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The modal perfect: *haya cantado* and *habré cantado* in some varieties of modern Spanish

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Abstract: The numerous studies on the perfect compound form in Spanish lack a detailed analysis of the subjunctive and future forms (*haya cantado* and *habré cantado*), which under certain syntactic and pragmatic conditions are parallel to the indicative one, *he cantado*. Based on our knowledge of the Spanish indicative present perfect and its use in different Spanish-speaking areas, this paper deals with the distribution and functions of these two “modalised perfects” and their relationship with the corresponding simple forms (*cantara* and *cantaría*). The aim is to determine the extent to which these two pairs of forms are functionally and diatopically similar (or not) to the pair *he cantado* – *canté*. Our findings help us to better understand the functions of all simple and compound perfect forms in Spanish and their development in eight Spanish-speaking cities in Spain and the Americas.

Keywords: Subjunctive perfect, conjecture perfect, variational distribution, indefinite temporality, time correlations, functional development

1 Introduction

1.1 The study of variation in the use of the Spanish indicative simple and compound perfect has made significant progress in recent decades. Veiga’s extensive bibliography (2019) confirms the interest aroused by this subject, especially as suitable tools are provided for collecting and analysing extensive data on the di-

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alectal and pragmatic conditions under which these forms tend to appear. There are arguably no other temporal forms in Spanish with greater diatopic variation. However, thanks to the effort being made to address this dispersion, also from a diachronic point of view (e.g., Rodríguez Molina 2010; Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017; 2021; 2022), the semantic and cognitive processes that both separate and unite the different uses of the Spanish *perfecto compuesto* (hereafter, “present perfect” PP) and *perfecto simple* (“simple past” SP¹), as well as their dialectal distribution (Veiga 2014a, 2019; Azpiazu 2019), are now increasingly better understood.

Surprisingly enough, with a few exceptions (Kempas 2006a, 2008, 2012 and 2014, from a synchronic perspective, and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017 from a diachronic one) there has not been such an interest among scholars for studying the parallel form of the PP in the subjunctive mood, that is, *haya cantado*.² The reason may be that this form is generally considered to be the exact correspon-

1 From now on, PP and SP refer to the indicative forms *he cantado* and *canté*, respectively, in their “straight” uses (Rojo 1974), that is, in strictly temporal and modal “neutral” or unmarked functions. To refer to the other two pairs of forms involved in this study, *haya cantado* – *cantara* and *habré cantado* – *cantaría*, for reasons explained later in the text (§2.1) I will be using simply the acronyms CF (compound form) – SF (simple form), to which I will add two more symbols: S0 and I1, respectively. These last two acronyms have been taken from Veiga’s theory of the modal-temporal organisation of Spanish verb forms (Veiga 1992, 61–62; also in Rojo/Veiga 1999, 2897, among many other works by this author), who establishes five modal functions: IND 0, SUBJ 0, IND 1, IND 2 and SUBJ 2. The first two correspond to the strictly temporal use of all the indicative forms’ (IND 0) and all the subjunctive forms’ paradigm (SUBJ 0). They are the “straight” use of the forms, according to Rojo (1974), where the temporal meaning is in the foreground. IND 1 is the first “dislocation” case in Rojo (1974), and Rojo/Veiga (1999). It concerns the forms expressing posteriority (to the moment of speech: *cantaré*, *habré cantado*, or to a reference point in the past: *cantaría*, *habría cantado*), when they express anteriority or simultaneity with an added modal nuance of “uncertainty” (Veiga 1992) or “conjecture” (NGLE 2009), as in: *Supongo que ya **habrá llegado*** ‘I suppose he **will have arrived**’. Finally, IND 2 concerns indicative forms that have also undergone the first case of dislocation and have a past reference point (conditionals: *cantaría* and *habría cantado*). SUBJ 2 concerns subjunctive forms also anchored in the past (*cantara* and *hubiera cantado*). In both pairs of forms, the dislocation makes them abandon their straight temporal meaning and adopt a modal value of irreality. According to this approach, both simple forms considered here, *cantara* and *cantaría*, are modal and temporal multifunctional: *cantaría* may be IND 0, IND 1 and IND 2 (Veiga 1996a); *cantara* may be SUBJ 0 and SUBJ 2. I will be ignoring the dislocation uses of *cantaría* and *cantara* as irreality forms (IND 2 and SUBJ 2) and focusing exclusively on their functions as forms contrasting with, respectively, *habré cantado* in IND 1 and *haya cantado* in SUBJ 0.

2 As in other works, and in order to avoid the ambiguity and opacity of the traditional terminology, I will be referring here to all forms either with the acronyms described in footnote 1 or with the conjugated form in the 1st person singular of the example verb *cantar* (“to sing”). In the case of the subjunctive imperfect, I will take only the *-ra* ending, which seems to be more frequent in modern Spanish than *-se* (see a summary of the evidence in Veiga 2006, §2.9.6). The indicative residual cases of *cantara* are not taken into account here (see e.g., Veiga 2006, §2.11).

dence of the PP in constructions where, for syntactic-semantic reasons, the presence of the subjunctive is required, as between (1a) and (1b) (Veiga 1992, 197–198):

- (1a) *Los bomberos **han llegado** a tiempo* ‘The firemen **have arrived**_[PP]³ in time’
 (1b) *Ojalá los bomberos **hayan llegado** a tiempo* ‘I hope the firemen **have arrived**_[CF-SO] in time’

The classical works on the temporal forms of the Spanish verbal paradigm (e.g., Rojo 1974, the GDLE 1999, and the NGLE 2009) treat this form very superficially, as they consider it a strict parallel to the PP, as well as to *habré llegado*. At first sight, there is indeed a major difference between *he cantado* and *haya cantado*, as the latter neutralises both the values of the present perfect (2a) (retrospective meaning) and the future perfect (2b) (prospective meaning):

- (2a) *Los bomberos **han llegado** a tiempo* → *Ojalá los bomberos **hayan llegado** a tiempo*
 ‘The firemen **have arrived**_[PP] in time’ → ‘I hope the firemen **have arrived**_[CF-SO] in time’
 (2b) *Los bomberos **habrán terminado** cuando lleguemos* → *Ojalá los bomberos **hayan terminado** cuando lleguemos*
 ‘The firemen **will have finished**_[FUT.PF.-IO] by the time we get there’ → ‘I hope the firemen **will have finished**_[CF-SO] by the time we get there’

If, as these descriptions suggest, the subjunctive perfect is in every way equivalent to the indicative one, it might be assumed that the same conditions of appearance that have been described for the latter in each variety would apply the former. For instance, a European Spanish-speaker used to the hodiernal indicative PP would tend to answer a question like *¿Por qué no me **saludó** esta mañana?* ‘Why **didn’t** he **say** hello to me this morning?’ with (3a), whereas an American one would probably choose (3b) (Azpiazu 2019, 60):

- (3a) *Es probable que no te **haya visto*** ‘He probably **hasn’t seen**_[CF-SO] you’
 (3b) *Es probable que no te **viera*** ‘He probably **didn’t see**_[SF-SO] you’

However, the few empirical data on this aspect, especially those provided by Kempas (2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2014),⁴ and those briefly pointed out in Azpiazu

³ The square brackets indicate the Spanish form corresponding to the English translation (literally or not literally).

⁴ Kempas’ work focuses on two aspects, both concerning only completive clauses: the presence of *haya cantado* or *cantara* under the same temporal conditions that affect *he cantado* and *canté* (Kempas 2006a, 2006b, 2014), and the way a PP or an SP in the matrix verb determines either a past (usually *cantara-se*) or a present form (*cante*) in the subordinate (Kempas 2008, 2012). For this work

(2012a) based on the same elicitation method used by that author, seem to head in a different direction. These studies have reported that subjunctive contexts *seem* to favour the presence (not the predominance) of the compound form much more than any other semantic context in each region, including the areas less inclined to the indicative PP, such as Asturias in the north-west of Spain. However, the data's lack of consistency and the method for collecting them do not allow us to conclude that the “subjunctivity” of the predicate could favour the presence of the perfect in it. What is interesting about Kempas' work on this matter is that he shows that the conditions for the appearance of the perfect do not affect the subjunctive in the same way as the indicative (Kempas 2014, 92). This is also the starting point for this paper.

At the same time, the question arises of the extent and use of the future perfect (*habré cantado*) when fulfilling the function that Rojo/Veiga (1999) call “first dislocated use”; Veiga (1992), “modal use of uncertainty or IND 1” (see footnote 2) and the NGLE (2009), “future of conjecture”; that is, when it is temporally equivalent to the PP but takes a modal meaning of probability, uncertainty, or assumption (4b). The question seems relevant, as, contrary to *haya cantado*, this form can appear in the same or very similar syntactic setting as *he cantado*, whereby the comparison between them seems even more justified, all the more so because, as far as I know, it has never been approached from a variational point of view.

(4a) *No está en clase porque se **ha dormido*** lit. ‘He’s not in class because he **has overslept**_[PP]’

(4b) *No está en clase; se **habrá dormido*** ‘He’s not in class; he **will/must have overslept**_[CF-11]’

In short, the aim here is to analyse the extent to which the functional values of *haya cantado*, *habrá cantado* and *he cantado* are similar or can be differentiated as *retrospective* temporal forms (i.e., as present perfect and not future perfect forms) in different Spanish varieties. The prospective meaning of *haya cantado* (and of *habré cantado* in IND 1, which is no longer functional⁵) is excluded from

the first type of study is more interesting, but the second one also provides important information on the kind of matrix temporal context to which the PP belongs, and thus on its temporal nature.

5 The temporal function of expressing posteriority with regard to a point previous to the moment of speech becomes opaque both in *habré cantado* and *cantaría* with IND 1 meaning. Veiga (1992, 49–50) explains that, among posteriority forms, the IND 0 (straight use) / IND 1 (dislocated use) opposition is not functional if the latter is also used to express a posteriority relation, whereby the “uncertainty” or “probability” meaning can only occur contextually. Thus, the modal difference between *Llegó tarde* (‘He **arrived**_[SP] late’) (IND 0) and *Supongo que **llegaría** tarde* (‘I imagine he **would arrive**_[SF-11] late’) (IND 1) is due, inter alia, to the change in the verbal form. However, between *Anunciaron que **llovería*** (‘It was announced it **would rain**_[COND-10]’) (IND 0) and *Anunciaron*

the analysis. Moreover, as already observed here and stated by the NGLE (2009, 1802), this prospective meaning is much less frequent in real speech than in retrospective one. Interestingly, when mentioning this, and as a proof of the main retrospective value of *haya cantado*, the NGLE also mentions the possibility that this compound form alternates with the simple one *cantara*, as in: *Pero ¿usted creyó que el submarino llegó hasta las costas argentinas? No, no creo que **haya pasado** más allá del sur de la isla Ascensión* (Escudero, *Malvinas*, quoted in NGLE 2009, §24.1ñ: ‘But did you think the submarine made it to the Argentine coast? No, I don’t think it **went**_[CF-SO] further than the south of Ascension Island’). It goes on to say that “la elección entre ambas depende de factores léxicos y sintácticos”, which, however, are not specified (see also Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017, 322). Clarification of the true nature of these factors is the matter in hand here.

1.2 Before starting, certain methodological difficulties should be noted, which are partly the same and partly different to those in the study of the PP. Azpiazu (2019, §3.1) states that approaching the PP/SP contrast in Spanish from an empirical perspective entails problems and risks, as it is difficult to find enough valid contrastive exponents in spontaneous speech. These problems are magnified when it comes to analysing both *haya cantado* and *habré cantado*, as their syntactic contexts are very much constrained, and the comparative options in equivalent environments with their simple counterparts are even more difficult to achieve than in the case of *he cantado* and *canté*. Elicitation tests could therefore be considered as a more accurate tool for effectively considering speakers’ habits. However, the design of this kind of tests requires previously determining all the possible variants that may influence the appearance of the forms. As this is something that has been hardly done before, I have decided to search in different corpuses of spontaneous speech from areas whose particular use of the PP are particularly interesting for us. Thus, an attempt is made to obtain a preliminary snapshot of the functions of *haya cantado* / *habré cantado* and of their contrast with *cantara* / *cantaría*, which could then be confirmed with more specific elicitation tests.

For this work, all CF-SO (*haya cantado*), SF-SO (*cantara*), CF-I1 (*habré cantado*) and SF-I1 (*cantaría*) forms have been extracted from, on the one hand, the

que **supuestamente llovería** (‘It was announced that it **would probably rain**_[SF-I1]’) (IND 1), the uncertainty meaning of the subordinate clause is no longer due to the verbal form but only to the context, or in this case, the adverb *supuestamente* (‘probably’). The same can be said of *A las tres **habrá llegado*** (‘At three o’clock he **will have arrived**_[FUT.PF-IO]’) (IND 0) and *A las tres **habrá llegado, supuestamente*** (‘At three o’clock he **will have probably arrived**_[CF-I1]’) (IND 1).

Macrocorpus de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades del mundo hispanohablante (*Macrocorpus*, Samper Padilla et al. 1998) for Bogotá, Buenos Aires, La Paz and Madrid, and the *Corpus de habla culta de Salamanca* (CHCS, Fernández Juncal 2005) for this Spanish city, and, on the other hand, the PRESEEA corpus (<<https://preseea.linguas.net/Corpus.aspx>>), for Alcalá de Henares, Montevideo and Santiago de Compostela, in this case with speakers of all three levels of education (high, medium, and low). PRESEEA does not, however, provide complete data for Santiago de Compostela (it lacks information on low-education male speakers in the first and third age brackets), whereby the results have been complemented with data from ESLORA (<<http://eslora.usc.es/>>), the corpus on which PRESEEA is based for the Santiago data, and which includes many more informants than any of the other corpuses.⁶

The differences between the *Macrocorpus*, CHCS, and PRESEEA-ESLORA are thus focussed on the level of education, which is not going to receive much attention here. The focus will be on the diatopic differences that, thus far, have always proven to be most significant for the study of the compound forms (neither age nor sex are going to be further analysed). The choice of the cities is informed by the wish to know how far the use of these forms differs from or resembles the distribution varieties described in Veiga (2014a, 2019) and supported by Azpiazu (2019). Veiga (2014a) has established different regional systems for using PP and SP depending on three syntactic-semantic contexts: continuative, recent past, and preterite,⁷ as reproduced in Table 1:

⁶ ESLORA provides interviews with 53 speakers (cf. Barcala et al. 2018; Vázquez Rozas 2020), whereas PRESEEA usually provides results for around 18 speakers per city (one informant per age group, education level and sex), and the *Macrocorpus*, with only one education level, ranges from 13 to 14 informants (2 or 3 per age group and sex). For Santiago de Compostela, I started with the information provided by PRESEEA, and I have completed the missing types of speakers up to 18 with ESLORA.

⁷ These three meanings correspond roughly to Comrie's continuative, *hot news* and perfective perfect (1976).

Table 1: Varieties of the Spanish functional PP/SP system, according to Veiga (2014a, 155 and 2019, 13)

	Subsystem A		Subsystem B	
	A1 variety: Standard Euro- pean Spanish	A2 variety: Standard Ameri- can Spanish	B1 variety: Northwest of Spain; Río de la Plata	B2 variety: Andean Spanish, Central Spain
1 Continuative: <i>Siempre lo he hecho / hice así</i>	<i>He cantado</i>	<i>He cantado</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>He cantado</i>
2 Recent past: <i>¿Qué me has dicho / dijiste?</i>	<i>He cantado</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>He cantado</i>
3 Preterite: <i>Ayer he estado / estuve en casa</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>Canté</i>	<i>He cantado</i>

The eight cities chosen here should represent the most extreme varieties according to the literature; that is, the ones that tend to cancel one of the forms in all contexts, either because only the simple form is used (B1 variety: Río de la Plata – Buenos Aires and Montevideo – and the north-western area of Spain – Santiago de Compostela –), or because there is a stronger tendency to use the compound form (B2 variety: Central Spain – Madrid, Alcalá and Salamanca – and the Andean region – La Paz –). Bogota should serve here as a contrast area: it belongs to the A2 variety, which does not particularly favour the appearance of the PP, but does not restrict it as much as B1. It should be verified whether further subclassifications of B1 and B2 varieties, aimed at distinguishing between European and American varieties as proposed by Azpiazu (2019, 204), are also valid for comparing the modal forms in question here.

The work is structured as follows: firstly (§2), some theoretical questions are introduced that should be taken into account before analysing the collected data, as they affect the particular modal and temporal nature of these forms, as well as the syntactic conditions under which they occur. In §3 the corpus’ data will be analysed in their semantic and dialectal dimension, distinguishing, on the one hand, the forms of SUBJ 0 (*haya cantado* and *cantara*) and those of IND 1 (*habré cantado* and *cantaría*) and relating this to what we know about the distribution of *he cantado* and *canté* in the same regional varieties. The work ends with a set of conclusions (§4) summarising the main results of the research.

2 Theoretical, terminological and methodological problems

Before approaching the behaviour of the modal forms equivalent to the CP, it is necessary to address certain theoretical and methodological questions bound to them, especially to *haya cantado* and, above all, to its counterpart, *cantara*. Some of these issues have been raised in Azpiazu (2019, §1.4.1), albeit not extensively analysed. This will be the next goal:

2.1 First of all, in *cantara*, tense and aspect take different dimensions than in *canté*. The former lacks an a priori defined aspect and time meaning, because in the appropriate syntactic contexts it can subsume the “present in the past” and imperfective perspective of *cantaba* (5a), the retrospective, perfective one (as in *canté*, 5b), or the prospective one (equivalent to *cantaría*, 5c):⁸

- (5a) *No puedo creer que ayer a esta hora lloviera* → *Ayer a esta hora llovía*
 ‘I can’t believe it **was raining**_[SF-SO] this time yesterday’ → ‘Yesterday at this time it **was raining**_[IMPF-IO]’
- (5b) *No puedo creer que ayer se fuera a esta hora* → *Ayer se fue a esta hora*
 ‘I can’t believe she/he **left**_[SF-SO] at this time yesterday’ → ‘Yesterday she/he **left**_[SP] at this time’
- (5c) *Nadie imaginó que no cumpliera con su palabra, porque dijo que cumpliría*
 ‘No one imagined he **wouldn’t**_[SF-SO] **keep** his word, because he said he **would**_[COND-IO] (keep his word)’

Even if the retrospective meaning of (5c) is removed from the study, as has *haya cantado*, there is still the open question of whether *cantara* has to be interpreted as *canté* or *cantaba*. The fact that this choice is not unequivocally determined in the sentence, but depends on the tempo-aspectual perspective that the speaker wants to adopt when referring to specific events (see §2.3),⁹ does not facilitate the search for contrast structures between *cantara* and *haya cantado*, which is aspectually equal and temporally more similar to *he cantado*.

In addition, the frequent uses of *cantara* as SUBJ 2 and not SUBJ 0, that is, for the expression of irrealty, should be also be mentioned here. In these particular

⁸ The complex semantic nature of *cantara* is described by Veiga (1992, 200 and 2006, §2.10.5) as an archifunction: /preterite-co-post-preterite/, merging in a single word all temporal functional possibilities of this form by using Bello’s (1847) terminology.

⁹ Note that in the indicative sequences that translate both (5a) and (5b) it is always possible to exchange the forms: *canté* in 5a (*Ayer a esta hora llovió* ‘Yesterday at this time it **rained**_[SP-IO]’); *cantaba* in 5b (*Ayer se iba a esta hora* ‘Yesterday she/he **was leaving**_[IMPF-IO] at this time’).

cases in which *cantara* is not a retrospective form any more, but rather a prospective one, it can never temporally oppose *haya cantado* (*Ojalá **vinieras** mañana* / **Ojalá **hayas venido** mañana* ‘I wish you **would come**_[SF-S2] tomorrow’ / ‘*I wish you **had come**_[CF-S0] tomorrow’), but only to *hubiera cantado* (*Ojalá **hubieras venido*** ‘I wish you **would have come**_[POP-S2]’). For obvious reasons, these cases are not taken into account in this study.

The problems arise similarly with the equivalent of *canté* in IND 1, *cantaría*, for which the perspectives of imperfective simultaneity (6a) and perfective anteriority are also formally neutralised:¹⁰

- (6a) *Hugo no vino a la excursión; **estaría** enfermo* → ***Estaba** enfermo*
 ‘Hugo didn’t come on the excursion; he **would be**_[SF-I1] sick’ → ‘He **was**_[IMPF-I0] sick’
- (6b) *Hugo no vino a la excursión; **perdería** el autobús* → ***Perdió** el autobús*
 ‘Hugo didn’t come on the excursion; he **must have missed**_[SF-I1] the bus’ → ‘He **missed**_[SP] the bus’

This function of *cantaría* should also be clearly separated from its irreal function as IND 2 (*Lo **haría** si pudiera* ‘I **would do**_[COND-I2] it if I could’¹¹), which is much more frequent in speech than IND 1 or even IND 0.

Thus, the asymmetry in the functional distribution of *haya cantado* and *cantara*, as well as of *habré cantado* and *cantaría*, as compared to *he cantado* and *canté*, makes it difficult to refer to the former in similar terms as to the latter, that is, as “compound” versus “simple” perfect. The term “perfect” is wholly inappropriate for *cantara* and *cantaría*, and so is “imperfect”. In this case, Bello’s descriptive terminology for the indicative (1847) does not provide a convincing solution for the SUBJ 0 or IND 1, as neither *pretérito* nor *co-pretérito* nor *post-pretérito* describe all the functional values of *cantara* and *cantaría*. This is the reason that *cantara/cantaría* and *haya cantara/habré cantado* will be named either as before, under the conjugated form of the verb *cantar*, or as a “simple form (SF)” / “compound form” (CF) of the SUBJ 0/IND 1, respectively (see footnote 1). These terms are only valid in the specific field of this study, which will

¹⁰ On the problems of this form for expressing prospectivity in IND 1, see footnote 5. For the specific case of *cantaría*, Veiga (1992, 202–203) stresses the difficulty of finding clear cases in which this form expresses both posteriority and modal uncertainty.

¹¹ The test is the same as before: *cantaría* does not compare in this function with *habré cantado*: *Lo **haría** si pudiera* / **Lo **habré hecho** si pudiera* ‘I **would do**_[SF-I2] it if I could’ / ‘*I **will have done**_[*FUT.PF.] it if I could’. In contexts of irrealty (IND 2), the compound form contrasting with *cantaría* is precisely *habría cantado*: *Lo **habría hecho** si hubiera podido* ‘I **would have done**_[COND.PF-I2] it if I could’.

not deal with the other simple and compound forms, both of the SUBJ 0: *cante* and *hubiera/se cantado*, and the IND 1: *cantaré* and *habría cantado*, respectively.

2.2 Even more so than in the PP/SP contrast, it is essential for the SUBJ 0 pair to pay attention to multiple co-textual and pragmatic elements alongside which the verbal form appears. The subjunctive form is usually induced by certain lexical elements (adverbs or conjunctions), mostly in complex constructions (subordinate sentences), sometimes (though not always) determined by syntactic rules of modal and temporal governance (the so-called *consecutio temporum*: **Quiero que vengas**/***vinieras** – **Quise que *vengas/vinieras** ‘I want_[PRES-IO] you to come_[PRES-SO/*SF-SO] – I wanted_[SP] you to come_[*PRES-SO/SF-SO]’) (see below §2.4). Moreover, discursive elements can also play an important role here; for instance, in the temporal correlations of sentences that depend on previous statements (especially with verbs of thought and speech), when the subjunctive perfect picks up an indicative PP in that previous statement: – A. *¿Ha llegado Juan?* – B. *No, no creo que haya llegado* A. ‘Has John arrived_[PP]?’ – B. ‘No, I don’t think he has arrived_[CF-SO]’. In short, subjunctive verbal forms are not always determined so much by their temporal properties (which are much less defined than in the indicative), as by syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors.

This issue shows differently in the pair of forms *habré cantado* / *cantaría* as IND 1, which are rather pragmatically than syntactically conditioned and are usually induced by some lexical or discursive elements. Ultimately, as these forms belong to the same grammatical mood as PP/SP (i.e. indicative), it’s easier to find them in the same syntactic contexts.

2.3 Given that the meaning of *cantara* goes far beyond that of *canté*, it is predictable that it will not contrast with *haya cantado* in the same way as *canté* with *he cantado*. Thus, contrary to the temporal and modal multifunctionality of *cantara*, *haya cantado* has a much more unequivocal meaning as an anteriority form in SUBJ 0, whereby it is expected to appear whenever it is desired to unambiguously record the culmination of a previous event. See, for instance, the contrast between (7a) and (7b):

- (7a) *¿Por qué el estúpido del prefecto tiene que pasar lista salón por salón? Y lo malo es que siempre se aparece a diferente hora. Ojalá no **haya pasado*** (CREA – 1985 Gerardo María, *Fábrica de conciencias descompuestas*, México [consulted on 08/10/2021])
 ‘Why does the stupid prefect have to take the roll call room by room? And worst of all, he always shows up at different times. I hope he **has not come past**_[CF-SO]’
- (7b) *Ojalá no **pasara***
 ‘I hope he **didn’t come past**_[SF-SO]’ / ‘I wish he **wouldn’t come past**_[SF-S2]’

Only the first sentence refers to the event, *pasar*, as unambiguously previous to the origin or the moment of speech. The same event in (7b) can mean the same, but it can also refer to an irreal wish for the future, e.g., a wish with little chance of being fulfilled, as the second English translation shows (with *cantara* as SUBJ 2). We cannot thus rule out that it is the univocity of (7a), and not its temporal structure, that plays a decisive role in preferring it to (7b) in many situations. If this is correct, *haya cantado* could acquire a certain functional advantage over *he cantado*, which functions much more like *canté* in many language varieties.¹² The fact that (7a) has been found in a Mexican text, a semi-conservative area for the use of PP according to Veiga (2014a; 2019), could be seen as evidence for this hypothesis. The next question should be whether the same disambiguating function in those more conservative regions allows *haya cantado* to appear in temporal contexts in a way that is not acceptable for *he cantado*; that is, for example, for the expression of perfective hodiernal (8) or even pre-hodiernal events (9):

- (8) *No me extraña que Ana **haya estado** hoy de mal humor todo el día → Ana **estuvo**/***estaba** hoy de mal humor todo el día*¹³
lit. ‘No wonder Ana **has been**_[CF-SO] in a bad mood all the day today’ → ‘Ana **was**_[SP/*IMPF-IO] in a bad mood all the day today’
- (9) *Es increíble que ayer **haya estado** enferma todo el día → Ayer **estuvo**/***estaba** enferma todo el día*
lit. ‘I can’t believe she **has been**_[CF-SO] sick all the day yesterday’ → ‘She **was**_[SP/*IMPF-IO] sick all the day yesterday’

2.4 When dealing with both CF-SO and CF-IO, the question arises whether they have the same temporal structure as the PP, with the same two imbricated elements or “vectors”, one of anteriority and one of simultaneity (Rojo 1974; Rojo/Veiga 1999). Such an imbrication in the PP makes it impossible to interpret the vector of anteriority in relation to another verb in the context expressing simultaneity, in a real temporal correlation or *consecutio temporum*, so that both notions of the verbal form, anteriority and simultaneity, always function synchronically and independently of the syntactic context. Veiga (2013, 2014b, 2019) con-

¹² Both PP and SP are primary anteriority forms in any context (their vectorial expression has a -V vector on the right in the model by Rojo (1974), and Rojo/Veiga (1999): O-V for PS and (OoV)-V for PP), whereas this affinity cannot be established between the simple and compound forms of the subjunctive, because the former has no defined primary vector, as explained in §2.1 (it could be anteriority, as in *canté*, but also simultaneity, when it is equivalent to *cantaba*, or posteriority, when it means *cantaría*).

¹³ The asterisk here and in (9) does not refer exactly to a grammatical error, but is used to discard one of the sentence’s two possible readings; in this case, the imperfective one (= *cantaba*).

tends that the vectors of the perfect are closely intertwined and indissoluble. To avoid the idea that one of them (the simultaneity vector) is secondary and referential to the other (the anteriority vector), which is the decisive one for the structure, he changes Bello's term "ante-presente" for "pre-presente". The question is whether the same semantic structure of the "pre-present" remains in CF-I1, and especially in the most syntactically dependent form, i.e., CF-S0.

Answering this question requires checking whether the *consecutio temporum* can in any way influence the temporality of *haya cantado*. Indeed, as pointed out by several scholars (among others, Rojo 1976; Veiga 1996b; Carrasco 1999 and 2000; Kempas 2008 and 2012), temporal relationships expressed by the subordinated verb (whether indicative or subjunctive) are not always strictly governed by the tense of the matrix verb, but they can also be established independently of the main verb, directly to the origin or moment of speech. According to Veiga (1996b, 181), the *consecutio temporum* is not a strictly mandatory property only of complexive clauses, whereby it is not expected in relative, temporal or causal clauses. If this is so, both *haya cantado* and *habré cantado* IND 1 are "pre-present" forms, too.

However, although the temporal structure of *haya cantado* does not depend on a reference point, as it is the main verb's tense, it is also true that compound forms of any mood do not freely combine with any verbal form in the main clause. Rojo (1974, 104–105; 1976, 71, 74–75, 80 and 84) have pointed out the impossibility of structures such as (10) to (12):¹⁴

- (10) **Dijo que ha salido* 'He said_[SP] he has gone out_[PP]'
- (11) **Lo vi; ha salido del café* 'I saw_[SP] him, he has left_[PP] of the café'
- (12) **Deseé que Ana haya llegado* 'I hoped_[SP] Anna has arrived_[CF-S0]'

Rojo does not explain what this impossibility involves, although, as can be noted, this would not be a problem of temporal correlation (that explanation must be discarded in (11), with no syntactic dependence between the sentences), but of chronological coherence between both tenses. Thus, the compound form refers to an event included in a time span that started in the past and continues until the moment of speech (the so-called "perfect time span", see Iatridou et al. 2003; Azpiazu 2018), which is logically subsequent to the event in the main clause (Carrasco 1999, 3088). Yet this is not the case in the previous sentences: *to go out* in (10) does not occur after *to say*, nor in (11) after *to see*; nor is it possible in (12) to interpret Ana's arrival as subsequent to the desire for her arrival. However, this is

¹⁴ Similar Carrasco (1999, 3082), who also discards the perfect, whether in the indicative or subjunctive, as an option when the main verb belongs to the past sphere.

only true when the compound verb refers to a telic or perfective event, because it is difficult to conceive how a past event linked to the present could be previous (or simultaneous, as might be in (11)) to another past one with no such present link. Nonetheless, it is not inconceivable when the compound form refers to a past situation whose origin is previous to the event of the main clause, but whose perfect time span covers this main event and continues beyond it. In such cases, the verb normally expresses a state:

- (13) *Dijo que nunca **ha estado** en París* ‘She **said**_[SP] she **has** never **been**_[PP] to Paris’
 (14) *Me **emocionó** que **haya estado** a tu lado durante toda la enfermedad* ‘I **was touched**_[SP] that he **has been**_[PP] by your side throughout the illness’

In these sentences’ congruence, “double access interpretation” is working (Carrasco 1999, following Enç 1987): they are cases of a relative chronology that is semantically coherent with the listener’s knowledge of the state of affairs. However, such cases are rare. They have been found here only in experiential contexts, in speech varieties where the indicative SP form is more frequent than the PP (see below §3.2.4.1).

Thus, although the main verb governing *haya cantado* may be any indicative temporal form, both of the present (as expected) and of the past sphere (less expected),¹⁵ without affecting the temporal structure of the compound form, there are high order factors linked to the statement’s semantic coherence, which actively operate in the way the forms are combined.

Can the same be said of *cantara*? Is its presence also independent of the main verb’s tense? What kind of logical-temporal constraints work for it? The second question has a double answer: *cantara* is an independent form when its meaning is that of *canté* or *cantaba*, but it is not when it has the meaning of *cantaría* in IND 0 (i.e., when it is a post-preterite, as in 5c). It therefore has to adjust to the temporal correlation rules with the matrix verb. In such cases, the main verb must always belong to the past (15):

- (15) *Me **pidió**/***pide** que le **hiciera** un favor* ‘He **asked**/***asks** me to **do**_[SF-SO.POST] him a favour’,

¹⁵ I take the terms “present sphere” and “past sphere” from Carrasco (1999, 3067): “We will give the name ‘present sphere’ to the part of the timeline that includes the moment of speech, and ‘past sphere’ to the part of speech that precedes the moment of speech and does not include it.” According to this definition, present tenses are the presents and present perfects of both the indicative and subjunctive, as well as the simple and compound future tenses of the indicative. Past tenses are all the rest: imperfects and pluperfects of indicative and subjunctive, indicative simple past, and the simple and compound forms of the conditional.

or, eventually, as shown by Kempas (2008 and 2012), it can also be a PP (16), as its double temporal nature allows it to function in both temporal spheres (on this, see §3.2.2):

- (16) *Me ha pedido que le hiciera un favor* ‘He **has asked** me to **do**_[SF-SO, POST] him a favour’

As for the third question, the answer is similar to the first one: SF-SO is not expected to present logical-temporal constraints, either in the present or in the past, when it has a retrospective meaning, but it does when the meaning is prospective, as stated in the previous paragraph. The fact that the simple forms of the past do not have a semantic anchorage with the moment of speech, as the compound ones do, makes it easier to combine them with all kinds of temporal forms in the main clause, including the PP. See (10) to (12) again, now with shifted verbal forms, (17) to (19):

- (17) *Ha dicho que salió* ‘He **has said**_[PP] he **left**_[SP]’
 (18) *Lo he visto; salió del café* ‘I **have seen**_[PP] him; he **left**_[SP] the café’
 (19) *He deseado que Ana llegara* ‘I **have hoped**_[PP] Anna **arrived**_[SP]’

Due to the polysemy of *cantara*, (19) is ambiguous between retrospectivity and prospectivity, which might be a factor favouring its replacement by *haya cantado* (see §§2.3 and 3.2.4.2). But all in all, the temporal reference of the SP is compatible with the PP in the main clause because it indicates a time situation included (in 18), or previous (17 and 19, with retrospective meaning) to the perfect time span.

This subject will be taken up in §3.2.2 to check how the temporal “associative link” (Kempas 2012) between the main verb and *haya cantado* or *cantara* works in our corpus, as well as to analyse the semantic and formal effects of a matrix PP on the subordinate clause.

2.5 Given the above, it is also worth considering, even if only briefly, the history of the incorporation of *haya cantado* (indeed, of all compound forms) into Spanish, according to Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017). This author’s exhaustive analysis shows that *haya cantado* entered the language later than *he cantado*; it was quite rare before the 15th century, and practically unknown in most western peninsular varieties (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017, 330–331). Both cases can be explained in the light of what is already known from other sources: on the one hand, the consolidation of compound forms is a gradual phenomenon that evolves from east to west on the Iberian peninsula (as shown beyond all doubt by Veiga 1983 and 1991; Rodríguez Molina 2010, and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017; 2021; 2022), and, on the other hand, the grammaticalisation of these forms was not homogeneous, as a faster process can be assumed for the indicative than for the subjunctive, which was limited to much more constrained contexts of subordina-

tion. Thus, according to Andrés-Suárez (1994), quoted by Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017, 321), *haya cantado* is found only in temporal, concessive, relative and completive clauses in medieval and classical Spanish texts.¹⁶ Octavio de Toledo's data for the medieval era and the synchronic data in this same work confirm these syntactic contexts, although in somewhat different proportions, as shown here in §3.2.4.2. The main difference between the data provided here and the data of past times is the recent development of the semantic and syntactic possibilities of the form. Thus, contrary to Old Spanish (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017, 339), *haya cantado* is no longer uncommon in completive clauses, both alongside factual and non-factual predicates. One of the aims of this work is also to ascertain CF-SO's degree of development in different Spanish varieties to verify whether its consolidation has been parallel to that of the PP.¹⁷

3 Analysis of results

3.1 The PP/SP contrast in the cities under study

Before presenting the data, we should describe, albeit briefly, the situation of the PP/SP contrast in these Spanish-speaking cities in order to later compare it with the CF-SO/SF-SO and CF-I1/SF-I1 ones. Fortunately, there are several studies on the subject based on the *Macrocorpus*, so that this can be a good starting point for the comparison.¹⁸ The data (rounded percentage and SP : PP ratio) are as follows:

16 For obvious temporal reasons, *haya cantado* never appears in subordinated clauses whose event must necessarily be subsequent to the main verb, as in final clauses (**Te he hecho llamar para que **hayas** abierto la puerta* ‘*I called you to **have opened**_[CF-SO] the door’) or completive clauses with verbs of influence (**Te ordeno que te **hayas** callado* ‘*I order you to **have been**_[CF-SO] quiet’), among others.

17 Regarding the compound IND 1 form, *habré cantado*, as far as I know it lacks a study similar to Octavio de Toledo y Huerta's (2017) on *haya cantado*. Nevertheless, the studies by this author and Rodríguez Molina (2010) provide conclusive data to show that the compound future (with or without modal meaning) and the compound conditional were somewhat less frequent forms than *haya cantado*, especially in Castile and the western peninsular area (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017, 328–329).

18 The data for American cities is taken from Hurtado (2009). The data for Madrid were kindly provided by Guillermo Soto (electronic communication), and those for Salamanca have been collected by myself from Fernández Juncal (2005).

Table 2: PP/SP percentage and ratio of SP for each PP in the cities of the *Macrocorpus* and Salamanca

	SP	PP	Ratio
Bogota	70	30	2.3 : 1
Buenos Aires	85	15	5.8 : 1
La Paz	43	57	0.8 : 1
Madrid	60	40	1.5 : 1
Salamanca	75	25	2.9 : 1

From the selected cities of PRESEEA, only the data for Santiago de Compostela are available (Azpiazu 2021b). No data have so far been collected on PP and SP for Alcalá and Montevideo, but because of the geographical proximity between Alcalá and Madrid, and thanks to empirical works such as Henderson (2010) for Uruguayan Spanish, we can assume that the SP : PP ratio in these cities is similar to that of Madrid and Buenos Aires, respectively. In any case, as also pointed out in Soto (2014), there is a clear gradation in the way the forms are distributed in the cities, with La Paz being the only one with a favourable ratio for PP, followed by, in this order, Madrid (Alcalá), Bogota, Salamanca,¹⁹ and Buenos Aires (Montevideo).

The results for Santiago de Compostela are the most striking ones. ESLORA provides much more data by far for Santiago than any other corpus (the number of informants is almost three times that of any other city in PRESEEA). Assuming the data are correct, the percentages and the SP : PP ratio are as follows:

¹⁹ The fact that Salamanca is behind Bogota in terms of PP frequency should not be surprising, even though in other works (Azpiazu 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2015, 2019) I have defended the existence of a Central Peninsular area where the PP has undergone a greater semantic development, and Salamanca has always been included in that area, called B2b variety (Azpiazu 2019, 2024). However, it is one thing to assert that in Salamanca, as in Madrid and probably other Central Spanish areas, cases of an innovative aoristic PP that functions similarly to the SP (P3b, see below §3.2.4.1) are more frequent than in other regions, and entirely another to claim that, in absolute terms, PP is more frequently used in Salamanca than SP for reporting past events. As also explained in the aforementioned studies, in Salamanca the Central Castilian innovating PP coexists with western Leonese uses, and as the latter undoubtedly pre-date the former, they are expected to impose themselves quantitatively in the language of the region.

Table 3: PP/SP percentages and ratio of SP for each PP in Santiago de Compostela according to the data of ESLORA

	SP	PP	Ratio
Santiago de Compostela	95.9	4.1	23.24 : 1

The disproportion between the presence of *canté* and *he cantado* becomes even more acute when only the 18 speakers considered for this study are taken into account. Only six of these 18 informants use some form of the PP at some time, whereas the rest (i.e., two-thirds) never do. The result is a proportion of 99% SP (N = 4,267) to 1% PP (N = 35), with a frequency ratio of 122 : 1.²⁰ Whether or not these data are adjusted, they reveal a major difference in the use of the PP between Santiago and the other cities, including the ones in the Río de la Plata region, for which a distribution system for SP and PP has been proposed that is similar to the one in Galicia (B1).²¹ It is obvious that although the PP functions similarly in both regions (Azpiazu 2021b), the scarce presence of the compound form in Galicia prevents equating both types of B1, as already mentioned in Azpiazu (2019; 2021b).²² In other words, the data corroborate what was otherwise suspected: the development of the B1 variety has different roots in both regions. As for Galicia, and in general the north-western area of the Peninsula, the Ro-

20 Azpiazu (2021b) shows that the presence of PP in Santiago is closely linked to the speakers' individual habits. This means that the informants selected for this study, both those appearing in PRESEEA and those taken from ESLORA to complete the corpus, may belong mainly to the group of informants that do not use the PP, or hardly do so, in their interventions. As this factor cannot be controlled in advance, but may seriously distort the general data, I will deal with the data for the whole corpus on Santiago, i.e., the ones in Table 3.

21 In order to establish the extent of the PP's presence in the *Macrocorpus*' cities, Soto (2014, 131) monitors the presence of the form in every 1,000 words. Thus, for example, he states that in Buenos Aires the PP's frequency represents 3.0; in La Paz, at the other end of the scale, 13.4, and in Madrid, 8.7. According to my own calculations, in Santiago de Compostela PP's frequency would be 1.6, half the frequency of Buenos Aires.

22 The data compared here call into question the alleged "non-existence" of a PP in Río de la Plata (Burgos 2004; Laca 2010; Fløgstad 2016), although, indeed, the results may vary depending on the type of sources taken as a reference, on the fact that the Buenos Aires corpus collects only educated speakers (and prestige may be an important trigger of PP in this region – see on this Rodríguez Louro 2009 and Fløgstad/Rodríguez Louro 2021 – more so than in Galicia, where it seems to be irrelevant; Azpiazu 2021b, 84) and, of course, on the nearly 40-year difference between the interviews of the *Macrocorpus* for Buenos Aires and ESLORA. The data of Burgos (2004) and Fløgstad (2016) point to a growing rejection of PP by young Argentinian generations, in clear contrast to its acceptance among the cultural elites at least until the 19th century (Fløgstad/Rodríguez Louro 2021).

mance languages' resistance to developing compound forms has been well documented (Veiga 1983 and 1991; Rodríguez Molina 2010; Marcet 2013; Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2017); for Río de la Plata, there is still a lack of conclusive historical or sociolinguistic studies that may help to understand the phenomenon.

Finally, it should be noted that although samples of the four forms have also been collected from the interviewers' speech, and although they frequently use *haya cantado*²³ (due to the kind of interview, with questions about possible states of affairs with no presupposition of their existence), they have not been included in our results, as there is no diatopic or sociolinguistic information available for these speakers. Only in a few cases references will be made to the interviewers' utterances when they can shed additional light on the argumentation.

3.2 *Haya cantado vs. cantara*

3.2.1 Global data

In total, 65 occurrences of *haya cantado* with retrospective meaning have been found in all the informants' interventions. The figure for the simple form, *cantara*, is similar, 69, once all the occurrences have been ruled out in which the form has a prospective meaning (20) or where there is no clear perfective anteriority meaning (21):

- (20) *y entonces los padres de familia me pidieron... pidieron que **continuar**a con el bachillerato* (BO-11)²⁴
 'then the parents asked... asked me to **stay**_[SF-SO,PROSP] at high school'
- (21) *Aunque **no tuvieran** dinero, iban muy elegantes, muy vestidas, muy distinguidas y a la moda* (MA-8)
 'Although they **didn't have**_[SF-SO,IMPF] money, they were very elegant, very well dressed, very distinguished and fashionable'

Note the difficulty, in both cases, of a functional contrast with *haya cantado*:

²³ In general, interviewers double the number of occurrences of *haya cantado* of the informants in all corpora.

²⁴ The collected examples bear the label of the informant as they appear in the respective corpus: for the *Macrocorpus* and Salamanca, the city's abbreviation (BA = Buenos Aires; BO = Bogota; LP = La Paz; MA = Madrid, and SAL = Salamanca), followed by the informant's number; for PRESEEA-ESLORA, the city's abbreviation (ALCA = Alcalá; MONV = Montevideo; SCOM = Santiago de Compostela), followed by the speaker's sociolinguistic data, in the following order: sex: H = man, M = woman; age group: 1 = 19–34 years, 2 = 35–54 years, 3 = >55; educational level: 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high.

- (20') **los padres de familia me pidieron que **haya continuado** el bachillerato*
 '**the parents asked me to **have stayed**_[CF-SO] at high school'
- (21') *?aunque no **hayan tenido** dinero, iban muy elegantes*
 '?Although they **haven't had**_[SF-SO,IMPF] money, they were very elegant'

In contrast to (22) and (22'):

- (22) *a mí siempre me trataron de usted sin que yo lo **estableciera** como una regla mía*
 (MONV_M33_012)
 'I've always been addressed with the polite form, although I **didn't make**_[SF-SO,RETR] it a rule of my own'
- (22') *a mí siempre me trataron de usted sin que yo lo **haya establecido** como una regla mía*
 'I've always been addressed with the polite form, although I **haven't made**_[CF-SO,RETR] it a rule of my own'

Cantara is not a form of primary anteriority either in (20) or in (21), whereby it cannot contrast with *haya cantado*. In turn, it should not be overlooked that in (22) *estableciera* is in a context of relative anteriority with respect to the main verb, *trataron*, and in those situations, SF-SO does not really contrast with the subjunctive perfect but with the subjunctive pluperfect, *hubiera cantado*:

- (22'') *a mí siempre me trataron de usted sin que yo lo **hubiera establecido** como una regla mía*
 'I've always been addressed with the polite form, although I **hadn't made**_[PQP-SO] it a rule of my own'

3.2.2 The matrix context: present sphere, past sphere, and the PP

Certain questions were raised in §2.4 about the original temporal meaning of the simple and compound forms of the subjunctive, the *consecutio temporum*, and the temporal coherence between the subordinated and the main verb in the sentence. The temporal correlation is by no means obligatory in the verbal uses in which we are interested (the expression of primary anteriority with respect to the moment of speech); however, it does seem important to establish a semantically coherent relationship between both verbs, in a similar way to the “associative links” mentioned by Kempas (2012). These links are indications of the greater or lesser temporal compatibility of the forms in both clauses. In the case in hand, the associative links of *haya cantara* mean it appears almost only when the tense of the main verb, or of the general context on which the form depends,²⁵

²⁵ This is not about a strictly syntactic dependency; in many cases, the dependency is mostly semantic. These are the cases in which the form is not exactly in direct subordination to a verb, but

belongs to the present. This is the case in 64 of the 65 exponents of *haya cantado* in this study. In turn, *cantara* can also appear in this very same context (N = 23), but it doubles its frequency when the matrix context belongs to the past (especially when it contains an SP or indicative imperfect; N = 46). Thus, although, as stated above, it is not impossible to find sentences like (14), now repeated as (23):

- (23) *Me emocionó que haya estado a su lado durante toda la enfermedad*
 ‘I **was**_[SP] touched that he **has been**_[CF-SO] by your side throughout the illness’

it is true that the compound form is rare when a SP is in the matrix and the subordinate construction’s meaning does not allow interpreting that the event started before that of the main verb, or when *haya cantado* refers to an event that is, or can be, located at a certain point in the past,²⁶ as in (12), now (24):²⁷

- (24) **Deseé que Ana haya llegado* ‘*I **hoped**_[SP] Anna **has arrived**_[CF-SO]’

This constraint is not therefore to be explained in terms of syntax and temporal correlation, but by means of semantic coherence: how can a past and perfective

in free structures (*Quizá haya llegado* ‘Perhaps she **has arrived**_[CF-SO]’) or in some other type of paratactic structure without a conjunction, but with a clear dependence on another predicate, and usually with a concessive meaning (*Tuviera o no motivos para ello, se fue de casa* ‘Whether or not she **had**_[SF-SO] reasons to do so, she left home’). The predicate is sometimes located in a subordinate clause whose main verb is a stereotyped formula, set in the present tense (*es que...* ‘it’s that...’), whereby the global context must be taken into account in order to determine the temporal scope to which it should be assigned (see §3.2.2, ex. (31) and (32) below). “Matrix context” will therefore be preferred here to “matrix verb”.

26 Note that this constraint goes hand-in-hand with the lexical aspect of the verb (a state in (23); an achievement in (24)), and its capacity to refer to determined events that can be located in time, or to undetermined ones that cannot. The notion of “temporally defined or undefined event” is explained more extensively in §3.2.4.1.

27 An exception to this rule, a logical one, is the sentence proposed by Carrasco (1999, 3088): *El alcalde comentó ayer que este año ha habido mucha gente en las fiestas de San Isidro* ‘The mayor **said**_[SP] yesterday that this year there **have been**_[PP] many people at the San Isidro festival’. The adverbials determine the presence of the simple and compound forms in this sentence, which belongs to the Peninsular A1 variety, whereby the first adverbial (*ayer* ‘yesterday’) refers to a temporal span that is finished at the moment of speech (thus, SP), and the second one (*este año* ‘this year’) designates a temporal span that is still open at the moment of the utterance (thus, PP). In this case, the temporal forms are being used in their “normative”, A1 standard function. According to Carrasco, such a sentence is possible because *this year* includes *yesterday*’s denotation, but it would not be possible if the adverbial complement next to the SP referred to a temporal previous point to *this year*, as, for example, in: **El alcalde comentó el año pasado que este año ha habido mucha gente en las fiestas de San Isidro* ‘*The mayor **said**_[SP] **last year** that **this year** there **have been**_[PP] a lot of people at the San Isidro festival’.

event linked to the present moment of speech be conceived as previous to another one that is not linked to that moment? To solve the “prior to past” relationship with more elegance, the form *hubiera cantado* is available, which is the one normally used in cases such as (24) (see also (22’)). The data in this study corroborate this consistency, for, as already stated, all the cases of *haya cantado* but one appear in a present matrix context.

Yet what happens when the verb in the matrix context is a PP? Is this form part of the present or the past sphere? Carrasco (1999, 3066, 3069) accepts its “present” nature, but in her analysis she includes it amongst the past tenses, and contends that when it has an aoristic, perfective meaning, that is, when it focuses on the idea of an event completed in the past, it normally governs a form of the past in the subordinate clause (*cantara*) (except in double access interpretations, see above). Only if the PP has a continuative meaning, that is, when its “present” nature is reinforced, are present sphere forms more common in the subordinate (e.g., *canto* or *cante* for present or future references, but also *he cantado* or *haya cantado*) (Carrasco 1999, 3094). One of the examples she proposes is (25):

- (25) *El testigo ha negado que le hubieran ofrecido dinero por cambiar su declaración* (Carrasco 1999, 3082)
 ‘The witness **has denied**_[PP] that he **had been offered**_[PQP-SO] money to change his statement’

The empirical data do not in fact confirm Carrasco’s intuition. Firstly, as stated before, *hayan ofrecido* in the subordinate clause of (25) would also be a very acceptable form if interpreted, like (23), as a generic reference to an event that is non-specifically located in the past (*El testigo ha negado que en algún momento le hayan ofrecido dinero* ‘The witness has denied that he has **ever** been_[CF-SO] offered any money’). By contrast, data provided by Kempas (2008, 2012) and Veiga (2002) indicate that, in posteriority contexts in the subordinate clause, the use of the subjunctive present (*cante*) is quite frequent, irrespective of the aspectual nature of the PP in the main clause. In this work we have detected a fairly balanced distribution of *cantara* and *haya cantado* with a PP in the matrix context (15 times *cantara*; 10 times *haya cantado*). However, of the 15 exponents of the combination *he cantado* + *cantara*, only five have been taken into account here. In the other cases, the multifunctional nature of *cantara* prevents the comparison with *haya cantado*, as instead of a form of primary anteriority, it functions as a form of posteriority (26) or of simultaneity in the past (27).

- (26) *Me han pedido muchas veces que escribiera (*haya escrito) un libro de cocina y no me he decidido* (MA-14)
 ‘I’ve been asked_[PP] many times to **write**_[SF-SO.PROSP/*CF-SO] a cookbook and I haven’t decided yet’

- (27) *Nunca **he tomado** en cuenta tampoco eso como una cosa que **fuera** (***haya ido**) en contra mía* (LP-13)
 ‘I’ve never **considered**_[PP] that either as a thing that **went**_[SF-SO,IMPF] / ***has gone**_[CF-SO] against me’

The fact that a matrix PP can govern all types of forms, functioning either as a support for the present or the past sphere, is proof of its temporal complexity and reinforces Veiga’s theory of the indissolubility of its temporal vectors. In any case, this seems more relevant than any aspectual consideration of the PP: note that, contrary to Carrasco’s opinion, both (26) and (27) are cases of non-perfective but experiential PP: the first one is iterative and the second one expresses a persistent situation with a past origin. The same meaning often arises in the PP cases selected for this study, with subordinated *cantara* expressing primary anteriority (equivalent to *llegué*), as in (28):

- (28) *y ya después de la guerra, que es cuando yo **he ido cogiendo** nociones de Madrid más... en fin, que me **llegara** a mí adentro con trece o catorce años* (MA-9)
 ‘and after the war, that’s when I’ve **been getting**_[PP] more notions of Madrid... well, that **touched**_[SF-SO,PERF] me inside when I was thirteen or fourteen’

Perfective, temporally defined PPs are also possible as matrix verbs for *cantara* (29), as Carrasco proposes, and although in the corpuses such cases have not been found with *haya cantado* in the subordinate, it is obvious that this combination is also possible (30):

- (29) *En eso, hace poco yo lo **he visto** en el Clínico, no que se **muriese** por culpa de... de un individuo* (MA-4)
 ‘In that regard, I’ve recently **seen**_[PP] him/her at the Hospital, not that he/she **died**_[SF-SO, PERF] because of... of an individual’
 (30) *Su actitud irresponsable **ha provocado** que **haya muerto** a causa del virus*
 ‘His irresponsible attitude **has led**_[PP] to his/her **death**_[CF-SO] from the virus’

Thus, the empirical data show that the aspectual opposition between an experiential PP, belonging to the present sphere, and an aoristic or perfective one, belonging to the past sphere, with each one of them governing forms of the corresponding temporal field in the subordinated clause, is not entirely accurate. There is just one temporal complex form that is susceptible to governing forms of both temporal spheres according to various factors that are not related so much to its aspect but, as shown in the following paragraphs, to such elements as the diatopic variety, the type of sentence, and the temporal reference of the subordinated predicate.

Finally, for the purposes of accounting for the temporal sphere of the matrix contexts, such explicative structures with a present tense in the main verb like

(No) *es (por)que...* ‘It’s (not) that / because...’ have not been taken into consideration, as they are rather lexicalized constructions in which the verb does not really locate a state of affairs at some temporal point. In such cases, the whole discursive environment has to be considered to determine to which temporal sphere the contexts belongs, whereby:

- (31) *a lo mejor no / ha<alargamiento/>s conocido a gente nueva / vecinos nuevos / o gente del entorno / o <vacilación/> o con gente que te llevas bien / por equis circunstancias no has <vacilación/> **no es que hayas discutido** ¿no? / pero / a lo mejor has / dejado de entablar / esa relación que tenías (ALCA_H12_019)*
 ‘maybe you / haven’t<lengthening/> met new people / new neighbours / or local people / or <hesitation/> or people you get along with / because of the circumstances you haven’t <hesitation/> **it’s not that you’ve argued**_[CF-SO], is it? / but / maybe you’ve / stopped striking up / this relationship you had’

the previous and subsequent verbs to *you’ve argued* belong to the present sphere, whereas in

- (32) *lo que ella hacía allí era más bien de enfermera. **No es porque no supiese ella**, es que no había aparato de rayos X (MA-4)*
 ‘what she was doing there was more like a nurse. **It’s not because she didn’t know**_[SF-SO], it’s because there was no X-ray machine’

the context is clearly past.

3.2.3 Dialectal distribution

Table 4 shows the percentages of appearance of all the retrospective forms of *haya cantado* and *cantara* distributed in the same dialectal areas established for *he cantado* and *canté* in Table 1. In addition to the ratio of the subjunctive forms, the one of the corresponding indicative pair *canté* and *he cantado* (shown in Tables 2 and 3) is also included.

Table 4: CF-S0 and SF-S0 percentages with their ratio of appearance and the SP : PP ratio in the eight sample cities

PP/SP variety (Azpiazu 2019) ²⁸	City	CF-S0 <i>haya cantado</i>	SF-S0 <i>cantara</i>	Ratio SP : PP – IND 0	Ratio SF : CF – SUBJ 0
B1a	Santiago de Compostela	28	732	23.2 : 1	2.6 : 1
B1b	Buenos Aires	58	42	5.8 : 1	0.7 : 1
	Montevideo	42	58	–	(1.4 : 1) ²⁹
A2	Bogota	73	27	2.3 : 1	0.3 : 1
A1? ³⁰	Salamanca	29	71	2.9 : 1	2.4 : 1
B2b	Madrid	57	43	1.5 : 1	0.7 : 1
	Alcalá de Henares	76	24	–	(0.3 : 1)
B2a	La Paz	55	45	0.8 : 1	0.8 : 1
Total		48.5 (N = 65)	51.5 (N = 69)	(3.33 : 1 / 1.8 : 1)³¹	1.06 : 1

28 Cities have been organised according to Veiga's varieties (2014a), later modified in Azpiazu (2019), from the most "conservative" (lower PP frequency in oral speech) to the most "innovative" (higher PP frequency in oral speech), in order to check whether a similar classification still holds for *haya cantado* (and also later for *habré cantado*).

29 In brackets, as these data cannot be compared with the corresponding indicative ones.

30 Salamanca's assignment to this variety is provisional and not without its drawbacks (see footnote 19). The A1 variety can certainly be found in the city, as in general throughout Spain, as it corresponds to its standard subsystem, but there are also features of B1 and even B2 there. The ratio points to a subsystem close to Bogota, i.e., A2. Again, its geographical position between the Central Peninsular and the Leonese region contributes to this mixed subsystem.

31 The global IND 0 comparison ratio (*canté : he cantado*) has been calculated for Madrid, Buenos Aires, Bogota, La Paz and Salamanca from the same data provided for Table 2, to which the data for Santiago de Compostela have been added (only of the 18 selected informants). Data from Alcalá de Henares and Montevideo are not available (hence the provisional nature of these data, in brackets). The first ratio (3.33 : 1) corresponds to these six cities (PP = 2,855 and SP = 9,512). However, as Santiago de Compostela introduces such a major distortion, because of the huge disproportion between the use of simple and compound forms, and especially because the disproportion also affects the speakers within this same city (see footnote 20 and Azpiazu 2021b), the computation is also presented without Santiago's data, and hence the second ratio (1.8 : 1; PP = 2,820 and SP = 5,245). I think the latter provides a more accurate picture of the proportion in the overall use of both forms in contemporary Spanish, with the Galician phenomenon rather as an exception.

3.2.3.1 The most striking thing in Table 4 is the fact that the subjunctive ratio is much more evenly balanced than the indicative one. As already stated (§3.2.2), there is a clear specialisation of each form, *haya cantado* and *cantara*, in present and past matrix contexts, respectively. When observing the regional incidence of both forms, it is also striking that their distribution in the cities does not correspond to the subsystems' model assumed for the indicative counterparts in Veiga (2014a; 2019) and Azpiazu (2019). Thus, in SUBJ 0 only Santiago de Compostela and Salamanca maintain a clearly higher ratio of simple over compound forms, followed by Montevideo, where this ratio is only slightly higher. Moreover, the compound form in all the other cities exceeds the simple one, but not in the same sense as would be expected if there were an equivalence between the two moods. For example, La Paz and Madrid, both belonging to B2, have a very similar number of simple and compound forms, with a slight predominance of the latter, but this is also the same relationship found in Buenos Aires, which is a B1 variety. In turn, the two cities with the fewest simple forms are Alcalá de Henares (B2), as is to be expected, and Bogota (A2), which is not.

The fact that the results for cities belonging to the same dialectal area, such as Buenos Aires and Montevideo, or Madrid and Alcalá, do not match is surprising. A plausible explanation could be the different sociolectal nature of the corpus of, on the one hand, Buenos Aires and Madrid (*Macrocorpus*, only highly educated speech) and, on the other, Montevideo and Alcalá (PRESEEA, all three levels of education), whereby it could be argued that the prestige of one of the forms over the other (compound form in Río de la Plata; simple form – or at least, balanced distribution of both forms in the Central Peninsular variety) would be influencing the results for Buenos Aires and Madrid. Due to the shortage of available data, it is not possible to be very precise about this, although of the five Montevideo speakers using *haya cantado*, three have a high level of education. It may be also symptomatic that the only case of *haya cantado* in a past matrix context (33), an almost exclusive domain of *cantara*, comes from a highly educated speaker from Montevideo:

- (33) *yo no conozco o sea / no he <palabra_cortada/> no tuve ningún<alargamiento/>n // ninguna // gente cercana que<alargamiento/> haya tenido problemas de<alargamiento/>*
[adicción] (MONV_H23_019)³²

³² Only in a very strict sense can this context be interpreted as belonging to the past sphere, as the matrix context is ambiguous between present and past: the informant starts their utterance with a verb in the present tense (*yo no conozco* 'I do not know'), hints at moving to the PP (*no he <palabra_cortada/>* 'I have not <cut word>') and only in the end chooses the SP, with a clear continuative meaning, not completely detached from the moment of speech (*no tuve ninguna gente cercana* 'I

'I don't know, that is / I haven't <cut word/> I **didn't have**_[SP] any<lengthening/> // any // close people who< lengthening/> **have had**_[CF-SO] problems with< lengthening/> [addiction]'

The forms' distribution by cities is statistically significant according to the chi-square and the V of Cramer tests ($\chi^2 = 18.969$; $p = 0.008$). A very interesting phenomenon arises here, not only for understanding the regional extension of *haya cantado*, but also for *he cantado*. It is a phenomenon studied extensively by Rodríguez Molina (2010), and more specifically for *haya cantado* by Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017), and it affects the different development of the compound forms in the western part of Spain, to which both Santiago de Compostela and Salamanca belong.

This difference is not only significant compared to other Peninsular areas, but also compared to all Spanish-speaking areas in general. The data are quite eloquent: as in the indicative, there is also a clear two-part division for CF-SO, but it does not coincide with the continental division. Rather there is a main subsystem (A) that covers most Spanish-speaking regions, with a certain balance in the use of both forms, and there is the Peninsula's western area (B), where the simple form is clearly preferred over the compound one. Unfortunately, the lack of data of *haya cantado* available for this study, due mostly to its scant presence in speech compared to *he cantado* (see Troya Déniz 2007, 593), makes it very difficult to establish further subdivisions in the large A subsystem.

3.2.3.2 The combination of the diatopic results with the matrix context data might be more illustrative. As mentioned above (§3.2.2), a truly significant fact that is not accurately reflected in Table 4 is that each form, *haya cantado* and *cantara*, seems to be focused on the subordinate clause of a different matrix context: *haya cantado* if it is a present sphere matrix; *cantara* if it is past. This specialisation is more striking in the second case than in the first one, where both forms are found more regularly, and thus functionally oppose each other. This is also the context in which significant diatopic information arises:

a) The western Spanish cities of Santiago and Salamanca stand out for the high use of *cantara* in this context, too: both are the only cities in which the simple – compound ratio is balanced (1.2 : 1 for Salamanca; 0.9 : 1 for Santiago), whereas Montevideo and Buenos Aires, B1 areas, as Santiago, in the indicative,

didn't have any people close to me'). It is very likely that the main verb would have been *he tenido* in another speaker's discourse not belonging to this variety.

record very similar ratios to each other (0.25 : 1 and 0.28 : 1, respectively), but far from those of Santiago and Salamanca. These results suggest that the processes of normalisation of the compound form have been somehow “cut short” in Spain’s western region (Veiga 1983, 2019, 16–19; Azpiazu 2021b), but this has not happened to the same extent in the American varieties. At the same time, they reinforce the proposal stated in Azpiazu (2019, §3.6) to keep the phenomena affecting the compound forms in the B1 variety in Spain’s north-western area (B1a) separated from the same phenomena in Río de la Plata (B1b).

b) Within the context of the present matrix, *cantara* never occurs in two cities: Alcalá de Henares and La Paz, both belonging to the B2 variety, the most innovative as to the functions of the PP. The question, for this variety, of whether it is also possible to make further distinctions (Andean and Central Peninsular Spanish) as proposed in Azpiazu (2019, §3.6), remains unanswered because of the data for Madrid, with a relatively high incidence of simple forms (0.5 : 1). A more detailed study of the two regions is required, including data for the Andean region from areas not covered here, such as Peru and Ecuador.

c) Surprisingly enough, Bogota records an extremely low ratio of *cantara* compared to *haya cantado* (0.12 : 1). Again, with all the caution required due to the scarcity of the data available, this could reinforce the idea that the distribution of simple and compound forms expressing primary anteriority in the Spanish subjunctive is organised in a much more homogeneous and stable way that in the indicative, and it does so mainly according to the tense of the matrix context that governs both forms.

Table 5 is a reformulation of the PP/SP scheme of subsystems and varieties (Table 1), adapted to CF-S0/SF-S0, and taking the matrix context into account:

Table 5: Regional subsystems for *haya cantado/cantara* in present and past matrix contexts

Matrix context	A-subsystem: all Spanish speaking regions except the Peninsular north-west	B-subsystem: Peninsular north-west
Present: <i>No me extraña que...</i>	<i>se haya perdido</i>	<i>se haya perdido/perdiera</i>
Past: <i>No me extrañó que...</i>	<i>se perdiera</i>	

This system is much more homogeneous than the indicative one, with hardly any differences between varieties. Possible reasons for this will be discussed later, but it might have to do with the poor semantic development of *haya cantado* in comparison with *he cantado* (see §3.2.4.1), which, in turn, might be related to the syntactic-semantic constraints under which it appears and the force of the temporal

coherence principle, or “associative link” discussed above (§3.2.2).³³ The question is whether tempo-aspectual distinctions like the ones in Table 1 (continuative, immediate past, and preterite uses of the PP) also work for *haya cantado* with dialectal consequences. To begin with, Table 5 clearly shows that the compound form is not to be found in past contexts, which leads us to assume that it will not be easy to find either with a preterite or aoristic function.³⁴

In order to confirm or disprove this hypothesis, as well as to check whether *haya cantado* has developed the same semantic functions as *he cantado*, the temporal reference of the former in the corpora needs to be analysed, but due to the syntactic-semantic nature of this form, this analysis should be complemented in two ways: the expression of factuality or non-factuality and the type of subordinate clause in which the form is usually embedded.

3.2.4 Semantic and syntactic nature of *haya cantado*

3.2.4.1 In other works (Azpiazu 2019 and 2021b) I have proposed that it is the type of reference to the time in which the event occurs that determines the principal difference between SP and PP in the majority of Spanish varieties. If the event is generic, iterative, and cannot be located in a specific past moment (i.e., it is continuative or experiential according to Comrie’s 1976 classification), it normally appears in the PP form (***He estado*** *varias veces en el Louvre* ‘I’ve been_[PP] to the Louvre several times’), whereas if it is specific and unique, its temporal reference

³³ Kempas (2014, §5) reports results on the basis of elicitation tests that are partly coincident and partly divergent from the results provided here. He analyses three cases of *haya cantado/cantara* variation in present matrix contexts in different Spanish regions (none of them western). In one of them (case 2: *Repíteselo – puede que no* ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] *lo que le* ______[PP/SP] ‘Repeat it – he might not ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] what you ______[PP/SP] him/her’), the use of *haya cantado* in the first blank reaches almost 81%, but in the other two cases it is surpassed by the simple form. However, it should be noted that in case 1 the context is ambiguous between a perfective retrospective and an imperfective interpretation, so it seems logical that informants choose *cantara* (*No creo que* ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] *un ovni* ‘I don’t think it ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] an UFO’). The high frequency of *cantara* in case 3 are the most difficult to explain, but they might be related to the fact there is a perfective PP in the immediately preceding sentence: *Mira, no ha pasado* ______[PP] *nada* ‘Look, nothing has happened_[PP]’, which may well prompt a past context interpretation in the subsequent answer (see Carrasco 1999 and §3.2.2): *Es posible que* ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] *el botón demasiado ligeramente* ‘It is likely that you ______[CF-SO/SF-SO] the button too lightly’. Nevertheless, this case’s distribution is the most balanced of all three (*cantara*: 63% – *haya cantado*: 37%), and the scarce data that the same author provides on a similar test conducted with Portuguese speakers are also very revealing: the compound is the majority form there.

³⁴ A synthesis of the studies on the aoristic PP can be found in Azpiazu (2019, §3.5), and more extensively in Veiga (2019, 31–38).

can be more easily determined, and normally has the SP form (*Estuve una vez en el Louvre* ‘I **was**_[SP] once at the Louvre’) (see also Schwenter/Torres Cacoullos 2008; Copple 2009; Henderson 2010). By using the compound form, the focus on *when* exactly the event happened loses significance. When this information can be easily extracted, even if it is not explicit in the utterance, the simple is the more common form. It is precisely the temporal complexity of the PP and its ability to refer to a past event in a time span that ends (or starts, according to the “extended present” posited by Alarcos 1947; see also Azpiazu 2018) in the present that explains this temporal indeterminacy. In contrast, the temporal simplicity of the SP is a priori more suitable for expressing events located at specific moments in the past.

When the PP gradually develops from the undefined time reference to a more defined one, referring to unique, concrete and clearly identified (or at least traceable) past events, it competes with the SP. This happens in the so-called immediate past (*No sé qué me **has dicho** antes* ‘I don’t know what you **said**_[PP] before’), hodiernal (related to the same day of the utterance: *Hoy me **he levantado** tarde* ‘I **got up**_[PP] late today’), and pre-hodiernal contexts, with adverbial complements expressing a time span that may or may not include the moment of speech (*Esta semana **ha estado** enfermo* ‘He **has been**_[PP] sick this week’) or not (*El otro día **he perdido** la cartera* lit. ‘I **lost**_[PP] my wallet the other day’). The undefined PP is called P1 in Azpiazu (2019; 2021a), and it is normally used in all Spanish varieties; the defined, innovative PP of the three aforementioned contexts is P3. In A1 varieties, P3 is fairly frequent in hodiernal and immediate past contexts (P3a), but only B2 varieties use it also in aoristic contexts (P3b), with no temporal connection with the moment of speech (as in the “wallet example”). There is a third type of PP, P2, linked to the original resultative meaning of the perfect periphrasis, which can also be found in all Spanish varieties, and refers to unique and semelfactive events, although it is also temporally undefined, as the focus of the information is set on the consequences of the event rather than on the event itself (Azpiazu 2019, §2.4).

The data available for *haya cantado* show that the semantics of the temporal reference is far less complex here than in the indicative, and not so determining for the simple/compound form contrast than the matrix context time. Indeed, of the 65 detected cases of CF-S0 in the corpuses, 60 (i.e., 92%) have an undefined time reference (P1), and only five represent some type of P3 (pre-hodiernal and immediate past perfects). Thus, the relationship between compound form and temporal indeterminacy is much more significant in the subjunctive than in the indicative.³⁵ (34) shows *haya cantado* with an undefined temporal reference:

³⁵ Note that this is true even in the unique case of CF-S0 with a past matrix context (33). The temporal reference of the form (*haya tenido*) is unspecific, and cannot be located in any past moment.

- (34) *Es que... es que la sociedad te exige el que tenga... te exige el que **hayas tenido** algún amor, ¿no?* (MA-4)
 'It's just... it's that the society demands that you have... it demands that you **have had**_[CF-SO] some love, right?'

However, the contrary statement concerning the simple form is not completely true. *Cantara* refers clearly to defined events in the past only when its matrix context is past (74% of the exponents, all pre-hodiernal, as in (35)), although in a present context, temporal indeterminacy is also regular in *cantara* (36): temporally defined events do not amount to half of the occurrences (48%). Undoubtedly, it is important to note that most of the occurrences of *cantara* with an undefined temporal reference in a present matrix context belong to the western Spanish area (Salamanca and Santiago), which is, as already pointed out, the region where simple forms in general have lost the least ground among all Spanish varieties, and thus maintain many of the original meanings of Latin perfect (specially P1), which were later partly assumed by compound forms in the evolution to the Romance languages:

- (35) *ese retrainimiento pues, pues me **hizo** que, que me, que finalmente **hiciera** el, el servicio militar* (SAL-6)
 'that withdrawal, well, well, it finally **made**_[SP], me **do**_[SF-SO] my national service'
 (36) *No, no **recuerdo** en absoluto que **hubiera** nada... que, que **dijera**: "Bah, esto, esto de ninguna manera", ¿no?* (SAL-5)
 'No, I **do not rememeber**_[Pres-IO] at all that there **was**_[SF-SO] anything that I **said**_[SF-SO]: "Well, this, this by no means", right?'

The five defined time reference cases (P3) of *haya cantado* are the following:

- (37) (...) 'Bueno', dije, 'qué voy a hacer, perderé mi tiempo', pero estoy así asombrado de que nos **haya salido** tan bien (LP-3)
 '(...) 'Well', I said, 'what should I do, I'll waste my time', but I'm so amazed that it **turned out**_[CF-SO] so well'
 (38) *me alegro que te **haya gustado*** (MONV_M22_022)
 'I'm glad you **liked**_[CF-SO] it'
 (39) *y le dije / <cita> ¿me cobra usted la carrera? / aunque **haya sido** corta me cobra usted con el agradecimiento </cita> etcétera etcétera* (ALCA_H33_051)
 'and I said /<quote> aren't you charging me the fare? / even if it **was**_[CF-SO] short please charge me with all my gratitude </quote> etcetera etcetera'
 (40) *Que realmente lo tienen para aviones que no son de C., y que como tú dices, pues no tienen mucha comodidad, pero lo que me llama la atención es que **hayan estado** dos horas porque normalmente se llama a bordo faltando, qué sé yo, treinta minutos* (LP-5)
 'They really have it for planes that are not of C., and which, as you say, are not very comfortable, but what strikes me is that they **have been**_[CF-SO] two hours there, because they usually call you to board when there are like thirty minutes to go'

- (41) *se les ocurrió la feliz idea / de<alargamiento/> llevar una máquina y acabar con todo lo que han dejado prácticamente sin nada / de rastrojo // lo que **haya crecido** e<alargamiento/>n <vacilación/> en ese lapso de tiempo de siete días y tal es lo que se ha ido quemando* (ALCA_H23_007)
 ‘they came up with the happy idea / of taking a machine and cleared away everything, they have left practically nothing / of stubble // whatever **has grown**_[CF-S0] in that seven-day span is what has been burnt off’

These five cases also show that the events can be located in the past because of their factual nature.³⁶ The first three examples, (37) to (39), refer to situations occurring on the same day of the utterance or even while the conversation is taking place (hodiernal and immediate past situations). Except for (38), the other two are embedded in direct speech contexts, i.e., the utterance has a certain degree of elaboration by the speaker, who reproduces a past conversation and forces the listener to interpret the predicate time from the point of view of the moment when the sentence was uttered, and not of its subsequent reproduction. As to (40) and (41), they refer to very specific situations that can be located in the past. In the first case, the speaker comments on the interlocutor’s last words on the experience of waiting two hours for a plane in very bad ventilation conditions. In the second case, the interlocutors talk about a fire in a plot bordering the speaker’s home, and they mention a pruning operation prior to the fire that prevented worse consequences. *Haya crecido* refers here to a continued process with a clear end, seven days before the fire, which, in turn, is also previous to the conversation.³⁷ Thus, in both (40) and (41) CF-S0 represent events with a time limit prior to the speech act, as the clearest exponents of what may resemble the aoristic or perfective use of a compound form (P3b). It might not be a coincidence that all but one (38) of these five cases of *haya cantado* in P3 function occur in B2 variety regions, the most innovative ones. However, once again it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions, as the global data on forms and functions may not be sufficient. In any case, the only certain statement that can be made is that the P3 (not to men-

36 The NGLE (2009, §24.1ñ) points out, without further development, that retrospective events with *haya cantado* are associated with factuality, but, actually, almost all examples proposed by the NGLE refer to very specific past events, very often alongside an aoristic SP: *¿A qué **viniste**? No creo que **haya sido** para hablar de tu papá* (Palencia, E., *Camino*) ‘Why **did** you **come**? I don’t think it **was**_[CF-S0] to talk about your dad’ (note also the English translation, with the simple past form).

37 It can be argued that this example presents, as is usually the case in relative clauses in the subjunctive (*lo que haya crecido* ‘whatever has grown’), a certain sense of eventuality. However, it can also be interpreted that the speaker does believe the vegetation grew again between the cutting down and the fire – they just don’t know how much it grew.

tion P3b) value of *haya cantado* is still residual in practically all varieties of the language.

3.2.4.2 The last criterion analysed in this study is the type of syntactic-semantic structure in which both *haya cantado* and *cantara* are embedded in order to determine whether this also plays a significant role in the use of one or other form. *Haya cantado* appears in completive³⁸ (N = 29) and relative clauses (N = 23), followed at a distance by concessive (N = 5), temporal (N = 1) and causal clauses of negated cause (N = 3),³⁹ as well as by free constructions (with adverbials like *quizás*, *posiblemente*, *capaz que*, etc.; N = 4), whereas *cantara* appears mostly in completive clauses, (N = 46) and, to a much lesser extent, relative (N = 10), temporal (N = 8), modal (N = 3), causal clauses of negated cause and free constructions (N = 1 in the last two cases):

Table 6: Percentages of CF-S0 and SF-S0 according to the type of subordinated clause

	compl.	relative	modal	tempo.	causal	conc.	free c.	N
<i>Haya cantado</i>	45	35	–	1	5	8	6	65
<i>Cantara</i>	67	14	4	12	1	–	1	69

According to the chi-square and V of Cramer tests, the distributions are statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 33.021$; $p < 0.05$). Both forms are used mainly in completive and relative clauses (these two types account for around 80% of all occurrences of the two forms), but while for *cantara* the completive clauses are by far the most common syntactic structure (especially in the present matrix context, where they account for more than 80% of all cases), *haya cantado* is also very often used in relative clauses. Indeed, relative clauses appear to be a type of structure in which *haya cantado* is to be expected, especially in questions. This happens to be the interviewers’ most normal use of the form (70% of all their uses of *haya cantado*).

38 As explained in §2.5, footnote 16, for evidential reasons of relative chronology related to the constraints of our search (only forms expressing primary anteriority), completive clauses with verbs of influence or verbs that require the event in the subordinate clause to be subsequent to the one expressed by it (*Nos pide que vayamos* ‘He asks us to go’; *Temo que no venga* ‘I fear he won’t come’) are excluded from the count.

39 These are practically the same types that Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017, §3) detects in medieval times, with the exception of the completive clauses, which, according to his data are still scarce at this time and only later become widespread in Spanish (never before the 15th century).

As noted, interviewers' samples have not been included among the study data, although all their samples have been collected (42):

- (42) *¿y recordás alguna ané<alargamiento/>cdota? / ¿algo importa<alargamiento/>nte o curio<alargamiento/>so que te **haya ocurri<alargamiento/>do**? (ENTREV-Montevideo)*
 'and do you remember any anecdote? / anything important or curious that **has happened**_[CF-SO] to you?'

This pattern is so widespread in the interviewers' samples that *haya cantado* can occur even in relative clauses with a past matrix (43). Note that this was also the syntactic environment of example (33) above, the only case of *haya cantado* in a past matrix context among the informants.

- (43) *¿y alguna vez te pasó de estar en una situación que te **hayan roba<alargamiento/>do** o que **hayas visto** que no sé que robaban a alguien? (ENTREV-Montevideo)*
 'And did you ever happen to be in a situation where you've **been robbed**_[CF-SO] or you've **seen**_[CF-SO] someone robbed?'

Interestingly, both examples, (33) and (43) correspond to speakers from Montevideo, a conservative variety for PP, and, indeed, in both cases the matrix verb is a SP with an experiential meaning with an undefined temporal reference (note the negated antecedent in (33) and the complement *alguna vez* 'ever' in (43)), a typical PP function even in Uruguay (Henderson 2010, 121). The same experiential and temporal undefined meaning appears in the verb of the subordinate clause, but this time it is expressed by the compound form *haya cantado*. These kinds of relative clauses are the best showcase for the prototypical nature of CF-SO: a retrospective form with a link to the present that cannot locate the events at a specific past point; that is, it does not provide information about a concrete situation, but rather about a type or class of situations likely to be specified in later utterances. Moreover, with none of these two relative clause's antecedents ((33) and (43)), can the factuality of the referred situation be stated, and hence the subjunctive is used.

However, the functional contrast between *haya cantado* and *cantara* occurs mainly in completive clauses with a present matrix verb. In order to verify whether *haya cantado* has undergone the same or a similar semantic development to the PP, and thus contrasts in a similar way with its corresponding simple form, it would be advisable to distinguish between those clauses in which the subjunctive appears only when the main verb is negated, and the rest, with a main verb governing the subjunctive. Only the first type may provide an ideal minimum pair for contrasting the temporal reference of the compound form in both moods and, as a consequence, the possibility of a temporally defined (P3) CF-SO, as shown in (44):

- (44) *Creo que (hoy, esta mañana) se ha levantado tarde* → *No creo que se haya levantado tarde*
 ‘I think she/he **got up**_[PP] late (today, this morning)’ → ‘I don’t think she/he **got up**_[CF-SO] late’

In the corpuses, this syntactic context is found seven times, and although they are all located in the B2 variety (Madrid, Alcalá, and La Paz), *haya cantado* almost always refers to temporal undefined events (P1), as in (45) and (46). They mention generic events of an experiential type, and often non-factual. In other words, the semantic type of CF-SO in these clauses is similar to the one detected in the relative ones:

- (45) *porque es que a mí yo no me acuerdo que me hayan explicado <alargamiento/> [...] yo qué sé eeh no <vacilación/> que me <vacilación/> haya ido a visitar la casa de Cervantes por ejemplo ni que haya ido a visitar<alargamiento/> / pff yo qué sé iglesias (ALCA_H21_043)*
 ‘because I **don’t remember** that I **have been explained**_[CF-SO] [...] I know er <hesitation/> that I <hesitation/> **have gone**_[CF-SO] to visit Cervantes’ house for example or that I **have gone**_[CF-SO] to visit / I don’t know which churches’
- (46) *Por otra parte, este Madrid de hoy... no creo que haya ofrecido a todas esas gentes lo que verdaderamente esperaban de él (MA-2)*
 ‘On the other hand, this Madrid of today... I **don’t think** it **has offered**_[CF-SO] all those people what they truly expected of it’

Example (47) is somehow different, as it refers to a specific event that was previously mentioned in PP and has a clear resultative and factual meaning. An echoic effect (repetition of the prior sentence’s compound form) cannot be ruled out:

- (47) *Me refería a que es muy importante esta pérdida de territorios, pues con ella Bolivia ha perdido su salida al mar y ha quedado como un país mediterráneo. Ahora bien, el problema no es mucho el que Bolivia haya perdido el mar, sino que en la manera en que han sido arrebatados estos territorios (LP-1)*
 ‘I was referring to the fact that this loss of territory is very important, because Bolivia **has lost**_[PP] its access to the sea through it and has ended up like a Mediterranean country. The problem, however, is not so much that Bolivia **has lost**_[CF-SO] the sea, but the way in which these territories have been seized’

In general, when it comes to these contexts in completive sentences, temporally defined events are not usually linked to a time span ending at the moment of speech, and they appear with the simple form *cantara*:

- (48) *yo no creo que muchos pudiesen hacer lo que hice (MA-11)*
 ‘I don’t think many people **could do**_[SF-SO] what I did’

(49) = (29) *En eso, hace poco yo lo he visto en el Clínico, no que se **muriese** por culpa de... de un individuo* (MA-4)
 ‘In that regard, I’ve recently seen this at the Hospital, not that he/she **died**_[SF-SO] because of... of an individual’

Due to the scarcity of available data, the only certain statement that can be made is that even in the B2 variety, a P3 value is not as common for *haya cantado* as it is for *he cantado*. Besides, it could be interpreted as further proof that the temporal reference does not weigh more than the matrix context for the presence of CF-SO in the utterance.

As for the role of factuality in all completive clauses, Table 7 shows that although factuality generally prevails in almost all of them, especially in clauses always governing the subjunctive (in brackets), it does not affect both forms in the same way: factuality clearly prevails with *cantara*, but with *haya cantado* it is fairly evenly balanced with non-factuality. The difference between forms is noticeable, but not statistically significant according to the chi-square test:

Table 7: Percentage of CF-SO and SF-SO in completive clauses with factual / non-factual predicates (in brackets, predicates always governing the subjunctive)

	<i>haya cantado</i>	<i>cantara</i>
Factual predicates	55 (68)	65 (71)
Non-factual predicates	45 (32)	35 (29)

Last but not least, some observations should be made on the third type of subordinate clauses that are more frequent for *haya cantado* (though much less frequent than the other two), namely, concessive ones. As shown in Table 6, *cantara* (with retrospective and perfective meaning) in these kinds of subordinates does not even contrast with *haya cantado*.⁴⁰

In this study, concessive clauses with *haya cantado* reveal a slight preference for factual predicates (three out of five cases). The corpus data do not allow affirming that factuality favours the presence of the compound form over the simple one in concessive clauses with the subjunctive, but the absence of *cantara* even in

⁴⁰ In fact, this statement needs to be qualified: indeed, in the present matrix context, the concessive clauses have only compound forms. However, there are several cases of *cantara* in concessive clauses in a past matrix context, but they have been excluded from the count because they express primarily simultaneity to another past event; that is, they do not contrast with *haya cantado* (e.g., *Aunque no **tuvieran** / ***hayan tenido** dinero, iban muy elegantes*, MA-8 ‘Even if they **didn’t have**_[SF-SO] any money, they were very elegant’).

past matrix contexts, and the results of a cursory search in RAE's CORPES XXI in these very same contexts, point in that direction. Indeed, most of the predicates with *haya cantado* found in concessive clauses with past matrix contexts in CORPES XXI, like (50), are factual:

- (50) *Se me **notaban** los dieciséis años en todo el cuerpo. Las tetas bien paradas, y aunque no **haya sido** el momento en que más flaca **estuve**, se me **marcaban** los huesos de la cadera* (CORPES XXI – 2001 López, Alejandro, *La asesina de Lady Di*, Argentina [consulted on 12/05/2021])

'You **could**_[IMPF-IO] see I was sixteen all over my body. My boobs full, and even though it **wasn't**_[CF-SO] the time when I **was**_[SP] the skinniest, you **could**_[IMPF-IO] see my hip bones'

Two aspects are especially striking in (50): on the one hand, as in (33) and (43), there is a formal contrast between retrospective forms with the same time reference (continuative past) within the same sentence: CF-S0 (*haya sido*) and SP (*estuve*). On the other hand, the example belongs once again to the B1 variety, where the indicative simple form is a very common solution in such continuative contexts. Yet when it comes to the subjunctive, the B1 speaker chooses the compound and not the simple form, which reinforces the idea that factuality may be favouring *haya cantado* over *cantara*. The reason could be the multifunctional nature of *cantara* as a retrospective form not only of factual events in SUBJ 0 but also of irrealty in SUBJ 2. Both are common functions of *cantara* in concessive clauses, which can express real or unreal conditions, so the use of the compound form, synonymous of the simple one in SUBJ 0 but never in SUBJ 2, may be a possible solution to formally differentiate both meanings without having to depend on the context. If in a sentence such as (51)

- (51) *Es estudioso porque es un... una persona que se ha dedicado a tratar de... de... de salirse de cada libro; escribe un libro pero no se que... no se pretende quedar allí, así al... así **haya tenido** éxito* (BO-2)

'He is studious because he's a... a person who's dedicated himself to trying to... to... to escape from every book; he writes a book but he doesn't... he doesn't intend to dwell on it, even... even if he **has been**_[CF-SO] successful',

CF-S0 was replaced by SF-S0, it would have the effect of casting doubt on the factual nature of the event; that is, the fact that the person in question was indeed successful:

- (52) *escribe un libro pero no se que... no se pretende quedar allí, así al... así **tuviera** éxito*
'he writes a book but he doesn't that... he doesn't intend to dwell on it, although... even if he **succeeded**_[SF-S0?/SF-S2?]' → SF-S0 = 'he was successful' / SF-S2 = 'he might be successful (but he is not for the moment)'

In §2.3, other cases of *haya cantado* with a disambiguating function have been mentioned. However, this is still only a hypothesis that merits further study.

3.3 *habré cantado* vs. *cantaría*

3.3.1 Preliminary considerations

The main difference between the pair *haya cantado* / *cantara* and *habré cantado* / *cantaría* is that the latter are indicative forms, like PP and SP, but of the modal variety that Veiga (1992) calls IND 1; that is, they have the modal function of uncertainty or conjecture. This modal function, which in Spanish affects all forms with a posteriority vector (futures and conditionals), implies a “dislocated” (Rojo 1974) or “metaphorical” (Bello 1847) use of both *habré cantado* and *cantaría* (and also, although not analysed here, *cantaré* and *habría cantado*), whereby they no longer mean, respectively, anteriority with respect to a point subsequent to the origin (“past in the future”), and posteriority with respect to a point previous to the origin (“future in the past”), but anteriority in a time span simultaneous to the origin (= *he cantado*) and plain anteriority to the origin (= *canté*), but with an additional modal meaning of uncertainty that both *he cantado* and *canté* lack.

Contrary to *haya cantado* and *cantara*, it does not seem necessary for IND 1 to emphasise the matrix context or the types of syntactic structures in which the forms may appear, because these forms are normally used, like their corresponding IND 0 forms, in free sentences, whereby the temporal “associative links” of Kempas (2012) or any other kind of temporal coherence do not play an important role here. In a similar way to *haya cantado*, the NGLE (2009, §23.16s) superficially describes *habré cantado* with a conjectural meaning, and considers it the equivalent of the perfect compound or simple form (depending on the country) plus a modal element (= “probably I have sung / I sang”). As seen, a brief mention is made in the NGLE, without further explanation, to the possibility that depending on the regional variety (and at this point it refers to the previous explanation about the dialectal variation of *he cantado* in all Spanish-speaking areas) the paraphrase of *habré cantado* is not PP but SP plus the uncertainty meaning: *Me habré equivocado* → *Probablemente me equivoqué* ‘I must have made_[CF-11] a mistake’ → ‘I probably made_[SP] a mistake’. The Academic Grammar touches on a delicate point, which it does not develop, however: the idea that *habré cantado* with IND 1 function may in certain regions cover a different temporal path than *he cantado*; that is, as a basic form of anteriority (*canté*). What follows is an attempt

to answer the question of whether this is really the case, although some clarifications are needed beforehand:

- a) Free constructions represent about two thirds of all *habré cantado* and *cantaría* occurrences. The remaining third are almost solely completive clauses, but with a present matrix verb, which, as we already know, does not affect the basic temporality of the subordinate forms (Carrasco 1999, 3065).
- b) Although CF-I1 and SF-I1 usually appear in free constructions, it is also true that, even more than in the case of CF-S0 and SF-S0, the exponents gathered from both corpora are few.⁴¹ The semantic context for the IND 1 dislocation is even more constrained than the syntactic and semantic conditions for SUBJ 0. Thus, the total number of occurrences of both forms is low in almost all the cities.⁴² Again, conclusions from these data can only be reached with caution.

What is indeed common between the CF/SF pair in SUBJ 0 and in IND 1 is the fact that *cantaría*, like *cantara*, also neutralises two IND 0 temporal functions: perfective anteriority with respect to the origin (*canté*) and imperfect simultaneity with

41 However, the NGLÉ (2009, 1793) states that the IND 1 interpretation of *habré cantado* is much more frequent than the merely temporal one (“past in the future” – IND 0). The same cannot be said about the conditional, although its majority use is clearly neither as IND 0 (“future in the past”) nor as IND 1, but as IND 2, i.e., for the expression of irreality. Evidence that these forms are highly constrained to pragmatic conditions and are, in general, rare in the common use of the language is found in the elicitation tests contrasting contexts of PP and SP in some Spanish regions of Azpiazu (2012a). There was a structure that clearly favoured (but did not force) the use of IND 1 forms, as it was a complex sentence whose matrix verb was *suponer* (‘to suppose, imagine’): *No creo que sepas cómo me llamo. Supongo que nadie te lo _____* ‘I don’t think you know my name. I suppose nobody _____ you’. Even in this context, the elicitation tests carried out on around 200 speakers from different Spanish regions recorded a percentage of 20% of IND 1 forms versus 80% of IND 0 forms.

42 In general, according to Rodríguez Molina (2010, 1202–1212) and Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (2017, 329), the compound future form *habré cantado* was rather late incorporated and, consequently, grammaticalised in Spanish. As far as I know, there are no data on the first uses of this form with the IND 1 function, but Rodríguez Molina (2010, 1209) quotes several cases in relative clauses where the form’s meaning is not future perfect but subjunctive perfect, that is, equivalent to *haya cantado* (*E los fruyos que avredes recebido en aquest comercio, queremos que sean en almosna por la anima del devantdicto seynnor d’Atssa* ‘And for the fruits you **have received**_[FUT. PERF] in this trade, we want them to be alms for the soul of the above-mentioned lord of Atssa’ – 1283, Hospital de Roncesvalles, RCV 288, quoted by Rodríguez Molina 2010, 1209; see also NGLÉ 2009, 1793). It is found with an uncertain or conjectural meaning in CORDE (not involving an exhaustive search) already in 15th century texts: *Cancionero de París*, *El baladro del sabio Merlín* or *La Celestina*.

respect to a point previous to the origin (*cantaba*).⁴³ Again, in order to maintain the parallelism with the PP/SP contrast, cases of *cantaría* have been reduced to the first function, as the only one where it is possible to switch forms with *habré cantado*.⁴⁴

3.3.2 Dialectal distribution

Table 8 shows the percentage of appearance of CF-I1 and SF-I1 according to the dialectal areas established for PP and SP (for ease of comparison, the SF : CF ratios in both IND 0 and SUBJ 0 are repeated here):

43 The posteriority function of *cantaría* formally neutralises in IND 1, as explained in footnotes 5 and 10.

44 When referring to the “conditional of conjecture” (*cantaría* in IND 1 function), the NGLE (2009, §23.15k) mentions that in certain contexts in which these expressions can be paraphrased by *poder* (‘can’) in SP, *cantaría* is next to the future compound conjecture and even to the conditional compound, and quotes as an example: *No recuerdo bien cuánto me {costaría – habrá costado – habría costado – pudo costar} esta cámara* ‘I don’t remember how much this camera {would cost – will have cost – would have cost – could have cost}’. It is further noted that “el tiempo prospectivo (futuro o condicional) marca la conjetura en las series mencionadas, mientras que el exponente de la anterioridad es el tiempo compuesto, o bien – si no está presente – la terminación de imperfecto contenida en el propio condicional”. In this case, there is no mention of any parallelism with the variational distribution found in IND 0, so it can be interpreted that in this case *cantaría* and *habré cantado* are, “with a slight difference in meaning”, always interchangeable. In fact, the context proposed here by the NGLE has little to do with the possibility of introducing *poder* in the sequence, but rather with whether *cantaría* should be interpreted as *canté* (primary anteriority form) or as *cantaba* (form simultaneous to a previous point). In previous examples, in the paragraph preceding the one quoted above (§23.15j), the NGLE mentions that *cantaría* is translated in the second way: *Tendría* [= seguramente *tenía*] *hasta veinte y cuatro años* ‘He probably **was**_[SF-I1] [= surely **was**_[IMPF-10]] twenty-four years old’; *Cuando la perdió de vista, Claudio Z. pensó que **estaría** [= seguramente **estaba**] más llena de negras sospechas que nunca* ‘When he lost sight of her, Claudio Z. thought that she probably **was**_[SF-I1] [= surely **was**_[IMPF-10]] more full of dark suspicions than ever’, etc., and, in those cases, neither can it be paraphrased by *pudo* (‘could’) + infinitive (**Pudo tener hasta veinte y cuatro años* ‘*He/she **could have been** twenty-four years old’, etc.) nor by *habré cantado*, as it is not functioning as a primary anteriority form.

Table 8: CF-I1 and SF-I1 percentages with ratio of appearance and the IND 0 and SUBJ 0 ratio in the eight cities of the study

Variety PP/SP	City	CF-I1 <i>habré cantado</i>	SF-I1 <i>cantaría</i>	Ratio SP : PP – IND 0	Ratio SF : CF – SUBJ 0	Ratio SF : CF – IND 1
B1a	Santiago de Compostela	0	100	23.24 : 1	2.6 : 1	1 : 0
B1b	Buenos Aires	100	0	5.8 : 1	0.7 : 1	0 : 1
	Montevideo	100	0	–	(1.4 : 1)	(0 : 1)
A2	Bogota	100	0	2.3 : 1	0.3 : 1	0 : 1
A1?	Salamanca	40	60	2.9 : 1	2.4 : 1	1.5 : 1
B2b	Madrid	75	25	1.5 : 1	0.7 : 1	0.33 : 1
	Alcalá de Henares	54.5	45.5	–	(0.3 : 1)	(0.83 : 1)
B2a	La Paz	50	50	0.8 : 1	0.8 : 1	1 : 1
Total		44 (N = 26)	56 (N = 33)	(4.07 : 1 / 2.11 : 1)	1.06 : 1	1.26 : 1

The overall ratio of the IND 1 is slightly favourable to the simple form, although it does not come close to the ratio of the IND 0. Yet it occurs again only in the western Spanish areas of Salamanca and Santiago de Compostela that the use of the simple form clearly prevails: in Santiago de Compostela there is not a single case of *habré cantado*, and in Salamanca the incidence of the simple form exceeds the compound one by half a point. From then on, nothing resembles the previous results, neither the dialectal distribution of *he cantado* / *canté* nor that of *haya cantado* / *cantara*. In Spanish cities, the compound form is more frequently used than the simple one, in La Paz the distribution is balanced, and in the rest of the American cities, Bogota, Buenos Aires and Montevideo, *cantaría* never appears with an IND 1 function. Thus, from the 33 *cantaría* exponents with this function collected from the corpuses, only two belong to an American city (La Paz). The rest appear in Spain, and more than half of them in just one city: Santiago. This result is intriguing: the American regions where the SP is more widely extended are precisely the ones in which the corresponding IND 1 form has developed least.⁴⁵ Does this mean there has been a different development of this function of

⁴⁵ It should be stressed again that the searched forms of *cantaría* must contrast functionally with *habré cantado*, so they should be equivalent in the IND 0 to *canté* and not *cantaba*. Without this

cantaría in each of the two main geographical Spanish-speaking areas? It is likely, although the available evidence indicates that any statement on this matter should still be taken as provisional.⁴⁶

3.3.3 Functional analysis of the forms

As for the functional differences between *habré cantado* and *cantaría*, they are parallel to those represented by the subsystem A2 in the IND 0, without further divisions:⁴⁷ both forms coexist, but the compound form is specialised for the expression of temporally undefined events and the simple form for temporally defined ones, as explained in §3.2.4.1. Thus, 22 out of 26 occurrences of *habré cantado* (85%) have a continuative, experiential or resultative meaning, whereby it is not possible to locate the events at any specific temporal point (53) whereas, and also in 85% of the cases, *cantaría* refers to events located at precise points in the past (54).

- (53) *Enc.- Salen muchas chicas de médicos, al final*
Inf.- Un treinta por ciento
Enc.- Salen bastantes, ¿eh?
*Inf.- Bueno, un treinta por ciento éramos en mi curso. Teniendo en cuenta que algunas **se habrán casado** y lo han abandonado... vamos a poner un veinte por ciento (MA-4)*
‘Int.- A lot of girls become doctors in the end
Inf.- Thirty percent
Int.- There’s a lot of them, huh?
*Inf.- Well, thirty percent of us were in my year. Considering that some of them **have probably got married**_[CF-11] and have abandoned it... let’s say twenty percent’*

restriction, there are, indeed, some cases of *cantaría* IND 1 in Buenos Aires (N = 5) and Montevideo (N = 8) (e.g.: *no primero me dio una pastilla y después me dio una inyección // no sé de qué sería* (= *era / ?fue*) *¿no?* – MONV_H22_004 ‘No, she/he first gave me a pill, and then she/he gave me an injection // I don’t know what it **would be**_[SF-11], right?’), but not in Bogota. Thus, it is not that *cantaría* cannot function as IND 1 in most of America, but it seems to show some resistance to doing so when it is the dislocated form corresponding to *canté*. If this is so, the presupposition of the NGLE (2009, §23.16s) mentioned in §3.3.1 would be wrong.

46 Data from Bogota and Buenos Aires, for example, could be not representative, as in the whole corpus *habré cantado* appears just once in the former and twice in the latter. There are also only two exponents of *habré cantado* and two of *cantaría* in La Paz.

47 The exception is, of course, Santiago de Compostela, which behaves as a normal representative of the B1 variety (no compound forms) and, curiously enough, also Montevideo, which shows a kind of B2 subsystem (no simple forms). Santiago’s case has been widely explained here and in Azpiazu (2021b); as to Montevideo’s peculiarity, a (provisional) explanation will be proposed in the next paragraph.

- (54) *es que anoche, en televisión, hubo un programa de defensa, no sé si ustedes lo oirían, de defensa del castellano* (MA-11)
 ‘last night, on television, there was a programme defending, I don’t know if you **heard**_[SF-11] about it, defending the Spanish language’

In these contexts of non-temporal definition, data of CF-I1 contradict everything that could be prejudged considering the PP’s behaviour in America: although location is not expressed by means of temporal complements, the only four examples of defined *habré cantado*, (55) to (58), are of the pre-hodiernal type, all belonging to speakers from Buenos Aires and Montevideo, where the PP does not usually perform this function. Note the speaker’s hesitation in (58) between the simple form *estuve* and the modalised compound form *habré estado*, which the speaker finally choses:

- (55) *Se fueron con el alambre carril para bajar, bajar todo el Catedral. Bueno, nosotros dimos nuestra clase... terminó la clase... y... **habrá sido** una clase de una hora más o menos; y como había bastante gente para subir por el alambre carril... cuando nosotros terminamos... la vimos a Sonia que recién estaba bajando* (BA-3)
 ‘They left with the cable railway to go down, down the whole Catedral. Well, we had our class... the class ended... and... it **must have been**_[CF-I1] a class of an hour or so, and as there were enough people to go up on the cable railway... when we finished... we saw Sonia just coming down’
- (56) *Y bueno, compraban a ojo. Posiblemente **se habrá asesorado** con algún amigo, alguno que tuviera la estancia de antes* (BA-11)
 ‘Wel, they used to buy at a guess. He **must have consulted**_[CF-I1] a friend, someone who had the farm before’
- (57) ***habremos vivido** diez años ahí / y nos mudamos para una casa que estaba exactamente en frente del edificio* (MONV_H12_006)
 ‘we **must have lived**_[CF-I1] there for ten years / and moved to a house that was right in front of the building’
- (58) *el último campeonato que jugué fue en el dos mil tres / justo había venido de Buenos Aires / de estar más o menos este <vacilación/> / estuve / **habré estado** como dos o tres años* (MONV_H21_043)
 ‘the last championship I played was in two thousand and three / I had just come from Buenos Aires / after being more or less <hesitation/> / I was / I **must have been**_[CF-I1] like two or three years’

It does not therefore seem appropriate to state that the difference between *he cantado* and *habré cantado* is reduced to the modal contrast between IND 0 and IND 1, that is, unmarked modality versus uncertainty, as it is possible that in Río de la Plata *habré cantado* assumes temporal functions that *he cantado* usually does not. The question is whether this semantic deviation has to do with a different development of the forms, maybe due to a later grammaticalisation of *habré cantado*, or whether it is the result of a different functional distribution with the corresponding simple form. Note that, as with *cantara*, *cantaría* is much more functionally polyvalent, and

is therefore a less unequivocal form than *habré cantado* for the expression of anteriority in a modal context of uncertainty. Like *cantara*, *cantaría* has additional temporal and modal functions that *habré cantado* lacks, as a form of posteriority in IND 0 or, more frequently, of irreality in IND 2 (Veiga 1996a). Thus, a sentence like (59)

(59) *aquello sería imposible de hacer* ‘that **would be** impossible to do’

can be interpreted in three ways: a) ‘(I suppose) it was impossible to do’ (IND 1), b) ‘(I thought) it was going to be impossible to do’ (IND 0), or c) ‘(if situation x happened), it would be impossible to do’ (IND 2), whereby the correct interpretation of the sentences depends solely on the context (here, in brackets) in which it is embedded. However, if the desired interpretation was a), *habré cantado* would allow expressing almost the same (anteriority to the moment of speech with an additional meaning of modal uncertainty) without the risk of being confused with b) and c), as its meaning excludes both posteriority and irreality:

(60) *aquello habrá sido imposible de hacer* ‘that **will/must have been**_[CF-11] impossible to do’

a) *supongo que aquello ha sido imposible de hacer* ‘I suppose it **has been** impossible to do’

b) *pensé que aquello *habrá sido imposible de hacer* ‘I thought it ***will have been** impossible to do’

c) *si se diera la situación x, aquello *habrá sido imposible de hacer* ‘if situation x happened, it ***will have been** impossible to do’

Indeed, excluding Santiago de Compostela’s data from the study, which always heavily distort the results, *habré cantado* is the normal form for expressing anteriority with a nuance of uncertainty. As for Santiago, it contains 57% of all occurrences of *cantaría*, and none of *habré cantado*. *Cantaría* behaves here similarly to *canté*, as described in Azpiazu (2021b): it assumes not only the regular SP temporal values of temporal determination, but also the PP ones, as shown in (61). The only five cases of *cantaría* with a possible P1 (experiential or continuative) meaning in our data belong also to Santiago:

(61) *el hostel por ejemplo / hubo temporadas en que no tenía un alma // porque / <vacilación/ > ese turista <pausa/> <ruido tipo=“chasquido boca”/> alguno empezaría a venir al hostel pero venía a pensiones venía a hoteles* (SCOM_M33_005)

‘the hostel for example / there were seasons when not a soul came // because / <hesitation/> that tourist <pause/><sound type=“click”/> some **would start**_[SF-11] to come to the hostel but they came to B&Bs, they came to hotels’

Once again, Galicia’s data suggest there are two different systems: the western Peninsula, which is reluctant to establish compound forms in any context, and the rest, where compound forms have been set up and have acquired different functional possibilities, not only according to their semantic development but also to their functional relationship with the corresponding simple forms.

4 Conclusions

The main goal here was to compare the functionality of the Spanish compound forms of marked modality *haya cantado* and *habré cantado*, the latter with a dislocated value of conjecture or uncertainty, with that of the modal unmarked form *he cantado*. The aim was to verify whether, given that these forms have hardly been studied alongside their simple counterparts, they are, as is usually understood, mere functional variants of the indicative PP in all language varieties, or whether their functions should be separated from it. Special focus was placed on the question of whether Veiga's (2014a; 2019) dialectal paradigm of two subsystems and four varieties, assumed also in Azpiazu (2019), remains valid outside the scope of the indicative. I have thus sought to reintroduce a question already raised in Kempas' work (2006b), when, by studying the distribution of *canté* and *he cantado* in different Spanish-speaking regions by means of elicitation tests, he observed that the blank with the greatest frequency of compound forms was always the one in the subjunctive, despite the clear aoristic context of the sentence (*Me alegre de que por fin (tú) ____ a Rafa ayer* 'I am glad you finally ____ Rafa yesterday'⁴⁸). In subsequent works, Kempas (2008; 2012; 2014) set out to check whether the predicate's "subjunctivity" could favour the presence of compound forms over simple ones in different syntactic contexts, and although he is not finally able to confirm this, his work clearly shows that activators of *haya cantado* do not seem to be the same as activators of *he cantado*. The predicate's "subjunctivity" is too vague a concept to explain anything, if not specified in terms of types of subordination, factuality, and temporal reference; that is, unless all syntactic and semantic implications that this concept implies are analysed in depth.

Accordingly, and unlike the Finnish scholar, I have searched the spontaneous speech corpuses of different European and American Spanish varieties. Elicitation tests may a priori be useful for this kind of study, as they allow restricting the contexts for the occurrence of *haya cantado* and *habré cantado* – IND 1. However, they require prior knowledge of what these probable contexts are. When such knowledge is not available, it is preferable to use real speech samples that would allow us to first delimit the field of study. Elicitation tests, if any, may serve to corroborate or subsequently discard some of these conclusions. In fact, the tests carried out in Azpiazu (2012a), which like those of Kempas assume a functional parallelism between *he cantado* and *haya cantado*, provide contradictory information that can only be correctly interpreted once it

⁴⁸ My own results on this very same sentence are presented in footnote 49.

is known that both forms do not behave in the same way in any language variety, and that there are many syntactic-semantic factors governing *haya cantado* that need to be properly controlled when designing the experiment. Otherwise, the results may be misinterpreted, or too hastily interpreted (see below, footnote 49).

The counterpart of this decision is the risk of having little data on the four functions of SUBJ 0 and IND 1 compound and simple forms. Particularly with regard to the IND 1 forms, the information available is scarce, so we must be particularly cautious with the conclusions. However, there are some interesting questions on which this study has been able to shed light concerning the general system of distribution between simple and compound forms in Spanish, among them also the indicative SP and PP:

4.1 From a dialectal point of view, the data are well defined: *haya cantado* and *habré cantado* are proportionally more widely used in all the regions than *he cantado*. It may even be stated that, in the case of a clear functional contrast with their corresponding simple forms, speakers often favour the compound ones. In this sense, the variational distinctions that have been established for PP/SP in Veiga (2014a, 2019) or Azpiazu (2019) do not seem to work for these modalised forms, or at least not in the same way. The exception to this rule is the western Spanish area, especially Galicia, where the simple form still dominates, to the extent that there is not a single case of *habré cantado*, and almost as many of *haya cantado* as *cantara* in contexts in which, in the rest of the varieties, the preferred form is the compound one; that is, when the matrix context refers to a present situation. By the conservative way the PP is used in this region, it has been classified as B1a in Azpiazu (2019, 204; 2021b). It is different not only to all the other varieties, but also to the other region with a conservative use of the PP, namely, Río de la Plata (B1b). The fact that, according to the results of this study, the use of modalised compound forms is more frequent in this American area, and especially that these forms adopt semantic functions that are not usually assumed by the PP, is a clear indication of a different origin of the reluctance to the compound forms (either PP, CF-S0 or CF-I1) in B1a and B1b.

4.2 With respect to the temporal properties of *haya cantado* and *habré cantado*, they also do not match those of PP in the same regions. There is a less marked development of their temporal possibilities, which are reduced to the expression of past events with no temporal specification, either because it is not seen as relevant information or because they are generic or iterative, i.e. “experiential” events. A more defined anteriority use of these forms, which has been considered “innovative” in PP (P3 in Azpiazu 2019, §§3.2 and 3.5), has hardly been found among the data

here:⁴⁹ the hodiernal meaning, very common in Peninsular Spanish PP, is not at all present, the immediate past represents 4% of all cases and it is not only located in A1 or B2 regions in Spain, as expected, but also in American A2 (Bogota) and B1 (Montevideo) varieties, where it is unexpected. Regarding the pre-hodiernal contexts, they represent more than 7% of all cases of CF-S0 (examples (40) and (41)) and CF-I1 (examples (55) to (58)), yet, again, they appear only twice in “innovative” B2 regions (Alcalá de Henares and La Paz) and elsewhere in the American B1 region. Except maybe for (55) and (56), these are not, indeed, fully “aoristic” uses of the forms: time indicators disassociating the event from the moment of speech never appear, and the predicates often express states (*estar*: (40) and (58); *ser*: (55); *vivir*: (57)) or processes (*crecer*: (41)) that imply a certain duration, albeit a limited one.

By looking at the data from the inverse perspective, that of the simple forms, notable differences also arise between IND 0 and SUBJ 0, whereby, again in Río

49 The lesser ability of these forms, especially *haya cantado*, for the expression of a well-defined anteriority use (hodiernal, immediate past or pre-hodiernal) has also been confirmed by the data collected years ago from elicitation tests in Peninsular Spanish speakers by Azpiazu (2012a). Basically, there were three sentences, some shared with Kempas (2006a), where the contrast CF-S0/SF-S0 was possible, one in a hodiernal context (a), and two in pre-hodiernal ones (b and c):

a) *No es posible que las chicas ____ el examen de hoy antes de las 2, porque había muchas preguntas*

‘It’s not possible that the girls ____ today’s test before 2 o’clock, because there were so many questions’;

b) *¿Qué le pasó ayer a Sandra? – No tengo noticia de que le ____ nada*

‘What happened to Sandra yesterday? – I don’t know whether anything ____ to her’;

c) *Me alegro de que por fin (tú) ____ a Rafa ayer*

‘I’m glad that you finally ____ Rafa yesterday’.

Regardless of the temporal context, simple forms predominate over compound ones in all three cases, although perhaps not as expected. The most predictable result was in c) (pre-hodiernal), where *haya cantado* hardly appeared (contrary to Kempas’ results (2006b)). However, *haya cantado* was quite common in b) (41%), even more so than in a) (31%), which is where it was mostly expected, considering that it represents a hodiernal context in the A1 variety. With the evidence obtained in this study, these results could now be explained as the interaction of different forces. In a), the frequency of the simple form instead of the compound one involves two circumstances: i) the event is temporally defined, which does not particularly favour CF-S0, and ii) the adverb setting the hodiernal context is behind the blank, so the informants may not have noticed it at the time of completing the test. In turn, the relatively greater frequency of *haya cantado* in a pre-hodiernal context like b) may be related to the fact that: i) the matrix verb is in the present tense, and it has already been shown that this context favours the presence of CF-S0 in the subordinated clause, and ii) the adverb setting the pre-hodiernal context is in the previous sentence, not in the sentence with the blank, whereby the negated verb in the answer may have made the informants think that the event did not take place at any specific point in the past, and, thus, it does not need to be temporally defined either.

de la Plata, the same experiential contexts, almost always expressed with the SP in the indicative, appear with the compound form in the subjunctive. Both forms can even coexist in the same sentence; see examples (33) and (43) above, or this other one, again from an interviewer:

- (62) *¿Qué película recordás de las últimas que viste que te haya gustado?* (ENTREV-Buenos Aires)
 ‘What movie do you remember of the last ones you **have seen**_[SP] that you **have liked**_[CF-SO]?’

4.3 Although, in general terms, the tendencies noted in the preceding paragraphs affect both CF-SO and CF-IL, the morphosyntactic peculiarities of the subjunctive form require its semantic nature to be specified more. The data show that *haya cantado* almost only appears with present matrix contexts, which is not so much a problem of temporal correlation as of coherence, as explained in §3.2.2. Be that as it may, the matrix context is the weightiest criterion for the appearance of this form. In turn, its prototypical syntactic environment is the relative clause, where the characteristic function of temporal non-definition of the compound form is joined by the idea of non-factuality of the subjunctive.⁵⁰ This sets the precise scope for mentioning events that have not happened or which cannot be said to have happened (an especially common scope in interviewers’ questions). In this particular syntactic environment, simple forms are much less frequent. This tendency is reversed in the completive clauses, where the percentage of occurrence of both forms is evenly balanced (Table 7), and thus, again functional. Factuality does not seem to play a very relevant role here for the appearance of the compound form, but it probably does for the use of the simple one. In concessive clauses, factuality again becomes a potentially relevant factor, but in the opposite sense to the relative ones: the presence of the compound form may be explained by the factual nature of the predicate. The hypothesis has been launched that the univocity of *haya cantado* as a form of primary anteriority may strengthen its choices for the expression of factual contents, as opposed to *cantara*, whose temporal and modal multi-functionality makes it a much more ambiguous, and therefore less suitable form, for that meaning in these types of subordinates. This kind of “functional dissimilation”, where disambiguation is not exclusively left to the communicative context, could also be assumed for explaining the frequency of *habré cantado* and the absence of *cantaría* as IND 1 in certain American regions.

⁵⁰ In the relative clauses, where the subjunctive is optional, the non-factuality of the event is precisely the reason for it to appear.

4.4 Incidentally, and although this was not the direct subject of this study, the results obtained confirm relevant aspects of the temporal nature of the PP. It has been verified that, when it functions as the matrix form in complex clauses, it can be combined with both *haya cantado* (specialised in present matrix contexts) and *cantara* (specialised in past matrix contexts) in an evenly balanced proportion. This speaks in favour of understanding it as a complex temporal form with anteriority and simultaneity vectors indissolubly intertwined (Veiga 2013; 2014b; 2019; Azpiazu 2019; 2021a), rather than as a complex aspectual form with both perfect and perfective meaning. More specific semantic considerations, such as whether the temporal reference (more or less defined) of the PP in the matrix verb is also decisive for the choice of one or other form in the subordinated clause, have not been conclusively confirmed here.

5 Abbreviations

CF-I1	Indicative past compound form (future perfect) with a conjectural meaning (<i>habré cantado</i>)	PQP-S2	Subjunctive past perfect (<i>hubiera hecho</i>) with a meaning of irreality
CF-S0	Subjunctive past compound form (<i>haya cantado</i>)	Pres-I0	Indicative present (<i>canto</i>)
Cond-I0	Indicative conditional simple form (<i>cantaría</i>) with a temporal meaning (“future in the past”)	Pres-S0	Subjunctive present (<i>cante</i>)
Cond-I2	Indicative conditional simple form (<i>cantaría</i>) with a meaning of irreality	SF-I1	Indicative past simple form (conditional) with a conjectural meaning (<i>cantaría</i>)
Cond.Pf-I2	Indicative conditional compound form (<i>habría cantado</i>) with a meaning of irreality	SF-S0	Subjunctive past simple form (<i>cantara</i>)
Fut.Pf-I0	Indicative future compound form (<i>habré cantado</i>)	SF-S0.Post	Subjunctive past simple form (<i>cantara</i>) with a meaning of posteriority

Impf-IO	Indicative imperfect (<i>cantaba</i>)	SF-S2	Subjunctive past simple form (<i>cantara</i>) with a meaning of irreality
PP	Indicative present perfect (<i>he cantado</i>)	SP	Indicative simple past (<i>canté</i>)

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- CREA = Real Academia Española: Database (CREA) [on line]. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*, <<http://www.rae.es>>
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