

The Portuguese future subjunctive

A dominion analysis

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Although the analysis of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood would contribute to a greater understanding of the general meaning of the subjunctive mood, this verb form has received considerably little attention compared to the other subjunctive forms, namely, the past and present subjunctives. The aim of the present paper is to fill this gap. Using the theoretical perspective of Cognitive Grammar, it will be shown that the Portuguese future subjunctive shares many characteristic features with other tenses of the subjunctive mood. In particular, the analysis shows that the Portuguese future subjunctive can be explained by the concept of *dominion*. Thus, the present paper provides a conceptually grounded and unified explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese subjunctive mood.

Keywords: Cognitive Grammar, dominion, future subjunctive mood, Portuguese

1. Introduction

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Portuguese in comparison with other Romance languages is the use of the future subjunctive mood. Although this particular verb form exists in Spanish, its use in the language is considered archaic, its distribution is optional, and it is generally limited to formal genres (cf. Comrie & Holmback, 1984). By contrast, the Portuguese future subjunctive is highly productive, occurring in adverbial time clauses introduced by *quando* ('when'), *depois que* ('after'), and *assim que* ('as soon as'), among others, when they have a future time reference. It also occurs after the conditional (adverbial) conjunction *se* ('if') when the following clause describes an event with projection into the future, and in restrictive relative clauses with a non-specific referent and with a future projection.

One would expect the Portuguese future subjunctive to be of particular interest for scholars analysing the semantics of the subjunctive mood, particularly in

relation to the subjunctive mood in the Romance languages. In fact, however, there are few studies related to this verb form (e.g., Comrie & Holmback, 1984; Perini, 1978) in this regard, and those that do exist, despite bringing interesting analyses, are somewhat out-of-date, having investigated the matter using such theoretical tools as *transformational rules*. As a consequence, the focus in these studies is mainly on distributional patterns and on underlying structures, rather than on the aim of finding semantic explanations for the future subjunctive mood. Moreover, these studies do not connect the meaning of the future subjunctive to other tenses of the subjunctive mood, e.g., the past subjunctive and the present subjunctive mood.

The present paper represents an alternative analysis. From the theoretical perspective of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2008), I will provide a conceptual explanation for the semantics of the future subjunctive mood, showing that it is highly compatible with the meaning of other tenses in the subjunctive mood. In previous studies (cf. Vesterinen, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b), I have argued that the Portuguese subjunctive mood can be explained by the concept of *dominion*. That is, this mood designates events that are located outside the *conceptualizer's* dominion.¹ This can essentially occur in two different, but related, ways. The described event is either located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion or outside the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control. The following Portuguese Examples (1)–(2) illustrate this phenomenon:

- (1) *A Maria não crê que o Pedro esteja no trabalho*
'Mary does not believe that Peter is-SUBJ. at work'
- (2) *É uma pena que fales assim*
'It is a pity that you talk-SUBJ. like that'

In the first Example (1), the main clause verb ('believe') directly focuses on the conceptualizer's epistemic considerations regarding the complement event. That is, the relevant dominion for the conceptualization is the epistemic dominion. Furthermore, the negation of the main clause verb designates that the event described in the complement is located outside the main clause subject's ('Mary') dominion. By contrast, the impersonal expression *It is a pity*, as presented in Example (2), is not related to the conceptualizer's epistemic concerns. Rather, the

1. The term *conceptualizer* refers to the conceptualizing subject of the linguistic expression. From the theoretical perspective of Cognitive Grammar, the speaker corresponds to the primary conceptualizer of the linguistic expression, but the expression may also evoke other conceptualizers, such as the clausal subject. In a bi-clausal expression, e.g., *Peter believes that Mary is cheating on him*, the speaker is the conceptualizer of the full linguistic expression, whereas the subject of the main clause ('Peter') is the conceptualizer of the event described in the complement clause (cf. Langacker, 2009, pp. 272–273).

expression evokes the dominion of effective control. The conceptualizer, this time equated with the speaker, expresses an opinion regarding the complement event. However, the event is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control, given the agency of another active participant, i.e., the subject of the complement clause.² As shown by Examples (1) and (2), the subjunctive mood occurs in these contexts. The present study will illustrate that the concept of dominion provides a conceptually grounded explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese future subjunctive. Moreover, I will show that this meaning is consistent with the meaning of other tenses of the subjunctive mood.

The paper is organized in the following way. Section (2) describes the distribution of the Portuguese future subjunctive. Moreover, it discusses the findings in previous studies on the Portuguese future subjunctive (e.g., Comrie & Holmback, 1984; Perini, 1978). Section (3) refers to the perspective taken in the present paper, giving special attention to the relation between the subjunctive mood and the concept of dominion. Section (4) pertains to the analysis of natural examples of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood. Finally, Section (5) presents some general conclusions.

2. Reference grammars and previous studies

Portuguese reference grammars are generally quite imprecise in their description of the future subjunctive mood. For example, Bechara (1999) comments that the future indicative mood is substituted by the future subjunctive in certain grammatical contexts:

“Nas orações condicionais de *se*, nas temporais de *quando e enquanto*, nas conformativas (de *segundo e conforme* etc.), nas adjetivas que denotam simples concepção, o futuro indicativo é substituído pelo futuro conjuntivo (subjuntivo)” [In conditionals with *if*, in tense clauses with *when* and *while*, in conformities (*according to, in accordance with*), in adjectival phrases designating a simple conception, the future indicative is substituted by the future subjunctive].

(Bechara, 1999, pp. 279–280)

Bechara (1999) does not explain exactly what he means by “adjectival phrases designating a simple conception.” Nor does he furnish any examples of these cases. The most plausible interpretation is that he is referring to relative clauses with a non-specific referent and a projection into the future, e.g., *José vai casar com*

2. The concept of dominion will be discussed in more detail in Section (3.1)

a mulher que tiver muito dinheiro ('José will marry the (whatever) woman who has-FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE a lot of money') (cf. Comrie & Holmback, 1984, p. 241).

Mira Mateus, Brito, Duarte, and Hub Faria (2003) do not discuss the future subjunctive in particular. However, they do comment that the future subjunctive mood in clauses introduced by *quando* ('when') has a future reading in relation to the time of utterance (Mira Mateus et al., 2003, p. 268). Moreover, they discuss the hypothetical feature of clauses introduced by the conditional conjunction *se* ('if') in examples such as *Se escrever um artigo, ganharei 50 Euros* ('If I write-FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE an article, I will earn-FUTURE INDICATIVE 50 Euros). Finally, Cunha and Cintra (1984) discuss the most common contexts in which the future subjunctive occurs, namely in conditionals introduced by *se* ('if'), in time clauses with *quando* ('when'), and in relatives with a non-specific referent. They conclude that the future subjunctive mood designates the *possibility* of an event occurring in the future (Cunha & Cintra, 1984, p. 473). Accordingly, the common denominator of the Portuguese subjunctive mood is that it has a projection into the future, describing events that still not have been accomplished.

Perini (1978) argues that the future subjunctive mood should not be considered a subjunctive form at all, but rather an alternative verb form of the future indicative. The main reason for this position is that the future subjunctive and the main clause verb are claimed to share the same temporal profile: "these clauses are submitted to an obligatory correlation, which makes the tense of the main clause and the subordinate clause identical" (Perini, 1978, p. 21).³ Building on this assumption, the author identifies an analogy between time clauses with the conjunction *quando* ('when') in the present and the future tense, respectively. This phenomenon is illustrated by the following examples:

- (3) *Quando eu saio, levo guarda-chuva.*
 'When I go out-PRES.IND., I bring-PRES.IND. an umbrella' (Perini, 1978, p. 21)
- (4) *Quando eu sair, levarei guarda-chuva.*
 'When I go out-FUT.SUBJ., I bring-FUT.IND. an umbrella' (Perini, 1978, p. 22)

The reason for considering the future subjunctive in Example (4) an alternative form of the future indicative mood is based on the idea that there is a complementary distribution between the present and the future tense. Consequently, the future subjunctive in (4) fills the semantic and syntactic slot that is created by the impossibility of using the future indicative in this context (cf. Perini, 1978, p. 21). Perini paraphrases Examples (3) and (4) by using the following parameters:

3. Our translation: "Essas orações são submetidas a uma correlação obrigatória, que faz com que o tempo da principal e o da subordinada sejam idênticos" (Perini, 1978, p. 21).

- (5) *Quando eu saio, levo guarda-chuva.*
 > 'If I go out in moment t, then I bring an umbrella at moment t'
 (Where t = habitual present)
- (6) *Quando eu sair, levarei guarda-chuva.*
 > 'If I go out in moment t, then I bring an umbrella at moment t'
 (Where t = future)

According to Perini (1978), Examples (3–6) lead to the conclusion that there is no substantial difference between the future indicative and the future subjunctive. The future subjunctive has exactly the same meaning as the future indicative would have if it could occur in the context of Examples (4) and (6). Within this line of argumentation, the future subjunctive parallels the semantics of the indicative in the contexts in which it occurs (cf. Perini, 1978, p. 22).

Moreover, Perini (1978) discusses the fact that Portuguese frequently allows the present tense for descriptions of the future, e.g., *quando sair, levo guarda-chuva* ('when I go out-FUT.SUBJ, I bring-PRES.IND an umbrella). In order to account for this structure, Perini (1978) postulates underlying grammatical structures for the verb *levar* ('to bring'). Accordingly, the structure FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE + MAIN CLAUSE WITH PRESENT TENSE is explained by the notion that it represents the transformation from a deep structure to a surface structure. In the case of *levar* ('to bring'), the surface structure derives from the following deep structure: [quando eu T sair] eu Fut. + Pres. levar guarda-chuva] (Perini, 1978, p. 38).

Comrie and Holmback (1984) focus primarily on the semantic differences between the present and the future subjunctive mood. However, in accordance with Terrell and Hooper (1974), they also find a particular meaning for this mood by connecting it to the concepts of *presupposition* and *assertion*. Thus, restrictive relative clauses in the subjunctive mood and temporal adverbial clauses introduced by the conjunctions *quando* ('when') and *depois que* ('after') are claimed to express presupposed content, whereas the conditional conjunction *se* ('if') is said to be more non-assertive in character (cf. Comrie & Holmback, 1984, p. 224).⁴

The main claim of their analysis is to demonstrate that the future subjunctive is more definite in character than the present subjunctive. As such, Comrie and Holmback (1984) modify the notion of identical temporal profiles, as pursued by Perini (1978), and the subjunctive (subordinate) clause event is claimed to be "either anterior to or simultaneous with a situation (that expressed in the main

4. Since the pioneering study of Terrell and Hooper (1974), the notion that the subjunctive mood expresses presupposed and non-asserted content is predominant in studies of Spanish and Portuguese mood choice (see, for example, Guitart, 1991; Lunn, 1989; Marques, 2009, 2010; Mejías-Bikandi, 1994, 1995, 1998; Terrell, 1995).

clause) that is located in the future” (Comrie & Holmback, 1984, p. 217). Following Reichenbach (1947), the researchers posit a relation between the present (the time of utterance) and the main clause event, in which the latter represents a temporal *reference point* that is located in the future. Accordingly, they identify a sequential pattern regarding conjunctions such as *antes que* (‘before’) and *até que* (‘until’), which trigger the present subjunctive mood, and *se* (‘if’), *depois que* (‘after’) and *quando* (‘when’), which trigger the future subjunctive mood. The following examples, from Comrie and Holmback (1984, p. 216, p. 219), are cases in point:

- (7) *Quando você chegar, eu vou sair.*
‘When you arrive-FUT.SUBJ., I will-PRES.IND. leave’
- (8) *Se você chegar, eu vou sair.*
‘If you arrive-FUT.SUBJ., I will-PRES.IND. leave’
- (9) *Depois que você chegar, vou sair.*
‘After you arrive-FUT.SUBJ., I will-PRES.IND. leave’
- (10) *Antes que você chegue, eu vou sair.*
‘Before you arrive-PRES. SUBJ., I will-PRES.IND. leave’
- (11) *Vamos ficar aqui fora até que chova*
‘We are going to stay-PRES.IND. out here until it rains-PRES.SUBJ.’

The underlying idea is that the semantic meaning of the conjunction that triggers the subjunctive mood also explains why it triggers either the present or the future subjunctive. Conjunctions such as *when*, *if* and *after* locate the subordinate event before the reference point in time, whereas the opposite is true for the conjunctions triggering the present subjunctive mood. The semantic meaning of *before* and *until* locates the described situation after the reference point. Comrie and Holmback (1984, p. 234) conclude that the location of situations described by the future subjunctive establish a higher degree of definiteness than situations described by the present subjunctive mood, given that they describe a closer relation between the time of the utterance (the present) and the described event (happening before or simultaneously with the reference point). Comrie and Holmback (1984) identify a similar distinction in relative clauses. Relative clauses in the present subjunctive mood occur with the indefinite article of the head noun, whereas the future subjunctive mood commonly occurs with the definite article. Comrie and Holmback (1984) reach the conclusion that “the future subjunctive should be characterized as more definite than its closest competitor, namely the present subjunctive” (Comrie & Holmback, 1984, p. 252).

3. The perspective of the present study

The studies referred to in Section (2) represent important contributions to the research on the Portuguese future subjunctive mood. From the theoretical perspective of the present paper, however, it is difficult to understand the reason why Perini (1978) considers the future subjunctive mood to constitute an alternative verb form of the future indicative. Perini (1978) points out a certain correlation between the present indicative and the future subjunctive in temporal clauses with *quando* ('when'), but ignores a fundamental semantic difference between these verb forms – even though he labels them (t = habitual present) and (t = future), respectively. That is, the present indicative does not designate a particular event, but rather a habitual relation of the type ALWAYS X > ALWAYS Y, whereas a fundamental feature of the future subjunctive is to designate an event that still has not been accomplished. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that the future indicative mood frequently designates a positive epistemic stance towards an event, e.g., *O Pedro estará em casa* ('Pedro is probably at home'), whereas this semantic feature is lacking in the future subjunctive mood.

Turning to Comrie and Holmback (1984), it is noteworthy that their analysis is in large part concerned with semantic differences between the present and the future subjunctive mood in terms of definiteness. In discussing a more general explanation for the semantic meaning of the subjunctive mood, by contrast, they depend heavily on the traditional concepts of assertion and presupposition. The present paper identifies a problem with these concepts. Explanations based on the assumption that the semantics of the subjunctive mood is to designate both non-asserted and presupposed content might lead to the erroneous conclusion that it has two totally opposed meanings, namely to designate both non-reality and reality. The present paper therefore seeks to find a general and unified explanation for the meaning of the subjunctive mood. In doing so, it will show that the concept of dominion can provide a conceptually grounded and unified explanation for the subjunctive mood.

3.1 The concept of dominion and the subjunctive mood

Within the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar, the concept of dominion was originally introduced by Langacker (1993), who defines it as "the conceptual region (or the set of entities) to which a particular reference point affords direct access" (Langacker, 1993, p. 6). In order to find a unified semantic meaning for the heterogeneous category of possessive constructions, and the fact that these constructions frequently do not designate ownership, but other kinds of relations,

Langacker (1993) developed the *reference-point model*.⁵ According to this model, the possessor (in the broad sense of the word) functions as a referent point that establishes mental contact with another entity. Langacker (1993) concludes that the basic meaning (and function) of possessive constructions is to locate the “possessed” entity within the dominion of the reference point. Figure 1, illustrates this situation.

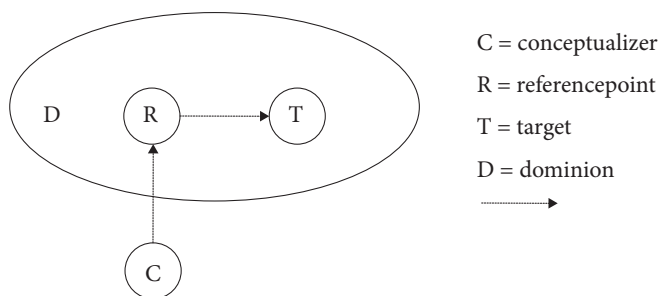


Figure 1. Reference-point constructions (cf. Langacker, 1993, p. 6)

As illustrated in Figure 1, the common denominator of possessive constructions is locating a certain entity, labelled the target (T), within the dominion (D) of the reference point (R). This conceptualization process is built up successively. Initially, a possessive morpheme (for example, the ending of *Peter's* or a possessive pronoun) establishes contact between the conceptualizer (C) and the reference point. Thereafter, the conceptualizer follows a mental path from the reference point to the entity referred to as being in some kind of relationship with the reference point, i.e., to the entity that is located within the dominion (the conceptual region) of the reference point.

The concept of dominion has subsequently been extended by Maldonado (1995) to not only account for the location of entities within a particular participant's conceptual region. In order to explain mood choice in Spanish, Maldonado (1995) argues that the semantics of the indicative and the subjunctive mood can be explained by the way in which they locate an event (or a proposition) in relation to the conceptualizer's dominion. The meaning of the indicative mood is to locate an event within the conceptualizer's dominion, whereas events described by the

5. The difficulty of positing a relation of ownership in possessive constructions can be verified in examples such as *here comes my bus*, *I like my brother*, *I will get rid of the cat's fleas*, etc. Obviously, the person uttering these sentences does not refer to relations of ownership. Rather these expressions constitute metaphorical extensions from prototypical possessive constructions (cf. Langacker, 1993, p. 7).

subjunctive mood, by contrast, locate the event outside the conceptualizer's dominion. The following Spanish examples illustrate this phenomenon:

- (12) *Creo que Juana está enfadada contigo* (Spanish)
 'I believe that Juana is-PRES.IND. angry with you'
- (13) *No creo que Juana esté enfadada contigo* (Spanish)
 'I do not believe that Juana is-PRES.SUBJ. angry with you'
- (14) *Dudo de que Pablo quiera hablar contigo* (Spanish)
 'I doubt that Pablo wants-PRES.SUBJ. to talk with you'
- (15) *No dudo de que Pablo quiere hablar contigo* (Spanish)
 'I do not doubt that Pablo wants-PRES.IND. to talk with you'

Examples (12)–(15) illustrate Maldonado's (1995) line of argumentation.⁶ In cases where the content of the complement clause corresponds to the conceptualizer's conception of reality, the indicative mood is used. Accordingly, the indicative designates an event that is located within the conceptualizer's dominion. This is the case with the verb *creer* (to believe) in its positive use (12) and with the negation of the verb *dudar* (to doubt) in Example (15). If the complement event does not correspond to the conceptualizer's conception of reality, by contrast, the subjunctive mood occurs. This is the situation depicted in Examples (13) and (14), with the negation of the verb *creer* ('to think') and the positive use of the verb *dudar* ('to doubt'). These complement events are located outside the conceptualizer's dominion, which is why the subjunctive mood occurs. It designates events that are located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. Figure 2 illustrates the semantic difference between the indicative and the subjunctive mood.

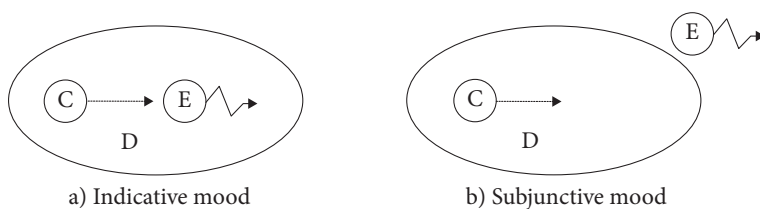


Figure 2. The meaning of the indicative and the subjunctive mood

In Figure 2, the dominion (D) corresponds to the conceptualizer's (C) capacity to evaluate the epistemic status of a described event (E) as being in accordance with

6. Although Maldonado (1995) focuses on the Spanish subjunctive mood, his analysis is also relevant for the Portuguese subjunctive mood, given the fact that Spanish and Portuguese exhibit a close similarity regarding mood choice.

his/her conception of reality. Those events that correspond to the conceptualizer's conception of reality are located within the dominion. The semantics of the indicative mood is consistent with this situation, which is illustrated in Figure 2a. By contrast, the subjunctive mood designates events that conflict with the conceptualizer's worldview. Subsequently, the subjunctive mood designates events that are located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. This situation is illustrated in Figure 2b.

Although Maldonado (1995) represents a conceptual innovation in the analysis of the Spanish mood system, the explanatory power is not entirely convincing. This limitation could be explained by a too narrowly defined concept of dominion, which is conceived as "the conceptualizer's capacity to control actively and to manipulate a circumstance in order to access its status with respect to elaborated reality" (Maldonado, 1995, p. 406).⁷ As a result of this definition, presupposed complements – that is, complements of factive predicates – are related to the conceptualizer's epistemic considerations. Also, the content of these complements are argued to be located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. Consider the following example:

- (16) *Es una tristeza que no puedas cenar con nosotros* (Spanish)
 'It is sad that you cannot-PRES.SUBJ. have dinner with us'

Maldonado (1995) explains the occurrence of the subjunctive mood in (16) as follows: "the content of the complement clause is not in the dominion of the crucial conceptualizer and is therefore not available to be considered a fact" (Maldonado, 1995, p. 408). In addition, the explanation is based on the assumption that the subjunctive mood, which Maldonado (1995) considers a non-finite verb form, cannot describe reality. These explanations are somewhat problematic. First, the main clause expression in Example (16), e.g., *es una tristeza* ('it is sad') does not primarily designate the conceptualizer's epistemic considerations – it designates the conceptualizer's emotional attitude towards the complement event. In this sense, it designates presupposed content (cf. Terrell, 1995). Secondly, Maldonado (1995) does not actually explain why the subjunctive mood is a non-finite verb form.⁸

7. The concept of *elaborated reality* refers to the fact that we do not only include actual events into our conception of how reality is shaped. On the basis of our experience of how reality has evolved until the present, we have the capacity to predict the occurrence or non-occurrence of future events with certain confidence (cf. Achard, 1998, pp. 224–226; Langacker, 1991, p. 228).

8. A plausible interpretation is that Maldonado (1995) refers to the notion that the tense of the subjunctive mood is restricted to having the same temporal profile as that of the main clause verb. However, see Suñer and Padilla Rivera (1987) for convincing arguments against the non-finiteness hypothesis. As their analysis shows, the subjunctive mood frequently occurs in a different tense than the main clause predicate.

From the perspective of the present paper, the problem discussed above ceases to exist if the concept of dominion is not only related to the conceptualizer's epistemic considerations. In accordance with Langacker (2009), the concept can readily be related to the conceptualizer's dominion of *effective control* (cf. Vesterinen, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b). Some linguistic expressions evoke the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. This is, for example, the case with predicates describing an epistemic attitude towards an event. Prototypical cases are found in predicates such as *to believe*, *to doubt*, *to be sure*, etc. Other linguistic expressions, by contrast, are related to the conceptualizer's intentions to "influence what happens" (Langacker, 2009, p. 153). Let us consider the following examples:

- (17) *É uma pena que não trabalhes mais* (Portuguese)
'It is a pity that you do not work-PRES.SUBJ. harder'
- (18) *Quero que me escutes* (Portuguese)
'I want you to listen-PRES.SUBJ. to me'
- (19) *Á condição de que te portes bem, podes sair* (Portuguese)
'On the condition that you behave-PRES.SUBJ. you can go out'
- (20) *Faço isto para que fiques comigo* (Portuguese)
'I do this so that you stay-PRES.SUBJ. with me'

It could be argued that the subjunctive mood in Examples (17)–(20) is related to the fact that this mood designates either presupposed (17) or non-asserted (18)–(20) content. This assumption is in line with the classical study of Terrell and Hooper (1974). Following Maldonado (1995), by contrast, the occurrence of the subjunctive mood would indicate that the subordinate event is located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. A more accurate account for these examples is to consider the conceptual content of the linguistic expression triggering the subjunctive mood. In Example (17), the impersonal *É uma pena* ('It is a pity') designates an emotional attitude towards the complement event. In the following Example (18), the predicate *quero* ('I want') expresses a wish that the complement event will occur. Moreover, both the conditional conjunction *à condição de que* ('on the condition that') in Example (19) and the conjunction *para que* ('so that') in (20) express an attempt to influence the occurrence of the subordinate event. In sum, Examples (17)–(20) are related to the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control. Subsequently, the subjunctive mood designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. In sum, there is a relation in which the linguistic unit triggering the subjunctive mood evokes the relevant dominion, whereas the subjunctive mood designates that the event is located outside that dominion.

To conclude, the concept of dominion provides a unified explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese subjunctive mood.⁹ The bipartition of the concept is in accordance with the conceptual content that triggers mood choice, be it epistemic or be it effective control over the event, and the choice of mood designates whether the event is located within or outside the conceptualizer's dominion. Figure 3 depicts the bipartition of the conceptualizer's dominion.

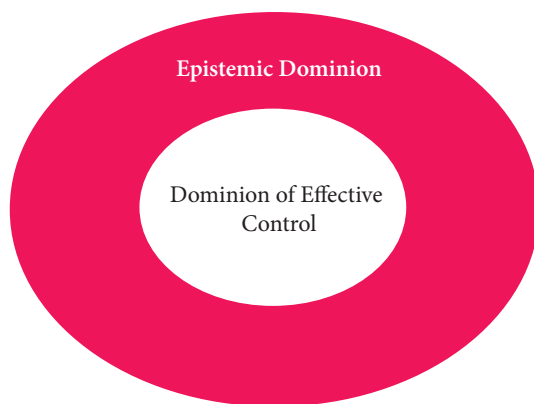


Figure 3. The bipartition of the concept of dominion

Figure 3 illustrates the idea that an event can be located within the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion and outside the dominion of effective control simultaneously. Prototypical cases of this situation includes epistemic predicates ('to believe,' 'to understand,' 'to be sure,' etc.). Furthermore, factive predicates and expressions, such as *to regret*, *it is a pity*, *it bothers me*, etc., are located within the epistemic dominion. At the same time, they may be located within or outside the dominion of effective control depending on the context. If the conceptualizer corresponds to the active participant of the event, the event is located within the dominion of effective control. If another participant represents the active participant of the described event, the same is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control. For example, the expression *I regret having to tell you this* designates an event that is located within the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control. S/he is the agentive participant of the event. By contrast, the expression *It bothers me that you behave that way* designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control (but within the epistemic dominion). Another participant, the subject of the complement clause is the participant in control. In the following

9. In fact, it could be argued that it is also capable of providing an explanation for the semantic meaning of the Spanish subjunctive mood (cf. Vesterinen & Bylund, 2013).

analysis, it will be shown that the concept of dominion provides a natural explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood. This being so, the concept of dominion provides a unified explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese subjunctive mood.

4. Analysis

This analysis focuses on natural examples collected from the Portuguese corpus *Linguateca* (CETEMPúblico). The mood alternation in temporal clauses is analyzed in Section (4.1), whereas mood in conditional clauses introduced by the particle *se* ('if') is dealt with in Section (4.2) and mood in relative clauses in Section (4.3). The claim made in the present analysis is that the occurrence of the future subjunctive in these contexts can be explained by the concept of dominion. Accordingly, the overall scope is intended to show that the Portuguese future subjunctive mood can be explained in the same terms as the present and the imperfect of the subjunctive mood. The concept of dominion provides natural and unified explanation for the meaning of this mood.

4.1 Temporal clauses

As Comrie and Holmback (1984) point out, temporal clauses with future subjunctive mood have a particular feature in common: they designate a future event that precedes the main clause event sequentially. This is the case, for example, in temporal clauses introduced by *quando* ('when'), *assim que* ('as soon as'), and *logo que* ('as soon as'). The implication is that the structure MAIN CLAUSE + TEMPORAL CLAUSE exhibits a dependency relation in terms of accomplishment. The occurrence of the main clause event depends on the occurrence of the subordinate event. In accordance with this tendency, the structure TEMPORAL CONJUNCTION + FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE mood designates an event that has the potential to occur, but which occurrence is far from being obvious. The present analysis therefore relates temporal clauses to the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. Examples (21)–(23) illustrate this situation:

- (21) *Estes repatriamentos directos só terminarão quando estiver seguro de que posso fazê-lo de forma a não contribuir para uma tragédia humana*

[par=ext1116591-pol-93a-2]s

'These direct repatriations will only stop when I am-FUT.SUBJ. sure of that I can stop them without causing a human tragedy'

- (22) *Segundo o presidente do Conselho Directivo, assim que o projecto final estiver concluído prevê-se um prazo de três a seis meses para o lançamento do concurso*
 [par=ext19938-soc-92b-2:]
 ‘According to the Chairman of the Executive Board, there is a calculated deadline between three and six months for launching the competition as soon as the final project is-FUT.SUBJ. concluded’
- (23) *Portugal vai começar a abater o gado bovino potencialmente contaminado com a doença das vacas loucas logo que a Comissão Europeia declarar aceite o seu programa de erradicação*
 [par=ext20966-soc-96a-3]
 ‘Portugal will begin to shoot down potentially contaminated cattle with the mad cow disease as soon as the European Commission declare-FUT.SUBJ. that they accept the eradication program’

Comrie and Holmback (1984) explain the occurrence of the future subjunctive mood in Examples (21)–(23) with the notion of sequential order. The fact that the temporal clause event precedes the main clause event sequentially is claimed to cause a conceptual necessity for using the future tense of the subjunctive mood to identify the location of the event in the future. This strategy is not necessary when the temporal clause event is preceded sequentially by a main clause with projection into the future (cf. Example 10).

More importantly, however, the future subjunctive mood designates an event that is not confirmed. In (21), the conceptualizer is not sure of how to stop “the direct repatriations” without causing “a human tragedy.” In the following Example (22), the conceptualizer does not know when the project that is referred to will be concluded – or if it will be concluded at all. Finally, Example (23) designates uncertainty regarding the acceptance of the “eradication program.” The fact that the conjunction introducing the temporal clause projects into the future implies a certain epistemic uncertainty. The future subjunctive mood reflects this uncertainty, designating an event that is located outside the conceptualizer’s dominion.

4.1.1 *Temporal clauses and the imperfect indicative mood*

The possibility of the indicative mood occurring in the same types of temporal clauses describing past events corroborates the analysis of Examples (21)–(23). When temporal clauses introduced by *quando* (‘when’), *assim que* (‘as soon as’), and *logo que* (‘as soon as’) describe past events, they tend to designate events that have occurred and, consequently, these clauses designate epistemic certainty regarding the accomplishment of the event:

- (24) *Cinco homens, um deles armado com uma faca, foram detidos pela polícia quando tentavam aproximar-se do candidato social-democrata alemão*
 [par=ext536880-pol-98b-3]
 ‘Five men, one of them armed with a knife, were held by the Police when they were trying-PAST.IND. to approach the German Social-Democrat Candidate’
- (25) *Mas assim que nos sentámos, apareceu um homem que nos pôs à frente uma garrafa de vinho*
 [par=ext186829-soc-93b-1]
 ‘But, as soon as we sat-PAST.IND. down, a man showed up placing a bottle of wine in front of us’
- (26) *«Há muitos vidros partidos, mas não sei mais nada porque fugi logo que comecei a ouvir barulho»*
 [par=ext83599-des-94a-2]
 ‘There is a lot of broken glass, but I do not know anything more, because I escaped as soon as I begun-PAST.IND. to hear noises’

The examples displayed above (24)–(26) illustrate the reason why temporal clauses are related to the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion. In cases with future projection (Examples (21)–(23)), the conceptualizer’s uncertainty regarding the fulfilment of the subordinate event triggers the subjunctive mood. However, in cases such as (24)–(26) the indicative mood is used to verify the accomplishment of the described event. The indicative mood designates the conceptualizer’s certainty regarding the occurrence of these events. In this sense, the conceptualizer represents a reference point. From the perspective of the present, the conceptualizer uses the indicative mood to manifest that these events corresponds to his/her conception of reality.¹⁰

4.1.2 *Temporal clauses and the imperfect subjunctive mood*

The conceptualizer may also describe an accomplished event from the perspective of a temporal reference point prior to the described event. From the perspective of the present analysis, this corresponds to the notion that “[m]eaning is not just an objective reflection of the outside world, it is a way of shaping the outside world” (Geeraerts, 2006, p. 4). We have the cognitive capacity to present an accomplished event from a perspective in which it has not yet been concluded. In Portuguese, this situation triggers the subjunctive mood. The following examples are cases in point:

10. One could easily compare Examples (21)–(26) with linguistic expressions focusing on the dominion of effective control, e.g., *querer* (‘to want’), *esperar* (‘to wish’), *é triste que* (‘it is sad that’), etc. Linguistic expressions focusing on the conceptualizer’s dominion of effective control are not sensitive to tense in the same way as expressions that focus on the epistemic dominion are. If the complement event refers to the action of another participant than the main clause subject, the subjunctive mood occurs – both in past and present tense.

- (27) *Um comando centralizado lançaria as ordens de ataque quando as condições climáticas fossem apropriadas* [par=ext750853-nd-95b-2]
 ‘A centralized command would launch the attack orders when the weather conditions were-IMP.SUBJ. appropriate’
- (28) *Mas Bossi disse sempre que haveria uma nova «verificação» assim que o Orçamento para 1995 tivesse sido aprovado pelo Senado* [par=ext18865-pol-94b-1]
 ‘But Bossi always said that there would be a new “verification” as soon as the budget for 1995 had-IMP.SUBJ. been approved’
- (29) *...esperavam preparar caminho para a democracia logo que a guerra acabasse* [par=ext85221-nd-94b-1]
 ‘They were hoping to pave the way for democracy as soon as the war was over-IMP.SUBJ.’

The common denominator of Examples (27)–(29) is that they designate accomplished events. From the perspective of the present, the conceptualizer may have epistemic certainty over the fact that the appropriate weather conditions (27) have been verified, that the budget for 1995 has been approved (28), and that the war is over (29). However, these events are presented from a temporal reference point previous to them. Therefore, the imperfect subjunctive mood occurs. It designates that these events were not accomplished from the perspective of this temporal reference point. The relation between mood alternation and reference points in Examples (21)–(29) is illustrated in Figure 4.

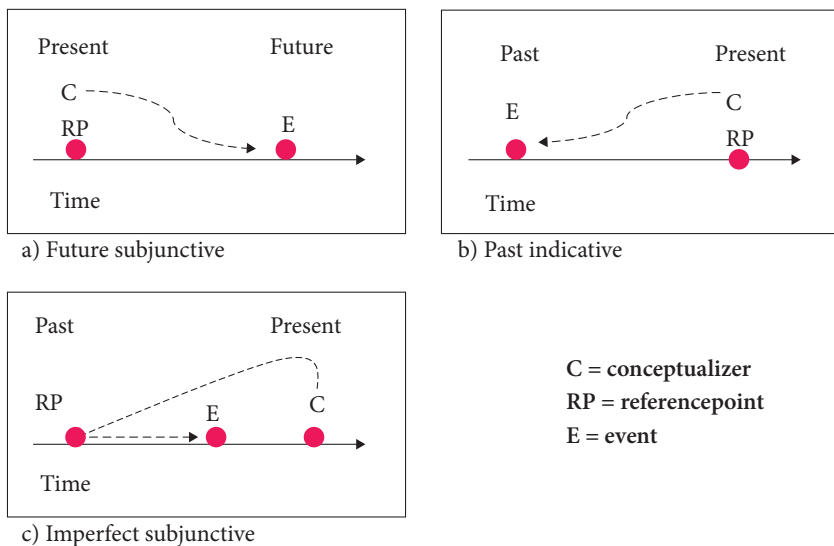


Figure 4. Mood alternation and reference points

As Figure 4a illustrates, the future subjunctive mood is explained by the conceptualizer's (C) epistemic uncertainty regarding the fulfilment of a future event (E). As indicated in the figure, there is a correspondence between the conceptualizer and the reference point (RP). The event is conceptualized from the temporal reference point of the present. This is also the case in Figure 4b. From the perspective of the present, the conceptualizer considers a past event that corresponds to the conceptualizer's conception of reality. Accordingly, the past indicative mood occurs. Figure 4c alters the perspective. The conceptualizer presents the past event from a reference point that is prior to it. From the perspective of this reference point, the accomplishment of the event is presented as uncertain. The imperfect subjunctive mood mirrors this situation. In sum, there is a certain correspondence between the imperfect and the future subjunctive. Both designate an event that is located outside a given conceptualizer's epistemic dominion (cf. Figure 2b).

4.2 Conditional clauses

It is commonly argued that conditional clauses introduced by the particle *se* ('if') entail a relation of the type IF X > Y, in which the if-clause is said to designate a condition for the occurrence of the main clause (see, for example, Bustos (1986) and Haverkate (2002) for Spanish conditional clauses introduced by the participle *si* ('if')). From the perspective of the present analysis, the particle *se* ('if') is more causal than conditional in character. That is, this particle does not designate a condition in the same way as other conditional conjunction, e.g., *on the condition that*, *provided that*, etc. Rather, it creates a causal relation between the if-clause and the main clause, which can be formulated as IF X HAPPENS > Y HAPPENS (cf. Vesterinen, 2016). The occurrence of the future subjunctive reflects the conceptualizer's doubt regarding the causing event. Examples (30–31) illustrate this phenomenon:

- (30) *Arafat disse a Clinton que estava disposto a demitir-se...se o processo de paz falhar e o caos rebentar* [par=ext719333-pol-98a-2]
 'Arafat told Clinton that he was willing to resign ...if the peace process fails-FUT.SUBJ. and chaos bursts-FUT.SUBJ.'
- (31) *Os russos compreendem perfeitamente que haverá consequências se o Iraque não respeitar o acordo* [par=ext1482420-pol-98a-2]
 'The Russians understand completely that there will be consequences if Iraq does not respect-FUT.SUBJ. the treaty'

In Example (30), the main clause subject (Arafat) represents the relevant conceptualizer for the causal relation. That is, he states that he is willing to resign if the

peace process fails. Nonetheless, the if-clause event is situated in a future that is less than certain. Accordingly, the future subjunctive designates the impossibility of the conceptualizer to predict the event – he cannot evaluate whether it will occur or not. The same situation is verified in Example (31). The if-clause event – Iraq not respecting the treaty – is conceived of as difficult to predict. Therefore, the future subjunctive occurs, designating that the event is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion.

4.2.1 *Conditional clauses and the imperfect subjunctive mood*

It is interesting to verify that the examples analyzed above (30–31) are similar to the occurrence of the imperfect subjunctive in counterfactuals, i.e., the structure CONDITIONAL INFLECTION + IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE, the difference being that the latter is used to designate that the conceptualizer strongly rejects the conceptual content of a causal relation taking place in present time:

- (32) *Já não há filmes da meia-noite e eu seria um louco se os continuasse a fazer*
 [par=ext1261464-nd-91b-2]
 ‘There are no more midnight movies anymore, and I would be crazy if I kept on-IMP.SUBJ. doing them’

The interpretation of Example (32) is that there is no possibility for the main clause event to occur in this kind of structure (cf. also Haverkate, 2002, p. 173; Palmer, 2001, p. 209). The causal force that would lead to the occurrence of the event does not exist in the conceptualizer's conception of reality. Once again, then, the subjunctive mood is used to designate an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. In Example (32), the imperfect subjunctive mood designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion, given the ‘non-causal’ relation between the if-clause and the main clause.

4.2.2 *Conditional clauses and the present indicative mood*

It is also interesting to note that the indicative mood occurs in contexts in which the conceptualizer considers the if-clause to be in line with his/her conception of reality. Consider the following examples:

- (33) *E se as pessoas não querem saber mais, não devemos ser nós a forçar*
 [par=ext1112456-clt-soc-93a-2]
 ‘And if the people does not want-PRES.IND. to know more, we should not be the ones to force it on them’

- (34) *Quando ainda havia diálogo, disse-lhes que, se o negócio que nós, os maioritários, estávamos a fazer era mau para os membros da família minoritários, muito pior era para nós* [par=ext1449845-eco-95a-2]
 ‘When we still had a dialogue, I told them that, if the business that we, the majority, were doing was-IMP.IND. bad for the members of minority families, it was even worse for us’

In Example (33), the conceptualizer, equated with the speaker, expresses confidence regarding the content of the if-clause. The fact that the event is conceived of as being true leads to the caused event of the main clause – “to not force it on them.” The same pattern is shown in Example (34). The imperfect indicative *era* (‘was’) indicates that the event corresponds to the conceptualizer’s worldview. Consequently, the indicative mood in (33)–(34) designates events that are located within the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion. This situation contrasts with the ones in Examples (30)–(31), where the future subjunctive mood designates doubt regarding the occurrence of the described event, and with Example (32) in which the conceptualizer rejects the content of the causal force. The common denominator of Examples (30), (31) and (32) is that the subjunctive mood designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion.

4.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can also be accurately explained by the dominion analysis. In this case, the subjunctive mood describes an unknown referent that is located outside the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion. As can be verified in the following Examples (35)–(38), this situation is at hand both with the present and the future Portuguese subjunctive mood:

- (35) *Uma ligação grátis à Internet será o prémio para a escola que tiver o logótipo mais bonito* [par=ext464860-soc-98a-2]
 ‘The prize given to the school that has-FUT.SUBJ. the prettiest logotype will be free connection to the Internet’
- (36) *É um sistema que gosto de utilizar, mas depende dos jogadores que tiver no plantel* [par=ext792260-des-98a-1]
 ‘It is a system that I like to practise, but it all depends on the players that I have-FUT.SUBJ. in the squad’
- (37) *A solução só pode ser uma política que tenha em conta os factores de ordem natural, social e económica do território* [par=ext9561-nd-91b-2]
 ‘The solution can only be a policy which has-PRES.SUBJ. natural, social and economic factors of the territory in mind’

- (38) *Não existe outro ministro que tenha de se enfrentar com tantos problemas*
 [par=ext33252-soc-93b-1]
 ‘There is no other minister that has-FUT.SUBJ. to face as many problems’

In Example (35), the relative clause designates a demand for winning the prize (having the prettiest logotype), whereas the future subjunctive mood designates an unknown referent with projection into the future. That is, the school referred to has still not been selected. In this particular case, the projection into the future is also correspondingly marked by the future tense *será* (‘will be’) in the main clause. In Example (36), the relative clause refers to the conceptualizer’s squad, and the future subjunctive mood provides additional information. It designates (1) an unknown referent, and (2) locates the referent in the future. The subsequent cases (37)–(38) also designate unknown referents. Not surprisingly, however, the present tense locates these referents in relation to present time. In (37), the present subjunctive mood does not exclude the existence of a policy with the required demands. More likely, it designates that the conceptualizer does not know the specific characteristics of the policy. Likewise, Example (38) refers to a situation that is located in the present. The conceptualizer does not know of any other minister being in the same situation as the minister referred to. The semantic meaning of the subjunctive mood in these examples is to designate an unknown referent, i.e., a referent that is located outside the conceptualizer’s dominion, whereas the tense inflection locates the described situation temporally in relation to the utterance.

4.3.1 *Relative clauses and the imperfect subjunctive mood*

The examples analyzed in the previous section (4.3) focused on the present and the future subjunctive mood. However, it should be kept in mind that the imperfect subjunctive mood displays the same conceptual pattern. Consider, for example, the following case:

- (39) *Mas, segundo vários participantes na reunião, não foi apresentada qualquer nova informação que pudesse motivar uma mudança de opinião*
 [par=ext102117-soc-96a-1]
 ‘But, according to several participants at the meeting, no new information was presented that could-IMP.SUBJ. motivate a change of opinion’

Obviously, the referent of the relative clause in (39) is not known by the conceptualizer. This situation is indicated by the imperfect subjunctive mood. In relative clauses, then, the same conceptual pattern prevails in the past, present, and future tense. In cases where the referent is unknown by the conceptualizer, the subjunctive mood occurs.

4.3.2 *Relative clauses and the present indicative mood*

The examples displayed above (35)–(39) contrasts with relative clauses in the indicative mood. In these latter cases, the indicative mood indicates that the referent is known by the conceptualizer.

- (40) *Entretanto, uma organização católica que trabalha com esta minoria étnica dirigiu-lhe uma carta bastante dura* [par=ext8455-soc-92a-1]
 ‘Meanwhile, a Catholic organization that is working-PRES.IND. with this ethnic minority sent him/her a rather harsh letter’
- (41) *Uma delas é uma amiga minha que tem uma paixão pelos animais de peluche miniatura* [par=ext308437-com-98b-2]
 ‘One of them is a (girl) friend of mine who has-PRES.IND. a passion for stuffed miniature animals’

Accordingly, examples such as (40)–(41) designate known referents that are located within the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion. In Example (40), the Catholic organization referred to is known by the conceptualizer, a fact that is confirmed by the description that it is working with a certain ethnic minority. In Example (41), the referent of the relative clause is a friend of the conceptualizer, a fact that definitely entails a good knowledge of the referent. In both cases, the indicative mood designates a referent that is located within the conceptualizer’s epistemic dominion. In sum, the dominion analysis performed in the present paper provides a natural explanation for the semantic meaning of the future subjunctive mood. Moreover, it shows that the concept of dominion is capable of providing a unified explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese subjunctive mood.

5. Conclusions

In the introduction of the present paper, it was shown that previous studies of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood (e.g., Perini, 1978; Comrie & Holmback, 1984), did not aim to provide a unified semantic explanation for the future subjunctive mood. Moreover, these studies did not connect the semantic meaning of the future subjunctive to other tenses of this mood, e.g., the past subjunctive and the present subjunctive mood. Perini (1978) argued that the future subjunctive mood should not be considered a subjunctive form at all, but an alternative form of the future indicative. Comrie and Holmback (1984) focused primarily on the semantic differences between the present and the future subjunctive mood. In contrast to these studies, the aim of the present paper was to provide a unified and natural

explanation for the meaning of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood. Departing from the theoretical perspective of Cognitive Grammar, the present paper argued that the use of the concept of dominion as an analytic tool could provide a plausible explanation for the meaning of this particular verb form in a natural and unified way. It was also argued that the concept of dominion did not only explain the meaning of the Portuguese future subjunctive, but also the present and the past subjunctive mood. In this sense, the analysis in the present paper offered an alternative to the studies of Perini (1978) and Comrie and Holmback (1984).

Subsequently, it was shown that Maldonado (1995) constitutes a conceptual innovation for the explanation of the Spanish subjunctive mood in epistemic contexts. The indicative mood designates an event that is located within the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion, whereas the subjunctive mood designates contrasting cases. The subjunctive mood designates events that are located outside the conceptualizer's dominion. However, the present paper also confirmed some limitations to Maldonado's (1995) analysis. Most importantly, it did not seem to account for the occurrence of the subjunctive mood in presupposed contexts. Thus, following Langacker (2009), the present paper showed that the extension of the concept of dominion to also include the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control resolves this problem. In presupposed contexts, the subjunctive mood designates events that are located outside the conceptualizer's dominion of effective control. It was also shown that the dominion of effective control is relevant in other contexts where the subjunctive mood occurs.

The analysis of the Portuguese future subjunctive mood in temporal, conditional, and relative clauses further confirmed the accuracy of the concept of dominion as an analytical tool explaining the semantic meaning of the subjunctive mood. In temporal clauses, it was shown that there is an analogous relation between the future and the imperfect subjunctive mood. The subjunctive mood designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion from a certain reference point. Moreover, a conceptual relation between the imperfect subjunctive mood in counterfactuals and the future subjunctive mood was established in conditional clauses introduced by *se* ('if'). In both cases, the subjunctive mood designates an event that is located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. Finally, the same situation was confirmed regarding the subjunctive mood in relative clauses. The present, the imperfect, and the future subjunctive mood designate a referent that is located outside the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. In conclusion, the analysis performed in the present paper has shown that the concept of dominion can provide a natural and unified explanation for the meaning of the subjunctive mood.

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