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ADVERBIAL CLAUSES INTRODUCED WITH ‘CUANDO’

JULEN CARRASCO OTEO

69 Pages

The meaning differences that the temporal-aspectual system and the indicative and subjunctive versions of sentences trigger in the Spanish language are the cornerstone of its semantic and syntactic possibilities. These possibilities increase if we take into account not only all the types of subordinate clauses that exist in Spanish, but also the number of Spanish-speaking communities spread around the globe. This synchronic corpus-based study of Spanish major varieties focuses on dependent adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’) in order to examine indicative and subjunctive mood distribution. Prescriptive standards tend to be too broad if they are applied to explain the opposition between indicative and subjunctive mood in every syntactic context (Real Academia Española, 2010). With respect to adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’, there is no hesitation about mood distribution in causal, concessive, and conditional clauses (Alarcos, 1994; Campos, 1993; Gili Gaya, 1943; Haverkate, 2002). However, there is an issue that involves a type of temporal clauses: forward shifted/future-framed events. Some studies claim that ‘cuando’ triggers subjunctive when it describes future-framed events (Fábregas, 2014; Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013), while others suggest that neither indicative nor subjunctive can be ascribed to future-framed events unequivocally (Haverkate, 2002; Hoff, 2019a, 2019b; Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014, 2018). As Haverkate (2002) and Lunn (1989) describe, mood distribution variability is not unique of spoken language. Furthermore, further research is needed on mood distribution in terms of geographic variation, age,

interpretation, and acceptability judgements (García & Terrell, 1977; Hoff, 2019a, 2019b; Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014, 2018; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019; Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013). Applying a categorization of Spanish major varieties (Muñoz-Basols, Moreno, Taboada, & Lacorte, 2017) and an analysis method used in a study similar to this one (Hoff, 2019a), the present study analyzes a corpus of journalistic Spanish arguing that the crosslinguistic inconsistencies of journalistic Spanish are related to pragmatic features of language that ultimately govern mood choice on the part of the writer (Dunlap, 2006). All the sentences were collected from one of the largest circulation newspapers edited in one of the countries that are part of each major variety. This study concludes that future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ overwhelmingly tend to trigger subjunctive in journalistic Spanish. These results match prescriptive accounts (Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013) and, as Haverkate (2002) claims, show a very low degree of epistemic commitment on the part of the writers. Since mood choice is sensitive to context and it has important social consequences for both the speaker and the hearer, this suggests that the languages like Modern Spanish that present subjunctive and indicative mood distinction tend to imprint the use of a consistent mood choice for future-framed adverbial clauses in journalistic language, which most likely can be extended to other genres of written language (Hoff, 2019a).

KEYWORDS: mood; indicative; subjunctive; cuando; future; Spanish

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES INTRODUCED WITH 'CUANDO'

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ADVERBIAL CLAUSES INTRODUCED WITH 'CUANDO'

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my family.

J. C. O.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the syntactic and semantic possibilities of the Spanish mood system as it pertains to indicative and subjunctive, with special attention to the big crosslinguistic variability within future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’) (Hoff, 2019b). However, before addressing this problem, it is important to explain what mood is and how does it play out in Modern Spanish.

Mood is one of the crucial morphosyntactic features of Modern Spanish. There are three moods: imperative, indicative, and subjunctive (Laca, 2010). Each of them is used to express the action of the verb in a different way. Prescriptive accounts characterize these three moods along the following lines: the imperative mood expresses demands and directive orders, the indicative mood expresses actions that qualify as real or specific, and the subjunctive mood expresses actions that qualify as unreal or nonspecific. With the exception of imperative, despite their usefulness, these descriptions (and many others, such as “certeza/incertidumbre, realidad/virtualidad o irrealidad, actualidad/no actualidad, compromiso del hablante con la veracidad de lo que afirma/ausencia de aserción”) tend to be too ample if they are applied to explain the opposition between indicative and subjunctive mood in every syntactic context (Real Academia Española, 2010, p. 473).

Regarding the particularities of imperative, although some imperative paradigms also correspond to subjunctive, imperative makes up its own mood (e.g. ‘*Tome asiento*’). As for the differences that distinguish imperative mood from indicative and subjunctive, the latter exhibit a set of simple and compound forms, while the former is only conjugated in the present tense, which is a simple form (Laca, 2010). Moreover, imperative does not appear in dependent clauses

because it ascribes the illocutionary force of a demand/directive order to the verb (e.g. ‘*Quiero que Pedro *sal* de mi casa’) (Real Academia Española, 2010).

With respect to indicative and subjunctive, the biggest problem that they entail arises from the fact that they appear both in independent and dependent clauses. As a consequence, there are sentences that completely change their meaning based on the mood choice of the dependent clause:

(1) ‘Busco a un alumno que *habla*-IND/*hable*-SUBJ español’.

In the constructed example (CE) above, the use of indicative mood indicates that the speaker is looking for a specific student that s/he knows beforehand that speaks Spanish. The use of subjunctive mood indicates that the speaker is looking for any student that speaks Spanish. In other words, indicative is used if the antecedent is known, whereas subjunctive is used if the antecedent is unknown.

Furthermore, the interpretation of indicative and subjunctive mood requires an excellent mastery of the relation between time and aspect (Lunn & DeCesaris, 1992). Tense, that is, preterite, preterite imperfect, present, future, and conditional, marks time. Regarding aspect, the simple preterite is the only tense that implicitly expresses the perfective aspect because the time of evaluation of the event morphologically indicated by the main verb and the time when the event occurs are the same (Laca, 2010). In all the rest of the cases, the four possible periphrastic verb combinations express aspect explicitly: immediate anteriority (*acabar de* + V-INF), perfect (*haber* + V-PP), progressive (*estar* + V-GER), prospective (*ir a* + V-INF) (Laca, 2010).

Although forward-shifted/future-framed predicates and copular sentences do not adhere to the following generalization at all times, before trying to understand any account of indicative and subjunctive mood distribution, one needs to bear in mind that subjunctive clauses are

temporally connected to the main clause. Thus, any form of the main verb in past tense triggers an imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive form in the subordinate clause, whereas any form of the main verb in non-past tense triggers present or perfect subjunctive (e.g. ‘Desea que vengan’ and ‘Deseaba que vinieran’, respectively) (Laca, 2010).

The meaning differences that the temporal-aspectual system and the indicative and subjunctive versions of sentences trigger in the Spanish language are the cornerstone of its semantic and syntactic possibilities. These possibilities increase if we take into account not only all the types of subordinate clauses that exist in Spanish, but also the number of Spanish-speaking communities spread around the globe. In this regard, Lunn remarks that “speakers structure discourse in culturally-determined ways, and they use mood choice — among other things — to achieve this structure.” (1989, p. 258).

Regarding adverbial clauses specifically, Hoff (2019a, 2019b), following Kaufmann (2002), was the first researcher to connect discourse analysis with the “presumption of settledness”, showing that the speaker uses indicative if s/he is specific and emphasizes through words that s/he is sure that an event is going to happen. This explanation brings forward two possible situations regarding future-framed adverbial clauses: the open and isolated context, and the closed context that is subject to discourse. The former situation is open ended as it pertains to mood selection (the meaning of the sentence will not be the same, though), whereas the latter has only one option because it is subject to discourse.

Having stated all this, the present study argues that, due to the different pragmatic backgrounds that different speakers inherit from their community of speakers, crosslinguistic mood choice variability in journalistic sources is also related to pragmatic features of language.

In point of fact, studies encourage scholars to do further research on the field in terms of geographic variation, age, interpretation, and acceptability judgments (García & Terrell, 1977; Hoff, 2019a, 2019b; Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014, 2018; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019; Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013). Furthermore, there are scholars who focused their analysis of Spanish mood distribution on journalistic sources, showing that the variability accounted by all these studies is not unique to oral speech (Dunlap, 2006; Haverkate, 2002; Lunn, 1989).

The current study is organized as follows. In the next chapter, I will review, first, previous general accounts of mood in Spanish and, second, the ones with respect to the relative adverb ‘cuando’ (‘when’). I will explain the complexity that entails accounting for the use of mood in general and in dependent adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’) under the notions of any approach. In chapter 3, I will expound the methodology applied to collect the sentences that constitute the corpus of this crosslinguistic study, and the approach used to analyze it. In chapter 4, I will present the results of the analysis of the corpus of this study following the order defined in the methodology. Then, I will compare and discuss these results to previous studies’. Finally, I will present the conclusions attained through the completion of this study.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Moods are expressions of modality because they represent morphologically grammaticalized alternative possible worlds (Laca, 2010; Real Academia Española, 2010). Notwithstanding, this definition falls short of explaining the contextual circumstances that semantically typify subjunctive mood as it mainly appears in dependent clauses. In Modern Spanish, subjunctive mood has been frequently explained in opposition to indicative mood since Bello's *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847). Although both terms are valid (indicative indicates a certain notion and subjunctive refers to syntactic subordination) and work for verb inflection categorizing purposes, they are vague when it comes to establishing the semantic differences that they ascribe to a sentence (Alarcos, 1994). Additionally, there are syntactic structures that trigger subjunctive mood, while, in these terms, indicative is the default mood. Bosque (2012) classifies these structures in two groups: lexical or functional structures, and polarity structures. The former includes nouns, adjectives, prepositions, subordinate conjunctions and adverbs (e.g. 'Es hora de que el niño se levante', while the latter includes any other structure that triggers subjunctive and without which the sentence would be ungrammatical (e.g. 'Solo tengo un libro que me sirva'). He also adds a third group in which subjunctive appears in matrix clauses, that is, there is no trigger. It includes subjunctive substituting imperative in directives (e.g. 'Pasen ustedes'), subjunctive expressing the meaning of two coordinated conditional clauses with opposite meanings (e.g. 'Quieras o no'), and subjunctive imperfect and pluperfect in certain sentences (e.g. 'Pudiera ser así', 'Hubieras venido antes').

Gili Gaya (1943) began to analyze mood selection in Spanish through the long-standing concept of (ir)realis opposition. Realis and irrealis are two grammatical categories that are

morphologically marked consistently in many languages around the globe, Spanish among them. These two abstract cognitive categories refer to events that actually occur and the ones that could possibly occur, respectively. Observe the verbal inflections in the complement clause of the following constructed examples (CE):

(2a) Haré como dices. ‘I will do as you say-IND’

(2b) Haré como digas. ‘I will do as you say-SUBJ’

The speaker of (2a) refers to something the hearer said before, which lays on the realis domain, whereas the speaker of (2b) refers to anything the hearer could possibly say, which lays on the irrealis domain. However, the rules that govern mood selection are much more complex. In their landmark book, Bybee et al. (1994) suggested that the (ir)realis approach frequently hobbles and sometimes even contradicts what is understood by the meaning of the categories themselves. In other words, native speakers (NS) frequently produce sentences that (ir)realis distinction cannot account for. For instance, in (3) the hearer has already realized the action of the subordinate verb, so the irrealis domain does not explain why subjunctive is used:

(3) Me alegro de que vengas. ‘I am glad that you come-SUBJ’ (CE)

Considering the semantic content of the (ir)realis distinction, Bybee et al. make the point that “mood does not index the truth value of a proposition in any abstract sense, but rather tells us the extent to which the speaker is willing to assert the truth of a proposition” (1994, p. 239). They emphasize the importance of the speaker and the actual meaning of utterances in context. Indeed, thinking along these lines, various scholars have suggested new approaches to analyze mood selection, all of whom include context as a defining feature. However, the meaning that each of them has assigned to context is nuanced in a different way. As Lunn notes, “syntactic

analyses of the subjunctive look at main-clause context, semantic analyses at whole-sentence context, and pragmatic analyses at discourse context” (Lunn, 1989, p. 250).

Terrell and Hooper (1974) were among the first to suggest that mood selection was related to semantic factors such as truth value, assertion, presupposition, and neither assertion nor presupposition. Taking the Kiparskys’ (1970) factive and non-factive processes of main clauses into consideration, they posed the hypothesis that “there are several basic attitudes that a speaker can adopt toward a proposition [in order to] govern the choice of verb form and the choice of matrix” (Terrell & Hooper, 1974, p. 485). Hence, Terrell and Hooper analyzed nominal clauses and classified speaker attitudes into six classes that they linked to indicative or subjunctive mood: assertion (IND), report (IND), mental act (IND), comment (mental state of emotion and value judgement) (SUBJ), doubt (SUBJ), and imperative (SUBJ). In that study they also acknowledged the ambiguity of some sentences that fall under different classes depending on their interpretation. They identified six pairs in relation to the previously mentioned classes, for instance, the ones that can be understood as either value judgments or imperatives, as in (4):

(4) Es importante que María no vaya ‘It is important that Mary not go-SUBJ’ (Terrell & Hooper, 1974, p. 491)

In some of these cases the speaker can dispel ambiguity through a precise use of verb tense time correlation, for instance, the ones that can be understood as either doubt or imperative, as in (5) and (6):

(5) Es imposible que regrese esta noche ‘It is impossible for him/her to return-SUBJ tonight’ (ambiguous) (Terrell & Hooper, 1974, p. 492)

(6) Es imposible que haya regresado esta noche ‘It is impossible that s/he returned-SUBJ tonight’ (doubt) (Terrell & Hooper, 1974, p. 492)

The flaws of this prescriptive analysis were broadly discussed over the ensuing years (Guitart, 1980, 1991; Klein, 1977). Terrell himself and García (1977, p. 214) were convinced that when it comes to Spanish mood selection “either the system of rules is different from the one suggested by Terrell and Hooper, but static, or the system is in a state of change in which case the rules relating the semantics and syntax of the two moods must be, at least in some part of the system, variable.” After surveying 195 Mexican and Mexican-American middle and highschool students on the classes that would presumably require subjunctive (comment, doubt, and imperative), they concluded that a) mood choice in Spanish is subject to variable constraints, b) there are trends of non-prescriptive uses of mood choice and verb tenses, and c) mood system is mainly static for Mexican speakers while Mexican-Americans are losing the mood contrast, or Mexican-Americans represent the most advanced trend of mood selection because their language use is not restrained by normative uses. Another empirical study with Puerto Rican students that lived in Rochester, NY, did not show a loss of mood contrast (Lantolf, 1978). It provides further evidence to claim that the rules that govern mood selection in Spanish are subject to considerable regional variation.

The finding of such variability led to a paradigm shift that Lunn (1989; 1992) and Mejías-Bikandi (1994, 1998, 2002) led. Both these authors pursued an approach which included pragmatic factors to explain mood selection. Lunn (1989) linked mood selection to the information value of clauses. Acknowledging the pragmatic role of the will of the speaker as a discourse organizer, he linked indicative to verbs in clauses of high information value (new information) and subjunctive to clauses of low information value (old information). Furthermore, subjunctive can also be used to mark potentially assertable but un-newsworthy information. Observe Lunn’s examples in (7) and (8):

(7) Aunque está forrado el tío, no me casaré con él. ‘Although the guy’s-IND loaded, I won’t marry him’ (Lunn, 1989, p. 255)

(8) Aunque esté forrado el tío, no me casaré con él. ‘Although the guy might turn out to be-SUBJ loaded, I won’t marry him’ or ‘So what if the guy’s-SUBJ loaded? I won’t marry him’ (Lunn, 1989, p. 256)

In (7) the speaker deems the information of the complement clause conveyed to the hearer of high relevance. The hearer was not aware of this information before. Thus, the verb is in indicative. In (8), although the sentence is ambiguous, the speaker always deems the information of the complement clause conveyed to the hearer of low relevance. The speaker does not mind whether the guy is loaded. The speaker will not marry him anyway, and s/he wants to make that clear to the hearer.

The promise of this non-prescriptive hypothesis encouraged Lunn and DeCesaris to use it to describe the linguistic logic that Spanish NSs apply when they choose indicative or subjunctive. They included this description in a book addressed to students of Spanish as a second language (Lunn & DeCesaris, 1992). They explained using this approach several details about mood selection that they separated in different sections. It is important to note that the vast majority of the examples that they provided are part of brief dialogues because, according to them, language always creates discourse. Isolated sentences do not represent real-life language uses:

(9) A: Escucha, tengo una noticia bomba. ‘Listen, I’ve got big news’

(10) B: Dime. ‘Tell me’

(11) A: Florinda se casa en abril. ‘Florinda is getting married-IND in April’

(12) B: ¡No me digas! Estoy encantado de que se case. ‘No way! I’m glad she’s getting married-SUBJ’ (Lunn & DeCesaris, 1992, p. 63)

Although both speakers are talking about the same thing, in (11) the verb is in indicative because new information is being added to the conversation. Speaker A deems this information of high relevance. However, in (12) the verb is in subjunctive because speaker B is already up to date.

Mejías-Bikandi (1994) offered a pragmatic account of Spanish mood selection based on previous work by Terrell and Hooper (1974). However, he defined assertion differently. First of all, following Fauconnier (2010), in order to visually explain the complexities that subordinate propositions entail, he created a diagram of an apparently simple proposition containing a nominal clause:

(13) R(s) [*Peter* R(x) [*believes that* P [*Susan is sick.*]]] (Mejías-Bikandi, 1994, p. 894)

R(s) represents speaker’s view of reality, R(x) represents Peter’s view of reality as the subject of the independent clause, and P represents the proposition of the dependent clause. To sum Mejías-Bikandi’s (1994) explanation up, regardless of the verb that the speaker uses to assert P, no speaker would assert P if this proposition does not belong to the speaker’s certainty space represented by R.

Mejías-Bikandi’s (1994) riddle-like theory successfully overcame the exceptions and difficulties that Terrell and Hooper’s approach didn’t. Sentences (14), (15) and (16) exemplify it:

(14) Pedro cree que Susana está enferma. ‘Peter believes that Susan is-IND sick’ (CE)

(15) Pedro no cree que Susana esté enferma. ‘Peter doesn’t believe that Susan is-SUBJ sick’ (CE)

(16) Pedro no cree que Susana está enferma. ‘Peter doesn’t believe that Susan is-IND sick’ (CE)

In (14) P is within R(x), triggering indicative. But in (15), P is not within R(x), triggering subjunctive. It is important to note that P is not within R(s) neither in (14) nor (15). P is within R(s) in (16) though, triggering indicative.

Mejías-Bikandi (1994) also praised Lunn’s pragmatic approach. He went so far as to affirm that an analysis that took into account both approaches would be able to explain mood selection in any given context. He made that argument because of flaws in both his and Lunn’s (1989) approach, when employed independently. Regarding Lunn’s generalization, in his view, it does not explain mood selection in the following cases:

(17) Pedro se ha dado cuenta de que tienes razón. ‘Pedro realized that you’re-IND right’ (Mejías-Bikandi, 1994, p. 896)

(18) Pedro se alegra de que tengas razón. ‘Pedro’s glad you’re-SUBJ right’ (Mejías-Bikandi, 1994, p. 896)

In the abstract continuum of relevance argued by Lunn (1989), the main verb of (17) can be considered more relevant than the main verb of (18), which may be the reason for triggering indicative in (17) but subjunctive in (18). The only problem to this argumentation is the size of the Spanish-speaking world. As Lunn highlighted, “Speakers structure discourse in culturally determined ways, and they use mood choice — among other things — to achieve this structure.” (1989, p. 258). So, it is most likely the case that Spanish-speakers that belong to different communities of speakers deem the relevance of the main verbs in (17) and (18) differently.

Regarding Mejías-Bikandi's (1994) generalization, it does not provide an explanation for the use of subjunctive in sentences that are complement of the noun 'hecho' ('fact'), where P falls within R(s) as well as within the hearer's reality, as in (19):

(19) El hecho de que llegaras tan tarde significa que no te importo. 'The fact that you were-SUBJ late means that you don't care about me' (Mejías-Bikandi, 1998, p. 946)

However, convinced of the reliability of his model, Mejías-Bikandi (1998) continued investigating problematic sentences, open contexts (contexts in Spanish where either the indicative or the subjunctive are possible), and the mood choices that operators such as 'tal vez', 'probablemente', 'alguno/a/os/as', 'poco/a/os/as', etc. entail. Other scholars (Lavandera, 1983; Lunn, 1989; Lunn & DeCesaris, 1992) had already pointed to discourse in the study of mood selection. Mejías-Bikandi was also aware of the crucial role of the flow of information among several mental domains in the representation of discourse. Thus, he resorted to an analysis that combines the pragmatic notions (relevant/new and irrelevant/old information) that they explained and his own generalizations in order to obtain the conditions to account for problematic sentences. In his own words, "a) matrices whose complement represents old information trigger the use of subjunctive in the complement, b) complements that refer to information that is not presented as true (for the speaker or the matrix subject) appear in the subjunctive, c) information that is pragmatically asserted appears in the indicative." (1998, p. 947). Still, there are exceptions to the rules when adverbs come into play:

(20) He cocinado antes porque tienes hambre. 'I've cooked earlier because you're-IND hungry' (CE)

In a context where both the speaker and the hearer know that the hearer is hungry, the subordinate clause is pragmatically presupposed. However, the verb appears in indicative.

Later on, following Lambrecht's work (1994) on Information Structure, Mejías-Bikandi (2002) considered the category of *activation*, according to which the information of the subordinate clause can be *active*, *semi-active*, or *inactive*. Lambrecht used these three adjectives to categorize concepts depending on where they were in relation to a person's consciousness at a particular moment. In order to understand how they function, it is important to understand the semantic relation that exists between main clauses and subordinate clauses. Mejías-Bikandi concluded that if a proposition is *active*, that is, is the focus of attention, indicative appears. In the remaining cases, the proposition will be *semi-active*, triggering subjunctive. Sentence (19) illustrates a semantic relation of causality, which places the focus of attention on the *active* proposition that triggers indicative. Once again, it is interesting to note that, although Lunn's (1989) approach to mood distribution based on a continuum of relevance can be deemed abstract, it is also so intuitive that it can provide the mood choice to be made in (19). The fact that the hearer is hungry can be considered of high relevance, otherwise the speaker would not have cooked anything. Thus, indicative appears.

By the early 21st century, there were two main trends of analysis of mood distribution. The first one is focused on the explanation of subjunctive mood using modal semantic approaches that interpret and categorize the discourse structures that produce mood choice (Farkas, 1992; Quer, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010). The second one is based on the prior but expands on it through consideration of cognitive accounts of mood distribution to explain problematic sentences (Gallego & Alonso-Marks, 2014; Haverkate, 2002; Hoff, 2019a; Langacker, 2008, 2009; Schwenter & Hoff, 2018; Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013). In an effort to synthesize the large number of studies in this area, Vesterinen and Bylund (2013, p. 181) provided a prototypical

distribution of subjunctive mood organized in the following seven categories: verbs of volition ('querer', 'desear', etc.), epistemic verbs ('dudar', 'negar', etc.), factive verbs ('lamentar', 'deplorar', etc.), causation verbs ('hacer', 'dejar', etc.), impersonal expressions ('es una pena', 'es triste', 'es imposible', etc.), relative clauses ('busco una persona', etc.), adverbial clauses ('antes de', 'después de', etc.). The labelling of a few of these categories derives from the terminology that some other researchers have previously used to hypothesize about mood distribution. Moreover, this categorization is subject to the affirmative or negative use of the verbs that belong to each of the categories. For example, 'creer' ('to believe') is supposed to categorically take indicative if used affirmatively, whereas it takes subjunctive if used negatively. It is important to note that this prototypical distribution is usually taught to novice and intermediate level L2 Spanish students since it is quite straightforward in essence and it can be sophisticated adding subcategories, exceptions and other approaches as students learn (Teixeira, 2015).

In spite of the general tendency of the structures that ascribe to any categories above to trigger subjunctive, numerous publications account for exceptions. Thus, the sentences to be considered problematic, as aforementioned, are the ones that, in spite of containing the structures that qualify them to match a fixed prototypical category (or more than one), accept indicatives for any reason to be analyzed, for instance, when negated or when an operator is added. The scholars that follow the first main trend tend to suggest the creation of subcategories (Bosque, 2012; Mejías-Bikandi, 2014)– leading to long lists of structures – in order to more clearly define the structures that apply to each of them. The following sentences show some of these exceptions:

(21a) Dudo que Juan venga a la fiesta ‘I doubt that Juan will come-SUBJ to the party’
(Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013, p. 181)

(21b) No dudo que Juan viene a la fiesta ‘I don’t doubt that Juan will come-IND to the party’ (CE)

(21c) No dudo que Juan venga a la fiesta ‘I don’t doubt that Juan will come-SUBJ to the party’ (CE)

(22a) Busco una persona que hable español ‘I’m looking for a person who speaks-SUBJ Spanish’ (CE)

(22b) Busco una persona que habla español ‘I’m looking for a person who speaks-IND Spanish’ (CE)

Thereby, (21) and (22) represent prototypical uses of the subjunctive in the categories of epistemic verbs and relative clauses, respectively. However, when (21a) is negated (21b) and (21c) are perfectly possible and represent standard uses of Spanish mood system. The semantic differences lay on the level of commitment on the part of the speaker towards the information of the complement clause. Native Spanish speakers would generally consider (21a) as the one that conveys the least commitment. Difficulties appear when native Spanish speakers try to distinguish the level of commitment conveyed in (21b) and (21c). NS of Spanish tend to use ‘IR-SUBJ + INF’ (‘No dudo que Juan vaya a venir a la fiesta’) instead. Different approaches provide different accounts to explain the difference that semantically separates them. Regarding (22a) and (22b), the semantic difference lays on the antecedent, that is, ‘a person who speaks Spanish’. Whereas (22a) indicates that the antecedent is unknown, (22b) indicates that the antecedent is known.

Among the current cognitive approaches to the analysis of the mood selection, Vesterinen and Bylund's (2013), which is a revision and extension of Maldonado's (1995), is prominent. According to them, thanks to tense, subjunctive not only conceptualizes speaker's projection of past events, but also present and future events. In Vesterinen and Bylund's view, the subjunctive mood designates events that are located outside the speaker's – in Maldonado's words, conceptualizer's – epistemic dominion or outside the dominion of effective control, while indicative mood designates the events within, as illustrated in (23):

(23a) Quise que fueras al mercado. 'I wanted you to go-SUBJ to the market' (CE)

(23b) Quiero que vayas al mercado. 'I want you to go-SUBJ to the market' (CE)

(23c) Querré que vayas al mercado. 'I'll want you to go-SUBJ to the market' (CE)

In the sentences shown in (23) the event of the complement clause is outside the speaker's dominion of effective control, that is, the main clause represents speaker's conceptualization of inducing the hearer go to the market, yet it is up to the hearer whether to go. Additionally, the tenses of the verbs in the main clauses of (23) correspond to simple past, present, and future, respectively.

However, again, adding arguments against Vesterinen and Bylund's categorization above, the linguistic variability of the Spanish-speaking world is such that the affirmation of the epistemic verb 'creer' ('to believe'), for instance, does not always trigger indicative, regardless of its categorization; this synchronic mood variation is really prominent in Argentina, followed by Mexico and Spain (Gallego & Alonso-Marks, 2014; Hoff, 2019a; Schwenter & Hoff, 2018). It is important to note that most of the synchronic research on mood variation belong to these varieties. Schwenter and Hoff (2018) illustrate the case through the following synchronic examples from Spain and Mexico:

(24) ¿Crees que se puede ridiculizar así sin más la visión de los hombres tradicionales?

(Spain) ‘Do you think you can-IND just ridicule the view of traditional men like that?’

(Schwenter & Hoff, 2018, p. 2)

(25) ¿Cómo crees que esto pueda cambiar actitudes o generar cambios? (Mexico) ‘How do you think this can-SUBJ change attitudes or create changes?’ (Schwenter & Hoff, 2018, p. 2)

Given that (24) and (25) are affirmative and contain in both matrices an epistemic verb like ‘creer’ (‘to believe’), prescriptive grammars and textbooks suggest the use of indicative in the subordinate clause. However, (25) does not follow prescriptive accounts. Through the results, Schwenter and Hoff realized that in some specific and infrequent cases among all of the ones that they analyzed, mood choice was a consequence of epistemic certainty or other similar notions. In other words, speakers choose indicative over subjunctive to show a higher degree of certainty towards the statement being made, and vice versa. Thus, the speaker of (25) is showing through the selection of subjunctive mood that whatever s/he refers to as ‘esto’ (‘this’) may not be able to ‘cambiar actitudes o generar cambios’ (‘change attitudes or create changes’). S/he is showing a degree of conviction. In the rest of the cases presented by Schwenter and Hoff, polarity structures and operators, as already mentioned by Bosque (2012) and clarified after the presentation of Vesterinen and Bylund’s (2013) seven categories, were the reason for mood choice variation. In order to exemplify this, Schwenter and Hoff used the verb ‘dudar’ (‘to hesitate’), which in Peninsular Spanish almost always takes subjunctive both in negative and affirmative sentences but is subject to mood variation specifically in negative sentences in Argentina and Mexico.

As a consequence of their research, Schwenter and Hoff (2018) deem polarity as a promising area for future research. They also recognize that the rules that synchronically govern mood distribution across varieties are very similar even if there are minor differences.

Notwithstanding, these differences across varieties related to the extent that a verbal matrix triggers subjunctive or not are relevant to the purpose of the current study. Hoff's (Hoff, 2019a, 2019b) research on these differences is reviewed in the next section so that their scope is better and more suitably explained along with related pieces of research.

To conclude, going back to the explanation of the sentences of (23), there are many other tenses that morphologically specify time, offering an array of combinations that temporally conceptualize events through subjunctive in complement clauses. This tense-mood obligatory connection between main and subordinate clauses of Spanish can get even more complex due to the addition of adverbial clauses. Now that all the theoretical background necessary to understand how adverbial clauses function inside all this mood distribution linguistic puzzle has been presented, the following section reviews the broad existing literature about adverbial clauses introduced with 'cuando' ('when') and expounds the generalizations that different scholars have attained analyzing them.

Adverbial Clauses Introduced with 'Cuando'

Gili Gaya (1943) created the first categorization of 'cuando' in temporal clauses in terms of 'simultaneidad' ('simultaneity'), 'anterioridad inmediata' ('immediate anteriority'), and 'sucesión inmediata' ('immediate succession'). As Havu (1996) claims too, in order to correctly interpret the sentence, one has to pay attention to temporal framing because the temporal connection between main and subordinate verbs is expressed through their tense. The sentences of (26) illustrate this remark. Take into account that numerous tense combinations are possible and not all of them are reflected in the following examples. However, all of them have to represent either simultaneity, immediate anteriority, or immediate succession:

(26a) Cuando entró llovía. 'When s/he came-IND in it was raining' (simultaneity) (CE)

(26b) Cuando hubo entrado llovió. ‘When s/he had come-IND in it rained’ (immediate anteriority) (CE)

(26c) Cuando entre lloverá. ‘When s/he comes-SUBJ in it was raining’ (immediate succession) (CE)

According to Gili Gaya, an almost causal semantic value can also be sometimes ascribed to ‘cuando’:

(27) No puedes quejarte cuando todos te alaban. ‘You can’t complain when everyone praises-IND you’ (Gili Gaya, 1943, p. 314)

Less commonly, ‘cuando’ can be used in conditional clauses with the semantic value of ‘si’ (‘if’):

(28) Cuando usted lo dice, será cierto. ‘If you say-IND it, it must be true’ (Gili Gaya, 1943, p. 322)

However, NS of Spanish do not tend to infer the conditional semantic value of (28). The strong semantic link that exists between ‘cuando’ and its temporal semantic value brings to most NSs’ mind the following options:

(29a) Cuando usted lo dice, es cierto. ‘When you say it-IND, it is true’ (CE)

(29b) Cuando usted lo diga, será cierto. ‘When you say it-SUBJ, it will be true’ (CE)

In sentence (29a) the speaker states that every single time that the hearer says whatever it is that they are talking about, it is true. No matter when the hearer says it. By contrast, in sentence (29b), the speaker states that whatever it is that they are talking about will only be true when hearer says it. Subjunctive mood in the complement clause refers to the fact that, in the speaker’s view of reality, the hearer has not said whatever it is that they are talking about yet. This is the reason why the impersonal construction of the main clause is future-framed.

Alarcos (1994) and Laca (2010) join Gili Gaya's categorization of temporal clauses introduced with 'cuando' (simultaneity, immediate anteriority, and immediate succession), and give account of its mood distribution: if the main verb refers to a future prospect, the subordinate verb will be in subjunctive. Montrul (2009) agrees with their point about subjunctive, and she also distinguishes indicative for habitual events and subjunctive for conditional events. But going back to subjunctive in future-framed events, they do not refer specifically to the verb tense, but to the temporal setting of the event of the main clause. Observe (26c) and (29b) above, and compare them with the following forward shifted temporal clause, where the main verb is conjugated in present:

(30) Cuando llegue, se lo decimos. 'When s/he arrives-SUBJ, we'll tell him/her' (CE)

Campos (1993) provides another categorization. According to him, 'cuando' indicates simultaneity and posteriority as represented in (31) and (32), respectively:

(31) Lloraba cuando estaba triste. 'S/he cried when s/he was-IND sad' (Campos, 1993, p. 150)

(32) Encontró un excelente trabajo cuando acabó su carrera. 'She found an excellent job when s/he finished-IND her/his degree' (Campos, 1993, p. 151)

With respect to simultaneity, he explains mood distribution using the feature [\pm experience]:

(31) Lloraba cuando estaba triste. 'S/he cried when s/he was-IND sad' [+ experience]
(Campos, 1993, p. 151)

(33) Llorará cuando esté triste. 'S/he'll cry when s/he's-SUBJ sad' [- experience]
(Campos, 1993, p. 151)

Campos (1993) highlighted that speakers tend to add certain adverbial expressions in order to emphasize the anteriority of the main clause. Thus, in sentences like the following in (34), ‘cuando’ indicates that the complement clause occurred after the main clause:

(34) (Apenas) se había divorciado cuando se volvió a casar. ‘S/he had (just) get divorced when s/he got-IND married again’ (Campos, 1993, p. 153)

Campos also includes ‘cuando’ among the conjunctions that introduce concessive clauses. These clauses express a difficulty for the completion of the main clause, yet the main clause is fulfilled. He claims that the concessive ‘cuando’ is always followed by indicative:

(35) Me devolvió 50 dólares, cuando yo le había prestado 100. ‘S/he returned me 50 dollars when s/he borrowed-IND 100 from me’ (Campos, 1993, p. 170)

More recently, Haverkate (2002) argued that ‘cuando’ is mainly used to specify the temporal setting of a main clause in three different ways: a) the subordinate clause locates the event of the main clause in a certain period or at a certain point in time, b) the subordinate clause marks the beginning of the event of the main clause, and c) the subordinate clause marks the completion point of the event of the main clause. These categories describe the three possible situations in linguistic terms, but in the end, they respectively correspond to simultaneity, immediate anteriority, and immediate succession, as classified by prior scholars.

Regarding mood distribution, Haverkate (2002) linked indicative to factual and nonfactual clauses regardless of the iterative or simultaneous aspect of the sentence. He also made an important distinction in opposition to Alarcos’s (1994) and Laca’s (2010) account. Haverkate (2002) stated that forward shifted ‘cuando’ temporal clauses do not necessarily trigger subjunctive, as in (36):

(36) Pero también constituye un experimento para un futuro no muy lejano cuando el enemigo de ayer, el imperio soviético, en decadencia, se convertirá en la nueva Rusia que deberá formar parte de la Europa del futuro ‘But it is also an experiment for the near future when the enemy of yesterday, the Soviet empire, fallen into decline, will-IND become the new Russia that must form part of Europe in the future’ (Haverkate, 2002, p. 142)

Although the main clause in (36) explicitly refers to the future, the subordinate verb of the temporal complement clause is in indicative because the writer of this sentence wants to convey his confidence towards the event of the temporal clause coming true. There are similar examples in journalistic Spanish because, due to all the information that journalists have to convey through their writing, they need to keep track of the relevance of the elements and events that they mention, both for themselves and for their readers; mood selection is one of the linguistic resources at their disposal to solve this communicative problem (Lunn, 1989). Moreover, sometimes NSs also take advantage of this distinction in spoken language:

(37a) Cuando llegues, avísame. ‘When you arrive-SUBJ, let me know’ (CE)

(37b) Cuando llegas, avísame. ‘When you arrive-IND, let me know’ (CE)

Sentence (35b) conveys more certainty on the part of the speaker towards the event of the temporal clause occurring than (35a).

Schwenter and Hoff (2019), following Kaufmann’s (2002) research on conditionals, name “presumption of settledness” the morphologically marked semantic distinction of future-framed propositions like (35). Resorting to Kaufmann’s definition with this regard, a dependent proposition “is ‘presumed settled’ if the speaker’s uncertainty as to its truth is only subjective” (2002, p. 10). These words can be applied to define the dependent clause of (37b) because ‘llegas’ does not only represent speaker’s knowledge about the indecipherable future, it

represents speaker's desires, beliefs, and assumptions too (Schwenter & Hoff, 2019). Hoff (2019b) (his studies to this respect are presented a little further below) realized about this fact when studying indicative mood in isolation in an array of Romance languages (Italian, Argentinian Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and French), because, at least in written language, indicative is prescribed for future-framed but immediately occurring events (e.g. (37b)), while subjunctive is prescribed for future-framed but distantly occurring events (e.g. (37a)). In the end, the speakers of those languages use these grammatical nuances with the intention of solving communicative necessities.

Among all the conjunctions that introduce temporal clauses, 'cuando' ('when') occurs the most frequently due to its semantic flexibility. For instance, this particularity can be demonstrated through the semantic linkage that exists between 'cuando' and 'si' ('if') in conditional clauses. NSs do not always correctly interpret in context the lexical distinction between 'si' and 'cuando'. Haverkate explains it in the following words: "the meaning of 'si' is conditional, its presupposition is temporal; the meaning of 'cuando' is temporal, its presupposition is conditional." (2002, p. 180). As a consequence, they almost always are not interchangeable. In the situations that they are, prescriptively speaking, if the writer/speaker wants the reader/hearer to focus on the conditional link between clauses, s/he tends to choose 'si'; whereas if s/he wants the reader/hearer to focus on the cause-effect relation between clauses that is supposed to come into existence, s/he tends to choose 'cuando'. In practice, it is not as simple as that – above all, when the events described are marked by the iterative aspect (Haverkate, 2002):

(38) Si (Cuando) hacía calor, íbamos al campo. 'If (When) it was hot, we went to the countryside' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 181)

Nevertheless, in Spanish, it is very unlikely that a NS would replace ‘si’ for ‘cuando’ when the conditional clause requires subjunctive:

(39a) Si vinieras a mi casa, prepararía comida. ‘If you came-SUBJ to my home, I would prepare food’ (CE)

(39b) *Cuando vinieras a mi casa, prepararía comida. ‘*When you came-SUBJ to my home, I would prepare food’ (CE)

Haverkate’s analysis of mood distribution in adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ has been very influential in related studies. The triple scope (syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic) that he uses shows major generalizations without leaving aside the role of other language features in mood distribution.

Vesterinen and Bylund (2013), using a cognitive account of Spanish mood distribution that was explained in the first chapter of this study, argued that clauses that are generally related to the epistemic domain are the temporal, causal, and concessive ones. By contrast, condition, purpose, and manner clauses generally correspond to the domain of effective control. Thus, ‘cuando’ triggers indicative when it describes past and habitual events, whereas future projection triggers subjunctive. Although in recent times they are not the only scholars that have supported this generalization about subjunctive in temporal clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ – see Fábregas (2014) – there are other studies that have provided evidence to support the argument that future-framed events do not always trigger subjunctive.

Kanwit and Geeslin (2018), for example, state that recent sociolinguistic research has encountered mood variation both in habitual and future occurring events. They sum their point up affirming that across Spanish varieties, including small communities of speakers, mood

variability exists with respect to adverbial clauses; most of the time, events that one would assume as subjunctive-triggering because they have not yet occurred, actually trigger indicative.

In spite of the aforementioned categorizations and generalizations, Kanwit and Geeslin (2014) demonstrated that NSs from different Spanish-speaking regions interpret subjunctive and indicative in adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ in different ways. Still, since their analysis was focused on sentence-level, they realized that a broader analysis focused on discourse-level might shed light on the question in the future (Kanwit & Geeslin, 2018). In fact, NSs do not only take advantage of the mood of the subordinate verb in order to interpret the sentence, but also clause order (highlighting the relevance of syntax for interpretation), other adverbs in the sentence, and the main verb. Also, speakers create pragmatic and semantic connections that make them feel part of a community of speakers. Since speakers organize discourse in ways in which it can be related to speech patterns of other speakers of their community, it must be the case that they use mood selection to organize discourse (Lunn, 1989). Consequently, discourse analysis, indeed, is relevant.

Recently, Hoff (2019a, 2019b) was the first researcher to connect discourse analysis with the aforementioned “presumption of settledness”, showing that the speaker uses indicative if s/he is specific and emphasizes through words that s/he is sure that an event is going to happen. This explanation puts on display two possible situations regarding future-framed adverbial clauses: the open and isolated context, and the closed context that is subject to discourse. The former situation is presented in (37), while the latter is presented in Hoff’s (2019b, p. 3) constructed examples:

(40) Estoy a una cuadra de mi casa. En dos minutos estoy en la puerta. Cuando llego, te escribo. ‘I’m a block from my house. In two minutes I’ll be at my door. When I get-IND there, I’ll text you.’

(41) Algún día quiero ir a EE. UU., pero es caro y no sé si voy a poder. Cuando vaya, me tenés que acompañar. ‘Some day I want to go to the US, but it’s expensive and I don’t know if I’ll be able to. When I go-SUBJ, you have to come with me.’

The assertiveness and factuality of the initial two sentences of (40) make it clear for the speaker that event of the dependent clause of the last sentence in that example is assured. Thus, indicative is used. By contrast, the first sentence of (41) shows hesitation and unlikelihood. It includes ‘algún día’ (‘some day’), ‘pero’ (‘but’), ‘no sé si’ (‘I don’t know if’); expressions that lack assertiveness. Therefore, the speaker is not sure that the last sentence is going to occur, and subjunctive is used in its dependent clause.

Hoff (2019a) published a study presenting the acceptability rate of indicative by porteño Spanish speakers in future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’). To do so, he organizes all the contexts that may accept indicative use within future-framed adverbial clauses in 5 categories: a) temporal distance, b) temporal specificity, c) expressions of certainty, d) assumption of typical circumstances, and e) future-oriented habituals. Temporal distance is defined as “the span of time between the moment of utterance and the (expected) realization of the action or event described”; temporal specificity is defined as “the temporal restrictions placed upon the action”; expressions of certainty is defined as “the explicit expressions of certainty or uncertainty” used to “communicate speakers’ higher or lower epistemic commitment to the realization of an event”; assumptions of typical circumstances is defined as the “high levels of epistemic commitment to an event's occurrence due to speakers’ assumptions and world

knowledge”; and, lastly, future-oriented habituals is defined as the use of indicative “in cases of present habituals which extend into or are oriented toward the future” (Hoff, 2019a, pp. 102–105). The following sentences represent constructed examples of each of these categories, respectively. Take into account that discourse context (between brackets) plays an important role in the task of assigning a category to each of the sentences:

(42) Te aviso cuando llego. ‘I’ll let you know when I arrive-IND’ [Juan is taking the bus home while waving at his girlfriend to say goodbye. He knows that his girlfriend always worries about him getting home when it’s late. Once the bus leaves, Juan sends her a message.] (CE)

(43) Estoy viendo una serie. Cuando termino este capítulo, te ayudo. ‘I’m watching a series. When I finish-IND this episode, I’ll help you.’ [A friend of his asks Juan for help on an assignment due the following day. Juan is watching his favorite series and doesn't want to be interrupted.] (CE)

(44) El próximo viernes tengo que ir a la universidad sin falta. Cuando voy, te doy los apuntes. ‘Next Friday, I have to go to the university no matter what. When I go-IND, I’ll give you the notes’ [Juan graduated recently, and he has to go to the university to get his diploma next Friday. A friend of his asks Juan for his notes of a course that Juan already passed.] (CE)

(45) Cuando cumpla 18, me voy de casa. ‘When I turn-IND 18, I’m leaving home’ [Juan is complaining about his parents to his friends. Juan is currently 17, so everyone assumes that he is going to live to see adulthood.] (CE)

(46) Mañana cuando salgo del trabajo, me voy al gimnasio. ‘Tomorrow when I leave-IND work, I’m going to the gym.’ [A friend of his asks Juan what is he going to do tomorrow after work. Juan always goes to the gym after work.] (CE)

In this study, Hoff (2019a) argues that mood distribution is related to the semantic-pragmatic principle of epistemic commitment because when somebody talks about the future s/he always takes into account what s/he expects of this future. Hoff argues that a high degree of epistemic commitment towards the realization of an event expressed on the part of a speaker is what triggers indicative. However, he acknowledges that for some NS of Spanish the use of subjunctive does not necessarily convey less likeliness towards the realization of the event expressed. In fact, subjunctive can be used in a discourse context that conveys a high degree of epistemic commitment, that is, assertiveness (Hoff, 2019a, p. 101):

(47) Te aviso cuando llegue – y estoy absolutamente seguro/a de que voy a llegar. ‘I’ll let you know when I get-SUBJ there – and I’m absolutely sure that I’m going to get there.’

Hoff concludes that there are several socio-pragmatic factors (the 5 categories above and the pragmatic notion of epistemic commitment) that impact mood distribution as it pertains to future-frame adverbial clause introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’). Thus, although the use of indicative mood may not adhere to prescriptive accounts, this study shows that some specific rules govern its use. Moreover, Hoff’s (2019a) study shows that speakers generally use indicative when the future-framed event is proximate, certain, and expressed as having temporal restrictions. However, as it has already been explained, this use is not going to be acceptable for every single speaker. Even NSs of the same community contradict and correct each other, demonstrating that the meaning and use of this pragma-linguistic feature is evolving and yet to be established (Hoff, 2019a).

To sum up, as previous studies both on spoken and written Spanish have demonstrated (Haverkate, 2002; Hoff, 2019a, 2019b; Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014, 2018), the easiest generalization to refute about adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ is the general assumption of adverbial

clauses indicating information that had not yet occurred being categorically linked to subjunctive. Some of the studies presented in this and prior paragraphs encourage scholars to do further research on the field in terms of geographic variation, age, interpretation, and acceptability judgments (García & Terrell, 1977; Hoff, 2019a, 2019b; Kanwit & Geeslin, 2014, 2018; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019; Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013). Additionally, there are scholars who focused their analysis of Spanish mood distribution on journalistic sources, showing that the variability accounted by all these studies is not unique to oral speech (Dunlap, 2006; Haverkate, 2002; Lunn, 1989).

Thus, the current study focuses on journalistic Spanish in order to argue that its crosslinguistic inconsistencies are also related to pragmatic features of language that ultimately govern mood choice on the part of the speaker or, more precisely, writer. In this sense, in regard to adverbial clauses (Hoff considers them a lesser-studied syntactic environment compared to nominal and adjectival clauses), Hoff and Schwenter's (Hoff, 2019b; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019) crosslinguistic studies on future-framed propositions begin to fill a gap in existing knowledge. Gallego and Alonso-Marks (2014) and Quer (2009, 2010) have also been carrying out crosslinguistic research on subjunctive and indicative mood variation in recent years. It is important to note that most of the synchronic research on mood variation belong to the Argentinian, Mexican, and Peninsular Spanish varieties (Gallego & Alonso-Marks, 2014; Hoff, 2019b; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019). The lack of more and more comprehensive crosslinguistic analyses hampers proving if the most recent accounts of adverbial clauses introduced with 'cuando' can be generalized.

Regarding Spanish mood distribution analysis in terms of relevance, since Spanish is a language spoken by people from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, it would be very strange

indeed if there were only one set of conventions defining relevance in the Spanish-speaking world. According to Lunn (1989), investigating how the considerations of relevance of different communities of speakers affect different uses of subjunctive would be an important contribution to this topic. Regarding Spanish mood distribution analysis in terms of assertion and presupposition, García and Terrell (1977) claimed that the purely linguistic factors that impact mood distribution tend to be related to other biographical data, such as, geographic area of residence, socio-economic level, and stylistic range. Both of these statements support the fact that pragmatic factors vary from place to place even inside the same language community. If, as Bybee (2006) stated, humans create a cognitive representation (i.e., a grammar) out of the categorization of the language events they experience, that abstract representation probably impacts the use and interpretation of Spanish mood in adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’. Hence, the differences among varieties to be studied.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

In the absence of a genuine sorting of the major Spanish varieties, this study applies an adaptation of a recent sorting by Muñoz-Basols et al. (2017), from which only US Spanish is disregarded because it is not an official language of the United States of America. Thus, this study takes into account the following major varieties: Castilian, Andalusian, Canarian, Caribbean, Mexican-Central American, Andean, Southern, and Chilean.

As in prior similar studies (Haverkate, 2002; Lunn, 1989), large circulation newspapers, that is, sources of journalistic Spanish of full reliability, are selected to make up the corpus of this study. The corpus consists of 40 sentences (5 for each major variety) containing at least a future-framed adverbial clause introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’) which belong to journalistic articles published from 2015 to 2020 (see Appendix A). All the sentences were collected using the electronic database LexisNexis, except for the ones that correspond to the Canarian variety, which were collected using the search engine that the website of the selected newspaper place at the disposal of any readers. Besides, all the sentences were collected from one of the largest circulation newspapers edited in one of the countries that are part of each major variety. Each of these countries represents all of the rest that are part of the same major variety because, according to Muñoz-Basols et al. (2017), none of the smaller varieties inside each of the major varieties have distinctive morphosyntactic features related to indicative/subjunctive mood distribution. The following list includes the newspapers and places of publication sorted by Spanish major variety:

Castilian: El País (Madrid, Spain)

Andalusian: Sur (Málaga, Spain)

Canarian: Canarias 7 (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain)

Caribbean: El Nuevo Día (Guaynabo, Puerto Rico)

Mexican-Central American: El Universal (Ciudad de México, México)

Andean: El Comercio (Quito, Ecuador)

Southern: Clarín (Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Chilean: El Mercurio (Santiago de Chile, Chile)

As it has been argued in the previous chapter, with respect to the analysis of both future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ and general mood distribution in Spanish, discourse context plays an important role. Thus, following Hoff (2019a), this qualitative study analyzes the corpus relying on the pragmatic notion of epistemic commitment while labelling the future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ in 5 categories taking their discourse context into account: temporal distance, temporal specificity, expressions of certainty, assumption of typical circumstances, and future-oriented habituals. Hoff’s (2019a) definition of each of these categories and the specific linguistic features that correspond to each of them are considered for the analysis together with the pragmatic notion of epistemic commitment.

CHAPTER IV: CORPUS ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of this corpus of 40 sentences (5 per variety) future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ (‘when’) (see Appendix A) follows the pragmatic notion of epistemic commitment (Hoff, 2019a). The order of the major Spanish varieties is arbitrary: Castilian, Andalusian, Canarian, Caribbean, Mexican-Central American, Andean, Southern, Chilean (Muñoz-Basols et al., 2017, p. 337). Following that order, the 5 sentences that correspond to each variety will be presented. The last sentence of each variety is the most recent one.

As it has been explained above, this analysis of the corpus begins with Castilian Spanish. In (48) ‘cuando’ is followed by a specific date, ‘mañana’ (‘tomorrow’), which means that the sentence expresses temporal specificity. However, since a ballot cannot be readily temporally delimited the writer chose subjunctive.

(48) Los miembros del Gobierno multiplicaron los llamamientos a ERC para que no provoque su primera gran derrota parlamentaria [cuando] mañana se vote-SUBJ el objetivo de déficit.

In (49), since there is nothing that expresses when exactly ‘primarias’ (‘primaries’) are going to be held, the sentence expresses temporal distance. This sentence focuses on “the span of time between the moment of utterance and the (expected) realization of the action or event described.” (Hoff, 2019a, p. 102). The writer specifies that the primaries will only be real (‘será real’) when they begin, showing lack of epistemic commitment. Thus, the writer uses subjunctive.

(49) El mejor situado para liderar esa candidatura es Jordi Puigneró, consejero de Políticas Digitales y Administración Públicas, pero el PDeCAT ya ha recordado que el candidato deberá ser elegido en un proceso de primaries. Y [cuando] se abra-SUBJ será real, porque se da

por hecho que también se presentarán los consejeros Damià Calvet (Territorio y Sostenibilidad) y Àngels Chacón (Empresa y Conocimiento).

In (50), in spite of the very specific date, indicating that the sentence expresses temporal specificity, the writer uses subjunctive. Also, there is no expression in the sentence that shows uncertainty on the part of the writer.

(50) Luis Gallego, el actual presidente de Iberia, no lo va a tener fácil [cuando] sustituya-SUBJ el próximo 26 de marzo a Willie Walsh al frente de IAG. El pánico a volar por el miedo al contagio al coronavirus le está pasando factura.

In (51) and (52) both sentences express temporal distance and they are contextualized during the time when the covid-19 outbreak began. Thus, since it is hard to tell when a quarantine situation is going to end, the writer uses subjunctive to express lack of epistemic commitment towards the realization of their future-framed utterances.

(51) Tendremos todas las emociones a la carta y podremos desconectar de ellas [cuando] queramos-SUBJ.

(52) [Cuando] todo esto acabe-SUBJ, llenaremos las plazas y correremos campo a través hasta que nos duelan las piernas.

Sentences (53) and (54), to begin with the Andalusian variety, express temporal distance. None of them express in any way temporal proximity or immediacy of the event of the utterance. Furthermore, (54) presents a situation whose timing may vary depending on different situations. Thus, the writer uses subjunctive.

(53) La elección de los senadores autonómicos, sin fecha; Griñán y Mar Moreno perderán su condición de aforados [cuando] el Parlamento nombre-SUBJ a sus nuevos representantes en la Cámara Alta.

(54) En cualquier caso, la situación de los aforados puede variar también en función de lo que suceda a partir de la próxima semana, cuando comenzarán a prestar declaración ante el magistrado. Si fueran formalmente imputados, la presidenta ha anunciado que les pedirá que dejen sus puestos, aunque queda por saber si tal condición se cumpliría [cuando] Barreiro pase-SUBJ el caso a la sala, [cuando] ésta pida-SUBJ el suplicatorio a las cámaras o [cuando] éstas lo concedan-SUBJ.

In (55), there is a slightly specific date, which indicates that the sentence expresses time specificity. However, the writer uses subjunctive due to the time span that this date comprises (a year) and the fact that the realization of the future-framed action cannot be confirmed.

(55) Taleb sí que sabe; El secretario general de la Organización Mundial del Turismo se vendrá a vivir a su casa de la Costa del Sol [cuando] abandone-SUBJ su cargo, en 2018.

Sentence (56) expresses temporal distance. There is a key word that conveys uncertainty: ‘prevista’ (‘foreseen’). In addition, the uncertainty that people tend to link to economy, even more when talking about the future, makes subjunctive more likely to appear. Indeed, that is the mood that the writer chooses.

(56) El Gobierno no cede y las pensiones perderán poder adquisitivo en 2017; Subirán un 0,25% frente al 1,4% de inflación prevista y Hacienda adelanta que emitirá deuda [cuando] el Fondo de Reserva se agote-SUBJ.

Sentence (57) expresses temporal distance. The writer uses subjunctive due to the unlikelihood expressed. The writer refers to an improvement that will only happen if some complicated conditions are fulfilled.

(57) Esto irá a mejor [cuando] su voz y sus demandas estén-SUBJ tan impregnadas en la sociedad que sobren intermediarios.

Regarding the Canarian variety, sentence (58) expresses temporal distance. The uncertainty that conveys the clause ‘que aún no se tiene’ (‘that one doesn’t have yet’) and the lack of temporal proximity trigger subjunctive.

(58) Cuestionado sobre qué pasaría si se confirma esta hipótesis, Morales señaló que será la Fiscalía, [cuando] se presente-SUBJ el informe definitivo que aún no se tiene, la que inicie el procedimiento para exigir responsabilidades.

Sentence (59) expresses temporal specificity because it includes the date ‘este fin de semana’ (‘this weekend’). However, due to the fact that the games have not even began yet, it is complicated to assert the realization of the action. Additionally, the date is not very specific. Thus, the writer uses subjunctive.

(59) Los árbitros de Canarias paralizarán este fin de semana durante un minuto sus partidos [cuando] hayan-SUBJ transcurrido cinco de juego como acto de protesta contra la violencia en los campos de fútbol, en una medida que se repetirá en todos los encuentros de ámbito autonómico programados en las islas.

Sentence (60) expresses temporal distance. The lack of temporal proximity of the realization of the action triggers subjunctive.

(60) El Cabildo de Gran Canaria emprendió en redes la búsqueda del individuo que les había avisado del hallazgo de dos tortugas enredadas en mallas en la zona de El Confital. Pretenden contar con él [cuando] las devuelvan-SUBJ al mar.

Sentence (61) expresses temporal distance. The uncertainty that exists around the ending of the ‘situación de alarma’ (‘alarm situation’) that derived from the covid-19 outbreak makes the writer to use subjunctive.

(61) En este caso, Consumo fija que antes de reembolsar el dinero, la empresa podrá ofrecer una recuperación de los servicios [cuando] concluya-SUBJ esta situación de alarma; si el cliente no lo acepta, deberá devolver el dinero.

Sentence (62) expresses temporal distance. The uncertainty that exists around the ending of the ‘cuarentena’ (‘quarantine’) that derived from the covid-19 outbreak makes the writer to use subjunctive.

(62) Otra condición que les impuso el Gobierno es que tendrán que mantener el empleo durante al menos seis meses. Dicho de otra forma: que se les prohíbe despedir pese a que la actividad se verá resentida [cuando] pase-SUBJ esta cuarentena.

Sentence (63), to begin with the Caribbean variety, expresses temporal distance. In spite of the temporal immediacy that ‘pronto’ (‘soon’) indicates, the lack of certainty makes the writer use subjunctive.

(63) Este asunto pronto va a explotar [cuando] se tranque-SUBJ, porque no hay números de identificación patronal y no se pueda deducir algo a lo que se tiene derecho.

Sentence (64) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(64) Irson agregó que el problema será mayor [cuando] ocurra-SUBJ la ola exponencial de casos, que proyectan los expertos, y los profesionales de la salud “se sigan complicando”.

Sentence (65) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty, i.e. ‘confía’ (‘hopes’) conveys uncertainty, and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(65) Burgos Alvarado confía en que las clases regresen a la modalidad presencial [cuando] la situación con el COVID-19 se normalice-SUBJ y sea seguro congregarse en grupos nuevamente.

Sentence (66) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(66) También, expande las licencias familiares al garantizar a trabajadores de empresas con menos de 500 empleados, durante un año, recibir dos tercios de su salario [cuando] tenganSUBJ que tomarse hasta 12 semanas a causa del coronavirus.

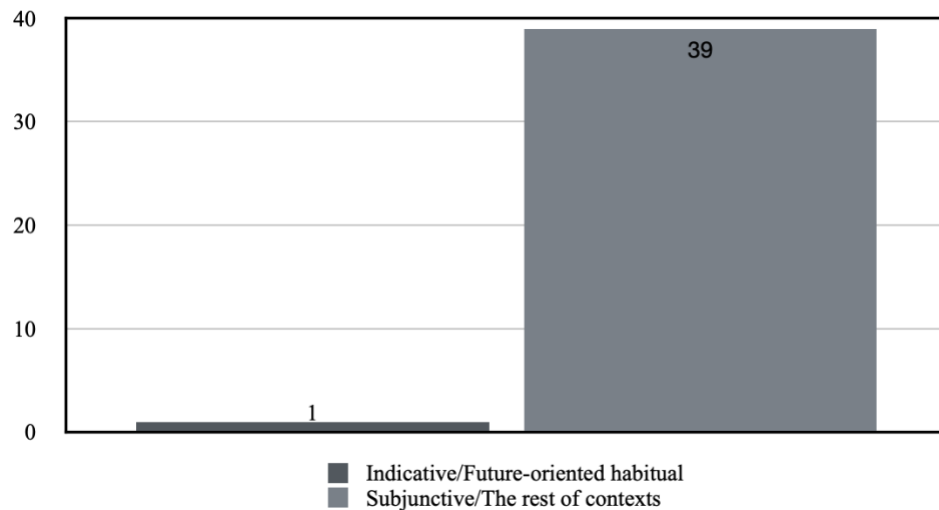
Sentence (67) expresses temporal distance. There use of ‘pretende’ (‘pretends’), the fact that the film has not been premiered in Toronto yet and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(67) Apostando a la historia universal de romance, erotismo y misterio -que le ganó a Lalo el premio internacional Rómulo Gallegos en el 2013-, la guionista y directora de Simone, Betty Kaplan, pretende ganarle a Puerto Rico un público global [cuando] el largometraje se estrene-SUBJ en el Festival de Cine Internacional de Toronto, que se celebra en septiembre de este año.

Concerning the Mexican-Central American variety, on the one hand, sentence (68) expresses temporal distance. On the other hand, sentence (69) expresses a future-oriented habitual. The writer uses subjunctive in (68) because not all of the characteristics mentioned may appear in the future. Thus, there is uncertainty towards the realization of the action. Nevertheless, the writer uses indicative in (69) because through this mood choice s/he communicates that it will always be considered that hate exists when a crime is committed under the described conditions. As it is shown in figure 1, this is the first and only indicative in this journalistic corpus.

Figure 1

Mood Distribution within the Corpus



(68) Además, se entenderá que existen razones de género [cuando] se presenten-SUBJ 13 características.

(69) En tanto, se considerará que existe odio [cuando] se comete-IND el delito contra una persona por su condición social o económica, vinculación, pertenencia o relación con un grupo social definido.

Sentence (70) expresses temporal distance. The lack of expressions of certainty makes the writer use subjunctive.

(70) Propuso que el homicidio doloso de una mujer se considerará feminicidio [cuando] existan-SUBJ con antelación actos de violencia familiar o institucional del sujeto activo hacia la víctima.

Sentence (71) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(71) Un primer set que no le exigió su mejor tenis, un segundo con reacción de su oponente y un desempeño brillante en el tercero, es como se puede resumir un partido cuyo andar

pasará a segundo término [cuando] las emociones aparezcan-SUBJ al evocar el rostro de Zarazúa triunfadora.

Sentence (72) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty, i.e. ‘será una incógnita’ (‘it will be unknown’) conveys uncertainty, and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(72) A final de cuentas, todos habrán pasado varios meses sin jugar y será una incógnita en la mayoría de los casos- cuál será su estado físico, futbolístico y mental [cuando] las Ligas puedan-SUBJ volver a la actividad.

Sentence (73), to begin with the Andean variety, expresses temporal distance. The lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(73) [Cuando] estas mueran-SUBJ o terminen-SUBJ su vida útil, habrá que depositarlas en algún lugar y en ese momento pueden surgir las complicaciones. Pozo explica que los esfuerzos ahora están puestos en investigar las formas en las que se puede continuar reutilizando a estas baterías.

Sentence (74) expresses temporal distance. The lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(74) ¿Qué pasará con La pelota de letras [cuando] se acabe-SUBJ el abecedario para clasificar a tantas generaciones?

Sentence (75) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty, i.e. ‘potencial’ (‘potential’) conveys uncertainty, and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(75) Un potencial incremento de algún tipo de tributo lo sabremos [cuando] ingreseSUBJ el proyecto; sin embargo, me parece que es una oportunidad para crear escenarios alternativos, que permitan mejorar el sistema tributario.

Sentence (76) expresses temporal distance. The writer of these lines is communicating their hopes and requests, which indicates a low degree of epistemic commitment towards the realization of the action. This lack of certainty can be noted in ‘pido’ (‘I request’) twice and ‘es necesario’ (‘It’s necessary’). Thus, the writer uses subjunctive.

(76) Le pido al Gobierno que supere estas cosas. Pido que no esté buscando lo mínimo para decir que hay pruebas de la violencia o el terrorismo. Es necesario que el Gobierno reconozca esa diversidad para generar un ambiente de unidad. [Cuando] volvamos-SUBJ a eso ninguna comunidad pensará en oponerse a ninguna visita.

Sentence (77) expresses temporal distance. The lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(77) Ese contraste, a veces natural y otras un tanto forzado, será el mismo que pondrá a prueba la amistad de las protagonistas, [cuando] entre-SUBJ en escena Claire Luna.

Regarding the Southern variety, sentence (78) expresses temporal specificity. The clearly specified date of ‘el miércoles 26’ would presumably trigger indicative. However, the writer shows a low degree of epistemic commitment towards the realization of the future-framed event because s/he uses subjunctive.

(78) La Provincia convocará a un nuevo encuentro paritario a los maestros del Frente de Unidad Docente bonaerense [cuando] finalice-SUBJ la paritaria nacional, que tendrá su próximo encuentro el miércoles 26 en la ciudad de Buenos Aires.

In (79) ‘cuando’ is followed by a specific date, ‘mañana’ (‘tomorrow’), which means that the sentence expresses temporal specificity. However, since the minister’s arrival cannot be readily temporally delimited the writer chooses subjunctive.

(79) Parte de ello se definirá [cuando] el ministro arribe-SUBJ mañana a Washington y se reúna con autoridades del FMI.

Sentence (80) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(80) El Departamento Legal de la Fundación y de Leo Messi Management, ante la consulta de Clarín, indicaron que todos los movimientos de la Fundación se encuentran en orden, y que la documentación está a disposición de la Justicia [cuando] la misma la requiera-SUBJ.

Sentence (81) expresses temporal distance. The uncertainty that exists around the ending of the pandemic that derived from the covid-19 outbreak makes the writer to use subjunctive. Besides, the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(81) La catástrofe económica que derivará de la pandemia [cuando] termine-SUBJ, porque habrá de terminar, es una mesa tendida para que el populismo emplee a fondo su receta. Es explosiva, pero no se aplicará por primera vez. Sólo que por primera vez está en manos de líderes tan elementales y absurdos.

Sentence (82) expresses temporal distance. The fact that there is nothing in the sentence that expresses certainty and the lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

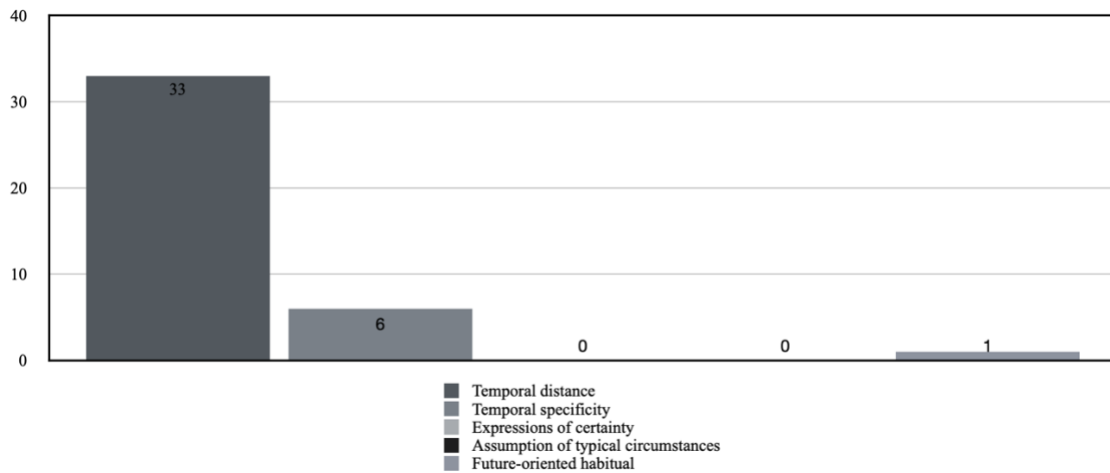
(82) Todas las contribuciones se concretarán [cuando] el espacio vuelva-SUBJ a abrir.

Last but not least, with respect to the Chilean variety, as it is explained in the following lines, all its sentences express temporal distance. Thus, as it is shown in figure 2, there are no

sentences that express neither the context of expressions of certainty nor the context of assumptions of typical circumstances in this whole journalistic corpus.

Figure 2

Contexts of Future-framed Adverbial Clauses Introduced with ‘cuando’ (Hoff, 2019a)



Sentence (83) expresses temporal distance. The uncertainty that exists around the ending of the pandemic that derived from the covid-19 outbreak makes the writer to use subjunctive. Besides, the lack of temporal proximity indicated by ‘ojalá en agosto, o en septiembre’ (‘hopefully in August, or in September’) makes the writer use subjunctive.

(83) Este domingo, los tradicionales ramos con que los católicos recuerdan la entrada de Jesús en Jerusalén, deberán esperar en puertas o ventanas de las casas de los fieles, con la promesa de que el rito se cumplirá [cuando] pase-SUBJ la pandemia, “ojalá en agosto”, o en septiembre, dependiendo de las fiestas religiosas de cada diócesis, y por cierto, del coronavirus.

Sentence (84) expresses temporal distance. The lack of temporal proximity makes the writer use subjunctive.

(84) Nuestra transformación digital será sin retorno y debemos liderarla ahora. [Cuando] termine-SUBJ la transición será demasiado tarde.

Sentences (85) and (86) express temporal distance. None of them express in any way temporal proximity or immediacy of the event of the utterance. Also, there is a lack of specificity and certainty in both. Thus, the writer uses subjunctive.

(85) Tuvieron que pasar más de diez horas para que se lograra un acuerdo y la comisión mixta despachara el proyecto de ley del Gobierno que protege los ingresos de los trabajadores. La iniciativa permitirá a empleadores suspender transitoriamente el vínculo laboral con sus trabajadores [cuando] estos se vean-SUBJ impedidos de trabajar debido a una declaración de la autoridad que establezca medidas sanitarias o de seguridad interior para el control del covid-19.

(86) El mecanismo aplicará [cuando] por orden estatal se determine-SUBJ que las labores no se pueden realizar en una empresa, y en este caso existirá la posibilidad de suspender el contrato de trabajo. El empleador se verá obligado a pagar las cotizaciones previsionales, y la remuneración de ese empleado será financiada por el seguro de cesantía.

Sentence (87) expresses temporal distance. The writer uses subjunctive because, in addition to the lack of temporal proximity, a condition needs to be fulfilled within the future-framed adverbial clause for the realization of the whole action. Hence, writer's low degree of epistemic commitment.

(87) Lo mismo ocurrirá [cuando] el trabajador, habiendo dado negativo al coronavirus, haya-SUBJ estado en una situación de contacto, en cuyo caso la autoridad dispondrá igualmente su cuarentena y se emitirá la correspondiente licencia médica.

Discussion

Although nonstandard uses of mood exist when it comes to future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with 'cuando', this study suggests that they generally do not appear in journalistic Spanish. 39 out the 40 sentences of the analyzed corpus present subjunctive use,

which means that future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ prefer subjunctive in journalistic Spanish. Only sentence (69) presents indicative use, demonstrating at the same time that it is possible.

The only example of indicative use in the corpus of this study is part of a text in which sentence (68) is contained, which interestingly enough presents subjunctive use. However, sentences (68) and (69) share the same discourse context and present a similar statement. The only difference is that discourse-wise (69) is contained within (68). Both indicative and subjunctive mood are possible in these two sentences. It is the writer, though, who chooses which one to use. This comparison demonstrates that, although some of the sentences are part of a discourse full of linguistic nuances that convey temporal specificity, temporal proximity, assertiveness, writers do not want to communicate a high degree of epistemic commitment through the use of indicative because they were who reported the information in the first place. They generally tend not to put the pressure of a high level of reliability on their shoulders in case what they report on does not materialize, which may explain the use of the subjunctive as prescriptive accounts recommend in future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’. This conclusion follows Hoff’s (2019a) because, as this study demonstrates, there are relevant social consequences that speakers take into account when they choose mood, some of which have to be understood thoroughly analyzing discourse pragmatics.

Going back to sentence (69), it is important to note the impact that its future-oriented habitual or iterative value may have on the mood choice that (69) presents, that is, indicative. If one compares (69) with (36), which is a sentence that belongs to a journalistic source and, despite being future-oriented and lacking the iterative value, presents indicative as well – see chapter 2 for sentence (36) (Haverkate, 2002) –, the most evident conclusion that one will reach

is that both of them express a high degree of epistemic commitment towards the realization of the action of the subordinate proposition. However, as previously mentioned, (36) lacks the iterative value. Hence, the speaker or, more precisely, writer of (36) is certain that the action will occur once in the future, unlike the speaker of (69), who believes that the action will always occur in the future. This distinction rests on the semantic content of the sentences. While (36) mentions Russia joining the Europe of the future, which every reader assumes that will only happen once, sentence (69) mentions the applications of a law under specific circumstances, which every reader assumes that will happen, at least, more than once. Mood selection requires in this case more than pure knowledge. It requires common sense to be able to interpret correctly the value of each of the sentences.

Regarding major varieties of Spanish, this study confirms that, at least as they pertain to future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ in journalistic Spanish, none of them has distinctive mood distribution morphosyntactic features that overwhelmingly relate them to the use of indicative. Although Hoff and Schwenter (2019b, 2019a; 2018, 2019) highlight some distinctions in Porteño Spanish and other varieties within Argentina, and in some varieties of Spain, this study shows that they may be exclusive of spoken language and more informal written language. However, the exception is Mexican Spanish, which Hoff and Schwenter (2019a; 2018) as well as Gallego and Alonso-Marks (2014) note as the variety that presents the second most mood variability and in this study is the one that displays the most variability.

Moreover, keeping in mind that the results of this study show that the use of indicative is always an exception in all of Hoff’s categories of future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’, the following points can be noted about these categories. Firstly, with respect to the sentences that convey temporal distance, it is a limitation of this study that it cannot be

proved that lack of temporal proximity or immediacy triggers subjunctive. This limitation derives from the fact that proximity is hard to define for it depends on pragmatic notions. However, as done by Hoff (2019a) and in this study, it can be qualitatively accounted. These sentences precisely, the sentences that represent the context of temporal distance, are the ones that most frequently appear in journalistic Spanish.

Secondly, in regard to the sentences that convey temporal specificity, and talking about the dates explicitly mentioned in the sentences, unlike Hoff (2019a, 2019b) anticipated, it cannot be demonstrated that the less specific they are the more likely it is that they will trigger subjunctive. All of them include subjunctive. Thirdly, regarding expressions of certainty, it is not the case in journalistic Spanish that they highly affect mood selection. Both the sentences that include expressions of certainty and uncertainty present subjunctive. Fourthly, in connection with the sentences of assumption of typical circumstances, there are no sentences that belong to this category in the corpus of this study. Lastly, as regards of future-oriented habituals, although there is only one example in this category, the future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ that are classified here always show indicative use. These points highlight weaknesses of Hoff’s (2019a) categorization of contexts for future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’ in the case of journalistic sources, although Haverkate’s (2002) and Lunn’s (1989) investigations on journalistic Spanish were expecting the opposite to occur.

If one now pays attention to prior crosslinguistic studies on future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’, it can be stated that the current study follows the path of Hoff and Schwenter (Hoff, 2019b; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019), developing a similar topic but with a different scope and methodology. Regarding the results of the current study and those by Hoff and Schwenter, it is the case in all of them that the initial frequent variability that they defend

turns out not to be that frequent. This happens because the social meanings related to mood selection vary from speaker to speaker; every speaker is subject to the interactions s/he has and is ultimately limited by the linguistic collection of resources at her/his disposal (Hoff, 2019a). In order to avoid this limitation, a much bigger number of sentences should have been collected so that there is more data to contrast. Perhaps the speakers of the sentences chosen to make up the corpus of this study simply do not have the option to use future-framed adverbial clauses containing indicative among their linguistic possibilities (Hoff, 2019a).

To close, the results of this study can be linked to García and Terrell's (1977) claim that the purely linguistic factors that impact mood distribution tend to be related to other biographical data, such as, geographic area of residence, socio-economic level, and stylistic range. Furthermore, according to Bybee (2006), humans create a cognitive representation (i.e., a grammar) out of the categorization of the language events they experience. If, as it has already been suggested, most of the speakers of the sentences of the current corpus have not been exposed to future-framed adverbials containing indicative, it is very unlikely that they will apply them.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

With respect to future-framed adverbial clauses, indicative use is linked to a high degree of epistemic commitment on the part of the writer towards the realization of the action of the utterance. This means that the writer, through the use of a series of linguistic features and expressions, makes pragmatic notions evident and triggers indicative. However, as has been demonstrated here, in the context of journalistic sources, even if those pragmatic traces explicitly appear in the sentence, writers generally do not resort to indicative use because they are reporting information that, first, is almost never contained in their radius of action, and second, they may have obtained from someone else.

Thus, the hypothesis of this study, that linked crosslinguistic inconsistencies to pragmatic features of language, does not hold. There may be several reasons for that. Writers of journalistic Spanish most likely tend to use subjunctive, following prescriptive accounts, because if they use indicative they are providing an information as “presumed settled”, which means that they are subjectively sure about the truth of the proposition that contains this information (Kaufmann, 2002; Schwenter & Hoff, 2019). Additionally, since mood choice is sensitive to context and it has important social consequences for both the speaker and the hearer, this suggests that the languages like Modern Spanish, that present subjunctive and indicative mood distinction, tend to imprint the use of a consistent mood choice for future-framed adverbial clauses in journalistic language, which most likely can be extended to written language (Hoff, 2019a).

Future research should investigate if nonstandard uses of mood, as they pertain to adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’, are restricted to spoken language and more informal registers of written language. It was not the purpose of this study to respond this question. However, if one considers journalistic Spanish a source of more formal written language, the

opposition is clear as previous studies within the topic have presented examples of indicative use in everyday spoken language and social media written language. Some other examples were constructed for explanatory purposes. In past research, examples that show indicative use and belong to more formal language were scarce. The results of this study go along the same lines. The even more highly contextualized discourse of everyday spoken language and social media written language, as two distinctive communicative situations, make pragmatic notions more apparent for both the speaker and the hearer. The lack of this obviousness at some points of the analysis of the corpus of this study ended up being a limitation. This highly pragmatic language environment loads utterances with specificity, assertiveness, temporal proximity, assumptions and knowledge of habituality, all of which have been demonstrated to be linked to indicative use in future-framed adverbial clauses introduced with ‘cuando’. Furthermore, future research should also investigate other temporal adverbs in future-framed contexts, such as ‘después de que’ (‘after’), ‘hasta que’ (‘until’), ‘en cuanto’ (‘as soon as’), in order to investigate in what ways do linguistic features and expressions affect them in discourse and if they present any unexpected mood distribution trend.

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APPENDIX A: CORPUS

Castilian

(48) Los miembros del Gobierno multiplicaron los llamamientos a ERC para que no provoque su primera gran derrota parlamentaria [cuando] mañana se vote-SUBJ el objetivo de déficit.

C. E. Cué; J. Marcos; C. S. Baquero. (February 26, 2020 Wednesday). ERC mantiene en vilo al Gobierno ante la primera votación decisiva La mesa de diálogo se abre hoy con la duda de si Esquerra apoyará el objetivo de déficit. *El País*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y95-Y5X1-JCN5-543R-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(49) El mejor situado para liderar esa candidatura es Jordi Puigneró, consejero de Políticas Digitales y Administración Públicas, pero el PDeCAT ya ha recordado que el candidato deberá ser elegido en un proceso de primarias. Y [cuando] se abra-SUBJ será real, porque se da por hecho que también se presentarán los consejeros Damià Calvet (Territorio y Sostenibilidad) y Àngels Chacón (Empresa y Conocimiento).

Pere Ríos. (February 28, 2020 Friday). Acabada su inhabilitación, el 'expresident' defiende otra estrategia independentista y marca distancias con Puigdemont El regreso de Artur Mas, artífice del 'procés'. *El País*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9K-W5P1-F046-W38D-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(50) Luis Gallego, el actual presidente de Iberia, no lo va a tener fácil [cuando] sustituyaSUBJ el próximo 26 de marzo a Willie Walsh al frente de IAG. El pánico a volar por el miedo al contagio al coronavirus le está pasando factura.

Ramón Muñoz. (February 29, 2020 Saturday). IAG admite que su beneficio caerá en 2020 pero no evalúa el impacto final. *El País*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9T-VJ81-F046-W258-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(51) Tendremos todas las emociones a la carta y podremos desconectar de ellas [cuando] queramos-SUBJ.

(52) [Cuando] todo esto acabe-SUBJ, llenaremos las plazas y correremos campo a través hasta que nos duelan las piernas.

(March 21, 2020 Saturday). Cuando la guerra te toca. *El País*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YG9-7NJ1-F046-W1BH-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Andalusian

(53) La elección de los senadores autonómicos, sin fecha; Griñán y Mar Moreno perderán su condición de aforados [cuando] el Parlamento nombre-SUBJ a sus nuevos representantes en la Cámara Alta.

(54) En cualquier caso, la situación de los aforados puede variar también en función de lo que suceda a partir de la próxima semana, cuando comenzarán a prestar declaración ante el magistrado. Si fueran formalmente imputados, la presidenta ha anunciado que les

pedirá que dejen sus puestos, aunque queda por saber si tal condición se cumpliría [cuando] Barreiro paseSUBJ el caso a la sala, [cuando] ésta pida-SUBJ el suplicatorio a las cámaras o [cuando] éstas lo concedan-SUBJ.

(April 2, 2015 Thursday). La elección de los senadores autonómicos, sin fecha; Griñán y Mar Moreno perderán su condición de aforados cuando el Parlamento nombre a sus nuevos representantes en la Cámara Alta. *Sur*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5FPB-9YH1-JCSV-H2WB-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(55) Taleb sí que sabe; El secretario general de la Organización Mundial del Turismo se vendrá a vivir a su casa de la Costa del Sol [cuando] abandone-SUBJ su cargo, en 2018.

(July 10, 2016 Sunday). Taleb sí que sabe; El secretario general de la Organización Mundial del Turismo se vendrá a vivir a su casa de la Costa del Sol cuando abandone su cargo, en 2018. *Sur*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5K6D-TNG1-JCSV-H0N4-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(56) El Gobierno no cede y las pensiones perderán poder adquisitivo en 2017; Subirán un 0,25% frente al 1,4% de inflación prevista y Hacienda adelanta que emitirá deuda [cuando] el Fondo de Reserva se agote-SUBJ.

(December 21, 2016 Wednesday). El Gobierno no cede y las pensiones perderán poder adquisitivo en 2017; Subirán un 0,25% frente al 1,4% de inflación prevista y Hacienda adelanta que emitirá deuda cuando el Fondo de Reserva se agote. *Sur*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5MFD-64M1-F07X-70TF-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(57) Esto irá a mejor [cuando] su voz y sus demandas estén-SUBJ tan impregnadas en la sociedad que sobren intermediarios.

(January 22, 2017 Sunday). El día es muy largo; Que se les vea y sienta como parte de un todo y no como un apéndice del que nos acordamos de vez en cuando. *Sur*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5MP7-8F31-F07X-736V-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Canarian

(58) Cuestionado sobre qué pasaría si se confirma esta hipótesis, Morales señaló que será la Fiscalía, [cuando] se presente-SUBJ el informe definitivo que aún no se tiene, la que inicie el procedimiento para exigir responsabilidades.

(September 20, 2019 Friday). El incendio de Gran Canaria lo originó un cable de baja tensión. *Canarias 7*. Retrieved from <https://www.canarias7.es/siete-islas/gran-canaria/el-incendio-de-gran-canaria-lo-origino-un-cable-de-baja-tension-HB7939485>.

(59) Los árbitros de Canarias paralizarán este fin de semana durante un minuto sus partidos [cuando] hayan-SUBJ transcurrido cinco de juego como acto de protesta contra la violencia en los campos de fútbol, en una medida que se repetirá en todos los encuentros de ámbito autonómico programados en las islas.

(December 12, 2019 Thursday). Los árbitros de Canarias pararán sus partidos un minuto contra la violencia. *Canarias 7*. Retrieved from <https://www.canarias7.es/deportes/los-arbitros-decanarias-pararan-sus-partidos-un-minuto-contra-la-violencia-EE8402521>.

(60) El Cabildo de Gran Canaria emprendió en redes la búsqueda del individuo que les había avisado del hallazgo de dos tortugas enredadas en mallas en la zona de El Confital. Pretenden contar con él [cuando] las devuelvan-SUBJ al mar.

(January 23, 2020 Thursday). Un rescate con final feliz en El Confital. *Canarias 7*. Retrieved from <https://www.canarias7.es/sucesos/un-rescate-con-final-feliz-en-el-confital-EA8561732>.

(61) En este caso, Consumo fija que antes de reembolsar el dinero, la empresa podrá ofrecer una recuperación de los servicios [cuando] concluya-SUBJ esta situación de alarma; si el cliente no lo acepta, deberá devolver el dinero.

(April 1, 2020 Wednesday). La escuela concertada no deberá devolver cuotas porque está prestando servicios. *Canarias 7*. Retrieved from <https://www.canarias7.es/sociedad/educacion/la-escuela-concertada-no-debera-devolvercuotas-porque-esta-prestando-servicios-FG8967520>.

(62) Otra condición que les impuso el Gobierno es que tendrán que mantener el empleo durante al menos seis meses. Dicho de otra forma: que se les prohíbe despedir pese a que la actividad se verá resentida [cuando] pase-SUBJ esta cuarentena.

Lucía Palacios. (April 3, 2020 Friday). El Gobierno admite que habrá empresas que tengan que alargar los ERTE más allá del estado de alarma. *Canarias 7*. Retrieved from <https://www.canarias7.es/economia/empresas/el-gobierno-admite-que-habra-empresas-quetengan-que-alargar-los-erte-mas-alla-del-estado-de-alarma-MF8979790>.

Caribbean

(63) Este asunto pronto va a explotar [cuando] se tranque-SUBJ, porque no hay números de identificación patronal y no se pueda deducir algo a lo que se tiene derecho.

(February 6, 2020 Thursday). Dilema con Hacienda. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y5M-3321-JBJN-M3GT-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(64) Irson agregó que el problema será mayor [cuando] ocurra-SUBJ la ola exponencial de casos, que proyectan los expertos, y los profesionales de la salud "se sigan complicando".

Marga Parés Arroyo. (April 1, 2020 Wednesday). Terapista respiratoria muere por COVID-19. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJW-WK61-DY1R-B09G-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(65) Burgos Alvarado confía en que las clases regresen a la modalidad presencial [cuando] la situación con el COVID-19 se normalice-SUBJ y sea seguro congregarse en grupos nuevamente.

Gerardo E. Alvarado León. (April 2, 2020 Thursday). El COVID-19 altera su plan de estudio. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK3-WSP1-DY1R-B1RS-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(66) También, expande las licencias familiares al garantizar a trabajadores de empresas con menos de 500 empleados, durante un año, recibir dos tercios de su salario [cuando] tenganSUBJ que tomarse hasta 12 semanas a causa del coronavirus.

José A. Delgado. (March 15, 2020 Sunday). Cámara baja federal ratifica la legislación. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF8-BXW1-DY1R-B1YK-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(67) Apostando a la historia universal de romance, erotismo y misterio -que le ganó a Lalo el premio internacional Rómulo Gallegos en el 2013-, la guionista y directora de Simone, Betty Kaplan, pretende ganarle a Puerto Rico un público global [cuando] el largometraje se estrene-SUBJ en el Festival de Cine Internacional de Toronto, que se celebra en septiembre de este año.

Gabriel Pacheco Santa. (March 16, 2020 Monday). Apuesta millonaria a una complicada historia de amor. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF2-XJJ1-DY1R-B1T2-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Mexican-Central American

(68) Además, se entenderá que existen razones de género [cuando] se presenten-SUBJ 13 características.

(69) En tanto, se considerará que existe odio [cuando] se comete-IND el delito contra una persona por su condición social o económica, vinculación, pertenencia o relación con un grupo social definido.

(February 26, 2020 Wednesday). FGR va por ampliar rubros para tipificar feminicidios. *El*

Universal. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9F-2SW1-DY1R-B2J9-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(70) Propuso que el homicidio doloso de una mujer se considerará feminicidio [cuando] existan-SUBJ con antelación actos de violencia familiar o institucional del sujeto activo hacia la víctima.

(February 27, 2020 Thursday). Pide penas más severas contra agresores de mujeres en

Michoacán. *El Universal*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9N-22H1-JBJN-M4D1-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(71) Un primer set que no le exigió su mejor tenis, un segundo con reacción de su oponente y un desempeño brillante en el tercero, es como se puede resumir un partido cuyo andar pasará a segundo término [cuando] las emociones aparezcan-SUBJ al evocar el rostro de Zarazúa triunfadora.

(February 27, 2020 Thursday). Renata Zarazúa, primera mexicana en semifinales de Acapulco.

El Universal. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9W-0T91-JBJN-M17D-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(72) A final de cuentas, todos habrán pasado varios meses sin jugar y será una incógnita en la mayoría de los casos- cuál será su estado físico, futbolístico y mental [cuando] las Ligas puedan-SUBJ volver a la actividad.

(April 1, 2020 Wednesday). Breves de deportes. *El Universal*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJW-WK61-DY1R-B109-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Andean

(73) [Cuando] estas mueran-SUBJ o terminen-SUBJ su vida útil, habrá que depositarlas en algún lugar y en ese momento pueden surgir las complicaciones. Pozo explica que los esfuerzos ahora están puestos en investigar las formas en las que se puede continuar reutilizando a estas baterías.

Isabel Alarcón. (June 13, 2019 Thursday). El uso de vehículos eléctricos implica nuevos retos

ambientales a futuro. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5WB8-B6S1-F03R-W4BW-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(74) ¿Qué pasará con La pelota de letras [cuando] se acabe-SUBJ el abecedario para clasificar a tantas generaciones?

Fernando Criollo. (September 19, 2019 Thursday). Andrés López celebra los 15 años de 'La pelota de letras' en Ecuador. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5X39-J7J1-JBJN-M03T-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(75) Un potencial incremento de algún tipo de tributo lo sabremos [cuando] ingreseSUBJ el proyecto; sin embargo, me parece que es una oportunidad para crear escenarios alternativos, que permitan mejorar el sistema tributario.

Evelyn Tapia. (September 30, 2019 Monday). Expectativa por la reforma económica que llegará a la Asamblea esta semana. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5X5N-7941-DY1R-B2VD-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(76) Le pido al Gobierno que supere estas cosas. Pido que no esté buscando lo mínimo para decir que hay pruebas de la violencia o el terrorismo. Es necesario que el Gobierno reconozca esa diversidad para generar un ambiente de unidad. [Cuando] volvamos-SUBJ a eso ninguna comunidad pensará en oponerse a ninguna visita.

(November 26, 2019 Tuesday). Roce por acción del Gobierno en el sector rural. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5XKT-RCF1-JBJN-M0J9-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(77) Ese contraste, a veces natural y otras un tanto forzado, será el mismo que pondrá a prueba la amistad de las protagonistas, [cuando] entre-SUBJ en escena Claire Luna.

Fernando Criollo. (February 21, 2020 Friday). Una amistad se pone a prueba en la película 'Like a Boss'. *El Comercio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y8C-6H51-DY1R-B279-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Southern

(78) La Provincia convocará a un nuevo encuentro paritario a los maestros del Frente de Unidad Docente bonaerense [cuando] finalice-SUBJ la paritaria nacional, que tendrá su próximo encuentro el miércoles 26 en la ciudad de Buenos Aires.

(February 22, 2020 Saturday). Axel Kicillof: "Está bien que los docentes me exijan más". *Clarín*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y8K-NMD1-JBJN-M1G0-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(79) Parte de ello se definirá [cuando] el ministro arribe-SUBJ mañana a Washington y se reúna con autoridades del FMI.

(February 22, 2020 Saturday). El Gobierno busca un nuevo acuerdo y el FMI podrá revisar las cuentas de la Argentina. *Clarín*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y8K-NMD1-JBJN-M1G7-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(80) El Departamento Legal de la Fundación y de Leo Messi Management, ante la consulta de Clarín, indicaron que todos los movimientos de la Fundación se encuentran

en orden, y que la documentación está a disposición de la Justicia [cuando] la misma la requiera-SUBJ.

(February 28, 2020 Friday). La Justicia argentina reiteró pedidos de movimientos bancarios de la fundación de Lionel Messi. *Clarín*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9W-0T71-DY1R-B0VH-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(81) La catástrofe económica que derivará de la pandemia [cuando] termine-SUBJ, porque habrá de terminar, es una mesa tendida para que el populismo emplee a fondo su receta. Es explosiva, pero no se aplicará por primera vez. Sólo que por primera vez está en manos de líderes tan elementales y absurdos.

(April 1, 2020 Wednesday). El virus del populismo. *Clarín*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJW-WKJ1-JBJN-M0DB-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(82) Todas las contribuciones se concretarán [cuando] el espacio vuelva-SUBJ a abrir.

(April 3, 2020 Friday). ¿Pagarías por un show online? Los imaginativos recursos de los centros culturales para sobrevivir en cuarentena. *Clarín*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK9-TWX1-JBJN-M366-00000-00&context=1516831>.

Chilean

(83) Este domingo, los tradicionales ramos con que los católicos recuerdan la entrada de Jesús en Jerusalén, deberán esperar en puertas o ventanas de las casas de los fieles, con la

promesa de que el rito se cumplirá [cuando] pase-SUBJ la pandemia, "ojalá en agosto", o en septiembre, dependiendo de las fiestas religiosas de cada diócesis, y por cierto, del coronavirus.

S. Neira, M. Silva y V. Fuentes. (April 2, 2020 Thursday). Iglesia Católica prepara una Semana Santa "puertas adentro" y alcaldes de comunas costeras insisten en pedir cordones sanitarios en sus accesos. *El Mercurio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK3-WSP1-DY1R-B1M9-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(84) Nuestra transformación digital será sin retorno y debemos liderarla ahora. [Cuando] termine-SUBJ la transición será demasiado tarde.

(April 2, 2020 Thursday). La transformación digital será sin retorno y debemos liderarla. *El Mercurio*. Retrieved from <https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK3-WSP1-DY1R-B1JJ-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(85) Tuvieron que pasar más de diez horas para que se lograra un acuerdo y la comisión mixta despachara el proyecto de ley del Gobierno que protege los ingresos de los trabajadores. La iniciativa permitirá a empleadores suspender transitoriamente el vínculo laboral con sus trabajadores [cuando] estos se vean-SUBJ impedidos de trabajar debido a una declaración de la autoridad que establezca medidas sanitarias o de seguridad interior para el control del covid-19.

(86) El mecanismo aplicará [cuando] por orden estatal se determine-SUBJ que las labores no se pueden realizar en una empresa, y en este caso existirá la posibilidad de suspender el contrato de trabajo. El empleador se verá obligado a pagar las cotizaciones previsionales, y la remuneración de ese empleado será financiada por el seguro de cesantía.

(April 2, 2020 Thursday). La transformación digital será sin retorno y debemos liderarla. *El*

Mercurio. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YK3-WSP1-DY1R-B1JJ-00000-00&context=1516831>.

(87) Lo mismo ocurrirá [cuando] el trabajador, habiendo dado negativo al coronavirus, haya-SUBJ estado en una situación de contacto, en cuyo caso la autoridad dispondrá igualmente su cuarentena y se emitirá la correspondiente licencia médica.

(March 14, 2020 Saturday). Coronavirus y trabajo: cuáles son las facultades del empleador ante

este brote. *El Mercurio*. Retrieved from

<https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF2-XJJ1-DY1R-B1KV-00000-00&context=1516831>.