fact has consequences also for the kind of complement that each one of them takes. The standard treatment of raising-infinitives is that they are projections of TP (271), while control-infinitives are projections of CP (272). This CP is assumed to ‘protect’ PRO and defines the clause as more independently (Landau 2001, but see Karimi 2008 and Ghomeshi 2001 for different views).



The idea that epistemic verbs and deontic verbs operate over different structures could derive from here, possibly. If the deontic verb takes a CP and must control a PRO, it makes sense to think of it as a predicate that presents a relation between a thematic subject and a particular state of affairs. If the epistemic verb takes a TP directly, and the TP denotes a proposition but the verb does not control any of the verb’s arguments, it makes sense to think that it will denote an attitude about the truth value of the proposition. Finally, if the CP contains (or can contain) force, the relation between deontic modals and imperatives, directives, etc., can be explained.

However, in this account it is unclear how the ordering restrictions between epistemic and deontic modals are accounted. The impossibility of an ordering *deontic > epistemic would have to reduce to some incompatibility between raising and control verbs, in such a way that control verbs cannot take raising verbs as their complements. However, this is not true.

Take a clear control verb like *prometer* ‘promise’ or *intentar* ‘try’. Let us combine it with a raising predicate like *tener pinta de* ‘have appearance of’. The ordering raising > control is as grammatical as the ordering control > raising.

(273) Juan tiene pinta de intentar casarse con María.
 Juan has appearance of try marry.se with María
 ‘Juan seems to try to marry Mary’

(274) Juan intentó tener pinta de estar enfermo.
 Juan tried have appearance of be sick
 ‘Juan tried to seem to be sick’

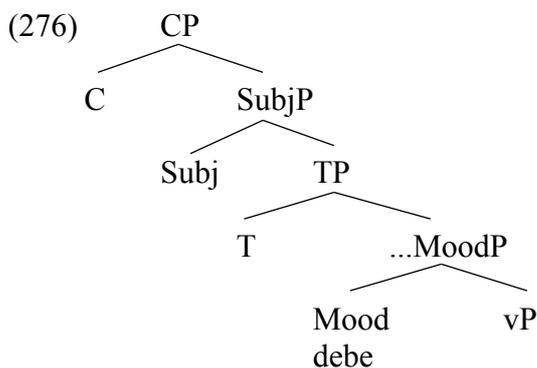
Thus, under the light of these data, a positional treatment of modal auxiliaries seem to be more compatible with the facts than a treatment based on the raising / control opposition.

9.3. On the connection between low and high modality

Remember that there is one case where subjunctive and a modal auxiliary are incompatible, (275).

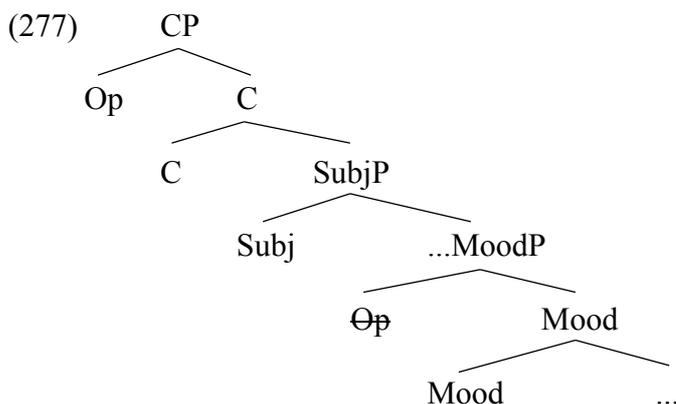
- (275) *Dice que deba salir.
 says that I.must.subj come.out
 Intended: ‘He says that I must come out’

As we saw, this is restricted to the directive intensional subjunctive in combination with a deontic modal auxiliary. Given the above discussion, it seems that there are reasons to think that deontic auxiliaries are in a position close to vP; however, the standard analysis of subjunctive involves higher clausal projections, so we have an unexpected incompatibility. Why can’t the heads in (276) co-occur?



The evidence that subjunctive is high and that deontic modals are generated low is quite overwhelming, so we will assume that (276) is essentially right. Let us revise the possible solutions.

One suggestive possibility is that directive subjunctives involve some kind of operator that is licensed in the same position as deontic modals; from there, the operator would have to rise to CP, so that the subjunctive is under its domain. If this is right, then in directive subjunctives the deontic auxiliary position would be occupied.



Alternatively, it might be that it is deontic modals that under certain conditions must associate to the CP domain, and define some illocutionary force. In a sentence like (278), the presence of the auxiliary, without any imperative inflection, is enough to define the utterance as a directive.

- (278) Debes salir.
you.must come.out

Note that when there is an epistemic auxiliary between the deontic and the C area, the utterance stops being interpretable as a directive; this could be due to the additional auxiliary blocking the relation between the deontic and C.

- (279) #Puedes deber salir.
you.can must come.out

If this is on the right track, then, what would produce the problem is that *deber* ‘must’ would have to rise to the C area, occupying positions that the subjunctive needs to check in order to get licensed.

Be it as it may, at the very least the unexpected ungrammaticality in (275) suggests that there must be a fluid communication between the low and the high clausal area in the case of directives.

10. Imperatives, futures, conditionals and imperfective pasts

In this last section, we will take a look at the other inflectional forms that have been argued to encode modality in Spanish.

10.1. Imperatives

There is general agreement that imperatives involve a modal meaning; there are three reasons for this: (i) the meaning of imperative is, in a loose sense, irrealis, because it marks the propositional content as unrealised; (ii) imperatives are substituted with forms that are at least homophonous with subjunctive; (iii) imperatives cannot be used in subordinate clauses, and because of that they never show *consecutio temporum* effects.

The analytic questions about the grammar of imperatives generally involve the following three questions: (i) what is their internal composition?; (ii) what kind of subject do they take?; (iii) why is it restricted to only a few syntactic contexts? Imperatives in Spanish show three important properties that make it stand out in the set of agreeing verbal forms. First, clitics follow a verb in the imperative:

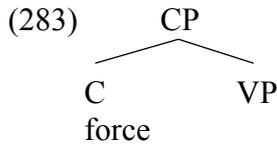
- (280) da-me-lo
give-me-it
‘Give it to me’

Second, imperatives, *strictu sensu*, only have two forms: second person singular and second person plural. This form only emerges in affirmative contexts. In languages like English, moreover, imperatives are the only forms that allow for pro-drop (282).

- (281) a. Ven.
you.sg.come.imp
b. Venid.
you.pl.come.imp
c. Venga usted.
come.subj you.polite

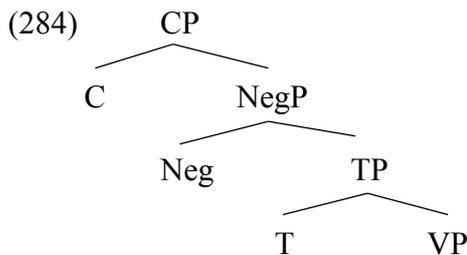
- d. No vengas.
 not come.subj
 ‘Don’t come’
- (282) a. *When he was ready, came to the party
 b. Come to the party!

Most analyses of imperative treat it as a defective form which lacks T or has a very impoverished version of T, and where C licenses properties that otherwise would be licensed by T. Zanuttini (1991) analysed imperatives as Vs that lack a T node, roughly as in (283).



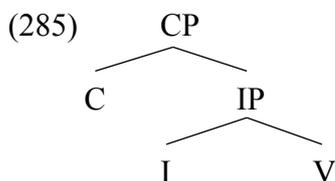
C gives the speech act force to the verb; imperatives have so few inflectional forms because T is missing. V has to check its features with C, in order to get licensed. In Zanuttini, Pak & Portner (2012) it is further argued that C corresponds to a special Jussive head that contains interpretable person and number features, and this licenses the subject of imperatives (placed inside vP) even in non pro-drop languages.

Zanuttini (1991) tries to explain the cases where subjunctive is used instead of imperative in negative contexts: in her analysis, Neg(ation) is a head which selects T. Thus, when Neg appears, the internal structure of the imperative is necessarily richer:



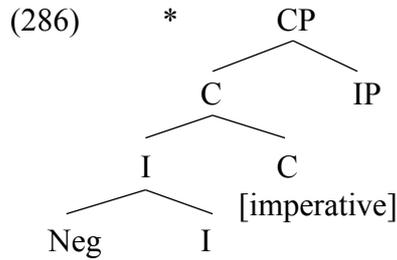
In this situation, V cannot enter into a proper local relation with C, so the imperative morphology, which can only be licensed by C, cannot be used: instead, the subjunctive form is introduced in these cases. See Biezma (2009) for an analysis which, as Zanuttini (1991), assumes that the internal structure of a positive imperative does not contain a T node.

Other approaches include a T head even in affirmative contexts. Rivero & Terzi (1995) propose that the structure of a positive imperative is as in (285), where I corresponds to T.



Crucially, imperative morphology is impoverished, so the complex V+I has to head-move to C to check the [imperative] feature placed in C. The reason why

subjunctive is used instead of imperative under negation is that Neg is adjoined to I, and thus intervenes between C and the V+I complex.

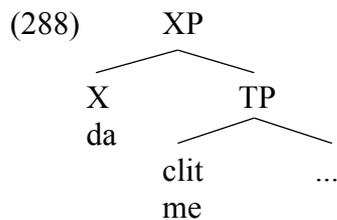


In such cases, then, subjunctive is used –crucially– because it does not contain features that have to be licensed with Force in C, so the presence of the intervening negation will not trigger ungrammaticality.

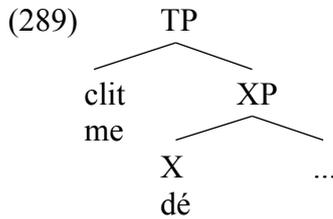
It is at this point important that we go back to a problem that the comparison with the imperative identifies in a number of analyses of the subjunctive. As we saw (§7.1), many analyses of the subjunctive make the claim that the subjunctive inflection must rise to a position in the C domain, where some features are licensed. This seems implausible under the light of the following contrast between the imperative and the subjunctive used as a substitute of imperative:

- (287) a. Da-me-lo
 give.imp-me-it
 ‘Give it to me!’
 b. No me lo des.
 not me it give.you.subj
 ‘Don’t give it to me!’

Interestingly, in the imperative, clitics follow the verb, while in the subjunctive (even the imperative subjunctive), the same clitics precede the verb. The first question is where are clitics placed, and the standard analysis for Spanish (and other Romance languages, like Italian) is that clitics are adjoined to T or to a head closely related to T (Kayne 1989). Then, this suggests that in the imperative, the verb complex moves above T, so the clitics are c-commanded by the verb:



However, this must mean that in the subjunctive the verb does not move as high as assumed in some of the analyses that deal with transparent subjunctives:



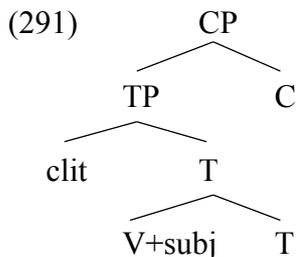
Obviously, one way out to explain this contrast would be to argue that clitics are higher than previously thought. However, there is an additional source of evidence that subjunctive is not licensed as high as in the C domain: the morphophonology of the exponents that spell out subjunctive in the verb. Consider (290).

- (290) com-a-mos
eat-subj-1pl
'Let's eat'

The subjunctive marker in Spanish is a vowel *a* or *e* which appears between the verbal stem and the person / number agreement inflection, occupying, linearly, the position that the conjugation marker would spell out. Assuming something like Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle, this means that subjunctive is introduced below T, and that it never passes the position where subject agreement is defined, be it T or a head closely related to T.

There are, thus, two options. The first one is to completely give up the idea that subjunctives have to rise above T. The second one is to assume that it is the whole TP, including clitics, that moves up when it contains a subjunctive feature. However, this movement is problematic for two reasons.

The first is that if TP (as opposed to the head T, or the complex V-Subj-T) moves, then it should carry with it its complement, which is the verbal predicate. The second problem is that if subjunctive is below T, and subjunctive pied-pipes T, whatever configuration the complex establishes with a head in the C domain would not imply the direct checking of [subjunctive], because at least the clitic would intervene between subjunctive and the C head:



The same intervention problem would take place even with head movement. All in all, a comparison with the imperative makes it clear that the idea that subjunctive moves to C is questionable.

10.2. Futures

The future form has been interpreted as a temporal or as a modal form in different works. The traditional characterisation is that 'future' is a temporal form, an idea that is clearly stated in Bello (1847) and that has been adopted almost directly by the descriptive grammars that have been written after him (and also by some theoretical

works, like Kissine 2008). However, there are other works, such as Oltra-Massuet (1999), Copley (2002) or Giannakidou & Mari (2013) that clearly identify the future as a modal form with epistemic value. Here is the evidence.

First, there are clearly modal uses of the future, particularly what has been called the future of probability or the future of conjecture. In works where future is a temporal form, these cases have to be treated as extended, metaphorical uses of the future.

- (292) Probablemente ahora serán las cuatro.
probably now it.will.be the four
'It must be four'

Second, a future event can be expressed without future morphology, particularly in contexts where there is the pragmatic implication that there is an entity that controls the course of events.

- (293) Mañana juega el Real Madrid.
tomorrow plays the Real Madrid

Third, subjunctive and future cannot co-occur; subjunctive, as we saw, lacks a designated future form. This is explained if future and subjunctive occupy the same head; if future occupied a temporal head and subjunctive a modal head, then we would expect that there should be a distinct future subjunctive form (meaning, a designated form to express future events in the subjunctive).

- (294) a. Creo que vendrá.
I.think that he.will.come
b. No creo que venga.
not think that he.comes.subj

Fourth, future forms create –just like modal auxiliaries (295)– referentially opaque contexts (296).

- (295) a. Debes tener un libro que hable de esto.
you.must have a book that speaks.subj about this
b. *Tienes un libro que hable de esto.
you.have a book that speaks.subj about this
(296) Tendrás un libro que hable de esto.
you.will.have a book that speaks.subj about this

Given these data, futures are treated as epistemic modal forms whereby a speaker states a proposition that is not true at the utterance time, but that is expected to become true in the possible worlds that keep the states of affairs and the natural course of events of the actual world (Copley 2002).

The problem of considering future a modal form is that it cannot occur in contexts where subjunctive is expected, even if the temporal orientation is the right one, as under directives and desideratives; note, however, that other languages, like Catalan, allow both forms (Quer 2010), which suggests that in this language future behaves more like a prototypical modal form:

- (297) Espero que {venga / *vendrá}.
 I.hope that he.comes.subj / he.will.come
 ‘I hope that he will come’

However, this does not directly prove that future is not a mood: it just proves that, in case of being a mood, it would have to denote a different value from subjunctive.

10.3. Conditionals

The problem of whether conditional has to be categorised as a modal or as a temporal form is more acute. Note, first, that the morphological evidence tells us that its characterisation would depend on the characterisation of the future, because they share the same irregular stems:

- (298) a. tendr-é
 have-will
 b. tendr-ía
 have-would

Descriptive grammars have defined conditionals in both ways, as temporal and as modal forms. Bello (1847), RAE (1973) and RAE & ASALE (2009) classify it among the tenses, and explain that the hypothetical value that accompanies it can be derived from its temporal use (actions oriented towards the future); Alarcos (1994), on the other hand, classifies both future and conditional as one mood, ‘condicionado’, which is opposed to both indicative and subjunctive.

Indeed, there is conflicting evidence about the nature of conditionals. There are clearly temporal uses, where the conditional expresses a realis proposition that is oriented towards the future with respect to a main verb in a past form:

- (299) a. Dice que estará en casa.
 he.says that he.will.be at home
 b. Dijo que estaría en casa.
 he.said that he.would.be at home

However, there are also cases where conditionals are used to denote hypothesis and other irrealis situations. Obviously, one such case is that of subordinate conditionals:

- (300) Tendría más dinero si trabajara.
 I.would.have more money if I.worked.subj

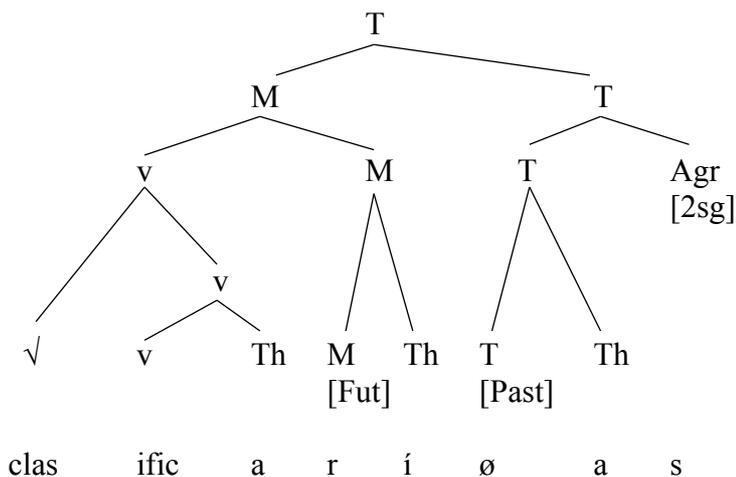
But this use is also documented outside conditionals, as the equivalent in the past of the conjecture future that was presented in the previous section:

- (301) Cuando explotó la bomba, serían las tres.
 when exploded the bomb, it.would.be the three
 ‘When the bomb exploded, it was, approximately, three o’clock’

Here is the conflict; on the one hand, there are clearly modal components in the meaning of conditional forms. On the other hand, these forms sometimes involve some past orientation, which suggests that there is also some temporal specification. One way to resolve this tension is presented in Oltra-Massuet (1999: 14): while future

is the result of combining a modal head with a verb, conditionals are the result of combining the same modal head with the verb and a past tense specification, so in practice conditionals are both temporal and modal forms, or modal forms with a temporal specification. In the trees below, even though Oltra-Massuet illustrated her structure with Catalan verbs, we use Spanish forms:

(302) *clasificarías* ‘you would classify’



10.4. Imperfective past

Finally, in Spanish and in Italian, the imperfective past has a set of modal uses where the form is used, without making any reference to the past, to express several irrealis notions and also to convey surprise or a less committed attitude when expressing wishes and orders (see Fernández Ramírez 1953 [1986]: 269 onward, Bertinetto 1986, Reyes 1990). Note that in some cases, like (305) and (306), the imperfective could be replaced by the conditional.

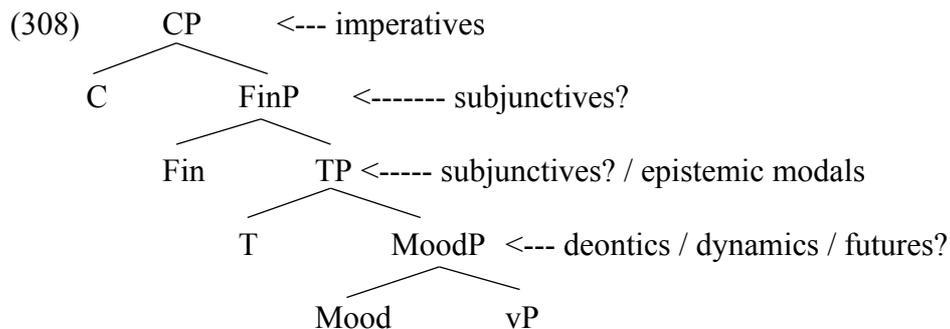
- (303) Surprise
 ¿Pero estudiaba usted para sacerdote?
 but you.studied you for priest?
 ‘But you are studying to be a priest?’
- (304) Imagined facts
 ¿Jugamos a que yo era un gato?
 let’s.play to that I was a cat?
 ‘Let’s play as if I was a cat’
- (305) Desires
 Con qué gusto me tomaba un café ahora.
 with how delight me had a coffee now
 ‘How pleasant it would be to have a coffee now’
- (306) Conditionals
 Si tuviera dinero, te daba lo que me pides.
 if I.had.subj money, you gave that which me you.ask
 ‘If I had any money, I would give you what you are requesting’
- (307) Attenuated requests
 Venía a renovar el carnet.
 I.came to renew the ID.card
 ‘I come to renew my ID card, please’

Most analysis talk of this case as a metaphorical extension of the aspectual value of this form. The form is opposed to the perfective past in the sense that it does not refer to a specific action –in Bertinetto’s terms, it does not focalise the endpoint of eventualities, and can involve generic or habitual quantification–, so it presents the predicate in an indirect way (Reyes 1990), which can be reinterpreted as a way to convey that the speaker’s experience with the reported event is not direct. In some recent approaches (Laca 2010b, Ippolito 2013), imperfective past, in fact, can be reinterpreted as a device that distances the claim from the actual world-time pair, something that makes it predictable that these forms could develop modal uses. Remember, also, that in some main verbs (§3.2.3) presence of the imperfective past is a necessary condition to license the use of subjunctive.

11. Some conclusions

It is time to wrap up. This article has taken as its central topic the grammar of the Spanish subjunctive, and from that perspective it has considered other modal forms in Spanish, including auxiliaries and inflectional morphemes. The results could be summarised as follows.

First, there is evidence that mood in Spanish involves at least three areas, all placed (roughly) between C and V. There is evidence that modal auxiliaries are placed between V and T, with deontics and dynamics being fairly close to the vP and epistemics occupying a higher position that might even correspond to T. There is evidence, also, that subjunctive has to be around the T / Finiteness area, and that it must establish some interaction with the C layers where the illocutionary force is defined; however, the ordering of clitics and the linearisation of the exponents that spell out subjunctive suggest that subjunctives do not go higher than the T area. Finally, imperatives seem to be placed –at the end of the derivation– in the C area.



Second, there are some interactions between these areas, something that suggests shared features or shared projections: subjunctives cannot combine with futures, and there is at least one case in which it is not compatible with a deontic modal; subjunctives and imperatives can substitute each other under restricted conditions; imperatives and deontic modals cannot be combined, etc.

Third, and as one can expect from the position of mood, we have seen evidence that mood interacts with aspect and tense in a variety of ways, which even involve a past imperfective form adopting modal uses and helping in the licensing of subjunctive. In a certain level of abstraction, in fact, one can see (low) mood and aspect as two distinct manifestations of the same operation, which is the point of view that the speaker adopts when introducing a predicate.

Fourth, subjunctive itself is not a uniform phenomenon. An overview of the morphological, syntactic and semantic effects of subjunctive has made it possible to distinguish at least four classes:

- a) Transparent intensional subjunctives, with volitionals and directives
- b) Epistemic subjunctives, which behave as polarity subjunctives
- c) Presuppositional subjunctives, which are never transparent
- d) Subjunctive-pro-future

In different parts of this overview, we have suggested that this favours a syncretism account, with subjunctive being the spell out of a set of non-uniform morphosyntactic phenomena.

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