Result Clauses in Modern Greek and Spanish: A Contrastive Study¹

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Abstract

This paper examines the behaviour of result subordinators in Modern Greek and Spanish. Apart from the more frequently studied subordinators (που and ώστε) the research includes others, such as με αποτέλεσμα να and οπότε, which have received little or no attention until now. The article discusses how the choice of subordinator affects the selection of mood (indicative or subjunctive), the scope of negation and interrogation, the presence or absence of correlative intensifiers in the main clause, and the clause layer the subordinate clause can operate upon (SoA, proposition, speech act).

1. Introduction

Most grammars on Modern Greek and Spanish concentrate on a limited range of result subordinators.² The purpose of this paper is to extend the number of subordinators and to study their differences in behaviour. Apart from που and ώστε (the most frequently studied subordinators), Modern Greek has other connectors that are used to express consequence, while Spanish exhibits the subordinator *por lo que/cual*, (which has not received much attention either)

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² For result subordinators in Spanish see Álvarez (1995, 1999); for the Greek data see Holton *et alii* (1997: 465), Cleris, Ch. & Babiniotis, G. *et alii* (1998-2001 II 2: 107-110), Mackridge (1985: 256, 272-273), Tzartanos (1963 B: 94-96) and AKN.

in addition to *que* and *de manera/modo que* (the most frequently studied), as examples 1 and 2 show:³

- (1) Ήταν παρατηρητικός και διεπίστωσε ότι όλα είχαν τον ίδιο αριθμό, οπότε αντελήφθη ότι είναι πλαστά (HNC 909808)
'Era observador y constató que todos llevaban el mismo número, *por lo que* se dio cuenta de que eran falsos'
'He was a good observer and noticed that all of them had the same number, and therefore he realized that they were false'
- (2) Το 1895 η μητέρα της πέθανε ξαφνικά, με αποτέλεσμα η Βιρτζίνια Γουλφ να πάθει τον πρώτο νευρικό κλονισμό. (TO BHMA: B13785C101 9/2/2003: 61-62)
'En 1895 su madre murió de repente y *a consecuencia* de ello Virginia Woolf sufrió su primera crisis nerviosa'
'In 1895 her mother suddenly died, *and as a consequence* Virginia Wolf suffered her first nervous breakdown'

In this paper I am going to concentrate on the behaviour of all of these result subordinators (που, ώστε, με αποτέλεσμα να, οπότε in Greek and *que, de modo/manera que, por lo cual/que* in Spanish) as regards mood, negation, interrogation, the presence of correlative intensifiers and the level of the clause.⁴

2. Mood Selection

As for mood, result clauses seem to present three possible constructions: a) they can exhibit the moods of declarative independent sentences: indicative and conditional (potential and counterfactual); b) they can exhibit subjunctive. In the following sections I will examine the combination of the subordinators with these different moods.⁵

3 Most Greek examples are taken from the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC) developed by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing. The Spanish examples are my own or translations of the Greek examples.

4 The so-called result *για να* has been excluded from this study: οι περισσότεροι [ήταν] πολύ φανταχτεροί για να είναι ωραίοι ('most of them [were] too showy to be handsome', Mackridge 1985: 293). This is a special purpose clause. For this use see Mackridge (1985: 293-294), Tzartanos (1963 B: 139) and Veloudis (2010: 287). I thank the unknown reviewer for reminding me of this construction.

5 For mood in Spanish and Greek see Revuelta (2011); for the Spanish data see Pérez Saldanya (1999); for Greek see Hesse (2003). See also the references mentioned in note 1.

2.1. Όστε (de manera/modo que)/ που (que)

2.1.1. Indicative and Conditional

Greek *ώστε* and *που* and Spanish *de manera/modo que* and *que* can take the moods of declarative sentences. Indicative shows that the content of the subordinate clause is an actual consequence of the main clause:

- (3) Η ηγεσία της Ιαπωνίας ήταν όμως τόσο αφερέγγυα και τόσο διχασμένη, ώστε οι Αμερικανοί έτρεφαν (IND) πλέον σοβαρές αμφιβολίες για τις προθέσεις του Τόκιο. (HNC 77277)
 'The Japanese leadership was so unreliable and so split that the Americans had serious doubts about Tokyo's intentions'
 a. The Japanese leadership was very unreliable and very split (main)
 b. The Americans had serious doubts about Tokyo's intentions (subordinate)
- (4) Era tan malo *que* lo odiaban (IND)
 'He was so evil that they hated him'
 a. He was evil (main)
 b. They hated him (subordinate)

Conditional, on the other hand, points out that the content of the subordinate clause is either a potential (see 'POT' in example 5) or counterfactual (see 'COUNTER' in example 6) consequence:

- (5) Η άλλη τραγική ειρωνεία είναι ότι στα μπραντς των εστιατορίων [...] πετιούνται τόσο μεγάλες ποσότητες τροφής που θα μπορούσαν (POT) να θρέψουν μεγάλο μέρος από τους άστεγους και άπορους της Ασίας. (HNC 88585)
 'La otra ironía es que en los *brunch* de los restaurantes [...] se tiran cantidades de alimento tan grandes que *podrían* (POT) alimentar a una gran parte de los sin techo y necesitados de Asia'
 'The other irony is that the amount of food that is thrown away from restaurant brunches is so huge that it could feed a large part of Asia's homeless and needy people'
- (6) ο Ιωσήφ παρέμενε τόσο ακίνητος, ώστε το σώμα του θα μπορούσε (COUNTER) να έχει φτάσει να συγχέεται με τις πέτρες. (HNC 190563)
 'Joseph se quedó tan inmóvil que su cuerpo *podría* (COUNTER) haber llegado a confundirse con las piedras'
 'Joseph remained so still that his body could have been confused with the rocks'

2.1.2. Subjunctive

Subjunctive is selected as mood when the consequence is not a real, but a possible consequence. The speaker does not commit to the truth of the state of affairs. That is to say, the sentence expresses uncertainty (the consequence may or may not take place). Spanish usually replaces the subordinators with *como para* (*como para* plus infinitive or *como para que* plus subjunctive). When the subjects of both main and subordinate clause are co-referential the subjunctive is replaced by the infinitive:

- (7) Ήταν τόσο αφελής, ώστε να τον παρασύρουν κατώτεροί του, τους οποίους εμπιστευόταν. (HNC 1702458)
 'Era tan ingenuo *como para* que le *engañaran* (SUBJ) sus subordinados, en los que confiaba'
 'He was so naive that his subordinates, whom he trusted, could fool him'
 a. He was (main)
 b. Perhaps his subordinates fooled him (subordinate).

2.2. Με αποτέλεσμα να

The Greek construction με αποτέλεσμα να takes only the subjunctive, but unlike previous cases the construction always introduces factive consequences: the result is taken for granted in all circumstances, and therefore the Spanish translation in these cases demands the indicative. There is no exact equivalent in Spanish, and usually the best translation is to coordinate both clauses and add *a consecuencia de ello* ('as a consequence') as a connector to explicitly state the relationship between both states of affairs:

- (8) Το 1895 η μητέρα της πέθανε ξαφνικά, με αποτέλεσμα η Βιρτζίνια Γουλφ να πάθει (SUBJ) τον πρώτο νευρικό κλονισμό. (TO BHMA: B13785C101 9/2/2003: 61-62)
 'En 1895 su madre murió de repente y *a consecuencia de ello* Virginia Woolf *sufrió* (IND) su primera crisis nerviosa'
 'In 1895 her mother suddenly died, *and as a consequence* Virginia Wolf suffered her first nervous breakdown.'
 a. Her mother suddenly died (main)
 b. Virginia Wolf suffered her first nervous breakdown (subordinate)

This "anomalous" behaviour of the subjunctive in Greek remains to be explained. Nevertheless, the mere fact that there is no possibility of using the indicative clarifies that the subjunctive mood can have a factive interpretation.

The use of subjunctive in factive subordinates is common in Spanish in other contexts (for example in complement sentences), but not in Modern Greek.⁶

2.3. Οπότε / por lo que/por lo cual

The subordinators *οπότε* and *por lo que/por lo cual* can take the moods of main declarative sentences (indicative and conditional), but subjunctive is excluded:

- (9) 'Ήταν παρατηρητικός και διεπίστωσε ότι όλα είχαν τον ίδιο αριθμό, οπότε αντελήφθη (IND) ότι είναι πλαστά (HNC 909808)
'Era observador y constató que todos llevaban el mismo número, *por lo que se dio* (IND) cuenta de que eran falsos'
'He was a good observer and noticed that all of them had the same number, and therefore he realized that they were false'
a. He was a good observer and noticed that all of them had the same number (main)
b. He realized that they were false (subordinate)
- (10) Αυτό σήμαινε ότι, όταν ο χρόνος θα άλλαζε από 1999 σε 2000, πολλοί υπολογιστές θα αποθήκευαν τα ψηφία 00, οπότε θα μετέβαιναν (COND) σε μια προγενέστερη κατά έναν αιώνα ημερομηνία. (HNC 211315)
'Esto significa que, cuando el tiempo cambiara de 1999 a 2000, muchos ordenadores almacenarían los dígitos 00, *por lo que entrarían* (COND) en una fecha anterior en un siglo.'
'This means that, when the date would change from 1999 to 2000, many computers would record the digits 00, and therefore they would enter into a date one century before.'

2.4. Mood: General View

The following table summarizes the differences and similarities of the subordinators as far as mood is concerned.

⁶ See Ridruejo (1999: 3229-3233) for the use of subjunctive in Spanish factive complement clauses. In these factive contexts Modern Greek selects *που* plus indicative: see Christidis (1981) and Roussou (2006). For a recent discussion of the subjunctive, see the articles in *Lingua* 119 and a summary in Quer (2009).

Table 1.
Mood restrictions.

Subordinator		Indicative (Real)	Conditional (Potential/ Counterfactual: Θα + past)	Subjunctive (Spanish Infinitive with co-referential subjects)
Class I	που/que	+	+	+ (Uncertainty)
	ώστε/de manera que	+	+	+ (Uncertainty)
Class II	με αποτέλεσμα να/ο			+ (Factuality)
Class III	οπότε/por lo cual/que	+	+	

All subordinators allow the use of indicative and conditional (potential or counterfactual) both in Greek and Spanish, except με αποτέλεσμα να, which demands only subjunctive.

The subjunctive can appear with all of them except οπότε. In Spanish the subjunctive always expresses uncertainty; this applies to Greek too, except for the subordinator με αποτέλεσμα να, which always exhibits a factual interpretation.

As a consequence, in Greek it is possible to distinguish three classes of result subordinators according to their mood.

3. Scope of Negation

Negation allows us to further distinguish the behaviour of the subordinators. In the following subsections I will investigate how the negation of the main clause affects the main clause itself and its subordinate clause.⁷

3.1. Που / que

Under negation of the main clause the subordinators που and que mandatorily take subjunctive. In Spanish the subjunctive is replaced by the infinitive when the subjects of both main and subordinate clause are co-referential. In both languages the negation of the main clause additionally affects the content of the subordinate clause, as the paraphrases of example 11 show (see b):

⁷ For negation scope in Spanish and Greek, in result and other subordinate clauses see Revuelta (2011).

- (11) Σε καμία περίπτωση το χαμόγελό του δεν εξετράπη τόσο, που να μας δώσει (SUBJ) λαβή για περαιτέρω συμπεράσματα. (HNC 268840)
 'En *ningún* caso su sonrisa fue tan excesiva *como para darnos* (INF) motivo a ulteriores conclusiones'
 'In no case was his smile so broad as to give us a reason to come to further conclusions'
 a. His smile was *not* broad (main: negative)
 b. He did *not* give us a reason to come to further conclusions (subordinate: negative)

Since the main clause, which is the natural cause of the result clause, does not take place, the event referred to by the subordinate clause does not take place either. The subordinate clause seems to be within the scope of the negation and is affected by it. The choice of subjunctive in the subordinate clause (in Spanish subjunctive or infinitive) reflects this fact.

Apart from selecting infinitive when subjects in the subordinate and main clauses are co-referential, Spanish has the particularity that the subordinator most frequently chosen under negation is *como para* (*como para que* plus Subjunctive or *como para* plus Infinitive) rather than *que*.

3.2. Όστε / de manera/modo que (como para)

Under negation *ώστε* allows the interpretation of the subordinate clause both within and out of the scope of the negation.

As in the previous cases, the content of the subordinate clause can be within the scope of the negation and can be affected by it (see b in the examples below). The mood has to be subjunctive (infinitive in Spanish when the subjects are co-referential):

- (12) Δεν είμαι τόσο αφελής *ώστε να πιστεύω* (SUBJ) ότι ένα τραγούδι θα μπορούσε να επηρεάσει τις εκλογές. (HNC 72954)
 'I am not so naive as to think that a song could influence the elections'
 a. I am *not* so naive (main: negative)
 b. I do *not* think that a song could influence the elections (subordinate: negative)
- (13) *No* era tan malo *como para* que lo odiasen (SUBJ)
 'He was not so evil as to be hated by them'
 a. He was *not* so evil (main: negative)
 b. He was *not* hated by them (subordinate: negative)

When the subordinate clause is negative, the negation is cancelled by the main clause's negation, since two negations are equivalent to a positive assertion, as in the example below:

- (14) Κανένα μαρτύριο δε θεωρείται τόσο βάρβαρο, καμία τιμωρία τόσο σκληρή ώστε να μην επιβάλλεται (SUBJ) σε γυναίκες. (HNC 1120558)
 'Ningún tortura es considerada tan bárbara, ningún castigo tan duro como para que *no* se aplique (SUBJ) a las mujeres'
 'No torture is considered so savage, no punishment so hard that it *cannot* be applied to women'
 a. No torture is considered so savage, *no* punishment so hard (main: negative)
 b. All tortures (= *no no* torture), *all* punishments can be applied to women (subordinate: positive)

As with the previous subordinator (see *που*), apart from selecting infinitive when subjects in the subordinate and main clauses are co-referential, Spanish has the particularity that the subordinator most frequently used is *como para* (*como para que* plus Subjunctive / *como para* plus Infinitive). The subordinator *de manera/modo que* cannot be used in these cases.

But the subordinator *ώστε* —and *de manera/modo que* in Spanish— can have a second construction. It may fall out of the scope of the negation and refer to the positive result of a negative cause. The mood selected in this case is either indicative or conditional, but subjunctive is excluded:

- (15) Η ιστορική μνήμη δεν είναι από τις αρετές της φύλης μας [...] ώστε είναι (IND) κέρδος πάντα να την τονίσουμε (Mackridge 1985: 272)
 'A historical memory is not one of the virtues of our race [...] so that it is always profitable to stress it'
 a. A historical memory is *not* one of the virtues of our race (main: negative)
 b. It is always profitable to stress it (subordinate: positive)
- (16) No era tan malo, *de modo que* lo amaban (IND)
 'He was not that evil, so they loved him'
 a. He was *not* that evil (main: negative)
 b. They loved him (subordinate: positive)

3.3. Με αποτέλεσμα να

The subordinator *με αποτέλεσμα να* always falls out of the negation's scope. It always expresses the positive result of a negative cause, but the mood is subjunctive despite its factive sense:

- (17) Παραδόξως, η ναυτική μας ιστορία δεν έχει πλήρως ερευνηθεί, με αποτέλεσμα να υπάρχουν (SUBJ) ακόμα παρερμηνείες. (HNC 765018)
 'Paradójicamente, nuestra historia naval *no* ha sido investigada completamente, *por lo que* todavía *existen* (IND) interpretaciones erróneas'
 'Paradoxically, our naval history has not been completely researched, and as a consequence there are still many wrong interpretations'
 a. Our naval history has *not* been researched yet (main: negative)
 b. There are still many wrong interpretations (subordinate: positive)

Only when explicitly negated by μή(v), does the subordinate clause express a negative consequence, as in the following example:

- (18) Υπάρχουν στιγμές που το Διαδίκτυο γενικότερα έχει (παροδικά) προβλήματα, με αποτέλεσμα να μην είναι δυνατή η πρόσβαση σε συγκεκριμένους υπολογιστές. (HNC 206734)
 'Hay momentos en los que Internet en general tiene (ocasionales) problemas *y como resultado de ello no* es posible el acceso a determinados ordenadores'
 'There are times when the internet has (temporary) problems, and as a consequence there is no access to certain computers'

3.4. Οπότε / por lo que/cual

The same applies to *οπότε* in Greek and *por lo cual* / *por lo que* in Spanish. Their content is always out of the scope of the negation and they likewise express the positive result of the negative event referred to by the main clause. Like *ώστε* and *de manera/modo que* they exclude subjunctive:

- (19) δυστυχώς δεν υπήρχαν τα απαραίτητα χρήματα, οπότε έπρεπε (IND) να γίνει κάποια ιεράρχηση των προτεραιοτήτων (HNC 678695)
 'Desgraciadamente *no* había el dinero necesario, *por lo que* hubo (IND) que ordenar las prioridades'
 'Unfortunately there was not enough money, and as a consequence it was necessary to establish priorities'
 a. There was *not* enough money
 b. It was necessary to establish priorities

Only when explicitly negated, can the subordinate clause be negative, as in the following example:

- (20) Γενικά, όμως, οι τσιγγάνοι στιγματίζονται, οπότε δεν τους προσεγγίζουν οι κατάλληλες υπηρεσίες. (HNC 32524)

‘Generalmente, sin embargo, los gitanos están estigmatizados, por lo que los servicios adecuados no se acercan a ellos’

‘Generally, however, Gypsies are stigmatized, and for that reason appropriate agencies do not approach them’

3.5. Negation: General View

The following table gives a general view of both the scope of the main clause’s negation and the interplay of the scope of negation with mood selection.

Table 2.

Negation scope and mood restrictions.

Class	Subordinator	Negation	Mood
I	που / que	inside	subjunctive (uncertainty)
II	ώστε / de manera/modo que	inside	subjunctive (uncertainty)
		outside	indicative, conditional
III	με αποτέλεσμα να	outside	subjunctive (factuality)
	οπότε, por lo cual/que	outside	indicative, conditional

When within the scope of negation, the subordinate clause takes subjunctive: the subjunctive reflects the fact that the subordinate clause is affected by the negation and its state of affairs is supposed to not take place. Only με αποτέλεσμα να behaves differently from the other subordinators, since it expresses factuality and not uncertainty, and it is out of the scope of negation.

According to their behaviour under negation, the subordinators can be placed into three different classes, which differ from those established by mood selection.

4. Correlative Intensifiers (τόσο ... που/ώστε ...)

Some subordinate clauses express that the consequence is the result of the degree to which the main clause’s state of affairs takes place. This degree is conveyed by correlative intensifiers, which can modify nominal phrases, adjectives, adverbs or verbs in the main clause, and are combinable only with certain subordinators, as the table below shows:

It is important to distinguish between intensifiers—such as those in the table—and complex subordinators such as *de manera/modo que*. Correlative intensifiers can be placed in different positions within the main clause and

are not rigidly attached to the subordinator. On the other hand, in many cases complex subordinators are made up of a former intensifier (e.g., *de manera*) and a subordinator (e.g., *que*) from a diachronical point of view, but synchronically they behave as indivisible units (*de manera/modo que* are not separable).

Table 3.

Correlative intensifiers allowed by the subordinators.

Correlative intensifier	Subordinator	Modified constituent			
		NP	Adj	Adv	Verb
έτσι / <i>así/tan</i> ('so')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>		+	+	+ (?)
τόσο / <i>tan/tanto</i> ('so much')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>		+	+	+
τόσος, -η, -ο / <i>tanto/s</i> ('so much/so many')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>	+			
τέτοιος / <i>tal</i> ('such')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>	+			
Cada ('such', lit. 'every')	<i>que</i>	+			
με / κατά {τέτοιο ... τρόπο ... τρόπο τέτοιο} / <i>de tal manera que</i> ('in such a way that', 'so that')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>				+
εις τρόπον ώστε / <i>de tal manera que</i> ('in such a way that')	που/ώστε/ <i>que</i>				+
στο βαθμό / <i>hasta el punto/tal punto</i> ('in such a degree that')	που/ <i>que</i>				+

4.1. Use of Correlative Intensifiers

The use of intensive antecedents or correlative intensifiers is limited in Greek to the subordinate clauses headed by *που* and *ώστε*, and in Spanish to those headed by *que* and *como para*. In the case of *που* and *que* their presence is compulsory:

- (21) Το έδαφος είναι τόσο άγονο που η σοδειά μετά βίας φτάνει το ένα τρίτο του κανονικού. (HNC 29791)
'El suelo es *tan* improductivo *que* la cosecha con dificultad llega a un tercio de lo ordinario.'
'The soil is so unproductive *that* the crop hardly reaches a third of the usual.'
- (22) Οι σινοαμερικανικές σχέσεις είναι αυτή τη στιγμή τόσο πολύπλοκες, ώστε οι δύο πλευρές δεν συμπίπτουν ούτε καν στην περιγραφή της επίσκεψης. (HNC 84493)
'Las relaciones chinoamericanas son en este momento *tan* complejas *que* las dos partes no coinciden ni siquiera en la descripción de la visita.'
'The Chinese-American relationship is so complex right now *that* both sides do not even agree on the assessment of the visit.'

4.2. Lack of Correlative Intensifier

The absence of antecedent is optional with *ώστε* and compulsory with *με αποτέλεσμα να* and *οπότε* in Greek (for these last two subordinators see any of the examples in previous sections) and *de manera/modo que* and *por lo cual/que* in Spanish:

- (23) Η ιστορική μνήμη δεν είναι από τις αρετές της φύλης μας [...] *ώστε* είναι (IND) κέρδος πάντα να την τονίσουμε ('A historical memory is not one of the virtues of our race [...] so that it is always profitable to stress it', Mackridge 1985: 272)
- (24) No era malo, *de modo que* lo amaban (IND) ('He was not bad, so that they loved him')

4.3. Correlative Intensifiers: General View

The combinability with antecedents allows us to classify the subordinators into three different categories. One subordinator (*που*) demands the compulsory presence of a correlative intensifier, whereas two others (*με αποτέλεσμα να* and *οπότε*) preclude the use of such a constituent. Only *ώστε* allows both their presence and absence.

Table 4.
Restrictions on correlative intensifiers in main sentence.

Class	Subordinator		Correlative intensifier
I	<i>που</i>	<i>que</i>	+
II	<i>ώστε</i>		+
		<i>de manera/modo que</i>	-
III	<i>με αποτέλεσμα να</i>		-
	<i>οπότε</i>	<i>por lo que/cual</i>	-

5. Level of the Clause

The level of the clause and the type of entity put into relationship by the subordinators (states of affairs, propositions, speech acts) is another factor that has to be taken into account when classifying clauses.⁸ For example, clauses headed

⁸ See Dik & Hengeveld (1997) for the levels and layers of the clause.

by *που*, *ώστε* and *με αποτέλεσμα να* (but not *οπότε*) can establish a material cause-consequence connection between the states of affairs (henceforth SoAs) referred to by the main and subordinate clause: the SoA (a second order entity) in the main clause is a possible cause of the SoA described by the subordinate clause:

- (25) Η εξώπορτα ενός σπιτιού ήταν τόσο βουτηγμένη στο αίμα, ώστε ο Wehrly δεν κατάφερε να την ανοίξει. ('The doorway of a house was so drenched with blood that Wehrly failed to open it', HNC 412739)

In other cases the main clause of *ώστε* and *οπότε* (but not of *που* nor *με αποτέλεσμα να*) expresses not the cause, but rather the reason why a decision is taken, as in the following example:

- (26) Σύμφωνα όμως με αξιωματούχους της υπηρεσίας δεν κατέστη δυνατόν να βρεθεί εναλλακτική λύση, οπότε αποφασίστηκε να μην πραγματοποιηθεί καμία αλλαγή. ('According to some officers of the service it was impossible to find an alternative solution, and for that reason it was decided to make no change', HNC 17088)

On the other hand, *ώστε* and *οπότε* can establish relationships between the propositional content conveyed by both sentences (propositions are third order entities).⁹ In the following example the first sentences are presented as the evidence from which the speaker draws the conclusion expressed by the clause headed by *οπότε*:

- (27) Αν και κάποιοι είπαν, πως χθες βράδυ ο πρωθυπουργός ανεβαίνοντας στο βήμα της ΔΕΘ σκόνταψε στα σκαλιά και παραλίγο να έπεφτε! Οπότε, σίγουρα θα έβλεπε τα πάνω - κάτω... ('Although some people say that yesterday when getting on the platform the Prime Minister tripped over the steps and nearly fell down! Therefore he would see everything upside down', HNC 661819)

In a fourth level there are cases where *ώστε* or *οπότε* express that the speaker's speech act (and not its content or SoA) is a reaction to or a consequence of something previously said by his/her interlocutor:

- (28) Ωστε δεν έδωσες το δώρο στη Χρυσούλα; ('So you did not give the present to Chrysoula?', Holton *et alii* 465)

⁹ See Mackridge (1985: 272-273). Although he speaks of 'logical consequence' he refers to consequences in the SoA level that establish a reason-result consequence rather than a material cause-result consequence.

In these last two cases, when the relationships are established between propositions or speech acts, the connectors appear rather at the beginning of an independent clause and work rather as discourse markers and not as subordinators. This fact is sometimes reflected in the punctuation, and the connectors appear after a full stop, but this is not always the rule.

The following table depicts this situation.

Table 5.

Sentence entity affected by the result clause.

Class	Connector		Status	Relationship	Level
I	που	que	subordinator	material cause-consequence	SoA
	με αποτέλεσμα να		subordinator	material cause-consequence	SoA
II	ώστε	que / de manera/modo que	subordinator	material cause-consequence	SoA
				reason	SoA
			subordinator/discourse marker	evidence	Proposition
				reaction	Speech act
III	οπότε	por lo que/cual	subordinator	reason	SoA
			subordinator/discourse marker	evidence	Proposition
				reaction	Speech act

6. Interrogation

Interrogation interplays with both mood choice and level of the clause. When expressing material consequence on the SoA level, result clauses headed by *ώστε*, *που* and *με αποτέλεσμα να* can appear within the scope of interrogation. Those cases cover all uses of the last two subordinators (*που* and *με αποτέλεσμα να*), but not all of the first (*ώστε*), since, as we have seen in previous sections, *ώστε* can introduce relationships other than material consequence:

- (29) Μήπως διαφημίζουμε πράγματα που δεν ανταποκρίνονται στην πλήρη αλήθεια και αυτό κάποτε γίνεται αντιληπτό, με αποτέλεσμα να το πληρώνουμε στο τέλος πολύ ακριβά; (HNC 1765749)
- ¿Acaso no estaremos publicitando cosas que no se corresponden con la verdad y ello resulta a veces perceptible y *como consecuencia de ello* lo pagamos al final muy caro?
- 'Aren't we advertising things that do not correspond with the whole truth, and this fact is perceptible, and as a consequence at the end we are paying a very high price for it?'

The subordinator *με αποτέλεσμα να* always demands the presence of subjunctive. But interrogation may optionally trigger subjunctive in Greek when the subordinate clause is headed by *ώστε* and *που*; the same applies in Spanish to *que* and *como para (que)*, as the following Greek examples and their translations into Spanish prove (the first example is in subjunctive and the second in indicative):¹⁰

- (30) Είσαι τόσο ασυνείδητος ώστε να μη σου λένε (SUBJ) τίποτα όλα αυτά; (HNC 1189335)
 '¿Tienes tan poca conciencia como para que no te *digan* (SUBJ) nada todas estas cosas?'
 'Are you so lacking in scruples that all these things mean nothing to you?'
- (31) Η κατάσταση είναι τόσο κρίσιμη, κ. Χατζιδάκι, ώστε εσείς [...] “στρατεύεστε» (IND) τώρα εναντίον του νεοναζισμού; (HNC 1331655)
 ¿Es tan grave la situación, Sr. Hatzidakis, que usted [...] “*milita*” (IND) ahora contra el Nazismo?
 'Is the situation so serious, Mr. Hatzidakis, that you [...] are now “becoming militant” against Nazism?'

In the first of the two examples (30) both the main and subordinate clauses are under interrogation and therefore there is uncertainty as to the reality of the state of affairs referred to by them. The subjunctive of the subordinate clause is a formal reflection of such an uncertainty. In the second (31) example the result is just taken for granted (indicative) and only the reason referred to by the main sentence is questioned.

Unlike the above-mentioned subordinators, *οπότε* cannot appear within interrogative sentences to express result.¹¹ That is so because this subordinator cannot establish material cause-consequence relationships between SoAs.

On the other hand, both *ώστε* and *οπότε* can be out of the interrogative scope and introduce the question:

- (32) Ωστε δεν έδωσες το δώρο στη Χρυσούλα; ('So you did not give the present to Chrysoula?'; Holton *et alii* 465)

¹⁰ See Revuelta (2011).

¹¹ Other uses of *οπότε* are compatible with interrogation, as for example, when it means 'when' and introduces an explicative relative adverbial clause: Πιστεύετε ότι η Τουρκία είναι υποχρεωμένη να αναγνωρίσει την Κύπρο πριν από την 3η Οκτωβρίου (οπότε θα αρχίσουν οι ενταξιακές διαπραγματεύσεις); ('Do you think that Turkey is obliged to recognize Cyprus before the 3rd of October (time when the negotiations for the adhesion will take place)?'; HNC 27110).

- (33) Ο Ρούφους Σιούελ στα 32 του είναι ένας ανερχόμενος Βρετανός αστέρας, οπότε γιατί να μη γίνει Μποντ; ('Rufus Sewell at his 32 years is one rising British star, therefore why cannot he become Bond?', HNC 338339)

In these cases the connectors operate not on the SoA level, but on the speech act level. Subjunctive is excluded in these contexts.

The following table depicts this situation, where both the scope of interrogation and the interplay between this factor and mood choice are reflected.

Table 6.

Interrogation scope and mood restrictions.

Class	Subordinator		Interrogation's scope	Mood
I	που	que	within	indicative, conditional, subjunctive
	με αποτέλεσμα να		within	subjunctive
II	ώστε		within	indicative, conditional, subjunctive
		de manera/modo que	outside	indicative, conditional
III	οπότε	por lo que/cual	outside	indicative, conditional

7. General View

If we take into account all the factors analysed in this paper, we obtain a provisional classification of the Greek data such as the one depicted in the following table.

Table 7.

General view: Restrictions imposed by each subordinator.

Subordinator	Mood	Negation	Intensifier	Level	Interrogation
που	IND, COND, SUBJ (uncertainty)	inside (SUBJ)	+	material cause-consequence	inside
ώστε	IND, COND, SUBJ (uncertainty)	inside (SUBJ), outside (IND, COND)	+/-	material cause-consequence, reason-consequence, evidence, reaction	inside /outside
με αποτέλεσμα να	SUBJ (factuality)	outside (SUBJ)	-	material cause-consequence	inside
οπότε	IND, COND	outside (IND, COND)	-	reason-consequence, evidence, reaction	outside

The table considers the behaviour of the subordinators within the different contexts and the interplay among them.

As we have seen, negation correlates with a second factor, the mood: when the subordinate clause is within the scope of the main clause's negation, subjunctive is required; when the subordinate clause is out of negation's scope indicative or conditional are the rule. The subordinator *με αποτέλεσμα να* escapes this rule, because subjunctive is its only mood. The Greek data have parallel constructions in Spanish syntax.

Although not completely reflected in the table, interrogation's scope interplays with mood and sentence level: when the subordinate clause is within the scope of the interrogation, subjunctive is possible (but not when it is outside) and the relationship is established between SoAs (but not between propositions or speech acts). The presence of correlative intensifiers is restricted to the same contexts, too.

Although the table just reflects the Greek data, throughout this article many of the differences between the Greek and Spanish systems have been described. Some of these differences are the following: the lack of a subordinator like *με αποτέλεσμα να* in Spanish; the substitution of infinitive for subjunctive when subjects in both clauses are co-referential; the need in Spanish to replace the subordinators *que* and *de manera/modo que* with *como para* (infinitive or *que* + subjunctive) under negation in most contexts when the subordinate sentence is within the negation's scope.

One of the consequences of this asymmetry is the fact that Spaniards tend to ignore the construction *με αποτέλεσμα να* when speaking Greek, whereas they have no difficulty learning the use of *που* and *ώστε*. Apart from the asymmetry of both systems the lack of information in most grammars about *με αποτέλεσμα να* and *οπότε* plays a fundamental role.¹² On the other hand, Greek speakers tend to ignore the Spanish construction *como para*.

Despite the existence of previous works (Álvarez 1995, 1999) a more complete description of the Spanish data along the lines presented here is needed. Once the conditions of use of the subordinators in both languages are fully described, it will be possible to establish the correspondences between them. The present work is just a first attempt.

¹² The grammar by Cleris & Babinotis *et alii* (1998-2001) is the only one that mentions this construction.

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