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The Subjunctive–Indicative Opposition in Latin: A Contrastive Feature Hierarchy Approach

Abstract: The indicative–subjunctive distinction of the Latin verbal mood system has been subject to various analyses. The paper presents an approach relying on the concept of contrastive feature hierarchy, developing the idea of a featural decomposition of Latin verbal moods. A threefold distinction in terms of features [\pm realis], [\pm oblique] and [\pm irrealis] is proposed, with an elucidation of morphological and semantic counterparts of such features and combinations thereof, utilizing basic tools of the possible worlds framework. Consequences of the proposed approach for an analysis of synchronic and diachronic variation in the Latin verbal mood system are also briefly discussed.

Key words: Latin verbal mood; morphosemantics; feature decomposition; feature hierarchy

1. The subjunctive–indicative distinction in Latin: the issue

The robust indicative–subjunctive distinction exhibited by Latin finite verb forms is one of the most thoroughly described contrasts of the Latin verbal system (beside detailed descriptions in Kühner and Stegmann (1955a, b), Ernout and Thomas (1964), Hofmann and Szantyr (1972), Menge (2012), Pinkster (2015), see Calboli (2011, 2012) for an overview of recent research on the

topic), discussed also in the generative framework from its early days on (see already Lakoff (1968) for an early influential analysis), but also one of the most elusive to characterize in an explanatorily satisfactory way. Among factors which contribute to this state of affairs, a tendency to give precedence to descriptive coverage over theoretical virtues stands out. Understandable as it is in strictly descriptive works seeking to encompass the behaviour of the Latin mood system in the whole extant corpus of Latin texts with all its variation (including differences ranging from diachronic to stylistic ones), it leads to accepting a view on which the indicative – subjunctive distinction reflects widely differing interpretive properties of verbal moods – which in the case of subjunctive are additionally explained as a result of the historical development of the Latin mood system, Latin subjunctives stemming from Indo–European subjunctives or optatives—and, with regard to their appearance in subordinate clauses, behave according to their place along ‘a gradient between the two poles ‘(fully) semantic’ and ‘(fully) grammatical’,’ as Pinkster (2015:617) summarizes the issue. This stance is fostered by an apparent failure of the search for the ‘basic meaning’ (*Grundbedeutung*) of Latin moods, subjunctive in particular. Taking the indicative as ‘the mood of reality’ (*der Modus der Wirklichkeit* of Kühner and Stegmann (1955a:169)) is at least compatible with its uses in both main clauses, as in (1), and in subordinate ones, as in (2):

- (1) *An* *invidiam* *posteritatis*
 PRT hatred.SG.ACC posterity.SG.GEN

times?
 fear.IND.PRS.2SG

‘Or do you fear the hatred of posterity?’ (Cic. Cat. 1.28)¹

¹ The following editions are used as sources for translations: Cicero. In Catilinam 14. Pro Murena. Pro Sulla. Pro Flacco. Translated by C. Macdonald. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976; Cicero. Pro Archia. Post Reditum in Senatu. Post Reditum ad Quirites. De Domo Sua. De Haruspicum Responsis. Pro Plancio. Translated by N. H. Watts. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923; Cicero. Pro Sestio. In Vatinius. Translated by R. Gardner. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958; Cicero. On the Republic. On the Laws. Translated by Clinton W. Keyes. Cambridge,

(2) <i>Sane</i>	<i>gaudeo,</i>	<i>quod</i>
PRT	rejoice.IND.PRS.ACT.1SG	COMP
<i>te</i>	<i>interpellavi.</i>	
you.SG.ACC	interrupt.IND.PRF.ACT.1SG	

‘I am very glad indeed that I interrupted you.’ (Cic. leg. 3.1)

In the case of subjunctive, uses to be accounted for range from clearly modal ones, as in (3), to (frequent) uses in which there is no apparent interpretive difference with the indicative mood, as in the subordinate clause in (4), where the subjunctive *videatur* deserves the label ‘mood of reality’ not less than the indicative *interpellavi* in (2):

(3) <i>Stet</i>	<i>haec</i>	<i>urbs</i>	<i>praeclara!</i>
stand.SBJV.	this.SG.F.NOM	city.SG.NOM	glorious.
PRS.ACT.3SG			SG.F.NOM

‘Long may this city (...) remain glorious!’ (Cic. Mil. 93)

(4) <i>Qui</i>	<i>autem</i>	<i>evenit</i>
how.ADV	PRT	happen.IND.PRS.ACT.3SG
<i>ut</i>	<i>tibi</i>	<i>Iulia</i>
COMP	you.DAT	Julia.SG.ABL

MA: Harvard University Press, 1928; Cicero. Philippics 1-6. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Revised by John T. Ramsey, Gesine Manuwald. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010; Cicero. Pro Milone. In Pisonem. Pro Scauro. Pro Fonteio. Pro Rabirio Postumo. Pro Marcello. Pro Ligario. Pro Rege Deiotaro. Translated by N. H. Watts. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 193; Cicero. On Duties. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913; Plautus. Amphitryon. The Comedy of Asses. The Pot of Gold. The Two Bacchises. The Captives. Edited and translated by Wolfgang de Melo. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

<i>nata</i>	<i>ignobilis</i>	<i>videatur?</i>
born.SG.NOM	ignoble.SG.NOM	seem.SBJV.PRS.PASS.3SG

‘But how is it that Antonius thinks the daughter of a Julia a commoner?’ (Cic. Phil. 3.17)

It would require a hardly plausible stretch of imagination to find both subjunctives in root clauses, with all shades of modal meanings they might exhibit, and subjunctives in (a class of) subordinate clauses as in (4) apt for falling under a common umbrella of ‘the mood of subjective representation’ (*der Modus der subjektiven Vorstellung* of Kühner and Stegmann (1955a: 169)).

When the verbal mood is analyzed as a feature with ‘indicative’ or ‘subjunctive’ as feature values, a part of syntactic representation read off in parallel by morphology-related processes and by interpretive procedures (an assumption which conforms to the architecture assumed in the generative framework, but is common to any approach adopting the view of syntax as linking form and meaning), there is no room to accommodate conditions for its having a particular value covering all possible contexts in which the value is licensed: in the case of the subjunctive mood, to be accounted for are both a wide-ranging variation in modal meanings (as reflected in traditional labels attached to different uses of subjunctive, viz. *iussivus*, *prohibitivus*, *hortativus*, *concessivus*, *optativus*, *potentialis*, *irrealis*, *dubitativus*) and a possibility to appear in subordinate clauses *without* discernible modal effects. The mapping to semantic properties (whether as a direct interpretation or as an indirect one, viz. *via* a translation into a formal language) becomes opaque, requiring in effect a disjunctive characterization of interpretive properties of the feature value ‘subjunctive,’ which can be only to a minor extent mitigated by including contextual conditions (like lexical selection by particular complementizers).

A path which might be explored in order to avoid the pitfalls of an attribute–value approach to the indicative–subjunctive distinction and to achieve an explanatorily more satisfactory analysis of Latin moods may lead through feature decomposition of the mood feature. This way of approaching the subjunctive–indicative distinction would be analogous to (although not in all respects parallel with) the by–now classical approach to the case system, with feature decomposition approaches going back to Jakobson (1936) and devel-

oped in various ways also for the Latin case system in Halle and Vaux (1998), Calabrese (1998), Wiese (2013), Embick (2015), a.o. We proceed with a tentative proposal for an analysis of the subjunctive–indicative distinction along such lines in the next section.

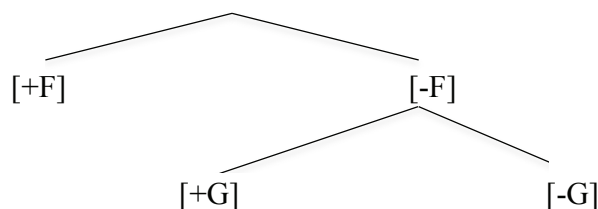
2. A contrastive feature hierarchy for Latin moods

2.1. Preliminary remarks

Before embarking on the project of decomposing the ‘subjunctive’ and ‘indicative’ values of a putative ‘mood’ feature in the Latin verbal system, it is useful to consider differences between this endeavour and the decomposition of the case system within a broadly understood generative framework. The mainstream generative approach to the phenomenon of case takes case to have only syntactic and morphological aspects and distinguishes between a purely formal (syntactic) Case feature, relevant for syntactic licensing of nominal phrases, and morphological properties of nominal phrases referred to as ‘m-cases’. This distinction permits, first, to analyze the latter as corresponding to various combinations of features assigned on the basis of syntactic properties of nominal phrases – their positions in syntactic structure and syntactic dependencies into which they enter – without making reference to strictly interpretive properties; second, to leave the syntax–internal abstract Case licensing as a separate mechanism. The situation with a putative ‘mood’ feature is different insofar as Latin verbal mood is a morphosemantic rather than a morphosyntactic feature: it does not enter into dependencies which the generative approach would classify as syntactic ones, whereas it has clear correlates on the interpretive side, however recalcitrant to an analysis they are. It is to be expected, then, that a feature decomposition approach will in this case involve postulating features with an explicitly semantic basis; furthermore, instead of the ‘mood’ feature with ‘subjunctive’ and ‘indicative’ as its values, it will postulate replacing the former with a combination of features, such feature bundles being subject to rules of morphological realization (or insertion, depending upon the details of the morphological theory chosen) as morphological ‘indicatives’ or ‘subjunctives’. An approach relying on a hierarchy of features of the kind argued for in Dresher (2009) for phonological features and applied to morphosyntactic features in Cowper and Hall (2019)

seems promising with regard to such features: unlike a full cross-classification of features (in which all combinations of feature values are taken into account), it restricts the set of available combinations as one proceeds top–down in the hierarchy, narrowing down the space of contrasts for which a given feature is relevant, at the same time allowing the introduction of features which would otherwise give rise to incoherent feature value combinations (thus being ultimately eliminable, but still theoretically redundant). In a simple system with two binary features F and G, it is assumed that they are hierarchically ordered (e.g. $F > G$); such a hierarchy gives rise to two possible dependency structures in which specification of the feature G depends on either [+F] or [-F] feature value (we assume here for concreteness that hierarchies are constituted by binary features; the issue of their being properly analyzed as binary, privative, or a mixture of both is orthogonal to the present discussion). Assuming for the purpose of the example that the latter is the case, this results in a hierarchical dependency as in (5).

(5)



It is a consequence of adopting a hierarchy in (5) that a lexical item bearing a [+F] specification is not endowed with feature G at all – it is not marked as either [+G] or [-G] – which in the case of morphosemantic features makes it possible for [+F] on the one hand and [+G] or [-G] on the other to impose mutually partly inconsistent requirements on their interpretation: restricting the domain of contrastiveness of a feature to the lower part of the hierarchy and making the higher part thereof independent in interpretive terms are two sides of the same coin.

Two further consequences of an analysis involving a morphosemantic feature hierarchy are worth noticing. First, the hierarchy makes immediately ex-

explicit points of possible distinctions in morphological exponence. In (5), on the simplest scenario, either the [+F] vs. [-F] division is morphologically relevant, thereby inducing a grouping {[+F]} and {[[-F, +G], [-F, -G]} for rules of morphological exponence, or the [+G] vs. [-G] distinction is relevant, inducing as the most straightforward grouping {[+F], [-F, +G]} vs. {[[-G]} distinction, or finally both are differentiated morphologically, with groupings {[+F]}, {[[-F, +G]}], {[[-F, -G]}]. Second, only features which are relevant for such contrasts are considered as candidates for forming a feature hierarchy. It is therefore not to be expected that all interpretive distinctions made in descriptive work on properties under investigation will find their place in the contrastive feature hierarchy. The latter will encompass only those features which are relevant for morphosemantic contrasts, both visible for interpretive processes and referred to by rules of morphological exponence; other interpretive properties, exclusively semantic in nature, do not enter into dependencies of the feature hierarchy.

With the stage having been set in a preliminary way, a tentative feature hierarchy for the subjunctive–indicative distinction of the Latin verbal system may now be considered.

2.2. Contrasts and features in the Latin mood system

The basic dividing line in the Latin mood system concerns the distinction between the presence of indicative as in (1), where the indicative verb form *times* occurs in a root clause, or as in (2), where indicatives *gaudeo* and *interpelavi* occur in a main and a subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *quod*, respectively, on the one hand, and on the other hand, subjunctives occurring either in root clauses, like *stet* in (3), or in a variety of subordinate clauses, like *videatur* in the clause introduced by *ut* in (4). This distinction has been long recognized in the descriptive tradition of Latin grammar, and it is this distinction which is responsible for the label *der Modus der Wirklichkeit* (Kühner and Stegmann (1955a: 169)), mentioned above, being attached to the indicative mood. Suppose that there is a feature responsible for the appearance of indicative on the morphological side coupled with an appropriate interpretation at the semantic one. For the purposes of the current discussion, it suffices to assume that in the syntactic structure realized as a verbal form, there is a designated place to host mood-related features; in more the-

ory – loaden terms, it is frequently assumed that there is a functional head Mod located below the head which hosts tense and agreement related features in a hierarchical clausal syntactic structure, mapped to an appropriate morphological exponent by rules of exponence (see e.g. Embick and Halle (2005), Embick (2015) for a discussion of Latin clausal structure and its relationship with morphological exponence); the issue is however orthogonal to the present discussion as long as it is assumed that the verbal mood reflects a feature (or a bundle thereof) which is hosted by verb-related building block(s) (and thus *not* by elements which form the left periphery of the clause, populated by complementizers and overt or covert operators relating clause interior to the external syntactic context). Respecting the traditional label, let us call the feature [\pm realis]. In accordance with the line drawn above, a [+realis] specification gives rise to morphological realization as the indicative mood. On the interpretive side, assume for concreteness a broadly possible world approach with model–theoretic semantics in the background (again, most technicalities are irrelevant for our present concerns, the main virtue of the suggested approach being that it makes interpretive consequences explicit and precise, beside being adopted in much current generative research; see Devine and Stephens (2013: 388–440) for a discussion of modality in Latin within the possible worlds framework). A [+realis] featural specification may be then hypothesized to induce interpretation of a presuppositional kind: a presupposition concerning the accessibility relation between the distinguished (in other words, actual) world of a model and world(s) at which the prejacent is evaluated as true: the relation in question is presupposed to be reflexive. This property restricts the set of worlds taken into account as those at which the lower part of the structure is evaluated as true; it is bound to contain at least the actual world, which is as close to being *der Modus der Wirklichkeit* as one can get (although, to be noted, it does not necessarily restrict the set to the actual world only; the reflexivity property is satisfied as long as the actual world is in the set).

The differences thus induced at both morphological and semantic sides account not only for the split between (1) or (2) on the one hand and (3) and (4) on the other, but also for the contrast between cases like (2), with the indicative form *interpellavi* in the subordinate clause, and examples like (6):

(6) <i>Laudat</i> praise.IND.PRS. ACT.3SG	<i>Africanum</i> Africanus.SG.ACC	<i>Panaetius,</i> Panaetius.SG.NOM
<i>quod</i> COMP	<i> fuerit</i> be.SBJV.PRF.ACT.3SG	<i>abstinens.</i> temperate.SG.NOM

‘Panaetius praises Africanus for his integrity in public life.’ (Cic. off. 2.76)

Examples like (6) differ from (4) in exhibiting an additional interpretive property, being instances of the so-called *coniunctivus ex mente aliena*, which suggests that the ‘modal distancing’ characteristic of this class of uses of the subjunctive mood involves an enrichment of the left periphery of their clauses, a modality–related operator belonging to the class studied in Kratzer (2013) and related work; at the level of the clausal spine which is realized as a verb form, though, both (6) and (4) may be hypothesized to possess the same mood characteristics. Upon expanding the [-realis] branch of the feature hierarchy, a sharp contrast in interpretive properties between (6), (4) or (7) below on the one hand, and examples like (8) or (9) on the other has to be taken into account:

(7) <i>Cur</i> PRT	<i>ego</i> I.SG.NOM	<i>non</i> PRT	<i>timuerim</i> fear.SBJV.PRF.3SG
<i>quaeris?</i> ask.IND.PRS.2SG			

‘Do you ask the reason for my own fearlessness?’ (Cic. dom. 8)

(8) <i>Quaero</i> ask.IND.PRS.1SG	<i>a</i> PRP	<i>te</i> you.SG.ABL	<i>cur</i> PRT
<i>C. Cornelium</i> C. Cornelius.SG.ACC	<i>non</i> PRT	<i>defenderem?</i> defend.SBJV.IMP.F.1SG	

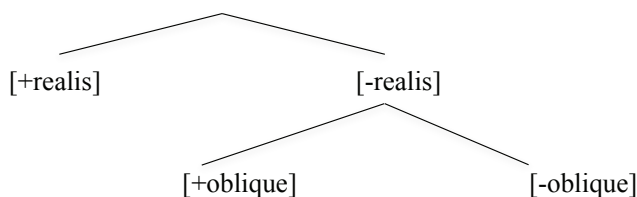
‘I ask you, why was I not to defend Cornelius?’ (Cic. Vat.5)

(9) <i>Si</i> if.PRT IMPF.3PL	<i>te</i> you.SG.ACC	<i>parentes</i> parents.PL.NOM	<i>timerent (...)</i> fear.SBJV.
<i>tui (...)</i> your.PL.NOM	<i>ab</i> PRP	<i>eorum</i> they.PL.GEN	<i>oculis</i> eye.PL.ABL
<i>aliquo</i> somewhere.ADV	<i>concederes.</i> retire.SBJV.IMPF.2SG		

'If your own parents feared (...) you, (...) you would (...) retire somewhere out of their sight.' (Cic. Cat. 1.17)

Let it be hypothesized that another feature, [\pm oblique], is relevant for the contrast in question. Giving it a place lower in the hierarchy than the [\pm realis] feature results in the hierarchy in (10):

(10)



The contrast between [+oblique] and [-oblique] specification is suggested by a twofold kind of evidence. First, given that the verbal mood is a morphosemantic feature, it may be expected that the distinction gives rise to interpretive differences, irrespectively of issues of morphological exponence. This seems to be the case in Latin: although both [+oblique] and [-oblique] markings may lead to subjunctive morphology, they are differentiated in semantic terms: (6), (4) or (7) contain instances of subjunctive mood marking which is not connected with any presupposition whatsoever concerning the accessibility relation of the kind introduced above; in contrast, (8), (9), much as (3) clearly involve some further specification in this respect. The former

group of examples may be assumed to host a [+oblique] specification, a feature requiring that there be no presupposition concerning the accessibility relation between the distinguished (in other words, actual) world of a model and world(s) at which the at-issue content is evaluated as true. They are thus transparent for higher operators, which explains their appearance in contexts like (6) and in the clauses of indirect speech (hence, introduced by modal operators as well). More importantly, the [-realis, +oblique] specification takes care of the appearance of subjunctives in subordinate extensional contexts as ‘subjunctives of subordination’ (see e.g. Ernout and Thomas (1964: 292–293), Touratier (1982, 1994)): their [-realis, +oblique] featural specification merely indicates that they do not bear any presupposition with regard to the accessibility relation of the type introduced above, neither presupposing nor implicating anything with regard to the modal status of the at-issue content, whence they are compatible with contexts in which they are ultimately, *via* a standard compositional route, evaluated with respect to the actual world, as in (4). They seem to be restricted to subordinate environments for interpretive reasons of a pragmatic rather than a semantic kind, deficient as they are with regard to modal anchoring of their clauses.

Another reason to posit a feature [\pm oblique] concerns issues of morphological exponence. As noted above, the feature hierarchy makes clear and explicit points of possible morphological differentiation and possible groupings of various combinations of features under a common morphological exponent. The basic dividing point in Latin was hypothesized to be the [+realis] vs. [-realis] distinction, which might be supposed to lead to a default morphological differentiation *via* noncontextual rules of exponence. Yet the [+oblique] vs. [-oblique] division, although mostly falling under the umbrella of subjunctive morphology, may well be connected to contextual rules which might distinguish the two, as well as it might be subject to diachronic instability with regard to the indicative vs. subjunctive realization. That seems to be indeed the case: there are types of subordinate clauses in which there is a diachronic shift and synchronic variation with regard to the subjunctive–indicative opposition without there being any interpretive differences connected to the specific choice. Even single complex sentences may testify to this state of affairs, as (11) does:

(11) <i>Nunc</i> now.ADV SG.ABL	<i>quoius</i> who.SG.GEN	<i>iussu</i> command.
<i>uenio</i> come.IND.PRS.ACT.1SG	<i>et</i> and.PRT	<i>quam</i> what.SG.ACC
<i>ob</i> PREP ACT.1SG	<i>rem</i> thing.SG.ACC	<i>uenerim,</i> come.SBJV.PRF.
<i>dicam.</i> tell.IND.FUT.ACT.1SG		

‘Now I’ll tell you on whose command and for what reason I’ve come.’ (Pl. Am. 17–18)

There is no difference as far as the presuppositional semantics regarding modal accessibility is concerned between the indicative *uenio* and the subjunctive *venerim* in (11): there is no presupposition in either case, both instances of the verbal mood being in this case connected with the [-realis, +oblique] specification. Optionality in the application of a contextual exponency rule, visible in (11), manifests itself in several kinds of subordinate clauses, the loss thereof leading to application of the default rule and generalization of the ‘subjunctive of subordination’ (see also the discussion of Burkard (2006) and general remarks on the use of moods in subordinate clauses in Pinkster (2015: 617–671)). The final contrast to be considered in delineating the feature hierarchy for the Latin subjunctive–indicative system is exhibited by examples like (9) or (12) on the one hand, and examples like (8) above, on the other:

(12) <i>Quod</i> what.SG.ACC	<i>ille</i> he.SG.NOM	<i>si</i> if.PRT
<i>repudiasset,</i> refuse.SBJV.PLQPRF.3SG	<i>dubitatis,</i> doubt.IND.PRS.2PL	<i>quin</i> COMP

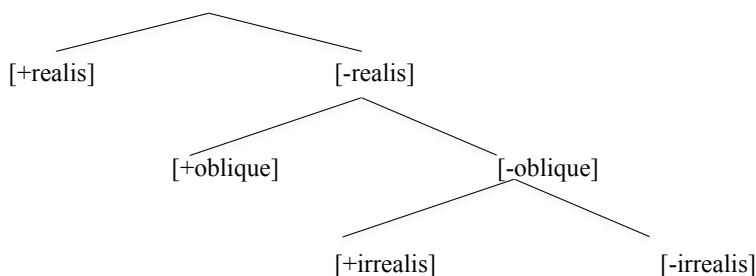
<i>ei</i> he.SG.DAT	<i>vis</i> violence.SG.NOM	<i>esset</i> be.SBJV. IMPF.3SG
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allata (...)?
bring.PTCP.PST.F.SG.NOM

‘But, if he had refused the commission, have you any doubt that violence would have been done to him?’ (Cic. *Sest.* 62)

The former group of examples provides instances of irreal conditions, in which a subjunctive imperfect or pluperfect appears with a present or past reference, respectively, contrasting thus with examples like (8), where the subjunctive imperfect appears as *coniunctivus deliberativus* (thus with an entirely different modal profile) and has a past reference, as expected. The difference between the two groups thus manifests itself at both interpretive and morphological levels. As for the former, the distinction concerns an irrealis interpretation, as the descriptive grammar labels this group of the uses of subjunctive, hence positing a [\pm irrealis] feature might be appropriate. It may be hypothesized to occupy the lowest position in the hierarchy of features relevant for the morphosemantic subjunctive vs. indicative distinction in Latin:

(13)



In more formal terms, the specification [-realis, -oblique, +irrealis] gives rise to a presupposition concerning the modal accessibility relation as being obligatorily irreflexive, hence *ex definitione* excluding the actual world from the

set of worlds in which the prejacent is evaluated as true. As for the morphological side, the irreal subjunctive involves overt realization of the [+irrealis] feature as having a common exponent with the [+past] feature, separately from the subjunctive exponent as such (in a framework like Distributed Morphology, this state of affairs would be most plausibly interpreted as the [+irrealis] specification triggering fission of the feature bundle into [+irrealis] and [-realis, -oblique], separately subject to rules of morphological exponence). The [+irrealis] feature thus is a close counterpart of the Exclusion feature of Iatridou (2000) and related work (a feature interpreted either as having the temporal domain and thus giving rise to past tense semantics, or as having the modal domain and thus giving rise to an irrealis semantics; see more recently Schulz (2014)). The contrast is thus present at the interpretive side and at the morphological one.

To be sure, a hierarchy consisting of three features is not sufficient for the purpose of capturing all interpretive properties of Latin moods or describing all syntactic environments in which they are licensed (or prohibited); in particular, the subjunctive corresponding to the most unmarked position in the hierarchy is free to embody both modal quantificational force and modal domain specification of various kinds, provided that they fall outside the range of features constituting the hierarchy proposed above. Thus, subjunctives labelled in the descriptive work as *coniunctivus iussivus* or *coniunctivus optativus* would all be characterized in terms of the feature hierarchy in (13) as being [-realis, -oblique, -irrealis], their modal properties involving accessibility relations of a different kind. A wide range of variation in the group specified as [-realis, -oblique, -irrealis] is not surprising, given that it is the most unspecified group; nor is it unexpected that there are many semantic properties of subjunctive clauses which are not captured by the hierarchy in (13): only features relevant for the morphosemantic contrast indicative–subjunctive are candidates for entering into dependencies of (13).

3. Concluding remarks

A feature hierarchy approach to the subjunctive–indicative contrast in Latin, leading to a hierarchy in (13) and tentatively described in the foregoing discussion, has several theoretical merits. It avoids the troubles with capturing interpretive properties of Latin moods inevitable in an inquiry searching for

a *Grundbedeutung* thereof; simultaneously, treating Latin mood as a bundle of morphosemantic binary features, it assigns to such features a well-defined content of both a morphological and a strictly semantic nature (in contrast to approaches which would also introduce pragmatic properties as primitives of the theory, see e.g. Müller-Wetzel (2001) for an approach along these lines). On either a binary or a privative feature approach, categorical distinctions arise which seem promising in providing partial explanations of both synchronic and diachronic variation in the realm of Latin mood. It is an open research question whether further and more detailed investigations taking a hierarchy along the lines of (13) as a point of depart prove more fruitful and theoretically satisfactory than alternative approaches.

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**Opozycja trybu przypuszczającego i trybu oznajmującego w łacinie:
teoria hierarchicznego uporządkowania cech dystynktywnych
(streszczenie)**

Opozycja trybu oznajmującego i trybu przypuszczającego w łacińskim systemie czasownikowym jest przedmiotem wielu odmiennych analiz. Artykuł przedstawia podejście oparte na koncepcji hierarchii cech dystynktywnych i analizie składnikowej cech trybu czasownika w systemie łacińskim. Proponowana jest analiza na cechy [\pm realis], [\pm oblique] oraz [\pm irrealis], wraz z opisem wykładników morfologicznych tych cech i ich dopuszczalnych kombinacji oraz ze wstępną analizą ich semantycznych korelatów z wykorzystaniem podstawowych pojęć semantyki światów możliwych. Zwięźle dyskutowane są także konsekwencje proponowanego podejścia dla analizy synchronicznego i diachronicznego zróżnicowania w łacińskim systemie czasownikowym.

Słowa kluczowe: łacina – tryb czasownika; morfosemantyka; analiza składnikowa; hierarchia cech

