THE SPANISH CONDITIONAL

(WITH REFERENCE TO ENGLISH AND CZECH): A CONTRASTIVE COGNITIVE APPROACH

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CONTENTS

1.
INTRODUCTION

As the title of this monograph suggests, the primary object of my study is the Spanish conditional (also referred to as the *cantaría* form). This verb form is characterised by a wide range of seemingly unrelated uses, which can be very simplistically defined as expressing hypotheticality, past tense inference, quotation and relative posteriority. Although the conditional has traditionally been of great interest to linguists and its nature has been analysed in detail in a number of Spanish grammars (see Chapter 3), there is as yet no clear consensus on whether it is a verb mood or verb tense, and there is no uniform definition of its functions. This monograph aims to present a unified account for all uses of *cantaría*, introducing it in contrast with the English and Czech conditionals.

As can be seen from the above, in this monograph I take a strongly contrastive approach and compare *cantaría* with the English *would* and the Czech *zpíval bych* form (see Chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of the conditional paradigms in all languages analysed). I advocate that through systematic comparison and definition of the correspondences and differences between these languages, we can better observe both the specifics of the Spanish conditional and the features that have a clear analogy in the Czech and English conditionals. The contrastive analysis relies on data from language corpora. These data are as balanced as possible for all the languages under scrutiny and reflect the language of literature, the language of the Internet, academic texts and spoken language. In this way, I try to show the conditional as a complex linguistic form with a wide range of uses, which in some cases differ in terms of register, while retaining its default function.

To define the unifying principle governing the Spanish conditional, I rely theoretically on cognitive grammar as conceived by Langacker and particularly on the terms *ground* and *subjectivity* (to be defined in Chapter 2). In my concept, the initial function of *cantaría*, *would* and *zpíval bych* is to express the verb meaning as dependent on an implicitly construed secondary hypothetical or real situation, the fulfilment of which is the condition for the validity of verb meaning (see Chapter 5 for details).

It follows from the foregoing that I find the term *condicional/conditional/kondicionál*, which is commonly used for these paradigms, to be quite appropriate, since it reflects the conditional dependence of the meaning expressed by the verb form. Thus, throughout this monograph, I will use the term *conditional* whenever I refer to the sim-

ple conditional in all three languages. To distinguish between the Spanish, English and Czech conditionals, I use the terms *Spanish/English/Czech conditional*, or the italicized representative of the respective paradigm (*cantaría, would, zpíval bych*).[1]

Due to the inherently complex nature of the conditional and the contrastive approach to the topic, which covers a wider range of languages, it is also necessary to delimit the areas of interest and, conversely, to specify which topics, however close to the problem under analysis, are not the subject of this monograph. My interest is focused on the "pure" conditional forms, i.e. on the conditionals not expressing additional modal or temporal elements. Thus, my object of interest is only the simple conditional forms, not the compound ones (*habría cantado, would have, byl bych zpíval*). With respect to Czech (and to a limited extent English), it should be further specified that the object of my study is not the conditional with a congruential function comparable to the Spanish subjunctive. Given the double modalisation they exhibit, neither Spanish nor Czech modal verbs in the conditional form will be the subject of my study.[2] Finally, the conditional meaning is investigated not only in the context of conditional clauses, but as a more general linguistic phenomenon. Therefore, this monograph is not a book on conditional clauses, as the term *conditionals* is sometimes conceived (Oaksford and Chater 2010; Ippolito 2011; Kratzer 2012; Stalnaker 2019 inter alia).

This monograph is organised as follows. In Chapter 2, I present the theories of ground(ing) and subjectivity, as understood by Langacker. Chapter 3 presents the Spanish, English and Czech conditionals from a general perspective and describes their basic functions as defined in the relevant bibliography. In Chapter 4, I introduce the graphical representation of verb meanings based on the grounding theory and the corpus analysis methodology. Chapter 5 represents the core of this monograph in proposing my own typology of conditional meanings, their description and cognitive representation. Chapter 6 presents the conclusions.

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1   I am aware that this way of marking conditional forms is not entirely analogous in the three languages under scrutiny. While for Spanish and Czech, I use the verb *cantar/zpívat* ('to sing') in the conditional form, for English I use only the auxiliary *would*. There are two reasons for this. I would find it confusing to refer to the English conditional as *would sing* since this is not common in English linguistics while the conditional meaning as I examine it in this paper is traditionally associated only with the modal *would*. The second reason is that these ways of referring to the conditional form in a particular language show the formal exponent of the conditional as accurately as possible. In Spanish, the conditional form is fully synthetic (see Chapter 3.1.2); in Czech, it is partially synthetic (see Chapter 3.3.1). Thus, in these two languages, the grammatical exponent of the conditional meaning cannot be separated from the lexical base. In English, this is possible due to the isolating nature of the English verb system, so it is possible to refer to *would* here without the need for infinitive completion. My concern is the conditional meaning, not the lexical meaning of the verb in the conditional form. Therefore, I abstract from the lexical basis where possible (i.e. in English). For Spanish and Czech, I cannot fully separate the conditional form from the lexical base, this being the reason for using the verb *cantar/zpívat*.

2   In English, double modalisation of this kind is very rare, see Hasty (2011), for a sociolinguistic study of this phenomenon.

2.

THEORETICAL PREREQUISITES

The analyses conducted in this monograph are based on cognitive grammar in Langacker's terms and especially on the concepts of *ground(ing)* and *subjectivity* (Langacker 1985; 1990; 1991; 1999; 2002; 2006 inter alia). These notions will be presented in Chapters 2.1 and 2.2, respectively. In Chapter 2.3, I define their relationship to the traditional categories of tense, mood and evidentiality.

2.1 LANGACKER'S THEORY OF GROUND(ING)

The key concept I will work with is *ground*. In principle, ground can be identified with the communication situation in which the speaker and the addressee find themselves (Langacker 2002, 7). In Langacker's understanding, ground is the deictic centre to which we explicitly or implicitly refer to in various ways. The term *grounding* corresponds to anchoring the content of an utterance in relation to ground.

In the nominal plane, grounding is primarily achieved through articles, numerals or deictics such as demonstrative pronouns. A nominal without an article functions in communication as a highly schematic type which is not grounded in the communication situation. For instance, *book cover* does not profile a particular book, it merely assigns the meaning of "cover" to the category of books. A grounded nominal (i.e. a nominal used with an article, a pronoun or a quantifier) does not refer to an abstract category, but to an entity that can be put in relation to the communication situation, i.e. to the ground. For example, *this books* profiles a concrete instance of a book which is in a relationship of spatial proximity to the speaker; *the book* profiles a book that should be known to the addressee etc. As can be inferred, the demonstrative and the article function here as grammatical elements that invoke the ground without explicitly mentioning it. Langacker calls these elements *grounding elements*.

Grounding elements occupy a specific place in the grammatical system of each language and exhibit typical formal features. By default, they are semantically empty highly grammaticalised words, which in the later stages of language evolution may also become affixes. These words orient the utterance content in relation to the elements of the ground, i.e. the speaker, the addressee and their immediate circumstances, with-

out the need to invoke them explicitly. When using the grounding elements, ground is thus implicitly drawn into the utterance, but both the ground and the grounding relationship remain "offstage and unprofiled" (Langacker 2002, 13).

Since my subject of study is the conditional, my focus will be on grounding in relation to verb meaning. Langacker (2002, 7–8 inter alia) defines tense and English modals as prototypical grounding elements for the verb system. In my understanding, in relation to Spanish and Czech, mood functions analogously in this respect (see also Achard 2002).[3]

By using a finite verb form (in the case of English, also by using a modal), the speaker subjectively defines the relationship between the verb meaning and the ground. In the temporal plane, the verb meaning is oriented in relation to the moment of speech; in the modal plane it is oriented in relation to the speaker's conception of reality.

As the above shows, Langacker's original concept of grounding focused on temporality and modality. Evidentiality, which appears to be an unquestionable component of conditional meaning, as will be shown throughout this monograph, was related to ground only later. Langacker (2017) sees evidentiality as largely intertwined with epistemic modality. The author focuses on markers of evidential status that can be found in languages with morphological evidential, assigning them the status of grounding elements. It is also interesting to observe that while Langacker defines epistemic modality and evidentials as hardly separable (cf. 2017, 19), he contrasts tense-modal and evidential systems as two distinct organisations of ground-related subjective expressions of the verb's epistemic status.

In the analyses presented in this monograph, I draw on the primary idea of the ground as a communication situation and all its elements in the broadest sense. However, I reject a strict separation of the categories of modality, temporality and evidentiality, which in my understanding, are inherently interrelated.

2.2 SUBJECTIVITY AND SUBJECTIFICATION

The implicit presence of the ground in an utterance is directly related to Langacker's notion of *subjectivity* (1985; 1990; 1991; 1997; 1999; 2002; 2003; 2006 inter alia). This term is used in a rather specific way by Langacker and does not correspond to the way objectivity and subjectivity are conceived outside the domain of cognitive grammar. According to Langacker, entities that are explicitly profiled and to which attention is directed are constructed objectively. Elements that are essential to understanding the utterance meaning, but at the same time are not explicitly mentioned and remain off-stage, are constructed subjectively. The general function of subjectively construed

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3   Strictly speaking, only the tense or mood inflections function as grounding elements. Nevertheless, given the fusional nature of Spanish and Czech verb systems, these cannot be always separated from the lexical base and from the morphological exponents of person, number and aspect.

entities is illustrated by Langacker (2002, 16) with the example of the eyes, which are essential for seeing but never see themselves.

Each utterance must have its objective and subjective level: "Minimally, subjectively constructed elements include the speaker and secondarily the addressee, in their offstage role as the conceptualizers, who employ the expression and thereby apprehend its meaning. Minimally, objectively constructed elements include the expression's profile, i.e. what it designates (or refers to) within the conception evoked" (Langacker 2006, 18).

Subjectivity can be understood gradually, with grounding elements being grammatical elements that allow for the maximum subjective presence of the ground in an utterance. On the verbal level, tense and modals can be understood as exponents of extreme subjectivity in English (Langacker 2003).

To illustrate Langacker's understanding of the objectivity/subjectivity dichotomy, I will use examples (1) and (2).

(1)
Mary may be in London.

(2)
I think that Mary is in London.

The speaker is construed more subjectively in (1), where his/her attitude is not explicitly mentioned. In (1), the speaker's epistemic stance is implicitly reflected through the modal *may*, which lacks its own meaning and only profiles the relationship between the meaning of "be in London" and the ground (specifically in this case, the speaker's attitude towards it with respect to reality).

In (2), the speaker's epistemic stance is construed objectively and put onstage, as being explicitly mentioned through the fully semantical verb *to think*. *I think* explicitly profiles the relationship between the concept of "thinking of the clause subject (the speaker)" and the meaning of "be in London".

As de Smet and Verstraete (2006) aptly summarise, for Langacker, "'subjective' is opposed to 'objective', but 'objective' does not mean 'non-speaker-related', as might have been expected. Instead, the terminological distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' relates to the question of whether or not the speaker is explicitly mentioned in the form of a particular construction" (de Smet and Verstraete 2006, 369). In principle, I agree with this summary, but it is worth adding that ground is not only constituted by the speaker, i.e. subjectivity does not always refer to the implicit presence of the speaker, but also to the implicit reference to moment of speech (grounding through verb tenses). If in line with Langacker's more recent approaches, we also understand morphological exponents of evidentiality as grounding elements (Langacker 2017), then subjective reference to ground can also include implicit reference to information available to the speaker and addressee at the moment of speech and the source of this information.

The last term associated with ground(ing) that is relevant to my investigation is *subjectification*. Subjectification (Langacker 2003; 2006; Traugott 1989; 2010; Traugott and Dasher 2002 inter alia) can be understood as the diachronic counterpart of subjectivity. In Langacker's view, subjectification corresponds to the gradual transformation of fully semantic words into grounding elements. I shall return to subjectification in Chapter 3.4 and present it in relation to the diachrony of the Spanish, English and Czech conditionals.

2.3 TENSE, MODALITY AND EVIDENTIALITY (TME), MUTUAL OVERLAPS AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO THE GROUND

As noted in Chapter 1, the conditional is a verbal form standing at the boundary between tense, modality and evidentiality, i.e. TME categories, as I will also refer to them in this monograph. Similarly, grounding in finite clauses is, in Langacker's understanding, inherently linked to these three categories.

Despite the number of papers that have been devoted to TME categories, a clear definition of modality, evidentiality and to a lesser extent tense (especially in relation to aspect, but also in relation to other verbal categories) has been lacking to date. Following Kratochvílová (2018a; 2018b; 2019), I approach modality, evidentiality and tense as interrelated categories, rejecting the identification of any verb form with only one of them. However, to understand how modality, tense and evidentiality are linked in the conditional, it is essential to define these categories in general terms and to describe how they are understood in this monograph.

2.3.1 TENSE

Verb tense can be seen as a grammatical means of orienting the verb meaning temporally with reference to the moment of speech (for absolute tenses) or another moment in the past (for relative tenses, i.e. the pluperfect or the future-of-the-past for instance).

As a rule, the correspondence between verb form and verb tense is not absolute, i.e. one form can express different temporal orientations depending on the context. On the other hand, the same temporal plane can be referred to through different forms (Rojo 1974; Rojo and Veiga 1999; Zavadil and Čermák 2010). For Spanish, the functions of *canto* as an exponent of both present, past or future tense (Veiga 1987; Kratochvílová 2018a inter alia) and the functions of *cantaré* referring to the future and the present (see recent studies and their respective bibliography by Rodríguez Rosique 2019; Kra-

tochvílová 2019; Kratochvílová and Jiménez Juliá 2021) have traditionally been investigated in this area. From the opposite perspective, attention has been paid in particular to the means of expressing posteriority through different verb paradigms (Matte Bon 2006; 2007; Sobczak 2020 inter alia).

In this monograph, I define the present tense as a tense indicating a partial or absolute correspondence of the verb meaning with the temporal scope of the communication situation (i.e. the ground). The past tense denotes events, processes or states preceding the communication situation (i.e. not intervening in the ground and already realised and known to the speaker at the moment of speech). The future tense marks the verb meaning as posterior to the communication situation. The verb meaning expressed in the future tense does not directly intervene in the ground, but the ground and its parts are implicitly present as sources for predicting the future state of affairs. Relative tenses imply the existence of a second highly subjective ground (in this monograph, I shall use the abbreviation G2) that temporally precedes the communication situation and are oriented primarily with respect to this secondary ground.

2.3.2 MODALITY

I define modality according to Zavadil and Čermák (2010, 249) as a linguistically expressed means of validating the utterance content. In line with Nuyts (2001a; 2006), I distinguish between deontic modality concerning will, commands and wishes, dynamic modality concerning capacity and ability and epistemic modality concerning certainty and knowledge.

In addition to these generally accepted types, I also distinguish evaluative modality (cf. Zavadil 1980; Zavadil and Čermák 2010; Kratochvílová 2018b), which concerns the evaluation of a state of affairs. The modal nature of evaluation has already been pointed out by Palmer (1986). Nevertheless, the author understands it as a subtype of deontic modality, which I consider illogical. Deontic modality refers to events, processes or states not yet realised (i.e. not confirmed in the epistemic plane) whose realisation the speaker wants to influence. Evaluative modality refers to events, processes or states that already took place (or are taking place in the moment of speech). These are evaluated by the speaker, without explicitly expressing the intention to influence or change them in any way. In more recent papers, evaluative modality is sometimes understood as a subtype of the epistemic and dynamic domains (refer to Larreya 2009; 2015 for the concept of root and epistemic evaluative modalisation a posteriori). However, in my understanding, this is inconsistent with the definition of epistemic modality as the expression of the certainty status of the verb meaning. In other words, epistemic modality, expresses the degree of uncertainty regarding the realisation of the verb meaning; evaluative modality expresses an attitude towards a verb meaning whose epistemic status is not in focus.

In relation to ground, modality primarily subjectively reflects the speaker and his/her attitude and way of approaching the verb meaning. The grammatical markers of the deontic modality implicitly denote that the speaker presents the verb meaning as the object of a particular person's will. In the dynamic modality, by analogy, the speaker presents the verb meaning as the object of someone's intentions or ability, or as the object of general necessity. The epistemic modality is, in a broad sense, a grammatical expression of the speaker's thought process. The linguistic expressions of epistemicity represent verb meaning as an object of deliberation, consideration or uncertainty. Finally, through the evaluative modality, the speaker presents the verb meaning as an object of evaluation.

In relation to ground and the speaker's subjective presence in an utterance, it should be borne in mind that the primary source of subjectively profiled volition, intention, deliberation or evaluation is the sentence subject, which may or may not coincide with the speaker. Thus, within modality, I define the subjective presence of the speaker in terms of an implicit reference to the person responsible for representing the verb meaning as the object of modal assessment, not necessarily the assessment originator.[4]

2.3.3 EVIDENTIALITY AND MIRATIVITY

In line with Aikhenvald (2004), the grammatical means of expressing the source of information can be understood as the centre of evidentiality. In this monograph, I distinguish three basic categories, whose naming and definitions are strongly inspired by the traditional classification introduced by Willet (1988):
a) direct sensorial evidence: events, processes or states directly seen or heard,
b) indirect inferential evidence: the speaker's inference regarding the epistemic status of the verb meaning is based on considering relevant available information,
c) quotative (hearsay): second or third hand information that the speaker has only by hearsay from another person or another source (radio, newspaper etc.).[5]

In line with the traditional approach, I understand mirativity as a specific subdomain of evidentiality, defining it as the linguistic expression of surprise and lack of psychological preparation (DeLancey 1997). Evidentiality and mirativity also often overlap formally, given that they can be expressed through the same affix (Aikhenvald 2014; Peterson 2017 inter alia).

None of the languages analysed in this monograph has a full morphologically coded evidential system and they do not display a grammatical category that can be clearly

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4   We can assume a slightly higher degree of objectivity in cases where the speaker corresponds to the clause subject and (s)he is thus also the originator of the modal force expressed by the grounding element. In the opposite cases, the speaker remains entirely offstage, being only the observer and conceptualiser of the verb meaning, not its direct participant.

5   For Willet (1988), this category also includes information based on folklore or common knowledge. I understand quotative more narrowly as a category that reproduces another person's words.

identified with direct sensorial evidentiality. However, the conditional in all the languages under scrutiny exhibits functions that have undeniable inferential, quotative and mirative functions.

In my understanding, these categories are characterised by a specific relation to ground. The quotative denotes information available to the speaker within the current communication situation (i.e. within the current ground), but originating from a source different from the speaker, i.e. from a different ground (G2). Inference and mirativity are related to grounding in terms of incorporating the external conditions in which communication takes place into the utterance in an extremely subjective way. In inference, these conditions are the subject of the speaker's reflection, based on which (s)he draws a conclusion. Mirativity then expresses the speaker's astonishment at the incompatibility of certain information with these conditions, see also the notion of new environmental information as defined by Peterson (2017).

2.3.4 TME OVERLAPS

On the one hand, the overlaps between the categories of tense, modality and evidentiality are due to their formal expression in language, where the TME categories are often expressed by the same morphemes and their meanings are idiosyncratic (Zavadil 1980; Zavadil and Čermák 2010; de Haan 2012/2016). On the other hand, this interconnection is not only formal but follows the very nature of TME categories.

In languages with a strong evidential system, evidentiality primarily concerns past tenses, as future events preclude sensory contact (Aikhenvald, 2004; de Haan 2012/2016; Forker 2018). Nevertheless, there is the strongly inferential nature of the future tense as such and the additional inferential meanings conveyed by verb forms functioning simultaneously as future tense (see Chapter 3; Kratochvílová 2019; Kratochvílová and Jiménez Juliá 2021). The different evidential status of past and present events vs. future events is also related to their modal nature: epistemic assessment towards past and present is necessarily different to the epistemic nature of futurity, which can only be inferred or predicted (Jaszczolt 2009). Deontic modality is inseparable from temporality in the sense that volition can only be oriented towards the future. On the other hand, evaluation is primarily concerned with verb meanings already in progress or past (but see Kratochvílová 2018b on understanding volition as a combination of uncertainty and personal evaluation).

While the relation of dynamic and deontic modality to the evidential tends to stand aside, epistemic modality is already seen as inherently connected to evidentiality by Palmer (1986), who places the evidentials in the epistemic modal system. The relationship between these two categories is complex and it exceeds the scope of this monograph. For an exhaustive survey of approaches to this issue, I suggest referring to Wiemer (2018). If we understand the different evidentials as formal exponents of different sources of information, their relation to the epistemic modality appears to

be undeniable: events whose realisation we have directly witnessed necessarily have a different epistemic status than events whose realisation is the subject of inference or hearsay.

In the context of the relationship between the evaluative modality and the evidential, we can point to the evaluative element of some hearsay markers, which combine the notion of non-first-hand information with the speaker's epistemic and evaluative distance from its content. A strong connection between evaluative modality and evidentiality can be observed within the subcategory of mirativity: amazement at the newly acquired information can be simultaneously defined as a type of personal evaluation of the verb meaning.

As the above shows, TME categories are inherently interconnected on different levels, yet are distinct in their nature. In my understanding, the above overlaps are because all TME categories are anchored in ground, which is also complex and is usually approached as a whole. Langacker does not pay deep attention in his papers to concrete elements constituting the ground. In Kratochvílová (2018a; 2019), I point out that distinguishing the different facets of the ground and defining their relationship to TME categories can be a means of thoroughly analysing the meaning of a particular verb form in different contexts. In the following chapters, I further develop this initial theory with respect to the conditional. In Chapter 4, I will first attempt a graphical representation of the roles of temporality, modality and evidentiality within the ground outlined above. In Chapter 5, I use this representation to detail the various functions of the conditional.

3.
THE SPANISH, ENGLISH AND CZECH CONDITIONALS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE TME SYSTEM

3.1 THE SPANISH CONDITIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN THE TME SYSTEM

3.1.1 THE SPANISH MOOD-TENSE SYSTEM

The Spanish verb system, as an heir of the Latin verb system, shows distinctly fusional features. In terms of tenses, we distinguish between simple and compound forms. The simple tenses express the temporal orientation morphologically through suffixes. In the indicative, their formal paradigms are:

Presente de indicativo (present indicative): *canto* ('I sing')
Futuro de indicativo (future indicative): *cantaré* ('I will sing')
Pretérito indefinido (past tense, indefinite past tense): *canté* ('I sung')
Pretérito imperfecto de indicativo (imperfective past tense indicative): *cantaba* ('I was singing')

The compound past tenses express the temporal orientation through the auxiliary *haber* in the definite form and the participle. Their formal paradigms in the indicative follow:

Pretérito perfecto de indicativo (present perfect indicative): *he cantado* ('I have sung')
Futuro perfecto de indicativo (future perfect indicative): *habré cantado* ('I will have sung')
Pretérito pluscuamperfecto de indicativo (pluperfect indicative): *había cantado* ('I had sung')

The subjunctive traditionally stands in opposition to the indicative, these two verbal moods thus representing the core of the Spanish modal system (cf. Zavadil 1980; Zavadil and Čermák 2010; Kratochvílová 2014; 2018b). The formal paradigm of the Spanish subjunctive in all tenses follows:

Presente de subjuntivo (present subjunctive): *cante*. Despite being called *present subjunctive*, this form expresses both simultaneity and posteriority, thus being the subjunctive counterpart for the indicative forms *canto* and *cantaré*.[6]
Imperfecto de subjuntivo (imperfective past subjunctive): *cantara*. This form is the counterpart for the indicative forms *cantaba* and *canté*.
Pretérito perfecto de indicativo (present perfect subjunctive): *haya cantado*. This form is the counterpart for the indicative forms *he cantado* and *habré cantado*.[7]

The subjunctive appears primarily in subordinate clauses, formally expressing modal congruence with the modal meaning of the main clause. There are wide possibilities for its use (for a complete list, refer to Kratochvílová and Dolníková 2022). A basic overview of subordinate clauses and mood choice in Spanish is summarised in Table 1. Table 2 defines the contexts in which the Spanish subjunctive can appear in the main clause.

Table 1. *Mood in subordinate clauses in Spanish.*

Subordinate clause	Meaning	Mood
Content clause	factuality	IND
	volition, causativity	SBJV
	evaluation	SBJV
	potentiality	IND/SBJV[8]
Relative clause	reference to a concrete antecedent	IND
	reference to a non-concrete antecedent	SBJV
	stating an already known or irrelevant information through *el (hecho) de que* ('the fact that')	SBJV
Purpose clause		SBJV
Manner clause	realisation manner is declared	IND
	realisation manner is the subject's purpose (dynamic modal element)	SBJV
	manner expressed through *sin que* ('without')	SBJV

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6   Future tense subjunctive (*cantare*) formally exists in contemporary Spanish, but it considered obsolete and is only used in legal or archaising texts.
7   Similarly to the future tense subjunctive, the future perfect subjunctive (*hubiere cantado*) is an obsolete form and practically unused in contemporary Spanish.
8   The mood choice depends on the level of potentiality expressed by the main clause predicate, see Kratochvílová (2018b).

Subordinate clause	Meaning	Mood
Temporal clause	expressing simultaneity or anteriority with reference to the main clause or the moment of speech	IND
	expressing posteriority with reference to the main clause or the moment of speech	SBJV
Conditional clause	zero	IND
	first	IND/SBJV[9]
	second and third	SBJV
Concessive clause	possibility (analogical to first conditional clause)	IND/SBJV[10]
	non-factuality (analogical to second and third conditional clauses)	SBJV

Table 2. *Subjunctive in Spanish main clauses.*

Main clause	Mood
Wish clause	SBJV
Main clause with adverbs meaning "maybe" (*quizá(s)*, *tal vez*, *acaso*, *probablemente*, *posiblemente*, *seguramente*)	IND/SBJV[11]
Main clause expressing evaluation through *qué* + nominal (for instance, *qué pena* – 'what a shame')	IND/SBJV[12]

The imperative concludes the list of moods traditionally recognised in Spanish grammars. The negative imperative and the positive imperative for *usted* ('you$_{\text{SG.FORM}}$'), *ustedes* ('you$_{\text{PL.FORM}}$') and *nosotros* ('we') use the respective subjunctive forms. The positive imperative for *tú* ('you$_{\text{SG.INFORM}}$') is identical to the third person present tense indicative (*canta*). The positive imperative for *vosotros* ('you$_{\text{PL.INFORM}}$') is formed from the infinitive (*cantar*) by replacing the suffix *-r* with *-d* (*cantad*).

The Spanish conditional (*cantaría*), which is the main focus of this monograph, stands on the borderline between verb tenses and verb moods. Its formal paradigm and its main functions are described in detail in the following pages.

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9   The mood choice in conditional sentences expressing a real condition in the future depends on the conjunction used. The most frequent conjunction *si* ('if') is always used with the indicative, the subjunctive is used in conditional sentences with conjunctions other than *si*.

10   The mood choice in concessive clauses expressing a condition analogical to the first conditional depends mostly on pragmatics. An already known or presupposed concession is expressed through the subjunctive. If the content of the subordinate concessive clause is presented as new and relevant to the addressee, the indicative is used.

11   The mood choice depends on the level of potentiality the speaker wishes to express, see Kratochvílová (2018b).

12   The semantic difference between using the subjunctive and the indicative is negligible in these contexts.

3.1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE SPANISH CONDITIONAL AND ITS FORMS

The Spanish conditional developed in close connection with the future tense forms. The Spanish future, like the future in other Romance languages (Portuguese, French, Italian, Catalan, but not Romanian), evolved from a verbal periphrasis already used in spoken Latin expressing obligation. The periphrasis was formed by the infinitive of a fully semantic verb and the auxiliary *habēre* in the present tense: *cantāre habeō* (substitution for *cantābō* used in Classical Latin) → *cantar (h)e* → *cantaré* ('I will sing').

As observed by Penny (1991/2009, 206–207) "In this structure, HABEŌ rarely kept its most basic sense ('I possess'), but gave the clause a nuance of 'intention' ('I intend to sing'), then of obligation ('I must sing'), and finally (since intentions and obligations are necessarily directed towards the future) a notion of simple futurity ('I shall sing')."

The Spanish conditional develops by analogy from the periphrastic construction with the verb *habēre* in the imperfect: *cantāre habēbam* ('I intended to sing', 'I had to sing') → *cantar (h)ía* → *cantaría* ('I would sing').

The original Late Latin periphrasis had only two basic meanings: the hypothetical meaning realised in the apodosis of conditional clauses and the meaning of relative posteriority (see Azzopardi 2013; Penny 1991/2009, 207–208).

The complete formal paradigm of Spanish conditional appears in Table 3.

Table 3. *The Spanish conditional. Formal paradigm.*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	cantaría	cantaríamos
2nd person	cantarías	cantaríais
3rd person	cantaría	cantarían

The compound conditional *habría cantado* is also actively used in nowadays Spanish, with the relationship between *cantaría / habría cantado* being largely analogous to the English opposition *I would sing / I would have sung*. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, only the forms of the simple conditional that do not bear the additive tense-aspect characteristics common to all compound tenses will be the subject of analysis in this monograph.

3.1.3 FUNCTIONS OF THE SPANISH CONDITIONAL

As stated above, the original functions of *cantaría* were two and can be defined as the hypothetical conditional and the expression of relative posteriority. Other functions

were gradually added to these uses. A basic overview of the primary functions and their place in other authors' classifications is given below.

1) Hypothetical conditional
Hypothetical conditional corresponds to cases where *cantaría* expresses a hypothetical situation whose realisation depends on an explicit or implicit condition.

(3)
Si pudiera, **cantaría**.[13]
'If I could, I **would sing**.'

This use is traditionally called *condicional (con valor) hipotético* ('hypothetical conditional, conditional with hypothetical value', Marcos Marín et al. 1999/2002, 220; Azzopardi 2013; Vatrican 2016), *condicional no factual* ('non-factual conditional', Vatrican 2014), *kondicionál eventuální* ('conditional of eventuality', Zavadil and Čermák 2010, 306). Alternatively, it is seen as the default (i.e. unnamed) function of the verbal form called *condicional* (RAE 2009).
Hypothetical conditional will be analysed in detail in Chapter 5.1.

2) Temporal conditional
a) Future-of-the-past conditional
Cases, when *cantaría* expresses relative posteriority in a subordinate clause with the main clause predicate appearing in the past tense, will be analysed as the default temporal function of the Spanish conditional.

(4)
Me dijo que **cantaría**.
'He told me he **would sing**.'

These uses are labelled as *pos-pretérito* ('post-preterite', Veiga and Rojo 1999[14]), *futuro del pasado* ('future of the past', RAE 2009, § 23.15c), *ulterioridad subjetiva en el pasado* ('subjective ulteriority in the past', Azzopardi 2013), *condicional con valor temporal* ('conditional with temporal value', Vatrican 2014; 2016), *futuro con respecto a un tiempo pasado* ('future with respect to a time in the past', Marcos Marín et al. 1999/2002, 218), *indikativ metapréterita* ('meta-preterite indicative', Zavadil and Čermák 2010, 306).
Despite the term *future-of-the-past conditional* I use to underline the most prominent function of this conditional type, I see posteriority as inherently connected

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13 In all the examples given, I bold the most important part of the sentence, i. e. generally the conditional form. The conditional form will not be specifically marked in Spanish or in Czech. In cases where I comment on a verb form other than the conditional, for Spanish or Czech, this form will be marked with a gloss.

14 The term *pospretérito* originally came from Andrés Bello (1847/2016), who used it to refer unanimously to the *cantaría* paradigm; Veiga and Rojo (1999) follow Bello's classification in their interpretation of the Spanish mood-
-tense system.

to modality and evidentiality as well. As analysed in detail in Kratochvílová (2019), the prospective meaning of the future form *cantaré* contains, in my understanding, a modal-evidential component definable as the speaker's inference relating to the future. The inference is based on the speaker's assessment of the current situation. At the same time, I identify the elements of the current situation that are assessed with evidentiality, and the speaker's assessment itself with modality. The temporal uses of *cantaría* are analogous in terms of expressing an inference based on a situation in the past and the inference having a relative posterior temporal orientation. Terms such as *prospective inference* for *cantaré* and *relatively prospective inference* for *cantaría* thus seem appropriate here. The future-of-the-past conditional will be analysed in Chapter 5.2.1.

b)   Double-viewpoint conditional
This conditional use corresponds to uses of *cantaría* expressing a verb meaning posterior to a moment in the past and confirmed from the present perspective:

(5)
Juan le prometió a Marta que se ocuparía de todo. Más tarde, Marta se **enteraría** de que estaba mintiendo.
'John promised Martha he would take care of everything. Later, Martha **would find out** that he was lying.'

This use is sometimes labelled as *condicional factual/narrativo* ('factual/narrative conditional', RAE 2009, §23.15r) or *uso histórico* ('historic use', Azzopardi 2013).
I analyse this usage in Chapter 5.2.2. Since this conditional type denotes verb meanings that are simultaneously viewed from the perspective of the past and the current moment of speech, I use the term *double-viewpoint conditional* for it.

3)   Modal-evidential uses analogical to *cantaré*
Given by their historical interconnection, the Spanish conditional can function as the past tense of *cantaré*. While *cantaré* is traditionally referred to as *future tense*, it exhibits a number of functions that are modal-evidential rather than temporal and do not display a clear prospective orientation. From a cognitive perspective, these have been described in detail in Kratochvílová (2019).
It can be concluded that all modal-evidential notions expressed by *cantaré* with reference to the present or the future can be expressed by *cantaría* with a retrospective orientation. All these uses share a strong modal-evidential component, which could be more accurately defined as epistemically-inferential (Kratochvílová 2019; Kratochvílová and Jiménez Juliá 2021). Epistemic inference, in my understanding, means that the speaker considers a state of affairs, assesses its elements and then formulates a conclusion, i.e. inference, based on these elements. The epistemic component lies in the speaker's reasoning, the evidential component in the elements that (s)he considers, and which are construed as known to the speaker and forming part of the information available to him/her. In the case of *cantaré*, inference is drawn based on the current

communication situation and the elements available in it. When expressed through the *cantaría* paradigm, the inference implies a past situation on which the speaker is reflecting. Specifically, I distinguish the following subtypes of modal-evidential *cantaría*.

a) Past-tense probabilitive
    The *cantaré* paradigm in contemporary Spanish often expresses an inference concerning the present.

(6)
Alguien está tocando la puerta. **Será**_{CANTARÉ} Juan.
'Someone is knocking on the door. It **must be** John.'

    Cantaría expresses an inference/supposition with past-tense reference.

(7)
Ayer alguien estaba tocando la puerta. **Sería** Juan.
'Yesterday, someone was knocking on the door. It **must have been** John.'

    This usage is traditionally called *condicional de conjetura* or *uso conjetural del condicional* ('conjectural conditional', 'conjectural use of the conditional', RAE 2009, §23.15j; Vatrican 2014; Azzopardi 2013), *probabilidad o aproximación en el pasado* ('probability or approximation in the past', Marcos Marín et al. 1999/2002, 219–220), *condicional con valor de probabilidad* ('conditional with probability value', Vatrican 2016), *probabilitiv préterita* ('past tense probabilitive', Zavadil and Čermák 2010, 306). I analyse this usage in Chapter 5.3.1.

b) Past-tense dubitative
    Cantaré and *cantaría* can also be used in rhetorical questions to express the speaker's doubt and struggle to find an answer. This usage is often analysed together with the purely probabilitive one. I use the term *dubitative,* which reflects the additional modal notions theses uses display (Kratochvílová 2018b; 2019). This conditional type is analysed in Chapter 5.3.2.

(8)
Alguien está tocando la puerta. ¿Quién **será**_{CANTARÉ}?
'Someone is knocking on the door. **I wonder who it could be**.'

(9)
Ayer alguien estaba tocando la puerta. ¿Quién **sería**?
'Yesterday, someone was knocking on the door. **I wonder who it could have been**.'

c) Past-tense admissive
    The paradigms *cantaré* and *cantaría* can appear in contexts where the speaker expresses acceptance of certain information, but immediately presents other informa-

tion that (s)he considers more important. These uses are similar to the concessive *may* (Papafragou 2010 inter alia).

(10)
A: Juan siempre tiene buenos resultados en los exámenes.
B: **Tendrá**_{CANTARÉ} buenos resultados, pero se nota que no es muy listo.
'A: John always does well on his exams.
B: He **may do** well, but you can tell he is not very smart.'

(11)
A: En la escuela, Juan siempre tenía buenos resultados en los exámenes.
B: **Tendría** buenos resultados, pero se notaba que no era muy listo.
'A: In school, John always did well on his exams.
B: He **may have done** well, but you could tell he was not very smart.'

Marcos Marín et al. (1999/2002) refer to this type as *concesión con respecto al pasado* ('concession with respect to past'). Following Kratochvílová (2019), I prefer the term *past tense admissive*, which reflects the fact that the verb meaning expressed by the conditional is accepted by the speaker, admitted, and could be paraphrased through *Admito que...* ('I admit that...'). These uses are analysed in Chapter 5.3.3.

d)   Exclamative conditional
Especially in colloquial language, *cantaré* and *cantaría* paradigms are also used in exclamatory sentences expressing a spontaneous reaction to certain information, often with a tinge of negative evaluation or mockery. In these constructions, the particle *si* is also often used as an emphasiser. Following Kratochvílová (2019), I refer to these uses as *exclamative*.

(12)
A: Juan acaba de suspender otro examen.
B: ¡Si **será**_{CANTARÉ} tonto!
'A: John has just failed another exam.
B: He **is** so stupid!'

(13)
A: Juan siempre se presentaba tarde para los exámenes.
B: ¡Si **sería** tonto!
'A: John was always late for his exams.
B: He **was** so stupid!'

These uses will be commented on in Chapter 5.3.1.

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4) Atemporal quotative
Especially in journalistic style, *cantaría* is often used to express information the speaker cannot vouch for and that is presented as hearsay.

(14)
Según algunos testimonios, esta píldora **tendría** efectos secundarios muy graves.
'According to some testimonies, the pill **reportedly has** very serious side effects.'

This use is called *condicional de rumor* ('rumour conditional', RAE 2009, §23.15m; Vatrican 2014; Bermúdez 2016), *uso citativo* ('quotative use', Azzopardi 2013), *condicional epistémico de atribución* ('epistemic attributive conditional', Kronning 2015), *condicional/uso periodístico* ('journalistic conditional/use', Veiga 1991; García Negroni 2021).
Given its strong evidential component, this use will be analysed alongside modal-evidential uses in Chapter 5.3.4, where I refer to it as the *atemporal quotative*.

5) Mitigating conditional
Hypothetical uses of the Spanish conditional have also given rise to usage that could be described as polite or mitigating.

(15)
Esto **indicaría** que el problema es más grave de lo que pensábamos.
'This **would suggest** that the problem is more serious than we thought.'

(16)
Sería mejor esperar.
'It **would be** better to wait.'

(17)
Preferiría la segunda opción.
'I **would prefer** the second option.'

RAE (2009, §23.15n–ñ) refers to uses represented by (15) and (16) as *condicional de atenuación* ('attenuation conditional'), uses represented by (17) as *condicional de modestia/cortesía* ('modesty/courtesy conditional'). Azzopardi (2013) refers to all of these uses as *uso atenuativo* ('attenuating uses'), Veiga (1991) opts for *usos de cortesía* ('courtesy uses').
I refer to them as *mitigating conditionals*. Mitigation has primarily two reasons, which may be described as epistemic and politeness, and these overlap to some extent.
Epistemic mitigation is a result of the speaker's uncertainty, which may be real or feigned for politeness reasons. In (15), the meaning of "suggest" is mitigated through the conditional form expressing that the speaker is not entirely certain and does not wish to present its meaning as entirely certain. This subtype of mitigating conditional will be referred to as *tentative*.

With politeness mitigation, the conditional is used purely for pragmatic reasons to soften the impact on the addressee. (17) is a politer variant of *Prefiero la primera opción* ('I prefer the first option') while the epistemic status of "prefer" remains unchanged in both utterances. This use will be called *attenuating* in this monograph.

For (16), a paraphrase with "I think it is better to wait" is possible, and the reason for the use of the conditional may be both the speaker's genuine uncertainty about whether it is better to wait and an attempt to present his or her opinion more politely and subtly. In this respect, (16) stands between tentative and attenuating use.

I analyse the mitigating conditional in Chapter 5.4, distinguishing and describing its subtypes in detail.

6) Interactional mirative conditional

Uses of *cantaría* in questions expressing the speaker's surprise at a certain situation or information received are called *interactional mirative* in this monograph:

(18)
¿Quién **haría** algo así?
'Who **would do** something like that?'

This conditional type is usually analysed together with the default hypothetical usage. I see it as distinct precisely with respect to the mirative element it expresses, and I focus on it in Chapter 5.5.

3.1.4 *CANTARÍA* IN THE SPANISH TME SYSTEM

As can be seen, the *cantaría* form displays a wide range of functions in contemporary Spanish, with its uses oscillating between temporality, modality and evidentiality. This is reflected in the controversy over whether to classify the Spanish conditional as tense or mood.

The conditional's formal paradigm is analogical to indicative verbal tenses in the sense that it has a simple and a compound form (*cantaría / habría cantado*). In this respect, it differs notably from the subjunctive which can be expressed in all tenses.[15] From a syntactic point of view, *cantaría* behaves as a non-congruential verbal form: it appears in main and subordinate clauses, in contexts where the indicative could also appear. Thus, it cannot substitute the subjunctive. Finally, *cantaría* often functions as the past tense of *cantaré* and, when expressing relative posteriority, it is analogous to other relative verbal tenses of the indicative – *cantaba* to express relative simultaneity (*Dijo que cantaba* – '(S)he said (s)he was singing') and *había*

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15   Despite the fact that most of its forms have more than one temporal interpretation, see Chapter 3.1.1.

cantado to express relative anteriority (*Dijo que había cantado* – '(S)he said (s)he had sung').

On the other hand, the argument against understanding *cantaría* as one of the indicative tenses, is the fact that in many uses it does not construe the verb meaning as coinciding with reality. Conditional meaning is often interpreted only as theoretically possible, dependent on fulfilling a condition or even implicitly negated. The speaker's epistemic stance here is thus the opposite of that expressed by the indicative.

To summarise, it can be concluded that the formal criteria place *cantaría* alongside the indicative tenses. The semantic criteria, on the other hand, point to a fundamental epistemic element that distinguishes it from paradigms such as *canto*, *cantaba*, *cantaré* or *había cantado*.

The debate about how to define Spanish verb forms and whether *cantaría* can be placed at the level of the indicative-subjunctive-(imperative) opposition is one of the traditional questions in Spanish grammars. The formal designation of *cantaría* (and the associated situating of this form in one of the traditional verb categories) is variable across time and grammars. In an exhaustive analysis of *cantaría* in Spanish grammars written between the years 1492 and 1771, Zamorano Aguilar (2017) finds a total of eleven different formal labels that the form received. These oscillate between emphasising the preterit, imperfective, relative-posteriority and potentially-optative components of its meaning.

The inconsistent understanding of *cantaría* has continued after the establishment of the Spanish Royal Academy (Real Academia Española, RAE) in 1773, with even the authors of principal reference grammars published across the 20th century differing in their opinions. Samuel Gili Gaya, author of one of the most cited works on Spanish grammar, *Curso superior de la sintaxis española* (Gili Gaya 1943/1971, 146), refers to the *cantaría* forms as *futuro hipotético* ('hypothetical future') and classifies them as indicative tenses. RAE also understands the form as indicative in *Esbozo de una nueva gramática española* (RAE 1973, 472). A different perspective is then taken by Alarcos Llorach in his *Gramática de la lengua española*, which until the 2009 edition of *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* by RAE served largely as a normative grammar. Alarcos Llorach makes a distinction between *modo indicativo* ('indicative mood'), *modo condicionado* ('conditional mood') and *modo subjuntivo* ('subjunctive mood') (Alarcos Llorach 1994/2008, 193), giving the *cantaría* paradigm the status of a verb mood.

It is not my aim here to present all the approaches to the definition of the category of modality in Spanish and to the place *cantaría* occupies in the Spanish mood-tense system. A basic overview is offered by García Fajardo (2000), an overview from the perspective of teaching Spanish as a foreign language is offered by Zamorano Aguilar and Martínez-Atienza de Dios (2020) and the topic is exhaustively summarised by Veiga (1991). Veiga ultimately favours an understanding of the Spanish conditional as an indicative form that exhibits a number of modal functions, which, however, cannot be equated with the basic indicative-subjunctive dichotomy (cf. Veiga 1991, 105–106). The very fact that the conditional appears in Spanish in contexts where the indicative could also be used and does not alternate with the subjunctive is the argument based

on which this form is also understood as indicative in the current normative grammar by the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE 2009).

In addition to the discussion concerning the relationship of *cantaría* to tense and modality, it is also necessary to consider its evidential dimension. Studies of evidentiality in the Spanish or Romance verbal system are relatively recent. In relation to the conditional, Mario Squartini's (2001) paper can be considered to be pioneering in systematically comparing the inferential and reportative functions of the Romance future and Romance conditional. With respect to evidential meanings of *cantaría*, uses referred to in this monograph as past tense probabilitive and atemporal quotative are in focus.

The atemporal quotative and its reportative functions have been the subject of a number of recent monothematic studies (Böhm and Hennemann 2014; Kronning 2015; 2018; Bermúdez 2016; García Negroni 2021), with this conditional type being analysed separately from other functions of *cantaría*. Atemporal quotative is presented as a specific use of the Spanish conditional that probably emerged under the influence of French. The quotative use of *cantaría* is then put in the context of quotative uses of other Spanish verb forms, namely the analytical future *ir a* + infinitive and the imperfect.

The inferential uses of *cantaría*, on the other hand, are analysed in analogy to inferential (modal-evidential) uses of *cantaré*. From an evidential perspective, Rivero (2014) analyses all the functions that *cantaré* and *cantaría* have in common. The author defines them as inferential and mirative, *cantaré* representing an inference about present or future events, *cantaría* expressing the same kind of inference in relation to the past. A radically evidential-based approach to *cantaré* is taken by Escandell-Vidal (2010; 2014; 2018), who sees the inferential component of its meaning as fundamental. According to this author, the future tense does not serve primarily to prospectively orient the verb meaning with respect to the moment of speech but to express inference which, at the same time, "indicates that the evidence the speaker has does not come from direct perception" (Escandell-Vidal 2014, 236). All non-prospective uses of *cantaré* then serve, according to the author, as a proof that *cantaré* in contemporary Spanish functions as a morphological inferential. Escandell-Vidal focuses on *cantaré*, mentioning *cantaría* explicitly only with respect to its quotative function (2014, 241). However, it can be assumed that the uses of *cantaría* analogous to those of *cantaré* could be interpreted according to the same principle, i.e. as verbal forms with a strong inferential component, which gives them an essential place in the evidential subsystem of the Spanish verb.

In my view, the approaches presented above fail to apprehend the Spanish conditional in its complexity. Traditional discussions whether *cantaría* is a tense or a mood suggest that it is always possible to draw a dividing line between these two categories. At the same time, they completely neglect the evidential component of its meaning.

Approaches that emphasise the evidential dimension of inferential and quotative uses of *cantaría* separate these functions from others and do not focus on the paradigm as a whole. The result is an unclear and unbalanced picture, where these functions are not put in clear relation to each other. An exception in this sense is the recent work

of Arrigo (2020), who examines quotative and inferential uses together. Nevertheless, Arrigo's analysis focuses only on journalistic language and on the role of the conditional in journalistic discourse. The author does not clarify how the TME components combine in the *cantaría* form.

Another fundamental problem is that authors focusing on the evidential component of specific uses of *cantaría* generally leave aside its hypothetical and mitigating uses, whose evidential component has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

Continuing the line introduced in Kratochvílová (2018a; 2018b; 2019), I understand modal, temporal and evidential meanings as inherently connected and inseparable from each other in a number of contexts. My approach to *cantaría* refuses to identify it with any of the TME categories. Instead, I focus on how temporality, modality and evidentiality interact when the conditional is used in different contexts. In Chapter 5, I propose a unified approach to all the functions of *cantaría*, which on the one hand clearly defines the broad spectrum of meanings this form can cover but on the other allows us to see all the functions in relation to each other.

3.2 THE ENGLISH CONDITIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN THE TME SYSTEM

3.2.1 THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CONDITIONAL

From the diachronic point of view, the English conditional displays similarities to *cantaría*. The English conditional is formed by the auxiliary *would* and the bare infinitive. Today's English *would* evolved from *wolde*, which functioned as a past tense form of *will* (*wylle/wile*) indicating the speaker's volition or desire. As in Spanish, both forms then underwent an evolutionary path in which their functions partially disconnected. The originally dynamic volitive *will* became established as an auxiliary marking the prospective temporal orientation (i.e. it began to function as the future tense). The past form *would*, like *cantaría*, established itself as a means of expressing relative posteriority (i.e. future-of-the-past). Nevertheless, at the same time, *would* gradually acquired the function of a hypothetical conditional independent of *will*. Bybee (1995) argues convincingly against understanding *would* as a past form of *will* with a primary future-of-the-past function, from which hypothetical functions would emerge. The author notes that the hypothetical use of *would* is documented before the time when *will* desemanticised and became (primarily) a future tense auxiliary (Bybee 1995, 515). For a more detailed analysis of the evolution of the different meanings of *would*, see Warner (1993) inter alia.

The difference with Spanish, in this case, is the original function of *will/would*, which did not express an obligation as in the case of *cantāre habeō/habēbam*, but the subject's willingness to do something. The original dynamic function remains prom-

inent in some of today's uses of *will/would*, which lack a Spanish counterpart. These uses are mentioned in Chapter 3.2.2.

From the point of view of formal paradigmatics and the role of the conditional within the TME system, the crucial difference is the analytic form of the English conditional, which formally orients *will/would* among other modals (*can/could, may/might, shall/should*). However, given the strongly temporal meaning of today's *will*, the understanding of this auxiliary as a modal verb is questionable, which is reflected in the question of how to understand the partially related *would*.

3.2.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE ENGLISH CONDITIONAL

When describing the basic functions of *would*, I shall proceed analogically to Chapter 3.1.3 where functions of *cantaría* are described. I distinguish six major groups: hypothetical conditional, temporal conditional, mitigating conditional, interactional mirative conditional, "that would be me" conditional and quasi-subjunctive conditional.

1) Hypothetical conditional
    The hypothetical *would* is largely analogous to the hypothetical *cantaría*. The conditional meaning is construed as dependent on an explicit or implicit condition:

(19)
If I could, I **would sing**.
'Si pudiera, **cantaría**.'

This type is sometimes labelled as *general hypothetical marker* (Coates 1983) or *conséquence d'une hypothèse irréelle ou non probable* ('consequence of an unreal or unlikely hypothesis', Larreya 2015). This conditional type is analysed in Chapter 5.1.

2) Temporal conditional
    a) Future-of-the past conditional
    The default temporal function of *would* is again comparable to the analogous function of *cantaría*. The conditional meaning refers to a certain moment in the past, posterior to another moment in the past. The verb meaning is unconfirmed from the perspective of the present:

(20)
He told me he **would sing**.
'Me dijo que **cantaría**.'

This function is also labelled as *past (of will)* (Coates 1983; Palmer 1990) and will be analysed in Chapter 5.2.

b) Double viewpoint conditional

Like *cantaría*, *would* can also appear in syntactically independent clauses expressing a verb meaning posterior to a moment in the past and simultaneously confirmed from the perspective of the present. Uses represented by (21) are further analysed in Chapter 5.2.2.

(21)
John promised Martha that she would take care of everything. Later, Martha **would find out** that he was lying.
'Juan le prometió a Marta que se ocuparía de todo. Más tarde, Marta se **enteraría** de que estaba mintiendo.'

The difference with Spanish is the wider range of modal notions that the future-of-the-past and double viewpoint *would* can take. This is due to the different range of modal meanings that *will* denotes in the present tense perspective. Of course, like *cantaré*, *will* marks verb meanings situated in the future. However, the question of how to define the modal-evidential element of its prospective use (and subsequently of *would* when expressing relative posteriority) is more complicated than for *cantaré*.

Unmarked prospective interpretations of *will* analogous to *cantaré* (*John will be at home tomorrow*) are primarily related to epistemic modality in the literature (Collins 2009); Gotti (2003) defines them as *prediction within dynamic modality*. In a non-actual temporal perspective, these uses correspond to the temporal *would* analogous to the temporal *cantaría*. From a modal-evidential perspective, these uses can be seen as close to the interpretation proposed for *cantaré/cantaría*, i.e. (relative) prospective inference (see Chapter 3.1.3).

In terms of comparison with Spanish, the use of *will*, referred to as *willingness* (Coates 1983), *volition* (Palmer 1990), *deontic volition* (Gotti 2003), *dynamic (volitive) will/would* (Collins 2009), *volition isochrone* ('isochronous volition', Larreya 2015), is more problematic. This interpretation of *will/would* arises from the original dynamic function of this auxiliary, which *cantaré/cantaría* lacks. Through *will/would*, the verb meaning can be construed as posterior (absolutely or relatively) and as resulting from the subject's will and intentions. Thus, from the point of view of modal-evidential interpretation, (22) and (23) are not entirely analogous:

(22)
Martha **won't say** the truth.
Martha **no dirá**$_{\text{CANTARÉ}}$ la verdad.

(23)
We asked her several times, but Martha **wouldn't say** the truth.
Le preguntamos varias veces, pero Marta **no diría** la verdad.

The Spanish *dirá/diría* does not express dynamic volition or intention. The meaning of "say" is construed as posterior, and in terms of modality and evidentiality we

can speak of prospective inference in both cases (i.e. "everything indicates/indicated that Marta is/was not going to say the truth"). The English counterparts share the temporal interpretation with the Spanish constructions but the modal element could be interpreted in terms of "Martha isn't/wasn't willing to tell the truth". Huddlestone and Pullum (2002, 197) label these uses as a volitional subtype of the dynamic use of *would* defining them as typically used in non-affirmative contexts.

Close to the above described dynamic volitional *would* is the propensive use, which can appear in affirmative contexts. In this respect, Huddlestone and Pullum (2002) comment on the example of *He would call round just when I wanted an early night*. The authors define the meaning associated with the conditional in this context as expressing a one-time event, but with a shade of typicality: "the event is presented as typical. What it is typical of is not expressed, but we infer something like 'typical of the inconvenient/annoying things that he does or that happen (to me)'" (Huddlestone and Pullum 2002, 198).

I will continue to refer to the dynamic volitive and propensive uses of *would* relating to a one-off and non-repeated event as *volitive-intentional would*. Theses uses can also metaphorically relate to inanimate subjects (*The door won't/wouldn't open*). However, the volitive-intentional interpretation cannot always be clearly distinguished from the prospective-inferential one. (22) and (23) could theoretically be paraphrased in a way closer to the Spanish interpretation: "Martha is/was not intending to say the truth; from which it is/was inferred that she will/would not say it".

The fact that the volitive-intentional element never overrides the temporal-epistemic one is also confirmed by Palmer, who contrasts the constructions *He was not willing to come, but he came* and **He wouldn't come, but he came* (1990, 196). The latter is unacceptable in my understanding for the reason that *would* does not function here as a mere modal auxiliary. The subject's unwillingness to come is also the source of the prospective inference concerning the non-realisation of "come". Thus, *would* combines modal, temporal and inferential elements in a similar way to Spanish *cantaría*, only the modal component here is of two kinds (epistemic and dynamic).

My primary interest in this monograph is the interpretation of the Spanish conditional. English and Czech serve primarily as languages providing a perspective "from the other side", which allows me to see the Spanish conditional in a broader context. For this reason, I will not single out dynamic volitive-intentional *would* as a specific subtype in the analyses in Chapter 5.2.

c)   Cyclical conditional

The characteristics of *would* referred to by Huddlestone and Pullum (2002, 197) and Collins (2009, 140) as *propensive* are more often found in contexts where the conditional denotes repeated events. Palmer (1990) refers to these usages as *habitual*. I use the term *cyclical conditional*. These uses will be analysed in Chapter 5.2.3. In Spanish, *cantaría* does not appear in similar contexts.

(24)
John **would visit** Martha every day and they **would talk** for hours.

3) Mitigating conditional
Like *cantaría*, *would* can be used to mitigate the content of an utterance and its impact on the addressee:

(25)
This **would suggest** that the problem is more serious than we thought.
'Esto **indicaría** que el problema es más grave de lo que pensábamos.'

(26)
It **would be** better to wait.
'**Sería** mejor esperar.'

(27)
I **would prefer** the second option.
'**Preferiría** la segunda opción.'

Huddlestone and Pullum (2002) and Collins (2009) refer to purely pragmatic uses of *would* represented by (27) as *tentative conditionals*. I will use the term *attenuating conditional* for them in analogy with the Spanish typology. The conditional referred to as *tentative* has a different meaning for me and includes all uses where the mitigation is due to speaker uncertainty, i.e. the example (25).[16] Example (26) stands at the borderline between these two interpretations.

Furmaniak and Larreya (2015) and Larreya (2015) refer to uses represented by (25) as *conjectural*, a term that is nevertheless preferable to avoid in view of the comparison with Spanish. Recall that *condicional de conjetura* (past-tense probabilitive, in my terminology) refers to the use of *cantaría* expressing probability in the past tense. Tentative uses of *would* expressing the speaker's uncertainty are not analogous to probabilitive (conjectural) *cantaría*, since they can refer to the present and cannot be understood as the past tense of central epistemic *will*.[17]

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16   Palmer (1990) understands *tentative would* in a similar way.
17   Non-prospective uses close to probabilitive *cantaré* (*John will be at home now*) are classified as *epistemic* (Coates 1983; Palmer 1990), *central-epistemic* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 200; Collins 2009) or *epistemic inference* (Gotti 2003). While the probabilitive *cantaré* has its past-tense counterpart in the probabilitive *cantaría*, the meanings associated with the probabilitive (or central-epistemic/epistemic inference) *will* are difficult to express in English via *would* in the past tense perspective.
      Coates (1983, 208) presents the clauses *That will be the milkman* and *That would be the milkman* as analogous, expressing epistemic predictability with reference to the present (*will*) or to the past (*would*), i.e. as corresponding to the probabilitive uses of *cantaré* and *cantaría*. Sweetser (1998/1990, 63) also uses the term *past tense of epistemic will* to refer to similar contexts. However, this analogy is challenged by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) when they present it in opposing sentences *He'll be about sixty* (classified by the authors as central-epistemic will) and *He'd be about sixty*. The *would* variant differs from central-epistemic *will* not in its temporal orientation (which in both cases is simultaneous with the moment of speech), but in the modal

The tentative and attenuating conditional will be analysed in Chapter 3.4.

4)   Interactional mirative conditional
The mirative use of *would* in questions responding to a surprising finding is only partially analogous to Spanish. *Would* is used in two types of mirative contexts:

a)   Non-factual mirativity
I use the term *non-factual mirativity* for contexts where the speaker expresses surprise while questioning the factuality of the verb meaning:

(28)
Who **would do** something like that?
'¿Quién **haría** algo así?'
(The implied meaning being "I am not sure that someone actually did it.")

(29)
Would you **believe** that?
(The implied meaning being "It is so surprising/unusual/strange that I am not sure whether you can believe it.")[18]

b)   Factual mirativity
This type of mirative conditional is only used in English; Spanish does not allow the use of *cantaría* in similar contexts. I use the term *factual mirativity* to refer to contexts where the speaker forms a question with *would* that does not question the validity of the verb meaning:

(30)
Why **would** you **say** that?
(The implied meaning being "I don't dispute the fact that you said it, but I don't understand your reasons for saying it.")

This usage is extensively analysed by Larreya (2015), who uses the term *contextes épistémiques factuels* ('factual epistemic contexts') to refer to it. Furmaniak and Larreya

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notion of higher uncertainty in the case of *would*, which the authors define as "marginally weaker still, less confident" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 200).

I favour Huddleston and Pullum's approach in this monograph, seeing the past-tense probabilitive use of *would* as marginal. This is probably mainly due to the significantly lower frequency of use of the pure probabilitive (epistemic) *will* compared to Spanish. For English, I understand the central systemic counterpart of the probabilitive *cantaré/cantaría* to be the epistemic *must / must have*. This is confirmed by Palmer (1990), who defines the difference between epistemic *will* and *must* in terms of "reasonable conclusion" (*will*) and the "only possible conclusion on the basis of evidence available" (*must*) (Palmer 1990, 57–58). The evidential-inferential element of the probabilitive *cantaré*, then, pits these usages precisely against epistemic *must*, not *will* (analogously, probabilitive *cantaría* ≈ epistemic *must have*).

18   In Spanish, the *cantaría* form is typical only of the first type of factual mirative contexts represented by (28), not of (29).

(2015) use the term *conjectural would in factual contexts*, which I find confusing, since conjecture is, in my understanding, identical to inference, which by its nature can never be factual. Celle (2018) speaks of *epistemic evaluation in factual contexts* when referring to this type of *would*. Given that in my understanding the most salient element of this conditional type is evidentiality and mirativity, not modality, I avoid the term *epistemic* here and analyse these uses in Chapter 5.5.

5) TWBMCond
    Unlike Spanish, English also has a specific use of *would*, which I refer to as the *"that would be me" conditional* (*TWBMCond*).

(31)
(Nurse calling a patient in the waiting room): Mr Smith?
Mr Smith: That **would be** me.

This type of conditional is understood by Palmer (1990) as *tentative*. Nowadays, the predominant label is *epistemic would* (Ward et al. 2003; 2007; Birner et al. 2007; Gravano et al. 2008; Ward 2011; Song 2008; 2011; Celle 2012; 2018; Kim 2017). I classify this type as a specific kind of *ground-echoing conditional* (see Chapter 5.6), which is due to its strong connection to the current communication situation (TWBMCond, in my understanding, responds to an explicit or implicit question that is emphasised and echoed in the verb meaning).

6) Quasi-subjunctive
    In a limited set of contexts, *would* displays functions similar or apparently similar to the Spanish subjunctive.

(32)
I wish you **would stop** doing that.

(33)
It is interesting you **would say** that.

Uses illustrated by (32) are interpreted by Collins (2009, 141) as a specific type of hypothetical *would*. Constructions illustrated by (33), where *would* appears in a non-epistemic context, are defined as a specific subtype of *factual conjectural would* by Furmaniak and Larreya (2015).

In Spanish, the subjunctive would be obligatorily used in both contexts (*Deseo que dejes*$_{SBJV}$ *de hacerlo, Es interesante que digas*$_{SBJV}$ *esto*) given that (32) is a content clause subordinate to a predicate expressing volition and (33) is a content clause subordinate to a predicate expressing evaluation (see Chapter 3.1.1). In my view, the difference lies in the (non-)autonomy of the conditional. I assess *would* in (33) as syntactically dependent on the main clause and devoid of autonomous meaning (**You*

would say that). *Would* in (32) refers to the subject's will and mitigates the utterance content (similar to *I would be grateful if you would stop doing that* and the autonomous *Would you stop doing that, please?*). I therefore understand *would* in content clauses syntactically dependent on an evaluation predicate as quasi-subjunctive and will not address it in this monograph. I understand *if/wish + would* constructions as partially subjunctive, but with a mitigating component, and analyse them as attenuating conditionals in Chapter 5.4.2.

3.2.3 *WOULD* IN THE ENGLISH TME SYSTEM

As a rule, Spanish grammars do not question the status of *cantaré* as a morphological future tense.[19] However, the debate is with respect to the understanding of the conditional *cantaría* and its polyfunctionality (see Chapter 3.1.4). However, in the English grammar, the primary issue is the understanding of *will*.

Formally, *will* behaves like other English modal verbs. *Will* is also closely connected to *would,* which expresses the undeniably modal meanings of hypotheticality or tentativeness. Nevertheless, *will* is also the primary means of expressing absolute posteriority, i.e. a fundamental exponent of the traditional past–present–future temporal system.

As noted above, for Spanish grammarians the analogy of *cantaré* and *cantaría* is one of the main arguments for understanding *cantaría* as an indicative verb form. For English, this perspective can be reversed: Huddlestone and Pullum (2002, 208–210) define *will* as a modal, not a verb tense, precisely with respect to its relation to *would* (other reasons are then the semantic and formal similarities with the modals *can, may, must*). Traditional key works on English modals by Coates (1983) and Palmer (1990) also understand *will* as a modal auxiliary but see Declerck (2009) for a persuasive counter argumentation.

The subject of this paper is primarily the Spanish conditional and I do not aim to provide an exhaustive argument for or against understanding *will/would* as verb tense exponents or modal auxiliaries. As in the case of *cantaría*, I am opposed to identifying *would* (but also, by analogy, *will*) with a single verb category. In Chapter 5, I will attempt to present a unified cognitive-oriented approach that allows the temporal, modal, and evidential-mirative dimensions of *would* to be understood and analysed as inherently interrelated.

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19   This approach is questioned by Zavadil (1980), Zavadil and Čermák (2010), Kratochvílová (2018b) and Kratochvílová (2019). The authors point out the strong position of *cantaré* for expressing morphological probability and propose to see its probabilitive functions as independent of the prospective (temporal) ones.

3.3 THE CZECH CONDITIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN THE TME SYSTEM

3.3.1 THE EVOLUTION OF THE CZECH CONDITIONAL AND ITS FORMS

The Czech conditional is a compound verb form consisting of two elements. The first element is the so-called *-l- participle* (sometimes called the *past participle*, see Karlík and Migdalski 2017) of the fully-semantic verb. The second element is the auxiliary *být* ('to be') in its originally aorist form, i.e. the form of the nowadays disused simple past tense, which started to decline in Old Czech around the 15th century (cf. Kosek 2017a).

As Kosek (2017b) notes, today's conditional forms probably originally functioned as the pluperfect indicative. The shift to the modal meaning is dated to the Early Old Czech period, i.e. the period spanning from the mid-12th century to the end of the 13th century (cf. Kosek 2017c).

The formal paradigm for the simple conditional of the verb *zpívat* ('to sing') appears in Table 4.

Table 4. *The Czech conditional. Formal paradigm.*

	Masculine sg.	**Feminine sg.**	**Masculine pl.**	**Feminine pl.**
1st person	zpíval bych	zpívala bych	zpívali bychom	zpívaly bychom
2nd person	zpíval bys	zpívala bys	zpívali byste	zpívaly byste
3rd person	zpíval by	zpívala by	zpívali by	zpívaly by

The compound conditional also exists in Czech. It is formed by adding the verb *být* in the -l- participle to the simple conditional form (*byl bych zpíval, byl bys zpíval, byl by zpíval...*). However, the compound conditional is considered obsolete and is fully replaceable in today's Czech by the simple conditional. Thus, *zpíval bych* can be interpreted, based on context, as both 'I would sing' and 'I would have sung'. In line with the focus of this monograph, the compound conditional is not the subject of my study. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, unlike in Spanish and English, the temporal orientation of the Czech simple conditional can also be understood as anterior to the moment of speech.

3.3.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE CZECH CONDITIONAL

As can be seen from the brief summary of the evolution of the Czech conditional, unlike the Spanish and English conditionals, *zpíval bych* is not directly related to the future tense. Czech does not distinguish between absolute and relative tenses, posteriority being always expressed through the future tense form (*budu zpívat*), see Table 5.

Table 5. *Absolute/relative posteriority in Spanish, English and Czech.*

	Spanish	English	Czech
Absolute posteriority	Digo que **cantaré**.	I say I **will sing**.	Říkám, že **budu zpívat**.
Relative posteriority	Dije que **cantaría**.	I said I **would sing**.	Řekl(a) jsem, že **budu zpívat**.

It follows that the Czech conditional, unlike *cantaría* and *would*, lacks the future--of-the-past interpretation. On the other hand, in terms of expressing modal notions, *zpíval bych* does not compete with the subjunctive (like in Spanish) or with other modals (like the English *would*).[20] For this reason, the definition of all the functions of *zpíval bych* is rather complicated (see Karlík 2017). In analogy with the functions I have defined for *cantaría* and *would*, I distinguish the following uses.

1) Hypothetical conditional
   This function is analogical to the hypothetical *cantaría* and *would*:

(34)
Kdybych mohl, **zpíval bych**.
'Si pudiera, **cantaría**.'
'If I could, I **would sing**.'

In Czech grammars, this function is reflected by the term *podmiňovací způsob* ('conditioning mood'), which is often used instead of the less transparent *kondicionál* ('conditional'). This use is in analysed in Chapter 5.1.

2) Mitigating conditional
   Mitigating uses of *zpíval bych* are also similar to those expressed by *cantaría* and *would*.

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20   Modals form part of the Czech modal system but display mood and tense inflection like any other verb, thus also allowing the conditional form: *můžu*$_{IND}$ ('I can$_{IND}$') – *mohl(a) bych*$_{COND}$ ('I could', literally: 'I can$_{COND}$').

(35)
To **by naznačovalo**, že problém je vážnější, než jsme si mysleli.
'Esto **indicaría** que el problema es más grave de lo que pensábamos.'
'This **would suggest** that the problem is more serious than we thought.'

(36)
Bylo by lepší počkat.
'**Sería** mejor esperar.'
'It **would be** better to wait.'

(37)
Dával bych přednost druhé možnosti.
'**Preferiría** la segunda opción.'
'I **would prefer** the second option.'

These uses are usually referred to in the Czech tradition as *zdvořilostní* ('of courtesy', Štícha 2013, 436); Karlík et al. mention the notions of "zdvořilosti, úcty, skromnosti, ale i jisté důvěrnosti" ('courtesy, respect, modesty, but also a certain familiarity', Karlík et al. 1995, 593). Mitigation represented by (37) is primarily associated with performative verbs, whose conditional use is analysed in detail by Ševčíková (2009; 2010). I analyse these uses in Chapter 5.4.

3)   Interactional mirative conditional
While in Spanish uses labelled as mirative are limited to a single type, in Czech we find a wide range of partially connected conditional functions that share a mirative element.

a)   Non-factual mirativity
Zpíval bych appears in interrogative sentences expressing surprise at a situation or information just received while simultaneously doubting the factuality of the verb meaning. Non-factual mirativity represented by (38) can be expressed through the conditional in Spanish and also in English. Mirative *zpíval bych* in (39) can be translated through *would*, but not through *cantaría*. Finally, non-factual mirativity represented by (40) cannot be expressed through *cantaría* or *would*. All these uses are analysed in Chapter 5.5.

(38)
Kdo **by** něco takového **dělal**?
'¿Quién **haría** algo así?'
'Who **would do** something like that?'
(The implied meaning being "I am not sure that someone actually did it.")

(39)
Věřil bys tomu?
'**Would** you **believe** that?'
(The implied meaning being "It is so surprising/unusual/strange that I am not sure whether you can believe it.")

(40)
(There is an unexpected knock at the door): Že **by** to **byl** Jan?
'**Could** it **be** John?'
(The implied meaning being "I infer it could be John, but I am not entirely sure.")

b)   Factual mirativity
    Unlike in English, *zpíval bych* cannot be used in utterances like *Why would you say that?* where the speaker is not questioning the proposition validity. However, I analyse as factual mirativity echoic uses of the Czech conditional used to repeat a question that was just posed and present it as surprising or unexpected. These uses have no direct Spanish or English counterpart.

(41)
A: Kde je Jan?
B: Kde **by byl**? Touhle dobou je vždy v kanceláři.
'A: Where is John?
B: Where **do you think he is**? (literally: 'Where would he be?') At this time of the day, he is always in the office.'
(The implied meaning being "I am surprised you should ask that, at this time of the day, there is no place to find John other than the office.")

    To my knowledge, these uses of *zpíval bych* have not been subjected to a systemic analysis concentrating on their evidential-mirative elements. I analyse them in Chapter 5.5 as a subtype of the interactional mirative conditional.

4)   TBMCond
    Uses of *zpíval bych*, which I refer to as "*to bychom měli*" *conditional* (*TBMCond*, literally: 'we would have that conditional') share some common features with the English TWBMCond (hence the similar abbreviations I use for them). Contexts in which these conditionals are used are not identical, but both uses share a strong connection to a certain element of the communication situation that is echoed through the conditional. TBMCond expresses that an activity, a process or an event taking place within the communication situation has just been finished and it is possible to move on to the next one. *Cantaría* does not display similar characteristics.

(42)

The speaker has just set up a table in the kitchen: Tak, stůl **bychom měli**, teď můžeme přinést židle.

'Ok, we **have** the table (literally: 'we would have the table'), now we can bring in the chairs.'

TBMCond and TWBMCond are analysed in Chapter 5.6 and collectively referred to as *ground echoing conditionals*.

5) Quasi-subjunctive (congruential conditional)

Many uses of *zpíval bych* have a function comparable to the Spanish subjunctive. In terms of modality, they can be understood as a *congruential* in Zavadil's sense (Zavadil 1980; Zavadil and Čermák 2010), meaning that they duplicate or reinforce the modal meaning expressed by the main clause.

Unlike in English, where the quasi-subjunctive *would* is rare, the Czech quasi--subjunctive has a wide range of uses. Contexts where the Czech conditional partially or completely covers the functions of the Spanish subjunctive are summarised in Tables 6 and 7. Uses of *zpíval bych* lacking one of the functions defined above and occurring in contexts typical for the Spanish subjunctive are labelled COND-CONGR (*congruential conditional*). It should be kept in mind that contexts where the indicative can be used also allow the non-congruential (primarily hypothetical) conditional. Non-congruential *zpíval bych* will be analysed in Chapter 5 regardless of whether it appears in a main or subordinate clause.

Table 6. *Mood in subordinate clauses: Spanish vs. Czech.*

Subordinate clause	Meaning	Mood in Spanish	Mood in Czech
Content clause	factuality	IND	IND
	volition, causativity	SBJV	COND-CONGR/IND[21]
	evaluation	SBJV	IND
	potentiality	IND/SBJV	IND/COND-CONGR
Relative clause	reference to a concrete antecedent	IND	IND
	reference to a non-concrete antecedent	SBJV	IND/COND-CONGR
	stating an already known or irrelevant information through *el (hecho) de que / fakt, že* ('the fact that')	SBJV	IND

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21 The default verbal mood marking subordinate volition is the congruential conditional. Indicative appears after predicates expressing causation or intention.

Subordinate clause	Meaning	Mood in Spanish	Mood in Czech
Purpose clause		SBJV	COND-CONGR
Manner clause	realisation manner is declared	IND	IND
	realisation manner is the subject's purpose (dynamic modal element)	SBJV	COND-CONGR
	manner expressed through *sin que / aniž* ('without')	SBJV	IND/COND-CONGR
Temporal clause	expressing simultaneity or anteriority with reference to the main clause or the moment of speech	IND	IND
	expressing posteriority with reference to the main clause or the moment of speech	SBJV	IND
Conditional clause	zero	IND	IND
	first	IND/SBJV	IND
	second and third	SBJV	COND-CONGR
Concessive clause	possibility (analogical to first conditional clause)	IND/SBJV	IND
	non-factuality (analogical to second and third conditional clauses)	SBJV	COND-CONGR

Table 7. *Subjunctive (congruential conditional) in main clauses: Spanish vs. Czech.*

Main clause	Mood in Spanish	Mood in Czech
Wish clause	SBJV	IND/COND-CONGR
Main clause with adverb meaning "maybe"	IND/SBJV	IND
Main clause expressing evaluation through *qué/jak-* + + nominal (*qué pena / jaká smůla* – 'what a shame')	IND/SBJV	IND

The semantic oppositions between the indicative and the congruential conditional in contexts allowing their alternation are discussed in detail by Grepl (1964) and Karlík (1980; 1982). Although Karlík (1982) postulates the existence of a modal or temporal meaning for all congruential uses of *zpíval bych*, this meaning is not always specified by the author (e.g. the function of the congruential conditional in subordinate clauses expressing volition) and, in my view, these functions largely correspond to the modal meaning of the main clause. I agree with Karlík (1982, 123) in that the definition of the

congruential functions of *zpíval bych* is difficult, especially because even the function of the subjunctive/conjunctive in languages where its existence is not disputed (such as Spanish), has not yet been clarified.[22] In view of the comparison with Spanish, all the above-mentioned quasi-subjunctive uses of *zpíval bych* will be excluded from the investigation in this monograph.

3.3.3 *ZPÍVAL BYCH* IN THE CZECH TME SYSTEM

Since the Czech conditional lacks a clear temporal component and does not display a relationship with the future tense, it is unquestionably understood as a verb mood (ČSAV 1986; Karlík et al. 1995; Štícha et al. 2013; Karlík 2017) which (together with the imperative) stands in opposition to the indicative.

Despite being often labelled as *podmiňovací způsob* ('conditioning mood'), the question is to what extent conditionality (*podmíněnost*, in Czech) is really the default value of *zpíval bych*. This is postulated as such by Štícha et al. (2013, 435) while other approaches prefer less specific terms such as *hypotetičnost* ('hypotheticality', ČSAV 1986, 166) and *nereálnost* ('unreality', Karlík et al. 1995, 593; Karlík 2017). Probably the most concise definition is provided by Svoboda (1973), who postulates two basic functions of *zpíval bych*: *podmíněná výpovědnost* ('conditional declaration', verb meaning dependent on a condition, but not completely unreal) and *možnost až neskutečnost* ('possibility ranging with unreality', the verb meaning depends on a condition, the factuality of which we do not want to declare).

We can conclude that similar to Spanish and English, the Czech conditional is a problematic form in terms of its definition and classification. The reason is not its inherent connection with the future tense, but the wide range of functions covering both modally-independent hypotheticality (in the broadest possible sense, i.e. both hypothetical and mitigating conditional) and modal dependency and non-reality in Zavadil's sense (Zavadil 1980; Zavadil and Čermák 2010), which follows from the congruential function of *zpíval bych*.

Since my primary object of investigation is Spanish, I do not aim to describe the Czech conditional exhaustively in this paper. However, the systemic comparisons presented in Chapter 5 provide a tool for analysing and defining all the non--congruential (non-quasi-subjunctive) uses of the Czech conditional and propose a basic definition of its meaning, which I postulate as analogous to the default function of *cantaría* and *would*.

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22   Refer to Kratochvílová (2016) and Kratochvílová and Dolníková (2022) for an extended discussion on the search for a unified account for the Spanish subjunctive.

3.4 *CANTARÍA, WOULD* AND *ZPÍVAL BYCH* IN RELATION TO SUBJECTIVITY AND SUBJECTIFICATION

Before proceeding with the analysis of the Spanish, English and Czech conditional, I shall briefly return to the interrelated concepts of grounding, subjectivity and subjectification as presented in Chapter 2. I aim to present the three conditionals under scrutiny in the light of these cognitive concepts, thus combining the chapters dedicated to conditional forms and functions to those dedicated to the cognitive theoretical concepts exploited in this monograph.

In terms of subjectivity and subjectification, *will/would* is a prototypical example of an originally fully semantic verb denoting the subject's will, which became a grammatical exponent of (relative) posteriority or the speaker's epistemic assessment, i.e. a pure grounding element. What is significant here is that the shift in meaning occurred gradually (cf. Warner 1993; Bybee 1955). The gradual nature of the relationship between *will/would* as a semi-semantical denoting the subject's will and a grammatical exponent implicitly referring to the ground remains evident even in the synchronic perspective. In their analysis of the contrast between objectivity and subjectivity, de Smet and Verstraete (2006) analyse the volitional and epistemic uses of *will* in the following examples:

(43)
Mum won't let us go out tonight. I asked her but she said we had partied more than enough this week.

(44)
Judith won't be late. She never is.
(Both examples taken from de Smet and Verstraete 2006, 367.)

Will in (43) is understood by the authors as objective (an expression of the speaker's will, *won't* = "is not willing to"). Its subjective counterpart is the epistemic *will* in (44), which bears no trace of the original dynamic volitive meaning and expresses only the speaker's judgement (in my understanding, an inference drawn from the available information that Judith is never late).

My claim is that the opposition between objectivity and subjectivity is less straightforward given that *will* in (43) simultaneously expresses the subject's unwillingness to let the kids go out and the speaker's conclusion based on this (i.e. "we are not going to go out tonight"), the latter being expressed with a high degree of subjectivity. In any case, modals expressing deontic modality are closer to their original meaning and construe the speaker with a slightly higher degree of objectivity than epistemic modals (for more details, see Langacker 2003 inter alia; on the understanding of the epistemic domain as a metaphorical extension of the dynamic/deontic domain, see Sweetser 1998/1990).

As argued in Kratochvílová (2018a; 2019), an analysis of the degree of subjectivity with which different ground components are reflected in an utterance can function as a tool to distinguish the different functions of one verbal form and define them with precision. Thus, I understand in this monograph the English *would* as a grounding element that has undergone a process of subjectification from a fully semantical meaning "was/were willing to" into an exponent of different modal, temporal and evidential meanings.

The Spanish conditional (more precisely, its formal exponent *-(r)ía*) can also be defined as a grounding element. In terms of subjectification, its emergence was more complicated. The original periphrasis *cantāre habēbam* already subjectively expressed obligation or necessity (through the semantically non-transparent auxiliar *habēbam*). In the second stage, obligation in the past tense changed into an exponent of relative posteriority, epistemic hypothesis, quotation and inference, thus subjectively evoking the temporal, modal and evidential components of the ground. This shift can also be observed on the formal level, with *habēbam* first becoming the auxiliary *(h)ía* and then merging with the fully semantic verb and becoming the suffix *-ía*.

In terms of subjectification, the development of the Czech conditional is less transparent (this is also due to less evidence of its original functions). It can be concluded that the original temporal function of the pluperfect indicative is practically absent in the present-day functions of *zpíval bych*. However, the Czech conditional (specifically, its formal exponent *-l- by*) can be defined as an extremely non-transparent (and thus extremely subjective) grounding element. Through the conditional form, the verb meaning reflects different components of the ground, some of which (despite the different historical development of the Czech form) are analogical with the components evoked by the Spanish and English conditional. Given the non-temporal nature of the Czech conditional, its functions are primarily modal and evidential. However, the extent to which the functions of the Czech conditional are analogous to those of *cantaría* and *would* is a partial topic of the analyses in Chapter 5. The latter may be a means of pointing to the partial independence between subjectivity and subjectification, i.e. to the fact that even two diachronically completely different forms may exhibit similar types of subjective meanings in a synchronic perspective.

4.
ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

4.1 ELEMENTS OF THE GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION

The analysis follows the methodology presented in Kratochvílová (2018a; 2019). The basic starting point is the ground in the sense of Langacker (see Chapter 2). As stated in Kratochvílová (2018a; 2019), for a comprehensive analysis of the functions of a particular verb form, it is necessary to define the individual ground components and their subsequent implicit (subjective) presence in the verbal form, hence in the utterance. Thus, in the graphical representations, I depict the initial communication situation as captured in Figure 1.
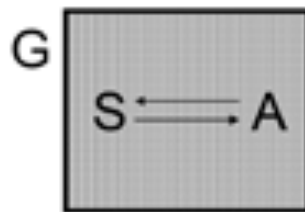
Figure 1. *Ground.*

I define the constituents of the ground as follows. I understand Ground (G) as the actual communication situation in which the speaker (S) and the addressee (A) find themselves. Within the ground, I distinguish between an utterance and its pragmatic dimension (represented by the arrows between S and A), and the complete communication situation. The communication situation contains all the utterances that have been formulated within it so far and has a temporal and spatial extent, corresponding to the duration of the verbal interaction and the setting in which it unfolds. The communication situation and its temporal delimitation are represented by the line delimiting the ground. The communication situation content, i.e. elements that are known and accessible to the speaker and addressee, is then represented by the dotted background.

As described in detail in Kratochvílová (2018a; 2019), this definition of ground constituents also allows their identification with the TME categories. The temporal de-

limitation of the ground is the basis for the category of time and the definition of what is understood as absolute simultaneity within a particular communication situation, i.e. the speaker's here and now. The basis for the category of modality is the role of the speaker within the communication situation and his/her way of presenting the verb meaning in relation to reality. In my understanding, S can be defined not only as the physical person of the actual speaker but also as his/her perception, thinking, way of grasping reality and transforming it into concrete utterances. At the same time, within a real communication situation, there is usually a regular alternation of the roles of the speaker – addressee(s), i.e. the role of the addressee also has its modal dimension and represents the thinking of the person who pronounced the utterance immediately preceding the speaker's utterance. Finally, the evidential element of the ground can be identified with all the previous content of the communication and the elements that are accessible to the speaker and the addressee in a given communication situation. Thus, in the graphical representation, evidential components correspond to the background of G.

The initial ground model can be used to represent the function of specific verb forms and their relationship to G. The premise for this representation is the fact that the different uses of each verb form do not equally represent all ground components (then there would be no difference between them).

To illustrate how the proposed model works with concrete verbal forms, I provide the below examples of the representation of basic verb tenses: present tense, simple past tense, *pretérito perfecto* / present perfect, future tense, pluperfect. These are largely simplified examples, working with only one illustrative use for each verb form and not taking into account more complex dislocated uses (for a comprehensive analysis of all uses of the Spanish present and future tense, refer to Kratochvílová 2018a; 2019). The aim is primarily to show the basic functioning of the proposed model and to define its fundamental elements that will be subsequently used to analyse the conditional uses in Chapter 5.

4.1.1 PRESENT TENSE

To represent the basic characteristic of a verb in the present tense and its relation to the ground, I use the example sentence (45).

(45)
Clara **está**$_{\text{be-PRS.3SG}}$ en Londres.
Klára **je**$_{\text{be-PRS.3SG}}$ v Londýně.
Clare **is** in London.

The representation of the meaning of "be in London" for the given context is captured in Figure 2.
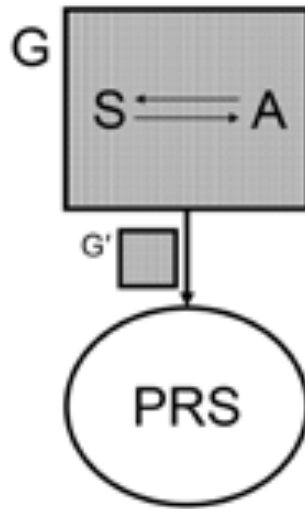
Figure 2. *Present tense.*

The basic use of the present tense subjectively reflects the temporal boundary of the ground, the verb meaning being in the relationship of at least partial simultaneity with the communication situation. Thus, the temporal delimitation of the ground (in the graphical representation represented by its boundary line) is the primary element that will be subjectively reflected in the verb meaning.

To depict the underlying temporal relations of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, I use a simplified two-dimensional representation following a left-to-right direction, as in Kratochvílová (2019): elements situated to the left of G temporally precede the communication situation, elements situated to the right of G are subsequent to the moment of speech. As noted in Kratochvílová (2018a), the present tense rarely denotes events, states or processes entirely coinciding with the temporal delineation of the communication situation, these often begin in the past and can continue in the future. In (45), the temporal extension of "be in London" is unlikely to begin and end with the communication situation. To represent (partial) temporal simultaneity with the communication situation, I locate the verb meaning below G in Figure 2.

In the case of the present tense, the temporal delimitation of the ground is a means to partially orient the verb meaning in terms of tense (it is not entirely subsequent or entirely antecedent to G). A more specific temporal delimitation is determined by the relation of the verb meaning to the evidential element of the ground, i.e. whether the expressed verb meaning takes place within or outside the range of direct sensory perception of the speaker and the addressee. Thus, the second element which is subjectively present in the present tense form is the content of the previous communication situation and the elements accessible to the speaker and the addressee. In this way, a simplified G1′ containing G1 elements that primarily implicitly reflect in the verb meaning is created. The meaning of "be in London" is then directly related to the initial ground. The temporal and evidential elements of the ground are implicitly present in the form *está/is/je* and through this connection the verb meaning can be interpreted as partially simultaneous with the moment of speech.

4.1.2 PAST TENSE

The use of past tense is represented by (46) and graphically represented in Figure 3.

(46)
Clara **estuvo**_{be-PST.3SG} en Londres (el mes pasado).
Klára **byla**_{be-PST.3SG} (před měsícem) v Londýně.
Clare **was** in London (a month ago).
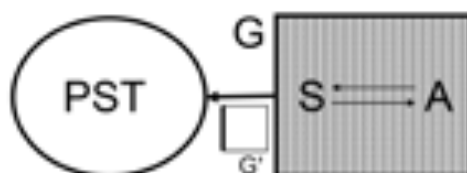
Figure 3. *Past tense.*

The verb meaning is again directly related to the ground. The main component that is subjectively invoked is the temporal orientation in relation to the actual communication situation, i.e. the expression of anteriority. Unlike with the present tense, the evidential element does not play a crucial role. Thus, G1′, in this case, reflects only the G temporal boundary, with emphasis on the beginning of the communication situation, which the verb meaning precedes.

4.1.3 PRETÉRITO PERFECTO / PRESENT PERFECT

The basic use of the compound past tense, referred to as *pretérito perfecto* in the Spanish tradition and *present perfect* in English, is represented by (47). In Czech, this type of the compound past tense does not exist. The graphical representation is displayed in Figure 4.

(47)
Clara **ha estado**_{be-PST.PRF.3SG} (varias veces) en Londres.
Clare **has been** to London (several times).
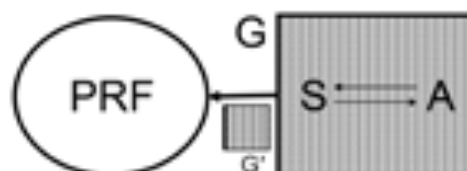
Figure 4. *Pretérito perfecto / Present perfect.*

The meaning of "be in London", is again located in the past; G1′ thus reflects the G1 temporal delimitation with emphasis on its beginning. However, unlike with the simple past tense, the verb meaning is construed as relevant to, or interfering with, the current communication situation. Thus, G1′ also reflects the G1 evidential element, which is then subjectively reflected in the verb meaning. It is through the evidential component that the verb meaning is put in relation with the communication situation.

4.1.4 FUTURE TENSE

To represent absolute posteriority with respect to the moment of speech I use the illustrative example (48). The graphical representation is captured in Figure 5.

(48)
Clara **estará**$_{be\text{-}FUT.3SG}$ en Londres (el mes que viene).
Klára **bude**$_{be\text{-}FUT.3SG}$ v Londýně (příští měsíc).
Clare **will be** in London (next month).
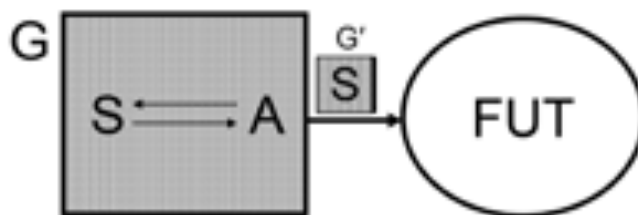
Figure 5. *Future tense.*

As I argued in Chapter 3 and in Kratochvílová (2019), expressing posteriority is not a pure mirror image of expressing past events. In addition to the temporal orientation of the verb meaning beyond the moment of speech, a modal-evidential element is also essential for formulating a prediction about the future. The meaning of (48) can be paraphrased as "given all the information currently available, which I as the speaker take into account, I formulate the hypothesis that Clare will be in London in the future". Thus, the verb meaning in this case subjectively reflects not only the temporal delimitation of the ground, with emphasis on the moment of its termination, but also its evidential component and the speaker, as the person who considers the evidential element in question and formulates a prospective inference on its basis.

4.1.5 PLUPERFECT

Finally, I briefly present how the proposed representation method captures relative tenses. As an example, I represent the basic use of the pluperfect as it is encountered in Spanish and English (contemporary Czech does not use the pluperfect and expresses relative preterit with the simple past tense) and shown in (49). The graphical representation is captured in Figure 6.

(49)
(Antes de ir a París,) Clara **había estado**$_{\text{be-PLUP.3SG}}$ en Londres.
(Než odjela do Paříže,) **byla**$_{\text{be-PST.3SG}}$ Klára v Londýně.
(Before going to Paris,) Clare **had been** in London.
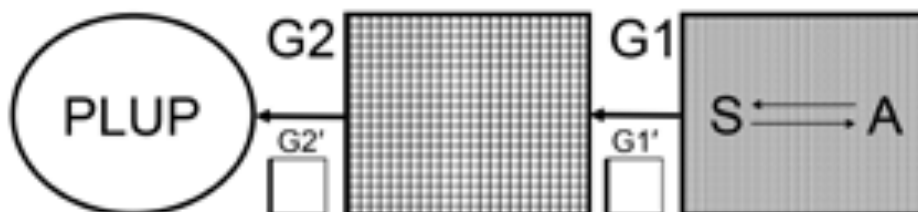
Figure 6. *Pluperfect.*

As stated in Chapter 2.3.1, there is a fundamental difference between absolute and relative tenses in terms of their relationship to the ground. While absolute tenses are directly related to the current communication situation, relative tenses imply the existence of a secondary ground, which I refer to as G2.

G2 can never be entirely analogous to G1. The complex G1 contains all the elements accessible to the speaker and the addressee at the moment of speech and their mutual interaction. In contrast, G2 is more schematic and its content (i.e. the evidential component) is only implied at or is entirely implicit. In (49), G2 can be defined as the moment when Clare went to Paris. In the graphic representation, this difference is captured by a different G1 and G2 background. G2, obviously, also does not contain the speaker and the addressee and their communication, which takes place only in the present moment.

A verb meaning expressed in a relative tense is in direct relation to the secondary ground, implicitly reflecting some of its components. In the case of the pluperfect, it is the G2 temporal boundary, with the emphasis on its beginning, which the verb meaning precedes. However, with a higher degree of subjectivity, the verb meaning also reflects the relationship between G1 and G2, which in this case is also a relation of temporal antecedence. Therefore, the meaning of "be in London", in this case, can be viewed as preceding a moment in the past implicitly construed as G2, which also precedes G1, i.e. the speaker's here and now.

4.1.6 CONDITIONAL AND GROUND(ING)

In my understanding, the conditional in all the languages analysed can be defined as a specific verb form whose defining characteristic is its primary dependence on an evidential or modal-hypothetical secondary ground. The unifying element is that the conditional meaning is not directly related to G1 and is not temporally, modally or evidentially defined in relation to it. The TME elements of G1 are, of course, implicitly reflected in the conditional, but they are extremely subjectively construed and are accessible only through the implicit G2 on which the conditional depends (similar to the pluperfect, the G1 temporal delineation is accessible only through the relation between G1 and G2).

In Chapter 5, I analyse in detail the specific types of uses of the conditional following the methodology proposed above, specifying the nature of the secondary ground that these uses imply. The proposed typology and the subsequent analysis are based on authentic examples obtained from several language corpora. The parameters of the corpus analysis follow.

4.2 CORPUS ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

4.2.1 AIM OF THE ANALYSIS

The contrastive corpus analysis is based on a manual analysis of a total of 1,800 occurrences of the conditional, of which 600 are Spanish, 600 English and 600 Czech. Although Spanish is the main focus, the strictly contrastive approach I have adopted for this monograph requires a balanced language sample for all three languages, which allows for subsequent comparison. The structure of the language sample analysed was also analogous for all languages.

The language sample I worked with corresponds to the aim of my study as defined in Chapter 1 (uses of the simple and further unmodalised conditional in all three languages, in contexts where its replacement by the indicative is systematically possible). Thus, the analyses did not take into account the compound conditional forms or Spanish and Czech modal verbs in the conditional form. For English, results where *would* was not completed by a fully semantic verb (e.g. question tags) were not analysed. For Czech, I excluded contexts where the use of the conditional was given by the sentence syntactic structure, i.e. occurrences where the Czech conditional performs the function of a congruential conditional comparable to the Spanish subjunctive (see Chapter 3.3.2).[23]

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23 The conditional protases, constructions with *aby*, *jako by* and *aniž by*, clauses subordinate to constructions such *ne, že by* ('it is not the case that'), *nevěřit / nemyslet si / nedomnívat se…, že* ('to do not believe/think/suppose that') were thus excluded from the analysis. I also excluded relative clauses with an unreal or non-concrete antecedent where the Czech conditional would be translated by the subjunctive in Spanish (*Hledáme profesora, který by učil angličtinu* – 'Buscamos un profesor que dé$_{SBJV}$ clases inglés' – 'We are looking for a professor to teach English').

Additionally, I manually excluded idiomatic constructions containing the conditional. I also excluded from the results one literal Spanish translation from English, originating from the Internet and containing an incorrect use of the conditional for Spanish to express a cyclical action in the past (a native speaker was consulted about the unacceptability of the Spanish sentence). Since my analysis concentrates on contemporary language, I also excluded a citation from Johan Amos Comenius' *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1631) which appeared in a Czech academic text.

In Chapter 4.2.2, I describe in detail the types of texts forming the language sample as well as the method used to obtain and filter out irrelevant results.

4.2.2 LANGUAGE SAMPLE COMPOSITION

1) Fiction (50%)

For all languages, 300 occurrences of the conditional in original fiction texts with direct translation into the two other languages were analysed. These occurrences came from the InterCorp parallel corpus, version 13 available from 13 November 2020.[24]

2) Internet (17%)

For each language, 100 occurrences of the conditional used in the Internet language were analysed. These occurrences were obtained from corpora of the Aranea family containing web texts.[25]

3) Academic (17%)

For each language, 100 occurrences of the conditional used in academic texts were analysed. For Spanish, these texts came from the CORPES XXI corpus,[26] English concordances were obtained from the BNC corpus[27] and Czech concordances from the SYN2015 corpus.[28]

4) Oral (17%)

For each language, 100 occurrences of the conditional used in spoken language were analysed. Spanish examples were obtained from the CORPES XXI corpus,

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Nevertheless, the results contain relative clauses with a concrete antecedent where the use of the conditional is given by other reasons, i.e. cases where *cantaría* could appear in Spanish (*Představím Vám profesora, který by na naší škole chtěl učil angličtinu* – 'Les presentaré a un profesor a quien le gustaría impartir clases de inglés en nuestro instituto' – 'I will introduce you to the professor who would like to teach English at our school' // *Pokud budeme mít finance, otevřeme nové kurzy angličtiny. Už jsme mluvili s profesorem, který by je učil* – 'Si disponemos de fondos, abriremos nuevos cursos de inglés. Ya hemos hablado con el profesor que los impartiría' – 'If we have the funds, we will open new English courses. We've already talked to the professor who would teach them').

24 InterCorp is a parallel corpus created at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University, which provides texts in 40 languages (version 13). The core of the InterCorp corpus is formed of literary texts and their translations. For a description of the corpus and the possibilities of its exploitation, refer to Čermák and Rosen (2012), Nádvorníková (2016), Čermák, Nádvorníková et al. (2015) and Čermák, Kratochvílová, Nádvorníková, Štichauer et al. (2020) inter alia.

25 For an exhaustive description of the Aranea corpora, refer to Benko (2014).

26 For an exhaustive description of the CORPES XXI corpus, refer to RAE (2020).

27 For an exhaustive description of the BNC corpus, refer to BNC (2015).

28 For an exhaustive description of the SYN2015 corpus, refer to Cvrček, Čermáková, and Křen (2016).

English concordances were obtained from the BNC corpus and Czech concordances were obtained from the ORAL v1 corpus.[29]

4.2.3 CONCORDANCE OBTAINING PROCEDURE

1) Spanish
    a) Fiction
    Corpus: InterCorp v13 (Čermák and Vavřín 2020).
    Subcorpus: Spanish originals with Czech and English translations, a total of 1,322,277 positions.
    Search date: 16.11.2020
    Query: [word=".*ría.*"&tag="V.*"&!tag="VM.*"&!word="[Qq]uería.*| [Hh]abría.*|[Oo]curría.*|[Pp]refería.*|[Aa]bría.*|[Ss]ufría.*|.*[Cc]orría.*|[Cc]ubría.*| [Mm]oría.*|[Dd]escubría.*|[Rr]efería.*|[Tt]ranscurría.*|[Aa]burría.*|[Aa]dquiría.*| [Rr]ecurría.*|[Cc]ría.*|[Ss]ugería.*|[Ee]scurría.*|[Rr]equería.*|[Pp]udría.*"]
    Concordances obtained: 1,745
    Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~o24Z5QEAjJ2N. Consequently, the first 300 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

    b) Internet
    Corpus: Araneum Hispanicum Maius (AHM; Benko 2015c), a total of 1,200,000,609 positions.
    Search date: 19.11.2020
    Query: [word=".*ría.*"&tag="V.*"&!tag="VM.*"&!word="[Qq]uería.*| [Hh]abría.*|[Oo]curría.*|[Pp]refería.*|[Aa]bría.*|[Ss]ufría.*|.*[Cc]orría.*|[Cc]ubría.*| [Mm]oría.*|[Dd]escubría.*|[Rr]efería.*|[Tt]ranscurría.*|[Aa]burría.*|[Aa]dquiría.*| [Rr]ecurría.*|[Cc]ría.*|[Ss]ugería.*|[Ee]scurría.*|[Rr]equería.*|[Pp]udría.*"]
    Concordances obtained: 1,157,417
    Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~kImQrEbOAmdT. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

    c) Academic
    Corpus: CORPES XXI, ver 0.92 (RAE 2020)
    Search date: 28.05.2021
    Query: Clase de palabra: verbo, tiempo: condicional simple, medio: escrito, tipología: académico

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29   For an exhaustive description of the ORAL v1 corpus, refer to Kopřivová et al. (2017).

Concordances obtained: 41,852 occurrences in 2,688 documents, i.e. approx. 15.5 occurrences per document.

Filtering: The results were sorted in ascending order by date. CORPES XXI does not offer the random shuffle function, so every 200th occurrence was included in the analysis until 100 relevant occurrences were collected. If it corresponded to a modal verb, the occurrence that immediately followed was taken.

d) Oral

Corpus: CORPES XXI, ver 0.92 (RAE 2020).

Search date: 19.11.2020

Query: Clase de palabra: verbo, tiempo: condicional simple, medio: oral

Concordances obtained: 9,377 occurrences in 5,671 documents, i.e. approx. 1,7 occurrences per document.

Filtering: The results were sorted in ascending order by date. Since the average frequency of conditional use per document here was significantly lower than for the academic subcorpus, every 20th occurrence was included in the analysis until 100 relevant occurrences were collected. If it corresponded to a modal verb, the occurrence that immediately followed was taken.

2)   English

a) Fiction

Corpus: InterCorp v13 (Klégr et al. 2020)

Subcorpus: English originals with Spanish and Czech translations, a total of 7,825,069 positions.

Search date: 19.11.2020

Query: [lemma="would"]; negative filter: [word="have"][]{0,1}[tag="VBN"], search span 1-2; negative filter: [word="have"][word="to"], search span 1-3

Concordances obtained: 19,214

Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~OBr9Gy6hqRDs. Consequently, the first 300 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

b) Internet

Corpus: Araneum Anglicum Maius (AAM; Benko 2015a), a total of 1,200,023,361 positions

Search date: 19.11.2020

Query: [lemma="would"]; negative filter: [word="have"][]{0,1}[tag="VBN"], search span 1-2; negative filter: [word="have"][word="to"], search span 1-3

Concordances obtained: 1,554,395

Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~qyhoM5novDOw. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

c) Academic
Corpus: BNC (BNC 2001)
Subcorpus: Academic, a total of 15,331,668 positions
Search date: 28.05.2021
Query: WOULD
Concordances obtained: 30,421
Filtering: A random sample of 500 occurrences was created by the corpus. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

d) Oral
Corpus: BNC (BNC 2001)
Subcorpus: Spoken, a total of 9,963,663 positions
Search date: 18.11.2020
Query: WOULD
Concordances obtained: 33,832
Filtering: A random sample of 500 occurrences was created by the corpus. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

3) Czech
a) Fiction
Corpus: InterCorp v13 (Rosen et al. 2020)
Subcorpus: Czech originals with Spanish and English translations, a total of 1,388,170 positions.
Search date: 17.11.2020
Query: [lemma!="jako|aniž|muset|smět|moci"][tag="Vc.*"][lemma!="muset|smět|moci"]
Concordances obtained: 4,079
Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~A4LXZ1YEIapC. Consequently, the first 300 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

b) Internet
Corpus: Araneum Bohemicu Maius (ABM; Benko 2015b), a total of 1,200,000,138 positions
Search date: 19.11.2020
Query: [lemma!="jako|aniž|muset|smět|moci"][tag="Vc.*"][lemma!="muset|smět|moci"]
Concordances obtained: 2,873,554
Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~6bibHL5YXZ7o. Consequently, the first

100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

c) Academic
Corpus: SYN2015 (Křen et al. 2015)
Subcorpus: NFC (oborová literatura), SCI (odborná literatura), cs (čeština), a total of 11,180,340 positions
Search date: 28.05.2021
Query: `[lemma!="jako|aniž|muset|smět|moci"][tag="Vc.*"][lemma!= "muset|smět|moci"]`
Concordances obtained: 16,094
Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://www.korpus.cz/kontext/view?q=~4kc0SEqCgiQi. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1 were manually analysed.

d) Oral
Corpus: ORAL (version 1 of 02. 06. 2017; Kopřivová et al. 2017), a total of 6,361,707 positions
Search date: 19.11.2020
Query: `[lemma!="jako|aniž|muset|smět|moci"][tag="Vc.*"][lemma!= "muset|smět|moci"]`
Concordances obtained: 32,177
Filtering: The concordance was randomly shuffled and the result can be viewed here: https://kontext.korpus.cz/view?q=~ufdtPu3RiTCw. Consequently, the first 100 relevant samples matching the criteria described in Chapter 4.2.1. were manually analysed.

The basic parameters of the language sample are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8. *Language sample composition.*

	Fiction		Internet		Academic		Oral		Total
	Concor-dances	%	Concor-dances	%	Concor-dances	%	Concor-dances	%	
Spanish	300	50	100	17	100	17	100	17	600
English	300	50	100	17	100	17	100	17	600
Czech	300	50	100	17	100	17	100	17	600
Total	900	50	300	17	300	17	300	17	1800

4.2.4 METHOD OF PRESENTING EXAMPLES FROM THE CORPUS

In the following chapters, the analysed concordance is used to illustrate the different types of conditionals I distinguish. The examples given for each language always come from an original text. Translations are given below in single quotes. If the text comes from the InterCorp and its official translation corresponds in structure to the source language, I use the translation provided by the corpus (in this case, the translator's name is included in the description below the language sample). If the official translation does not correspond to the original because it changes the structure of the original sentence or its meaning, I use my own translation (in this case, I use "author" as the translator).

5.
TYPOLOGY
OF CONDITIONAL USES

5.1 TYPE 1: HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL

Type 1 is the most frequent and probably best corresponds to our intuitive understanding of conditioning. Conditionals labelled as Type 1 present the verb meaning as theoretically possible if a particular condition is fulfilled, with the probability of its realisation varying depending on the subtype.

5.1.1 1A EXPLICIT CONDITION/CONCESSION EXPRESSED BY A FINITE CLAUSE

Type 1A corresponds to the common understanding of the second type of conditional sentence, where in the protasis, we state an explicit condition for the realisation of the verb meaning represented in the apodosis. Typically, in Spanish, we encounter the imperfect subjunctive in the protasis; in English, the subjunctive/past tense; in Czech, the conditional:[30] (50), (51), (51). The verbal expression of the condition/concession appears in italics in the examples.

(50) Sp
Si *pudiera*$_{\text{IPFV.SBJV}}$ empezar de nuevo, **sería** una madre muy diferente…
'If only she *could* start over; she **would be** a very different mother.'
'*Kdyby*$_{\text{COND}}$ Rose *mohla*$_{\text{COND}}$ začít znovu od začátku, **byla by** zcela jinou matkou…'
InterCorp. Isabel Allende – *La hija de la fortuna*. English translation: Margaret Sayers Peden. Czech translation: Monika Baďurová.

(51) En
Well, sir, if I *could* grow apples like that, I **would call** myself a gardener.

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30   As stated in Chapter 3.3.2, I analysed only Czech conditionals appearing in the apodoses. The Czech protasis conditional is congruential.

'Bien, señor, si *pudiese*$_{\text{IPFV.SBJV}}$ cultivar esas manzanas, me **consideraría** entonces un jardinero.'

'Teda, pane, *kdybych uměl*$_{\text{COND}}$ vypěstovat takový jablka, to **bych si říkal** pan zahradník.'

InterCorp. J. R. R. Tolkien – *The Fellowship of the Ring*. Spanish translation: Luis Domènech. Czech translation: Stanislava Pošustová.

(52) Cz

Ostatně prázdniny končí a oba milenci zjišťují, že **by jim bylo smutno**, *kdyby*$_{\text{COND}}$ se celý rok *neviděli*$_{\text{COND}}$.

'Por lo demás, las vacaciones están a punto de acabar y los dos amantes comprueban que **estarían** tristes si no se *viesen*$_{\text{IPFV.SBJV}}$ durante todo el año.'

'After all, the holidays are over and the two lovers find that **they would be sad** *if they did not see* each other for a whole year.'

InterCorp. Milan Kundera – *Kniha smíchu a zapomnění*. Spanish translation: Fernando de Valenzuela. English translation: author.

If the speaker wishes to present the protasis' proposition as more likely, both for Spanish and English, the indicative in the main clause can be used as well, see (53), (54). In Czech, combining the present or future indicative in the protasis with the conditional in the apodosis is possible in these cases. No such occurrence appeared in the analysed concordance but for the sake of illustration, I present the Czech translations of (53) and (54), preserving the structure of the original.

(53) Sp

[...] ambos compartían una seria preocupación [...] por lo que **pasaría** si el tsunami no *es*$_{\text{PRS.IND}}$ contenido.

'[...] both shared a serious concern [...] about what **would happen** if the tsunami *is* not contained.'

'[...] oba se velmi obávali, [...] co **by se stalo**, jestli se tsunami *nezastaví*$_{\text{FUT.IND}}$.'

AHM. hitsuzen.superforo.net. English and Czech translation: author.

(54) En

If he *catches* a fox he **would say** it was an elephant.

'Si *caza*$_{\text{PRS.IND}}$ un zorro, **diría** que era un elefante'.

'Když *chytí*$_{\text{FUT.IND}}$ lišku, **řekl by**, že to byl slon.'

InterCorp. Ernest Hemingway – *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

The likelihood of realisation is not solely dependent on the grammatical structure of the protasis but also on its temporal orientation. The apodosis will be understood as counterfactual if the protasis is clearly oriented towards the present or the past. With prospective or atemporal orientation, the realisation is not excluded and depends on the possibilities of the world in which we live.

The examples (50), (51), (52) thus represent a range in this respect. Examples (50) and (51) can be characterised as atemporal; example (52) is prospective. The possibility of actual realisation of the apodosis is practically null in (50), but, in the future, it is not excluded in (51) and (52). This is not due to the speaker's attitude, but to the nature of protasis' meaning in relation to reality. Under normal conditions, it is impossible to turn back time and start over, implying the non-factuality of (50).[31] On the other hand, (51) implies that the speaker does not know how to grow such apples at the present moment, but he might learn it in the future. Finally, the purely prospective orientation of (52) does not imply counterfactuality at all, and the process expressed in the apodosis bears no clear relation to the current ground.
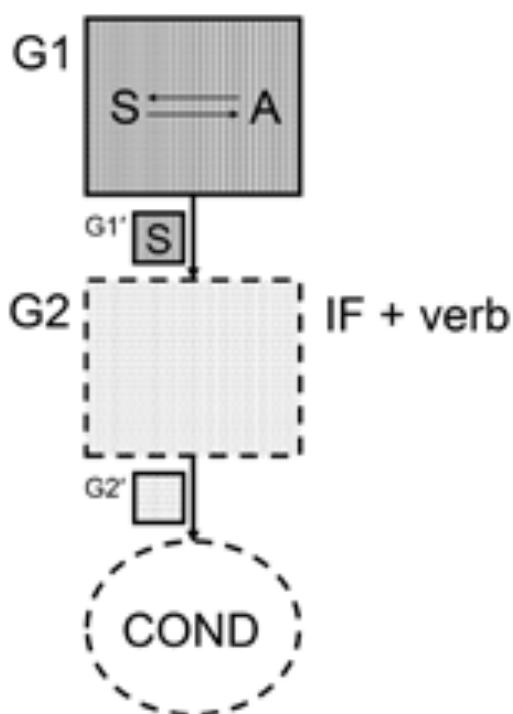
Figure 7. *Type 1A.*

The graphical representation of Type 1A is shown in Figure 7.

As stated in Chapter 4.1.6, when representing each conditional type, I work with two grounds. The first (G1) corresponds to the communication situation in which the speaker and the addressee find themselves. The second ground (G2) is an explicitly (objectively) or implicitly (subjectively) construed basis on which the conditional depends.

G2 is always related to some aspects of G1, which consequently are highly subjectively present in the conditional meaning. In Type 1A, G2 is always explicitly ex-

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31   If we understood "starting over" not in the sense of "turning back the time", but in the sense of "having a second child", "becoming a mother for the second time", the prospective realisation in (50) would become possible.

pressed and corresponds to the protasis of the conditional clause. The protasis contains a grounded verb that subjectively reflects the speaker's epistemic stance (higher probability if construed through the indicative, lower probability if construed through the subjunctive / past tense / conditional). As stated above, the assessment of the extent to which it is possible/probable that the condition expressed in the protasis will be fulfilled does not depend solely on the verbal mood the speaker chooses when formulating it. Relevant elements also include the temporal anchoring in relation to G1 and, more generally, the nature of the world we live in and the possibilities it offers. Thus, in addition to the speaker, G2 is also related to the G1 evidential component and its temporal delimitation. This is represented by the smaller copy of G1 (G1′), which includes only these relevant components establishing the connection between G1 and G2.

In Type A1, G2 is never construed as actually existing (represented by the dashed line); it is always a hypothetical or counterfactual base. At the same time, G2 is more schematic than G1: in Type 1A, G2 is defined only through the conditional protasis (IF + verb content). In the graphical representation, this is expressed by the lighter background of G2 (compared to G1).

The conditional meaning depends entirely on G2, i.e. it is construed as relevant only in relation to the condition expressed in the protasis. Of course, in practice, it could also be theoretically fulfilled under other conditions. Nevertheless, in my understanding, the function of the conditional is to present a proposition as inherently connected to a secondary ground. In other words, through the conditional, it is possible to separate a proposition from G1 and avoid anchoring it in the communication situation (whether in terms of its temporal orientation with respect to G1 or in terms of the proposition's modal or evidential status).

The dependency relationship between the conditional meaning and G2 is represented by the arrow connecting them (the conditional meaning is always represented as the word COND in a circle). The fact that the realisation of the conditional meaning depends entirely on whether the condition expressed through the protasis (i.e. G2) is fulfilled is represented through a smaller copy of G2 (G2′) placed next to this arrow. However, in this case, G2′ is delimited by a solid line, which symbolises that the non-hypothetical status of G2 is the condition for the conditional meaning to become relevant. Given that the conditional meaning depends entirely on the hypothetical G2, its epistemic status is uncertain and is represented by the dashed line surrounding COND.

Applying this interpretation to the Spanish model sentence *Si tuviera dinero, me iría de vacaciones* ('If I had money, I would go on holiday') corresponding to Type 1A, we arrive at the following paraphrase of the meaning of *me iría* ('I would go'). The meaning of "go" is not anchored in relation to the communication situation in which the speaker and the addressee(s) currently find themselves. It is not temporally oriented with respect to it, nor is it presented as factual or non-factual. "Go" is anchored in G2, which the speaker in this case explicitly defines as a highly schematic situation whose only defining characteristic is "the speaker has money". In relation to G1, G2 is presented as hypothetical, i.e. not excluded in the future in this case, but highly im-

probable in the present. The improbability is implicitly expressed through *tuviera* in the imperfect subjunctive (subjective construing of the speaker and his/her epistemic stance towards G2). The open possibility of realisation is given by the possibilities of the world we live in, where it is not excluded to gain money (subjective construing of the evidential element of the communication situation). It is further defined temporally in the sense that "have money" is unrealistic at the moment of speaking but possible in the future (subjective construing of the temporal delimitation of the communication situation).

In English, the model sentence *If I had money, I would go on holiday* can be paraphrased in an analogical way. The Czech variant *Kdybych měla peníze, jela bych na dovolenou*, differs from the Spanish and the English ones by also allowing an anteriority interpretation. Given that the past conditional is generally substituted by the simple form in nowadays Czech, the sentence can be translated both as 'If I had money, I would go on holiday' or 'If I had had money, I would have gone on holiday', thus allowing also an interpretation in terms of "hypothetical situation in the past".

In an exhaustive analysis of Spanish conditional sentences with the formula "*Si* + imperfect subjunctive…, conditional", Veiga (1991, 143–155) formulates questions concerning whether this type of condition implies an implicit negation of the verb meaning. The author concludes that the most frequent interpretation of this clausal type would be *negación implícita presente e improbabilidad futura* ('implicit negation in the present and improbability in the future'). In other words, the conditional meaning directed towards the future is usually understood as highly improbable; the conditional meaning related to the present is understood as implicitly negated: *Si ahora tuviera dinero, me iría de vacaciones* ('If I had money now, I would go on holiday') → I do not have money → I am not going on holiday. // *Si el año que viene tuviera dinero, me iría de vacaciones* ('If I had money the next year, I would go on holiday') → I do not know if I will have money the next year, but I do not think so → I do not know if I will go on holiday the next year, but I do not think so.

However, Veiga (1991) eventually points out that a conditional construction with the imperfect subjunctive and a present-oriented conditional need not imply non-factuality in all circumstances. In this context, Veiga (1991, 151) mentions the construction *Creo que iban a salir, pero no sé si lo habrán hecho. Si estuvieran en casa, podríamos hacerles una visita.* ('I think they were going to go out, but I don't know if they have. If they were at home, we could pay them a visit'). Temporally, this sentence is clearly oriented towards the present moment, but the factuality of "be at home" and "pay a visit" is not excluded and is only uncertain.

I agree with Veiga that the temporal orientation (however often it plays a prominent role in defining the possibilities of realising the conditional meaning) is not the only element that is relevant in interpreting Type 1A. Note that in the example proposed by Veiga, the initial situation is explicitly mentioned: *creo que iban a salir, pero no sé si lo habrán hecho*, which can be considered as information forming part of the communication situation (whether it will indeed be explicitly formulated or

understood as arising from the context and known to the addressee and the speaker). It is this information in this particular context that subsequently forms the G1′ background, which I schematically referred to above as "the possibilities of the world we live in".

The very question of whether the conditional meaning is implicitly negated in this type of construction (or under what conditions) becomes meaningless in the approach proposed in this monograph. The starting point for interpreting the conditional here is the fact that it is not directly related to G1, and thus to the actual reality of the speaker and the addressee. A verb meaning not anchored in reality cannot, by its very nature, be true or false (for this dichotomy implies a comparison of the verb meaning with the actual state of affairs, i.e. with G1). The conditional meaning is, in my understanding, a dependent meaning, subject to the G2 defining condition. This condition is construed in a certain relation to G1 (this relation being defined in G1′), but even this initial condition is not construed in terms of affirmation/negation or true/false, it merely relates to G1 in some way. The assessment of this relation always depends on the particular situation and the particular definitional characteristics of this condition, i.e. its relation to the currently available evidential element of G1.

5.1.2 1B EXPLICIT CONDITION/CONCESSION NOT EXPRESSED BY A FINITE CLAUSE

The broadly conceived Type 1B includes all cases in which the condition for validating the conditional meaning was explicitly present in the text, but was not expressed through a finite clause, thus not being overtly modalised. In all the languages under scrutiny, the condition/concession can be expressed by a non-finite verbal form (55), an adverbial expression of place or time (56), as well as by a noun or adjective (57). As with Type 1A, these expressions appear in italics in the examples.

(55) Sp
Porque *dejar*$_{INF}$ de fumar **sería** para ti como matar a un ser querido.
'Because for you, *quitting smoking* **would be** like killing someone you love.'
'Poněvadž *přestat*$_{INF}$ kouřit **by** pro tebe **bylo** jako zabít milovaného člověka.'
InterCorp. Gabriel García Márquez – *Vivir para contarla*. English translation: Edith Grossman. Czech translation: Vladimír Medek.

(56) En
In a sensible world, industrial waste **would not be** banned but put to good use.
'*En un mundo sensato*, los desechos industriales **no serían** proscritos, sino aprovechados.'
'*V rozumném světě* **by** průmyslový odpad **nebyl** zakazován, ale dobře využíván.'
InterCorp. James Ephraim Lovelock – *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*. Spanish translation: Alberto Jiménez Rioja. Czech translation: author.

(57) Cz

Co **by byla** postava Hamleta *bez Elsinorského zámku, bez Ofelie, bez všech konkrétních situací,* jimiž prochází, čím **by byla** *bez textu své role*, čím by byla abstrahována od toho všeho?

'¿Qué **sería** la figura de Hamlet *sin el castillo de Elsinor, sin Ofelia, sin todas las situaciones concretas por* las que pasa, qué **sería** *sin el texto* de su papel, qué sería haciendo abstracción de todo eso?'

'What **would** Hamlet **be** *without the castle at Elsinore, without Ophelia, without all the concrete situations* he goes through, what **would** he **be** *without the text* of his part?'

InterCorp. Milan Kundera – *Žert*. Spanish translation: Fernando de Valenzuela. English translation: David Hamblyn and Oliver Stallybrass.

Conditions expressed through adverbials such as *never, under no conditions* etc. also belong to Type 1B, see (58), since these adverbials construe the secondary ground in a way analogous to, for example, *in a sensible world* in (56).

(58) Sp

Yo también tengo miedo, pero no me **perdería** esto *por nada*.

'I'm afraid, too, but I **wouldn't miss** this *for anything*.'

'Já mám taky nahnáno, ale *za nic na světě* **bych** o to **nechtěl** přijít.'

InterCorp. Isabel Allende – *Eva Luna*. English translation: Margaret Sayers Peden. Czech translation: Alena Jurionová.

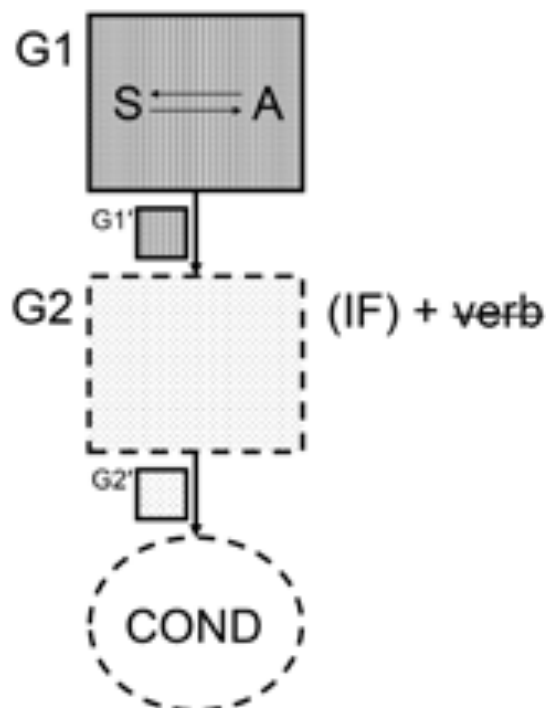The graphical representation is shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. *Type 1B.*

The graphical representation of Type 1B is largely analogous to Type 1A. The difference lies only in a different way of defining the initial condition (G2), on which the conditional meaning depends. Given that the condition does not contain a grounded verb, the (non-)existence of G2 is determined purely by the semantics of the chosen conditional/concessive expression and its (in-)compatibility with the real world. The assessment of this (in-)compatibility is neither explicitly nor implicitly present. Such a relationship between G1 and G2 is represented by the missing S next to the arrow connecting the grounds (in contrast to Type 1A). G1′ to the left of the arrow represents that our knowledge of the world is relevant for assessing the relationship between G1 and G2. In addition, the temporal anchoring of G1 can also become relevant in assessing G2 (a condition situated in the future is again more likely to be fulfilled).

In this case, the defining characteristic of G2 is more schematic than in Type 1A. The graphical representation captures this through the lighter background of G2 compared to Type 1A. The relationship between the conditional meaning (COND) and G2 is, nevertheless, the same as for Type 1A: G2 becoming factual is the prerequisite for the realisation of the conditional meaning (G2′ bounded by a solid line, in Figure 8). The epistemic status of the conditional meaning is not specified in any way (COND surrounded by a dashed line).

5.1.3 1C PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF A VIRTUAL SCENARIO

Type 1C corresponds to situations where the speaker does not merely express a binary condition/concession, but once a hypothetical space is created, (s)he gradually builds an entirely virtual scenario fully anchored in G2. The use of the conditional here is also possible in all the languages under scrutiny. In (59), (60), (61), the initial condition giving rise to G2 appears in italics.

(59) Sp
Se me ocurre que en vista de que no puedo ir a Chile como su mayordomo, *tal vez no sería del todo una mala idea que fuera como su marido*. [...] No pretendo, por supuesto, ejercer la función de esposo en el aspecto sentimental. Tampoco aspiro a su fortuna, que **estaría** totalmente a salvo, para eso **tomaría** usted las medidas legales pertinentes. Mi papel junto a usted **sería** prácticamente el mismo: ayudarla en todo lo que pueda con la máxima discreción.
'Myslím, že když nemohu jet do Chile jako váš majordomus, *nebyl by tak špatný nápad jet tam jako váš manžel*. [...] Nemám samozřejmě v úmyslu být vaším manželem se vším vsudy. Nejde mi ani o váš majetek, ten bude zcela v bezpečí, o to se přece postaráte náležitými právními opatřeními. Moje role **by byla** v podstatě stejná jako dosud; **pomáhal bych** vám se vším, s čím bych mohl, a naprosto diskrétně.'

'It occurs to me that in view of the fact that I cannot go to Chile as madam's butler, *perhaps it would not be an entirely bad idea if I went, ahem, as her husband.* [...] I do not, naturally, expect to exercise the role of husband in any sentimental area. Nor do I aspire to madam's fortune, which **would be** entirely safe – for that madam **would undertake** the necessary legal precautions. My capacity **would be** very nearly the same as it is now: that is, to be of assistance in every way I am able, employing the maximum discretion.'
InterCorp. Isabel Allende – *Retrato en sepia*. English translation: Margaret Sayers Peden. Czech translation: Monika Baďurová.

(60) En
I wished I were in Milan with her. I would like to eat at the Cova and then walk down the Via Manzoni in the hot evening and cross over and turn off along the canal and go to the hotel with Catherine Barkley. Maybe she would. Maybe she **would pretend** that I was her boy that was killed and we **would go** in the front door and the porter **would take** off his cap and I **would stop** at the concierge's desk and ask for the key [...].
'*Quisiera estar en Milán con ella.* Comer en la Cova, bajar por la via Manzoni, una tarde calurosa, cruzar la calle, seguir a lo largo del canal y luego dirigirnos al hotel. Tal vez aceptaría. Quizá **se imaginaría** que yo era su amigo, el que mataron. **Entraríamos** por la puerta principal. El conserje nos **saludaría**. Me **detendría** en la oficina para pedir la llave [...].'
'*Že jsem s ní nemohl jet do Milána!* Poobědvat s ní v Cově a potom se projít žhavým večerem po Via Manzoni a přejít kanál a zahnout kolem něho a jít s ní do hotelu! S Catherine Barkleyovou! Třeba by šla. Třeba **by se tvářila**, jako že jsem její mládenec, ten co padl, a **přišli bychom** k hlavnímu vchodu a vrátný **by smekl** čepici a já **bych se zastavil** u recepčního pultu a požádal bych o klíče [...].'
InterCorp. Ernest Hemingway – *A Farewell to Arms*. Spanish translation: Juana M. Horta and Joaquín Horta. Czech translation: Vladimír Stuchl.

(61) Cz
Vzpomněl jsem si na ženu, kterou jsem kdysi stěhoval. Nemoc jí sžírala duši, věřila v Armaggedon a těšila se z věcí, které zachraňovala z popelnic. Tady by byla ve svém živlu. Z nalezených věcí **by nic neprodala**, **vršila by** je na hromadu, která by byla stále vyšší a mohutnější.'
'*Me acordé de la mujer a la que una vez había ayudado con la mudanza.* La enfermedad le estaba consumiendo el alma, creía en Armageddon y encontraba placer en todo aquello que rescataba de los cubos de basura. Aquí estaría en su elemento. De todo lo que encontrara no **vendería** nada; lo **iría** acumulando en un montón que sería cada vez más alto e imponente.'
'*I remembered a woman I moved once.* Sickness was eating up at her soul, she believed in Armageddon and enjoyed the things she was saving from the dumpsters. She would be in her element here. She **wouldn't sell** any of the things she found, she **would pile** them up and the pile **would grow** taller and more massive.'

InterCorp. Ivan Klíma – *Láska a smetí*. Spanish translation: Judit Romeu Labayen. English translation: author.

Type 1C can be represented as shown in Figure 9.
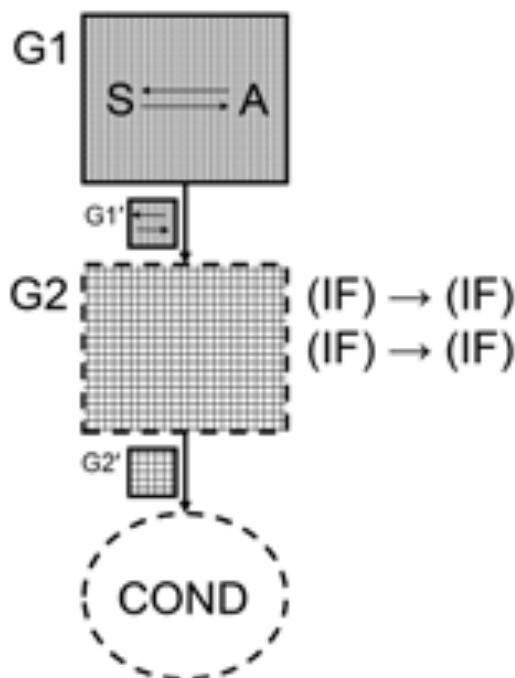
Figure 9. *Type 1C.*

Once again, the conditional meaning is entirely dependent on G2. G2 can be defined as a hypothetical space containing a complex virtual scenario, which is progressively built in the communication. To determine the relationship between G1 and G2, the relationship between the virtual scenario and the world we live in is relevant; the G2 temporal orientation with respect to G1 is also to be considered. This is represented by G1′, which reflects the evidential and temporal characteristics of G1.

Nevertheless, in the case of Type 1C, it is also possible to consider the relationship of the newly presented hypothetical situation expressed through the conditional to those dependent on the same initial condition. In other words, if the speaker (often in collaboration with the addressee) creates a hypothetical situation that is being gradually developed, the relevance of the conditional meaning depends not only on how plausible this hypothetical situation is in relation to the real world but also on how logical the new conditional meaning is with respect to other events forming part of this imaginary scenario. This relevance element is captured by the horizontal arrows representing the communication between S and A (within which the hypothetical situation develops) and their reflection in G1′.

In contrast to Types 1A and 1B, we encounter a relatively well-defined G2, which is constantly being enriched with new elements in the communication. The different type

of G2 background captures this idea (I use a network structure representing a higher number of accessible G2 elements and their interrelation). The relationship between the conditional meaning and G2 is the same as with Types 1A and 1B (G2′ delimited by a solid line representing its non-hypothetical status).

5.1.4 1D IMPLICIT CONDITION "IF IT CAME TO THAT / IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN"

Uses of the conditional marked as 1D lack any explicit condition/concession under which they would be valid. Theoretically, they could be supplemented by a sentence such as "if I am not mistaken" or "if it came to that". This conditional type is again represented in the three languages studied, see (62), (63) and (64).

(62) Sp
Como barrios relativamente nuevos que son, uno **pensaría** que Tucumbú, Obrero y General Díaz carecen de mayores atractivos culturales, pero felizmente no es así [...].
'New as they are, one **would think** that the Tucumbú, Obrero and General Díaz neighbourhoods lack major cultural attractions, but fortunately this is not the case [...].
'Jelikož se jedná o relativně nové čtvrti, někdo **by si myslel**, že Tucumbú, Obrero a General Díaz nenabízejí významné kulturní památky, ale naštěstí tomu tak není [...].'
CORPES XXI Academic. Juan Manuel Prieto – *La ciudad en que vivimos*. English and Czech translation: author.

(63) En
As we saw, most modern anthropologists **would**, like Morgan, **stress** the corporate character of descent groups and **would agree** that these groups cannot be understood as large families [...].
'Como vimos, la mayoría de los antropólogos modernos **destacarían**, al igual que Morgan, el carácter corporativo de los grupos descendentes y **coincidirían** en que estos grupos no pueden verse como grandes familias [...].'
'Jak jsme viděli, většina moderních antropologů **by** stejně jako Morgan **zdůraznila** korporativní charakter descendentních skupin a **souhlasila by** s tím, že tyto skupiny nelze chápat jako velké rodiny [...].'
BNC Academic.[32] BNC: A6S. W_ac_soc_science. Maurice Bloch – *Marxism and Anthropology: The History of a Relationship*. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

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32   Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

(64) Cz

Na světě žije téměř pět miliard lidí, každý věří, že jeho život **by vydal** aspoň na jeden příběh.

'En el mundo viven casi cinco mil millones de personas, cada una de las cuales cree que su vida **bastaría** al menos para un relato.'

'There are nearly five billion people in the world, each believing that their life **would produce** at least one story.'

InterCorp. Ivan Klíma – *Láska a smetí*. Spanish translation: Judit Romeu Labayen. English translation: author.

The absence of a clearly defined condition/concession in Type 1D opens up a wider scope for strengthening the epistemic modal element. The conditional in (62) and (63) emphasises that the process reflects a personal opinion or attitude, thus substituting explicit (objective) mentions to the speaker, such as "in my opinion", "as I see it". Thus, the conditional here functions as a prototypical grounding element that incorporates the speaker's perspective into the utterance without overtly mentioning him/her. The example (64) represents a more complex arrangement, where the epistemic distance can be primarily attributed to the main clause subject (hence the possible addition of "in his opinion") rather than directly to the speaker. This type of use has an essential evidential element in addition to its modal component since it can be understood as a quotative (regardless of whether the speaker is repeating an authentic utterance or presenting what (s)he merely assumes the subject would actually say or think).

Thus, in examples (62) and (63), the speaker's subjective presence can be defined in terms of "representing the speaker's epistemic stance through a grounding element". Example (64) expresses a higher degree of subjectivity, and I define the speaker-grounding element relation as: "representation of the subject's epistemic distance through the speaker's reproduction of someone else's words". The speaker is implicitly present here as the entity responsible for the utterance and as the entity responsible for the reproduction of another person's epistemic stance (see also Chapter 2.3.2). Thus, the conditional does not subjectively reflect the entity to which the epistemic stance is attributed (this type of grounding is provided by the verbal person), but the very process of attributing the epistemic stance to someone else, which is, nevertheless, made by the speaker.

Type 1D can be represented as shown in Figure 10.

Type 1D is characterised by the most schematic way of representing G2 so far. The condition on which the conditional meaning depends is entirely implicit (G2 in Figure 10 lacks any background to represent its constituent elements). Since G2 is undefined, it cannot be put in relation to the temporal extension of G1 or to its content. To assess the relationship between G1 and G2, G1 is therefore not relevant as a whole here.

When interpreted as Type 1D, the conditional is the means to insert epistemic distance between the verb meaning and the speaker. In my understanding, the epistemic distance arises precisely from the main characteristic of the conditional, i.e. a ground-
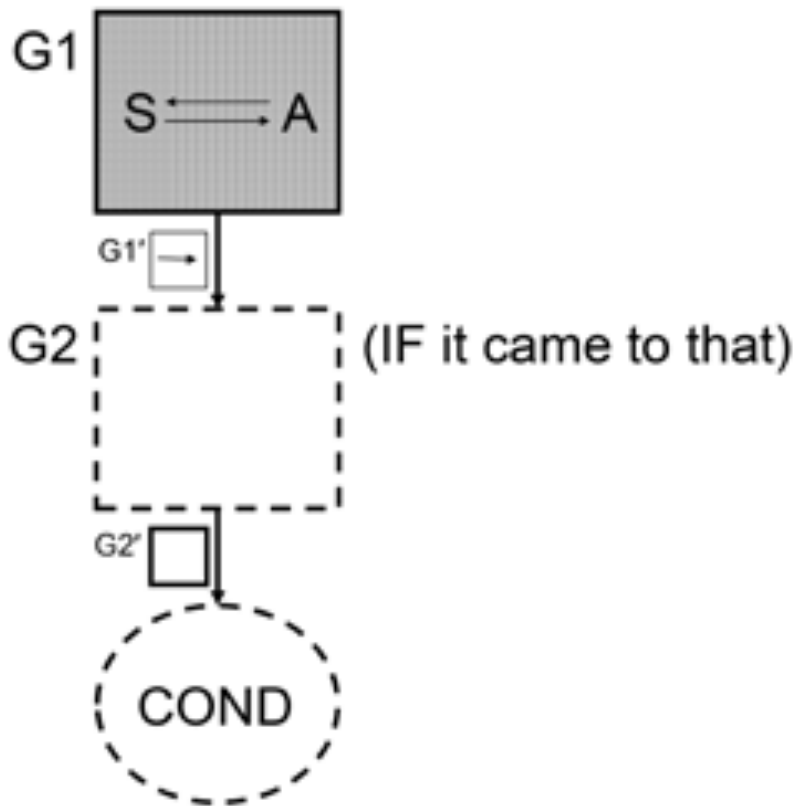
Figure 10. *Type 1D.*

ing element that situates the verb meaning outside G1 and allows the speaker to profile it without direct relation to the communication situation. With Type 1D, G2 arises as a consequence of the speaker's intention to profile this kind of epistemic distance. The speaker's communicative intentions, both verbalised and implicit, are represented by the horizontal arrow connecting S and A in G1. These intentions are also the only relevant element for establishing the relationship between G1 and G2 and are thus reflected in G1′.

Since G2, in this case, lacks defining characteristics, assessing the extent to which the conditional meaning is likely to be realised is virtually impossible. Thus, the conditional meaning is presented as dependent on fulfilling a condition that is not clearly defined. In Figure 10, this is represented again through G2′, which is delimited by a solid line. In this way, the speaker detaches him/herself from the assessment regarding the proposition's veracity and creates the effect of high epistemic uncertainty.

5.1.5 STATISTICS

Statistic data reflecting the use of Type 1 as it occurred in the corpus analysis are resumed in Table 9.

Table 9. *Type 1 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	**Type**	**Freq ALL**	**% Type / Whole corpus**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Type / SP corpus**	**% Type / EN corpus**	**% Type / CZ corpus**	**Freq Parallel (Freq/3)**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
II	Hypothetical	903	50.2	211	258	434	35.2	43.0	72.3	395 (132)	167	142	199
III	**Subtype**	**Freq ALL**	**% Subtype / Type A**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Subtype / SP Type 1**	**% Subtype / EN Type 1**	**% Subtype / CZ Type 1**	**Freq Parallel (Freq/3)**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
IV	1A	224	24.8	64	62	98	30.3	24.0	22.6	107 (36)	40	36	41
V	1B	161	17.8	51	44	66	24.2	17.1	15.2	73 (24)	33	13	42
VI	1C	301	33.3	64	89	148	30.3	34.5	34.1	125 (42)	49	61	66
VII	1D	217	24.0	32	63	122	15.2	24.4	28.1	90 (30)	45	32	50

The first part of Table 9 (Row I) captures Type 1 as a whole, Rows III–VII refer to the individual subtypes. The results show that Type 1 is the most frequent overall. The absolute frequency for all languages analysed was 903 occurrences (IIb), which corresponds to approximately 50% for the complete sample of 1,800 occurrences (IIc). However, this is influenced by the high frequency of this type in Czech, where it accounted for 72.3% (IIi) of all conditional types, in contrast to Spanish, where it reaches only 35% (IIg), and English, where this interpretation was chosen for 43% of occurrences (IIh).

The distribution of this type is relatively balanced across the different register types of the corpus (IIj–m). When analysing Type 1 distribution across registers, it is important to remember that out of 1,800 results, 300 come from the parallel corpus, while the other corpora have only 100 occurrences each. Thus, for better comparison, Column l contains two numbers: the first corresponds to the absolute frequency type in the parallel corpus; the number in parenthesis shows the absolute frequency divided by three to allow for a better comparison to the frequencies in Columns k–m.

Type 1C appears to be the most frequent Type 1 subtype in all languages (VIg–i), which may be influenced to some extent by the higher frequency of fiction texts in the corpus. However, the relatively high frequency of this subtype in the oral corpus (VIl) seems surprising. Oppositely, the low frequency of Type 1B in the oral subcorpus (Vl) is also unexpected.

5.2 TYPE 2: TEMPORAL CONDITIONAL

Type 2, which I call the temporal conditional, includes all uses of *cantaría* and *would* through which the speaker expresses relative posteriority. This use results from the relationship between the Spanish and English conditional and the future tense grammatical exponents (i.e. *cantaré* and *will*). As mentioned in Chapter 3.3, the Czech conditional does not display a formal relationship with the future tense and the opposition between relative and absolute posteriority is not formally marked in Czech (both being expressed through the *budu zpívat* paradigm whose interpretation depends on the context). This means that Type 2 is not represented for Czech and only Spanish and English occurrences will be analysed in this chapter.

5.2.1 2A FUTURE-OF-THE-PAST: SEQUENCE OF TENSES

Type 2A corresponds to the prototypical use of the temporal conditional within the sequence of tenses, where *cantaría* substitutes *cantaré* and *would* substitutes *will*, see (65).

(65)
María dice que **cantará**. → María dijo que **cantaría**.
Mary says she **will sing**. → Mary said she **would sing**.

In the corpus analysis, I marked as 2A the following uses of the conditional:

a) cases where relative posteriority is expressed within a subordinate clause syntactically dependent on a clause in the past tense (66), (67),

b) cases where relative posteriority is expressed in the main clause whose content is directly related to another past tense clause (68), (69).

(66) Sp
Confirmó también que el negocio **tomaría** años […].
'He also confirmed that the enterprise **would take** years […].'
InterCorp. Isabel Allende – *Retrato en sepia*. English translation: Margaret Sayers Peden.

(67) En
There was little hope that it **would weigh** for much in the balance of political life until then.
'Hasta entonces, había pocas esperanzas de que tuviera mucho peso en la vida política.'
BNC Academic.[33] BNC: A64. W_ac_polit_law_edu. Roger Pethybridge – *One Step Backwards, Two Steps Forward*. Spanish translation: author.

(68) Sp
Vencido por el entusiasmo de su mujer, José Arcadio Buendía puso entonces una condición: Rebeca, que era la correspondida, **se casaría** con Pietro Crespi.
'Conquered by his wife's enthusiasm, José Arcadio Buendía then laid down one condition: Rebeca, who was the one he wanted, **would marry** Pietro Crespi.'
InterCorp. Gabriel García Márquez – *Cien años de soledad*. English translation: Gregory Rabassa.

(69) En
I wished to God it was over though. Maybe it **would finish** this summer. Maybe the Austrians **would crack**.
'Dios sabe que deseaba que terminara. Quizá **ocurriría** este verano. Tal vez los austriacos cedieran.'
InterCorp. Ernest Hemingway – *A Farewell to Arms*. Spanish translation: Juana M. Horta and Joaquín Horta.

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33 Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

The difference between Type 2A and Type 1 (including all its subtypes) can be defined in terms of the presence/absence of G2 temporal anchoring. However, the notion of open possibility and hypotheticality that I defined as intuitively closest to our understanding of the conditional meaning is not lost in Type 2A. The conditional meaning here is temporally relatively profiled (subsequent to a clearly defined moment in the past), unlike Type 1, but in terms of actual realisation, once again, undefined, which allows its possible subsequent negation, as in (70).

(70)
También dijo que nos lo **enviaría**, pero no lo hizo.
'He also said he'**d send** it to us, but he didn't.'
InterCorp. Javier Cercas – *Soldados de Salamina*. English translation: Anne McLean.

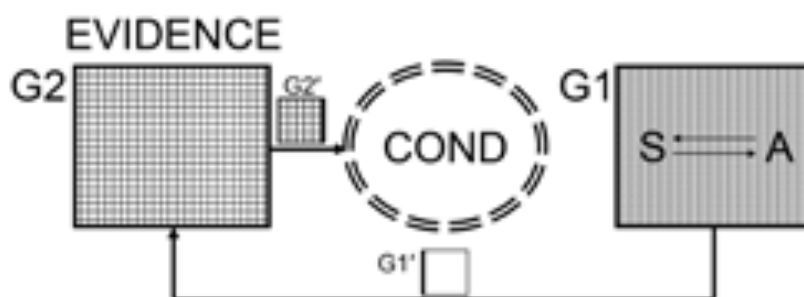The graphical representation is shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11. *Type 2A.*

The graphical representation again exploits the elements used to represent hypothetical Types 1 in Chapter 5.1. G1, as a schematic representation of the communication situation and its features, remains unchanged. However, the nature of G2 differs from Type 1. In the case of the hypothetical conditional, G2 was characterised as a virtual space, which was indicated by its dashed boundary line. The realisation of the conditional meaning depended on the condition defining G2 being fulfilled (represented by the change of the dashed line into a solid one in G2′), this results in an uncertain epistemic status of the conditional meaning.

With the temporal conditional, G2 is an existing space that is temporally oriented in relation to G1. G2 is situated in the past and is thus located to the left of G1. The relationship between G1 and G2 is again captured in the reduced and simplified G1′. In G1′, the boundary line representing the beginning of the current communication situation is emphasised, thus illustrating that the G1 temporal delimitation is relevant for establishing the relationship between the two grounds.

Since G2 corresponds to an actual period in the past, it is not a highly schematic situation as in Types 1A, 1B and 1D. G2 is fully accessible to the speaker and addressee and, theoretically, can be described in detail. Figure 11 captures this through

a finely defined background in G2, which represents the complex nature of these elements.

G2 functions here not as a theoretical prerequisite for the conditional meaning to become factual, but as an information package located in the past to which the conditional meaning directly relates. Thus, the ground is not hypothetical but evidential.

To understand the relationship between G2 and the conditional meaning, we need to return to the basic characteristics of relative posteriority as relative prospective inference. As stated in Chapter 3.1.3, prospective inference means that some elements of the relevant ground lead to the assumption that an event will take place in the future.

When applied to the temporal use of the conditional, this initial consideration allows us to define the relation between G2 and the conditional as follows: the conditional meaning is posterior to G2, with G2 functioning here as the source of information based on which the conditional meaning was presumed to subsequently occur in the past. The modal element is reduced since the assumption regarding the probable subsequent state-of-affairs cannot be attributed to the G1 speaker.[34] In the graphical representation, this relation is again represented by G2′ reflecting both the temporal limits of G2 (the emphasis on posteriority with respect to this moment in the past) and its evidential elements, which are the source of the assumption that the conditioning meaning will be fulfilled.

Thus, unlike with the hypothetical conditional (Type 1), the relationship between COND and G2 is not defined as a dependency relationship in the sense of 'fulfilling a particular condition defined as G2 gives factuality to the conditional meaning'. With Type 2, the conditional meaning is construed as inferentially arising from a non-hypothetical G2. Nevertheless, this inference is profiled only in relation to G2, which is reflected in the ambiguous epistemic status of the conditional meaning relative to G1.

Whereas in Type 1 the conditioning meaning is always epistemically unspecified (represented by the single dashed line surrounding COND), in Type 2A it is inferentially presupposed, i.e. relatively probable but not fully confirmed from the G1 perspective. In the graphical representation, this is indicated by the double dashed line surrounding COND.

The application of the above relation to an example sentence such as *Hace una semana, Juan me prometió que escribiría una carta a sus padres* ('A week ago, Juan promised me he would write a letter to his parents') results in the following interpretation. The conditional *escribiría* ('would write') implies the existence of a G2 on which the TME characteristics of "write" depend. G2 is antecedent to G1 (implicit assessment of a situation taking place before the moment of speech), with "write" being posterior to G2. From the perspective of the given period of past referred to here as G2 (in this case, it is situated a week before the moment of speech), according to the speaker, based on the information available at that moment, it is highly probable that Juan will later write a letter to his parents (in this particular case, prospective inference follows on

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34   It can be presented as a result of the reasoning of another person or it can be attributed to the speaker's past self.

from the fact that Juan promises to do so). However, the epistemic status of "write" with respect to G1 is unstated (the conditional meaning does not express whether Juan wrote the letter or not).

5.2.2 2B DOUBLE VIEWPOINT

I refer to cases where the conditional meaning expresses relative posteriority with the verb meaning being simultaneously confirmed from the perspective of the moment of speech as Type 2B, see (71) and (72).

(71) Sp
En esa misma posición **serían sorprendidos** muchos años después, para desdicha de los dos, y **no** les **alcanzaría** la vida para pagarlo.
'Many years later, they **would be** found in the same position, and a whole lifetime **would not be long enough** for their atonement.'
InterCorp. Isabel Allende – *La casa de los espíritus*. English translation: Magda Bogin.

(72) En
In 2009 I held the first fabulousplaces.co.uk Food & Gift event... little did I know how popular they **would become**!
'En 2009 organicé el primer evento de fabulousplaces.co.uk Food & Gift... ¡no me imaginaba lo populares que **se volverían**!'
AAM. fabulousplaces.co.uk. Spanish translation: author.

Within the limited context provided by the corpus excerpts, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether the speaker presents the verb meaning only as posterior from the perspective of the past (Type 2A) or also as factual, from the perspective of the moment of speech (Type 2B). Both interpretations would be possible, for example, in (73):

(73) En
Then at last he turned to the road in front and took a few steps: the heaviest and the most reluctant he had ever taken. Only a few steps; and now only a few more and **he would be going down** and **would never see** that high place again.
'Luego, por fin, se volvió hacia el camino que se extendía ante él y avanzó unos pocos pasos: los más pesados y más penosos que hubiera dado alguna vez. Apenas unos pocos pasos; y ahora sólo unos pocos más, y luego **descendería** y ya **nunca más volvería** a ver aquellas alturas.'
InterCorp. J. R. R. Tolkien – *The Two Towers*. Spanish translation: Matilde Holde and Luis Domènech.

To avoid any misinterpretations, I marked as 2B only those cases where there was no doubt that the conditional meaning actually took place in the past (in a moment posterior to G2 and anterior to G1). In such cases, the utterances usually contained a temporal indication determining when this realisation took place, such as *muchos años después / many years later* in (71). Alternatively, a discrepancy between what the speaker can affirm in the moment of speech and what the subject knew in the past was explicitly expressed, see *little did I know / poco me imaginaba* in (72). Thus, ambiguous examples such as (73) were marked as 2A in the classification.

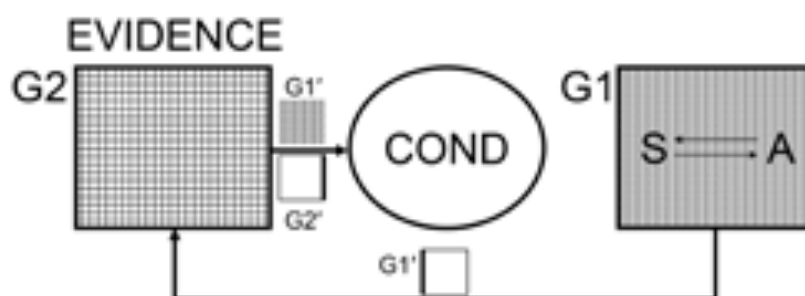The graphical representation is shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12. *Type 2B.*

Type 2B differs from Type 2A in the relationship between the conditional meaning and G2. With Type 2B, there is no inferential element connecting G2 and COND since the conditional meaning could not be predicted in the past. Thus, in this case, G2 serves only to provide temporal grounding for the conditional meaning (one of relative posteriority). In Figure 12, this is represented by G2ʹ, which reflects only the temporal delimitation of G2.

For the first time, the epistemic status of the conditional meaning is not in dispute; it is presented as actually carried out (COND surrounded by a solid line) with this certainty based on the information available to the speaker in the present, i.e. within G1. Thus, the conditional meaning also subjectively reflects the G1 evidential element (as represented in Figure 12 by G1ʹ situated above the arrow connecting G2 and COND). If the same verb meaning were expressed in the simple past tense, G2 would be absent from the cognitive representation and the meaning would only be presented as preceding the moment of speech (see Chapter 4.1.2).

To better illustrate the proposed analysis method, it can be applied to the example (71) *En esa misma posición serían sorprendidos muchos años después* ('Many years later, they would be found in the same position'). The meaning of "be found" can be defined as subsequent to the moment in the past when the subjects were in the position for the first time (subjective representation of the G2 temporal element). This moment precedes the moment at which the event is narrated (subjective representation of the G1 temporal element). It is also represented as confirmed from the speaker's current perspective, i.e. the speaker expresses that (s)he knows the

subjects were later found in this way (subjective representation of the G1 evidential element).

Furthermore, as observed in Chapter 3.2.2, the English conditional can, given the nature of its original dynamic volitive meaning also express relative posteriority determined by the subject's will. These cases are illustrated by the example (74).

(74) En
He **wouldn't tell** her any more.
'No **estaba dispuesto** a contarle nada más.'
'Víc jí **neřekl**.'
InterCorp. Nicholas Evans – *The Divide*. Spanish translation: Ignacio Gómez Calvo. Czech translation: Dagmar Brejlová.

In this case, the Spanish and Czech official translations illustrate the two components of the English meaning. *No estaba dispuesto a contarle nada más* (literally: 'He was not willing to tell her any more') emphasises the modal element (the will of the sentence subject); *Víc jí neřekl* (literally: 'He did not tell her any more') emphasises the temporal element (the action did not occur in the past). The English *would* connects the two meanings in the sense that "the absence of the subject's will to do something resulted in the fact that the action did not occur". The cognitive representation of the example (74) would be essentially identical to the other double viewpoint conditionals. Nevertheless, the subject's will could be represented as the subjective presence of the G2 evidential element in G2´. In other words, this case is a combination of types 2A and 2B: relative posteriority is represented as actually having taken place from the perspective of the current moment of speech (2B), but at the same time as inferentially arising from G2 (in this case, from the volition manifested by the subject in G2), as is typical of Type 2A. Since my focus is primarily on the Spanish conditional, where the aforementioned additive modal element does not feature, I include these English examples under Type 2B.

5.2.3 2C CYCLICAL CONDITIONAL

The last subtype of temporal conditional I distinguish corresponds to cases where the speaker, from the G1 perspective, refers to an event that occurred repeatedly in the past. This use of the conditional is typical of English (see Chapter 3.2.2). In Spanish, it usually corresponds to the so-called *imperfecto cíclico* ('cyclical imperfect', see RAE 2009, § 23.12c–d), as illustrated by (75).

(75) En
On the eighth day he began to talk aloud instead of whispering, and nothing I could do would moderate his speech. "It is just, O God!" he **would say**, *over and over again*.

'El octavo día comenzó a hablar en alta voz en lugar de susurrar y nada pude hacer para que moderase el tono. —¡Es justo, oh Dios! —**decía**$_{PST.IPFV}$ *una y otra vez*—.'
InterCorp. Herbert George Wells – *The War of the Worlds*. Spanish translation: Julio Vacareza.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 13. Given that this type cannot be found in Spanish, I shall comment upon it only briefly.
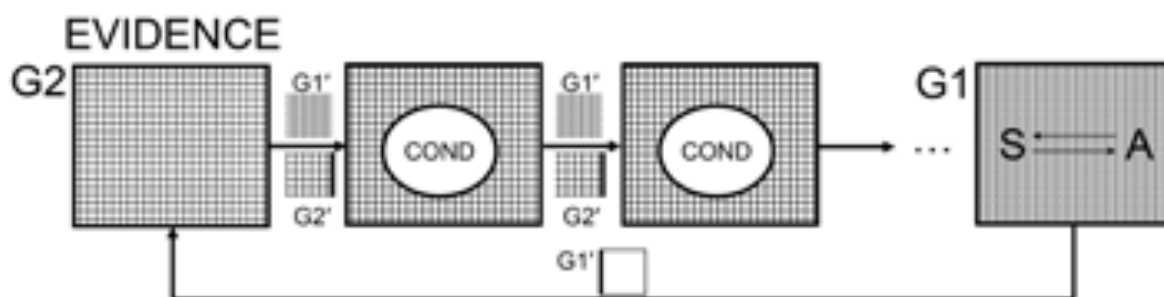

Figure 13. *Type 2C.*

Type 2C is defined as a conditional type with a complex dual perspective. The verb meaning is construed as inferred in the past (analogously to Type 2A, see G2′ in Figure 13). The inference here is based on the frequent repetition, which creates anticipation, i.e. the assumption that the conditional meaning will happen again. The conditional meaning and its repeated occurrence thus generate a sequence of G2s, where the assumed realisation in the (relative) future is given by the repeated experience with the conditional meaning actually having occurred. At the same time, the verb meaning (analogously to Type 2B, see G1′ in Figure 12) is presented from a G1 perspective as actually carried out (i.e. the verb meaning that was presupposed to take place in future in G2 is simultaneously confirmed from the G1 perspective).[35]

5.2.4 STATISTICS

The results shown in Table 10 indicate a high frequency of Type 2 in both Spanish and English (around 40%, IIg–h). The high frequency of Type 2 in the parallel corpus consisting of fiction texts (IIj) was expected, as was the low frequency in the oral corpus (IIl). The clear dominance of subtype 2A (IVc) is not surprising either, given the complexity of subtypes 2B and 2C.

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35   From the perspective of G1, the G2 inferential element becomes aspectual, which points to an interesting connection between the evidential and the category of aspect/Aktionsart, see also Kratochvílová – Jiménez Juliá (2021).

Table 10. *Type 2 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	Type	Freq ALL	% Type / Whole corpus	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Type / SP corpus	% Type / EN corpus	% Type / CZ corpus	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
II	Temporal	501	27.8	246	255	0	41.0	42.5	0.0	387 (129)	43	25	46
III	Subtype	Freq ALL	% Subtype / Type A	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Subtype / SP Type 1	% Subtype / EN Type 1	% Subtype / CZ Type 1	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
IV	2A	346	69.1	179	167	0	72.8	65.5	–	273 (91)	27	18	28
V	2B	107	21.4	67	40	0	27.2	15.7	–	77 (26)	14	0	16
VI	2C	48	9.6	0	48	0	0.0	18.8	–	37 (12)	2	7	2

5.3 TYPE 3: MODAL-EVIDENTIAL CONDITIONAL

Type 3 comprises four related conditional uses that can be found in Spanish. Their common feature is a distinct evidential element, which can be defined as inferential (Types 3A, 3B, 3C) and as quotative (3D).

5.3.1 3A PAST-TENSE PROBABILITIVE

Type 3A corresponds to probabilitive uses of the conditional. The morphological expression of probability is typical of the Spanish verbal system (see Chapter 3.1.3) with *cantaría* corresponding to the simple past tense or to the imperfect probabilitive,[36] see (76).

(76) Sp
la gente sale de sus casas a celebrar el año nuevo / y lo quieren hacer ya // de la mano del euro // los que tienen / pagan con ellos // los que no // siguen utilizando la peseta // [...] He ido a un cajero esta mañana y y bueno / y no daba no funci vamos no funcionaba / creo que **estarían agotados** / porque anoche / en frente de mi casa // tengo Ca Madrid eeh y la Caixa / y bueno / y unas colas impresionantes / y entonces yo creo que los han agotado
'people leave their homes to celebrate the new year / and they want to do it // with the euro // those who have / pay with it // those who don't // still use the peseta // [...] I went to an ATM this morning and well / and it didn't dispense it didn't well it didn't work / I suppose **they must have run out of them** / because last night / in front of my house // I have Ca Madrid eeh and la Caixa / and well / and there were huge queues / and so I think they've run out of them'
CORPES XXI Oral. *Llegó el euro: programa especial, 02/01/02, Onda Cero*. English translation: author.

(76) clearly illustrates the modal-evidential element that accompanies the probabilitive uses of the conditional. The speaker talks about the first hours after introducing the euro in Spain and expresses the assumption that the ATMs had run out of euro notes. This assumption is based on evidence (the ATM was not working, and long queues had formed in front of it the previous evening). In terms of modality, *cantaría* here reflects the speaker's thought process and the subsequent epistemic inference; in terms of evidentiality, it reflects a situation that the speaker witnessed and based on which (s)he draws the inference. The conditional meaning is also temporally bounded, and it is oriented before the moment of speech (*estarían* ≈ *probablemente*probably *estaban*be-PST.IPFV.3PL – 'probably were', 'must have been').

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36   *Cantaré* expresses probability with reference to present or future, *habré cantado* can be seen as present perfect or future perfect probabilitive, *habría cantado* is used as pluperfect probabilitive.

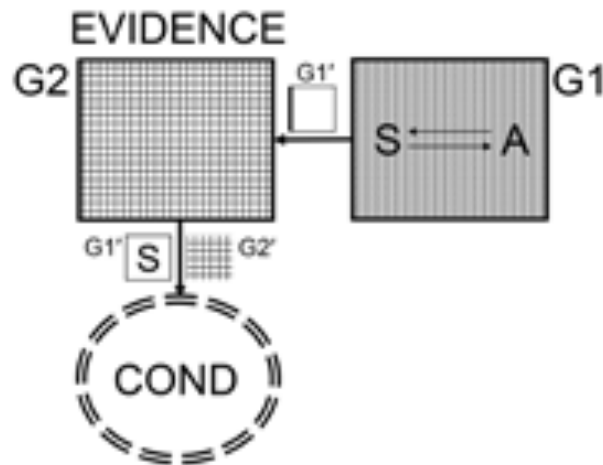The graphical representation is shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14. *Type 3A.*

The cognitive representation again involves two grounds. G2 is situated in the past and is evidential, not hypothetical. Its relation to G1 is defined as being antecedent to the moment of speech (G1′ placed next to the arrow connecting the two grounds only reflects the G1 temporal boundary, with emphasis on its beginning). Unlike Type 2, the conditional meaning here does not express posteriority with reference G2. Nevertheless, the inferential nature of the G2–COND relationship is preserved. The conditional meaning is construed as arising from the information available within G2 (captured in Figure 14 through G2′ reflecting only the G2 content components, not the temporal boundary). The inference here is also linked to G1 in the sense that it is attributable to the speaker (the speaker presents the conditional meaning as, in his or her current view, arising from the evidence available within G2). Thus, the conditional meaning also extremely subjectively reflects the speaker (i.e. the G1 modal component), which is represented by G1′ alongside the arrow connecting G2 and COND. The resulting epistemic status of the conditional is similar to Type 2A. Since the verb meaning is construed as an inference based on evidence, its realisation is plausible. However, in relation to G1, it is a realisation only assumed by the speaker, not confirmed in terms of the information available at the current moment of speech. Thus, in the graphical representation, COND is again depicted with a double dashed line.

The application of the above representation to the model sentence *Clara ayer no vino a la fiesta. Estaría muy cansada.* ('Clare did not come to the party yesterday. She must have been$_{COND}$ very tired.') would then be as follows. The conditional *estaría cansada* implies a secondary ground located in time before the beginning of the current communication situation (in this case, yesterday). This secondary ground contains information available to the speaker and relevant to the conditional meaning (in this case, the fact that Clare did not come to the party). The speaker considers this infor-

mation (a subjective reflection of his/her thinking) and formulates the hypothesis that Clare was tired based on it (a subjective reflection of the information content of G2).

The cognitive representation proposed above can also be applied to the exclamative conditional as described in Chapter 3.1.3. This type had no occurrence in the analysed concordance and for completeness, I provide a manually-searched example (77).

(77) Sp (manually-searched example, outside the original concordance)
Casualmente un tío de mi papá hace muchísimos años atrás vivió en el Faro cumpliendo funciones. Y mi tía abuela había estado en el Polonio, en la época en que se entraba en carro, y no había construcciones. Si **sería** desolado y hermoso a la vez!
'By coincidence, an uncle of my father's lived in Faro many years ago and worked there. And my great-aunt had been to Polonio, in the times when you could get there by car and there were no buildings. How desolate and beautiful at the same time **it must have been**!'
AHM. portaldelcabo.com.uy. English translation: author.

The exclamative use of the conditional is close to the purely probabilitive one. It implies a secondary evidential ground situated in the past, based on which the speaker draws an inference. In (77), G2 is refers to the time when the speaker's great--aunt lived in Polonio. The inference here is that Polonio must have been desolate and beautiful then. The difference from type 3A is only in the strengthened modal component, which here contains an evaluative element in addition to the epistemic one. In other words, the speaker not only reflects upon G2 and draws a conclusion from this reflection but at the same time this conclusion contains a personal evaluation. In the graphical representation, I represent through the speaker (S) all the modal flavours of an utterance, i.e. I do not distinguish epistemicity and evaluation, so the graphical representation does not change in this case.

5.3.2 3B PAST-TENSE DUBITATIVE

The dubitative uses of the Spanish conditional share temporal characteristics with Type 3A. The difference between the probabilitive and the dubitative lies in the nature of the modal-evidential element. I use the term past-tense dubitative for cases in which the speaker uses *cantaría* to pose him/herself a question to which (s)he tries to find an answer through the same kind of epistemic inference as in Type 3A. The resulting utterance then subjectively reflects the speaker's thought process and his/her effort to find an answer. From a formal point of view, the Spanish dubitative can be found in both direct (78) and indirect questions (79), as well as in yes/no (79) and wh-questions (78). In the following examples, it is worth noting the rather detailed description of the external conditions. These conditions then form the background for formulating the question to which the speaker or the subject is seeking an answer.

(78) Sp

En la Carta de Jamaica, por ejemplo, Bolívar se planteaba la pregunta: «¿Qué somos?» Ella se puede leer como la otra cara del ethos autonómico y del afán independentista. No seríamos más la Nueva España ni el Nuevo Extremo ni la «provincia de ultramar». Tampoco éramos indios. ¿Qué **seríamos**, entonces?

'For instance, in the Carta de Jamaica, Bolívar poses the question "What are we?". This can be read as the other side of the autonomous ethos and the quest for independence. We were no longer Nueva España or Nuevo Extremo or the "overseas province". We were not Indians either. What **were we**, then?'

CORPES XXI Academic. Marco García de Huerta – "'Diálogo' entre culturas y un alcance sobre Nietzche y el mestizaje". In Rebeca León (ed.), *Arte en América Latina y cultura global*. English translation: author.

(79) Sp

Angelats sintió que Joaquim se revolvía a su lado, y se preguntó si él también **estaría escuchando**, pero su respiración áspera y regular le hizo descartar enseguida la idea.

'Angelats heard Joaquim roll over beside him, and wondered if **he might be listening** too, but the rough, regular breathing soon made him discard the notion.'

InterCorp. Javier Cercas – *Soldados de Salamina*. English translation: Anne McLean.

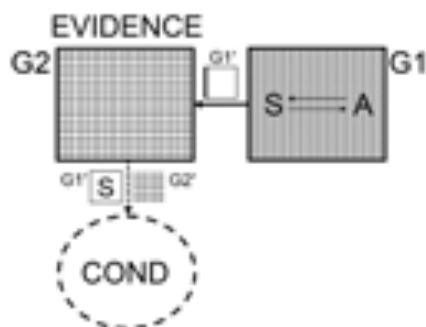The graphical representation is shown in Figures 15 and 16.

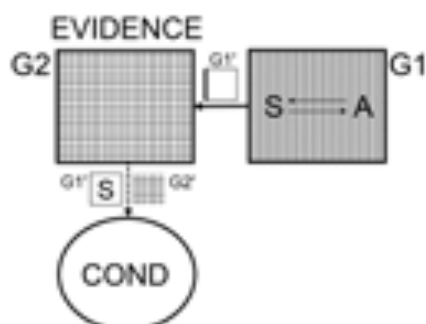**Figure 15**. *Type 3B, yes/no question.*

Figure 16. *Type 3B, wh- question.*

The cognitive representation of Type 3B is largely analogous to 3A. The main difference lies in the nature of the G2–COND relationship. In Type 3B, this relation is represented as the subject of the speaker's doubt (represented by the dashed line connecting G2 and COND). The representation differs depending on whether the dubitative meaning is construed as a yes/no question (Figure 15) or a wh-question (Figure 16). To better illustrate this, I again apply the interpretation proposed above to example sentences.

A yes/no dubitative question such as *Clara ayer no vino a la fiesta, me pregunto si estaría cansada.* ('Clare didn't come to the party yesterday, I wonder if she was$_{\text{COND}}$ tired.') offers the following interpretation of "be tired". The conditional meaning implies a secondary ground temporally oriented before the communication situation, which is the source of the information the speaker is considering. This information package about a particular moment in the past (in the present context, containing the information that Clare did not come to the party) is related to the conditional meaning ("be tired"), with the speaker expressing his/her hesitation about whether the evidential element makes the inference that Clare was tired sufficiently plausible. In other words, the speaker is not sure about either the validity of this relationship (the dashed line forming an arrow between G2 and COND in Figure 15) or the validity of the conditional meaning (Clare may not have been tired at all; represented by the dashed line surrounding COND in Figure 15).

A wh- question such as *¿Por qué Clara ayer no vendría a la fiesta?* ('Why, I wonder, Clare didn't come$_{\text{COND}}$ to the party yesterday?') construes the meaning of "come" as fulfilled (Clare did not come to the party; see the solid line surrounding the conditional meaning in Figure 16). However, this meaning is not construed as having a direct relation to G1 (as it would be when using the simple past tense *vino* – 'she came'). "Come" is dependent on an implicitly construed situation in the past that the speaker considers from the present-day perspective. Nevertheless, the exact nature of this dependency relationship is subject to his doubt and consideration, as represented by the dashed line forming the arrow connecting G2 and COND. This explains the fact that the example sentence does not inform the addressee that Clare did not come to the party, nor is it an invitation for the addressee to explain why Clare did not come. The main informational element is that the speaker reflects on Clare not coming and puts it in the context of the information (s)he has about the party, thus him/herself trying to find a logical connection that would explain Clare's absence.

The above interpretation can be applied to (78) and (79), with the only difference that in both cases the speaker presents the other person's point of view as his/her own, i.e. the speaker implicitly identifies with the sentence subject and represents Bolívar's and Angelats' thought process as his/her own. In (78), the author of the text makes it clear that he is dealing with the same issues as Bolívar and considers the question at hand to be current and unresolved. In (79), which comes from fiction, we find a commonly used narrative method where the third-person narrator takes the point of view of a particular character.[37]

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37   For an exhaustive analysis of viewpoints and mental spaces blending in fiction from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, refer to Dancygier (2011).

5.3.3 3C PAST-TENSE ADMISSIVE

The use of the conditional to express admission in the simple past tense or the imperfect also results from the intertwining of *cantaré* and *cantaría*, see Chapter 3.1.3. Type 3D is not very frequent in practice, which can be attributed mainly to its rather specific concessive meaning combined with past-tense grounding. However, the low frequency of this type in the corpus does not change the place it occupies within the Spanish TME system, and I will therefore analyse it here in the same way as the others.

Within the corpus analysis, I have found only one borderline case where the *cantaría* paradigm allows for both probabilitive and admissive interpretations, see (80). To better illustrate the function of *cantaría* in this interpretation, I include the example (81) where the admissive meaning is unambiguous. However, (81) is a manually-searched example that does not form part of the original concordance and does not figure in the statistics.

(80) Sp
es verdad / decisión la tomaron los políticos / no los técnicos
efectivamente
los técnicos **aportarían** sus ideas / pero luego la decisión fue política
'that's true / [the] decision was taken by the politicians / not by the technicians
indeed
the technicians **might have contributed** / but then the decision was a political one'
CORPES XXI Oral. *Protagonistas: El quinto tertuliano, 10/12/02, Onda Cero*. English translation: author.[38]

(81) Sp (manually-searched example, outside the original concordance)
A mitad de trayecto, empecé a hojear Ejercicios de estilo y vi que en el libro se narraba, con cien estilos diferentes, la misma anécdota trivial. **Sería** trivial, pero la historia me divirtió muchísimo, seguramente porque pasaba en un autobús y yo iba en un autobús [...]. La historia era tontísima, pero me fascinó mucho.
'Halfway through the journey, I started to leaf through Exercises in Style and saw that the book narrated, in a hundred different styles, the same trivial anecdote. It **might have been** trivial, but the story amused me a great deal, probably because it was taking place on a bus, and I was on a bus [...]. The story was really silly, but it fascinated me a lot.'
AHM. enriquevilamatas.com. English translation: author.

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38   In this context, a double interpretation of the conditional *aportarían* is possible. It is conceivable that the speaker is merely assuming that the technicians contributed their ideas (possible paraphrase: *los técnicos probablemente aportaron sus ideas* – 'the technicians probably contributed their ideas'), then this would be Type 3A. The second possible interpretation is that the speaker admits the technicians contributed their ideas (possible paraphrase: *sí, los técnicos aportaron sus ideas* – 'sure, the technicians contributed their ideas'). Given the presence of the conjunction *pero* – 'but', which is typical of this type of admission, I opt for the second interpretation and classify this example as Type 3C.

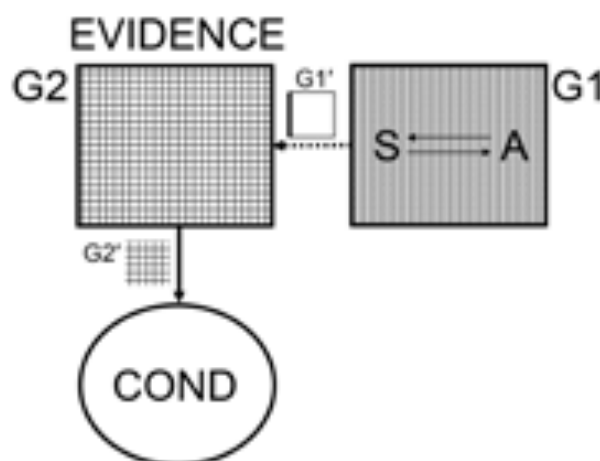The graphical representation is shown in Figure 17.

Figure 17. *Type 3C.*

The conditional meaning is again construed as arising from a secondary ground placed in the past, the subject of doubt here is whether the secondary ground in question is relevant in relation to G1 (represented by the dashed line forming the arrow that connects G1 and G2). The epistemic status of the conditional meaning is not the focus here.

Applying the above representation to (81), we obtain the following interpretation of *sería trivial* ('be$_{COND}$ trivial'). The conditional implicitly (subjectively) refers to a secondary ground (in this case, the impression the publication *Ejercicio de estilo* and the anecdote contained therein evoked in the speaker at an unspecified moment in the past). The conditional meaning is fully dependent on the secondary ground and the past situation G2 refers to, i.e. it bears no clear modal relation to the current moment of speech (the temporal relationship to G1 is given by the temporal anchoring of the implicitly construed G2). The admissive use of the conditional then further implies the speaker's doubt as to whether the initial impressions he had from reading the publication in the past (i.e. the G2 content) are relevant in relation to what he intends to say, and thus in relation to G1, since the primary piece of information he is communicating is that the anecdote amused him, regardless of whether it was trivial.

5.3.4 3D ATEMPORAL QUOTATIVE

When interpreted as Type 3D, *cantaría* functions as a hearsay marker conveying a piece of information attributed to an external source (which can be explicitly mentioned or only implied), see Chapter 3.1.3. This conditional use shares a strong evidential component with Types 3A–C. However, type 3D differs from the remaining Type 3 subtypes

in its lack of temporal anchoring since it does not convey anteriority with respect to the moment of speech. Although according to the RAE (2009, §23.15m), this use of the conditional can only be paraphrased in the past or present tense, I define it as atemporal and allowing for the anterior, simultaneous or posterior interpretation. This is illustrated by (82), where my claim is that *cobraría* ('be paid$_{COND}$') can be paraphrased using the future tense as *supuestamente cobrará* ('will be allegedly paid'). An example of the prospective orientation of this conditional type is also attested by Bermúdez (2016, 43).

(82) Sp
Ya no existen más misterios, el piloto español Fernando Alonso ha firmado un contrato por seis años con la escudería Ferrari, según se ha anunciado en el programa radial "El Larguero". El asturiano **cobraría** una suma de 25 millones de euros por temporada.
'No more mysteries. As announced on the radio programme "El Larguero", the Spanish racing driver Fernando Alonso has signed a six-year contract with the Ferrari team. The Asturian driver **will allegedly be paid** 25 million euros per season.'
AHM. ultimacurva.com. English translation: author.

As resulting from Chapter 3.1, this type of conditional has no English or Czech counterpart. However, in reference to the Czech conditional and its possible quotative function, it is worth mentioning observations made by Ševčíková (2009). When analysing the uses of *zpíval bych* provided by language corpora, the author notes that the Czech conditional often appears in contexts where the source of information is explicitly mentioned. Similar occurrences were part of my concordance, see (83) for an example.

(83) Cz
V současnosti je základní DPH 20 procent a snížená 10 procent. Do té spadají mimo jiné například právě potraviny či léky. Vláda kvůli důchodové reformě uvažuje, že by obě sazby sjednotila na 19 procentech. Podle analytiků **by** to však **zvýšilo** inflaci až o dvě procenta.
'En la actualidad, el IVA básico es del 20 por ciento y el reducido, del 10 por ciento. El reducido incluye, entre otras cosas, alimentos y medicamentos. A causa de la reforma de las pensiones, el Gobierno está estudiando la posibilidad de unificar los dos tipos en el 19 por ciento. Sin embargo, según los analistas, esto **aumentaría** la inflación hasta un dos por ciento.'
'At present, the basic VAT is 20 per cent and the reduced VAT is 10 per cent. The latter includes, among other things, food and medicines. Because of the pension reform, the government is considering unifying the two rates at 19 per cent. However, according to some analysts, this **would increase** inflation by up to two percent.'
ABM. metropole.regiony24.cz. Spanish and English translation: author.

I do not dispute the high co-occurrence of *zpíval bych* with *podle* ("according to"). However, I agree with Ševčíková (2009) that this does not indicate that the Czech

conditional takes on a quotative meaning. Ševčíková concludes that in these contexts, the conditional expresses the same type of hypotheticality as in sentences without an explicitly stated source of information. This is proven by (83), which shows that the conditional meaning is construed as part of a larger hypothetical scenario definable as "if the government were to unify VAT at 19 per cent". It is the existence of a condition on which the conditional depends that I assess as primary here. Thus, (83) has been assigned to type 1C in my analysis.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 18.
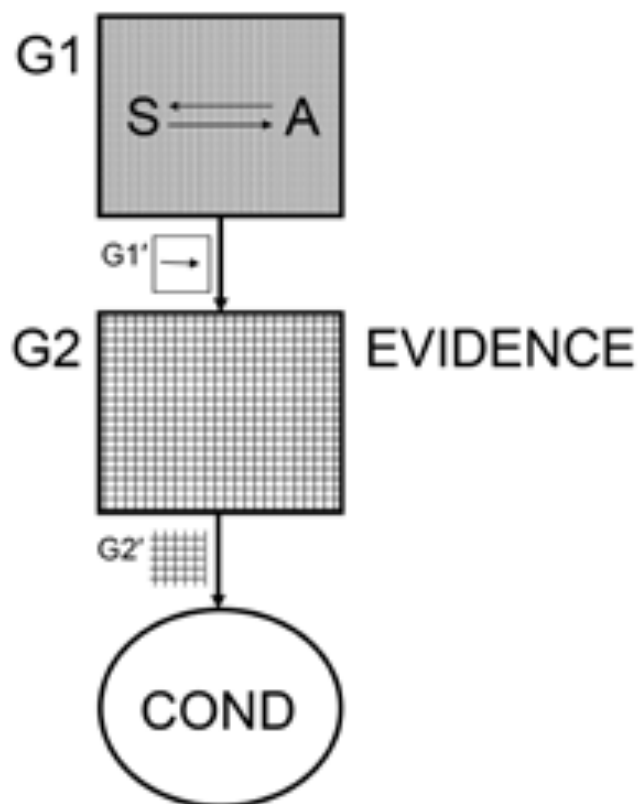
Figure 18. *Type 3D.*

The first part of the graphical representation of Type 3D is analogous to Type 1D. The conditional implies a secondary ground with no clear temporal relation to G1. The relationship between the two grounds is highly schematic and can be defined as a speaker's attempt to distance the content of the utterance from the current moment of speech. In the graphical representation, this is symbolised by the simplified G1′, which reflects only the speaker's communicative intention. As in Type 1, G2 is placed below G1 in the representation, symbolising the temporal indefiniteness and possible co-occurrence with the moment of speech.

The difference between Type 3D and Type 1 lies in the nature of G2, which is evidential rather than hypothetical here. Thus, the speaker implicitly construes a ground that (s)he presents as actually existing, albeit without further temporal specification.

Table 11. *Type 3 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	**Type**	**Freq ALL**	**% Type / Whole corpus**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Type / SP corpus**	**% Type / EN corpus**	**% Type / CZ corpus**	**Freq Parallel (Freq/3)**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
II	Modal- -evidential	44	2.4	44	0	0	7.3	0.0	0.0	10 (3)	10	10	14
III	**Subtype**	**Freq ALL**	**% Subtype / Type A**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Subtype / SP Type 1**	**% Subtype / EN Type 1**	**% Subtype / CZ Type 1**	**Freq Parallel (Freq/3)**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
IV	3A	7	15.9	7	0	0	15.9	–	–	4 (1)	0	3	0
V	3B	6	13.6	6	0	0	13.6	–	–	5 (2)	0	0	1
VI	3C	1	2.3	1	0	0	2.3	–	–	0	0	1	0
VII	3D	30	68.2	30	0	0	68.2	–	–	1 (0.3)	10	6	13

The conditional meaning then depends entirely on the G2 content, from which it derives. The conditional meaning is not altogether virtual as in Type 1 since it depends on a non-hypothetical G2. However, G2 is distinct in content from G1 (symbolised by the different background of the two grounds) and the conditional depends only on G2, not on any of the G1 elements that are available to both the speaker and the addressee(s). In (82), this secondary ground is the radio programme El Larguero, its content and the speaker's interpretation of this content. If any of these elements prove to be false or unreliable, i.e. if G2 is invalidated, the conditional meaning is also invalidated.

5.3.5 STATISTICS

Table 11 provides interesting results, especially with regard to the register types in which the modal-evidential conditional appeared in Spanish. Type 3 was most frequently found in the academic subcorpus (IIm), whereas its occurrences in the parallel corpus are comparatively less frequent than in the case of the hypothetical and temporal conditionals (IIj). However, given the relatively small number of results overall, these numbers may be biased by the dominance of the 3D subtype, whose presence in the academic corpus and the corpus of texts originating from the Internet, which may also contain newspaper articles, is not surprising.

5.4 TYPE 4: MITIGATING CONDITIONAL

Type 4 includes temporally undefined uses of the conditional by which the speaker mitigates the content of an utterance.

5.4.1 4A TENTATIVE CONDITIONAL

In occurrences marked as 4A, the speaker uses the conditional to express uncertainty regarding the validity of the verb meaning. Type 4A shares some features with Type 3D and suggests a gradual transition between Types 3 and 4. Common to both types is that the conditional serves the speaker to express epistemic distance and thus weaken the utterance informational value. The two types are also united by the ambiguous temporal interpretation of the conditional, which can only be inferred from the broader context. Type 4A, on the other hand, lacks the hearsay element; epistemic distance results from the speaker's decision, not from an external source to which the speaker explicitly or implicitly refers. The pragmatic effect of this epistemic distance may then be to increase the degree of politeness (for example, in sit-

uations where the speaker disagrees with the addressee) or to give the impression of the speaker's modesty.

Type 4A can be found in all three languages under scrutiny. In Spanish, this type is frequent in academic texts, where it has stylistic effects similar to the plural of modesty, see (84). English and Czech uses of the tentative conditional are represented by (85) and (86).

(84) Sp
En el material alfarero colectado en Kuelap sea de excavaciones o de superficie, no hemos encontrado signos o huellas de influencia de ninguno de los estilos del Horizonte Medio. Esto **estaría indicando** que durante ese período la alfarería de Kuelap se rigió por su propia tradición cultural [...].
'In the pottery material collected at Kuelap, whether from excavations or from the surface, we have not found signs or of traces of the influence of any of the Middle Horizon styles. This **indicates / would indicate** that during this period the pottery of Kuelap was guided by its own cultural tradition [...].'
'V hrnčířských památkách shromážděných v Kuelapu, ať už ve vykopávkách nebo na povrchu, jsme nenalezli žádné známky nebo stopy vlivu některého ze stylů středního horizontu. To **naznačuje**$_{PRS.IND}$ / **by naznačovalo**, že se v daném období kuelapská keramika řídila svou vlastní kulturní tradicí [...].'
CORPES XXI Academic. Arturo Ruiz Estrada – *La alfarería de Kuelap: tradición y cambio*. English and Czech translation: author.

(85) En
It **would seem** that "charged" in this context would mean actually charged rather than chargeable.
'**Parece**$_{PRS.IND}$ /(**parecería**) que, en este contexto, "imputado" significaría efectivamente imputado, no imputable.'
'**Zdá se**$_{PRS.IND}$ / (**zdálo by se**), že „vyměřený" by v tomto kontextu znamenalo skutečně vyměřený, nikoli vyměřitelný.'
BNC Academic.[39] BNC: J7A. W_ac_polit_law_edu. Patrick C. Harlow Soares. *Non-Resident Trusts: Tax Planning Opportunities. A Specially Commissioned Report*. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

(86) Cz
Zápas v Bystrci, čerstvě sestoupivší z extraligy, nebyl tak jednoznačný, jak **by napovídal** výsledek.
'El partido en Bystrc, recién relegado de la Extraliga, no fue tan claro como **sugiere**$_{PRS.IND}$/ (**sugeriría**) el resultado.'

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39   Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

'The match in Bystrc, recently relegated from the Extraleague, was not as clear-cut as the result **suggests / would suggest**.'
ABM. m.ragby.cz. Spanish and English translation: author.

The tentative conditional is also frequently used with performative verbs with the meaning "(dare to / venture to) say", "call", "guess", "point out" and "emphasise", see (87) for an example.

(87) Sp
permítame que le diga que yo creo que muchas veces llegamos a lo que **llamaría** un exceso de racionalización
'let me tell you that I believe that we often reach what **I would call** excessive rationalism'
'dovolte mi, abych vám řekl, že si myslím, že se často dostáváme k něčemu, co **bych nazval** přehnanou racionalizací'
CORPES XXI Oral. Press conference of the Council of Ministers of the Spanish Government: *Rueda de prensa viernes 9 de marzo de 2001*. English and Czech translation: author.

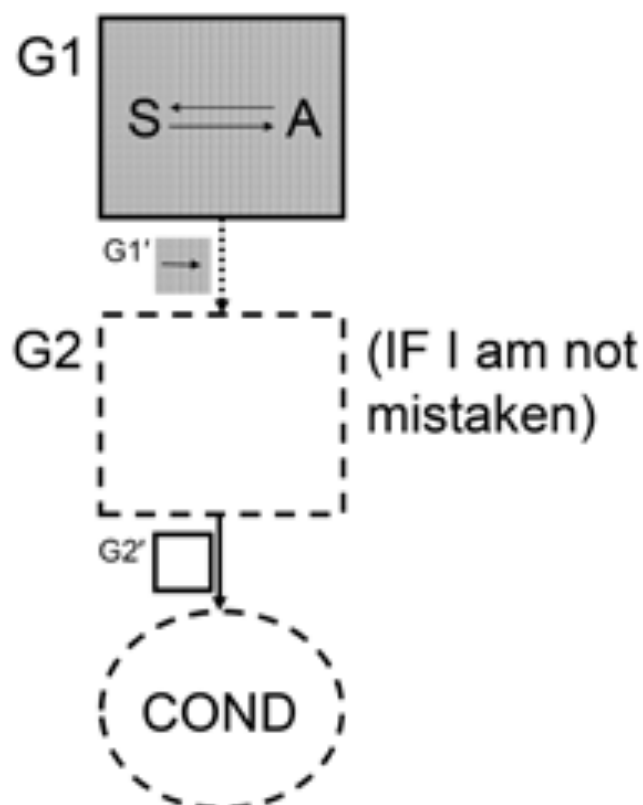The graphical representation is shown in Figure 19.

Figure 19. *Type 4A.*

Since the conditional in Type 4A depends on a hypothetical and highly schematic G2, its epistemic status is unspecified, and the verb meaning is construed as entirely virtual. The relationship between G1 and G2 can be defined as a distance relationship given by the speaker's communicative intention (the arrow symbolises the speaker's part of the communication in G1′). Similar to Type 3C, the speaker's doubt as to whether the implicit secondary ground is at all relevant in relation to the communication situation is invoked here (the dashed line forming the arrow connecting G1 and G2 and the reflection of G1 background in G1′).

Applying the proposed representation to (84) gives rise to the following interpretation of *estaría indicando* ('be$_{COND}$ indicating'). The validity of "be indicating" is entirely dependent on an implicit G2. In the given context, G2 defining characteristics can be resumed as "if I interpret all indications correctly", "if I am not mistaken". The conditional meaning is again construed without a direct relation to G1, thus implying the speaker's epistemic distance. The reason for creating the secondary ground is the speaker's uncertainty as to whether (s)he is right in his/her opinion or hesitation as to whether the information presented is at all relevant to the communication situation (i.e. an expression of the speaker's actual or apparent modesty and his or her uncertainty as to whether such a way of grasping the topic is even worthy of the addressee's attention).

As mentioned above, in Spanish this conditional type is also typical for academic texts. Bermúdez (2016) analyses these usages in contrast to the atemporal quotative (*condicional de rumor*, in Bermúdez' terminology) and poses the question of the extent to which the two usages can be understood as interrelated. The author concludes that while *condicional de rumor* presents third-hand information, the conditional referred to here as tentative is close to the hypothetical conditional and presents second-hand information which is being reformulated or reinterpreted by the current speaker. In my understanding, the difference between the two types lies rather in the nature of secondary ground, which in the case of type 4A is not evidential, but hypothetical. This is also the reason why Type 4A can also be found in English and in Czech, which, on the contrary, lack the purely quotative conditional of Type 3D.

5.4.2 4B ATTENUATING CONDITIONAL

In occurrences marked as 4B, the speaker also uses the conditional to weaken the validity of the sentence proposition. Nevertheless, unlike with Type 4A, this weakening does not primarily express epistemic uncertainty. For reasons of politeness, the validity is presented as depending on the addressee's permission or consent and the conditional could be supplemented by constructions with the meaning of "if you don't mind" or "if you will allow". Examples of this usage can be found in all the languages analysed, see (88), (89), (90).

(88) Sp

por lo tanto / yo le **recomendaría** así que se guíe un poco más por las informaciones que le podemos dar nosotros

'I **would** therefore **recommend** that you rely a little bit more on the information we can give you'

'**doporučil bych** vám tedy, abyste se více řídil informacemi, které vám můžeme poskytnout my'

CORPES XXI Oral. Press conference of the Council of Ministers of the Spanish Government: *Rueda de prensa del viernes 27 de julio de 2001.* English and Czech translation: author.

(89) En

The next point I **would raise**, and this is er by looking at item three on page one, is the income split [...].

'El siguiente punto que **plantearía**, y esto es mirando el punto tres en la página uno, es la división de ingresos [...].'

'Dalším bodem, který **bych zmínil**, a to když se podíváme na bod tři na straně jedna, je rozdělování zisku [...].'

BNC Oral.[40] BNC: FUK. S_meeting. SP:FUKPSUNK. *British Rail Team Brief Meeting.* Spanish and Czech translation: author.

(90) Cz

S něčím **bych si** s Vámi **dovolil** polemizovat.

'Me **permitiría** discrepar de usted en algo.'

'There is something I **would allow** myself to argue with you about.'

ABM. romanohangos.cz. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

The 4B subtype frequently appeared with verbs meaning "wish", "like", "need", "ask for" and "do a favour", as represented by (91).

(91) Sp

"Me **gustaría** hacerle una pregunta", dijo el juez unos momentos después.

'"I **would like** to ask you a question," the judge said a few moments later.'

'„**Rád bych** vám **položil** otázku," řekl soudce o chvíli později.'

AHM. 6865.blogcindario.com English and Czech translation: author.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 20.

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40   Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.
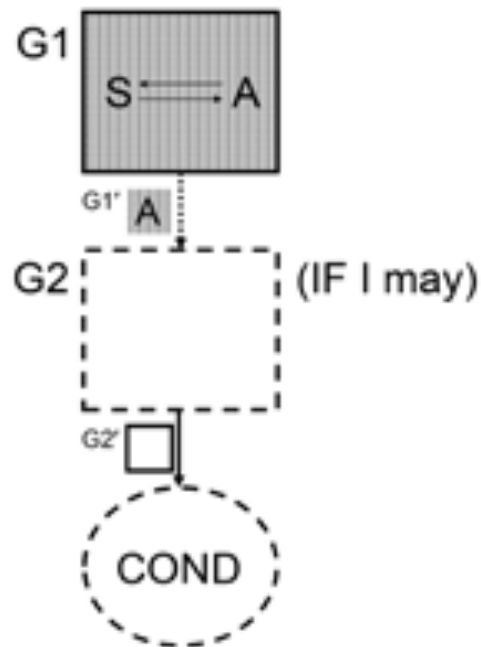
Figure 20. *Type 4B.*

In Type 4B, the speaker construes a highly schematic G2 whose existence is presented as implicitly conditioned by the addressee's permission (echoing A in G1′). As in Type 4A, G1′ further subjectively reflects the communication situation (represented by the dashed line connecting G1 and G2, which depicts the speaker's uncertainty about whether G2 and its dependent conditional are relevant to the communication situation).

Applying this interpretation to the example (88) makes it possible to paraphrase the meaning of *recomendaría* ('I would recommend') as follows. The meaning of "recommend" is construed as hypothetical, with its validity being entirely dependent on G2. G2 is a schematic ground that lacks detailed specification and is linked to the actually existing G1 primarily through the addressee of the recommendation in question. The speaker presents the validity of "recommend" as dependent on the addressee's implicit permission to be given recommendations and as uncertain even with respect to the topic of the conversation (loose paraphrase: "I do not know whether it is appropriate for me to recommend anything at all in the given situation and whether I may recommend anything to you").

5.4.3 4C "IF I WERE YOU" CONDITIONAL

Concordances marked as 4C represent a specific subtype of mitigating conditional used for reasons of politeness. This type is not mentioned in the general classification of conditional meanings presented in Chapter 3, but with respect to its representation within the methodology proposed here, it can be separated from the attenuation

Type 4B. Although its occurrences were not very frequent in the corpus and primarily appeared in the Czech oral and web corpora (see Statistics in Chapter 5.4.5), they are not systematically excluded for Spanish or English either.

In the uses falling under Type 4C, adding constructions with the meaning "if I were in your place" is possible. Formally, they essentially imply Type 1D, where the conditional validity is determined by an implicit and highly schematic condition defined as "if it came to that", "if I am not mistaken". However, what distinguishes Type 4C from Type 1D on the pragmatic level is the orientation towards the addressee, to whom the speaker politely recommends a particular type of behaviour, see (92) for an example.

(92) Cz
no **to bych** extra **neřešil**. to je taková blbost
'bueno, yo **no me preocuparía** mucho por eso. es una tontería'
'well, **I wouldn't worry** too much about that. it's just bullshit'
ORAL v1. 10H013N– visit. Spanish and English translation: author.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 21.
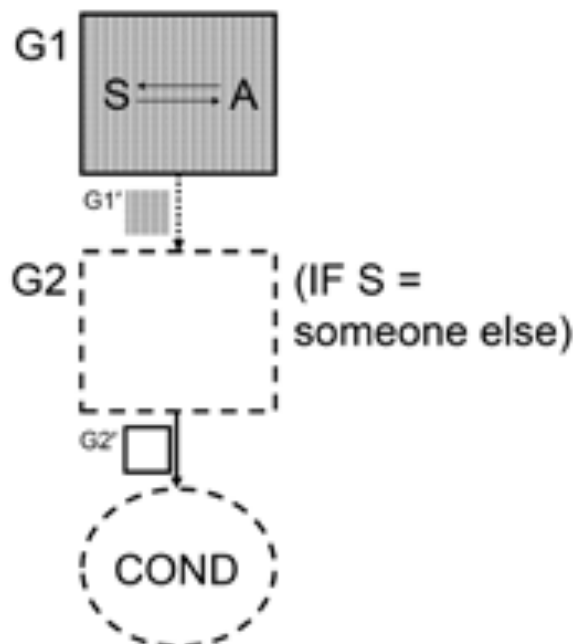
Figure 21. *Type 4C.*

As suggested above, the graphical representation resembles Type 1D with a highly schematic and hypothetical G2 on which the eventual realisation of the conditional meaning is entirely dependent. The difference here lies in the relation between G1 and G2, and thus in the content of the simplified G1′. In this case, G1′ reflects only the communication situation and the relationship between G1 and G2 is again presented as

uncertain. With Type 4C, the speaker does not only construe a hypothetical meaning depending on the fulfilment of a particular condition but (s)he also expresses doubts as to whether the formation of G2 (and the resulting conditional meaning) is at all relevant for the given communication situation (represented by the dashed line forming the arrow which the two grounds). Again, this results in a high degree of politeness and the speaker's distance from the utterance content.

Thus, the meaning of "not to worry" in example (92) could be paraphrased, according to the proposed interpretation, as "If I were in your position, I wouldn't worry about it, but I'm not sure if it's appropriate for me to put myself in your position". In other words, the meaning of "not to worry" is entirely virtual and valid only if the condition "Speaker = Addressee" was fulfilled, with the default condition "S = A" construed as potentially irrelevant to the communication situation.

5.4.4 4D "if asked" conditional

Like 4C, Type 4D is not listed among the general conditional uses in Chapter 3, but it can be distinguished from the tentative and attenuating conditional in its cognitive representation. Type 4D corresponds to those uses of the mitigating conditional through which the speaker expresses ignorance or refuses to give a piece of information. The analysis working with the notion of a secondary ground allows us to interpret these uses as a way for the speaker to distance him/herself from the verb meaning, to separate it from the communication situation, and thus to mitigate the effect of the refusal. Type 4D can be found both in Spanish and English, but it does not systematically occur in the Czech language. Among the concrete examples found in the corpus analysis, Type 4D is best represented by (93), both in the English original and the Spanish translation.

(93) En
"He could still ask for replacements and send us home when the orders did come back. Anyway, I've been told that Twenty-seventh Air Force wants only forty missions and that it's only his own idea to get us to fly fifty-five."
"**I wouldn't know** anything about that," Major Major answered.
'—Pero podría pedir reemplazos y mandarnos a casa en cuanto volvieran las órdenes. Además, me han dicho que la 27. a Fuerza Aérea sólo exige cuarenta misiones, pero que él se empeña en que cumplamos cincuenta y cinco.
—**No sabría decirle** —replicó el comandante Coronel—.'
InterCorp. Joseph Heller – *Catch-22*. Spanish translation: Flora Casas.

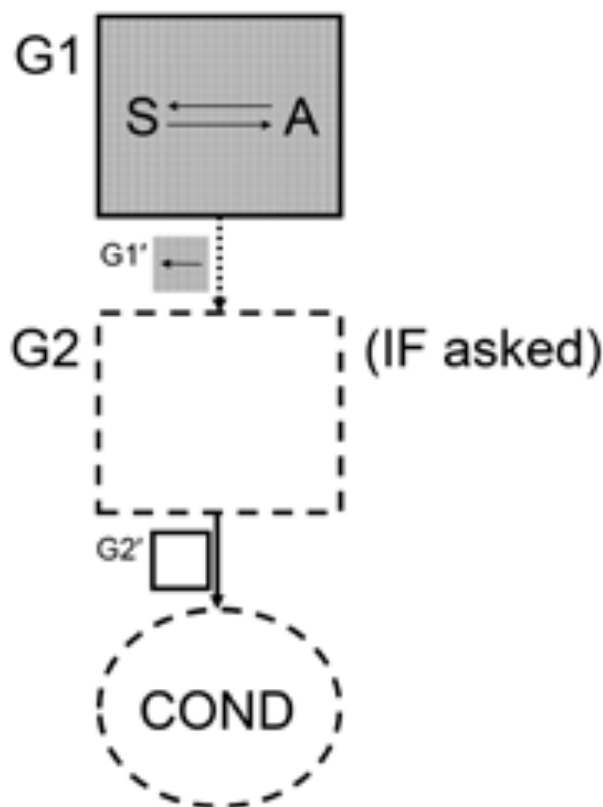The graphical representation is shown in Figure 22.

Figure 22. *Type 4D.*

Type 4D again implies a hypothetical and highly subjective G2 whose relationship to conditional meaning is comparable to Type 1. As with the other subtypes falling under the mitigation conditional, the relationship between G1 and G2 is construed as uncertain and open to debate. The speaker presents his or her uncertainty about whether creating G2 is pertinent in the current communication situation and anticipates the addressee's question about whether (s)he can provide further information on the subject of the conversation. Thus, G1′ reflects only the communication situation and the addressee's communicative intentions; the other elements are not relevant for interpreting the verb meaning.

Following the above-presented interpretation, the meaning of "not to know" in (93) is separated from G1 and the speaker, who is expressing his/her ignorance. The verb meaning is accessed through a secondary ground, which is hypothetical and possibly also irrelevant. "Not to know" depends entirely on fulfilling the condition of "A asks S to provide more information". The speaker does not know whether such a question will be posed and (s)he is not sure whether the addressee is interested in obtaining more information about the topic, i.e. whether such a hypothetical question would be relevant given the communication situation. In this way, the speaker mitigates the utterance content and its impact on the current communication situation.

5.4.5 STATISTICS

Table 12. *Type 4 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	Type	Freq ALL	% Type /Whole corpus	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Type /SP corpus	% Type /EN corpus	% Type /CZ corpus	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
II	Mitigating	294	16.3	94	74	126	15.7	12.3	21.0	76 (25)	71	108	39
III	Subtype	Freq ALL	% Subtype /Type A	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Subtype /SP Type 1	% Subtype /EN Type 1	% Subtype /CZ Type 1	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
IV	4A	85	28.9	41	19	25	43.6	25.7	19.8	11 (4)	20	30	24
V	4B	197	67.0	51	51	95	54.3	68.9	75.4	62 (21)	49	71	15
VI	4C	6	2.0	1	0	5	1.1	0.0	4.0	0	2	4	0
VII	4D	6	2.0	1	4	1	1.1	5.4	0.8	3 (1)	0	3	0

As expected, Table 12 shows that the mitigating conditional is the most frequent in the spoken corpus (IIl). The nature of the oral part of the Spanish CORPES XXI corpus, which contains, among other things, transcripts of debates and TV and radio interviews, where this type of conditioning is primarily to be expected, contributes to these results. The semi-lexicalised nature of the conditional forms of verbs expressing wishes is reflected in the high frequency of the attenuating conditional 4B in the parallel corpus consisting of fiction (Vj), where this type also appeared in indirect speech. The frequency of the mitigating conditional across languages is relatively balanced (IId–f), the slight predominance of Type 4 in the Czech corpus is mainly due to the systematic absence of Types 2 and 3 in this language.

5.5 TYPE 5: INTERACTIONAL MIRATIVE CONDITIONAL

Uses of the conditional classified as Type 5 are characterised by the strong relationship between G1 and G2, which can be defined as interactional and mirative. Once again, the conditional meaning is anchored in G2. In this case, the secondary ground is construed in response to specific element(s) of the communication situation which the speaker perceives as surprising or differing from the other elements constituting G1. The underlying characteristic of the conditional as I define it in this monograph, i.e. a verbal form anchored in G2 and accessible only through G2, allows the speaker to select these elements, to separate them from the initial communication situation and to anchor the verb meaning only in relation to them (thereby also implicitly emphasising and reinforcing their subjective presence in the utterance).

The interactional mirative conditional is a less frequent type (see Statistics in Chapter 5.5.6), but not negligible or unimportant. In a classification based strictly on the occurrences obtained from the corpus, I distinguish five subtypes, but I do not rule out the possible existence of other mirative conditionals. My claim is that the interpretive method proposed in this monograph is sufficiently flexible to capture any additional meaning nuances that this conditional type can express while maintaining the initial parameters common to all the subtypes listed here.

5.5.1 5A "WHY WOULD I DO THAT?" CONDITIONAL

The most frequent subtype of the interactional mirative conditional can be found in all of the three languages analysed. I define Type 5A as "using the conditional to formulate a question in response to some surprising or incomprehensible information or in response to a situational context in which something hard to believe is taking place". For concrete examples, see (94), (95) and (96).

(94) Sp

No había nada más que hablar. Antes de despedirse, él sugirió volver el otro martes a la misma hora. Ella se preguntó si debía ser tan condescendiente.

—No veo qué sentido **tendrían** tantas visitas —dijo.

'There was nothing else to say. Before he left he suggested coming back on the following Tuesday at the same time. She asked herself whether she should be so acquiescent.

"'I don't see what sense so many visits **would make**," she said.'

'Nebylo o čem dále hovořit. Než se rozloučil, nadhodil, že by přišel příští úterý ve stejnou dobu. Položila si otázku, jestli má být tak povolná.

„Nevidím, jaký smysl **by mělo** tolik návštěv," řekla.'

InterCorp. Gabriel García Márquez – *El amor en los tiempos del cólera*. English translation: Edith Grossman. Czech translation: Blanka Stárková.

(95) En

I also struggle to understand why one **would want** a server and not a domain ;–) am I missing the sheer joy of banging ones head against a wall here?

'También me cuesta entender por qué a uno le **gustaría** un servidor en lugar de un dominio. ¿Se me escapa lo genial que es golpear la cabeza contra la pared?'

'Taky mám problém pochopit, proč **by** někdo **chtěl** server místo domény. To mi nějak uniká, jak je skvělý mlátit hlavou do zdi?'

AAM. itwriting.com. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

(96) Cz

„Nejsem přece negramotný. Proč **bych podepisoval** něco, co jsem sám nenapsal?"

„Dobře, pane doktore, můžeme zvolit opačný postup. Napíšete to nejdříve vy sám a pak se teprve na to podíváme spolu. To, co jste četl, vám mohlo sloužit alespoň jako vzor."

'—¿Acaso soy analfabeto? ¿Por qué motivo **firmaría** algo que ni yo mismo he escrito?

—Está bien, doctor, podemos hacerlo a su modo. Primero lo escribe usted solo y luego lo miramos juntos. Lo que acaba de leer puede servirle como ejemplo.'

"'I'm no illiterate, am I? Why **should I sign** something I didn't write myself?"

"Very well, then, doctor. Let's do it your way. You write it up yourself, and we'll go over it together. You can use what you've just read as a model."'

InterCorp. Milan Kundera – *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*. Spanish translation: author. English translation: Michael Henry Heim.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 23.

In (94) and (96), the question containing the conditional is formulated in response to an unexpected or incomprehensible request. In the example (95), which comes from an internet discussion, the conditional is used in response to the information resulting from the commented article ("some users prefer the server to the domain", which the speaker judges as difficult to understand). Thus, the common element here is the surprise over some particular G1 element.
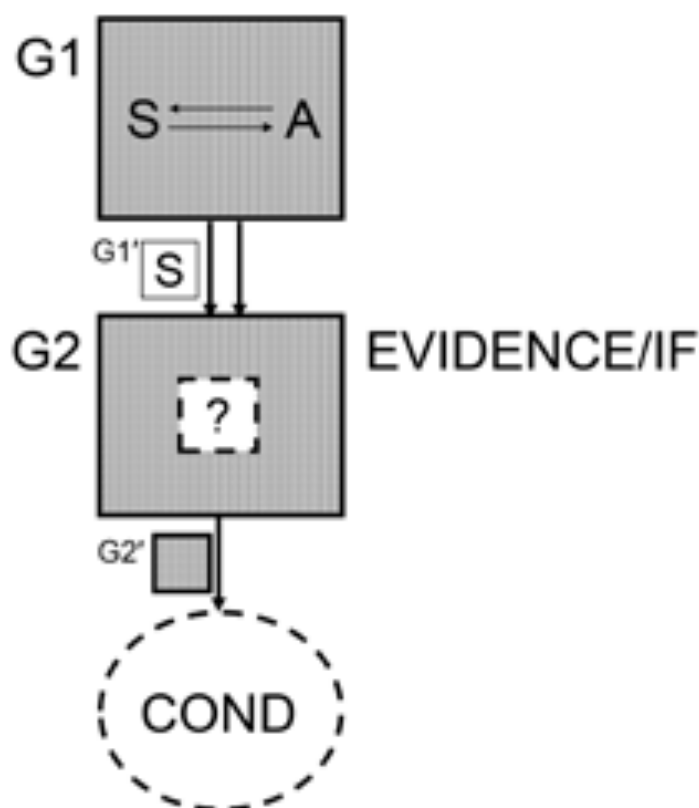
Figure 23. *Type 5A.*

As suggested in Chapter 2.3.4, surprise and the notion of an unprepared mind combine a personal evaluation (i.e. a modal element) with an evidential one. This is represented in Figure 23 by G1′ reflecting the speaker and his/her evaluation of an element from G1. The double arrow connecting G1 and G2 illustrates their mutual interdependency; unlike with the previous types, G2 is created as an immediate and direct response to a specific evidential element of G1.

The basic characteristic of the conditional as a verbal form implying dependence on a ground distinct from G1 can be applied here from a reversed perspective. With the conditional, the speaker indicates that (s)he is unable to attach the verb meaning to the actual ground. Thus, the speaker implicitly creates a G2 that contains most of the evidential elements of G1, but at the same time lacks an element that would give coherence to the verb meaning with the existing content of the communication situation. The conditional meaning is then fully dependent on completing this element.

Just as the mirativity is, in my understanding, on the borderline between modality and evidentiality, G2 also combines these two categories. G2 contains most of the G1 evidential components, but the existence of an element that would give coherence with the verb meaning is presented as hypothetical, i.e. epistemically uncertain (represented in Figure 23 by the dashed line).

To sum up, by formulating a why question using the indicative the speaker directly asks for reasons why something is happening. Through the conditional, the speaker

implicitly construes his/her surprise at the inconsistency of a certain element of the communication situation with its previous course of action and requests the addition of information that would make it possible to anchor the verb meaning in relation to the communication situation.

An analysis of the meaning of "tener sentido" ('make sense') from example (94) according to the proposed interpretation follows. In the speaker's view, the proposed visit is not coherent with the communication situation and the speaker implicitly evaluates the proposal as surprising (subjective reflection of the speaker in G1′). The meaning of "make sense" is fully dependent on G2, which is construed as a partial copy of G1 where the link between "make sense" and the rest of the communication situation is missing. If the addressee can subsequently further specify the definitional characteristics of this secondary ground, i.e. to define the conditions that give meaning to and justify the proposed visit, the conditional meaning can become valid. If assuming such a clarification does not take place, the conditional meaning will remain virtual and will not be in any temporal or modal relation to G1.

5.5.2 5Aa "WHY WOULD YOU SAY THAT?" CONDITIONAL

As observed in Chapter 3.2.2, in English, the mirative-interactional conditional can be used in situations where the speaker does not intend to question the validity of the conditional meaning. The speaker only emphasises that the conditional meaning is inconsistent with the information available to him in G1. The corpus analysis did not reveal any occurrences of *would* that could be classified in the above manner. For completeness, I present below a manually-searched example that does not form part of the statistics, see (97).

(97) En (manually-searched example, outside the original concordance)
Me: "Why should I, you think I am a freak, an idiot and a nobody. Why would you fucking care?" She shook her head at me: "Why **would you say** that, Mellissa. I am here to help you. I am here to listen to you. I want to help you if I can. [...]."
'Yo: "Por qué habría de hacerlo, tú crees que soy un bicho raro, una idiota y un don nadie. ¿Por qué coño te importa?". Sacudió la cabeza y me preguntó: "¿Por qué **dices**$_{\text{PRS.IND}}$ eso, Mellissa? Estoy aquí para ayudarte. Estoy aquí para escucharte. Quiero ayudarte si puedo. [...].'"
'Já: „Proč bych měla? Myslíš si, že jsem divná, že jsem blbá, že nejsem nikdo. Proč by tě to sakra mělo zajímat?" Zavrtěla hlavou: „Proč tohle **říkáš**$_{\text{PRS.IND}}$, Melisso? Jsem tady, abych ti pomohla. Jsem tady, abych tě vyslechla. Chci ti pomoct, jestli budu moci [...]."'
AAM. bigclosetr.us. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

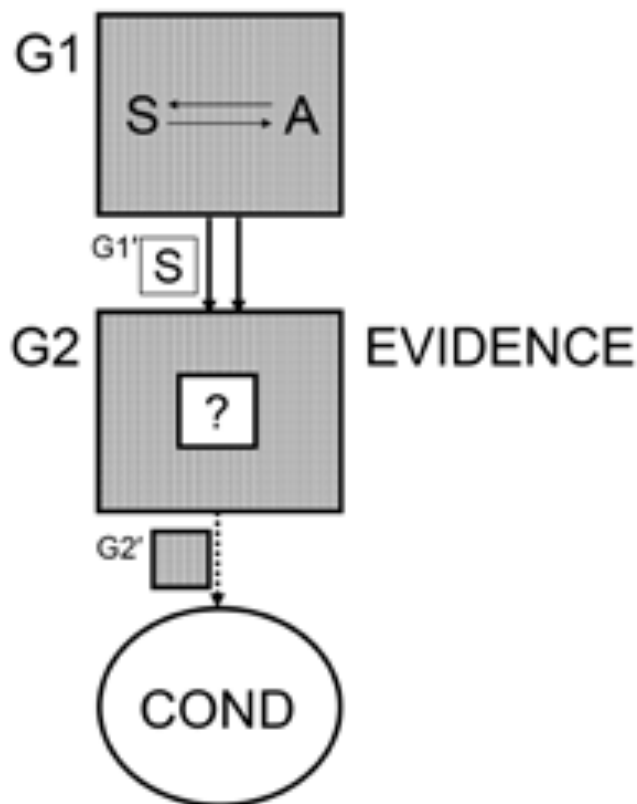The graphical representation is shown in Figure 24.

Figure 24. *Type 5Aa.*

The cognitive representation of Type 5Aa is largely identical to the default Type 5A but differs in the relationship between the conditional meaning and G2. G2 is construed here as fully evidential, with the existence of an element that would anchor the conditional meaning in relation to the rest of the communication situation being presupposed. In other words, the speaker is not questioning that such an element exists according to the addressee, thus (s)he is not even questioning the validity of the conditional meaning itself. The speaker is only accentuating that (s)he cannot identify this element, which results in surprise. The object of doubt here is not the existence of the element complementing G2 per se, but rather the question of whether, even after its complementation, it is possible to unambiguously infer the conditional meaning from G2, i.e. the accentuation of the dubitative-evaluative element.

5.5.3 5Ab QUESTION-ECHOING CONDITIONAL

Czech also has a specific subtype of conditional question which is used to echo a question, indirectly inviting the addressee to find the answer on his/her own using the information available in G1. Again, this is a subtype that was not found in the analysed concordance, but for the sake of completeness, I present a manually-searched example

(98). English does not have a systematic means of expressing this type of question. In Spanish, the periphrastic future can be used to express similar notions (see the Spanish translation of (98)).

(98) Cz (manually-searched example, outside the original concordance)
„Říkal vám něco?" zeptal jsem se.
„Co **by říkal**? Umí snad mluvit?" (literally: 'What would he say? Can he talk?')
'—¿Le ha dicho algo? —pregunté.
—¿Qué me **va a decir**$_{\text{say-PERIPHRASTIC.FUT.3SG}}$, si no sabe hablar?' (literally: 'What is he going to say if he cannot talk?')
'"Did he say anything to you?" I wanted to know.
"What **can he say**? D'you think he can talk?"'
InterCorp. Ivan Klíma – *Láska a smetí*. Spanish translation: Judit Romeu Labayen. English translation: Ewald Osers.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 25.
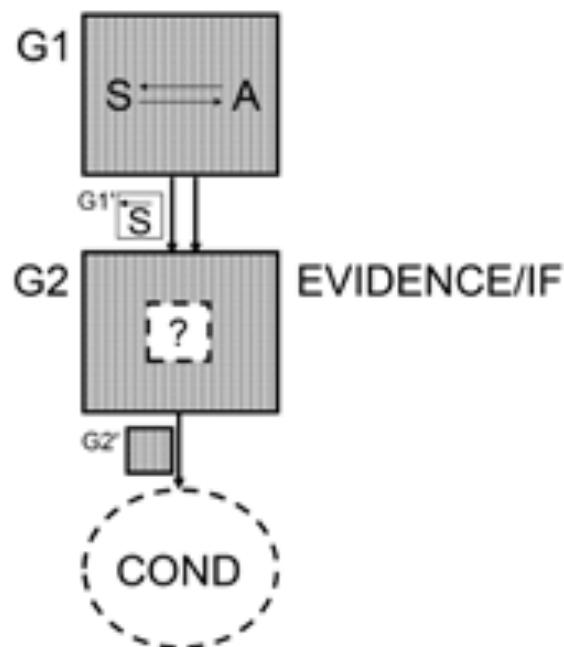
Figure 25. *Type 5Ab.*

The graphical representation of 5Ab is again largely identical to Type 5A. The conditional meaning is construed as hypothetical and resulting from the completion of G2, which echoes information available in G1 (i.e. its evidential element). The only difference is the motivation for creating the secondary ground. The speaker does not only express the astonishment at a particular G1 element, as in 5A, (s)he is also reacting to a question posed by the addressee (see the arrow representing A's communicative intentions in G1′).

The proposed interpretation applies to (98) in the following manner. The speaker is immediately responding to the addressee's question of whether the sentence subject said something. The speaker repeats the verb *říkat* ("say") and presents its validity as dependent pending the completion of G2. G2 is a secondary ground containing relevant information from G1, in this case particularly the fact that the subject cannot speak and thus cannot say anything. The speaker invites the addressee (with a modal shade of mockery) to formulate a condition that, while preserving the validity of the information that the subject cannot talk, could give validity to the meaning of the verb "say". The question *Co by říkal?* (literally: 'What would he say?') can thus be paraphrased as "define a situation in which a subject who is known not to be able to talk could say something".

5.5.4 5B MIRATIVE DUBITATION

Type 5B corresponds to the dubitative use of the Czech conditional, which shares some features with the Spanish dubitative (Type 3B) while also displaying many formal differences. The Czech dubitative can only appear in direct yes/no questions, dubitative interpretation is obligatorily marked by the particle *že* and, unlike *cantaría*, the Czech dubitative is atemporal. (99) represents an example of Czech dubitative expressing anteriority; (100) is an example of the prospectively oriented dubitative conditional.

(99) Cz
jo hale už maj zase za sto devět ten kelímek [pleťového krému] **že by začali** dělat nějaký akce?
'mira, esta taza [de crema de piel] cuesta ciento nueve otra vez ¿**habrán comenzado**[41] las promociones?'
'oh, look, this cup [of skin cream] costs one hundred and nine again maybe **they've started** a promotion?'
ORAL v1. 06U029N – visit. Spanish and English translation: author.

(100) Cz
takže takovej dobrej happening jo?. ty. to **že bych se přihlásila?**
'así que una especie de evento ¿no? vaya. **¿será**$_{CANTARÉ}$ **que me apunto?**'
'so a kind of nice happening right? wow. **I might apply**'
ORAL v1. 08A079N – conversation at home. Spanish and English translation: author.

The examples (99), (100) represent well the mirative element of the Czech atemporal dubitative, which the Spanish dubitative lacks. The dubitative question in Czech

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41   The form *habrán comenzado* corresponds here to present perfect dubitative.

is usually formulated as an immediate response to a surprising finding forming part of the current communication situation, i.e. the surprisingly low price of the cream (99) and the new information about the happening in the example (100).

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 26.
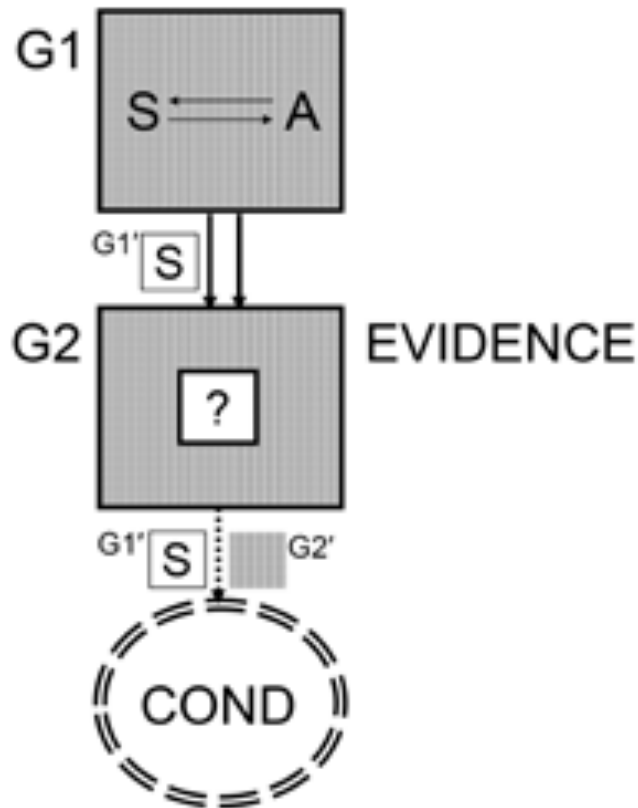
Figure 26. *Type 5B.*

The cognitive representation of the relationship between G2 and the conditional meaning is identical to Type 3B. The difference here is the atemporal nature of the Czech dubitative, which implies a different relationship between G1 and G2: G2 is not anterior with respect to G1, so the temporal boundary of G1 does not play a role here.

The conditional here subjectively reflects the speaker's distance from the verb meaning and the fact that this meaning is not directly dependent on G1. Figure 26 represents this through G1′ placed next to the arrow connecting G1 and G2. G1′ reflects only the speaker's surprise concerning an element of the communication situation. This surprise gives rise to G2, which contains most of the G1 components, but as with Type 5A, a unifying element is missing.

From the opposite perspective, it can be said that by using the conditional, the speaker indicates that the verb meaning cannot be (yet) fully anchored in G1 since some important logical links are missing. In response, the speaker implicitly construes G2 accentuating the missing G1 element (s)he is trying to find.

As with Type 5Aa, the existence of such an element is rather presupposed in this case, since the situation that caused the speaker's surprise actually occurred, but the speaker cannot explain it satisfactorily. The conditional meaning is then construed with a moderate degree of epistemic certainty since it results from the speaker's reasoning about the G2 content, where the speaker puts the available information together and considers whether the resulting picture establishes a sufficient reason for validating the conditional meaning. Figure 26 represents this (by analogy with Type 3B corresponding to the paste tense dubitative, see Chapter 5.3.2) through a reflection of the speaker and his/her reasoning in G1′ placed next to the arrow connecting G2 and COND. The conditional meaning also subjectively reflects the G2 content as the speaker attempts to reconstruct it. Unlike with Type 5A, the conditional meaning is not construed as directly dependent on completing G2; rather, it is the result of the speaker's process of reasoning about G2, so in the graphical representation G2′ does not reflect the delimitation line of this primer.

5.5.5 5C "WOULD YOU BELIEVE THAT" CONDITIONAL

Another type of conditional with a strong mirative component is inherent to spoken language and occurs primarily in Czech and English. Spanish prefers a construction with the modal verb *poder* ("can") in similar contexts, see (101). For Type 5C, the defining characteristic is the speaker's surprise at a certain element of the communication situation, followed by the formulation of a question in the conditional to confirm this element.

(101) Cz
To ještě nevíš, co holky vymyslely, když to mamá přinesla a každý věnovala po pilulce, představ si, že nejdřív to spolkly a potom jim bylo strašně dobře, tak jako v puse a v okolí ksichtu vůbec, mně to jde úžasně na oči a taky se po tom dobře dejchá nosem, jako by sis vzal mátovej bonbon, **věřil bys** tomu?
'Aún no sabes lo que se les ocurrió a las chicas cuando Mamá lo trajo y obsequió a todos con una pastilla, ¡imagínate! Al principio se sentían genial, en la boca y por toda la cara. A mí me va fenomenal para los ojos y luego también se respira bien por la nariz, como si tomaras un caramelo de menta, ¿te lo **puedes**$_{can-PRS.2SG}$ **creer**$_{believe-INF}$?'
'And I haven't told you yet what the girls thought up when Madame brought it and gave them a pill each. Just imagine, first they swallowed it and they had a fantastic sensation in their mouths and all around their faces. I found it was great for my eyes, and it helps clear my nose, like when you take a peppermint drop, **would you believe**?'
InterCorp. Miloš Urban – *Lord Mord*. Spanish translation: Kepa Uharte. English translation: Gerard Turner.

The graphical representation is shown in Figure 27.
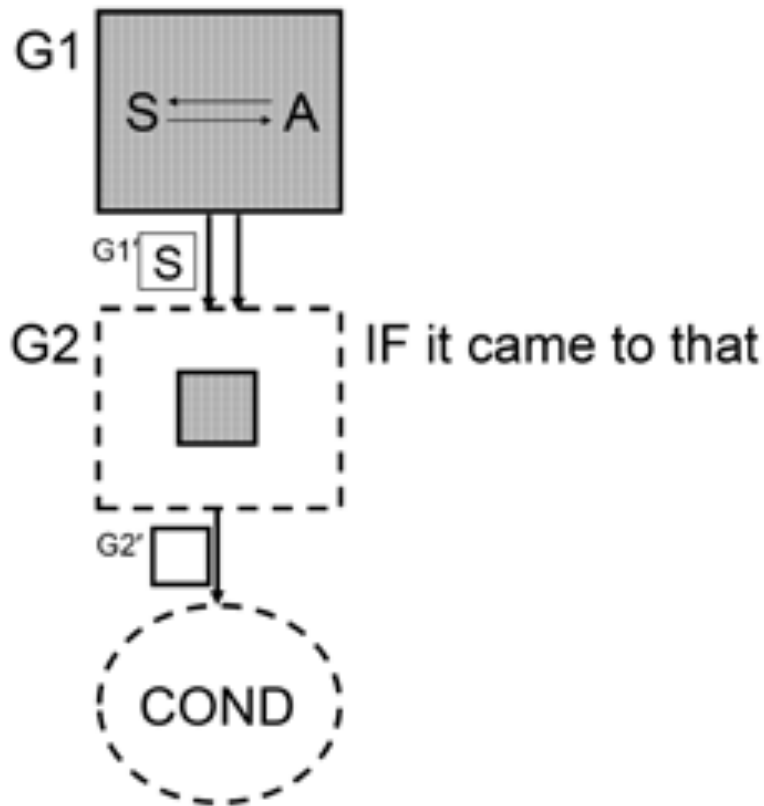
Figure 27. *Type 5C.*

The cognitive representation is similar to the hypothetical Type 1D. The conditional meaning is not subject to any specific condition; it is entirely speculative. Thus, the definitional characteristics of G2 can again be formulated highly schematically as "if it came to that". The difference in Type 5C is in the relation of G2 to G1. As in all Type 5, the secondary ground is construed as an immediate response to an unexpected component of G1, this component being the only known element of G2. Thus, Type 5C can also be understood as an indirect request for adding a piece of information that would define G2 in more detail.

Applied to (101), the proposed interpretation of the meaning of *věřil bys tomu* "would you believe that" is as follows: "is the addressee able to imagine a situation that would make the meaning of 'believe' valid while also preserving the validity of the information we already have regarding the topic (i.e. the described properties of the pill)?"

5.5.6 STATISTICS

Table 13 shows that the interactional mirative conditional is, as expected, virtually absent from the academic register (Im). Given that less than 17% of the occurrences came from the spoken corpus, where the highest frequency of Type 5 could be expect-

Table 13. *Type 5 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	Type	Freq ALL	%Type / Whole corpus	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	%Type / SP corpus	%Type / EN corpus	%Type / CZ corpus	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
II	Interactional mirative	48	2.7	5	12	31	0.8	2.0	5.2	30 (10)	8	9	1
III	Subtype	Freq ALL	% Subtype / Type A	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Subtype / SP Type 1	% Subtype / EN Type 1	% Subtype / CZ Type 1	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
IV	5A	41	85.4	5	12	24	100.0	100.0	77.4	27 (9)	6	7	1
V	5B	3	6.3	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	9.7	0	1	2	0
VI	5C	4	8.3	0	0	4	0.0	0.0	12.9	3 (1)	1	0	0

ed, the overall frequency of this type in the sample was relatively low (comparable in absolute numbers to the modal-evidential Type 3, which had a total of 44 occurrences). Type 5A, which is used in all the languages studied (IVg–i), significantly dominates the respective subtypes in terms of frequency.

5.6 TYPE 6: GROUND ECHOING CONDITIONAL

Type 6, which I call the ground echoing conditional, can be found in Czech and in English. In both languages, this conditional type is primarily used in spoken language, which is probably the main reason why it appears only marginally in my language sample (see Statistics in Chapter 5.6.6).

Type 6 shares a number of features with type 5. In both cases, it is a strongly evidential conditional, where the speaker builds G2 in response to a specific element from G1. The validity of the conditional meaning is not questioned here, so the conditional lacks an epistemic component. Compared to Type 5, the mirative component is extremely weakened since the speaker construes a secondary ground that extracts a specific element from G1 to emphasise that element, not to express his/her surprise. Type 6 can take several forms in an actual communication, which differ in the nature of the element that is extracted from G1 although their basic cognitive representation is identical. For the sake of clarity, I distinguish the individual subtypes here as well, but the cognitive representation appears at the very end of the chapter and is analogous for all of them.

5.6.1 6A "I WOULD HOPE SO" CONDITIONAL

Type 6A, which I will call the "I would hope so" conditional, was found among both the Czech and the English occurrences forming my corpus. With this conditional type, the speaker construes the verb meaning in an immediate and emphatic response to the addressee's words and the verb meaning displays a strong relation to the previous communication content, see (102) and (103) for concrete examples.

(102) En
Oh it's better than buying a new one isn't it?
I **would hope** so.
'Es mejor que comprar uno nuevo, ¿no?
Eso **espero**$_{\text{hope-prs.ind.1sg}}$.'
'To je lepší než kupovat nový, ne?
No to **doufám**$_{\text{hope-prs.ind.1sg}}$.'

BNC Oral.[42] BNC: KSV. S_conv. SP:PS1K4, SP:PS1BY. *25 Convs Rec. by 'Richard2' (PS1BY) between 21 and 27 Feb 1992 with 8 i's.* Spanish and Czech translation: author.

(103) Cz

„[…] Dnešní čtenář se nad jeho hrůzostrašnými scénami popadá za břicho – třeba když soše zavražděného knížete Alfonsa Dobrého vytryskne z nosu krev. Opravdu pitomá situace – socha potřebuje kapesník. Ale neznamená to, že při jiných scénách ti nevstávají hrůzou vlasy na hlavě."

„To **bych řekla**. Co ti v Otrantském zámku připadalo nejstrašnější?"

'—[…] El lector actual se desternilla de risa ante sus escenas espeluznantes…, por ejemplo, cuando a la estatua del príncipe asesinado Alfonso el Bueno le sale sangre por la nariz. Realmente es una situación penosa: la estatua necesita un pañuelo. Pero eso no significa que en otras escenas no se te erice el pelo de miedo.

—Eso **diría** yo. ¿Qué te pareció más aterrador de la novela?'

'"[…] The modern reader finds his scenes of would-be hair-raising horror quite ludicrous – as when the statue of the good Duke Alfonso has a nosebleed. Pretty silly, isn't it? A statue in need of a handkerchief! But there are some scenes in The Castle of Otranto that really do make your hair stand on end."

"I **should say** so! What did you find most horrifying?"' (literally: 'I would say so! What did you find most horrifying?')

InterCorp. Miloš Urban – *Sedmikostelí*. Spanish translation: Kepa Uharte Mendicoa. English translation: Robert Russel.

5.6.2 6B "TO BYCHOM MĚLI" CONDITIONAL

As observed in Chapter 3.3.2, the Czech "to bychom měli" conditional also displays a strong relationship to an element of the communication situation. A typical context for its use is shown in (104).

(104) Cz

no jo u mě to mělo fungovat taky ale. že by se ten projekt vy* měl vypálit na disk rovnou… (kašel)

hmm … (oknem je slyšet hluk) a jo dobrý. to nechci (nesrozumitelné) takže **todle by běželo**.

'bueno, a mí también me debería funcionar, pero el proyecto *debería* grabarse en el disco directamente. (tos)

---

hmm… (ruido a través de la ventana) y sí, vale. no quiero que pase eso. (ininteligible) **así que esto funciona**~run-PRS.IND.3SG~.'

'well, it should work for me too, but the project *should* be burned to disk right away. (cough)

hmm… (noise through window) and yeah, okay. I don't want that. (unintelligible) **so this works ok**.'

ORAL v1. 11P023N – conversation in a group activity. Spanish and English translation: author.

The example (104) comes from a conversation between people working together on a computer. The conditional *todle by běželo* (literally: 'this would run') is used not to dispute the verb meaning (the program actually runs), but to emphasise a particular element of the communication situation that the speaker is extracting from it. Thus, the difference between the use of the indicative and the conditional is again in the anchoring of the verb meaning in relation to G1. With the indicative *todle běží*~run-PRS.IND.3SG~ ("this runs"), the speaker fully anchors the verb meaning in G1 and presents it as relevant to the further development of the communication as a whole. The conditional represents the meaning or "run" as relevant only in relation to one specific element of the communication situation, in this case the actual launching of the program, thus removing and drawing attention to this element from the G1.

5.6.3 6c "that would be me" conditional

In terms of cognitive representation, the English "that would be me" conditional functions in the same way as the Czech TBMCond. Although it is a relatively common type in spoken language, it did not occur in the concordance analysed. For completeness, I again present a manually-searched example that does not form part of the statistics, see (105).

(105) En (manually-searched example, outside the original concordance)

I heart travel, writing, yoga, pretty journals and have the sense of humor of a 12-year--old boy. I get sarcastic when I'm nervous. Or when I'm confident. You'll just never know. **That would be me** to the right, but my hair rarely looks like that nice.

'Me encantan los viajes, la escritura, el yoga, las revistas bonitas y tengo el sentido del humor de un niño de 12 años. Me pongo sarcástica cuando estoy nerviosa. O cuando estoy segura de mí misma. Eso nunca lo sabrás. La de la derecha **soy**~be-PRS.IND.1SG~ **yo**, pero mi pelo rara vez se ve así de bonito.'

'Miluju cestování, psaní, jógu, hezké časopisy a mám smysl pro humor dvanáctiletého kluka. Když jsem nervózní, bývám sarkastická. Nebo když jsem si sama sebou jistá. To prostě nikdy nepoznáte. Ta napravo, **to jsem**~be-PRS.IND.1SG~ **já**, ale moje vlasy málokdy vypadají takhle hezky.'

AAM. marianlibrarian.com. Spanish and Czech translation: author.

The example (105) comes from a personal website where the author introduces herself and invites readers to look at a photo where she appears with other people. The meaning of "be" is then presented as real, as it was in the Czech example (104), but relevant only in relation to one particular element of G1. In (105), this element is the photograph to which the author draws attention. The speaker does not intend to inform the reader that she exists, only to present her existence in relation to the photograph in question. In this way, the photograph is emphasised, while at the same time this usage has a certain politeness effect in shifting the attention away from the speaker talking about herself.

This is also the reason why we can encounter a similar use of the conditional, e.g. in a situation where a nurse in the waiting room calls a patient by name. I recall the example (31) from Chapter 3.2.2, repeated here as (106):

(106)
(Nurse calling a patient in the waiting room): Mr Smith?
Mr Smith: That **would be** me.

The response *That would be me* in (106) construes the speaker's identity as relevant only in relation to the nurse's question. In other words, the speaker makes it clear that he does not assume that the nurse is interested in who he is, the only reason for calling the patient's name is to invite him into the doctor's office.

5.6.4 COGNITIVE REPRESENTATION

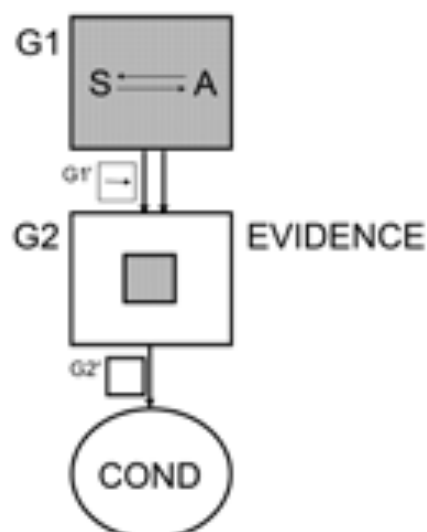The graphical representation of Types 6A–C is shown in Figure 28.

Figure 28. *Type 6.*

Figure 28 captures the above-proposed way of interpreting Type 6 as follows. In response to one particular G1 element, the speaker construes G2. The speaker does not find this element surprising, so the mirative element is absent and the relation between G1 and G2 can only be interpreted as an attempt to modify the verb meaning, i.e. G1′ reflects the speaker's communication intention. G2 is evidential, non-hypothetical and contains only one specific G1 element on which all the attention is focused. The verb meaning is construed in relation only to this isolated element, not in relation to G1 as a whole. As always, the validity of the conditional meaning is fully subordinated to the existence of G2, with G2 being an artificial ground containing only one particular G1 component chosen by the speaker. If this component can be removed from G1 and viewed in the way the speaker proposes within G2, the conditional meaning becomes valid. Should the addressee disagree and reject the way G2 is construed, the verb meaning becomes irrelevant.

5.6.5 DISCUSSION REGARDING OTHER APPROACHES TO THE "THAT WOULD BE ME" CONDITIONAL

The "that would be me" conditional has been subjected to extensive scrutiny in contemporary linguistics. The papers by the trio of authors Ward, Birner and Kaplan (Ward et al. 2003; 2007; Birner et al. 2007; Ward 2011) can be considered as pioneering in its focusing on this type of *would*. Ward et al. analyse the TWBMCond from the perspective of pragmatics. They define the initial condition for its use in terms of an open proposition (OP) containing several options from which the speaker chooses only one (or some higher, but always finite, number of valid options). Thus, the TWBMCond can only be implemented in contexts where an exhaustive answer to the question concerning the identity of the entity referred to by Ward et al. as X is expected. In (105), the OP would correspond to the identity of the person in the photograph; in (106), it is the identity of the people in the waiting room, the assumption being that only one of them is Mr Smith.

The second important element is the high level of the speaker's confidence, for which the authors assume empirical verifiability. This is confirmed by an experimental study conducted by Gravano et al. (2008) where the participants rated the degree of certainty of *that would be x* constructions in contrast *to that is x*. The results then showed that the participants attributed a greater degree of certainty to the *would* constructions than to their unmodalised counterparts. Thus, *would* does not function as a means of expressing epistemic distance here, but rather as a certainty emphasiser (at least from the perspective of the addressee).

The existence of an OP as a necessary prerequisite for using the TWBMCond is questioned by Song (2008) and Kim (2017). However, the examples they provide in the discussion are more consistent with the tentative *would* and do not reflect a high degree of speaker confidence. An OP with the implicit question "Who is the person in the

picture?" is moreover disputed in (105), where the focus is on the speaker's personality rather than on the photograph.

The OP concept is further questioned by Celle, who argues that "'That would be me' cannot be taken to be an equivalent of the equative assertion 'X is me'" (2012, 152). Celle (2012; 2018) rejects Ward et al.'s approach and defines the TWBMCond as a marker of modal remoteness, while also pointing out the importance of its contextual involvement and its relation to the communication situation. The characteristics of the TWBMCond according to Celle are best explained using her own example, listed here as (107).

(107)
Ew, what smells?
That would be me, or more specifically, my patient's insides all over me.
(Lextutor TV Marlise: http://www.lextutor.ca/concordancers/corpus_descriptions.html, taken from Celle 2012, 153.)

According to Celle, *would* points out the conformity between two entities (in (107), these entities are the speaker and the suspicious odour). Modal remoteness in Celle's approach does not imply the speaker's uncertainty, but rather his/her willingness to be disassociated from the utterance content: "by putting forward some inherent conformity between the entities that are being equated, the speaker avoids claiming responsiveness for the utterance" (Celle 2012, 153). Commenting upon the same example, the author later states that through *would* "the speaker supplies a piece of information that will predictably sound surprising to the addressee" (Celle 2018, 27).

I agree with Celle that attention should be drawn to the relation between *would* and the external situation that is implicitly invoked in the utterance through the conditional. It is then the implicit reference to the external situation and its connection to the utterance content that, in my view, is the basic function of this type of *would* and distinguishes it from an analogous construction without a modal auxiliary. On the other hand, I disagree with Celle on two points. I find the notions of "presumably surprising information" and of "avoiding responsiveness for the utterance" that the author mentions to be questionable. I fail to see them in any of the examples cited above.

My claim is that the notion of G2 can provide an explanation for all the above mentioned controversial points. G2 picks out one particular element from a communication situation, which is at the same time emphasised in this way. It may be an explicit question as in (106) and (107), but it may also be another available element (like the photograph in (105)). The verb meaning is entirely dependent on inseparable from this element.

As with other conditional types, the truth validity of the conditional meaning as such is irrelevant here; what is relevant is whether the G2 construction offered by the speaker, on which the COND depends, is accepted by the addressee. If G2 is rejected, COND loses its validity. In the "nurse entering the waiting room example" (106), the correct apprehension of G2 is perhaps most patent. If the patient misunderstood

the nurse's question (e.g. the patient misheard, the nurse's question did not refer to the identity of the person in the waiting room, the nurse called another person named Smith), the validity of "be me" will become null. Of course, this does not mean that the patient stops being called Smith, but the information "Smith = me" will completely lose its anchorage in the communication situation, i.e. in the ground.

5.6.6 STATISTICS

Due to the very low frequency of Type 6 in the corpus, it is difficult to draw relevant conclusions from Table 14. It is possible to conclude that Type 6 was slightly more frequent in the Czech language sample (compared to the English subcorpus) and no uses of *cantaría* were found in the Spanish corpus that showed features typical of this type.

Table 14. *Type 6 and its subtypes in the corpus.*

Row/Column	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
I	**Type**	**Freq ALL**	**% Type / Whole corpus**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Type / SP corpus**	**% Type / EN corpus**	**% Type / CZ corpus**	**Freq Parallel**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
II	Ground echoing	10	0.6	0	1	9	0.0	0.2	1.5	2	1	6	1
III	**Subtype**	**Freq ALL**	**% Subtype / Type A**	**Freq SP**	**Freq EN**	**Freq CZ**	**% Subtype / SP Type 1**	**% Subtype / EN Type 1**	**% Subtype / CZ Type 1**	**Freq Parallel**	**Freq Araneum**	**Freq Oral**	**Freq Academic**
IV	6A	6	60.0	0	1	5	–	100.0	55.6	1	1	3	1
V	6B	4	40.0	0	0	4	–	0.0	44.4	1	0	3	0
VI	6C	0	–	0	0	0	–	–	–	0	0	0	0

6.

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 GENERAL STATISTICS

Table 15 summarises the frequency-related information about each conditional type, as presented progressively in Chapter 5. Types 1, 2 and 4 unsurprisingly prevail in this respect. For Spanish, together they account for 91.9% of all occurrences of *cantaría* (Column g). For English, they represent 97.8% of all occurrences of *would* (Column h). For Czech, 93.3% of non-congruential uses of *zpíval bych* were labelled as hypothetical or mitigating.

Strongly evidential Types 3, 5 and 6 appeared in less than 10% of cases. The reasons for this are, in my opinion, different for Type 3 and Types 5–6. The modal-inferential Spanish conditional (Types 3A–C) is probably the most complex type examined here in terms of combining a modal-inferential element with past-tense reference. This makes Types 3A–C an important systemic component of the morphological expression of probability in Spanish, but in practice, it is difficult to find contexts that require such a specifically defined verb meaning. The quotative subtype 3D, which does not have a clearly defined temporal orientation, dominated this group in terms of frequency (see Chapter 5.3.5). Types 5 and 6 lack both inferential and past-tense references, but nevertheless are strongly tied to the communication situation. This predisposes them to be used primarily in spoken language, a register that was not sufficiently represented in the language sample to examine these types in more detail in terms of actual usage.

Taking the individual subtypes into account, for Spanish, the most frequent subtype was 2A Future-of-the-past: sequence of tenses (179 occurrences, i.e. 29.8% of all Spanish conditionals, see Chapter 5.2.4). This subtype had a very similar absolute frequency in English, where it was also the most frequent (167 occurrences, i.e. 27.8% of all English conditionals, see Chapter 5.2.4). However, these numbers may be influenced by the high frequency of fiction texts written in the past tense forming the parallel subcorpus. In Czech, the most frequent subtype was 1C Progressive development of a virtual scenario (148 occurrences, i.e. 24.7% of all Czech conditionals).

Table 15. *Conditional types in the corpus.*

Row/Column	Type	Freq ALL	% Type / Whole corpus	Freq SP	Freq EN	Freq CZ	% Type / SP corpus	% Type / EN corpus	% Type / CZ corpus	Freq Parallel (Freq/3)	Freq Araneum	Freq Oral	Freq Academic
	a	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**	**j**	**k**	**l**	**m**
I													
II	1 Hypothetical	903	50.2	211	258	434	35.2	43.0	72.3	395 (132)	167	142	199
III	2 Temporal	501	27.8	246	255	0	41.0	42.5	0.0	387 (129)	43	25	46
IV	3 Modal-evidential	44	2.4	44	0	0	7.3	0.0	0.0	10 (3)	10	10	14
V	4 Mitigating	294	16.3	94	74	126	15.7	12.3	21.0	76 (25)	71	108	39
VI	5 Interactional mirative	48	2.7	5	12	31	0.8	2.0	5.2	30 (10)	8	9	1
VII	6 Ground echoing	10	0.6	0	1	9	0.0	0.2	1.5	2 (1)	1	6	1

6.2 CONDITIONAL IN THE LIGHT
OF COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

In the context of this monograph, the conditional has been analysed through the abstract grounding theory. Ground is more specifically apprehended here than in Langacker's original concept and I orient it in relation to modality, tense and evidentiality. This approach allows me to see the conditional as a relative verb form in a broad sense. While the opposition between relative and absolute tenses is generally accepted in linguistics, relativity in respect to modality and evidentiality seems to be an under-explored topic. The concept of the secondary ground, which clearly implies relativity, makes it possible to grasp the relative dimension of modality and evidentiality.

The conditional in all the languages examined here can be interpreted with respect to an implicit G2, whose definitional characteristics then define the validity of the conditional meaning. In my understanding, each of the analysed conditional uses expresses some type of relative relation to G1. To understand this relation, G2 and its connection to G1 must always be taken into account. Defining the conditional meaning through G1 and G2 components then proves to be a tool for accurately capturing the shades of meaning that the conditional expresses as well as comparing them across languages.

A systematic comparison of the Spanish and English conditionals, which have a close relationship to the future tense, with the Czech conditional, which lacks a similar characteristic, challenges the theory that the hypothetical meanings of *cantaría* and *would* evolved from temporal meanings. In Chapters 5.1 and 5.4 it was possible to observe that the hypothetical and mitigating usages are comparable in the three languages, regardless of the different origins of the respective conditional forms. If the Czech conditional functioned originally as pluperfect indicative as Kosek (2017b) states, the default value of this verb form can be defined for all the languages examined here as one of relativity. For Czech, however, this initial value is completely devoid of prospectivity.

The different conditional types presented in this monograph can be understood as gradual categories. Indeed, several borderline examples have been pointed out throughout the text. Analogies in the cognitive representation of the different types have also been systematically highlighted, emphasising their mutual semantic proximity. My claim is that the graphical representation proposed in this monograph makes it possible to see even very subtle differences in meaning and put them in relation to temporal, modal or evidential components of the ground, thus also defining them in detail.

6.3 *CANTARÍA* IN CONTRAST WITH *WOULD* AND *ZPÍVAL BYCH* AND ITS PLACE IN THE SPANISH TME SYSTEM

The contrastive approach to the Spanish conditional allows us to identify functions of *cantaría* that can be considered typical for Spanish or Romance languages, i.e. lacking English and Czech counterparts. The analyses clearly show that these are the modal--inferential and quotative uses, defined collectively as the modal-evidential Type 4. Thus, the analyses suggest that the evidential component of *cantaría* is of a different nature than the evidential component of *would* and *zpíval bych* defining the interactional mirative Type 5 and the echoic Type 6. The English and Czech conditionals show a number of interactional uses that put the verb meaning in direct relation to the communication situation. In *cantaría*, evidential functions lacking a similar interactional component predominate.

To conclude, I now briefly return to the traditional question of how to classify *cantaría* in the Spanish TME system. In light of the above analyses, the best possible answer seems to be that *cantaría* is a relative verbal form involved equally in the expression of temporal, modal and evidential meanings. In the hypothetical and mitigation interpretation, *cantaría* functions as relative indicative, i.e. a verb form expressing factuality not in relation to the moment of speech, but in relation to a hypothetical situation. In its temporal uses *cantaría* functions primarily as relative future tense. I accept the hypothesis proposed by Zavadil (1980) and further elaborated in Zavadil and Čermák (2010) and Kratochvílová (2018b) that the probabilitive, dubitative and admissive uses of *cantaré, habré cantado, cantaría* and *habría cantado* can be understood as a specific verbal mood: the probabilitive, which also shows a strong inferential, i.e. evidential, component. In this sense, *cantaría* in its modal inferential interpretation (Types 3A–C) is relative probabilitive. Probability (in a broad sense, i.e. including dubitation and admission) is dependent on a particular past situation and the speaker's reflecting on it. In the quotative interpretation (Type 3D), *cantaría* is again relative indicative construing the validity of the utterance as dependent on the source of information. Finally, in the mirative use, *cantaría* is also relative indicative. With the mirative use, the speaker presents the verb meaning as factual only if information allowing to define its relationship to the current ground is added.

6.4 PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This monograph aimed to present the Spanish conditional in the light of cognitive grammar and compare it with the conditional in two typologically different languages: English and Czech. The text can also be read as a proposal to use Langacker's grounding theory for systemic comparisons of different languages.

Methodologically, the monograph draws on parallel and monolingual corpora and authentic language material.

The methodology of working with the graphical representation of the ground and its elements proved to be sufficiently flexible in its application to concrete linguistic material and allowed a detailed analysis of the shades of the meaning of the conditional form in all the languages under study. The work has also pointed out the non-negligible evidential element that the conditional exhibits, even in usages not primarily associated with this category, such as hypothetical, temporal or mitigation ones.

The methodology proposed here offers prospects for further research, primarily in two areas:

a) a detailed cognitively oriented analysis of meanings expressed through grounding elements in a particular language,

b) a comparison of the meanings of seemingly analogous constructions across languages. The analysis of the ground with respect to its temporal, modal and evidential components and their reflection in an utterance through the grounding elements could be used in the future to study other polyfunctional paradigms, whether in Spanish, English or another language (offering, for example, the question of the functions of the congruential conditional in Czech and the possibility of capturing these functions through the proposed analysis).

The contrastive element of the proposed analysis then offers prospects for future study of the functioning of the conditional in another language and a comparison of the functions of this verb form with the Spanish conditional.

For Spanish linguistics, which is my main interest, the possibility is then offered of comparing the functions of different paradigms with similar functions and capturing the differences in their meaning through the methodology proposed here (e.g. the difference between synthetic and analytic future or the difference between the past tense imperfect and the simple past tense *indefinido* in environments allowing their alternation).

RÉSUMÉ

The monograph examines the Spanish conditional and compares it with the English and Czech conditionals. The conditional is viewed through the prism of cognitive grammar, with the analyses being primarily based on the theory of grounding and subjectivity as defined by Langacker.

The introductory chapters define the terms with which I work, i.e. grounding (the communicative situation in which the speaker and addressee(s) find themselves), grounding elements (the grammaticalised elements through which we implicitly refer to the ground without explicitly mentioning it) and subjectivity in Langacker's sense (the degree of implicitness with which the ground is referred to in the utterance).

In the chapters devoted to the conditional in Spanish, English, and Czech, I present an overview of the conditional forms in each of these languages, outline their evolution and continue with an overview of the functions that the conditional displays in these languages. The emphasis here is on systemic comparison; I consistently point out functions of the conditional that are analogous in all the languages under study and functions that can be found in only one or two of the languages analysed.

The core of the monograph consists in the analysis of 1,800 authentic uses of Spanish, English and Czech conditionals, which come from language corpora consisting of different types of texts (fiction, academic texts, Internet language and transcripts of oral speeches). The analysed language sample is balanced in terms of the different languages and text types represented. The analysis of the linguistic material is based on Langacker's conception of the ground introduced earlier, but at the same time offers my own approach to defining the concept, which emphasises the individual components that make up the ground. In the analysis, I distinguish between the temporal boundaries of the communication situation, which I take to be the basis of the category of tense, the speaker's person and his/her thinking, which I take to be the basis of the category of modality, and the elements of the communication situation available to its participants, which I take to be the basis of the category of evidentiality.

I understand the formal exponent of the conditional in all the languages under study (the suffix *-ría* in Spanish, the modal *would* in English and the auxiliary *by-* in combination with the -l- participle in Czech) as the prototypical grounding elements through which the speaker puts the verbal meaning in a certain relation to the ground.

At the same time, in my analyses, I consistently take into account the specific elements of the ground as described above and their reflection in the verb meaning.

In the analysis of the linguistic material, I distinguish six basic functions of the conditional, for which I subsequently define three to four subtypes each time. I distinguish *the hypothetical conditional, the temporal conditional, the modal-evidential conditional, the mitigating conditional, the interactional mirative conditional* and *the ground echoing conditional*. I define each type through authentic examples coming from the corpus and through a graphical representation that works with the components of the ground as described above. This analysis allows me to define a unified account of the conditional in all the languages studied: the conditional form implies a secondary highly implicit (subjective) ground (referred to as G2) on which the conditional meaning depends. This secondary ground always has some relation to the primary ground, i.e. to the actual communication situation (denoted as G1). The different types of conditional use then differ from each other in the relation of G2 to G1 and in the elements of G2 that are implicitly reflected in the conditional meaning. The analysis makes it possible to describe even the very subtle shades of meaning that different uses of the conditional express, and to define the temporal, modal and evidential components of the conditional uses in all the languages examined.

The final chapter then summarises the basic correspondences and differences between the Spanish conditional and the English and Czech conditionals. The Spanish conditional is defined as a relative verb form. The concept of relative modality and relative evidential are introduced and put in analogy with the relative tenses.

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