

MOOD AND MODAL CONCORD IN SPANISH DIRECTIVE CLAUSES: AN UPDATE TO FAULKNER (2022B)

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ABSTRACT. According to Faulkner (2022b), in the case of Spanish, “indicative directive complements are strongly preferable to subjunctive clauses when a weak necessity and teleological matrix directive embeds a modal verb of equivalent strength and type” (p. 8). She explains that the exceptionality of this phenomenon relates to both predicates being interpreted in concord with one another. Having compared and analyzed several authentic examples of mood use in this context (see Faulkner 2021b, 2022a, 2022b), Faulkner, consequently, suggests that, in spite of being labeled core selectors of the subjunctive (e.g., Villalta 2008), if a modal concord construction is to come into play, the mood of the particular directive complement is affected. However, unbeknownst to Faulkner (2022b) at the time of publishing, this symbiotic relationship between modal concord and mood is *not* exclusive to matrix and subordinate directives that are weak necessity (of strength) and teleological (of type). Concord readings may, in fact, be evoked in contexts in which both the matrix and embedded predicates are, for example, either deontic and strong necessity or bouletic and strong necessity. In other words, if the two expressions parallel each other in strength and priority, an indicative modal complement, interpreted in concord with the main directive, is likely to result; and, most importantly, whether or not the two modal elements are teleological and weak necessity.

Keywords. mood, modal concord, directives, subjunctive, indicative, Spanish

RESUMEN. Según Faulkner (2022b), en el caso del español, “los complementos directivos, indicativos son fuertemente preferibles a las cláusulas subjuntivas cuando un directivo principal, de tipo “teleológico” y de fuerza “necesidad débil”, tiene un verbo subordinado, modal de fuerza y tipo equivalentes” (p. 8). Explica que la excepcionalidad de este fenómeno se relaciona con ambos predicados interpretándose en concordancia entre sí. Después de haber comparado y analizado varios ejemplos auténticos del uso de modo en este contexto (véase Faulkner 2021b, 2022a, 2022b), Faulkner sugiere que, a pesar de ser etiquetados como seleccionadores principales del subjuntivo (por ejemplo, Villalta 2008), si una construcción de concordancia modal entra en juego, el modo del complemento directivo particular se ve afectado. Sin embargo, sin que Faulkner (2022b) lo supiera en el momento de la publicación, esta relación simbiótica entre la concordancia modal y el modo verbal, no es exclusiva de verbos directivos, principales y subordinados que son de fuerza “necesidad débil” y tipo “teleológico”. Las interpretaciones de concordancia pueden, de hecho, evocarse en contextos en los que, tanto los predicados principales como los subordinados, son, por ejemplo, “deónticos” o “volitivos” de tipo y de “necesidad fuerte”. En otras palabras, si las dos expresiones son de la misma fuerza y prioridad, es probable que resulte un complemento modal, indicativo, interpretado en concordancia con el verbo directivo, principal; y, lo más importante es que no importa si los dos elementos modales son “teleológicos” y o de “necesidad débil”.

Palabras clave. modo, concordancia modal, verbos directivos, subjuntivo, indicativo, español.



1. Introduction

1.1. *Concord*

According to Huitink (2012), the term CONCORD, as understood by linguists, refers to the phenomenon by which a sentence containing more than one operator, is interpreted as if only a singular operator were present. Correspondingly, the phrase MODAL CONCORD, pertains to statements with two modal elements, being understood as exclusively involving one (Geurts and Huitink 2006; Halliday 1970; Zeijlstra 2007). For this to occur, each modal element has to parallel the other with respect to both PRIORITY, otherwise known as TYPE (e.g., teleological, deontic, bouletic, epistemic, etc.), and STRENGTH, also deemed QUANTIFICATIONAL FORCE (i.e., universal vs. existential quantification, e.g., - STRONG NECESSITY; WEAK NECESSITY; WEAK, etc.) (e.g., Geurts and Huitink 2006; Huitink 2012; Zeijlstra 2007). However, before delving further into the specifics of this concept (which, as related to Spanish, is the focal point of this article), it might be helpful to first, introduce examples of these distinctions.

1.2. *Modal Types and Strengths*

As related to modal types, under the umbrella of SENTENTIAL modality, we may have DEONTIC (i.e., “rule-based” modal elements, e.g., ‘must’, ‘to be mandatory that’, etc.), BOULETIC (i.e., “desire-focused” modals, e.g., ‘should’, ‘could’, etc.), and TELEOLOGICAL (i.e., “goal-oriented” modal operators, e.g., ‘recommend that’, ‘to have to’, etc.) modal predicates. In terms of strength, one might differentiate between WEAK or POSSIBILITY modals (e.g., ‘might’, ‘may’, ‘to have to’, etc.) and STRONG or NECESSITY modals (e.g., ‘must’, ‘to have to’, ‘to be obligatory that’, etc.) – the latter, which can be further subdivided into STRONG NECESSITY (e.g., ‘must’, ‘to be required that’, ‘to be necessary that’, etc.) and WEAK NECESSITY, modal forms (e.g., ‘recommend that’, ‘suggest that’, ‘should’, etc.) (e.g., Portner 2018). The examples below seek to distinguish between these groupings.

- (1) Deontic:
 - a. All workers **must** pay their taxes. (Deontic and strong necessity (henceforth “SN”))
 - b. Visitors **are required to** park in lot B. (Deontic and SN)
 - c. All concert-goers **have to** be searched on entry. (Deontic and SN)

- (2) Bouletic:
 - a. You **should** wash the dishes before dinner; That way we’ll have plates to eat from/off of. (Bouletic and weak necessity (henceforth “WN”))
 - b. She **has to** call me tonight so that I can tell her what happened. (Bouletic and WN)
 - c. You **could** make macaroni and cheese instead; It’s my favorite. (Bouletic and WN)

- (3) Teleological:
 - a. You **have to** take bus number 32 to get to Main Street. (Teleological and WN)
 - b. She **has to** take one more comprehensive exam to become a PhD candidate. (Teleological and WN)
 - c. They **recommend** taking the first flight out in order for you to get to your destination on time. (Teleological and WN)

As observed by means of the examples above (1-3), there are certain modal operators that may express varying levels of quantificational force and “flavors” of modality (i.e., depending on the pragmatic context in question (e.g., von Stechow 2006; Portner 2018)). In other words, their classifications of strength and type are *not* mutually exclusive and, in fact, can change, as influenced (or determined) by the speaker or subject’s conversational intent. Thus, whereas ‘to have to’ in example (1c) refers to a rule or regulation that must compulsorily be abided by, its use in (2b) reveals the subject in question’s personal preference. Contrarily, in sentences (3a) and (3b), it serves the distinct function of indicating the sequenced steps that need to be carried out in order for the specified objective to be successfully fulfilled.

1.3. Modal Concord

With these designations in mind, let’s now get back to our initial discussion regarding concord between modal elements. In each of the seven examples below, we can recognize that two modal operators are present; and, that, in all cases, both are of similar priority and quantificational force. For this reason, the sentences are interpreted as if they contained only one (and not both) of the two modal forms (as exemplified by the bolded translations).

- (4) You **may possibly** have read my little monograph upon the subject. (modal type: epistemic; quantificational force: weak).

(Adapted from Geurts and Huitink 2006: 1)

It is possible that ~~it is possible that~~ you have read my little monograph upon the subject.

Final interpretation: ‘**It is possible that you have read my little monograph upon the subject.**’ **Modal Concord** (henceforth, “MC”)

- (5) **Possibly** this gazebo **may** have been built by Sir Christopher Wren. (modal type: epistemic; quantificational force: weak).

(Adapted from Halliday 1970: 328)

It is possible that ~~it is possible that~~ this gazebo had been built by Sir Christopher Wren.

Final Interpretation: ‘**It is possible that this gazebo had been built by Sir Christopher Wren.**’ **MC**

- (6) **It is allowed that** he **may** enter the room. (modal type: teleological; respective, quantificational forces: weak necessity and weak).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 323)

It is permissible that he ~~be permitted to~~ enter the room.

Final interpretation: ‘**It is permissible/permitted that he enter the room.**’ **MC**

- (7) Power carts **must mandatorily** be used on cart paths where provided. (modal type: deontic; quantificational force: strong necessity).

(Adapted from Geurts and Huitink 2006: 1)

It is obligatory ~~that there be an obligation~~ to use power carts on cart paths where provided.

Final interpretation: ‘**It is obligatory to use power carts on cart paths where provided.**’

MC

- (8) John **must obligatorily** read the books. (modal type: deontic; quantificational force: strong necessity).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 325)

It is obligatory that ~~there be an obligation that~~ John read the books.

Final interpretation: ‘**It is obligatory that John read the books.**’

MC

- (9) It **must necessarily** be the case. (modal type: epistemic; quantificational force: strong necessity).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 323)

It is undeniable/certain that it is ~~undoubtedly/undeniably/certainly~~ the case.

Final interpretation: ‘**It is definitely the case.**’

MC

- (10) The general **demands that** the troops **must** leave. (modal type: deontic; quantificational force: strong necessity;).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 325)

The general demands that ~~there be a demand that~~ the troops leave.

Final interpretation: ‘**The general demands that the troops leave.**’

MC

According to Zeijlstra (2007), modal concord can only be established, in environments like those of examples (4) through (10), where a modal auxiliary (in addition to, another modal element of equivalent type and strength) is specifically present. Accordingly, he asserts that, “an expression consisting of two, *non*-auxiliary, modal elements of the same type [(e.g., two modal: verbs (e.g., ‘to require that’ and ‘to be obligated that’); adverbs (e.g., ‘mandatorily’ and ‘obligatorily’); adjectives (e.g., ‘likely’ and ‘conceivable’); or nouns (e.g., ‘chance’ and ‘likelihood’)], [does not ever] yield a modal concord reading” (pp. 318-331). Sentences of this type would, instead, induce CUMULATIVE readings, where each operator is interpreted on its own, i.e., as carrying its own modal force. Items (11) through (14) below aim to support these premises:

- (11) The general **demands that** the troops **be required to** leave. (modal type: deontic; quantificational force: strong necessity; syntactic form: non-auxiliaries).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 325)

‘**The general demands that there be a demand that the troops leave.**’

Cumulative (henceforth, “C”)

- (12) **Maybe** Mary **has to** leave. (respective, modal types: epistemic and deontic/teleological; respective, quantificational forces: weak and strong necessity/weak necessity; respective, syntactic forms: auxiliaries).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 317)

‘**It is possible that Mary is obligated to leave.**’

C

- (13) John **must be allowed** to go out now. (respective, modal types: deontic and teleological; respective, quantificational forces: strong necessity and weak necessity; respective, syntactic forms: auxiliary, non-auxiliary).

(Adapted from Halliday 1970: 339)

‘It is necessary that John be permitted to go out now’ C

- (14) It is **allowed that he might** enter the room. (respective, modal types: teleological and epistemic; respective, quantificational forces: weak necessity and weak; respective, syntactic forms: non-auxiliary, auxiliary).

(Adapted from Zeijlstra 2007: 323)

‘It is permissible that he could enter the room.’ C

2. What Purpose Does Modal Concord Serve?

2.1. Modal Concord and Disambiguation

Because individual, modal operators may, at times, fluctuate between types and strengths, a second, modal element might be included in order to reinforce (e.g., Halliday 1970) or disambiguate (e.g., Huitink 2012) the underspecified, lexical item. For instance, in examples (15) and (16) to follow, ‘must’ (universal) and ‘may’ (existential) present some ambiguity. In (15), ‘must’ can be understood in its deontic sense, where Zephyr is required to be honest, as well as it could be interpreted as epistemic, in that the speaker is sharing their opinion regarding Zephyr’s character, i.e., their belief that Zephyr is an honest person. In a similar manner, ‘may’ in sentence (16), could refer to the speaker’s conferral of permission (i.e., that Zephyr is allowed to leave), or their impression of Zephyr’s intentions (i.e., that there is a possibility that Zephyr is planning on leaving).

- (15)
- a. Zephyr **must** be honest. → Zephyr **is required to** be honest.
 - b. Zephyr **must** be honest. → Zephyr **is** an honest person.

- (16)
- c. Zephyr **may** leave the room. → Zephyr **is allowed to** leave the room.
 - d. Zephyr **may** leave the room. → There **is a chance that** Zephyr is planning to leave the room.

In both cases, the addition of a secondary, modal element would significantly clarify the speaker’s intended message:

- (17)
- e. Zephyr **must obligatorily** be honest. → Zephyr **is required to** be honest.
 - f. Zephyr **must certainly** be honest. → Zephyr **is** an honest person.

- (18)
- g. Zephyr **may permissibly** leave the room. → Zephyr **is allowed to** leave the room.
 - h. Zephyr **may possibly** leave the room. → There **is a chance that** Zephyr is planning to leave the room.

A curious finding discussed in Faulkner (2022b), is that, in the case of Spanish, there exist specific contexts in which a modal concord interpretation may be insinuated by a speaker's choice of mood (i.e., subjunctive vs. indicative). Section 3 to follow has as its objective to expand on Faulkner's claims.

3. Faulkner (2022b)

3.1 Mood and Modal Concord in Spanish Directive Clauses

According to Faulkner (2022b), as concerns Spanish, in spite of being labeled core selectors of the subjunctive (e.g., Villalta 2008), the mood of a directive complement is influenced by both, the particular matrix directive at hand, in addition to the speaker's conversational intent. She states that, in some, select contexts, an indicative clause signals that the subordinate predicate is to be understood in concord with the matrix. This, Faulkner suggests, occurs only "when a **weak necessity** and **teleological** matrix directive embeds a modal verb of equivalent strength and type" (p. 8). This is interesting, not only because of the unexpected relationship between modal concord and verbal mood, but also since, unlike much of the previous literature (e.g., Anand and Brasoveanu 2010; Geurts and Huitink 2006; Halliday 1970; Watkowska 2021; Zeijlstra 2007), here, modal concord does not, necessarily, incorporate modal adverbs. She provides the following sentences as examples of this observation:

(19)

Recomiendan *que se usen* *en*
 Recommend.PRES.INDIC.3PL that PASSIVE- REFL use.PRES.SUBJ.3PL in
la fase temprana.
 the phase early.

(respective, modal types: teleological and non-modal; respective, quantificational forces: weak necessity and non-modal)

(Adapted from Davies' Corpus del Español 2016-, as cited in Faulkner 2022b)

'They recommend that they be used in the early phase.'

*MC, *C

(20)

Recomiendan *que sea obligatorio*
 Recommend.PRES.INDIC.3PL that be.PRES.SUBJ.3SG mandatory/obligatory
usarlos en la fase temprana.
 Use.INF-them in the phase early.

(respective, modal types: teleological and deontic; respective, quantificational forces: weak necessity and strong necessity)

(Adapted from Davies' Corpus del Español 2016-, as cited in Faulkner 2022b)

'They recommend that it be obligatory to use them in the early phase.'

C

(21)

Aquellos que defienden *su utilización*
 Those who defend.PRES.INDIC.3PL its utilization
recomiendan que deben *usarse*
 recommend.PRES.INDIC.3PL that should.PRES.INDIC.3PL use.INF-REFL
en la fase temprana (primeras 24 horas).

in the phase early (first 24 hours).

Those who defend its utilization **recommend that they should** be used in the early phase (during the first 24 hours).

(modal type: teleological; quantificational force: weak necessity)

(Adapted from Davies' Corpus del Español 2016-, as cited in Faulkner 2022b)

'Those who defend its utilization recommend that they ~~should~~ be used in the early phase (during the first 24 hours).' MC

(22)

Como ya se ha mencionado
As already IMPERSONAL have.PRES.INDIC.3SG mention.PP
anteriormente, su entrenadora le **aconseja** al grupo
previously, their trainer them advise.PRES.INDIC.3SG to-the group
de jóvenes **que primero deben** enfocarse
of youths that first **should**.PRES.INDIC.3PL focus.INF.PASSIVE-REFL
en sus estudios y luego hacer deportes.
on their studies and later do.INF sports.

As has already been mentioned previously, their trainer **advises that** the group of youths **should** first focus on their studies and later do sports.

(modal type: teleological; quantificational force: weak necessity)

(Adapted from Davies' Corpus del Español 2016-, as cited in Faulkner 2022b)

'As has already been mentioned previously, their trainer advises that the group of youths ~~should~~ focus first on their studies and later on, on sports.' MC

In examining examples (19) and (20) above, we may notice that, whereas (19) has only one modal operator (i.e., *recomiendan que* 'they recommend that'), sentence (20) has two (i.e., *recomiendan que* 'they recommend that' and *sea obligatorio* 'it be obligatory'); and, as traditional grammar would expect, both subordinate clauses appear in the subjunctive (p. 7). In the case of (19), neither a concord nor a cumulative reading is anticipated, since only one modal expression is present (p. 7). Conversely, as related to (20), because two modal elements of differing strengths and types are present (while *recomendar* 'to recommend', in this instance, might be deemed teleological and WN, *ser obligatorio* 'to be obligatory' is likely to be considered deontic and SN), "a cumulative [...] reading is manifested (e.g., Geurts and Huitink 2006; Zeijlstra 2007), [...] [as] the matrix and embedded predicates are understood as two distinct, modal expressions; i.e., there is a **recommendation that there be an obligation to** use the objects in question in the relevant early phase(s)" (Faulkner 2022b: 7). Put differently, "the matrix directive (*recomiendan que* 'they recommend that') is interpreted as introducing a second, directive instruction, which is that [said items] be [(made)] obligatory (Faulkner 2022b: 7)". In contrast to (19) and (20), sentences (21) and (22) have their matrix and subordinate verbs paralleling each other with respect to both priority (teleological) and strength (WN) (p. 9). Curiously, as a result of this concord, that is, the subordinate modals in each (i.e., *deben* 'they should' (or 'you all should')) **not** being understood to carry additional modal force (pp. 8-13), the embedded clause appears in the indicative. In other words, a secondary (modal) instruction, accompanying that of the primary directive's (i.e., *recomiendan que* 'they recommend that' and *aconseja que* 's/he advises that' (or 'you advise

that’)), is not evoked, as signaled by the use of an *indicative* verb. Faulkner discusses these points in the citation to follow:

In both the mono-modal [e.g., sentence (19)] and bi-modal contexts [e.g., sentence (20)] in which [the subjunctive] is required, the main verb of the subordinate clause (i.e., the predicate that directly follows *que* ‘that’) [is assumed to represent] the [speaker or subject’s preferred outcome or end result]. In mono-modal environments, the preference (i.e., the proposition) being [relayed (i.e., being directed, instructed, suggested, recommended, advised, etc.)] takes the form of a non-modal verb (e.g., *Recomiendan que se usen...* ‘They recommend that they **be used**...’), while in bi-modal environments, the subordinate verb [expected to lead] the comparative proposition is modal [e.g., *Recomiendan que sea obligatorio...* ‘They recommend that it **be obligatory**...’]. Since in the case of the latter [e.g., (20)], the matrix and subordinate modals are interpreted separately [(i.e., cumulatively, since the main and embedded directives are of differing types and strengths)], each has to carry its own modal force. This makes sense if we view the subjunctive as being tied to [or representative of] a comparison of alternatives or an ordering of preferences (as related to the comparison-based theory of mood selection – see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Villalta (2008)). If we compare this [observation with] the bi-modal environments in which the indicative is used [e.g., sentences (21) and (22)], we see that, [unlike example (20)], the subordinate modals [in (21) and (22) contribute] no additional quantificational force [...]. Put differently, [the main and embedded directives are] not interpreted cumulatively [separately] and a concord construction is, instead, manifested. We could almost say that the presence of the subordinate modal is redundant [(as it is merely used to intensify or reinforce the meaning of the matrix directive)], since the actual preference or recommendation being relayed is [indicated by the verb that] follows. Therefore, whereas in [(20)], the subordinate [predicate directly following *que* ‘that’] carries modal force (and is, thus, interpreted as the particular preference or recommendation being instructed), the embedded modals in [(21) and (22)] carry none, [which, consequently, makes them non-regulative/mandative, if/as interpreted on their own]. [Thus,], in [their] case, the relevant actions being recommended [are] located in the second [portions] of the embedded clauses; i.e., the units following *deber* – [i.e., the objects’ *use* [*usarse*] in the particular early phase and the youth group’s *focus* [*enfocarse*] on their studies] (p. 12).

Be that as it may, unbeknownst to Faulkner (2022b) at the time of publishing, this symbiotic relationship between modal concord and mood in Spanish, is not exclusive to matrix and subordinate directives that are weak necessity and teleological.

4. An Update to Faulkner (2022b)

4.1. Mood and Modal Concord Outside of the Teleological and Weak Necessity, Directive Spectrum

Concord constructions (and, resultantly, indicative subordinate clauses) may, also, come about in directive expressions with main and embedded verbs of modal flavors other than teleological, and strengths other than WN (although both predicates still have to be of the same or similar type and quantificational force). The examples¹ below (all sourced and adapted from Davies’ Corpus of Spanish (2016-)) have as their objective to support this recently made observation.

4.1.1. Examples of Modal Concord in Deontic and Bouletic, Strong Necessity, Directive Clauses:

(23)

...en el municipio se están realizando los exámenes anti doping a los choferes, se exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL estar al día con el instituto (no tener multas pendientes).

¹ The examples below are translated as literally as could be natural, such that, the particular Spanish verbal constructions may be easily perceived in English.

‘... in the municipality/town anti-doping exams are being carried out on drivers/chauffeurs, it is demanded that they ~~must~~ be up to date with the institute (not have pending fees).’ MC

(24)

...a las personas que acuden a estos centros y logran una hospitalización se les exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL de llevar todo, lencería, papel sanitario, desinfectantes y las medicinas.

‘... to the people who go into those centers and successfully get hospitalized, it is demanded that they ~~must~~ carry everything [with them], bedding, toilet paper, disinfectants, and medicines.’ MC

(25)

La ley orgánica del Plan de Desarrollo (ley 152 de 1994) manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG haber participación efectiva de la sociedad en su discusión...

‘The organic law of the development plan (law 152 of 1994) orders/mandates that there ~~must~~ be effective participation on the part of the association under discussion.’ MC

(26)

Todos los bolivianos tienen que registrar las armas. Esta norma manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que registrar, porque hay en las provincias, en las comunidades...

‘All Bolivians have to register their weapons. This rule orders/mandates that they ~~have to~~ register, because in the provinces, communities, there are...’ MC

(27)

...3 años de estar trabajando en la ciudad de León, como requisito, se le pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL aportar 2 meses de su trabajo...

‘...Three years of working in the city of León, as a requirement, they ask that they ~~must~~ contribute two months of their work...’ MC

(28)

Muchos soldados se enlistan al ejército solo porque se le pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que hacer tres años.

‘Many soldiers enlist in the army only because they are asked that they ~~have to~~ do/serve for three years.’ MC

(29)

*...riesgos para la salud humana, los ecosistemas o la soberanía alimentaria, la Constitución **ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** ser prohibidos (Art. 15).*

‘...risks to human health, ecosystems or food sovereignty, the Constitution orders that they ~~must~~ be prohibited (Article 15).’ MC

(30)

*En toda la Biblia **se nos encomienda y ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** OBEDECER a Dios.*

‘Throughout the Bible we are entrusted and ordered/commanded that we ~~must~~ obey God.’ MC

(31)

*Algunos **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** mantenerse separados con el fin de mantener la objetividad.*

‘Some insist that they ~~must~~ be kept separate in order to maintain objectivity.’ MC

(32)

***Se decreta.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG** colocarse una cinta extendida a lo largo de la portería y a una altura de 2'40 metros.*

‘It is ordered that an extended tape ~~must~~ be installed/placed alongside the goal and at a height of 2.40 meters.’ MC

(33)

*...para la compra de material de limpieza, y nos **presionan.PRES.INDIC.3PL que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** comprar la lista de útiles escolares, con libros [de] determinadas marcas de...*

‘...for the purchase of cleaning materials, and they pressure us that we ~~must~~ buy [everything from] the list of school supplies, with certain brands of books...’ MC

In each of the above examples, we observe that, directive predicates that may be labeled as deontic or bouletic, in priority, and strong, as related to modal force (e.g., *exigir/mandar/pedir/ordenar/insistir en/decretar que...* ‘to demand/order/ask/request/insist/rule that...’), can successfully enter into concord constructions with modals of similar features (e.g., *deber* ‘must’, *tener que* ‘to have to’, etc.). In these cases, the complement appears in the indicative, which is what triggers the interpretation that the main and embedded verbs are to be understood congruently; thus, resulting in the speaker or subject’s true, directive preference being represented via the predicate that follows, (i.e., that which follows the indicative, subordinate modal).

5. Concluding Remarks

With the examples included in section 4.1.1 in mind, we propose that, although Faulkner (2022b) might have reliably put forth that modal concord in directive clauses corresponds with an *indicative*, subordinate predicate, her theory be modified to include the fact that, the same may also occur with matrix and embedded modals that match in flavors and strengths, other than teleological and weak necessity. Accordingly, we present the following four contexts (updated from Faulkner (2022b)) as determinants of the mood of Spanish, directive complements:

- In mono-modal, directive environments, the complement takes the subjunctive;
- In bi-modal, directive environments, where the matrix and subordinate modals are of different or dissimilar strengths and types, the complement takes the subjunctive and a cumulative reading is manifested;
- In bi-modal, directive environments, where the main and subordinate modals are of the same or similar modality and strength – whether or not both are teleological and weak necessity -, the complement takes the indicative and a concord reading is manifested.

(Adapted from Faulkner 2022b: 13)

In the appendix to follow, the reader will find additional examples of modal concord in Spanish, directive clauses; examples of which may include the following matrix and subordinate, modal combinations:

- *Exigir/decretar/ser imperativo que... + deber*, ‘to demand/rule or order/be imperative that + must’;
- *Ordenar/mandar/reclamar/insistir en que... + tener que*, ‘to order/demand/insist that + to have to’;
- *Pedir que... + ser necesario/poder*, ‘to ask/request that + to need/to be able to’;
- *Insistir en que + necesitar/desear*, ‘to insist that + to need/desire’;
- *Presionar/solicitar/ser inexorable que... + deber* ‘to pressure/request/be unyielding or stringent that + must’;
- *Imponer que + querer* ‘to impose/enforce that + to want’, etc.

As related to future research, it might be useful to investigate how such concord, between directives and their subordinates, may differ depending on the particular tense and aspect combinations at hand, since, many of the supplementary items (included in the appendix) involve combinations across the tenses. On examining said auxiliary examples, we may even go as far as, very preliminarily, proposing the addition of another, possible, constraint: in bi-modal, directive environments, where the main and subordinate modals are of the same or similar modality and strength - whether or not both are teleological and weak necessity -, the particular matrix and embedded directives can appear in conjugations other than the present, and be of differing aspects, as long as the two expressions correspond with each other as related to tense (e.g., present + present, past + past); most importantly, in such cases, concord is still represented by an indicative, subordinate modal. However, a more in depth analysis of these and similar examples is needed in order to, properly, verify or reject this claim.

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Appendix

I. “Exigir que...”:

(34)

Hoy Maduro le echa la culpa a los burgueses y a la derecha y les exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL respetar el amor que nos mueve hacia el comandante.

‘Today Maduro blames members of the middle classes and the right and demands that they ~~must~~ respect the love that moves us towards the commandant.’

(35)

Queremos que entiendan que deben registrar el título y que la ley exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL estar inscritos para poder ejercer, además que inscritos también pueden estar protegidos.

‘We want them to understand that they must register the title and that the law demands that they ~~must~~ be registered in order to practice, in addition to being registered they may also be protected.’

(36)

...convertirlos en protagonistas del cambio generacional, lo que también implica y exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL involucrarse en la vida económica y productiva del territorio.

‘...changing them into protagonists of generational change, which also implies and demands that they ~~must~~ involve themselves in the economic and productive life of the territory.’

(37)

...que varían dependiendo del tipo de reclamación y que nuestro sistema judicial exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG ser ejercida dentro de un plazo establecido por ley...

‘...that vary depending on the type of claim/complaint and that our judicial system demands that it ~~must~~ be exercised within the timeline established by law...’

(38)

...y lo lleva a Marte. Finn se enfurece con el hombre mágico y le exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG ayudarlo a salvar a Jake. El hombre mágico se niega a...

‘and takes him to Mars. Finn gets mad at the magic man and demands that he ~~must~~ help him save Jake. The magic man refuses to...’

(39)

Pero como la ley exige.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tiene.PRES.INDIC.3SG que ser designado por un partido político...

‘But as the law demands that it ~~has to~~ be designated by a political party...’

- (40) *¿Por qué las autoridades no se reúnen y le exigen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que darle al pueblo luz?*
 ‘Why don’t the authorities meet up and demand that they have to give the people/town light?’
- (41) *...explicar que las empresas mayoristas pagan tres o siete centavos más por libra, pero exigen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que estar secas.*
 ‘...explain that wholesalers pay three or seven cents more per pound, but they demand that they have to be dry.’
- (42) *Habrían podido tenernos marginados por un tiempo, pero ahora exigimos.PRES.INDIC.1PL que queremos.PRES.INDIC.1PL ser consultados/as de todo lo trascendente...*
 ‘They would have been able to have us marginalized for a while, but now we demand that we must be consulted about important matters...’
- (43) *...fui a solicitar un crédito pero me exigieron.PRET.INDIC.3PL que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG tener tarjeta de crédito...*
 ‘...I went to apply for a loan but they demanded that I must have a credit card...’
- (44) *...que mientras estudiaba actuación, recién llegada a los Estados Unidos, un maestro le exigió.PRET.INDIC.3SG que tenía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que bajar radicalmente de peso, pues sus curvas eran exageradas.*
 ‘...that while she was studying acting, recently having arrived in the U.S., a teacher demanded that she had to radically lose weight, since her curves were exaggerated.’
- (45) *Exigió.PRET.INDIC.3SG que tenía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que ser en vivo y en cuanto le pusieron el micrófono los mató...*
 ‘S/he demanded that it had to be live, and as soon as they put on his/her microphone, s/he killed them...’
- (46) *...le exigió.PRET.INDIC.3SG que tenía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que pagar 30.000 euros de más por el piso dos días antes de...*
 ‘...s/he demanded that s/he had to pay 30,000 euros extra for the apartment two days before...’

- (47) ...y le **exigí.PRET.INDIC.1SG que tenían.IMPF.INDIC.3PL que** ser de cobre chileno, pero él no quiso, así que...
'...and I demanded (to him) that ~~they had to~~ be Chilean money, but he didn't want to, so...'
- (48) ...escuché, cuando le **exigían.IMPF.INDIC.3PL que tenían IMPF.INDIC.3PL que** salir con ellos, pero aquél hombre, nuestro vecino, muy...
'...I heard, when they demanded that ~~they had to~~ leave with them, but that man, our neighbor, [being] very...'
- (49) En esa propuesta, Varga **exigía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que teníamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL que** apoyarlo como candidato presidencial.
'In that proposal, Varga demanded that ~~we had to~~ help/support him as a presidential candidate.'

II. "Mandar que...":

- (50) Las mismas Escrituras nos **mandan.PRES.INDIC.3PL que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** orar los unos por los otros, poniendo sobre todos la responsabilidad mutua.
'The same scriptures order/mandate that we ~~must~~ pray for each other, placing mutual responsibility on everyone.'
- (51) La Iglesia **manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG** ser castigado con una pena justa...
'The church orders/mandates that s/he ~~must~~ be punished fairly.'
- (52) El nervio central nos **manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** sentirnos débiles...
'The central nerve [nervous system] orders/mandates/tells us that we ~~must~~ feel weak...'
- (53) Ahora bien, la ley de Moisés **manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** apedrearla.
'Now, the law of Moses orders/mandates that we ~~must~~ stone her.'

(54)

*Esta es la única mujer de que las Escrituras nos **mandan.PRES.INDIC.3PL que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** recordar. (Lucas 17:32)*

‘This is only woman that the scriptures order/mandate that we ~~must~~ remember. (Luke 17:32)’

(55)

*Pero es lo que el estatus quo **manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG** medirse.*

‘But it is what the status quo orders/mandates that ~~must~~ be measured.’

(56)

*...y eso es justamente lo que la sentencia de la Sala de lo Constitucional **manda.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG** evitarse a la hora de elegir a los magistrados.*

‘and that is precisely what the Constitutional Chamber’s ruling orders/mandates that ~~must~~ be avoided when choosing magistrates.’

(57)

*...en cuanto al énfasis de su ley de creación, donde **mandaba.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG** enfrentar el problema de la Reforma Agraria, no lo cumplió...*

‘...with respect to the emphasis on his/her law of creation, where s/he ordered/mandated that s/he ~~must~~ face the problem with the Agrarian Reform, s/he did not comply...’

III. “Imponer que...”:

(58)

*Que completar el equipo con canteranos (el reglamento **impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tiene.PRES.INDIC.3SG que** haber un mínimo de siete de la primera plantilla, de modo...*

‘To complete the team with home-grown players (the rule imposes/enforces/dictates that there ~~has to~~ be a minimum of seven from the first team, so...’

(59)

*Cuando a una persona (y más un niño) **se le impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tiene.PRES.INDIC.3SG que** aprender X materia...*

‘When it is imposed/enforced that a person (and even more so a child) ~~has to~~ learn X subject...’

- (60) *...eso, impuestos, es decir, alguien te impone pagarlos. Alguien te impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tienes.PRES.INDIC.2SG que darle tu dinero al Estado. Para mí esto es...*
 ‘...that, taxes, that’s to say, someone forces you to pay them. Someone imposes on you that ~~you have to~~ give your money to the State. For me, that is...’
- (61) *...ahora comprendo realmente que la sociedad nos impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que que tenemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL que ser atractivos, musculosos etc. para ser felices...*
 ‘...now I really understand that society imposes on us that ~~we have to~~ be attractive, muscular, etc. to be happy...’
- (62) *El mundo nos impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tenemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL que preocuparnos de estar y quedar bien con los que están arriba.*
 ‘The world imposes on us that ~~we have to~~ worry about being and looking good to those who are above.’
- (63) *Y parece que se impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.3SG inspirarnos en este exitoso modelo de interculturalidad.*
 ‘And it seems that it is enforced/imposed that we ~~must~~ be inspired by this successful model of interculturality.’
- (64) *En el fondo, la perversión del capitalismo occidental nos impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL forzar a que todo el mundo sea corrupto, criminal, asesino y...*
 ‘Essentially, the perversion of Western capitalism imposes on us that we ~~must~~ force everyone to be corrupt, criminal, and murderous and...’
- (65) *Facebook también impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG estar notado en la promoción que la información de los participantes no es...*
 ‘Facebook also imposes that it ~~must~~ be noted in the promotion that the participants’ information is not...’
- (66) *...o te pasan a buscar para llevarte a algún lugar. O te imponen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que debes.PRES.INDIC.2SG ir al cementerio, y ofrecen llevarte.*
 ‘...Either they come and pick you up to take you somewhere. Or they impose on/force that you ~~must~~ go to the cemetery, and they offer to take you.’

(67) ...cuando le **impuso.PRET.INDIC.3SG que querían.IMPF.INDIC.3PL** la devolución de las retenciones para construir caminos y hospitales y dar...
 ‘...when they imposed/enforced that ~~they wanted~~ the deductions (be) returned/given back in order to construct roads and hospitals and give...

(68) ...del crimen internacional, que nos **impone.PRES.INDIC.3SG que es.PRES.INDIC.3SG un imperativo** unirnos, coordinarnos, avanzar y enfrentar de...
 ‘...of international crime, which imposes on us that ~~it is an imperative to~~ we unite, coordinate, advance and face...’

IV. “Pedir que...”:

(69) ...creyente, y mujer de fe, vino una explicación elemental, porque Dios nos **pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** perdonar...
 ‘...believer, and woman of faith, came an elementary explanation, because God asks us that we ~~must~~ forgive.’

(70) ...la zona de trabajo nos envía un documento llamado Requerimiento de Comparecencia donde nos **pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL** exhibir las boletas de pago...
 ‘... the work zone sends us a document called Requirement of Appearance where we are asked that we ~~must~~ show our payment receipts...’

(71) En estos casos, agregó Martínez Parra, a los trabajadores **se les pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que** reiniciar o iniciar el trámite de ley y que para tener acceso...
 ‘In these cases, added Martínez Parra, workers are asked that ~~they have to~~ re-start or start the legal process and that in order to access...’

(72) Actuando con indignación Mariana le **pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** acabar todo a causa de Luciano, pues él nunca los dejará ser...
 ‘Acting with indignation Mariana asks that they ~~must~~ end everything because of Luciano, since he will never let them be...’

- (73) *Por otra parte para cobrar un seguro de desgravamen, el banco nos pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL incluir una constancia en la...*
‘On the other hand, in order to collect payment protection insurance, the bank requests that we must include a record in the...’
- (74) *Latoña habla con Daniela y le pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tiene.PRES.INDIC.3SG que recuperarse para poder hacer que Eduardo pague por todo lo que...*
‘Latoña speaks with Daniela and requests that she has to get better in order to be able to make Eduardo pay for all that...’
- (75) *...me pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tengo.PRES.INDIC.1SG que hacer un Money Gram en Kmart o Western Unión por la cantidad...*
‘...S/he requests that I have to create a Money Gram in Kmart or Western Union for the amount...’
- (76) *...que me pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tengo.PRES.INDIC.1SG que presentar mis comprobantes de pago, dentro de los días establecidos...*
‘...that requests that I have to present my proof of payment, within the established days/time frame...’
- (77) *...lo atormentan fuerzas espirituales del mal y en medio de su tribulación me pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que quiere.PRES.INDIC.3SG ser libre y que Dios...*
‘...spiritual forces of evil torment him and in the midst of his tribulation he requests that he wants to be free and that God...’
- (78) *Tu madre también te pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que quiere.PRES.INDIC.3SG que te quedes y dejes al padre y al niño...*
‘Your mother also requests that she wants you to stay and leave the father and the child...’
- (79) *...depresión, alcoholismo y drogadicción; ahora confiesa que si su hija alguna vez le pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que quiere.PRES.INDIC.3SG drogas, él está dispuesto a acompañarla y a comprarlas juntos.*
‘...depression, alcoholism and drug addiction; he now confesses that if his daughter ever requests that she wants drugs, he is willing to accompany her and buy them together.’

- (80) *...hacia Jesús y hacia los demás hombres, de ahí, que el Señor nos pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que es.PRES.INDIC.3SG necesario ser justo y bueno con el prójimo.*
 ‘...towards Jesus and towards other men, hence, the Lord requests that ~~it is~~ necessary we to be fair and good with our neighbor.’
- (81) *No volvimos más, a mi hijo le está doliendo mucho su pie, él me pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que necesita.PRES.INDIC.3SG plantillas pero no había encontrado un médico especialista hasta que vi este artículo...*
 ‘We didn’t go back, my son’s foot is hurting him a lot, [so] he requests [from me] that ~~he needs~~ insoles but I hadn’t found a specialist doctor until I saw this article...’
- (82) *...pantalla te sale la invitación cuando terminas un caso y vas a uno nuevo te pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que necesitas.PRES.INDIC.2SG la ayuda de 3 compañeros...*
 ‘... the invitation appears on the screen when you finish a case and you go to a new one [then] it requests that ~~you need~~ the help of three friends/colleagues...’
- (83) *...cada vez que me dice o me pide.PRES.INDIC.3SG que desea.PRES.INDIC.3SG tener una hermanita yo estoy separada de mi esposo y...*
 ‘...every time he tells me or requests that ~~he wants to~~ have a little sister, I’m separated from my husband and...’
- (84) *...su sospecha de alguna enfermedad por favor le pido.PRES.INDIC.1SG que puede.PRES.INDIC.3SG sugerir un tratamiento a seguir...*
 ‘...your/his/her suspicion of some illness - please I ask that you ~~can~~ suggest a treatment [for me] to follow...’
- (85) *Al fin una vez te reíste cuando pedí.PRET.INDIC.1SG que debíamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL ahorcar a la pila de burócratas que existe en esta ferviente Revolución...*
 ‘You finally laughed when I asked/requested that we ~~must~~ hang the bunch of bureaucrats who are a part of this fervent revolution...’
- (86) *...supone que es independiente, no dependiente de la Presidencia, razón por la cual pedí.PRET.INDIC.1SG que debía.PRET.INDIC.3SG separarse del cargo mientras durara la investigación...*
 ‘...supposes that it is independent, not dependent on the Presidency, which is why I requested that s/he ~~must~~ be removed from office while the investigation was being carried out...’

- (87) *Cuando me llegó la oportunidad, **pedí.PRET.INDIC.1SG que teníamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL que** cuidar las fotos, cuidar mucho las miradas, no dar mucha...*
 ‘When the opportunity came to me, I requested that ~~we had to~~ take care of the photos, take good care of the looks, not give much...’
- (88) *Y salió como lo planteamos en las charlas: les **pedí.PRET.INDIC.1SG que teníamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL que** bajar la imagen, cambiar los insultos por aplausos...*
 ‘And it turned out just as we had discussed in the talks: I requested (from them) that ~~we had to~~ take the image down, change insults to applause...’
- (89) *...conversión y que a todas las almas las llenaría de bendiciones, así mismo le **pidió.PRET.INDIC.3SG que quería.PRET.INDIC.3SG** quedarse en ese lugar y que si lo querían analizar...*
 ‘...conversion and that He would fill all souls with blessings, he also requested that ~~he wanted to~~ stay in that place and that if they wanted to analyze it...’
- (90) *...fue Samuel, en vida de este varón el pueblo de Israel **pidió.PRET.INDIC.3SG que deseaban.IMPF.INDIC.3PL** tener rey como tenían las otras naciones...*
 ‘it was Samuel, during this man’s life, the people of Israel requested that ~~they wanted to~~ have a king like other nations had...’
- (91) *Todos los días **pedía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que quería.IMPF.INDIC.3SG** 100,000 dólares.*
 ‘Every day s/he requested that ~~s/he wanted~~ 100,000 dollars.’
- (92) *Ahora entiendo porque en la madrugada del domingo, Vampiro nos **pedía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que quería.IMPF.INDIC.3SG** comer gallo pinto...*
 ‘Now I understand why during the early hours of Sunday morning, the vampire requested that ~~he wanted to~~ eat Costa Rican rice and beans...’

V. “Ordenar que”:

- (93) *Sin embargo, el artículo 2560 del Código **ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** expresarse en...*
 ‘However, article 2560 of the code orders that they ~~must~~ be expressed in...’

- (94) *Giuliano ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3SG asesinar a Michael para que no ayude a Santos.*
‘Giuliano orders that they must kill Michael so that he doesn’t help Santos.’
- (95) *...al hacerlo, deja de lado aspectos que la Carta ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL ser tenidos en cuenta.*
‘...in doing so, it puts aside certain aspects that the letter orders must be taken into consideration.’
- (96) *...que la Ley 1454 de 2011, debió comprender todos los aspectos que la Constitución ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL ser tramitados mediante la Ley Orgánica de Ordenamiento Territorial (LOOT)...*
‘... that Law 1454 of 2011, must include all aspects that the Constitution orders must be processed by means of the Organic Law of Territorial Organization (OLTO)...’
- (97) *En el evento en que ellas no existan o sean insuficientes, la ley ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL destinarse las sumas existentes en la reserva legal...*
‘In the event that they don’t exist or are insufficient, the law orders that the existing funds must be allocated to the legal reserve...’
- (98) *...la Corte Constitucional en su sentencia T- 769 de 2009 y en la que se ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG hacerse antes de la exploración preliminar de la viabilidad económica de un ...*
‘...The Constitutional Court in its T-769 ruling of 2009 and in which it is ordered that it must be done before the preliminary exploration of the economic viability of a...’
- (99) *Dios nos ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL usar Su nombre de forma apropiada.*
‘God orders that we must use His name appropriately.’
- (100) *Nos ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL estructurar la nueva pirámide jurídico político...*
‘It orders that we must structure the new legal and political pyramid...’
- (101) *Dios también nos ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debemos.PRES.INDIC.1PL santificar el día de descanso.*
‘God also orders that we must keep the Sabbath day holy.’

- (102)
...el otro que le ordena.PRES.INDIC.3SG que tiene.PRES.INDIC.3SG que bajar a apagar la luz que se le quedó encendida.
 ‘...the other one who orders that s/he has to go downstairs to turn off the light that s/he left on.’
- (103)
En una de esas ‘tomas’ (reuniones con ayahuasca), Castillo me ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG ser su mujer...
 ‘In one of those ‘highs’ (meetings with ayahuasca), Castillo ordered that I must be his girlfriend/woman...’
- (104)
...sustitutiva que favoreció al ex jefe de seguridad de la mina San Rafael, y ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG guardar prisión preventiva.
 ‘... substitute that favored the former chief of security of the San Rafael mine, and ordered that s/he must remain in preventive/pre-trial detention.’
- (105)
...ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG guardar reposo durante 15 días...
 ‘...ordered that s/he must rest for 15 days...’
- (106)
...y el árbitro ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG tirarse de nuevo, Roger Rojas consiguió el empate justo antes de...
 ‘...and the referee/umpire ordered that s/he must throw her/himself in again, Roger Rojas successfully tied right before...’
- (107)
...una rentabilidad que llegó al 15 %, hasta que el actual Gobierno les ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que debían.IMPF.INDIC.3PL invertir esos recursos en bonos del Estado o en empresas estatales.
 ‘...a profitability that reached 15%, until the current government ordered that they must invest those resources in state bonds or in state businesses.’
- (108)
Nos ordenaron.PRET.INDIC.3PL que debíamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL acudir a diversos municipios de Santiago para votar por el Sí a la...
 ‘They ordered that we must go to various Santiago municipalities to vote Yes for the...’
- (109)
¿Por qué ordenaron.PRET.INDIC.3PL que debíamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL dormir antes de la hora señalada, por qué nos tuvimos que acostar...
 ‘Why did they order that we must sleep before the appointed time, why did we have

to go to bed...’

(110)

Daniel busca a Rafael y le pide hablar con su hermano, pues le ordenaron.PRET.INDIC.3PL que debía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG matar al hombre de la fotografía, supuestamente Daniel Díaz Acosta.

‘Daniel looks for Rafael and asks him to speak with his brother, since they ordered that he ~~must~~ kill the man in the photograph, supposedly Daniel Diaz Acosta.’

(111)

...la portada del libro leyó bien, que era lo único que se le ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que tenía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que postear.

‘...the cover of the book read well, which was the only thing that s/he was ordered that s/he ~~had to~~ post.’

(112)

...mochilas y también el subteniente dijo que había que borrar las evidencias y entonces nos ordenó.PRET.INDIC.3SG que teníamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL que desenterrar los cadáveres, quemarlos para que no quedara ningún rastro...

‘...backpacks and also the second lieutenant said that the evidence had to be erased and then he ordered that we ~~had to~~ dig up the bodies, burn them so that no trace was left behind...’

(113)

No sé quién nos desplazó: Hombres desconocidos llegaron de noche y nos ordenaron.PRET.INDIC.3PL que teníamos.IMPF.INDIC.1PL que salir dejando lo poquito que teníamos.

‘I don’t know who ousted us: Unknown men arrived at night and ordered that we ~~had to~~ leave/go – leaving the little that we had.’

(114)

Esto significó un cambio de visión y de actitud pues la organización ordenaba.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que tenía.IMPF.INDIC.3SG que ser un autoempleado, enfocado en temas técnicos y no en temas...

‘This meant a change of vision and attitude since the organization ordered that s/he ~~had to~~ be self-employed, focused on technical issues and not on topics...’

(115)

...todavía de alguna manera conectados a la Ley, les enseñaban y ordenaban.IMPF.INDIC.3PL que debían.IMPF.INDIC.3PL guardar la Ley...

‘...still somehow connected to the law, they showed and ordered that they ~~must~~ respect the law.’

VI. “Insistir en que”:

- (116)
 ...Iberocruceros **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** vender muchas más plazas y que la disponibilidad actual...
 ‘...Ibero Cruises insists that they ~~must~~ sell many more seats and that current availability...’
- (117)
 ...como si fuera poco, **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** profundizarse esas orientaciones...
 ‘...As if that weren’t enough, they insist that those guidelines ~~must~~ be further expanded upon.’
- (118)
 Algunas organizaciones en Colombia **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que es.PRES.INDIC.3SG necesario que** se inicien a corto plazo los diálogos humanitarios regionales.
 ‘... Some organizations in Colombia insist that ~~it is necessary that~~ the regional humanitarian conversations begin in the short term.’
- (119)
 ...se distinguen por tener una excelente formación técnica, pero **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL** tener capacidad para trabajar en equipo, tolerancia a los cambios...
 ‘...they distinguish themselves by having excellent technical training, but they insist that they ~~must~~ have the ability to work in teams, tolerance to changes...’
- (120)
 ...los fabulosos resultados de este producto, pero los investigadores **insisten.PRES.INDIC.3PL en que es.PRES.INDIC.3SG necesario** llevar a cabo más estudios para comprobar que la técnica...
 ‘...the fabulous results of this product, but the researchers insist that ~~it is necessary to~~ carry out more studies to verify that the technique...’

VII. Mixed Examples:

- (121)
 Entonces, Marcela **decreta.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG** sacar a esa guatona de su vida, eliminarla.
 ‘Then, Marcela orders that s/he ~~must~~ get that pot-bellied woman out of her/his life, eliminate her.’

- (122) *...pero es.PRES.INDIC.3SG imperativo que deben.PRES.INDIC.3PL* *revisar como están llevando el proceso.*
 ‘...but it is imperative that they ~~must~~ check how they’re carrying out the process.’
- (123) *La vergüenza que sienten los niños cuando sus padres les reclaman.PRES.INDIC.3PL que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que* *limpiar y lavar la ropa de cama todos los días.*
 ‘The shame that children feel when their parents demand that they ~~have to~~ clean and wash their bedding every day.’
- (124) *Décimo, somos humanos no somos razas pero es.PRES.INDIC.3SG imperativo que necesitamos.PRES.INDIC.1PL* *saber quiénes en realidad somos, porque si no, no sabremos...*
 ‘Tenth, we are humans, we are not races, but it is imperative that we ~~need to~~ know who we really are, because if not, we won't know...’
- (125) *Se solicita.PRES.INDIC.3SG que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG* *de permanecer reclinado en cama con las rodillas dobladas durante los primeros...*
 ‘It is requested that s/he/you ~~must~~ remain reclined on the bed with your knees bent during the first...’
- (126) *Es.PRES.INDIC.3SG inexorable que debe.PRES.INDIC.3SG* *existir un acuerdo.*
 ‘It is inexorable that there ~~must~~ be an agreement.’
- (127) *Faustino (otra vez) se empeña.PRES.INDIC.3SG en que tienen.PRES.INDIC.3PL que* *ser tomates rojos...*
 ‘Faustino (again) insists that they ~~have to~~ be red tomatoes...’