

Mood Choice in Spanish, Italian, and French Relative Clauses

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1. Introduction

Mood is a category that is, according to Palmer (2001: 1), “concerned with the proposition that describes the event.” Palmer uses the term “realis” to refer to situations in which the indicative is required and the term “irrealis” to refer to situations in which the subjunctive is required. As Palmer states,

Modality differs from tense and aspect in that it does not refer directly to any characteristic of the event, but simply to the status of the proposition. One possible approach to its analysis is to make a binary distinction between “non-modal” and “modal” or “declarative” and “non-declarative,” and to associate this distinction with the notional contrast of “factual” and “non-factual,” or “real” and “unreal.” . . . [T]hese terms are not really satisfactory . . . and in recent years, “realis” and “irrealis” have been used for this distinction.

Palmer refers to Mithun (1999) to further distinguish realis and irrealis; according to Mithun (1999: 173), the distinction between realis and irrealis is the following: “The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.”

A clause is traditionally defined as having both a subject and a predicate. A clause is distinguished from a phrase by the presence of a finite verb: Phrases include a non-finite verb while a clause includes a finite verb (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 283). Relative clauses, by definition, are subordinate (dependent) clauses that act as an adjective modifying a noun phrase; an example of an English relative clause follows in (1):

(1) The book **that I bought yesterday** was very expensive.

The relative clause *that I bought yesterday* modifies the noun phrase *the book*.

In English, the complementizer (which heads the relative clause) can be omitted if the complementizer of the subordinate clause functions in any grammatical role besides the subject of the subordinate clause, as in (2a) and (2b).

(2a) The book (that _{DOBJ}) I bought yesterday was very expensive.

(2b) The book *(that _{SUBJ}) arrived in the mail was very expensive.

In (2a), the complementizer *that* functions as the direct object in the relative clause *that I bought yesterday* and therefore can be omitted; however, in (2b), the complementizer *that* functions as the subject in the relative clause *that arrived in the mail* and so cannot be omitted. In Romance languages, the complementizer can *never* be omitted, as in (3a) and (3b):

* The author would like to thank Dr. Jorge Guitart, Dr. Eva Juarros-Daussà, and Dr. Jeannette Ludwig for their helpful comments on previous drafts of this article. Any errors that remain are the author’s alone.

- (3a) El libro que compré ayer fue muy caro.
The book that I bought yesterday was very expensive.
- (3b) *El libro compré ayer fue muy caro.
The book I bought yesterday was very expensive.

The sentence in (3a) is grammatical because it includes the complementizer *que* while the sentence in (3b) is ungrammatical because it lacks the obligatory complementizer *que*.

Gonzalo (1990: 282) recognizes that the term “relative clause” in Spanish is not a unified category; that is, Gonzalo divides relative clauses into two groups: *relativas de caracterización* (que restringen el antecedente asignándole una propiedad [which restrict the antecedent by assigning it a property, or characteristic]) and *relativas de indentificación* (que restringen el antecedente identificándolo, aislándolo, o localizándolo [which restrict the antecedent by identifying, isolating, or locating it]). This distinction can also be made in other languages; in English, these categories are referred to as “restrictive” and “nonrestrictive” relative clauses. For example, consider the difference between (4a) and (4b):

- (4a) My friend who speaks Spanish teaches at Georgetown.
(4b) My friend, who speaks Spanish, teaches at Georgetown.

The relative clause in (4a) is restrictive and implies that the speaker has more than one friend; that is, out of a set of friends, one of these friends speaks Spanish, and that particular friend teaches at Georgetown. The relative clause in (4b), however, is nonrestrictive and therefore implies that the speaker has only one friend; the speaker’s only friend happens to speak Spanish and also teaches at Georgetown. This paper focuses solely on restrictive relative clauses because as Guitart points out (personal communication), there is no contrast in nonrestrictive clauses in Spanish because only the indicative can occur. According to native speaker informants given examples such as (4b), this is also the case in Italian and French.

In many romance languages, verbs in relative clauses can either be in the indicative or the subjunctive mood. By surveying several currently used first–fourth semester college textbooks, it becomes clear that they are not able to account for all of the data based on the criteria and analyses that they present. Guitart (1994) proposes an analysis that more accurately describes mood choice in Spanish relative clauses than analyses found in current college-level Spanish textbooks; one goal of this study is to determine whether or not his proposal can also be applied to Italian and French relative clauses; however, the primary goal of this paper is to demonstrate that the current treatment of mood choice (indicative and subjunctive) in relative clauses in elementary and intermediate Spanish, Italian, and French college textbooks is inadequate. Section 2 outlines mood choice in Spanish relative clauses and Guitart’s analysis of that mood choice. Section 3 presents mood choice in Italian relative clauses, and Section 4 presents mood choice in French relative clauses.

2. Spanish Relative Clauses and Guitart (1994)

This section provides an analysis of the treatment of mood choice in relative clauses presented in Spanish textbooks (in Section 2.1) and a presentation of Guitart’s (1994) theory (in Section 2.2).

2.1 Spanish textbooks and mood choice in relative clauses

Three Spanish textbooks (*Arriba* [Zayas-Bazán 2004], *Claro que sí* [Garner et al. 2003] and *Mosaicos* [Castells et al. 2006]), currently used in the first–fourth semesters of college language courses, all included brief sections dedicated to explaining mood choice in relative clauses. The textbooks explain that a relative clause is a dependent clause used as an adjective that modifies a noun. The treatment of the mood selection process in the three textbooks is strikingly similar; they claim that the indicative is used when the antecedent (the noun being modified by the relative clause) is certain, definite, known, or actually exists, as in (5a) and (5b):

(5a) *Ése es el político que me gusta.* [IND]
That's the politician that [whom] I like. (Zayas-Bazán and Bacon 2004: 506)

(5b) *Tengo una cama que es cómoda.* [IND]
I have a bed that is comfortable. (Garner et al. 2003: 211)

In the above examples, the antecedents *el político* and *una cama* “trigger” the indicative mood in the relative clause because they are certain, definite, known, and existent in the mind of the speaker.

On the other hand, the textbooks explain that if the antecedent is indefinite, unknown, nonexistent, or in question in the mind of the speaker, then the subjunctive is used in the relative clause, as in (6a) and (6b):

(6a) *No hay ningún candidato que me guste.* [SUB]
There is no candidate that [whom] I like. (Zayas-Bazán and Bacon 2004: 506)

(6b) *Necesito una cama que sea cómoda.* [SUB]
I need a bed that is comfortable. (Garner et al. 2003: 211)

Examples (5a) and (6a) are contrastive examples: In (5a) the antecedent *el político* is known to the speaker, whereas in (6a) the antecedent *candidato* is not known to the speaker, which is exemplified by the negation marker *ningún*; in (5b) the antecedent *una cama* is already known to the speaker, whereas in (6b) the antecedent *una cama* is not definite in the mind of the speaker. This analysis quickly proves to be problematic because in examples such as (6a), this theory would predict that the antecedent is nonexistent; that is, it denies the existence of any candidates in the world.

One last point treated in the textbooks is the fact that in questions, mood choice in relative clauses can be subject to the degree of certainty that the speaker has, as in (7a) and (7b):

(7a) *¿Hay alguien aquí que sale en ese vuelo?* [IND]
Is there anyone here leaving on that flight?
(I do not know, but I assume there may be.) (Castells et al. 2006: 444)

(7b) *¿Hay alguien aquí que salga en ese vuelo?* [SUB]

Is there anyone here leaving on that flight?
(I do not know, but I doubt it.) (Castells et al. 2006: 444)

The indicative is used in (7a) because in the mind of the speaker, there is an assumption that someone is in fact leaving on the flight; however, the subjunctive is used in (7b) because the emphasis is on the fact that the speaker's assumption is that no one is in fact leaving on the flight. In light of (7a) and (7b), the aforementioned textbooks' analyses are problematic: The antecedent *alguien* in (7a) and (7b) are the same, yet there is a change in mood. This suggests that more than just the antecedent plays a role in the selection of mood in Spanish relative clauses.

2.2 Guitart's analysis

Guitart's (1994) paper "The NP-based, Class/Member Analysis of Mood Choice in Spanish Relative Clauses" clearly shows that the above analysis is not adequate to account for the data in Spanish; he terms the analysis "antecedent-based analysis" (ABA) because the analysis depends on the antecedent for mood choice. In Guitart (1994), he states that an ABA analysis claims that the selection of the indicative or subjunctive mood in relative clauses is based on the following binary features of the antecedent of the relative clause: [+/-Existent], [+/-Unknown], and [+/-Experienced].

In the theory presented by Guitart, the entire noun phrase (NP), including the relative clause and the noun to which the relative clause refers, rather than just the antecedent, must be taken into account. In other words, in his treatment, both "the antecedent and the clause together constitute a noun phrase" (386). On the other hand, "[t]raditionally the antecedent has been defined as the element to which the relative pronoun refers: the antecedent is *of the pronoun*, not the whole clause." Consider the sentence in (8):

(8) The person who is responsible for the damage should confess.

Under the traditional ABA, (8) would be analyzed as follows: The relative clause *who is responsible for the damage* modifies the antecedent *the person*. Guitart's theory posits that it is not solely the antecedent *the person* that is relevant but is instead the NPR—this being any NP that contains a relative clause.

Another major tenet of Guitart's theory is pragmatic in nature:

Crucial to my analysis is to consider whether the entity to which the NP refers is regarded by the speaker (or the person(s) whose viewpoint the speaker reflects) as an individual or set of individuals, rather than merely as a non-individuated member or set of members of the class defined by the clause. (386)

As examples, Guitart provides the following sentences:

(9a) Los libros que Carlos compró ayer
The books that Carlos bought yesterday

(9b) un libro que Carlos compró ayer
a book that Carlos bought yesterday (Guitart 1994: 386)

As Guitart states, the relative clause *que Carlos compró ayer* in (9a) defines the quality shared by all the members (i.e., *los libros*) of the class; in this case, the quality shared is the fact that Carlos bought them yesterday. In (9b), however, the antecedent *un libro* refers to only one member.

Guitart also takes into account inclusion predicates [(i.e., “sentences that are about whether or not an entity is included in a certain location or container, which may be the universe or smaller” (394)]. This is a crucial distinction in his analysis, as inclusion predicates operate quite differently from non-inclusion predicates in the selection of mood choice in relative clauses.

Using data from Spanish, Guitart shows that the ABA does not provide an adequate explanation of mood choice in Spanish relative clauses. He gives the following example involving inclusion predicates:

- (10) Todavía no existen computadoras que puedan traducir sin errores de una lengua a otra [SUB], pero sí hay algunas computadoras que se aproximan bastante a esa meta [IND].

No computers yet exist that can translate without error from one language to another, but there are indeed some computers that come close to that goal. (= (3) in Guitart 1994: 388)

As Guitart points out, if the ABA were held to be true, then the antecedent (*computers*) of the relative clause *that can translate without error from one language to another* is either non-existent, unknown, or not experienced. In his example, he points out that the context of the second sentence does clearly indicate that for the speaker of the sentence in (10) computers do exist, are known, and are experienced.

He provides another salient example in Spanish; the example in (11) is of a non-inclusion predicate:

- (11) Yo conozco [IND] a mucha gente, pero no conozco a nadie que hable [SUB] turco.

I know many people, but I don't know anyone who speaks Turkish. (= (4) in Guitart 1994: 388)

Again, under the ABA analysis, since the verb in the relative clause is in the subjunctive mood, it would indicate that the speaker does not know anybody.

Instead of the three features posited by the so-called ABA ([+/-Existent], [+/-Unknown], and [+/-Experienced]), Guitart proposes the following three features that determine mood choice for non-inclusion predicates: [+/-Indiv(iduated)], [+/-Rec(urrent)], [+/-Fut(ure)].

He uses the following examples to illustrate his [+/-Indiv(iduated)] feature.

- (12a) Necesito ponerme en contacto con una mujer que sabe vietnamita [IND]. No recuerdo su nombre pero sé que traqbaja aquí y necesita que me traduzea algo.

I need to get in touch with a woman who knows Vietnamese; I don't remember her name but I know she works here and I need her to translate something for me. (= (14a) in Guitart 1994: 390)

- (12b) Necesito ponerme en contacto con una mujer que sepa vietnamita [SUB].
Cualquier mujer que sepa vietnamita me sirve. Necesita una traductora, mujer, de vietnamita.

I need to get in touch with a woman who knows Vietnamese. Any woman who knows Vietnamese will do. I need a female translator of Vietnamese. (= (14b) in Guitart 1994: 390)

In this very clear case, the NPR in (12a) is [+Indiv] since the speaker clearly has a certain woman in mind; on the other hand, in (12b), it is [-Indiv] since, from the context, the speaker has no particular translator in mind and will accept any member of the class defined by the NPR (i.e., any translator). A distinction here is that, as Guitart states, "It is important to point out that [+Indiv] and [-Indiv] are not notational variants of experienced and non-experienced, since NPR can be [+Indiv] *and* non-experienced" (391). Guitart provides the following example:

- (13) I have never learned who the employees who left early were, and I still don't know. (391)

In the example in (13), the NPR is clearly [+Indiv] but not experienced.

Guitart then formulates the following, tentative rule (R1):

- R1: Use the indicative when the NPR is [+Indiv], but use the subjunctive when it is [-Indiv]. (Guitart 1994: 393)

Guitart immediately recognizes that R1 cannot account for all of the data in Spanish, and he offers the following counterexamples, both referring to recurrent situations—a category belonging not to mood but to aspect:

- (14a) En los buenos colegios privados, a cualquiera que agarran copiando en un examen lo expulsan inmediatamente. [IND]

At the good private schools, anybody caught cheating on an exam is expelled immediately. (= (18) in Guitart 1994: 393)

- (14b) A cualquiera que agarraban copiando en un examen lo expulsaban inmediatamente. [IND] (The verbs in this sentence are in the past tense, imperfect mood.)

[Customarily] anybody caught cheating on an exam was expelled immediately. (= (19))

As Guitart notes, while the indicative is used when the past is recurrent, if the future is recurrent, the subjunctive is used, as he demonstrates in example (14c).

(14c) Seguirán expulsando a cualquiera que agarren copiando en un examen. [SUB]

They will continue to expel anybody they catch cheating on the exam.
(= (20))

Guitart points out that what all three sentences have in common is that the situation involving a member of the class described by the clause is recurrent. In all the cases, the NPR is [-Indiv]; the crucial difference is that in the first two cases, the recurrent situation is not future, and in the third case, it is. In order to distinguish between the above examples, he includes the values [+/- Rec (urrent)] and [+/-Fut (ure)] for cases when the NPR is [-Indiv].

Using this formulation, Guitart's theory can account for the examples in (14a–c) with (R2):

(R2): [+REC, -FUT] takes [IND] as in (17 a & b)
[+REC, +FUT] takes [SUB] as in (17c)

(R2) works only with non-inclusion predicates in Spanish; Guitart offers the following example:

(15) Aquí normalmente los fines de semana no hay nadie que te pueda ayudar. [SUB]

Normally, there is no one here on weekends who can help you. (= (23) in Guitart 1994: 394)

Guitart demonstrates that sentences like (15) that are *inclusion predicates* (IP) are exempt from (R2) formulated above, stating the following:

IPs that contain relative clauses describe whether members of the class defined by the clause are located, contained, or (in general) included in a certain “place,” which I will call L. (Guitart 1994: 394)

IPs can be either existential, as in (16a), or non-existential, as in (16b):

(16a) Hay abogados que todavía cobran barato.
There are still lawyers who charge modest fees. (= (26a) in Guitart 1994: 395)

(16b) En esa película hay escenas que te va a poner los pelos de punta.
There are scenes in that movie that are going to set your hair on end. (= (26b))

In (16a), the IP is existential because the ‘place’ (L) the NPR exists is the universe; however, in (16b) the IP is non-existential because L is smaller than the universe (specifically, L is *en esa película*).

Guitart then analyzes mood choice in relative clauses in inclusion predicates. He demonstrates that the indicative is used when “L contains the individual(s) labeled as NPR”

(395) as in example (17a), when “L does not contain the individual(s) labeled as NPR” as in (17b), and when “L contains members of the class defined by the clause” as in (17c).

- (17a) La Lola de quien hablo en mi novella existe realmente.
The Lola I talk about in my novel actually exists. (=24a))
- (17b) La computadora que yo quiero no existe.
The computer I want does not exist. (=25a)
- (17c) En esa película hay escenas que te va a poner los pelos de punta.
There are scenes in that movie that are going to set your hair on end. (=26b))

Guitart then states that the subjunctive is used when “L contains no members of the class” (396) as in (18a), when “L contains hardly any members of the class” as in (18b), and when the speaker is asking “Does L contain any members of the class?” as in (18c).

- (18a) Aquí no hay nadie que pueda autorizar eso.
There is no one here who can authorize that. (=27b))
- (18b) Hay muy pocos que entiendan esa teoría.
There are very few who understand that theory. (=28a))
- (18c) ¿Hay alguien aquí que sepa dónde está Lilian?
Is there anybody here who knows where Lillian is? (=29b))

Guitart formulates (R3) as the following:

- (R3) a. In IPs, use the indicative to assert that L contains or does not contain the individual(s) labeled NPR and that L contains members of the class defined by the clause, as well as to verify that L contains no members of the class defined by the same clause or hardly any members, and to inquire whether it contains any members of such a class;
- b. In non-IPs, use the indicative when NPR is [+Indiv] and when it is [-Indiv], [+ Rec], [-Fut]; otherwise use the subjunctive.

The analysis presented in (R3) will be the basis of the following analyses of mood choice in relative clauses in Italian and French.

3. Mood Choice in Italian Relative Clauses

This section provides an analysis of the treatment of mood choice in relative clauses presented in Italian textbooks (in Section 3.1) and an examination of whether Guitart’s (1994) theory can be applied to Italian mood selection; Section 3.2 focuses on non-inclusion predicates, and Section 3.3 focuses on inclusion predicates. In order to test whether or not Guitart’s theory can account for mood selection in Italian relative clauses, a native speaker of Italian was asked to

translate examples from Guitart's 1994 paper from English into Italian. (The data is presented in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.)

3.1 Italian textbooks and mood choice in relative clauses

In surveying four Italian textbooks (*Da Capo* [Moneti and Lazzarino 2007], *Parliamo Italiano* [Branciforte and Grassi 2006], *Ponti* [Tognozzi and Cavatorta 2004], and *Soluzioni: A Practical Guide to Italian Grammar* [De Rôme and Tite 2003]) that are currently used in the first-fourth semesters of college language courses, all four included brief sections dedicated to explaining mood choice in relative clauses.

Three of the four textbooks list five criteria for the selection of the subjunctive in relative clauses in Italian; the fourth textbook lists only two of these criteria. These criteria are based on the features of the antecedent and, thus, adhere to what Guitart labels the ABA. The five criteria are the following:

- (19) indefinite forms (often ending in *-unque*)
 - a. Qualunque decisione prendiate [SUB], non importa.
Whatever decision you make, it doesn't matter. (Moneti and Lazzarino 2007: 202)
 - b. Quasiassi vestito lei si metta [SUB] le sta bene.
Whatever she wears looks good on her. (Tognozzi and Cavatorta 2004: 199)

- (20) superlative form
 - a. Sono le peggiori modelle che abbia mai visto [SUB].
They are the worst models I've ever seen. (Tognozzi and Cavatorta 2004: 199)
 - b. È il più bravo atleta che io conosca [SUB].
He's the best athlete I know. (Branciforte and Grassi 2006: 314)

- (21) negative expressions
 - a. Non c'era nessuno che lo potesse aiutare [SUB].
There was no one who could help him. (De Rôme and Tite 2003: 149)
 - b. Non conosco nessuno che porti quegli stivali [SUB].
I don't know anyone who wears those boots. (Tognozzi and Cavatorta 2004: 200)

- (22) indefinite expressions
 - Cerchiamo una stanza che sia in centro [SUB].
We are looking for a room that is downtown. (Moneti and Lazzarino 2007: 203)

- (23) the first, the only, the last
 - a. Sono il primo che si sia laureato [SUB] nella mia famiglia.
I am the first in my family to have graduated. (Moneti and Lazzarino 2007: 202)
 - b. È l'unica soluzione che abbia un senso [SUB].
It's the only solution that makes sense. (De Rôme and Tite 2003: 254)

Parliamo Italiano (Branciforte and Grassi 2006) lists only two of the above criteria: the superlative and the negative expressions. While none of these textbooks actually use the word “antecedent,” they mention these five categories that apply to the antecedent.

Of the examples elicited, the following example in (24) fails to be predicted by the criteria in the categories listed above:

- (24) Ho bisogno di prendere contatto con una donna che sa parlare vietnamita. [IND]
I need to get in touch with a woman who knows Vietnamese. (I don’t remember her name but I know she works here and I need her to translate something for me.)

The issue here is that while the antecedent is an indefinite expression (*una donna*), the indicative is employed in the relative clause (*che sa parlare vietnamita*). By the above criteria found in the textbooks, the texts would predict the subjunctive in the relative clause (*che sappia parlare vietnamita*).

3.2 Non-Inclusion Predicates

Table 1 provides the Italian equivalents of Guitart’s Spanish examples involving non-inclusion predicates.

	English	Spanish	Italian
[+Indiv]	The one who did this deserves to be punished.	El que hizo esto merece ser castigado. [IND]	La persona che ha fatto ciò merita di essere punita. [IND]
[-Indiv], [+Rec], [-Fut]	At the good private schools, anybody caught cheating on an exam is expelled immediately.	En los buenos colegios privados, a cualquiera que agarran copiando en un examen lo expulsan inmediatamente. [IND]	Alle buone scuole private chiunque, sia sorpreso a copiare all’esame viene espulso. [SUB]
All other [-Indiv]	I don’t know anybody who speaks Turkish.	Yo conozco a nadie que habla turco. [SUB]	Non conosco nessuno che parli turco. [SUB]

Table 1 Non-inclusion predicates in Spanish and Italian

Among non-inclusion predicates, Guitart’s theory accounts for the [+Indiv] and (all other) [-Indiv] examples in Italian; however, there is a discrepancy between Spanish and Italian in the category [-Indiv], [+Rec], [-Fut]: Italian employs the subjunctive where Spanish employs the indicative. This difference will be addressed in the discussion below (in subsection 3.4).

3.3 Inclusion Predicates

Table 2 provides the Italian equivalents of Guitart’s Spanish examples involving inclusion predicates.

	English	Spanish	Italian
L contains the individual(s) labeled as NPR.	The Lola I talked about in my novel actually exists.	La Lola de quien hablo en mi novella existe realmente.	La Lola di cui parlo nel mio romanzo esiste davvero. [IND]

		[IND]	
L does not contain the individual(s) labeled as NPR.	The computer I want does not exist.	La computadora que yo quiero no existe. [IND]	Il computer che voglio non esiste. [IND]
L contains members of the class.	There are still lawyers who charge modest fees.	Hay abogados que todavía cobran barato. [IND]	Ci sono tuttavia avvocati che fanno chiedere prezzi ragionevoli. [IND]
L contains no members of the class.	There is no one here who can authorize that.	Aquí no hay nadie que pueda autorizar eso. [SUB]	Non c'è qui nessuno che possa autorizzare ciò. [SUB]
L contains hardly any members of the class.	There is almost no one here who wants to compete.	Aquí no hay casi ninguno que quiera competir. [SUB]	Non c'è quasi nessuno qui che voglia competere. [SUB]
Does L contain any members of the class?	Are there computers that can translate without error?	¿Hay computadoras que puedan traducir sin errores? [SUB]	Ci sono (esistono) computer che possano tradurre senza errore? [SUB]

Table 2 Inclusion predicates in Spanish and Italian

The Italian examples provided in Table 2 are all predicted by Guitart's theory; however, under the category "L contains hardly any members of the class," Guitart offers another example in his paper (listed below in (25)) that does not conform to Guitart's theory, according to the native speaker's translation.

- (25) Hay muy pocos que entiendan ese teoría. [SUB]
 Ci sono pochissime persone che capiscono quella teoria. [IND]
 There are very few people who understand that theory.

In the example in (25), Spanish employs the subjunctive while Italian employs the indicative. This creates a discrepancy in that Guitart's theory is able to account for only one of the two examples given in the category "L contains hardly any members of the class." The Italian example in (25) uses the indicative because the so-called antecedent is not negated, whereas the example provided in Table 2 uses the subjunctive because the so-called antecedent is negated. Guitart's theory is unable to account for the Italian data in the category "L contains hardly any members of the class" because in Italian negation in the so-called antecedent triggers the subjunctive; if the negation is omitted within the same category, the indicative is used.

3.4 Italian discussion

Guitart's theory is able to account for the Italian data in 7 out of the 9 categories that he offers for Spanish (as seen in Tables 1 and 2). In the two categories unaccounted for, the Italian textbooks make the correct predictions: Indefinite forms (often ending in *-unque*) and negation trigger the subjunctive in relative clauses. On the other hand, the textbooks do not address the use of subjunctives in questions (as the Spanish textbooks did), as in Table 2, and the possibility

of the indicative following indefinite expressions, as in example (24), in which *una donna* (an indefinite expression) precedes a relative clause with an indicative verb form when the context clearly shows that the indefinite expression is in fact [+Indiv] for the speaker. Therefore, using both Guitart's approach and the textbooks' analyses provides a more accurate account for all the data presented here.

4. Mood Choice in French Relative Clauses

This section provides an analysis of the treatment of mood choice in relative clauses presented in French textbooks (in Section 4.1) and an examination of whether Guitart's (1994) theory can be applied to French mood selection; Section 4.2 focuses on non-inclusion predicates, and Section 4.3 focuses on inclusion predicates. As with the Italian data, a native speaker of French was asked to translate examples from Guitart's 1994 paper from English into French. (The data is presented in Sections 4.2 and 4.3.)

4.1 French textbooks and mood choice in relative clauses

In four French textbooks (*Paroles* [Mangan et al. 2001], *Collage: Revision de Grammaire* [Baker et al. 2001], *Contacts: Langue et Culture Francaises* [Valette and Valette 2001], and *Sur le vif: Niveau intermédiaire* [Tufts and Jaraus 2001]) that are currently used in the first–fourth semesters of college language courses, only one textbook provided any information about mood choice in relative clauses in French. *Sur le vif* (Tufts and Jaraus 2001) offers the example that with superlative statements the relative clause can optionally be coded by the subjunctive, as in (26).

- (26) C'est le plus beau prince qu'elle connaisse. [SUB]
 He is the handsomest prince she knows. (Tufts and Jaraus 2001:
 207)

The textbook notes that in superlative statements, such as the example in (26), the statement is a judgment on the part of the speaker, rather than a fact; therefore, the mood choice could easily change.

Four college professors of French and two native speakers, who are French instructors, were consulted to determine why the aforementioned first–fourth semester French textbooks do not address mood choice in relative clauses. The consensus among the consultants was that mood choice in French relative clauses is taught in more advanced courses in French because in French the mood choice is heavily dependent on the amount of certainty or doubt that the speaker has toward the so-called antecedent. The professors recommended the following two advanced French grammars for consultation: *Ensemble Grammaire* (Comeau and Lamoureux 1982) and *French for Oral and Written Review* (Meiden 1983).

The professors' claims are clearly supported by the grammars' treatment of the topic. *Ensemble Grammaire* (Comeau and Lamoureux 1982) states that “Verbs in relative clauses are normally in the indicative. The subjunctive is often used, however, if the speaker doubts or denies the existence or attainability of the antecedent” (202). For example, Comeau and Lamoureux (1982: 202) offer the sentences in (27a) and (27b):

- (27a) Nous avons trouvé un reporter qui sait parler japonais. [IND]
 We have found a reporter who can speak Japanese.

- (27b) Nous cherchons un reporter qui sache parler japonais. [SUB]
We are looking for a reporter who can speak Japanese.

The relative clause in (27a) employs the indicative mood because it is “an objective statement of fact” (202); however, the relative clause in (27b) employs the subjunctive mood because “the speaker doubts that he can find [a reporter]” (202).

French for Oral and Written Review (Meiden 1983) states, “The indicative is normally used in dependent relative clauses since relative clauses normally state a fact. The subjunctive is often used in relative clauses where there is some doubt or denial of the existence or attainability of the antecedent, but certain tenses of the indicative are also found in such clauses” (148). Meiden (1983: 148) offers the following three criteria as triggers of the subjunctive mood in French relative clauses: “the antecedent is as yet unattained,” as in (28a); “doubt is expressed as to the attainability of the antecedent,” as in (28b); and “the antecedent is negative,” as in (28c).

- (28a) Je cherche un domestique qui sache tout faire. [SUB]
I’m looking for a servant who knows how to do everything.
- (28b) Avez-vous un collègue qui soit très au courant de ces choses? [SUB]
Do you have a colleague who happens to know everything about those things?
- (28c) Je ne connais personne qui puisse vous accompagner. [SUB]
I don’t know anyone who can go with you.

Meiden’s analysis is based on what Guitart calls the ABA (as were the Italian textbooks’ analyses).

4.2 Non-Inclusion Predicates

Table 3 provides the French equivalents of Guitart’s Spanish examples involving non-inclusion predicates.

	English	Spanish	French
[+Indiv]	The one who did this deserves to be punished.	El que hizo esto merece ser castigado. [IND]	Celui qui a fait cela mérite d’être puni. [IND]
[-Indiv], [+Rec], [-Fut]	At the good private schools, anybody caught cheating on an exam is expelled immediately.	En los buenos colegios privados, a cualquiera que agarran copiando en un examen lo expulsan inmediatamente. [IND]	Dans les bonnes écoles privées, celui qui est surpris en train de tricher est immédiatement exclu. [IND]
All other [-Indiv]	I don’t know anybody who speaks Turkish.	Yo conozco a nadie que habla turco. [SUB]	Je ne connais personne qui parle turc. [IND] OR Je ne connais personne qui parle turc. [SUB]

Table 3 Non-inclusion predicates in Spanish and French

Analyzing non-inclusion predicates in French, the category “all other [-Indiv]” shows disparity between the Spanish and French translations. The indicative is possible in French where only the subjunctive is possible in Spanish. In French, the verb *parle* is morphologically both the indicative and the subjunctive form for the example in Table 3. A native speaker noted that either reading (indicative or subjunctive) is acceptable and would be determined by the amount of certainty that the speaker has (i.e., whether there is a possibility that someone they know could speak Turkish). Other examples that take the indicative in French but subjunctive in Spanish are those that are [-Indiv] and [+Fut], such as the example in (29):

- (29) Mañana voy a entrevistar a la primera persona con quien me tropiece. [SUB] (= (21) in Guitart 1994: 394)
 Demain j’interviewerai la première personne que je rencontrerai. [IND]
 Tomorrow I am going to interview the first person I bump into.

The example in (29) and the example in Table 3 demonstrate that Guitart’s analysis of mood choice in Spanish relative clauses in non-inclusion predicates cannot be expanded to include French.

4.3 Inclusion Predicates

Table 4 provides the French equivalents of Guitart’s Spanish examples involving inclusion predicates.

	English	Spanish	French
L contains the individual(s) labeled as NPR.	The Lola I talked about in my novel actually exists.	La Lola de quien hablo en mi novella existe realmente. [IND]	La Lola dont je parle dans mon roman existe vraiment. [IND]
L does not contain the individual(s) labeled as NPR.	The computer I want does not exist.	La computadora que yo quiero no existe. [IND]	L’ordinateur que je veux n’existe pas. [IND]
L contains members of the class.	There are still lawyers who charge modest fees.	Hay abogados que todavía cobran barato. [IND]	Il existe toujours des avocats qui ont des honoraires raisonnables. [IND]
L contains no members of the class.	There is no one here who can authorize that.	Aquí no hay nadie que pueda autorizar eso. [SUB]	Il n’y a personne ici qui puisse m’aider. [SUB] OR Il n’y a personne ici qui peut m’aider. [IND]
L contains hardly any members of the class.	There is almost no one here who wants to	Aquí no hay casi ninguno que quiera	Il n’y a presque jamais personne que

	compete.	competir. [SUB]	veut entrer en compétition. [IND] OR Il n'y a presque jamais personne que veuille entrer en compétition. [SUB]
Does L contain any members of the class?	Are there computers that can translate without error?	¿Hay computadoras que puedan traducir sin errores? [SUB]	Y a-t-il des ordinateurs qui puissent traduire sans erreur? [SUB] OR Y a-t-il des ordinateurs qui peuvent traduire sans erreur? [IND]

Table 4 Inclusion predicates in Spanish and French

As the examples in Table 4 suggest, the criteria for selection of subjunctive in relative clauses in Spanish and French differ. In the three categories in which Spanish requires the subjunctive (L contains no members of the class, L contains hardly any members of the class, and Does L contain any members of the class?), French allows either indicative or subjunctive. This is in accord with the information provided by the advanced French grammars and the French consultants; that is, the indicative or subjunctive choice is highly sensitive to the contextual factors that overlie the utterance in the mind of the speaker.

4.4 French discussion

Guitart's theory cannot be applied in the strictest sense to French because where Guitart predicts the selection of the subjunctive mood in Spanish, French allows the selection of either the subjunctive or the indicative moods in the relative clause. This suggests that the criteria for mood selection in relative clauses are different in Spanish and French. The advanced grammar textbooks in French do appear to over-generalize by concluding that mood choice is predicated upon the mental assumptions of the speaker. However, from the data above, it is clear that there is more to consider because the differences in Guitart's predictions for Spanish and the data in French are systematic. In other words, Guitart's theory provides criteria that distinguish between examples in French in which only the indicative is expected in the relative clause and in which either the indicative or the subjunctive can be expected in the relative clause.

5. Conclusion

Spanish textbooks claim that the properties of the antecedent only (such as definiteness and existence) determine mood choice in the relative clause. Guitart (1994) refers to this as the antecedent-based approach (ABA) and thoroughly demonstrates that the ABA is inadequate as an analysis for Spanish, instead demonstrating that both the so-called antecedent and the noun phrase that modifies it must be taken into account. He then proposes his own criteria for mood selection in Spanish, which are able to correctly predict mood choice in Spanish relative clauses.

Italian textbooks rely on the same ABA as Spanish textbooks, providing categories such as indefinite expressions, superlative forms, and negative antecedents, which provide only a partial description of mood choice in relative clauses. Guitart's theory can be applied to Italian

data in conjunction with the textbooks' analyses in order to provide a more adequate treatment of mood selection in Italian.

French textbooks do not address mood choice in relative clauses until more advanced levels of language instruction. In attempting to apply Guitart's theory to French, it becomes clear that Spanish and French rely on different criteria for the selection of the subjunctive. For the French data in Section 4, Guitart's theory is able to make predictions that distinguish between relative clauses in French that only take only the indicative mood and those that take either the indicative or the subjunctive mood. According to the French-speaking informants, the mental assumptions of the speaker play a greater role in mood selection in French.

The data presented in Sections 2–4 demonstrate that the treatment of mood selection in relative clauses in Spanish, Italian, and French textbooks (that are currently used in the first-fourth semesters of college language courses) is inadequate for providing students with accurate criteria for mood selection. Because the textbooks' treatments are inadequate, linguists should follow the example set forth in Guitart (1994) by providing more in-depth and accurate descriptions of mood choice.

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