Semantic and Syntactic Perspectives on Mood Selection in Spanish: An Analysis of Presupposition, Government, and Binding

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Farley discusses both semantic and syntactic perspectives on Spanish mood. First, he presents the potential effects of assertion, presupposition, and other similar notions on mood selection in Spanish, synthesizing semantic analyses by Bolinger, Terrell, Hooper, Klein, and Bell Farley then argues that a semantic perspective is insufficient to fully account for the behavior of indicatives and subjunctives, and he presents Spanish mood from a Principles and Parameters perspective on Universal Grammar. Specifically, he addresses the issue of binding domains, the movement ofoperators, and the Empty Category Principle as it relates to the behavior of indicatives and subjunctives in null subject languages.

Farley discute las perspectivas semánticas y sintácticas de la selección de modo en español Primero, presenta los posibles efectos de la aserción, la presuposición y otras nociones parecidas relacionadas con la selección de modo al sintetizar los análisis de Bolinger, Terrell, Hooper, Klein, y Bell Farley también propone que una perspectiva semántica es insuficiente para explicar el comportamiento de los indicativos y los sub-juntivos, y presenta el modo en español desde la perspectiva de principios y parámetros (de la gramática universal). Específicamente, toca el tema de los dominios de ligamiento, el movimiento de operadores y el principio de la categoría vacía en relación con el comportamiento de los indicativos y los subjuntivos en los idiomas de sujeto nulo.

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to give an account of some factors involved in mood selection in Romance languages (and Spanish in particular), and to detail some of the syntactic phenomena related to the subjunctive/indicative contrast. While indicative clauses can function as independent utterances, subjunctives in Romance languages are found primarily in subordinate clauses. Therefore, it is beneficial to begin with a brief look at the nature of subordination in Spanish.

A subordinate clause is one that depends on another clause for its own existence. The utterances in (la, b, and c) consist of a principal clause and a subordinate clause.

> (1a) *Elena sabe que hay unafiesta esta noche.*
> (1b) *Eduardopiensa que el examen es hoy.*
> (1c) *Yo te digo que es la verdad.*

These examples illustrate the most prevalent type of subordination, nominal subordination, in which the embedded clause is connected to the matrix clause by *que*. There are numerous types of nominal subordination, because the embedded clause can take on the syntactic roles of subject, direct object, indirect object, and object of the preposition (for an in-depth discussion, see Seco, 1930; and Gili Gaya, 1993). (2a, b, and c) demonstrate how a subordinate clause takes on the syntactic role of subject.

> (2a) *Es dudoso que nos visite.*
> (2b) *Es sorprendente que lo digas.*
> (2c) *El que no llegara a tiempo nos puso enojados.*

The nominalization of the subordinate clause in (2a, b, and c) is quite normal for Romance languages, especially Spanish (see Gili Gaya, 1993). In the example given below, the embedded clause serves as the direct object of the sentence:

> (3) *La profesora nos dijo que hay una conferencia en marzo.*

Nominal subordinate clauses functioning as the object of a preposition are also quite frequent in Romance languages. The following are some examples from Spanish:

> (4a) *Te lo digo para que lo sepas.*
> (4b) *A menos que alguien me visite, voy a Caracas.*
> (4c) *Juan fue a la fiesta a que le dieran sus regalos.*

It is important to note, however, that sometimes subjunctives can stand alone in a clause that might appear to be independent, as illustrated in the following examples:

(5a) *Que te vaya bien.*
(5b) *Que descanses mucho.*

However, (5a and b) do not negate any of the discussion concerning the subjunctive's location in subordinate clauses. Although the subordination is not explicit, there is what Gili Gaya (1993) terms a 'mental' subordination in these examples. That is, there exists a principal clause (equivalent to *Espero que*...) that is understood by both the speaker and the hearer of (5a) and (5b), although it is not uttered.

Given this brief overview of subordination and the Spanish subjunctive as background, I will now look at mood selection in general and at Spanish mood in particular. The first portion will deal with semantic analyses of Spanish mood selection, while the second part will be dedicated to the syntactic phenomena surrounding the indicative/subjunctive contrast. Some aspects covered herein include binding, co-reference, tense agreement, and the interpretation of quantifiers.

2. Spanish Mood

Mood selection in Spanish and the use of subjunctive in verbal complements in particular is a phenomenon that has been analyzed by dozens of linguists over the last century and a half. The scope of this discussion limits its focus to a number of recent and more pertinent accounts of Spanish mood selection. Bell (1980) and Castronovo (1984) give thorough overviews of the rigorous debate which has taken place with regard to the indicative/subjunctive contrast, and their analyses were invaluable in developing the discussion that follows. Both of these authors cite Lozano (1972) who introduced the features [+ optative] and [+ dubitative] that he says account for all uses of the subjunctive. Lozano purports that it is these features that help to determine the mood of the predicate in an embedded NP. Below are some examples using the optative *querer* and the dubitative *dudar*.

(6a) *Juan quiere que vayas al supermercado.*
(6b) *Juan no quiere que vayas al supermercado.*
(7a) *Juan duda que vayas al supermercado.*
(7b) *Juan no duda que vas al supermercado.*

According to Lozano, when negation is performed on a [+ optative] predicate such as *querer*, it will behave differently from a [+ dubitative] predicate (a predicate that expresses doubt) such as *dudar*. He states that a [+ optative] verb is not dependent on the presence of negation for the subjunctive to appear in the subordinate clause. In contrast, whether or not a [+ dubitative] verb requires a subjunctive complement may depend on the presence or absence of negation. Observe that an indicative complement in (6a) or (6b) would yield an ungrammatical utterance with or without negation, whereas in (7a) it is the absence of negation which accounts for the requirement of a subjunctive

complement. That is, following the reasoning of Lozano, an utterance such as (8) would be ungrammatical due to the absence of negation:

(8) *?Dudo que vas al supermercado.*

The problem with this analysis is that for a number of speakers, (8) is a perfectly acceptable utterance. Bolinger (1974) takes strong exception to the analysis given by Lozano, claiming that there are no grounds for the claim that two features account for all uses of the subjunctive. Bolinger takes an entirely semantic approach to mood in Spanish and argues that there is only one subjunctive that follows optative, dubitative, and emotive predicates. In addition, he provides numerous examples of matrix clauses which cannot be classified clearly under either of Lozano's headings—optative or dubitative. Finally, Bolinger rejects the idea that a negated dubitative verb can support either indicative or subjunctive, a claim that is central to Lozano's argumentation. Bolinger points out that it is not the negation marker itself which influences mood selection, but rather it is the meaning produced in conjunction with the predicate which determines whether indicative or subjunctive follows. Recall that Lozano argued that a dubitative verb that is negated must yield an indicative complement, as in example (7b) above. In response to sentences like (7b), Bolinger gives counterexamples in which, although the dubitative (the term expressing doubt) is negated, the subordinate predicate is in the subjunctive mood, and, in fact, an indicative complement would be ungrammatical. One of these counterexamples is reproduced below.

(9) *No es inconcebible que él lo haya* (**ha*) *hecho.*

Terrell and Hooper (1974) relate the indicative/subjunctive contrast to the independent semantic concepts of assertion and presupposition. According to Terrell and Hooper, assertion may express itself through an explicit assertion made by the speaker or a report, and it always yields indicative. A presupposition can be expressed by a mental act *(aprendí que...*, *me di cuenta de que...*, etc.) or a comment (such as *es interesante que...)* made by the speaker; the former yields indicative while the latter yields subjunctive. Finally, doubts (such as *dudo que...)* and imperatives (such as *quiero que...)* are treated separately and both yield subjunctives. Table 1 below illustrates the analysis given by Terrell and Hooper.

Notice that Terrell and Hooper classified *Mental Act* under the semantic notion of presupposition, but this classification was reconsidered in Terrell (1976). Terrell and Hooper had argued that a mental act was an exception to the rule that [+/- Assertion] in the main clause determines mood in the subordinate clause. The exception was based on the fact that, although mental acts were classified as forms of presupposition, they behaved more like assertions, yielding an indicative instead of a subjunctive (like other presuppositions yield) in the embedded clause. Terrell (1976) proposes that mental acts

Table 1. Terrell and Hooper (1974)

Semantic Notions	Class	Mood
Assertion	(1) Assertion	Indicative
	(2) Report	Indicative
Presupposition	(3) Mental Act	Indicative
	(4) Comment	Subjunctive
Neither	(5) Doubt	Subjunctive
	(6) Imperative	Subjunctive

as well as assertions be categorized under one heading along with reports, because both the former (being a semi-factive) and the latter are types of assertion.

Terrell was not the only one to reconsider the analysis given in Terrell and Hooper (1974). Hooper (1975) recategorizes the subjunctive and indicative "triggers" into five groups: weak assertives, strong assertives, non-assertives, true factives, and semi-factives. While both weak and strong assertives lend some support (although to different degrees) to the veracity of the complement that follows, non-assertives are characterized by their absence of support for the veracity of the complement that follows. Table 2 displays some examples of each type of matrix verb given in Hooper (1975).

Table 2. Hooper (1975)

Weak assertive	Strong assertive	Non-assertive	Truefactive	Semi-factive
Cree...	Dice...	Duda...	Siente...	Se da cuenta...
Piensa...	Cuenta...	Niega...	Sorprende...	Sabe...
Es verdad...	Decide...	Es posible...	Es bueno...	Ve...
Es cierto...	Afirma...	Es probable...	Es malo...	Conprende...
INDICATIVE	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCT.	SUBJUNCT.	INDICATIVE

Hooper held that when a weak assertive (which expresses a higher degree of doubt than a strong assertive) is negated, it is followed by a subjunctive complement. Klein (1977) disagrees with Hooper's categorization of predicates for a number of reasons, and gives

evidence that a negated weak assertive can take either an indicative or a subjunctive complement. According to Klein, it is the level of doubt that the speaker intends to communicate that determines the mood used with a negated weak assertive. Several counterexamples of Hooper's claim are provided in (10a) and (1 la).

(10a) *No creo que hay extranjeros en otros planetas.*
(10b) *No creo que haya extranjeros en otros planetas.*
(1 la) *No estoy seguro que hacen la fiesta.*
(1 lb) *No estoy seguro que hagan la fiesta.*

Although (10a) and (10b) communicate more or less the same meaning, the presence of the subjunctive in the latter indicates that the speaker has a higher degree of doubt than in (10a). Similarly, the speaker who generates (11a) has a higher degree of certainty than the speaker in (lib), because the former uses the indicative while the latter uses the subjunctive. Another of Klein's criticisms of Hooper's analysis is that there is no place for emotive and volitional predicates. Klein feels that it is emotivity (an affective or emotional connotation) that sets apart true factives from semi-factives, and volitionals from epistemic verbs. The two figures below show where Klein departs from Hooper in his classification of verbs.

Figure 1. Hooper's Classification of Predicates, modified from Castronovo (1984)
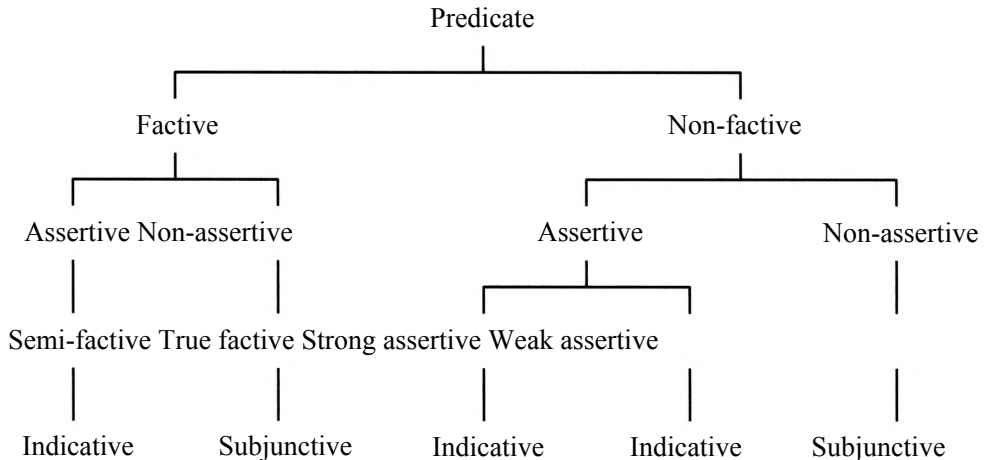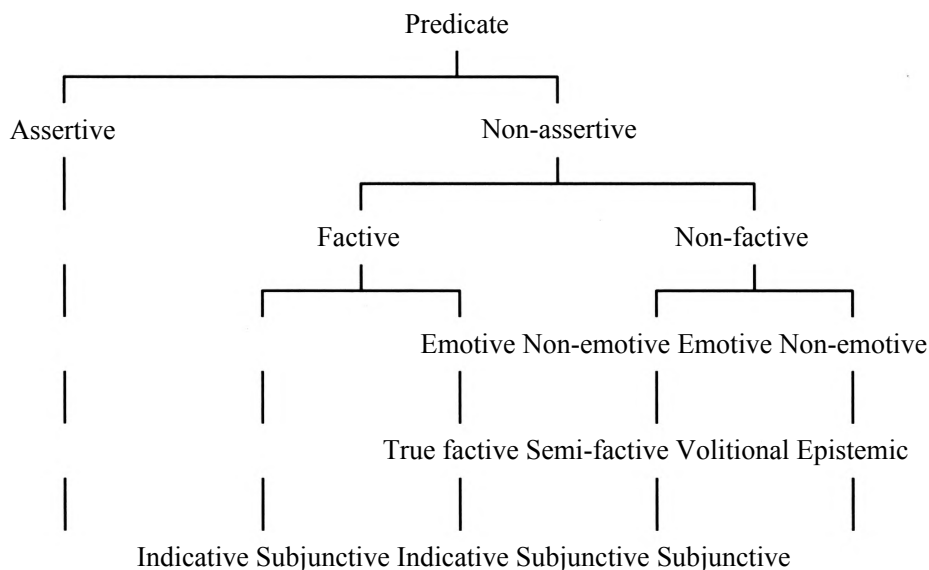
Figure 2. Klein's Classification of Predicates, modified from Castronovo (1984)

Predicate

Assertive   Non-assertive

Factive   Non-factive

Emotive Non-emotive Emotive Non-emotive

True factive Semi-factive Volitional Epistemic

Indicative Subjunctive Indicative Subjunctive Subjunctive

Bell (1980) argues that Klein's analysis is too simplistic and that it ignores the syntactic and semantic differences between certain predicates and others by putting them together under one category. For example, Bell points out that classifying both volitionals (non-factive emotives) and comment sentences (factive emotives) as non-assertives effectively ignores the unique ability of a comment sentence like (12a) to be restated as a conjunct, as in (12b).

(12a) *Me gusta mucho que vengas a la fiesta.*
(12b) *Vienes a la fiesta, y (esto) me gusta mucho.*
(13a) *Quiero que vengas a la fiesta.*
(13b) * *Vienes a la fiesta, y (esto) quiero.*

The type of conjunctive restructuring as from (12a) to (12b) can only be carried out with comment sentences (factive emotives) and not with volitionals (non-factive emotives) as shown in (13a) to (13b), or any other class of predicates—a syntactic distinction that Bell feels is worthy of mention. In addition, Bell rejects Klein's classification of verbs of volition as simply another type of non-assertive, and states: "I believe it is stretching the analysis... to propose that the subjunctive mood occurs in indirect commands for the same reason as it occurs in comment sentences, viz. that they are both of the non-assertive

class.", (p. 387). Perhaps Bell's most important contribution to the discussion of Spanish mood selection is his notion of a scale of assertion that places a given predicate at a certain point on the continuum. To develop this continuum, Bell posited the existence of reduced assertion that, according to him, applies to all of the aforementioned subjunctive "triggers" at some level.

This concludes a brief overview of some recent analyses of Spanish mood that argue it is a linguistic phenomenon that may be influenced by semantic factors (such as the meaning of the matrix clause) and subcategorization (whether a specific verb may take an indicative or subjunctive complement). However, the account given thus far is incomplete; that is, a semantic/subcategorization explanation of Spanish mood is insufficient in its account of mood selection in Spanish. This can be seen in the fact that some matrix verbs allow for both indicative and subjunctive complements. Below are some examples:

(14a) *Admito que tienes razon.*
(14b) *Admito que tengas razon.*
(15a) *No creo que tienes la gripe.*
(15b) *No creo que tengas la gripe.*

All four sentences above are grammatical due to the fact that the verbs *admito* and *no creo* can take both an indicative like *tienes* and a subjunctive like *tengas*. It is clear from these examples that subcategorization cannot be the whole story in explaining the indicative/subjunctive contrast in Spanish, because the matrix verb itself does not determine the mood of the subordinate verb. Therefore, we now shift focus to the syntactic aspects related to mood selection in Spanish, taking a Government and Binding (GB) approach in our analysis.

3. Binding Principle B and Spanish Mood

To begin this discussion, it is necessary to recall that Spanish is a null subject language; that is, Spanish utterances do not need to have an explicit subject, as shown in (16a and b).

(16a) pro *Canta muy bien.*
(16b) pro *Dijo que tuvo un examen.*

The null subjects in (16a and b) are characterized differently from the null subjects that are linked to infinitives as in (17a and b) below.

(17a) *Yo quiero* PRO *visitor Hawai.*
(17b) *Marcos prefiere* PRO *salira las cinco.*

The principal difference between these two sets of sentences lies in the fact that the pro of (16a and b) finds reference locally in the finite clause because of the verb agreement, whereas the PRO of (17a and b) must go outside of the infinitival clause to find a referent. In this section we will discuss the referencing that occurs between subordinate and main clauses.

The theory of government and binding stems from a principles and parameters approach to Universal Grammar which argues that certain syntactic patterns in all languages are evidence for the existence of in-born, abstract principles that constrain a language learner to a limited number of possible structures. The type of principle that is relevant to our discussion on the Spanish subjunctive is a binding principle. Chomsky (1993) proposes that X "binds" Y if the following conditions are met: (1) X c-commands Y, (2) X is co-indexed with Y, and (3) X and Y are of the same categorical type. The three binding principles presented by Chomsky are listed below, and it is Binding Principle B that will be the focus of this section.

(A) An anaphor is bound in its domain.
(B) A pronominal is free in its domain.
(Q An R-expression is free.

Although one might not believe in Universal Grammar in particular, these syntactic patterns of anaphors, pronominals, and R-expressions are evident across languages, and recognition of these patterns is entirely independent of a belief in Universal Grammar.

It is important to distinguish the notion of "free" (as in Binding Principle Q from the notion of "free in its domain" (as in Binding Principles A and B). An element is free if it is not c-commanded and it is not co-indexed. In contrast, an element may be c-commanded and co-indexed with an antecedent, yet still be free in its domain. An example of the latter is shown below in (18a).

(18a) *Paula.piensa* [*que* [*ella$_i$ tiene la culpa*]].

When we refer to 'domain' here, we are talking about the linguistic environment that is subject to Binding Principles A and B. Chomsky (1993) states that a nominal subject's governing properties are what determines the domain subject to binding principles. In the case of indicatives, the domain is permissive of co-indexing, whereas with subjunctives the domain is not permissive of co-indexing. Below are some grammatical examples of co-reference with indicatives.

(18a) *Paula.piensa* [*que* [*ella. tiene la culpa*]].
(18b) *Juan dice* [*que* [*el$_{i/j}$ vuelve pronto*]].

In both utterances, INFL gives nominative case to the pronoun. The pronoun in (18a) is c-commanded by *Paula* and co-indexed with *Paula*, but does not violate Binding Principle B because it is still free in its domain (which is the subordinate clause). In sentence (18b) the pronoun is free in its domain (the subordinate clause), and the pronoun *él* can be co-referenced with the antecedent *Juan* that c-commands it. Conversely, in the case of subjunctive clauses where the pronoun is co-referenced with an antecedent in the matrix clause, that pronoun is not free in its domain. The following are examples that illustrate the ungrammaticality of co-referencing the *pro* of a subjunctive clause with an antecedent in the matrix clause.

(19a) *$Juan_i$ espera que* [pro_i / $él_i$ *visite a Ricardo muy pronto*]].
(19b) *$Juan_i$ espera que* [pro_j / $él_j$ *visite a Ricardo muy pronto*]].

(19a) possesses a structure in which the IP projects to both an NP and an I' that yields the subjunctive *visite*. (19a) is ungrammatical because the *pro* (or pronoun *él*) that occupies the NP position in the subordinate clause is co-referenced with the subject of the main clause *Juan.* Although (19a) and (19b) appear to have the same structure on the surface, only (19b) is grammatical, because in (19b) the *pro* (or pronoun *él)* in the subjunctive clause is not co-referenced with the subject of the matrix clause. (20a-e) are examples of a *pro* that can only display disjoint reference.

(20a) *$Guillermo_i$ quiere que* $pro_{*i/j}$ *llegue a tiempo.*
(20b) *$Marta_i$ prefiere que* $pro_{*i/j}$ *venga a Washington.*
(20c) *$Andrés_i$ desea que* $pro_{*i/j}$ *lo aprenda.*
(20d) *La motivación es su_i deseo de que* $pro_{*i/j}$ *lo aprenda.*
(20e) *Me_i molesta que* $pro_{*i/j}$ *conduzca a clase.*

(20a-c) are examples of obligatory disjoint reference between the *pro* of the subordinate clause and the subject of the matrix clause. However, it is important to note that these obviation effects hold true for other types of co-reference as well. For example, (20d) shows that co-reference between *pro* and the possessive pronoun *su* results in ungrammaticality, and (20e) shows the ungrammaticality of co-reference between the *pro* and the object pronoun *me* of the matrix clause. In all three cases of co-reference (*pro* co-referenced with the superordinate subject, the superordinate possessive pronoun, and the superordinate object pronoun), Binding Principle B is violated because the *pro* is not free in its domain.

Because subjunctive clauses are transparent domains, the domain where the pronoun is subject to Binding Principle B extends to the matrix clause. Therefore, if a pronoun is co-referenced with a subject in the matrix clause, it is not free in its domain. In other words, it violates Binding Principle B. This is why subjunctives (in most cases) must display disjoint reference. On the other hand, indicative subordinate clauses are opaque

domains for binding. This means that the domain where the pronoun is subject to Binding Principle B is the subordinate clause itself. Because the pronoun is free in this domain, it may be co-referenced (if so desired) with a subject outside of its domain in the matrix clause. Table 3 below summarizes this discussion.

Table 3. Summary of Domains for Binding Principle B

Clause	O/T	Domain	Co-indexed pro	Principle B
Subjunctive	Transparent	Includes matrix	Pronoun not free	Violation
Indicative	Opaque	Subordinate	Pronoun is free	No violation

Although utterances like (20a, b, c) do not permit co-reference between a subjunctive clause and a matrix clause, this does not always hold true with subjunctives. For example, there can be co-indexing of subjects between the subjunctive clause and the main clause if the embedded verb is a modal or if the subjunctive clause functions as an adjunct. The following are some examples:

(21a) *Marta$_i$ espera que pro$_i$ pueda regresar antes de las vacaciones*.
(21b) *Enrique$_i$ va a Hawai cuando* pro$_i$ *termine*.

Both (21a) and (21b) are not only grammatical, but utterances like these are frequently encountered in native Spanish speech. In (21a), the pronominal subject of the modal *pueda* is co-referenced with the subject *Marta* of the matrix clause. In (21b) the pronominal of an adjunct clause is co-referenced with the subject *Enrique* of the main clause. Rochette (1988) argues that these exceptions are grammatical because modals and adjuncts have an operator in COMP and therefore must project a CP, whereas in utterances where co-reference is prohibited there are no CPs in the embedded clauses. Put simply, in the case of disjoint reference the governing category is the main clause, while in the case of co-reference the governing category is the CP. Picallo (1985) argues on different grounds, claiming that the opacity that occurs with modals is due to the fact that a notional category Modal may be located in the INFL node in Romance languages, along with [TENSE] and [AGR]. She states that modal verbs are constituents of INFL and they occupy the head position, leaving [Tense] and [AGR] as daughters of INFL. If the verb in question is not a modal, then [Tense] and [AGR] occupy the head. A modal head in INFL cannot be anaphorically related to the head of S in the matrix clause. Hence, in the case of a modal in INFL, a "tense-chain" will not be made and the *pro* of the subordinate clause may be interpreted as free in reference.
There are still other exceptions to the obligatory disjoint reference with subjunctives. For instance, as Padilla (1990) points out, verbs of desire and prohibition do not allow

for co-reference, while verbs of knowledge or belief (*epistemics*) permit co-indexing in the subordinate clause. (22a and b) are examples of verbs of desire and prohibition that prohibit co-reference. (23a and b) are examples of verbs of knowledge or belief that permit co-reference of the pronoun (or *pro*) in the subjunctive clause with the subject of the matrix clause.

(22a) **Miguel$_i$ desea que* pm *visite a Carlos.*
(22b) **Yo$_i$ quiero que* pro$_i$ *llegue esta tarde.*
(23a) *El profesor$_i$ duda que* pro$_i$ *tenga clase hoy.*
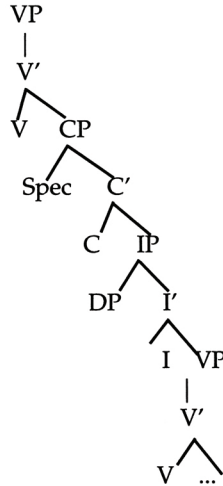(23b) *Carlos$_i$ niega que* pro$_i$ *esté cansado.*

(23a and b) are grammatical despite the co-referencing of the subordinate *pro* with the subject of the matrix clause, whereas with the verbs of desire in (22a and b), co-referencing between the pronoun (or *pro*) and the matrix subject is ungrammatical.

In this section it was shown that with subjunctives, the domain where the pronoun is subject to Binding Principle B extends to the matrix clause. In this case, if a pronoun is co-referenced with a subject in the matrix clause, it is not free in its domain, it violates Binding Principle B. Therefore, subjunctives (excluding the noted exceptions such as modals, adjuncts, etc.) display obligatory disjoint reference. In contrast, indicative subordinate clauses are opaque domains for binding, meaning the domain in which the pronoun is subject to Binding Principle B is the subordinate clause itself. Because the pronoun is free in its domain, it may be co-referenced with a subject in the matrix clause.

The INFL node and COMP position

Kempchinsky (1986) points out that verbs that communicate influence (commands) and volition are unique in that their complements cannot be assigned a truth value. Kempchinsky (1990) equates these complements with imperatives, and says that verbs of influence and volition select for an imperative operator in the nucleus of COMP, that is, in the C° position. It is the subjunctive operator located in INFL that labels the imperative operator by moving to the COMP position. It is this movement of the subjunctive operator up to C that causes obligatory disjoint reference between the pronoun (or *pro*) of the subjunctive clause and the subject of the volitional matrix clause. With this move to the COMP position, the domain subject to Binding Principle B is extended to the matrix clause, which causes co-reference to be a violation.

Kempchinsky states that this abstract operator in the deep structure is similar to the Qu- operator of an interrogative. The evidence that Kempchinsky provides for this abstract imperative operator involves the subcategorization of subjunctive complements. According to the author, it includes both a subcategorization of a specific feature in INFL and the subcategorization of an element in the C° position. Before the movement of the INFL to COMP, the structure of the verb phrase is as follows:

```
                    VP
                    |
                    V′
                   / \
                  V   CP
                     / \
                  Spec   C′
                        / \
                       C   IP
                      / \
                    DP   I′
                        / \
                       I   VP
                           |
                           V′
                          / \
                         V   ...
```

(Kempchinsky, 1990)

According to Kempchinsky, after INFL has moved to the COMP position, it yields the structure given in (24):

(24) [NP INFL V [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ INFL]$_i$ [$_{IP}$ NP [$_{INFL′}$ e$_i$ VP]]]].

Concerning the raising of the subjunctive operator and its effects, Quer (1998) states the following:

> The covert movement of the subjunctive operator up to C is what underlies the disjoint reference effects on the subjects of subjunctive complements to volitional predicates: being in C, the subjunctive INFL ends up co-indexed with an argument in the theta grid of the selecting predicate and the Complete Functional Complex relevant for the determination of the binding domain for the embedded subject is thus extended to the main clause, (p. 14)

In summary, verbs of volition select for an imperative operator the C° position. It is the subjunctive operator located in INFL that labels the imperative operator by moving to the COMP position. The movement of the subjunctive operator up to C induces obligatory disjoint reference between the subordinate pronoun and the matrix subject. With this move to the COMP position, the domain subject to Binding Principle B is extended to the matrix clause. This results in a violation of Principle B because the pronoun is not free in its domain. (It is important to note, however, that not all languages require that the INFL move up to C. For example, Quer (1998) cites Romanian as an example of a language that does not require that INFL raise to C.)

In contrast, subjunctives that serve as complements to a factive or epistemic do not carry imperative characteristics. For this reason, they behave differently from compliments to verbs of influence or volition. Because INFL does not move to C, it does not yield the obviative interpretation. If there is no movement of INFL to the C° position, then the governing category of the subordinate subject is limited to the subordinate clause itself.

4.   Tense Agreement

There are various positions on the relationship between tense and the subjunctive in Romance languages. For instance, while Picallo (1985) links the marking of [TENSE] to disjoint reference, Padilla (1990) says there is no relationship between tense and obviation effects. In addition, while Bruhn-Garavito (1995) goes as far to say that the subjunctive has no tense, Kempchinsky gives evidence that the subjunctive does not always mirror the tense of the matrix verb. In essence, while Picallo makes claims about the interaction of tense and co-reference, her position is challenged from two different perspectives by Padilla and Bruhn-Garavito. The focus of this section will be on the debate concerning tense and the subjunctive in Romance languages.

Picallo (1985) looked at pronominals in subjunctive clauses in Catalan and purported that the nature of these domains is determined by the marking of [TENSE]. Picallo concluded that subordinate clauses containing subjunctives are 'transparent' domains, and that the characteristic [+TENSE] yields opacity, while the attribute [-TENSE] yields transparency. The transparent subordinate clauses do not allow a co-indexed pronominal subject, but rather yield an obviative interpretation. In instances where there is an intrinsic absence of tense, the subject must be co-referenced with the subject of the main clause whenever possible. Picallo states that both infinitives and subjunctives are [-TENSE]. For this reason, they are ungrammatical when standing alone (as root utterances); they must depend on superordinate clauses for temporal reference. In other words, because the subjunctive needs to be bound, it is ungrammatical for it to appear in a main clause where it is unbound.

Picallo defines the binding domain by introducing the idea of 'tense-chains'. According to Picallo, a tense-chain (T-chain) connects the subjunctive INFL with the preceding indicative INFL and allows a projection of tense to occur, resulting in the same tense for both INFL nodes. That is, indicatives in subordinate clauses are not limited to the tense of the main clause, whereas subjunctives must mirror the tense of the superordinate verb. The INFL node for a subjunctive is marked for agreement and tense, but the former is an independent marking while the latter is entirely dependent on the tense marking in the main clause.

Padilla (1990) disagrees with Picallo, providing evidence that there is no necessary relationship between the presence or absence of tense and disjoint reference. Padilla proposes that the ability for co-reference and/or the need for disjoint reference is

determined by verb class, not other factors such as mood or tense agreement. That is, mood itself cannot be a determiner of reference, because there are instances in which the subject of the subjunctive complement is allowed to co-refer and other instances in which it is not. In addition, Padilla shows that whether or not a subjunctive verb of the subordinate clause agrees in tense with the matrix verb is not a dependable indicator of whether disjoint reference is required. Padilla argues that verbs must be categorized according to how they subcategorize, and that it is these properties of the verb which determine the transparency or opacity of the utterance. That is, Padilla argues that it is the lexical entries themselves (the subcategorization characteristics) of the matrix predicate which determines whether co-reference is permissible. Although Padilla's analysis might seem to be in direct contrast to that of Picallo, Padillo admits that Picallo's analysis is helpful in explaining *why* some verb classes permit co-reference while others do not.

Padilla also notes that certain verb classes behave differendy with respect to tense agreement. With these verb classes, the tense of a subjunctive predicate can be different from the verb of the higher clause. For example, (25) shows that verbs of uncertainty (such as *dudar)* can be either [+ past] or [- past] when the main verb is in the present tense.

(25) *Juan duda que llegue/ llegara/ hay a llegado/ hubiera llegado la carta.*

It is the existence of exceptions such as these which might lead one away from Picallo's notion that the subjunctive is [-TENSE] and toward the argument that the sub-junctive does carry tense specifications. It is in this vein that Padilla argues for the subjunctive as a carrier of the independent [+TENSE] characteristic, and that whether or not a subjunctive clause serves as a binding domain for its own subject is not determined by the presence or absence of tense agreement. Padilla attributes the presence or absence of obligatory tense agreement to the lexical properties of the matrix verb. Table 4 is adapted from Padilla (1990) and illustrates that the main verb is the determiner of whether a subjunctive must maintain tense agreement with the upper clause.

Table 4. Padilla (1990)

Main Verb	(+past... + past)	(+past...-past)	(-past... -past)	(-past... + past)
dudar/esperar	+	-	+	+
ignorar/temer	+	-	+	-
negar/lamentar	+	+	+	+
ordenar/prohibir	+	+	+	-
querer	+	-	+	-

As can be seen in the table above, obligatory tense agreement of the subjunctive depends on the lexical properties of the matrix verb. That is, the matrix verb determines whether or not a subjunctive has to maintain tense agreement with the superordinate clause. The examples below help to clarify Padilla's point using the verb *querer*.

(26a) *Marta quería que Juan comiera las legumbres.*
(26b) * *Marta quería que Juan coma las legumbres.*
(26c) *Marta quiere que Juan coma las legumbres.*
(26d) * *Marta quiere que Juan comiera las legumbres.*

As illustrated in Table 4, the verb *querer* allows for mirroring of tenses between clauses (+past/+past and -past/-past), which is shown in (26a) and (26c) respectively, but does not allow the tenses to be different as in (26b) and (26d). In contrast, *negar* and *lamentar* allow for all four [+ tense]/[- tense] combinations.

Bruhn-Garavito (1995) argues that the subjunctive has no tense and that it is dependent on the tense of the matrix verb. Bruhn-Garavito acknowledges that the subjunctive in Spanish is not entirely featureless (it carries the characteristic [+AGR]) despite being [-Tense]. One example given by Bruhn-Garavito of the subjunctive's lack of tense is the fact that "an imperfect subjunctive is past only in that it is dependent on a past matrix clause, but that it can actually refer to a future action" (p.97). Below is an utterance that illustrates her point.

(27) *Yo quería que viniera a la fiesta.*

In (27) the subjunctive *viniera* does not have to refer to an action that occurs at the same time as *quería*, rather *viniera* can refer to the future relative to *quería*.

Although Kempchinsky (1990) does not purport that the subjunctive is tenseless as does Bruhn-Garavito, Kempchinsky does cite some exceptions to the mirroring of time-frame between the subordinate clause and the main clause.

(28a) *Ana supo ayer que Juan había ganado el premio.*
(28b) *Ana supo ayer que Juan ganó el concurso.*

In (28a) the difference in tense is actually morphologically marked, the first verb being a preterit form and the second a pluperfect. At first glance, (28b) seems to contain two verbs of the same tense, and the subordinate verb is mirroring the tense of the main verb. It is important to note, however, that in both (28a) and (28b), the time at which Ana *supo* (found out) is later than when John's winning occurred. Hence, there is not really an exact mirroring of time-frame, even though the verbs in both clauses are in the past.

Kempchinsky points out that matrices of volition always introduce a tense in the subordinate clause which occurs later than the tense of the main clause, as in (29a and b) below:

(29a) *Quiero que mis hijos vayan al supermercado.*
(29b) *Quise que mis hijos fueran al supermercado.*

In both (29a) and (29b), the action of going to the supermarket occurs after the wanting. Hence, it cannot be said that the subordinate clause actually mirrors the tense of the main clause. According to Kempchinsky, the tense of the subjunctive depends on the modal operator which, in turn, depends on the verb of the main clause. In other words, the subjunctive operator indicates future with respect to the main clause, regardless of whether the main verb is in the present or past tense.

With verbs of volition, [+/- Past] is the reference point for the *future* that is introduced by the modal operator. Although this phenomenon occurs with verbs of volition, Kempchinsky points out that epistemic and emotive-factive verbs do not behave in the same way because they are capable of introducing verbs of simultaneous action as shown in the following examples given in Kempchinsky (1990).

(30a) *Ana duda que los estudios le vayan bien ahora.*
(30b) Me alegro de que te vayan bien los estudios este ano.

In (30a) the doubting and the studies occur at the same time. Likewise, in (30b) the happiness and the studies going well occur simultaneously.

This section summarized some positions on the relationship between tense and the subjunctive in Romance. It was shown that while Picallo (1985) linked the marking of [TENSE] to disjoint reference, Padilla (1990) said there was no relationship between tense and obviation effects. Bruhn-Garavito (1995) claimed that the subjunctive has no tense, while Kempchinsky gave evidence that the subjunctive does not always mirror the tense of the superordinate verb. Finally, although Picallo made claims about the interaction of tense and co-reference, her position was strongly challenged by the convincing arguments of both Padilla and Bruhn-Garavito.

5. Quantifiers

In specific instances, it can be seen that a trace does not behave like a lexical NP. With the extraction of certain elements, the trace that is left behind has limitations imposed upon it. According to Rizzi (1982) who studied WH-movement and negation in Italian syntax, the reasons why these limitations exist are summarized in the Empty Category Principle (ECP) which states that a trace must be properly governed. Below is the definition of proper government, as given in Chomsky (1993):

(31) a properly governs Ɓ if and only if a governs Ɓ [and a = AGR]

The Empty Category Principle helps to explain, for example, why one structure allows for two interpretations and a similar structure allows for only one interpretation.

Rizzi (1982), who worked extensively with the ECP, argued that in null subject languages like Italian (and Spanish), movement must begin from a postverbal position. (32a) and (32b) are some examples to demonstrate this point.

(32a) *Non credo che nessuno sia arrivato*.
(32b) *Non credo che sia arrivato nessuno*.

(32a) only permits one interpretation: "I don't think nobody arrived. " (32b) permits this same interpretation as well as one additional interpretation: "I don't think anybody arrived. " When *nessuno* is in the preverbal position as in (32a), the *anybody* interpretation is blocked, whereas when *nessuno* is in the postverbal position, the *anybody* interpretation is permitted along with the *nobody* interpretation. In other words, Rizzi showed that utterances like (32b) allow for both a wide scope interpretation and a narrow scope interpretation when the quantifier is in postverbal position, and that movement is allowed only from a postverbal position in Italian.

Rizzi's never addressed questions regarding the behavior of indicatives and subjunctives in Romance languages, but Picallo was able to modify Rizzi's assertions and relate them to mood selection in Catalan. Arguing against Rizzi, Picallo (1984) gives evidence that in some cases Catalan does not function as Rizzi says null subject languages behave. To be specific, Picallo argues that the characteristics of the INFL node allow for extraction from the subject position without violating the Empty Category Principle. Picallo makes an interesting distinction between indicatives and subjunctives in Catalan by showing that the former exhibit potential for extraction from the subject position while the latter do not. According to Picallo, indicatives in Catalan allow for extraction from both pre- and post-verbal positions, as shown in the following examples. Subjunctives in Catalan, on the other hand, show asymmetry of the subject and object, as illustrated in the following examples. Finally, she concludes that the trace of a quantifier in the [NP,0] position of an indicative utterance is immune to the Empty Categories Rule.

Picallo gives examples of indicatives in which the quantifier is in the [NP, S] position and both a wide and a narrow scope interpretation are allowed:

(33a) *Tots el estudiants saben que alguns examens son dificils*.
(33b) *Cada elector creu que tres candidats hanparlat*.

Picallo explains that in (33a), the set of exams is not necessarily the same for each of the students because both wide and narrow scope interpretations are acceptable. Similarly, in (33b) allows for the fact that the electors may be thinking of different candidates given the acceptability of a wide scope interpretation, as well as the narrow scope. In summary, with indicative utterances like these, there can be either a wide scope or a

narrow scope interpretation. These differ from their subjunctive counterparts (34a) and (34b) which only allow for the narrow scope interpretation.

(34a) *Tots els estudiants senten que alguns examens siguin dificils.*
(34b) *Cada elector vol que tres candidats parlin.*

So far, the examples given have been sentences in which the quantifier is in the [NP, S] position. As already mentioned, indicatives allow for both wide scope and narrow scope interpretation when the quantified NP appears in the subject position. They also allow for either interpretation when the subject is postposed. Picallo points out that subjunctives behave differendy in that they allow for both wide scope and narrow scope interpretation *only* when the subject is postposed, as shown here.

(35) *Tots el estudiants senten que siguin dificils alguns examens.*

In summary, Picallo concludes that wide scope interpretation as a result of quantifier extraction from the subject position is allowed in indicative subordinates, while subjunctive subordinate clauses do not allow such extraction. In other words, an element which is in the [NP, S] position is permitted to be bound by a remote quantifier if its clause contains an indicative; however, if the clause contains a subjunctive, remote binding is not allowed.

Picallo purports that the INFL node in Catalan does not properly govern the subject position unless INFL possesses time-frame features. Hence, the subject position is only governed when the expansion of INFL is [+Tense], which is only with indicatives in Catalan. In other words, Picallo argues that the presence or absence of time-frame features is the determinant of whether the subject position is properly governed or not. She is rejecting the analysis given by both Chomsky (1993) and Rizzi (1982) who state that it is [+AG], not [+Tense], which is the co-requisite of proper government. With infinitives, the subject position is occupied by PRO which possesses no reference in and of itself, but rather refers to another element in the utterance. It is quite intuitive to state that infinitives do not appear alone as acceptable sentences. The reason for this can now be stated logically from Picallo's assertion: they cannot stand alone because they have no tense. Therefore, one who hears such an utterance would have no idea whether the action or state expressed by the verb was past, present, or future. The infinitive must be understood in relation to the time-frame characteristics possessed by the matrix verb. Likewise, subjunctive clauses cannot appear alone. This is because the INFL$_{sub}$ node must relate to the main predicate that subcategorizes it in order to receive a time-frame value.

In summary, Picallo states that if the head of S is [-Tense], as with subjunctives, it does not properly govern an element which is bound by a long-distance quantifier. She concludes from this that the [Tense] must take narrow scope in order to be a proper governor of the trace. With indicatives, wide scope interpretation is possible (although not

obligatory) because the operator properly governs its trace and the Empty Category Principle is not violated. Because the INFL node in Catalan subjunctives is [-Tense], it does not properly govern, and quantifier extraction can only take place along with subject postposing.

Picallo discusses negative quantifiers (like *ningú, res*, *cap*, and *gens* in Catalan, for example), and argues that the negative particle *no,* which is almost always obligatory, contains scope-marking properties. According to Picallo, it is these properties (and not the violation of the Empty Category Principle) that account for the marginality of a wide scope interpretation of Q_{neg} in [+Tense] (indicative) clauses. In other words, Picallo argues that the negative doubling particle *no* serves as a scope marker for the quantifier, which can be seen in the following examples.

(36a) *En Pere diu que ningii no l'estima.*
(36b) *En Pere vol que ningii no l'estimi.*

While (36a) allows for a narrow scope interpretation and in some cases a marginal broad scope interpretation, (36b) only allows for the narrow scope interpretation. That is, (36b), which contains the subjunctive, can never allow a wide scope interpretation. Picallo logically argues that because wide scope is permitted with indicatives and other classes of quantifiers in the subject position of [+Tense] clauses, it must be the particle *no* that determines scope, and not the ECP violation.

In this section, it was shown that Rizzi's (1982) work with the Empty Category Principle helped to lay a foundation for Picallo who modified Rizzi's assertions and related them to mood selection in Catalan. Picallo (1984) showed that in some cases Catalan does not behave as Rizzi says null subject languages should. In particular, Picallo argued that the characteristics of the INFL node permit extraction from the subject position without violating the Empty Category Principle. Indicatives and subjunctives in Catalan behave differently in that the former allow for extraction from both pre- and post-verbal positions, while the latter show asymmetry of the subject and object. In addition, Picallo concluded that the trace of a quantifier in the [NP,0] position of an indicative utterance is immune to the Empty Categories Rule. Finally, with regard to [+Tense] clauses, it was shown that wide scope is permitted with indicatives and other classes of quantifiers in the subject position. Hence, Picallo argued that it is not the ECP violation but rather the negative doubling particle *no* that determines scope.

6. Conclusion

In the first section, I provided a brief overview of some analyses that argue that mood selection in Spanish is influenced by semantic factors (the meaning of the matrix clause) and subcategorization (whether a specific verb may take an indicative or subjunctive complement). However, the semantic/subcategorization account was incomplete in that it was insufficient to account for all phenomena related to mood selection in Spanish. Simply put, I showed that some matrix verbs allow for both indicative and subjunctive complements.

In the second section, I illustrated that with subjunctives, the binding domain extends to the matrix clause. Hence, if a pronoun is co-referenced with a subject in the matrix clause, it is not free in its domain and a violation of Binding Principle B occurs. Therefore, subjunctives (except for modals, adjuncts, and other exceptions) must obligatorily display disjoint reference. However, indicative subordinate clauses are opaque domains for binding, meaning the binding domain is the subordinate clause itself. Because the pronoun is free in its domain, it may be co-referenced with a subject in the matrix clause without violating Binding Principle B.

In the third section, I argued that verbs of volition select for an imperative operator in the C° position. I showed that the subjunctive operator located in INFL labels the imperative operator by moving to the COMP position. The movement of the subjunctive operator up to C causes mandatory disjoint reference between the subordinate pronoun and the matrix subject. With this move to the COMP position, the domain subject to Binding Principle B is extended to the matrix clause. This results in a violation of Principle B because the pronoun is not free in its domain. In contrast, subjunctives that serve as complements to a factive or epistemic (what) do not carry imperative characteristics and behave differently from compliments to verbs of influence or volition. Because INFL does not move to C, it does not yield the obviative interpretation. If there is no movement of INFL to the C° position, then the governing category of the subordinate subject is limited to the subordinate clause itself.

In the fourth section, I summarized various positions on the relationship between tense and the subjunctive in Romance languages. Picallo (1985) associated the marking of [TENSE] with disjoint reference. In direct contrast, Padilla (1990) argued there was no relationship between tense and obviation effects. Finally, while Bruhn-Garavito (1995) purported that the subjunctive has no tense at all, Kempchinsky gave evidence that the subjunctive does not always carry the same tense as the main verb. Picallo's claims about the interaction of tense and co-reference were challenged by the analyses of Padilla and Bruhn-Garavito.

In the fifth section, I demonstrated how Rizzi's (1982) work with Italian syntax (and the ECP in particular) laid a foundation for Picallo who related Rizzi's assertions to mood selection in Catalan. Picallo (1984) demonstrated that in Catalan, contrary to Rizzi's claims about null subject languages, the characteristics of the INFL node permit extraction from the subject position without violating the Empty Category Principle. Furthermore, she argued that indicatives and subjunctives in Catalan behave differently in that the former permit extraction from both pre- and post-verbal positions, while the latter show asymmetry of the subject and object.

The objective of this article was to draw from both more traditional and more recently developed analyses to give a newly synthesized account of some of the factors involved in mood selection in Romance languages. Specifically, I introduced both semantic and syntactic phenomena related to the subjunctive/indicative contrast in Spanish. However, many of these phenomena are evidenced across Romance languages in general. Rigorous

debate concerning the factors that contribute to mood selection in Spanish continues to occur at all levels—among linguistic theorists, LI and SLA researchers, and teaching practitioners. It is my hope that the present account is found to be of use to all three professional bodies in one way or another.

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