

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Towards a unitary and differentiated analytical approach to the evolution of mood from Latin to Romance

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the developmental tendencies and mechanisms underlying the unfolding of mood systems in Romance complement clauses. In view of the fact that the subsequent dynamics of change can be better understood and motivated against the backdrop of the Latin system, we take the basic structure of the Latin mood system as the reference and necessary starting point of our analysis. After briefly discussing the basic approaches to the mechanisms of mood change in the relevant research literature that puts forward notions like ‘modal harmony’, ‘regrammation’, ‘lexicalization’, and ‘conventionalization’, the article develops a modal–semantic perspective that casts a different light on the convergent and divergent developments of mood in the complement clause domain of Romance languages. The modal–semantic approach allows, apart from a coherent description and analysis of the developments, recasting the question of whether mood, especially the subjunctive, also comes with its own semantic value(s) in complement clauses. This modal–semantic approach not only provides a coherent description and analysis of the developments but also allows for a re-examination of the abstract semantics of the subjunctive mood (in complement clauses), spelling out its basic semantic features.

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the diachronic dynamics of mood evolution in complement clauses in Romance. In order to better understand and motivate the developmental tendencies and mechanisms underlying the unfolding of mood systems in Romance complement clauses, the perspective has to be widened by taking into account the basic underlying structure of the mood system in Latin. As we will see in this article, the Latin mood system not only constitutes the starting point for the evolutions in Romance under scrutiny but also provides the necessary backdrop against which the differentiated, convergent, and divergent developments in the various Romance languages can be motivated and explained. Most

importantly, however, taking into account the basic structures of the Latin mood system and developing a dual perspective that encompasses Latin and Romance are crucial to determining the function of mood (alternations) in complement clauses, demonstrating that the main mood categories, the indicative and the subjunctive, are also endowed with a semantic value in the contexts of subordinate clauses, however abstract it may be. This paper therefore challenges prevailing approaches that view the subjunctive in complement clauses as a mere ‘concomitant of subordination’. Similarly, we question the view that the developmental dynamics of the mood system – particularly as exemplified by French, which is the most dynamically evolving in this respect – can be explained in terms of grammatical reorganization (‘regrammation’) or as conventionalization under the concept of lexical bias (‘variationist approach’). Instead, we defend the hypothesis that the subjunctive mood possesses a consistent core (abstract) meaning that has persisted through the various stages of the Romance languages. What has changed, however – specific to individual Romance languages – is the degree of expansion of the system of mood differentiation beyond a stable core area. Thus, this paper aims to provide a macro-diachronic perspective, highlighting the fundamental dynamics of development from Latin to the Romance languages. Due to space constraints, an exploration of the microstructural perspective and the potential pragmatic strategies of speakers is beyond the scope of this paper.

Our paper is structured as follows. In [Section 2](#), we will briefly present the main approaches dealing with the developmental dynamics and mechanisms of change in the domain of mood as well as their underlying assumptions as to the function of mood in complement clauses. This discussion will also highlight the limitations inherent in these approaches. Conversely, [Section 3](#) will introduce the basic modal–semantic notions relevant for the modal–semantic analysis of mood. This modal–semantic approach will underlie the further argumentation and will be argued to be the appropriate framework for analyzing the developmental dynamics in the field of mood throughout this paper. While [Section 4.1](#) deals with the structure of the Latin mood system and the semantics of the subjunctive in main and subordinate clauses, [Section 4.2](#) provides information about major changes in the mood system from Latin to Romance. In [Section 4.3](#), two modal domains, the doxastic and the evaluative, characterized by profound diachronic transformations but also by very accentuated inter- and intra-linguistic synchronic variation, are analyzed in order to better understand developmental tendencies and mechanisms as well as the role of semantics in complement clauses. The final subsection summarizes the main insights concerning the evolutionary dynamics of mood and seeks to provide a synthesis of the crucial questions of this paper. This synthesis will also include a spelling out of the semantic features of the subjunctive mood’s abstract meaning as it emerges from the dynamics of mood development. How this abstract semantics is then pragmatically employed by speakers in specific contexts is an issue that warrants examination in a future study.

2. Approaches to the analysis of the development of mood systems and the role of semantics

Conspicuously, all three relevant approaches that will be presented in this section relate to the theory of grammaticalization, either extending the notion of grammaticalization or modifying it by elaborating particular aspects of the theory.

2.1. Postmodality: From modal harmony to ‘concomitant of subordination’

The grammaticalization approach represents a fundamental framework in the analysis and modeling of linguistic change. It was Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) who first applied the framework to developments in the domain of modality, including the relevant morpho-syntactic category of mood (see in particular their Chapter 6.9). Their seminal work on grammaticalization has served as a landmark for other approaches that share this general outlook on language change but that enrich the general grammaticalization perspective by suggesting more specific mechanisms of change, especially with respect to the evolution of mood systems in the languages of the world and especially in the realm of complement clauses.

Bybee et al. are first and foremost concerned with diachronic developments and, therefore, do not engage in a theoretical debate on what the semantics of mood might be from a synchronic point of view. Although they do not deny the existence of meaning-bearing mood contrasts, they frame the semantic question from the broader perspective of grammaticalization. In their view, an all-encompassing semantic value inherent in mood grams does not exist, and, therefore, they conclude that a gram ‘might be meaningful in one context but not in another’ (Bybee et al. 1994: 213). Interestingly, Bybee et al. fall back on the label ‘modal harmony’ when describing the role of mood markers in complement clauses in Latin and other languages of the world. This notion is taken up especially by the Latinist scholar Magni, who applies it systematically to the role of (the subjunctive) mood in complement clauses in the classical Latin system (see Magni 2010: 245–246, in line with Bybee et al. 1994: 219–220).

The notion of ‘modal harmony’ (or ‘modally harmonic’) goes back to Lyons (1977) and was elaborated in Coates’ (1983) study on ‘should’ in which it denotes the correlation of a modal (in this context, ‘should’) with a co-occurring modal item that expresses the same degree of modality, i.e. does not add any further modal nuances to the modal meaning (see Coates 1983: 69, cited in Bybee et al. 1994: 214). An illustrative case in point is example (1):

- (1) The police are expecting that the Libyans should make the first move (see Bybee et al. 1994: 215)

In this example, the modal ‘should’ combines with the matrix verb ‘expect’ and, apparently, does not make any further semantic contribution – it is semantically ‘void’ but ‘harmonizes’ with the modal features (e.g. future-orientation, preference-semantics; see below) of the main verb.

Interestingly, Magni (2010), following Bybee et al.’s considerations on the uses of the Latin subjunctive (see synopsis in Bybee et al. 1994: 223), uses the concept as a key term for her own analysis, applying it both to the description of the underlying base structure of the Latin mood system and to the modeling of its diachronic dynamics in the course of developments. If, in the original Latin system, the uses of the subjunctive in the complement clause ‘echo’ its occurrences in main clause contexts (and are therefore ‘harmonic’), the subsequent evolutions allegedly make the system move away from this original ‘balance’ by admitting non-harmonic uses in different contexts of use. This leads to a reanalysis of the subjunctive mood that is characterized in the following way (Bybee et al. 1994: 219, taken up by Magni 2010: 267 and synthesized as a general conclusion on p. 268):

From the originally harmonic uses of subjunctives, there is a generalization to non-harmonic contexts, when the subjunctive is reanalyzed as a concomitant of subordination. (Bybee et al. 1994: 219)

This reanalysis, linked to a generalization of the subjunctive in complement clauses, is tantamount to the loss of its specific meaning or, in other words, to its ‘semantic bleaching’ according to the terminology of the grammaticalization theory. But caution is in order when it comes to such far-reaching generalizations.

Magni (2010), like Bybee et al. (1994: 222, 223), takes the developments in indirect interrogative sentences (if- and wh-complement clauses) as evidence for their hypothesis. In particular, they cite the cases of ‘dubito an’ (‘I doubt whether’) or ‘nescio an’ (‘I do not know if’), in which the subjunctive becomes the rule. Although the analysis of these contexts is beyond the scope of this paper, it must be stressed that in a modal–semantic approach, the occurrence of the subjunctive can be perfectly accounted for: from the perspective of modal semantics, indirect questions present alternatives of how the state of affairs referred to by the underlying propositions might be – e.g. in a sentence like ‘I doubt whether Peter arrived yesterday’, alternatives can be distinguished in which Peter arrived and others in which this is not the case. The fact that alternatives are evoked strongly motivates the selection of the subjunctive mood (see below) and can be interpreted as an instance of a coherent mood expansion to new contexts within the complement clause domain (on mood expansion, see especially Sections 4.2, 4.3). Another problem with Magni’s approach is the fact that she does not take into account further important developments in the complement clause domain, especially those related to evaluative and doxastic predicates whose selectional patterns change profoundly, as we will see in Section 4.3. All in all, we can profit from Magni’s excellent description of the mood system in Latin, without, however, agreeing with her analysis of the unfolding diachronic dynamics.

2.2. *Regrammation*

Jan Lindschouw avails himself in his study on evolutionary trends in the domain of mood in French and beyond of Andersen’s analytical framework on ‘regrammation’ (Andersen 2006). According to Lindschouw (2011a: 125) and in line with Andersen (2006), ‘regrammation’ can be conceived ‘as an extended version of grammaticalization’. More specifically, it can be defined as a process that ‘reorganizes grammatical systems into new grammatical systems provided that the relationship between the form and the meaning of the grammatical item in question undergoes a change within a closed paradigm (...), and that the scope of the item is reduced’ (Lindschouw 2011a: 125).

Although Lindschouw focuses, in the first place, on concessive clauses, his analysis is designed to uncover and capture general principles and mechanisms of change underlying the mood systems of Romance languages. Lindschouw ascribes clear-cut semantic values to the indicative and subjunctive moods in Romance based on the fundamental contrast between assertion and non-assertion (as suggested by Hooper 1975, Haverkate 2002, Korzen 2003; see also Lindschouw 2008, 2011a, 2011b). In line with this basic distinction, he characterizes the general evolutionary tendency as a ‘lessening’ of the non-assertive potential of the subjunctive during the period from Old French to modern French (Lindschouw 2011a: 123). The overarching process of regrammation falls into three mechanisms that are at work (see Lindschouw 2011a: 123–124, 146):

- A process of desemanticization
- A process of obligatorification
- A process of specialization

Assuming that ‘the result to a large extent reflect the general evolution of the mood system’ (Lindschouw 2011a: 124), Lindschouw takes the sub-system of concessive clauses as a testing ground (Lindschouw 2011a, 2011b).

Basically, the author claims that the value of the subjunctive in concessive clauses is reduced from two values (labeled as ‘presupposition’ and ‘irrealis’) to the single value of ‘presupposition’ (see Lindschouw 2011a: 146). This process is interpreted as an instance of ‘regrammation’. Conversely, the indicative mood is reorganized, extending its functional domain from the single value of ‘realis’ to three values, adding ‘presupposition’ and ‘irrealis’ to its semantic range.

In view of the fact that the subjunctive becomes obligatory in its contexts of occurrence, the variation with the indicative disappears and the subjunctive is confined to residual and specialized contexts of occurrence (see also Hopper & Closs Traugott [1993] 2003: 116–118). Overall, the indicative is gaining ground at the expense of its competing form in the course of developments.

This general evolution manifests itself in two specific developments in the domain of concessive clauses: The concessive conjunctions ‘bien que’ (‘although’) and ‘encore que’ (in pre-position) no longer admit mood variation, the selection of the subjunctive mood becoming obligatory (‘obligatorification’) (e.g. as in ‘Bien qu’/Encore qu’il soit invité à la fête, il n’est pas content’) (see Lindschouw 2011a: 142 [Tables 7.7, 7.8]; for a detailed picture of the evolutions, see Lindschouw 2011b: 177–198, 199–224). On the other hand, a new conjunction ‘même si’ (‘even if’), enters the stage (at the end of the sixteenth century) that uniquely selects the indicative, covering exclusively the irrealis domain (‘même s’il pleuvait’, ‘even if it rained’) (Lindschouw 2011a: 144–145; 2011b: 230–237). For reasons of space, we will not take a critical look at the details of Lindschouw’s analysis but will focus briefly on the subjunctive-as-presupposition explanation that is also put forward by the author and by other scholars in order to account for the selection of the subjunctive in factive–emotive contexts in Romance (see e.g. Lindschouw’s example ‘Je suis content que tu ailles mieux’ in Lindschouw (2022: 417) but also Wandruszka’s analysis of the Italian mood system, which analyzes the same type of contexts under the label ‘thematic’/‘factive subjunctive’ (see Wandruszka 2001: 472–481).

First of all, being a presupposition is not a grammatical value or function. Linked to lexical items like cognitive (‘to know’, ‘to remember’), factive (‘to regret’), and causative verbs (‘to cause’), it forms part of the semantic structure of the lexical item.

More importantly, the presuppositional feature does not entertain a particular, let alone exclusive, relationship with the selection of the subjunctive mood. Presuppositional verbs like ‘savoir’/‘ignorer’, ‘se souvenir’/‘oublier’, and ‘entendre’/‘voir’ select the indicative and not the subjunctive. On the other hand, the subjunctive is selected in non-presuppositional contexts like:

- (2) Que Bouzigue **soit** un ivrogne, c’ est
That Bouzigue be.PRS.SBJV.3.SG a drunkard that is
étonnant/possible/faux/certain.
surprising/possible/wrong/certain
‘That Bouzigue is a drunkard is surprising/possible/false/sure’ (Confais 1980: 74)

In this case, the truth of the proposition is not presupposed (as part of the common ground) but the evaluation and/or attribution of a truth value is postponed. So, in the example at hand, the proposition *p* might be wrong (p.ex. *Que Bouzigue soit un ivroge, c'est faux. C'est sa petite amie qui nous a menti*). So presuppositional contexts are not inherently associated with the subjunctive nor can these contexts be reduced to a (single) grammatical/functional value. Therefore, the diachronic dynamics that sees concessive conjunctions and factive–emotive predicates increasingly having the subjunctive has to be analyzed in a different way.

2.3. *The evolution of mood in a variationist approach*

Bybee et al.'s (1994) thoughts on language change in the domain of modality are also the starting point for Shana Poplack and her co-authors. In their recent publications on the evolution of mood, however, Poplack, Cacoullos, Dion, Berlinck, Digesto, Lacasse & Steuck (2018: 248) identify the processes of lexical routinization and structural conventionalization as driving forces of evolutionary changes that are due to the desemanticization of mood.

The defining property of lexicalization is that 'the lexical identity of the governor contributes to the subjunctive selection independent of any meaning to be expressed' (Poplack et al. 2018: 238). If 'lexical bias' is considered the major predictor of subjunctive selection, then neither contextual factors nor the semantic properties of governors play a significant role in the mood variant choice (see Poplack et al. 2018: 238).

The phenomenon referred to as conventionalization amounts to the 'increasing association between structural context and variant, and concomitant reduction or loss of "free"! (semantically-motivated) choice amongst them.' (Poplack et al. 2018: 222). This mechanism of change relates mood selection to language-specific factors, such as the role of negation, interrogative sentence modality and the conditional morphology of the matrix verb ('eu gostaria que', 'I would like to') as well as to the presence of epistemic and evaluative adverbs (maybe, apparently, etc.).

In their study, Poplack et al. highlight three aspects that according to their interpretation come to light in the sample of spoken Romance data:

- Governors display either a high or a low level of association with the subjunctive mood (as a crucial part of their lexical profile).
- A small number of governors account for a huge proportion of subjunctive forms (e.g. only three governors ['pensar', 'acreditar', and 'querer'] account for 50% of the subjunctive occurrences in Portuguese, and only two governors ['falloir' and 'vouloir'] for almost 80% of the subjunctive forms in French (see Poplack et al. 2018: 240 [Figure 6]); for French, see also Siepmann & Bürgel 2015: 175).
- In addition, it turns out that the subjunctive is recruited from a very limited set of embedded verb forms (see Poplack et al. 2018: 243 [Figure 8]).

These data are put forward as evidence for the overall conclusion that 'in all four (Romance) languages, lexical bias was found to be the major predictor of subjunctive selection' (Poplack et al. 2018: 248).

We do not deal with Poplack et al.'s ranking of the Romance languages according to 'grammaticalization measures', with Latin as the starting point; Spanish as the most conservative; and Portuguese, Italian, and French as the most advanced languages (see Poplack et al. 2018: 244 [Table 10], 246 [Figure 9]), given that a differentiated and critical

review of their interpretation of the data would require a separate paper. Some critical aspects, however, have to be mentioned inasmuch as they concern the line of argumentation in this paper.

First, as will become clear throughout this article, comparing governing lexical items and their frequencies in Romance languages without taking into account their modal properties, as well as their belonging to modal domains, is somewhat like comparing apples with oranges. For the sake of illustration, take Poplack et al.'s Figure 6, representing the governors most responsible for mood selection in the Romance languages at hand (Poplack et al. 2018: 240):

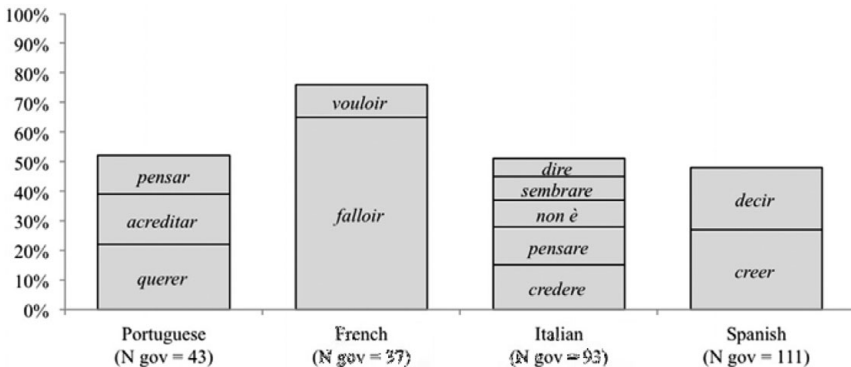


Figure 1. From Poplack et al. 2018: 240.

If you depart from the most frequent governors in each language under scrutiny, you get the idea that the subjunctive is associated with belief verbs in Portuguese ('pensar', 'acreditar') and in Italian ('pensare', 'credere', 'sembrare': 'mi sembra') but with the deontic verb 'falloir' in French and with the verbs 'creer' and 'decir' in Spanish. The authors do not point out that, in the cases of Portuguese and Spanish, negation is the triggering factor for the subjunctive (in Spanish always, in Portuguese in most cases), whereas in affirmative contexts the indicative is mandatory (in Spanish) and strongly preferred in Portuguese (see Becker *To appear*). These facts strongly contrast with Standard Italian where belief predicates generally select the subjunctive in all contexts ('il congiuntivo dubitativo (epistemico)'; see Wandruszka 2001: 434–437). Finally, the seemingly very frequent verb 'decir' (in Spanish and elsewhere) is polysemic and only selects the subjunctive when referring to an order ('dicere' with a deontic meaning) but not as a verbum dicendi, i.e. in contexts of reported speech. In the remainder of this paper, we will demonstrate the paramount relevance of the semantics of these verbs and, even more crucially, the presence of specific modal features that are responsible for the selection of the subjunctive. Against Poplack et al.'s thesis concerning the crucial role of lexical bias for the selection of the subjunctive mood and, linked to it, the desemanticization of the form in the course of developments, we argue that the subjunctive has a consistent core (abstract) meaning that pervades all contexts of occurrence and that has remained intact until the contemporary language stages in Romance. Although we do not agree with Poplack et al.'s stance on the subjunctive and its evolutionary dynamics, we will refer to their data as they illustrate certain trends we are going to highlight (without sharing their interpretation).

A final caveat as to the term grammaticalization, as used by Poplack et al., has to be made at this point: If, as Poplack et al. suggest, the overall evolution pointed toward an increasing strengthening of lexical biases, the underlying mechanism could hardly be referred to as ‘grammaticalization’. As is known, the outcome of grammaticalization is a new grammatical or a more grammaticalized form that has its place in a determined paradigm (e.g. a verb form like the present subjunctive that is included into the overall verbal paradigm with its different sub-paradigms, e.g. the present tense). In contrast to that, ‘lexicalization’ (and, linked to it, the central role of lexical bias in mood selection) describes the loss of grammatical status due to conventionalization. This is clearly the case of conventionalized governor–mood–combinations or ‘patterns’. In these combinations, the mood selection pattern becomes necessary part of the lexical item and its entry in the mental lexicon. The ‘freezing’ of mood information (or, in a generative perspective, mood selection as a subcategorization–feature of the matrix verb or governor) has nothing to do with grammaticalization given that in the course of the latter process a new grammatical form emerges that possesses its own autonomous meaning or function.

This subsection has shown that the all-encompassing concept of grammaticalization as well as more specific concepts, such as ‘postmodality’ and ‘harmony’, ‘regrammation’, and ‘presupposition’ as well as ‘grammaticalization’, ‘lexicalization’, and ‘conventionalization’ turn out to be insufficient in order to account for the evolutionary trends and dynamics in the domain of mood, especially with respect to complement clauses. In the next subsection, we are going to sketch an approach that is both general and fine-grained enough to analyze and motivate the developments in the realm of mood.

3. On the modal–semantic analysis of mood

In this subsection, we present the basic concepts of the modal–semantic framework that underlie our own analysis, demonstrating that it provides the degree of abstraction and fine-grainedness appropriate to grasp the systematic regularities and characteristics of the mood system(s) in Romance and to account for the evolutionary trends in diachrony in a coherent and unitary way. We refer especially to the works of Kratzer (1991), Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Villalta (2005), and especially Portner (1997, 2009, 2017). Key concepts in describing the modal semantics of an operator (a lexical predicate or expression, a modal verb, a conjunction etc.) are the following, conceived of as ‘parameters’ of the description:

1. The modal base corresponds to the relevant modal domain and is represented as an accessibility relation between the speaker’s/matrix subject’s world and the relevant modal domain in focus. Relevant domains are the epistemic (worlds compatible with the matrix’s subject knowledge), the doxastic (worlds compatible with what the matrix subject believes), the bouletic (worlds which correspond to the matrix subject’s desires and wishes), or the deontic (worlds in line with rules or norms evoked in the matrix clause) modal domains. The deontic and bouletic modalities can be subsumed under the comprehensive label ‘priority modality’ (see Portner 2017: 48, 119).
2. The modal force is tantamount to the strength of the modal relation; in the tradition of modal logics, modal strength corresponds to the values of possibility, necessity, contingency, and impossibility. In more recent approaches (see e.g. Levinson 2000: 132–133), modal force can be conceived as a gradual (or scalar) value on a scale, e.g. on the probability scale in the realm of epistemic modality (‘it is probable’, ‘it is very/quite/somewhat sure’, etc.).

3. An ordering source may be conceived of as an ordering relation or a preference scale. Wishes, for instance, imply a preference scale by which worlds (or alternatives) are ranked according to the degree of fulfillment (imagine, for example, a list of wishes with different combinations of wish fulfillment). Worlds in which wishes are complied with are ranked higher than worlds in which this is not the case.

We illustrate the role of the three parameters by the following example:

- (3) Je veux que Marie **vienne** à la fête ce soir
 I wish.PRS.IND.1.SG that Marie come.PRS.SBJV.3.SG to the party this evening
 ‘I wish that Marie would come to the party this evening’

The verb ‘wish’ evokes epistemic alternatives (possible worlds in which different state of affairs hold) that are ranked according to the matrix subject’s preferences and that are most similar to the base world (worlds in which the conditions of the base world reign are more relevant candidates than worlds in which e.g. the laws of physics do not apply or improbable conditions obtain). We can state that *p* (*p*: Marie come to the party) is true in a world that belongs to the set of ranked epistemic alternatives and, being a preferred alternative, is most similar to the base world.

Importantly, in these modal approaches, mood is not interpreted as a mere mechanism of agreement between a mood selection predicate and a particular mood marker (morpheme or particle). Rather, mood choice in complement clauses is interpreted as being determined by the instantiation of the modal parameters associated with a matrix predicate (i.e. modal base and one or more ‘ordering sources’ as well as a particular ‘modal force’; see Kratzer 1991, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Portner 2017: 78).

Mood choice can be understood from either side of the relationship between the matrix predicate and a specific mood morpheme. We may understand mood choice as a selectional mechanism that is triggered by the modal properties of the mood selecting predicate; mood choice may also be explained by the inherent (abstract) semantics of the indicative- or subjunctive-marked clause itself, which interacts with the appropriate semantic properties of a lexical predicate (or another operator) (see also Portner 1997; 2017: 71).

Mood-marking may be conceived of as feature-matching between the modal features of the matrix predicate (and, eventually, other modal elements that have scope over the matrix predicate complex like negation, the interrogative, or the *if*-operator) and the abstract meaning features of the mood morpheme. At the end of this paper, after having revised the essential evolutionary dynamics, and particularly the potential range of unfolding of the subjunctive in the development of the mood system in Romance, we will provide the basic modal–semantic features of the subjunctive mood.

4. On the dynamics of mood from Latin to Romance

We take the Latin mood system as the conditioning background for the further developments in the domain of mood. We want to illustrate the following main aspects. First, the initial Latin system has been restructured over the course of time – with a general shift in mood distinctions from a ‘balanced’ main-subordinate system to essentially a subordinate clause system. Second, this restructuring has been linked to an expansion of finite complement clause structures marked by mood distinctions at the expense of non-finite structures. Third, the underlying

(abstract) semantics of mood, especially of the subjunctive, has remained unchanged from Latin to modern Romance despite the expansion of mood to new modal domains.

This basic general outlook will be developed in the following subsections of this paper, highlighting (a) the basic structure of the Latin system, (b) restructurings from Latin to Romance, and (c) differentiations in Romance that maintain the basic semantic features of the subjunctive mood. We are thus interested in the main structural characteristics of evolutions and refer the reader interested in a more detailed description of the Latin mood system to standard descriptions, such as Thomas 1938, Handford 1947, Ernout & Thomas 1951, Magni 2010, and Pinkster 2015.

4.1. *On the basic structure of the Latin system*

‘On the origins of the Latin subjunctive, there is a long literature (Calboli 1966–1968, 1983), and no satisfactory solution’, as Magni (2010: 204) summarizes the state of the art in her outline of the history of mood in Latin (in Baldi & Cuzzolin’s [2010] handbook on historical Latin syntax). There is a certain consensus among scholars that the functional differentiation of the Latin system is due to the conflation of forms and meanings of the Indo-European subjunctive and optative moods. From a semantic point of view, it is a conspicuous fact that the core values revolve around the notions of will and wish (see Delbrück 1893–1900: 365–369, Magni 2010: 204–206). In this vein, also Pinkster (2015: 388) affirms that ‘in the Latin subjunctive both with respect to form and with respect to meaning the Indo-European optativus, coniunctivus and iniunctivus have merged’. As we will see, these core notions remain the prototypical meaning zone of the subjunctive until the contemporary stages of Romance languages.

Magni, in her description of the Latin mood system, draws on Givón’s functionalist characterization of the semantic values of the subjunctive, falling back on the basic distinction between two types of subjunctive, namely the ‘subjunctive of weak manipulation’ and the ‘subjunctive of low epistemic certainty’ (Magni 2010: 250, in the vein of Givón 1994: 286; see also Givón 1995: 126–136). This characterization implies two meaning zones that constitute the two poles of a continuum with a transitional midscale region (see Magni 2010: 250). Interestingly, this description identifies two prototypical areas but does not oppose two complementary types of subjunctive as, for instance, does Quer in his dichotomic description of mood in Romance (according to which an intensional subjunctive is opposed to a polarity subjunctive; see Quer 1998: 32–41).

The first type of subjunctive, the subjunctive of weak manipulation, manifests itself in volitive and desiderative uses, expressing wishes and desires, hope, and permission, both in main clauses (4) and in subordinate clauses (5).

- (4) *utinam nunc stimulus in manum mihi sit*
 Optative now prod in hand my be.PRS.SBJV.3.SG
 ‘I wish I had a prod in my hand now’ (Plaut. *Asin.* 418, quoted in Magni 2010: 237)
- (5) *hodie uxorem ducas, ut dixi, uolo*
 Today wife.ACC lead.PRS.SBJV.2.SG as say.PST.IND.1.SG want.PRS.IND.1.SG
 ‘I want you to get married today, as I have said’ (Ter. *Andr.* 418, quoted in Magni 2010: 246)

Note that the category of strong manipulation, applying in main clause contexts, turns out to be the imperative (for examples, see Magni 2010: 235). In subordinate contexts, strong

manipulation correlates with constructions that select for the infinitive (Givón 1994: 283, quoted in Magni 2010: 248). Magni confirms this general tendency for Latin verbs such as *iubeo* ('I order'), *veto* ('I forbid'), and *sino* ('I allow') that are 'more frequently followed by an infinitive but may also admit subjunctive complementation' (Magni 2010: 248).

The second type of subjunctive, the subjunctive of low epistemic certainty, includes potential and dubitative readings, denoting possibility ('may') or contingency (with impersonal expressions denoting existence) but also doubt in combination with questions. The following examples, (6) and (7), illustrate the possibility and dubitative readings:

- (6) *quid habent quod morte sua servent? Tecta*
 what have.PRS.IND.3.SG that their deaths preserve.PRS.SBJV.3.PL roofs
urbis, dicat aliquis.
 city.GEN say.PRS.SBJV.3.SG someone
 'what do they have to preserve by their deaths? The roofs of the city, someone may say'
 (Liv. 9,4,12, quoted in Magni 2010: 241)
- (7) *ausculta quaeso. ego auscultem tibi?*
 listen.IMP.2.SG beg.PRS.IND.1.SG I listen.PRS.SBJV.1.SG you.DAT
 'listen, please. Should I listen to you?' (Plaut. Mil. 496, quoted in Magni 2010: 243)

Pinkster (2015) basically echoes this general bipartition by opposing DEONTIC and POTENTIAL uses of the subjunctive. However, in contrast to Magni, he does not follow Givón's conceptualization of the mood system by identifying two poles of a scale that are connected by an intermediate and transitional zone of readings denoting preference/aversion and 'epistemic anxiety' (see Magni 2010: 250, in the vein of Givón 1994: 286). Pinkster subsumes deliberative questions and counterfactual uses of the subjunctive under the deontic and the potential type (see Pinkster 2015: 483–496, 497–509). Interestingly, he also focuses on one particular group of verbs that is generally neglected in descriptions of the Latin mood system but that plays an important role for our discussion, namely the group(s) of axiological and factive–emotive expressions. While the axiological sub-group, with expressions like '*iustum est*' ('it is just that'), has always been linked to the subjunctive from the earliest times, the factive–emotive sub-group exhibits a wide range of variation with respect to mood selection. So mirative expressions like '*mirror/mirum est*' ('to be surprised'/'it is surprising') select more often the indicative, 'but the subjunctive is found as well' (Pinkster 2015: 626), while the 'subjunctive is more common' with verbs like '*queror*' ('I complain') and '*glorior*' ('I boast') (Pinkster 2015: 626). Also, the verb '*gaudeo*' ('I am glad', 'I rejoice') can be found with the subjunctive, as the following example illustrates.

- (8) *Quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii gaudere palam*
 that where become.INF.PASS soldiers perceive.INF others rejoice.INF openly
quod fessos viae labore flagrantissimo aestu non
 that weary.AKK road.GEN labor.ABL most burning heat.ABL not
coegisset pugnare (...)
 compell.PPRF.SBJV.3.SG fight.INF
 'When the soldiers perceived that this was being done, some rejoiced openly that he had not compelled men wearied by the toil of marching to fight a battle in scorching heat'
 (Liv. 44.36.7, quoted in Pinkster 2015: 626)

This mood variation, which can already be traced already to classical Latin, as the quotation demonstrates, would also remain a central characteristic of the mood system in Romance on an intra- as well as an inter-linguistical level (see particularly the study of Quer 2009: 1784–1785; 2010: 172, and [Section 4.3](#) below).

Despite different nuances/shades in the description of the basic mood values, Magni (2010) and Pinkster (2015) strongly agree on the fact that the mood in subordinate clauses is ‘harmonic’ with its occurrences in main clauses (see e.g. Pinkster 2015: 621). It is especially Magni (in the vein of Palmer 1986: 132) who establishes systematic correspondences between main and subordinate clause occurrences of the Latin subjunctive. The following quotation summarizes these correlations in a concise way:

The Latin subjunctive, as we have seen, has main clause uses in exhortative, jussive, and prohibitive sentences, as well as for the expression of wishes, desires, permissions, and epistemic possibility. Thus, its complement clause uses under verbs of wanting and ordering are harmonic with the main clause deontic uses referred to the volitive type. (Magni 2010: 245)

Other systematic parallels have already been listed (see above). Conspicuously, Magni postulates a diachronic relationship between main and subordinate uses of the subjunctive that goes back to the earliest times of Latin:

The noun clauses of indirect command or request are obviously developed directly from the volitive subjunctive. They stand as object or, if the verb is passive, as subject, to the *verba studii et voluntatis*, verbs (and phrases) of willing, commanding, requesting, warning, advising, resolving, contriving, or the like (e.g., *uolo, impero, rogo, peto, postulo, suadeo, hortor, moneo, statuo, constituo*, etc.), and are generally introduced by *ut* or (*ut*) *ne*, but the type without introductory conjunction, used in all periods, clearly indicates that the origin might be paratactic: (...). (Magni 2010: 245)

In this context, she even goes so far as to identify a single core value of the subjunctive:

If we accept the view that independent uses and event modality represent the first stage in the evolution of the subjunctive, deontic functions and meanings turn out to be its prototypical and archetypal core. (Magni 2010: 233)¹

To sum up, we can say that the subjunctive is equally used in main and subordinate clauses in Latin and that it codes deontic and epistemic modalities, which manifest and substantiate themselves in specific characteristic readings. The origins of the subjunctive point to a diachronic priority of deontic (or, to be more precise, deontic, and bouletic) readings, a priority that also manifests itself in the prototypical status these readings display in most of the contexts marked by the subjunctive mood. However, we are still in need of more historical data that corroborate the diachronic priority of the deontic (and bouletic) modality. It has also become clear that the Latin mood system is characterized by strong and systematic correspondences between main and subordinate uses of the subjunctive mood. Yet the assumptions as to the diachronic relationship between main and subordinate clause uses

¹ This basic idea is taken up again in the following quotation: ‘If we accept the view that the core notion of the subjunctive is intention, we can consider the expression of deontic meanings as more basic on a diachronic level’.

remain speculative, although they have made their way into theories of grammaticalization (on the origins of subordination, see e.g. Diewald 1997: 11–12).

Finally, the concept of ‘modal harmony’ remains an imprecise concept as it seems to cover modal correspondences (between a main verb and a modal verb or a mood marker) as well as the phenomenon of ‘semantic bleaching’ in subordinate contexts. As has already been pointed out, Magni (2010) claims that the Latin subjunctive has expanded to ‘non-harmonic’ contexts in the course of developments, such as indirect questions, becoming in this process a mere concomitant of subordination. But, as already indicated, this position is untenable for several reasons:

1. If this scenario of use expansion of the subjunctive were the case, we would expect the subjunctive mood to have become the general mood of subordination. And this is clearly not the case.
2. The zones of expansion, as we will see, are fully in line with the semantics of the subjunctive on the condition that we capture its semantic peculiarities by an appropriate descriptive framework. As we will see, the occurrence of the subjunctive in evaluative as well as in belief contexts can be accounted for within a modal–semantic descriptive approach to the subjunctive.
3. This last aspect leads to the more general claim: Even in subordinate clauses, the subjunctive *does have* a clearly defined semantics that can be spelled out by sufficiently abstract, modal–semantic features (see Section 5).

4.2. *Some major changes from Latin to Romance*

In this subsection, we sum up the most crucial developments concerning the mood system from Latin to Romance in the domain of main and complement clauses. As we are concerned with the general evolutionary dynamics and trends of the mood system(s), our perspective is limited to structural aspects and does not deal with fine-grained chronological issues.

First, the ‘balanced’ distribution and use of the subjunctive in main and complement clauses are getting lost in favor of a general expansion of the subjunctive in subordinate and especially in complement clauses. In contrast to that, the use of the subjunctive mood in main clauses is relegated to residual contexts in Romance.

Epistemic readings of the subjunctive disappear from main clause contexts. An exception is residual dubitative questions in Old French, which combine interrogative sentence mood with subjunctive marking:

- (9) A cui **demandasse** congié / Quant jo de rien n’ i
 to whom ask.PST.SBJV.3.SG leave when I of nothing not there
 trouvai vié?
 find.PST.PFV.1.SG prohibition
 (À qui aurais-je pu demander congé, puisque je ne rencontrais aucune interdiction ?)
 ‘From whom should I have taken leave since I did not find any interdiction’
 (Partonopeu 1180–1181, quoted in Buridant [2000] 2007: 333)

As the translation to modern French illustrates, the subjunctive imperfect is substituted by a combination of a modal verb (‘pouvoir’) and conditional morphology.

The subjunctive in main clauses generally yields a bouletic or optative reading, as in the following example:

- (10) Or *ait* Diex Guillaume le marchis
 Now help.PRS.SBJV.3.SG God Guillaume the marquis
 ‘Que Dieu assiste Guillaume le marquis’
 ‘God help Guillaume the marquis’ (Rainouart 6, quoted in Buridant [2000] 2007: 333)

In a modern translation, it would be necessary to mark the sentence mood with the complementizer ‘que’.

In modern French, the optative reading of the subjunctive has also largely disappeared, with the exception of archaic and/or conventionalized formulae like ‘vive la République’ (‘long live the Republic’) or ‘plût au ciel que’ (‘may it please heaven that’, see Riegel et al. 2009: 565). However, in modern Italian and Portuguese, the past subjunctive with an optative reading is still available in very formal registers, as attested by standard grammars (see Schwarze 1995, Wandruszka 2001: 276 for Italian; Hundertmark-Santos Martins 1982, for Portuguese). See the following examples:

- (11) *Avessi* **ascoltato** te! (Schwarze 1995, 742)
 have.AUX.PST.SBJV.1.SG. listen.PTCP you
 ‘Had I listened to you!’
- (12) **Esperasses** que viesse o pai dela.
 wait.PST.SBJV.2.SG that come.PST.SBJV.3.SG the father of her
 ‘If only you had waited for her father to come’ (Hundertmark-Santos Martins 1982: 218)

Another context characterized by the use of the imperfect subjunctive in combination with an exclamative sentence mood is also quoted in Buridant’s reference grammar of Old French (Buridant [2000] 2007: 334):

- (13) c milliers d’omes **deüsse** en ost mener
 100 thousand of MEN have_to.PST.SBJV.3.SG in BATTLE lead.INF
 ‘Je devrais être à la tête d’une armée de cent mille hommes’
 ‘I should have led an army of one hundred thousand men’ (Aliscans 3692–3693, quoted in Buridant [2000] 2007: 334)

The sentence combines the deontic reading of ‘devoir’ with the typical counterfactual reading of the past subjunctive, yielding an expression of regret. The speaker wishes the alternative *p* (*p*: lead the army) to hold true for the sake of moral justice. The counterfactual meaning would be expressed by the conditional in modern French.

Second, the modalizing functions of the subjunctive in main clauses in Latin but also in some residual contexts in Old French, as example (14) illustrated, are superseded by modal verbs in Romance whose range of use expands from the deontic and alethic to the epistemic domain from the thirteenth century onward (for French, see e.g. Kronning 1996, Goldschmitt 2007, Becker 2013). One of the first attestations of an epistemic reading of the modal verb ‘devoir’ in Old French (which may still have a flavor of dynamic modality) is the following:

- (14) Molt **doit** estre prez et vasaux
 much have_{to.PRS.IND.3.SG} be_{INF} skillful and courageous
 qui a tele amie.
 who(ever) have_{PRS.IND.3.SG} such girlfriend
 ‘Whoever has such a girlfriend must be very skillful and courageous’ (NCA: Perceval, contro: The continuations Perceval, c. 1200–1239, Tome IV, v. 19706)

Typical uses of the Latin subjunctive in modalizing functions are illustrated by the following examples. In (15), the imperfect subjunctive form ‘quaererem’ would be rendered by a past conditional form of *devoir* (‘must’) in French (‘j’aurais dû le demander’, ‘I should have asked him’) and in (16), the present subjunctive ‘interroget’ corresponds to the present form of the French modal ‘devoir’ (‘doit procéder à un interrogatoire’, ‘must hold’):

- (15) Vellem adesse posset Panaetius –
 wish_{PST.SBJV.1.SG} be_{present.INF} can_{PST.SBJV.3.SG} Panaetius
 vixit cum Africano-, **quaererem** ex eo ...
 live_{PST.IND.3.SG} with Africanus ask_{PST.SBJV.1.SG} from him
 ‘I wish that Panaetius could have been here -he lived in intimacy with Africanus- I should have asked him ...’ (Cic. Tusc. 1.81, quoted in Pinkster 2015: 494)
- (16) PRAETOR UTEI **INTERROGET**.
 the praetor that inquire_{PRS.SBJV.3.SG}
 ‘The praetor must hold an interrogation’. (CIL I2.583.35 (Lex Acilia 122 BC), quoted in Pinkster 2015: 502)

Third, the conditional, an innovation of the Romance languages, also replaces important modalizing functions of the Latin subjunctive in main clauses. It serves such different functions as the polite attenuation of a request (‘j’aimerais bien’), the unfolding of a hypothetical or counterfactual scenario (‘je ferais’, ‘j’aurais fait’), or the apodosis of a conditional sentence (‘si p, je ferais/j’aurais fait q’). All these were contexts covered by the Latin subjunctive, for instance:

- (17) Quod tibi suadeam, **suadeam** meo patri.
 what you_{DAT} advice_{PRS.SBJV.1.SG}, advice_{PRS.SBJV.1.SG} my father
 ‘What I’m advising you I’d advise my own father.’ (Pl. Capt. 237, quoted in Pinkster 2015: 483, e.g. in French: ‘je conseillerais à mon propre père’)
- (18) Sicilia tota si una voce **loqueretur**, hoc diceret (...)
 Sicily all if single voice speak_{PST.SBJV.PASS.3.SG} this say_{PST.SBJV.3.SG}
 ‘If all Sicily spoke with a single voice, this is what she would say (...)’ (Cic. Div. Caec. 19, quoted in Pinkster 2015: 655, e.g. in French: ‘voici ce qu’elle dirait’)

Fourth, in contrast to what can be observed for the main clause domain, finite complement clause structures that may vary between the indicative and the subjunctive clearly expand in Late Latin and Romance, an evolution that spans several centuries and is documented by Cuzzolin (1994) for Late Latin and by Becker (2014) for Late Latin and Romance. This evolution in the complement clause domain affects especially factive–emotive predicates as

well as doxastic (i.e. ‘belief’) predicates and is linked to the decline of the classical Latin *accuativus-cum-infinitivo* (AcI) constructions (for a general description, see Calboli 2002).

The transition from AcI to finite complement constructions takes place quite early with factive–emotive predicates. As Cuzzolin (1994: 143) points out, already in Plautus, in the third century BC, the ratio between the AcI and finite complement clause constructions amounts to 7:3. For the sake of illustration, we juxtapose the two constructions:

- (19) *Salvos sis, Mnesilochē. Salvom te advenire*
 safe be.PRS.SBJV.2.SG, Mnesilochus. Safely you.ACC arrive.INF
gaudeo.
 be_glad.PRS.IND.1.SG
 ‘May you be well, Mnesilochus! I’m glad you’ve arrived safely.’ (Pl. Bac. 456 quoted in Pinkster 2015: 505)
- (20) *Gaudeo quod te interpellavi*
 Be_glad.PRS.IND.1.SG that you.ACC interrupt.PST.PFV.1.SG
 ‘I’m glad that I interrupted you’. (Cicero, Leg. 3,1, quoted in Ernout & Thomas 1951: 298)

In the case of doxastic predicates (‘credere’ and ‘putare’), the transition from AcI to finite complement clauses takes place in a much later period. Based on his study of Late Latin texts written by Augustine of Hippo and Hieronymus on the threshold of the fifth century A.D., Cuzzolin reports that AcI constructions still largely prevail over finite ‘quod’-sentences, with a ratio of 1:3.3 (i.e. 89 to 296 occurrences) in favor of the infinitival construction type (see Cuzzolin 1994: 283–284).

The first records in Romance attest to the complete disappearance of the AcI construction from vernacular texts. The following two examples contrast the availability of the two constructions in Late Latin texts.

- (21) *Credo, eum tertia die resurrexisse, hominem perditum*
 believe.PRS.IND.1.SG, him.ACC third day rise.INF.PST, men.ACC lost.ACC
liberasse, ascendesse caelos, sedere a dexteram Patris
 free.INF.PST ascend.INF.PST heaven.ACC sit.INF to right father.GEN
 ‘I believe that he rose (from the dead) on the third day, he redeemed the lost man, he ascended into heaven, and sits to the right of the father’ (Migne 1996)
- (22) *Si enim credimus quod jesus mortuus est*
 if really believe.PRS.IND.1.PL that Jesus dead.PTCP be.AUX.3.SG
et resurrexit.
 and rise.PST.PFV.3.SG
 ‘For if we believe that Jesus died and rose from the dead (...)’ (Vulgate n.d., early fifth century, 1. Epistle to the Thessalonians 4:14)

4.3. *The expansion of the subjunctive in complement clause contexts in Romance*

A particular evolution of the mood system in Romance is the expansion of the subjunctive mood to two new modal domains, namely to the evaluative and the doxastic domains.

Interestingly, the expansion to these two domains is characterized by a strong (intra- as well as inter-linguistic) mood variation in synchrony as well as in diachrony. Apart from that, both domains lie beyond the domains of priority modality (i.e. deontic and bouletic modality), which have been identified as the prototypical core zone of the subjunctive mood. In view of this expansion, the question arises as to how we can account for the semantics of the subjunctive. In other words, does the semantics of the subjunctive change due to these evolutions, or do we have to give up the idea of a unitary basic semantics that revolves around the notion of priority? In this section, we are, therefore, concerned with some basic principles and trends of mood differentiation in the two domains under scrutiny.

We start with the EVALUATIVE DOMAIN, which is constituted by factive–emotive predicates. In synchrony, this domain is characterized by the highest degree of variation, both intra- and inter-linguistically: Quer (2009, 2010, 2022) emphasizes the strong divergence between the Spanish varieties concerning mood selected by evaluative and emotive predicates. DeMello (1996) has already pointed out that the selection of the indicative is much more frequent in Latin American Spanish than in European Spanish. According to Busch's (2017) study, this trend is particularly characteristic of expressions like 'es bueno' ('it is good'), 'es una lástima' ('it's a pity'), and 'me alegro de que' ('I am happy that'). The same variation as in the Spanish varieties obtains *among* other Romance languages. Thus, the use of the subjunctive mood is very consistent in Italian from the earliest time onward, as in example (23), whereas in Romanian the indicative is selected systematically in combination with factive–emotive predicates, as in example (24):

- (23) E io son(sic!) contento che così ti
and I be.PRS.IND.1.SG happy that like_that you
cappia nell' animo (...)
fit.PRS.SBJV.3.SG in heart
'And I am happy that in this way it has a place in your heart' (LIZ, 2001, Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, novella prima, giornata prima)
- (24) Se bucura mama că- i **veneau**
her.REFL rejoice.PST.IPFV.3.SG. mother that her.DAT.3.SG come.PST.IPFV.3.PL
neamurile.
relatives
'My mother was happy that relatives come to visit her' (Gramatica limbii române 1966, vol.2: 290)

To motivate this strong inter- and intra-linguistic variation, the diachronic evolution of mood selection in French is an illustrative showcase, given that mood selection in complement clauses shifted from the indicative to the subjunctive from Old to Classical French (for a detailed description, see Becker 2010, 2014). The main landmarks of the evolution can be summarized in the following way:

1. The starting point of the diachronic development is the systematic selection of the indicative mood in Old French as in the following example:

- (25) molt me poise que t' ai **creue**
Much me grieve that you have.AUX.PRES.IND.1.SG believe.PTCP.F
'It makes me feel bad/unhappy that I have believed you' (NCA c. 1150-1350 2007, *Fables*, manuscript K: 318)

Interestingly, we also encounter instances of the indicative in Old Spanish:

- (26) Alegre era mio Cid e todos sos vasallos,
 happy be.PST.IPFV.3.SG my Cid and all his followers
 que Dios los ovo merced.
 that God them have.PST.PFV.3.SG mercy
 ‘My Cid and all his followers were happy that God had mercy with them’ (Cid 1739,
 in Jensen & Lathrop 1973: 56)

2. In a second stage, the subjunctive only emerges in intensional contexts that evoke alternative worlds. In the following example, for instance, future alternatives – preferred worlds in which the addressee leaves the place, in contrast to dispreferred alternatives in which he remains – are evoked and evaluated:

- (27) [j]e suis content que tu t’ en aille (sic!), et ce
 I be.PRS.IND.1.SG happy that you you there go.PRS.SBJV.2.SG and this
 sera pour toy le meilleur, avant que tu
 be.FUT.3.SG for you the best before that you
 congnoisses ma force plus a plain
 get_to_know.PRS.SBJV.2.SG my strength more to full degree
 ‘I am happy that/if you leave and that will be the best for you, before you get to know
 my full strength’ (Frantext, Jehan Bagnyon, *L’Histoire de Charlemagne*, 1465, 50,
 Second Livre, première partie, chap. X)

Note that the presence of alternatives is also manifested in the fact that the complement clause in the future-oriented context at hand can be rendered as a conditional clause (‘I am happy if p’).

3. The third stage, spanning from the sixteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century, is characterized by a considerable variation as regards mood selection, depending on factors such as the role of expressivity linked to semantic features like ‘mirativity’ as in (28) and (29) but also the impact of intensional operators like negation and the necessity-operator (for more examples, see Becker 2014: 354–359).

The author of the two examples quoted in (28) and (29) is the same; in other words, the mood variation we find in his text is clearly exploited in order to achieve pragma-semantic effects. In (28), with the subjunctive, the author places the emphasis on his surprise as to the silence of his interlocutor about a relevant topic (highlighted by the expression ‘not a single word’). He would have expected: p (‘you write me about it’), but non-p turned out to be the case. In the subsequent example (29), with the indicative, the author communicates his expectations as to the course of the interaction (implying the question: Why don’t you ask me that?), without, however, emphasizing a strong counter-expectation as in the previous example:

- (28) je m’ estonne que ... vous ne m’ em
 I me.REFL astonish.PRS.IND.1.SG that ... you.PL not me on_that
escriviez pas un seul mot
 write.PRS.SBJV.2.PL not one single word
 ‘I am astonished that you do not write a single word (about it)’ (Frantext, Mersenne,
Correspondance 1631–1633, vol. 5: 478)

- (29) je m' estonne que vous ne me **mandez** point
 I me. REFL astonish.PRS.IND.3.SG.REFL that you not me ask.PRS.IND.2.PL at all
 s' il est allé en Italie
 if he be.AUX.PRS.IND.3.SG go.PTCP.M to Italy
 'I am wondering why you don't ask me whether he has gone to Italy' (Frantext, Mersenne, *Correspondance* 1631–1633, vol. 3: 357)

4. In the next stage, from the second half of the seventeenth century onward, the subjunctive tends to generalize into the standard mood in evaluative contexts. However, the temporal and the modal variables still compete, as is nicely illustrated by the following pair of examples taken from the same author:

- (30) Je suis aise que vous **ayez** des comédiens
 I be.PRS.IND.1.SG glad that you have.PRS.SBJV.2.PL of comedians
 'I am glad that you have actors/comedians' (Frantext, Mme de Sévigné, *Correspondance* 1646–1675, vol. I: 222)

- (31) c' est dommage que vous n' **avez** **eu**
 it be.PRS.IND.3.SG pity that you not have.AUX.PRS.IND.2.PL have.PTCP
 le temps d' en dire davantage
 the time to on_{that} say more
 'It's a pity that you did not have the time to say more about it' (Frantext, Mme de Sévigné, *Correspondance* 1646–1675, vol. 1: 222)

The subjunctive is selected in the present tense context whereas the indicative still has the upper hand in past contexts. This contrast illustrates that there is still the possibility of the time variable winning out over the modal variable when the complement clause refers to past states or events. By resorting to the subjunctive, the speaker in (30) focuses on the evaluation ('having comedians is a preferred state'), whereas in (31) the past state of not having been able to say more about the topic is highlighted as a fact by the use of the indicative.

5. In the end, with the consolidation of the classical prescriptive norm imposed by the Académie Française at the end of the seventeenth century, the subjunctive becomes the exclusive mood in evaluative contexts, at least in texts monitored by the standard norm.

How can we account for the synchronic and diachronic variation in evaluative contexts? There is no doubt that, from a modal semantic perspective, the evaluative domain is at the crossroads of two competing principles that determine mood selection in Romance.

On the one hand, the principle of 'veridicality' obtains given the fact that the propositional content of complement clauses selected by factive–emotive verbs is presented as being true. Obviously, the principle of veridicality prevails in earlier stages of French and, to a minor degree, also in Spanish. It also seems to be the explanatory factor that accounts for mood selection in informal language use. As Poplack et al.'s data clearly show, the French predicate 'content' ('satisfied') only combines with the subjunctive in less than 20% of the sentences with this predicate in their informal corpus of spoken French (see Poplack et al. 2018: 239 [Figure 5]).

On the other hand, the peculiarity of factive–emotive predicates lies in the fact that they imply both alternatives (alternative worlds) and an underlying relevant scale for each predicate. This scale acts as an ordering source that discriminates, ranks, and highlights specific worlds. Take, for instance, the predicate ‘content’ (‘satisfied’) as coming with a scale that compares and ranks states of affairs in accordance with the well-being of the subject whose internal state is evaluated. Internal states of well-being (of feeling ‘content’) are ranked higher than those of less well-being. This specific characteristic of factive–emotive predicates approaches them to expressions belonging to the domains of ‘priority modality’. This aligns with the understanding that factive–emotive predicates are associated with (negative) inferences, thereby introducing alternatives or alternative worlds. For example, the predicate ‘regret’ (*‘regret a state of affairs p’*) entails a preference for worlds where *p* does not hold, as discussed in detail by Giannakidou & Mari (2021: 283). Similarly, the predicate ‘content’ (*‘to be content with a state of affairs p’*) involves *p*-worlds and non-*p*-worlds as conditions under which the predicate applies. It is important to recall that this condition-like interpretation of the complement clause *p* was crucial for the mood shift within these contexts during the evolution of the French mood system, as illustrated in example (27). We can, therefore, conclude that the factive–emotive predicates constitute a group that is situated between the ‘priority’ and the realis domain. As we have already seen, whenever alternative states of affairs are evoked, compared, and ranked according to a scale (an ordering source), the subjunctive enters the stage. With factive–emotive predicates at the cross-roads between realis/veridicality and the ordering of alternatives, the selection of either mood is perfectly motivated. This explains variation within varieties of a language (the case of Spanish), in comparison between languages (Romanian and Italian) and from a diachronic perspective (the case of French).

The DOXASTIC DOMAIN is the second domain of expansion. The predicates concerned, expressions of belief, describe convictions held by an individual, a group of individuals, or a whole community. The notions of (inter-)subjectivity and doxastic accessibility are relevant for this domain. The bearer of a propositional attitude may hold beliefs that he shares with others for good reasons (e.g. based on appropriate evidence) or his beliefs may belong only to himself. In the first case, the beliefs are intersubjectively accessible; in the second case, they are only accessible in a subjective way. Beliefs can be conceived as worlds that are doxastically accessible by a belief-holder and in which states of affairs hold that are compatible with what the belief-holder believes in a world and at a time. Note that the doxastic domain is intertwined with the epistemic domain *strictu sensu* (i.e. when the two domains, as often happens, are not conflated). The epistemic domain refers to the speaker’s or a matrix subject’s knowledge and involves the degree of commitment of a subject who evaluates in Nuyts (2006: 21) words ‘the chance that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world’. The epistemic domain is therefore associated with a probability scale that ranks states of affairs according to whether they are ascertained/established knowledge, more or less probable or impossible outcomes. Although the relationship between knowledge and belief is a philosophical issue that cannot be raised in this paper, it is safe to say that these two cognitive states are contiguous and intrinsically interrelated. As already noted in Section 4.1, the epistemic domain was already prone to mood distinctions in Latin but did not pertain to the prototypical core domains of the subjunctive mood (see Magni 2010: 233). Thus, the marking of low epistemic certainty was confined to a small number of epistemic expressions

like ‘fieri (non) potest’ (‘it is (not) possible’) and some very specialized uses in contexts of interrogative sentence mood, especially in self-addressed questions like

- (32) quid ego nunc *faciam*?
 what I now do.PRS.SBJV.1.SG
 ‘What shall I do now?’ (Plaut. Mil. 305, quoted in Magni 2010: 243)

It is, therefore, not astonishing that the system of mood distinctions was extended to the contiguous domain of belief predicates. However, what would become a crucial aspect for the nascent Proto-Romance system is the fact that Late Latin dramatically reduced the selection of Acl constructions in favor of complement clauses introduced by the complementizers ‘quod’, ‘quia’, and ‘quominus’. This development made it necessary to establish principles of mood selection and distinction that could be applied in the domain of finite complement clauses. The extension of the system of mood alternations to the doxastic domain is linked to a functional enrichment of the mood system as it transcends the divide between the principle of veridicality, on the one hand, and of ordering (relevant for the subjunctive associated with the domains of deontic and bouletic [i.e. priority] modality), on the other. In the doxastic domain, the mood opposition is now exploited in order to mark and oppose different statuses of doxastic accessibility in relation to belief contents. Roughly speaking, while the indicative marks intersubjective accessibility, the subjunctive signals that a certain state of affairs is only accessible in a partial and subject-centered way. The following example, taken from the Old French *Roman de la Rose*, illustrates the subjective character of the doxastic accessibility relationship entertained between the belief holders and the propositional content of the belief state:

- (33) car chascune cuide de sai que tant
 for everyone believe.PRS.IND.3.SG of her.REFL that so_much
ait biauté, ...
 have.PRS.SBJV.3.SG beauty
 ‘... for every one (of the ladies) believes of herself that she has so much beauty’ (NCA, Roman de la Rose, p. 52, v. 9925)

In example (33), the self-assessment as beautiful, a *de se* belief of each of the subjects, is marked as highly subjective, or, in other words, as an ensemble of belief worlds only accessible to each individual in question.

The expansion of the mood distinction to the doxastic domain reveals that mood distinctions can be further explored for new modal domains. The evolution of mood distinctions from Old French to modern French and the comparison of these stages to other Romance languages in synchrony casts light on possible principles of mood distinction in the domain of doxastic modality in Romance.

Conspicuous is the case of Standard Italian, in which the subjunctive can be interpreted as a general marker of doxastic accessibility, distinguishing beliefs from knowledge. This analysis is even corroborated by Poplack et al.’s data from spoken Italian that point to almost 100% of subjunctive occurrences for the doxastic predicate ‘ritenere’ (‘to believe’, ‘to hold the belief that’) and of 80% for the prototypical belief predicate ‘credere’.

Mood in Old French belief contexts – as has already been illustrated by example (33) – distinguishes between subjective/not-intersubjective (in the case of speakers’ disclaimers)

accessibility versus intersubjectivity. This corresponds to the trend observed by Loengarov (2003) for less formal registers in Italian. Here, the indicative is selected if the speaker believes that the content of his propositional attitude can be accessed intersubjectively on the basis of good evidence (see Loengarov 2003: 195: ‘basa il suo giudizio su argomenti che considera come validi o che sono comunemente accettati’). These observations may also explain the remaining (20% of) indicative uses in combination with ‘credere’ in Poplack et al.’s data.

In a further development, particularly in Middle French, the subjunctive has been reinterpreted as a marker of counterfactuality, especially in the scope of negation or other modal operators, such as the interrogative operator, and especially in rhetorical questions (for more details and examples, see Becker 2014: 236–244). In particular, the subjunctive can be encountered in contexts where a speaker vigorously contrasts his own beliefs (taken, of course, to be true) with the ‘false’ beliefs of his opponents. Jean Calvin’s theological writings are sprinkled with such polemic contrasts, in which the use of the subjunctive mood as a marker of counterfactuality turns out to be a highly expressive device:

- (34) (...) que les hommes se trompent malheureusement
 that the men them.REFL err.PRS.IND.3.PL. sadly
 quand ils croient que ce soit quelque
 when they believe.PRS.IND.3.PL that this be. PRS.SBJV.3.SG somewhat
 sainteté et service de Dieu de ne point manger chair (...)
 sanctity and service of God of not at all eat.INF meat
 ‘that men are sadly mistaken when they believe that it is/has to do with sanctity and service of God not to eat meat’ (Frantext, Jean Calvin, *Des scandales* 1550: 201, III).

Similarly, in Brazilian Portuguese, counterfactuality (or mistaken beliefs) is marked by the subjunctive in doxastic predicates, as evidenced by the following example:

- (35) Ah, eu não sabia, pensei que
 ah, I not know.PST.IPFV.1.SG think.PST.PFV.1.SG that
 fosse ele.
 be.PST.SBJV.3.SG him
 ‘Ah, I did not know, I thought that it was him’ (quoted in Wherriitt 1977: 64)

In modern French and Spanish, the subjunctive only appears in combination with negation or the interrogative operator. In this stage, the subjunctive has changed into a marker of disbelief (i.e. ‘not believe that p is the case’), as the following example shows:

- (36) No creo que sea mejor ciclista
 not believe.PRS.IND.1.SG that be.PRS.SBJV.3.SG better cyclist
- (36’) Je ne pense pas qu’il soit meilleur cycliste
 I not believe.PRS.IND.1.SG not that he be.PRS.SBJV.3.SG better cyclist
 ‘I don’t believe he is a better cyclist’
 (https://www.ciclismoafondo.es/competicion/noticias-resultados-ciclismo/tadej-pogacar-no-creo-sea-mejor-ciclista-solo-doy-mejor-mi_244781_102.html)

The mood configuration in Romanian marks the final stage of a possible development in other Romance languages: In this Romance language, the subjunctive does not occur in belief contexts, not even when the relevant proposition is in the scope of negation.

- (37) Nu cred că a duce oamenii în pușcărie
 not believe.PRS.IND.1.SG that to put.INF people in jail
reprezintă o soluție
 represent.PRS.IND.3.SG a solution
 ‘I do not believe that putting people in jail is a solution’ .mediafox.ro, 01.03.2018

In the case of Romanian, the doxastic domain is fully covered by the indicative. This amounts to saying that the principle of relative veridicality (defined as veridicality linked to a matrix subject’s epistemic model; see Giannakidou 1997: 110; 1999: 388) is opposed to the subjunctive principle of priority (and linked to the notion of ‘ordering’). In this respect, the mood system of modern Romanian strongly converges with the mood system of modern Greek (see Giannakidou 1995: 101).

We can summarize the principles of mood selection in the doxastic domain and align them on a continuum that ranges from a strong prevalence of the subjunctive to the exclusive selection of the indicative. This continuum mirrors the range of mood variation in Romance. But it also represents, at least partly, possible clines of mood evolution, as has been shown, for instance, for French:

1. The subjunctive acts as a general marker of doxastic accessibility and contrasts knowledge (ascertained facts) and beliefs (Standard Italian) (beliefs vs. knowledge).
2. The subjunctive acts as a marker of subjective (or, at least, non-intersubjective, that is, the speaker does not want to guarantee the truth of p) accessibility to belief worlds (Old French, non-Standard Italian) (subjective vs. intersubjective).
3. The subjunctive is a marker of counterfactuality, i.e. the speaker believes that p is not the case (Middle French, Brazilian Portuguese) (true vs. false beliefs).
4. The subjunctive is a marker of disbelief (belief vs. disbelief) (modern French and Spanish).
5. Belief-states are not differentiated by mood; the subjunctive is banned from the doxastic domain (beliefs are covered by the principle of relative veridicality; the subjunctive is reserved to the domain of priority, i.e. deontic and bouletic, modality) (Romanian and modern Greek).

To conclude this subsection, we can say that the doxastic domain is characterized by a highly differentiated system of mood alternations from a synchronic as well as a diachronic point of view. The mood alternations attest to the fact that the subjunctive has been successful in extending its functional range beyond its core value of priority, linked to the ordering and ranking of alternatives. The strong variation can be explained by different possible principles of mood differentiation that range from the marking of doxastic modality (by the subjunctive) to the signaling of belonging to the domain of (relative) veridicality (by the indicative). This raises the question of whether the plurality of principles concerning mood differentiation runs counter to a unitary approach with respect to the (abstract) semantics of the subjunctive mood.

In the last subsection, we take stock of the overall evolutionary dynamics of mood from Latin to Romance and try to tackle the question of how to account for the semantics of mood.

Has the expansion led to a polysemy of the subjunctive mood or even to a blurring of its semantics, i.e. has it changed into a conventionalized and lexically biased concomitant of subordination?

5. Synthesis

In this paper, we have presented several evolutionary tendencies that are characteristic of the development of the mood system from Latin to Romance. The different evolutionary tendencies that have been described for the different modal domains as the appropriate level of abstraction boil down to two overarching trends that are crucial for the analysis of the evolutionary dynamics from Latin to Romance and assessing the function and status of the subjunctive throughout its history:

1. In the course of development, the distribution of moods shifts from a balanced system with systematic correspondences between main and subordinate uses to a system that is basically centered around subordinate (complement, adjective, and adverbial clause) uses, with some residual, highly conventionalized, and formulaic main clause occurrences.
2. Regarding complement clause structures, the system of mood alternation has expanded from the ('prototypical and archetypical', in the words of Magni) domains of priority modality and the (peripheral) epistemic domain to two further modal domains, the domains of evaluative and doxastic modality. This progressive expansion, which has been due to the gradual loss of infinitival and particularly *AcI* constructions, had already started in the evaluative domain in the classical Latin period and has resulted in a profound restructuring of the doxastic domain in the passage from Late Latin to Romance. Both modal domains are characterized by strong mood variations in different varieties of one language (intra-linguistic variation), between different Romance languages (inter-linguistic variation), and from a diachronic point of view (especially in the case of French).

The final, most intriguing, aspect concerns the question of the semantics of mood, especially of the subjunctive, from a synchronic and diachronic perspective and falls into two more specific subquestions that will be addressed in the final part of this article. First, does the subjunctive mood in complement clauses come with its own semantics, also taking into account its original functions in main clauses? Second, how can we account for the expansion of mood to the evaluative and doxastic domain from a semantic perspective?

As concerns the first subquestion, this article has shown that the subjunctive is not a simple concomitant of subordination but occurs in clearly defined and delimited contexts of subordination that are linked to specific modal domains. From both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, it has emerged that priority modality (including the deontic and the bouletic modalities) constitutes the prototypical core zone of occurrence of the subjunctive mood. This boils down to the fact that the subjunctive is selected whenever the ordering source is not empty, i.e. whenever alternatives (or possible worlds) are evoked in the context at hand and are compared and ranked according to a principle (normative or evaluative in nature) (see Giorgi & Pianesi 1997: 17). Whenever there are not such competing alternatives, the indicative prevails. In line with Villalta and Portner, who highlight the aspect of 'comparison' (see Villalta 2008: 476) and of 'preference' (see Portner & Rubinstein

2013: 464, Portner 2017: 88), respectively, we can postulate an abstract semantics of the subjunctive mood that can be spelled out in terms of the following features:

- Reference to possible and alternative worlds [+ alternatives]
- The comparing and ordering of these alternatives/possible worlds according to a principle [+ ordering]
- The singling out of a salient subset of these alternatives (in opposition to other alternatives) [+ saliency]

In main clause contexts, these features manifest themselves in optative (e.g. French ‘Vive la République!’) and directive readings (‘soyez sages!’), usual in Latin but marginal in modern Romance. In complement clauses, these features ‘connect to’ or are ‘harmonic with’ the modal semantic features of the matrix predicates. To give an example: We may describe predicates like ‘ordonner’ (‘to order’) and ‘souhaiter’ (‘to wish’) in terms of social roles, expectations, and relations between the referents of the arguments (as non-modal, presupposed, and descriptive semantic information) and add features concerning the modal structure (the relevant modal domain(s), modal force, and type of ordering source) that ‘connect to’ or ‘are harmonic with’ the abstract modal features of the subjunctive morphology of the subordinate verb.

As concerns the second subquestion, the unitary semantic value of the subjunctive as the mood alternation expands to new modal domains, we can state that the semantics of the subjunctive has basically remained the same but unfolds in a specific way with respect to the doxastic domain. We can spell out the features of the subjunctive mood in the following way:

- The reference to alternatives or different possible worlds remains a core feature of the subjunctive [+ alternatives], as does the singling out of a salient subset of these alternatives in contrast to other alternatives [+ saliency]. In the doxastic domain, different types of doxastically accessible worlds are distinguished and contrasted, although the parameters vary from language to language (and language stages), e.g. belief worlds in contrast to worlds compatible with common world or common ground knowledge, subjectively vs. intersubjectively accessible doxastic worlds, and belief-worlds taken to be false vs. true beliefs.
- The comparing and ordering of these alternative worlds according to a principle [+ ordering]: ordering of possible worlds according to the strength, plausibility, probability etc. of beliefs but also in accordance with their similarity to the real world.

In the evaluative domain, we single out and contrast possible worlds or alternatives that comply most and/or to a high degree with the requirements of a particular evaluative category introduced by the matrix predicate, e.g. ‘well-being’ associated with the evaluative adjective ‘content’ (‘satisfied’):

- (37) Je suis content que tu soies venu.
 I be.PRS.IND.1.SG happy that you be.AUX.PRS.SBJV.2.SG come.PTCP.M
 (‘I am satisfied that you have come’)

To conclude, we can say that the basic semantic features of the subjunctive (+ alternatives, + ordering, + saliency) do not change with the expansion to new modal domains. What changes is the specification of these basic semantic features with respect to the peculiarities of the modal domains. Apart from that, the principles of comparing and ordering are less

stable in the new domains than in the core domains covered by the domains of priority (i.e. deontic and bouletic) modality. This lesser stability and greater variability of principles explain the different trends and dynamics that we have pinpointed in this paper: the inter- and intra-linguistic variation (with respect to registers and dialects) as well as the susceptibility to change in the diachronic perspective.

Finally, as we have seen, both the semantics of mood and the evolution of mood (the expansion as well as the loss) can only be described coherently in the context of modal domains. This observation suggests that variationist data should be described and analyzed in the context of these modal domains. In addition, variationist approaches are particularly well suited for detecting hierarchies of prototypicality *within each domain*. So, for instance, in the bouletic domain, there is a clear hierarchy between ‘wish’-, ‘want’-, and ‘hope’-verbs (wish > want > hope) that might explain the different scores of the subjunctive mood linked to the radial organization of the modal domain in question. However, this aspect touches upon a further issue that should be explored in a future research paper.

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