

ONE RULE FOR THE SPANISH SUBJUNCTIVE

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A TREND which is emerging with increasing frequency in recent studies on the Spanish subjunctive is that of explaining the uses of this mode by as few principles or rules as possible.¹ The studies which represent this trend are based either on eclecticism (Bull and Da Silva) or generative grammar (Cressey, Lozano, and Shawl), including generative semantics (Goldin, Klein, Rivero, Terrell and Hooper, and Terrell).

In contrast, studies and textbooks which are founded on structural linguistics give numerous rules for the use of the subjunctive.² They list one or more rules for its occurrence in each of the four types of surface structure clauses, namely, independent clauses and dependent clauses, the latter being distinguished as to noun, adjective, and adverb clauses.

Section 1 of this article is a survey of recent representative structural, eclectic, transformational, and semantic analyses of the subjunctive in independent and dependent clauses. I present my own treatment of the subjunctive in Section 2. This treatment differs from previous studies in that it formalizes the fact that there is but a single common rule for the use of the subjunctive and the indicative in *all* of their occurrences, both in independent or main clauses (exemplified in Section 3) and dependent clauses (Section 4).

1. *A survey of recent studies on the subjunctive.* Table 1 presents a compilation of the four well-known structural analyses of the subjunctive which are mentioned in note 2. This compilation reveals that structuralists give as many as thirty-four distinct verbalizations (rules) for the use of this mode.

The present trend away from a structural analysis of the subjunctive according

to clause type and toward subsuming all of its uses within as few principles as possible is exemplified by the ten studies (see note 1) which are described in Table 2.

The studies by Terrell and Klein are of particular interest since, like the present article, they also point out that there is just one criterion for the use of mode in Spanish. That is, Terrell and Klein maintain that assertions are expressed by the indicative and non-assertions by the subjunctive. They are correct in noting that the subjunctive always appears in a non-assertion. However, the indicative does not invariably imply an assertion; in at least the following three cases it does not.

(a) The indicative always occurs in information questions (e.g., *¿Dónde encontraste ese disco?* and *¿Por qué estás tan apurada?*) although the phrases in which it appears (*encontraste ese disco* and *estás tan apurada*) are presupposed rather than asserted, the focus of the question being the requested additional information (Klein, pp. 128-29).

(b) Likewise, the use of the indicative in *si*-clauses (e.g., *Si comes helado te engordarás*) obviously does not express assertion but rather presupposition (Goldin, p. 298).

(c) Finally, Klein (pp. 71 and 106) and Terrell and Hooper (pp. 488 and 490) observe that the complements of factive matrices (*alegrarse, lástima, gustar, etc.*) are always presupposed rather than asserted. However, either the indicative or the subjunctive may occur in the non-asserted complements of factive matrices (*Es una lástima que ha ido : Es una lástima que haya ido; Me sorprendió que vino : Me sorprendió que viniera*).⁴

The conclusion is that "there seem to be numerous and systematic exceptions to the

TABLE 1
 USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE ACCORDING TO RECENT STRUCTURAL ANALYSES

INDEPENDENT AND MAIN CLAUSES	RULES: THE CLAUSE IS A	EXAMPLES	RECENT STRUCTURAL ANALYSES			
			Bartley Rules: 20	Dalbor 14	A-LM 13	Span Mod Span 10
1. direct command		(1) Pase usted	I	I	I	I
2. expression of uncertainty		(2) Tal vez venga	NE	II	NE	II
3. softened assertion		(3) Quisiera estudiar un poco más	II	III	II	III
4. result (main) clause in a contrary-to-fact statement		(4a) Si tuviera dinero, lo comprara	NE	NE	NE	NE
		(4b) Si hubiera tenido dinero, lo hubiera comprado	III	IV	NE	NE
DEPENDENT CLAUSES	RULES: THE GOVERNING ELEMENT IN THE HIGHER CLAUSE IS					
A. Noun clauses		(5) Es una lástima que haya ido	via X	via V	via VII	IV
		(6) Teme que le suspendan	IV	V	III	via IV
		(7) No cree que haya nada de malo	via V	VI	IV	via IV
		(8) Duda que su amigo haya trabajado	V	via VI	via IV	via IV
		(9) No es cierto que vayan	via X	VII	via VII	via IV
		(10) Es imposible que haya estado allí	via X	VIII	via VII	via IV
		(11) Niega que su hijo lo haya hecho	VI	via VI	via IV	via IV
		(12) Ojalá que tú no te dediques a eso	NE	via V	V	via IV
		(13) Quiere que Juan lo haga	via VIII	via X	VI	V
		(14) Me dicen que me acueste temprano	via VII	IX	via VI	via V
		(15) Te mando que no vayas sin permiso	VII	via XI	via VI	via V
		(16) Insiste en que llegue a tiempo	via VII	X	via VI	via V
		(17) ¿Desean los señores que yo entre?	VIII	via X	via VI	via V
		(18) Siempre me piden que venga temprano	via VII	XI	via VI	via V
		(19) No permite que vayas	IX	via X	via VI	via V
		(20) Es posible que Juan estudie	X	via VIII	VII	via IV

B. Adjective clauses	21. indefinite antecedent	(21) Vamos a buscar un lugar que sea más tranquilo	XI	XII	VIII	VI
	22. superlative expression	(22) Esa es la película más tonta que jamás se haya producido	XII	NE	NE	NE
C. Adverb clauses	23. Subordinator always followed by subjunctive	(23) Antes que salieran les volví a recordar	via XVII	XIII	IX	VII
	24. purpose	(24) Hablo despacio para que Uds. entiendan bien	XIII	via XII	via IX	via VII
	25. proviso	(25) Dijo que iría con tal que tú fueras también	XIV	via XIII	via IX	via VII
	26. exception	(26) Ella estudiará sin que el profesor llegue	XV	via XIII	via IX	via VII
	27. supposition	(27) En caso de que golpees el vidrio, se romperá	XVI	NE	NE	NE
	28. como si	(28) Habla como si estuviera loco	NE	via XIII	X	VIII
	29. subordinator followed by indicative or subjunctive	(29) Quiere quedarse hasta que termine la película	via XVII	XIV	XI	IX
	30. futurity	(30) Ella me ayudará cuando esté descansada	XVII	via XIV	via IX	via IX
	31. unaccomplished result	(31) Despiértese de modo que llegue temprano	XVIII	via XIV	NE	NE
	32. si (in contrary-to-fact clause)	(32) Si tuviera dinero iría contigo	XIX	via XIV	XII	X
	33. indefinite amount or degree	(33) Por trabajador que parezca es un vago	XX	NE	NE	NE
	34. alternative construction	(34) Fuera la madre o fuera la hija, quería verla	NE	NE	XIII	NE

NE: a use of the subjunctive which is not explained in the designated text.

generalization that one mood always correlates with assertion and the other with non-assertion" (Klein, p. 88) and therefore some semantic criterion other than that of assertion versus non-assertion underlies the use of mode in Spanish.

Furthermore, although the recent eclectic, transformational, and semantic analyses point out that (a) the rules for the use of the subjunctive are considerably fewer than those suggested by structuralists and (b) the same rule(s) which govern the subjunctive in subordinate clauses also explain its use in independent clauses, none of the fourteen studies outlined in this section

explains all of the occurrences of the subjunctive in either independent or dependent clauses. The one reason for all of its occurrences is explained below.

2. *A new perspective on mode.* The single criterion for the use of mode is simply that, whereas the indicative denotes that the speaker (or the actor) of the higher clause regards the proposition expressed by the next lower clause as an objective fact, the subjunctive expresses a subjective reservation on the part of the speaker (or the actor) concerning the reality of that proposition.⁵ This difference in meaning between the two modes is apparent in each

TABLE 2
USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE ACCORDING TO RECENT ECLECTIC,
TRANSFORMATIONAL, AND SEMANTIC ANALYSES

AUTHOR(S)	NUMBER OF RULES	RULES	SENTENCES (IN TABLE 1) WHICH EXEMPLIFY THIS RULE
Cressey	5	(a) non-specific antecedent (b) uncertainty (c) unreality (d) influence and command (e) emotion	(21) and (29)-(31) (9), (10), (20), and (25) (7), (8), (11), and (26) (13)-(19), (24), and (27) (5) and (6)
Shawl	4	(a) [- <i>experience</i>] (b) [<i>subsequence</i>] (c) [+ <i>bias</i>] (d) [+ <i>subsequent indefiniteness</i>]	(21) (30) (5)-(11) and (13)-(20) (23)-(27), (29), and (31)
Rivero	3	expressed and implied: (a) imperative verbs (b) optative verbs (c) concessive verbs	(1), (14)-(16), and (18) (13), (17), and (24) (19)
Da Silva	3	(a) indirect command (b) emotion (c) unreality	(13)-(19) (5), (6), and (12) (7)-(11), (20), (21), and (23)-(33)
Bull	2	(a) anticipated or non-experienced entity or event (b) cause and effect (including stimulus and response)	(2), (7)-(11), (20), (21), (23), (26), (29), (30), and (33) (5), (6), (12)-(19), (24), (25), (27), and (31)
Lozano ³	2	(a) [+ <i>optative</i>] (b) [+ <i>dubitative</i>]	(1), (5), (6), (13)-(19), (24), (25), and (27) (2), (7)-(11), (20), (21), (23), (26), (28)-(30), and (32)
Goldin	2	(a) reactions (b) negative and indefinite presuppositions	(5) and (6) (1), (2), (7)-(21), and (23)-(33)
Terrell and Hooper	2	(a) comments on presuppositions (b) propositions which are neither assertions nor presuppositions	(5) (1), (2), (6)-(11), and (13)-(20)
Terrell	1	(a) non-assertions	(5)-(11) and (13)-(20)
Klein	1	(a) non-assertive matrices	(1), (2), (5)-(21), (24), (25), (27), (31), and (33)

TABLE 3
MODAL CONTRASTS BASED ON OBJECTIVE
FACT VS. SUBJECTIVE RESERVATION

OBJECTIVE FACT INDICATIVE	SPEAKER'S (OR ACTOR'S) VIEWPOINT	SUBJECTIVE RESERVATION SUBJUNCTIVE	SPEAKER'S (OR ACTOR'S) VIEWPOINT
(35a) <i>Pasan por los invitados</i>	It is a fact that the action is taking place	(35b) <i>Pasen por los invitados</i>	It cannot (or could not) be stated as a fact that the event will (or would) take place
(36a) <i>No matarás (as a command)</i>	It is assumed (to be a fact) that the instruction will be carried out	(36b) <i>No mates</i>	
(37a) <i>En esa situación serían más puntuales</i>	Granted the condition, their greater punctuality is conceived as a fact	(37b) <i>Sean más puntuales</i>	
(38a) <i>Sabía que le mandarían la plata</i>	The subsequent sending of the money was presupposed to be a fact	(38b) <i>Les rogó que le mandaran la plata</i>	
(39a) <i>Llega mañana</i>	It is a fact that the event will take place	(39b) <i>Tal vez llegue mañana</i>	
(40a) <i>Espera que se casará</i>	It is a fact that the event is taking place (or customarily takes place)	(40b) <i>Espera que se case</i>	
(41a) <i>Regresan temprano</i>		(41b) <i>Ojalá que regresen temprano</i>	
(42a) <i>Lo lee</i>		(42b) <i>Se lo doy para que lo lea</i>	
(43a) <i>Lo compré cuando lo vi</i>	It is a fact that the event took place	(43b) <i>Lo voy a comprar cuando lo vea</i>	
(44a) <i>Tú me viste</i>		(44b) <i>Yo salí sin que tú me vieras</i>	The event did not take place
(45a) <i>No negó que lo hicieron</i>		(45b) <i>Negó que lo hicieran</i>	
(46a) <i>Hay un abogado que dice la verdad</i>	The clause describes a fact	(46b) <i>No hay abogado que diga la verdad</i>	The situation is not a fact
(47a) <i>Ella es su madre</i>		(47b) <i>Le habla como si ella fuera su madre</i>	Although a year has passed, to the speaker it does not seem to be a fact that it has
(48a) <i>Ha pasado un año</i>		(48b) <i>Es increíble que haya pasado un año</i>	Although he is absent, to the speaker his absence seems too unpleasant to be true
(49a) <i>Miguel está ausente</i>		(49b) <i>Siento que Miguel esté ausente</i>	

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|--|--|---|---|
| (50a) Es verdad que <i>lo ha hecho</i> | | | Although he has done it, to the speaker this seems too good to be true |
| (51a) Me alegro de que <i>está aquí</i> | | | Although he is here, to the speaker this seems too good to be a fact |
| (52a) Es el médico más hábil que <i>yo he conocido</i> | | | Although his acquaintance is factual, the speaker finds such an acquaintance hard to believe |
| (53a) Si <i>perdiste el libro</i> . . . | | 'Assuming that (it is a fact that) you did lose the book . . .' | It is unlikely that you will lose the book |
| (54a) Si fuera a París, <i>los visitaría</i> | | If he were to go to Paris, it is a fact that he would visit them | He is not going to Paris; therefore, he will not visit them |
| (55a) Si hubiera ido a París, <i>los habría visitado</i> | | If he had gone to Paris, it is a fact that he would have visited them | He did not go to Paris; therefore, he did not visit them |
| (56a) Si <i>era la madre</i> o si <i>era la hija</i> , quería verla | | Either it is a fact that it was the mother or it is a fact that it was the daughter | It cannot be stated as a fact that it was the mother, nor can it be stated as a fact that it was the daughter |
| (57a) Por mucho que <i>estudia</i> no aprende | | How much the person studies is a fact known to the speaker | The speaker does not know how much the person will study |
| (58a) ¿ <i>Entramos?</i> | | The inquiry concerns whether the event will be a fact | The inquiry reflects the speaker's reservation concerning the reality of the event |
| (59a) ¿Es cierto que <i>ha ganado?</i> | | The inquiry concerns whether the event is a fact | |
| (60a) ¿ <i>Puedes hacerlo?</i> | | A question on one's ability | Not a question on one's ability |
| (50b) Es un milagro que <i>lo haya hecho</i> | | | |
| (51b) Me alegro de que <i>esté aquí</i> | | | |
| (52b) Es el médico más hábil que <i>yo haya conocido</i> | | | |
| (53b) Si <i>perdieras el libro</i> . . . | | | |
| (54b) Si fuera a París, <i>los visitara</i> | | | |
| (55b) Si hubiera ido a París, <i>los hubiera visitado</i> | | | |
| (56b) <i>Fuera la madre</i> o <i>fuera la hija</i> , quería verla | | | |
| (57b) Por mucho que <i>estudie</i> no aprenderá | | | |
| (58b) ¿ <i>Entramos?</i> (dialectal; an imperative softened by an interrogative intonation)? | | | |
| (59b) ¿Es cierto que <i>haya ganado?</i> | | | |
| (60b) ¿ <i>Pudieras hacerlo?</i> | | | |

of the contrasting pairs of sentences given in Table 3.

As Table 3 illustrates, the indicative describes not only events which are in progress (sentences 35a, 41a, 42a, 46a, 47a, 49a, 51a, and 57a) and which have already taken place (43a-45a, 48a, 50a, 52a, 53a, and 56a), but also events the subsequent occurrence of which the speaker or actor accepts as facts (36a and 38a-40a), events which under certain conditions are regarded as facts (37a, 54a, and 55a), and events about whose factual nature an inquiry is made (58a-60a). Conversely, it is noted that the subjunctive is used when the speaker or actor believes that the event cannot be stated as factual, either in the past (44b, 45b, 55b, 56b, and 59b), the present (46b and 47b), or at a subsequent time (35b-43b, 53b, 54b, 57b, 58b, and 60b).

In addition, Table 3 shows that the reason for the use of the subjunctive and indicative after "expressions of emotion" and after "superlative expressions" is the same as the reason for their use in all other contexts. That is, although an event may itself be an objective fact, the speaker or actor may nevertheless express subjective reservation vis-à-vis its occurrence (and hence use the subjunctive), thereby stating that the event is too favorable (50b-52b) or too adverse (48b and 49b) for him to consider it as an objective fact. In the absence of such a reservation the indicative is used (as in the sentences which contrast with the examples just mentioned). With only a few exceptions⁸ previous studies have not identified this fundamental reason for the use of the subjunctive or the indicative in such cases. On the contrary, it is common in the literature that such uses be explained circularly, claiming essentially that the subjunctive is used after expressions of emotion and after superlative expressions because the subjunctive is used after expressions of emotion and after superlative expressions!

Such explanations are not only circular but inaccurate. That is, since the indicative may also be used in these two types of clauses the factor which occasions the subjunctive is not the expression of emotion or the superlative expression itself; rather, as in all cases, the subjunctive is the surface structure manifestation of the speaker's (or actor's) subjective reservation concerning the factual character of the proposition in the subordinate clause.

Since, as just illustrated, the Spanish subjunctive carries the same meaning in all of its occurrences, we propose that all such occurrences be derived in the same way within a generative grammar of Spanish. But this common meaning of the subjunctive is obviously not an inherent feature of the verb which is inflected for the subjunctive (compare *Sé que viene* and *Quiero que venga*). Rather, the subjunctive is a morphological reflection of a condition which is external to the verb which is so inflected. This external condition can be formalized as [+reservation], a semantic feature which is present in a lexical entry (e.g., *querer*, *sin*, *cuando*, etc.) in the next higher clause. When reflected in the surface structure by the subjunctive, [+reservation] is merely a notational abbreviation for the above mentioned "meaning" of the subjunctive, namely, "subjective reservation by the speaker (or the actor of the higher clause) concerning the reality of the proposition expressed in the next lower clause."⁹ For example, in the sentence *Grita que salta* the meaning of the matrix verb *grita* reveals that the action of *salta* is taking place; that is, in this instance *grita* carries the feature [-reservation]. Conversely, in the sentence *Grita que salte* the matrix verb *grita* has a different meaning—it denotes that the action of the dependent clause is not occurring at the moment and that it will not necessarily occur. In this case the meaning of *grita* includes the feature [+reservation]; this is shown in the surface structure by the sub-

subjunctive verb *salte*. The derivation of the subjunctive in this sentence, as well as in all of its occurrences, can be stated informally as follows: whenever [+reservation] is present within a lexical entry in a sentence, [+subjunctive] is transformationally

added to the verb of the next lower clause in that sentence. This statement is formalized within *T subjunctive*, a transformational rule which is obligatorily applied to a string having the following structural description:

U	W	X	[Y	[+verb]	Z]
1	2	3	4	5	6
e.g.: Yo [-perf] [-past]	quer- [+res]	—	él [+subs] [-past]	ven-	mañana

The structural change produced by the T rule is:

1	2	3	4	5	6
—	—	—	—	[+subj]	—
e.g.: Yo [-perf] [-past]	quer- [+res]	—	él [+subs] [-past]	ven- [+subj]	mañana

From this intermediate structure subsequent rules¹⁰ generate the appropriate surface structure, in this case, *Yo quiero que él venga mañana*.

Some lexical entries (e.g., *querer*, *ojalá*, the preposition *para*, etc.) invariably carry [+res]. Others (e.g., *gritar*, *cuando*, [+noun]/(det) — S, etc.) may or may not carry this feature, depending (as already indicated) upon the speaker's or actor's viewpoint concerning the proposition expressed in the next lower clause.

3. *The subjunctive in independent clauses.* There are three¹¹ semantic types of independent clauses in which the subjunctive is used:

- (a) commands (*Vuelva lo más pronto posible*; *Dejemos ese tema*),
- (b) expressions of uncertainty (*Tal vez haya algún beneficio*; *Quizás lo comprara*), and
- (c) softened assertions (*Quisiera mandarles un buen recado*; *No debieras enojarte*; *Si viniera, se lo diera*).

Textbooks and studies on the subjunctive have traditionally explained each of these three occurrences by different criteria,¹² overlooking the already indicated single common reason for the use of the subjunc-

tive in all cases. It is shown in this section that the subjunctive in each of its three occurrences in independent or main clauses is generated by *T subjunctive*.

However, it has already been noted that for this rule to be triggered the command, expression of uncertainty, or softened assertion must be embedded in a higher clause in which some lexical entry contains the feature [+res]. Performative theory shows that these three types of independent surface structures are (in their deep structure) embedded sentences.

John R. Ross¹³ claims that in all languages declarative constative sentences, such as English *He is coming*, are transformationally derived from deep structures which are declarative performative sentences (for example, *I say to you [he is coming]*). Moreover, according to Ross, "The performative analysis of declarative sentences is only one fragment of a far more inclusive analysis which postulates that every deep structure contains one and only one performative sentence as its highest clause" (p. 261). Accordingly, we maintain that every Spanish sentence has the following deep structure:

ordering is or has been implied" (p. 162). The same contrast in emphasis may also occur when the verb is indicative. For example, Ross observes that the sentence *Que mi gato se enratonó* "is more emphatic and more insistent" (pp. 269-70, n. 46) than the sentence *Mi gato se enratonó*; again, the deleted pro-verb in the former sentence carries [+emphasis] while that of the latter conveys [-emphasis]. Of course, when the verb of the higher clause in the deep structure is any performative verb (e.g., *decir*, *mandar*, *informar*, etc.) other than the abstract pro-verb (term 2 in the structural description) then *T performative deletion* is blocked, since such a deep structure does not conform to the structural description of the T rule; consequently, in such cases the higher clause itself appears in the surface structure (*Yo digo que los niños lo hacen*; *Te pido que renuncies a tus estudios*). Ross fails to observe this point. Rather he posits the same deep structure for sentences such as *Prices slumped* and *I tell you that prices slumped*; as a result, he is unable to state whether *T performative deletion* is "optional or obligatory" (pp. 249-50). But our analysis shows that this T rule (like any other) is obligatorily applied when the deep structure of the sentence conforms to the structural description of the T rule (thereby deriving English *Prices slumped* and Spanish *Los niños lo hacen*), but otherwise it does not apply (as in *I tell you that prices slumped* and *Yo digo que los niños lo hacen*).

3.1. *The subjunctive in commands*. In addition to the derivation of (a) formal commands (*Venga usted*) and (b) infinitives used as commands (*No fumar*), which are illustrated above, our analysis also derives the various other types of commands.

(c) One of these types is the indirect command, the derivation of which is as follows:

underlying structure:

$$Yo + \begin{bmatrix} + \text{pro-verb} \\ + \text{perform} \\ \dots \\ + \text{res} \\ + \text{emph} \end{bmatrix} + \text{que} + [\text{Jorge (no)} \\ + \text{entra}]$$

by *T subj*: $Yo + \begin{bmatrix} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \end{bmatrix} + \text{que} + [\text{Jorge} \\ (\text{no}) \text{entre}]$

by *T perf del*: *Que Jorge (no) entre*.

As already illustrated, the subject need not be a third person form; *Que venga usted*, *Que hagas eso*, etc. are derived in this same way. Rivero (pp. 62-65) makes a superfluous and arbitrary distinction between sentences of this type which she describes as dependent on an imperative abstract verb (*Ordeno que no se marche Ud. mañana* > *Que no se marche Ud. mañana*) and others which she derives by the deletion of an optative abstract verb (*Deseo que lo resuelva pronto* > *Que lo resuelva pronto*). However, this distinction is not justified in that in both cases the deleted verb may be either *ordeno* or *deseo*; consequently, we reject the distinction since (unlike our own treatment) it violates the principle of unique recoverability.

(d) Finally, familiar commands are derived as exemplified below:

underlying structure:

$$Yo + \begin{bmatrix} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ + \text{res} \\ - \text{emph} \end{bmatrix} + \text{a ti que} + [\text{tú (no)} \\ + \text{cantas}]$$

by *T subj*: $Yo + \begin{bmatrix} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \end{bmatrix}$

+ *a ti + que + [tú (no) cantes]*

by *T perf del*: *Tú (no) cantes* (an intermediate structure).

The following three points concern subsequent rules by which the appropriate surface structures of commands are generated from the output of *T subjunctive* followed by *T performative deletion*. (a) The morphophonemic rules assign the imperative form of the verb in affirmative fa-

miliar commands (e.g., *Tú cantas* → *Tú canta*; *Vosotros cantáis* → *Vosotros cantad*).¹⁴ (b) When the subject of any sentence carries [-emphasis] that subject is deleted by *T subject deletion* (*Venga*; *Que entre*; *Canta*; *Cantad*); compare Hadlich, pp. 63-65. The subject is similarly deleted by *T infinitives III A* (*No fumar*); see Hadlich, pp. 166-67. In commands in which the subject has not been deleted by either of these two rules that subject is optionally transposed to the post-verb position by *T subject shift* (*Venga usted*; *Que entre Jorge*; *Canta tú*; *Cantad vosotros*). (c) Finally, the pre-verb position of conjunctive object pronouns in familiar negative, formal negative, and indirect commands (*No lo hagas*; *No lo haga*; *Que lo haga Jorge*; *Que no lo haga Jorge*) is dependent upon the applicability of *T conjunctive DO pronoun* and *T conjunctive IO pronoun*. But in order that these rules do not apply to affirmative familiar commands (*Hazlo*; *Hacedlo*), affirmative formal commands (*Hágalo*; *Háganlo*), and

infinitive commands (*No atropellarse*), the conjunctive pronoun rules are extrinsically ordered subsequent to *T subjunctive*, *T infinitives III A*, and *T performative deletion*; compare Hadlich, pp. 72-79 and 119-23.

3.2. *The subjunctive in expressions of uncertainty.* In the same way as *T subjunctive* generates commands it also generates the subjunctive in independent (surface structure) clauses introduced by adverbs of uncertainty—*tal vez*, *quizá(s)*, *acaso*, and *posiblemente*—as in *Tal vez él venga*.

In Table 4 this last sentence is contrasted with two other sentences having an indicative verb form. The differences in the meaning of each of these three sentences, as well as the reason for the use of the indicative or the subjunctive in each case, are dependent upon whether the sentence contains the adverb of uncertainty *tal vez* and, if it does, upon whether the deep structure of the sentence conforms to the structural description of *T subjunctive*.

TABLE 4
USE OF MODE IN EXPRESSIONS OF (UN)CERTAINTY

MEANING	DENOTED BY	EXAMPLES
Certainty	a. Indicative mode b. Absence of adverb of uncertainty	<i>Él viene.</i>
Uncertainty	Adverb of uncertainty before indicative verb	<i>Tal vez él viene.</i>
Great uncertainty	Adverb of uncertainty before subjunctive verb	<i>Tal vez él venga.</i>

(a) The sentence *Él viene* expresses certainty inasmuch as it does not contain an adverb of uncertainty and its verb is of the indicative mode. This sentence is derived as follows:

underlying structure:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ -\text{res} \\ -\text{emph} \end{array} \right] + \text{que} + [\text{él viene}]$

by *T perf del*: *Él viene*.

(b) On the other hand, the sentence *Tal vez él viene* does express uncertainty to the extent that it contains the adverb of uncertainty *tal vez*. However, the subjunctive is not used since the structural description of *T subjunctive* specifies that for the verb to be so inflected the semantic feature [+reservation] must be present in the next higher clause. The derivation of this sentence is:

underlying structure:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ -\text{res} \\ -\text{emph} \end{array} \right]$ + que + [tal vez él viene]

by T perf del: *Tal vez él viene.*

(c) Finally, the sentence *Tal vez él venga* expresses an even greater degree of uncertainty inasmuch as it contains not only the adverb of uncertainty *tal vez* but also a subjunctive verb form. That is, of the three sentences in Table 4 only the deep structure of this last sentence satisfies the structural description of T subjunctive:

underlying structure:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ + \text{res} \\ -\text{emph} \end{array} \right]$ + que + [tal vez él viene]

by T subj: Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \end{array} \right]$ + que [tal vez él venga]

by T perf del: *Tal vez él venga.*

3.3. *The subjunctive in softened assertions.* The most obvious contrast between the uses of the subjunctive presented above (in Sections 3.1 and 3.2) and its occurrence in softened assertions is that a past subjunctive form is always used in the latter. When reference is to the moment of speaking the verb of the softened assertion

is in the imperfect subjunctive:

underlying structure:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ + \text{res} \\ -\text{emph} \end{array} \right]$ + que + [la señora querría + un café]

by T subj: Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \end{array} \right]$

+ que + [la señora quisiera un café]

by T perf del: *La señora quisiera un café.*

The pluperfect subjunctive occurs in softened assertions which deal with the past:

underlying structure:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \\ + \text{res} \\ -\text{emph} \end{array} \right]$ + que + [é! + habría perdido menos . . .]

by T subj:

Yo + $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{pro-verb} \\ \dots \end{array} \right]$ + que + [él hubiera perdido menos . . .]

by T perf del: *Él hubiera perdido menos . . .*

The term "softened assertion," which is the general label for this use of the subjunctive, is merely a more specific term to suggest the basic nonfactual character of the referent of the subjunctive verb in sentences of this type. Compare the contrasting meanings of the two modes in the following sentences.

FACTUAL, STRONG ASSERTIONS
Indicative

Quiero su autorización.
¿Puede Ud. aceptar menos?
No debes enojarte.
Era mejor esperar.
Yo me voy.
Allí tenemos nuestras casas. Las ve.

NONFACTUAL, SOFTENED ASSERTIONS
Subjunctive

Quisiera su autorización.
¿Pudiera Ud. aceptar menos?
No debieras enojarte.
Hubiera sido mejor esperar.
¡Quién se fuera! 'I wish I could go!'
Allí . . . casas. ¡Las viera!
' . . . You wouldn't believe them!'

Although many studies claim that the use of the subjunctive in softened assertions is limited to the verbs *quisiera*, *debiera*, and *pudiera* (some studies also include *hubiera* plus the past participle of any verb), the sentences given above show that, at least in popular speech, there is no such restriction; see Kany (pp. 183-85) and Ramsey (pp. 439-43).

Moreover, the use of the imperfect subjunctive and the pluperfect subjunctive in the main clause of a contrary-to-fact statement (e.g., *Quisiera acompañarle si tuviera tiempo*) is not a separate use of the subjunctive distinct from its use in softened assertions (compare *Quisiera acompañarle*). Rather both types of sentences are softened assertions.¹⁵ Grammarians have tra-

ditionally made a superfluous distinction between the use of the past subjunctive forms in the main clause of contrary-to-fact statements and their occurrence in other softened assertions; see Bartley and Politzer (pp. 37-38) and Dalbor (pp. 592-93, 615, and 718).

3.4. *The tenses of the subjunctive in independent clauses.* There are four subjunctive tenses and (as already indicated) three uses of the subjunctive in independent clauses. The particular use which is generated by *T subjunctive* in a given independent clause is identified as follows.

(a) An expression of uncertainty is, by definition, introduced by an adverb of uncertainty. In this case any of the four subjunctive tenses may be used, depending upon whether the expression of uncertainty refers to: (1) the present or the future: *Quizá (acaso, tal vez, posiblemente) venga (viniera, viniese) Juan*; or (2) the past: *Acaso hayas temido (hubieras temido, hubieses temido) tú*. In the absence of an adverb of uncertainty, the independent clause by elimination, is either a command or a softened assertion.

(b) It is a command when the verb is in the present subjunctive (*Sentémonos; Que lo resuelva pronto*). Indirect commands with a present perfect subjunctive verb also occur (*Que lo haya resuelto*), and direct commands with a present perfect imperative are grammatical, although rare (*Habed aderezado la comida para cuando yo vuelva*); see Ramsey, pp. 335 and 444.

(c) The only remaining possibility is, of course, the occurrence of the imperfect subjunctive and the pluperfect subjunctive in a main clause which is not introduced by an adverb of uncertainty (*Debiera salir ahora; Hubiera querido presentear aquella escena*). Such sentences are softened assertions.

4. *The subjunctive in dependent clauses.* It has been demonstrated in Section 3 that the subjunctive occurs in an independent

or main clause through the successive applications of *T subjunctive* and *T performative deletion*; for example, the occurrences of the subjunctive in sentences (1)-(4b) in Table 1 are derived in this way. However, *T subjunctive* may apply in a dependent surface structure clause regardless of whether *T performative deletion* is also applied. For instance, the higher clause is not deleted in sentence (15) in Table 1 (*Te mando que no vayas sin permiso*), since in this sentence *T performative deletion* is blocked because the performative verb is *mando* rather than the performative pro-verb. But in sentences (5)-(14) and (16)-(34) the highest clause is, in each case, deleted through *T performative deletion*.

In the same way as previous studies have failed to observe that *T subjunctive* generates the subjunctive in all independent clauses, it has likewise not been previously noted¹⁶ that this same single rule generates the subjunctive in all dependent clauses, regardless of the syntactic function of the dependent clause. Such dependent clauses have five distinct syntactic functions. The common derivation of the subjunctive in each type is exemplified below.

(a) In the following example the embedded sentence is a noun clause which functions as the subject of the matrix verb:

underlying structure (upon which numerous T rules including *T que insertion*, *T extraposition*, and *T performative deletion* have already been applied):¹⁷

Le + enoja [+res] + que + [Pedro no + está + aquí]

by *T subj*: *Le enoja que Pedro no esté aquí.*

The subordinate clauses in sentences (5), (9), (10), and (20) in Table 1 are other examples of subject noun clauses in which *T subjunctive* has been similarly triggered by the presence of [+res] within the matrix verb phrases, namely, *es una lástima* [+res] and *es cierto* [+res] (both of which

carry [+res] in the examples), *es imposible* [+res], and *es posible* [+res].

(b) Another syntactic function of an embedded noun clause is that of the direct object of the matrix verb:

Él + *merece* [+res] + *que* + [nosotros lo + odiamos]

⇒ *Él merece que nosotros lo odiamos.*

In Table 1 sentences (6)-(8), (11), (13)-(15), and (17)-(19) are similarly derived. That is, the subordinate clauses in these sentences are noun clauses which are direct objects of verbs which carry either [+res] (*querer, mandar, desear, pedir, and permitir*) or [±res] (*temer, creer, dudar, negar, and decir*, all of which bear [+res] in these sentences). Although *ojalá* [+res] is not a verb, sentences in which *ojalá* [+res] triggers *T subjunctive*—e.g., sentence (12) in Table 1—are structurally similar to sentences with a direct object noun clause.

(c) A third function of a dependent noun clause is as the object of a preposition. In this function the lexical entry which carries [+res] may be (1) the matrix verb, e.g., *insistir* [±res] (but [+res] in sentence [16]) and *oponerse* [+res]:

Yo + *me oponía* [+res] + *a que* + [él + iba + solo]

⇒ *Yo me oponía a que él fuera solo.*

(2) a noun (in which case the subordinate clause is a noun phrase complement):

La + *posibilidad* [+res] + *de que* + [me + ha + abandonado] *me desespera*

⇒ *La posibilidad de que me haya abandonado me desespera.*

or (3) the preposition itself:

Yo *entré* + *sin* [+res] + *que* + [ellos se + dieron + cuenta]

⇒ *Yo entré sin que ellos se dieran cuenta.*

Examples of prepositions which carry [+res] are *para, con tal (de), en caso de* (see Cressey, p. 896), and (as just exemplified) *sin*; see sentences (24)-(27). Similarly, the subjunctive verbs *termine* and

llegue in sentences (29) and (31) reflect the fact that *hasta* [±res] and *de modo* [±res] carry [+res] in those sentences.

(d) An adverbial clause may modify either an adverb:

Él *va a comprarlo* + *cuando* [+res] + [(él) + *va* + *al centro*]

⇒ *Él va a comprarlo cuando vaya al centro.*

or an adjective (in an expression of indefinite amount or degree):

Por muy + *inteligente* [+res] + [(él) + *es* + *inteligente*] *no pasará*

by *T subj* (followed by *T relativization*):

Por muy inteligente que sea no pasará.

The subjunctive verbs in sentences (23), (28), (30), (32), and (33) are a surface manifestation of the feature [+res], which is always carried by *antes* and *como si*—as in sentences (23) and (28)—and which (in the other three sentences) is selected to add this meaning to

cuando, si, and $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+adj] \\ [+adv] \end{array} \right\} / \text{Por (muy)} \text{ — S.}$

Alternative constructions having subjunctive verb forms (e.g., *Sea Ordóñez o sea Dominguín, no me importa*—as well as sentence [34] in Table 1) are derived as follows:

underlying structure:

No me importa + *si* [+res] + [es + Ordóñez] + *o* + *si* [+res] + [es + Dominguín]

by *T subj*: *No me importa si sea Ordóñez o si sea Dominguín* (an intermediate structure)

by *T alternative construction*:

Sea Ordóñez o sea Dominguín, no me importa.

(e) Finally, an adjective clause is an embedded sentence which is attributive to a [+noun]. In an adjective clause which contains the subjunctive the lexical entry in the higher clause which carries [+res] may be either the [+noun] itself:¹⁸

No hay + *médico* [+res] + [que no + tiene + gripe]

⇒ *No hay médico que no tenga gripe.*

or a superlative or exclusive¹⁹ which also modifies the [+noun]:

Italia ha sido la + primera [+res] + gran potencia + [que + reconoció + a los soviets]

⇒ *Italia ha sido la primera gran potencia que reconociera a los soviets.*

In sentences (21) and (22) in Table 1 the feature [+res] is chosen for the entries *lugar* and *más*, thereby triggering T subjunctive in those sentences.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH. Within recent structural analyses of the subjunctive there are at least thirty-four distinct rules for the uses of the subjunctive (see Table 1). In contrast, Bull, Lozano, Goldin, and Terrell and Hooper explain the uses by two rules each, and both Terrell and Klein give evidence that a single criterion accounts for the choice of mode in many types of constructions (see Table 2). The present article formalizes the fact that a single rule explains *all* of the occurrences of the subjunctive which are treated in the fourteen studies analyzed in Section 1. We further hypothesize that this same rule derives any occurrences of the Spanish subjunctive which are not treated in this article, and that future research will prove that this same rule (or a similar rule) is the basis for all occurrences of the subjunctive in the other Romance languages, as well as in other languages which have an indicative-subjunctive contrast in surface structure.

Finally, additional investigation can also show that the deep structure contrast between [+res] and [-res] is reflected in Spanish, not only in the surface structure contrast between the indicative and the subjunctive verb forms, but also in numerous other surface structure contrasts. For example, four other such instances are the contrasts in surface structure between:

(a) the subject pronouns *él*, *ella*, *ellos*, and *ellas* on one hand and the indefinite subject pronoun *se* on the other:

Él respeta a la reina. 'He respects the queen.'

Se respeta a la reina. 'One respects the queen.'

(b) the presence and the absence of the personal *a* before a [+human] noun used as a direct object:

Aguardo a un criado. 'I am waiting for a (particular) servant.'

Aguardo un criado. 'I am waiting for a (an unknown) servant.'

(c) the presence and the absence of the indefinite article before a singular count noun which is a direct object:

Busco una casa. 'I am looking for a (specific) house.'

Busco casa. 'I am house-hunting.'

(d) the presence and the absence of a determiner before a singular count noun which is the object of a preposition:

la mesa del comedor 'the dining room table'

la mesa de comedor 'the dining room table'

In the first members of these pairs the speaker does not express reservation as to the precise referents of *él*, *criado*, *casa*, and *comedor*; that is, in each case the word in question refers to a specific entity, which is another way of saying that the word carries the feature [-res] in the deep structure of the sentence. Conversely, in the second members of each pair the words *se*, *criado*, *casa*, and *comedor* do not refer to a specific entity; the speaker does express reservation as to the precise referents of these words; in the deep structure these entries contain the feature [+res]. The role of the features [+reservation] and [-reservation] within Spanish grammar as a whole, as opposed to their importance merely within the derivation of mode, is a separate topic which is worthy of more detailed and more extensive examination.²⁰

NOTES

¹See William E. Bull, *Spanish for Teachers: Applied Linguistics* (New York: Ronald, 1965), pp. 174-97; William W. Cressey, "The Subjunctive in Spanish: A Transformational Approach," *Hispania*, 54 (December 1971), 895-96; Zenia Sacks Da Silva, *A Concept Approach to Spanish*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 38-41, 96-106, and 112-25; Mark G. Goldin, "A Psychological Perspective of

the Spanish Subjunctive," *Hispania*, 57 (May 1974), 295-301; Philip Walter Klein, "Observations on the Semantics of Mood in Spanish," *Diss. Univ. of Washington* 1974; Anthony G. Lozano, "Subjunctives, Transformations and Features in Spanish," *Hispania*, 55 (March 1972), 76-90; María-Luisa Rivero, "La concepción de los modos en la gramática de Andrés Bello y los verbos abstractos en la gramática generativa," *Revista de lingüística teórica y aplicada* (Univ. de Concepción, Chile), 10 (1972), 55-74; James R. Shawl, "Syntactic Aspects of the Spanish Subjunctive," *Hispania*, 58 (May 1975), 323-29; Tracy Terrell and Joan Hooper, "A Semantically Based Analysis of Mood in Spanish," *Hispania*, 57 (September 1974), 484-94; and Terrell, "Assertion and Presupposition in Spanish Complements," in *Current Studies in Romance Linguistics*, ed. Marta Luján and Fritz Hensey (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1976), pp. 221-45.

²See Diana E. Bartley and Robert L. Politzer, *Practice-Centered Teacher Training: Spanish, Language and the Teacher: A Series in Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 2, ed. Robert C. Lugton (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, n.d.), pp. 34-39; Dwight L. Bolinger et al., *Modern Spanish: A Project of the Modern Language Association*, 3rd ed., rev. Ronald C. Turner (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973), pp. 83-86, 94-96, 282-85, 292-305, 313-20, 326-34, 352-58, and 362-63; John B. Dalbor, *Beginning College Spanish: From Sounds to Structures* (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 422-24, 434-36, 455-58, 495-98, 545-53, 560-61, 563-65, 576-79, 585-87, 592-98, 600-02, 613-19, 621-27, 638-41, 701-06, and 712-18; Barbara Kaminar de Mujica et al., *A-LM Spanish: Level Two*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970), pp. 182, 211-16, 223-27, 244-46, 289-90, 311-14, 321, 360, 363 (n. 1), and 367; and Kaminar de Mujica et al., *A-LM Spanish: Level Three*, 2nd ed., pp. 162-65, 192-99, and 275-77.

³See the criticisms of Lozano's formalizations in Bolinger, "One Subjunctive or Two?" *Hispania*, 57 (September 1974), 462-71; Terrell and Hooper, p. 494, n. 3; and Klein, p. 46, n. 2. A reply to Bolinger's observations is given in Lozano, "In Defense of Two Subjunctives," *Hispania*, 58 (May 1975), 277-83. A counter-reply is presented in Bolinger, "Again—One or Two Subjunctives?" *Hispania*, 59 (March 1976), 41-49.

⁴See Bull, p. 192; Terrell and Hooper, p. 488; and especially Terrell and Mary Ellen García, "Is the Use of Mood in Spanish Subject to Variable Constraints?" (paper delivered at the Fifth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Lan-

guages, Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 1975).

⁵In addition to Terrell, Klein, and myself numerous other linguists also recognize a similar semantic distinction between the two modes. For example, see Marathon Montrose Ramsey, *A Textbook of Modern Spanish*, rev. Robert K. Spaulding (New York: Holt, 1956), p. 413; and Roger L. Hadlich, *A Transformational Grammar of Spanish* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 188. However, no linguist has previously formalized the distinction so as to explicitly show that all uses of the subjunctive convey the same single semantic concept.

⁶Si, followed by an indicative verb, has the meaning 'assuming that'; see Da Silva, p. 117, n. 2. Cf. Goldin, p. 298.

⁷Charles E. Kany, *American-Spanish Syntax*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 174-75. Note the erroneous claim made by Rivero: "un imperativo no puede constituir al mismo tiempo una interrogación" (p. 68).

⁸Among such exceptions are Klein, p. 110, and Hayward Keniston, *Spanish Syntax List* (New York: Holt, 1937), p. 168.

⁹The semantic feature [+reservation] has various other surface structure manifestations in addition to subjunctive verb forms. Other occurrences of [+reservation] are mentioned in the conclusion of this study.

¹⁰For the purpose of expository simplicity numerous details which are not directly related to the derivation of the subjunctive itself are omitted in the present study. Examples of such details include various transformational rules and all morphophonemic rules. Similarly, the T rules for deriving embedded infinitives (as in *Yo quiero cantar; Ella le deja acompañarme*; etc.) are not explained in this study since these rules are applied subsequent to the application of T subjunctive (and are described elsewhere; see Hadlich, pp. 162-68, and Lozano, "Subjunctives, Transformations . . .," pp. 78-80 and 88-89).

¹¹The use of the subjunctive after *ojalá* (as in *Ojalá regresen mañana*) is shown through transformational analysis to be a use of the subjunctive in a dependent clause (*Ojalá que regresen mañana* > *Ojalá regresen mañana*).

¹²For example, see Dalbor, pp. 422, 434, 455, 495-96, 546-47, 592-93, 615-16, and 718; and Lozano, "Subjunctives, Transformations . . .," pp. 81-83.

¹³"On Declarative Sentences," in *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum (Waltham, Mass.: Ginn, 1970), pp. 249 and 259.

¹⁴See Andrés Bello and Rufino J. Cuervo, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 7th ed. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1964), Sec. 466.

¹⁵Everett W. Hesse and Héctor H. Orjuela, *Spanish Conversational Review Grammar*, 3rd ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970), p. 218; and Da Silva, p. 125.

¹⁶See Lozano, "Subjunctives, Transformations . . .," pp. 85-90; and Robert P. Stockwell, J. Donald Bowen, and John W. Martin, *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish*, Contrastive Structure Series (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 254-62.

¹⁷Although *T performative deletion* is applied

in each of the derivations given in Section 4, for the sake of expository simplicity the application of this T rule is not exemplified in these derivations; see note 10.

¹⁸The feature [+res] can be selected for a [+noun] matrix only in the environment [+N]/(det) — S.

¹⁹Keniston, pp. 168-69. The feature [+res] can be selected for a superlative or an exclusive only when $\left\{ \begin{matrix} [sup] \\ [excl] \end{matrix} \right\} / (det) — N S$.

²⁰I am indebted to Thomasina C. Hannum and Enrique E. Lamadrid for judging the Spanish examples in this article and for their constructive criticisms of the study.

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