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Same syntax, different lexicon:

Mood selection in Romance and Balkan

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1. Introduction¹

In this paper we investigate the following patterns in Romance and Balkan (with French and Modern Greek serving as the main representatives for the two language types).

Table 1. *Matrix V + Comp ... Embedded V* in French

	Non-factive	Factive
Non-emotive	<i>dire</i> ‘say’ + <i>que</i> ... V.IND	<i>savoir</i> ‘know’ + <i>que</i> ... V.IND
Emotive	<i>vouloir</i> ‘want’ + <i>que</i> ... V.SUBJ	<i>regretter</i> ‘regret’ + <i>que</i> ... V.SUBJ

Table 2. *Matrix V + Comp* in Modern Greek

	Non-factive	Factive
Non-emotive	<i>leo</i> ‘say’ + <i>oti</i> (IND)	<i>gnorizo</i> ‘know’ + <i>oti</i> (IND)
Emotive	<i>thelo</i> ‘want’ + <i>na</i> (SUBJ)	<i>lipame</i> ‘regret’ + <i>pu</i> (?)

As seen in Tables 1 and 2, the four possible combinations of factivity and emotivity display similar but also somewhat differing syntactic patterns in French and Modern Greek. For instance, the non-emotive patterns appear to be correlated with non-subjunctive (which, we assume, leads to indicative by default) in both language types. However, while a non-factive emotive verb seems to select for subjunctive in both

¹ We would like to thank the editors of this volume, Monelle Guertin, Yoann Léveillé, and Reine Pinsonneault, as well as the audience of the *Colloque 50 ans de linguistique à l’UQAM*. We are also very grateful to the two reviewers of our article, who provided very helpful comments. Thanks also to Genoveva Puskás and Ur Shlonsky for their valuable input at earlier stages of this work. All errors are of course our own.

language types (subjunctive on the embedded verb in French and the subjunctive complementizer *na* in Modern Greek), the combination of factivity and emotivity leads to subjunctive only in French, not in Modern Greek, where the complementizer *pu* (not *na*) appears. We will argue that the basic patterns in these two tables can be derived from a common underlying syntax, with language-specific idiosyncrasies of the lexicon leading to the surface variation observed.²

2. Framework

The idea that there is a universal grammatical structure which is realized in different ways depending on which lexical entries happen to exist in the lexicon is a driving force in the framework known as nanosyntax (Starke 2009, 2011; Caha 2009, 2018; Baunaz & Lander 2018). Nanosyntax is a *realizational* theory, which means that there is an abstract level of morphosyntactic content which logically precedes its formal realization. In other words, the syntax determines the morphosyntactic properties to be expressed, and *lexicalization* (or, interchangeably for us, *spellout*) is responsible for providing the phonological forms.

In nanosyntax, moreover, there is no rigid boundary between morphology and syntax. For nanosyntacticians, every morphosyntactic feature is a head with a dedicated position in the universal hierarchy known as the *functional sequence* (cf. the one-feature/one-head maxim of Kayne 2005 and Cinque & Rizzi 2008). Syntax merges atomic formal features as syntactic heads according to the functional sequence. It is common to speak of a typical morpheme as being composed of multiple morphosyntactic features, but in nanosyntax this fact takes on new meaning: a morpheme has an internal

² This paper is about selected subjunctive. We leave discussion about the so-called Polarity Subjunctive (subjunctive appearing in questions and under negation) for future research (see Stowell 1993, Quer 1998, 2009, and others).

structure of hierarchically ordered syntactic heads. Syntactic heads are, in other words, submorphemic. The inescapable conclusion is that syntax is just as much responsible for word-internal structure as it is for whole sentences.

When the syntactic component generates a structure, it proceeds step by step, merging one feature/head after another according to the functional sequence. After every step of merge, the syntactic structure must be properly matched to (or spelled out by) a lexical structure in the lexicon (see Fábregas 2007 on *exhaustive lexicalization*). Lexical structures are syntactic structures which are stored as part of a lexical entry, which is usually composed of phonological, syntactic, and conceptual material, as abstractly represented in (1).

(1) </phonology/ ⇔ [F₃ [F₂ [F₁]]] ⇔ CONCEPT >

A syntactic structure like [F₃ [F₂ [F₁]]] can obviously be matched by the lexical structure [F₃ [F₂ [F₁]]] in (1), since these two structures match exactly. Moreover, the syntactic structure [F₂ [F₁]] can be spelled out by the lexical structure in (1) due to the Superset Principle: [F₃ [F₂ [F₁]]] is a superset of the syntactic structure [F₂ [F₁]].³ The Superset Principle has proven particularly useful in accounting for syncretism. Note, however, that if the lexicon contains a second lexical entry with the structure [F₂ [F₁]], then this second entry would be selected to spell out the syntactic structure [F₂ [F₁]]. This rule of ‘more specific wins’ is known as the Elsewhere Principle (see Kiparsky 1973). See references above for more discussion of nanosyntactic spellout.

Crosslinguistic variation in nansyntax is understood essentially in terms of how a single universal functional sequence is lexicalized in different ways depending on the

³ Note that nanosyntax allows for *phrasal spellout*, i.e. more than a single head can be lexicalized at once.

idiosyncrasies of the lexicon. While we may all have the same syntax and the same derivational options available to us, we do not have the same elements (i.e. lexical entries) available for externalizing (i.e. spelling out) these options.

3. The problem

Mood is morphologically realized on verbs in Romance (2), but on the complementizer in Balkan (3) (see Sočanać 2017, Giannakidou & Mari 2021, among others).

- (2) a. Mirka dit que Roger **vient** toujours à l'heure. *French*
 M. says that R. comes.IND always on time
- b. Mirka ordonne que Roger **vienne** à l'heure
 M. orders that R. come.SUBJ on time
- (3) a. Nomizo **oti** kerdizei o Janis. *Modern Greek*
 think.1SG that(IND) win.3SG.IMPERF the J.
 'I think that John is winning.'
- b. Thelo **na** kerdisi o Janis.
 want.1SG that.SUBJ win.3SG.PERF the J.
 'I want John to win.' (Giannakidou 2009: 1887)

Whereas Romance languages show an embedded verb with subjunctive in contexts like (2b), Balkan languages use a special (so-called) complementizer (MG *na*, Bg. *da*, SC *da*) to mark the subjunctive (3b).⁴ The connection between this special complementizer and subjunctive mood, as well as the crosslinguistic distribution of mood marking as 'verbal' vs. 'clausal', has been extensively debated. See Giannakidou (1998, 2009), Krapova (1998), Roussou (2000, 2009, 2010), Todorović (2012), Sočanać (2017), Giannakidou & Mari (2021), among many others, for discussion.

⁴ There is, however, a strong tendency for the embedded verb to display *perfective non-past* (PNP) morphology, which encodes tense and aspect but not mood (cf. *kerdizei* vs. *kerdisi* in (2)).

In Romance, subjunctive marking on the embedded verb is triggered by a certain subset of non-factive predicates (e.g. *volitionals* like ‘wish’) (4a) and a certain subset of factive predicates (*emotive factives* like ‘regret’ or ‘be sad/happy’) (4b) in the matrix clause. In Balkan, however, only non-factive verbs – never factive verbs – can select for the subjunctive complementizer *na* (see Giannakidou 2009, 2015). As seen in (5a), subjunctive *na* appears with the non-factive volitional ‘want’ but is ruled out under the emotive factives ‘be sad’ and ‘be happy’, where we see the element *pu* instead (5b).

- (4) a. Nicolas veut que Ariadne **parte**. *French*
 N. wants that A. leave.SUBJ
 ‘Nicholas wants Ariadne to leave.’
- b. Nicolas regrette/est triste/est content que Ariadne **soit** partie.
 N. regrets/is sad/is happy that A. be.SUBJ left
 ‘Nicholas regrets/is sad/is happy that Ariadne left.’
- (5) a. O Nicholas theli **na** fiji i Ariadne. *Modern Greek*
 the N. wants that.SUBJ leave.3SG the A.
 ‘Nicholas wants Ariadne to leave.’
- b. O Nicholas lipate/xerete **pu/*na/*oti** efije i Ariadne.
 the N. is.sad/is.happy that left.3SG the A.
 ‘Nicholas regrets/is happy that Ariadne left.’ (Giannakidou 2015: 39, her (76))

Why does subjunctive selection in Romance and Balkan work similarly with regard to certain verbs but not others, specifically emotive factives?

4. Emotivity triggers subjunctive

To answer this question, we will need to clarify what exactly is the trigger for subjunctive mood marking. Romance and Balkan both have a class of matrix predicates allowing for either indicative or subjunctive mood in the embedded clause. This is illustrated in (6) and (7) for French and Modern Greek.

- (6) a. J'espère que Jean **écrit** son livre. *French*
 I hope that J. writes.IND his book
 'I am expecting John to write his book.'
- b. J'espère que Jean **écrive** son livre.
 I hope that J. write.SUBJ his book
 'I wish/hope for John to write his book.'
- (7) a. Elpizo **oti** kerdise o Janis. *Modern Greek*
 hope.1SG that.IND won.3SG the J.
 'I hope that John won.'
 (Giannakidou & Mari 2021: 50, their (84a))
- b. Elpizo **na** kerdisi/kerdise o Janis.
 hope.1SG that.SUBJ win.NON-PAST/PAST.3SG the J.
 'I hope for John to win/to have won.'
 (Giannakidou & Mari 2021: 50, their (83a))

The alternation has interpretational consequences having to do with a difference in the attitude of the external argument/subject (Baunaz 2017, Baunaz & Puskás 2022). The speaker in (6a) is using logic and reasoning in *counting on* or *expecting* John to write his book. In (6b), the speaker is more emotional or empathic, *wishing for* John to write his book. A similar contrast is found in (7) for Modern Greek. Baunaz & Puskás (2022) associate the second kind of reading with an 'emotive' property. Emotivity has to do with the attitude of the subject or speaker towards the content of an embedded proposition; we can think of it as involving a set of states triggered by a linguistic category of attitude-denoting predicates (see Blochowiak 2014).

French and Modern Greek have a limited set of predicates of this sort, i.e. predicates alternating between what we will refer to as non-emotive and *emotive* readings: Fr. *rêver* 'dream', *accepter* 'accept', *admettre* 'admit', *comprendre* 'understand'; MG *pistevo* 'believe', *nomizo* 'think', *onirevome* 'dream', *elpizo* 'hope'.⁵

⁵ The distinction is also correlated with systematic differences in adverb modification: degree adverbs only modify emotive verbs, and agent-oriented adverbs only modify the subject of non-emotive verbs (see Baunaz 2017, Baunaz & Puskás 2022 for more discussion).

The phenomenon is also found in other Romance languages (Italian, Catalan; see Quer 2009), in Balkan (South Slavic and Modern Greek), and in Hungarian.

5. Lexical entries involving Emo

As elaborated on by Baunaz & Puskás (2022), each language has its own set of alternating predicates which may well differ from other languages, but the simple assumption that each individual predicate has its own lexical entry in the lexicon goes a long way in capturing these points of variation, since each lexical entry will store information specific to that verb/predicate. Minimally, the lexical entry for an alternating verb would look like (8), where Emo is the formal feature encoding emotivity.

(8) $\langle \textit{dream} \Leftrightarrow [\text{Emo } [\text{V}]] \Leftrightarrow \text{DREAM} \rangle$

A language can have a single lexical entry for ‘dream’, as in (8), where the same form covers both the emotive ‘wish/hope for’ reading and the non-emotive ‘involuntary experiences during sleep’ reading. The Superset Principle allows for the structure [Emo [V]] to spell out either the full structure [Emo [V]] (= the emotive reading) or the subset structure [V] (= the non-emotive reading). In nanosyntactic terms, alternating non-emotive/emotive verbs are instances of *syncretism*, that is, “a surface conflation of two distinct morphosyntactic structures” (Caha 2009: 6).

For some verbs, there is no syncretism. A language might have two separate ‘dream’ verbs, and thus two separate lexical entries, one for the emotive structure and another for the non-emotive structure, as sketched (with nonce words) in (9).

(9) a. $\langle \textit{tream} \Leftrightarrow [\text{Emo } [\text{V}]] \Leftrightarrow \text{DREAM} \rangle$

b. $\langle \textit{shream} \Leftrightarrow [\text{V}] \Leftrightarrow \text{DREAM} \rangle$

The lexical entry for *shream* in (9b) is more structurally specified for the syntactic structure [V] than the entry for *tream* in (9a) is. Thus, by the Elsewhere Principle, *shream* will lexicalize the non-emotive structure, whereas *tream* will lexicalize the larger emotive structure [Emo [V]].

For our discussion below, it will be useful to work with mini-lexicons for French and Modern Greek. We can safely begin building these repositories by adding lexical entries with the basic syntactic structure [V] for non-factive and non-emotive verbs like Fr. *dire* ‘say’ (10a) and MG *leo* ‘say’ (11a).⁶ Regular factive verbs, which are not implicated in subjunctive patterns in either Romance or Balkan, can be assumed to have the lexical structure [Fact [V]], as seen in (10b) for *savoir* ‘know’ (which selects for embedded indicative) and (11b) for *gnorizo* ‘know’ (which selects for the ‘indicative’ complementizer *oti*). Emotive non-factive verbs like Fr. *vouloir* ‘want’ (10c) and MG *thelo* ‘want’ (11c), we would argue, do not contain Fact but do contain Emo.

(10) French lexical entries

a.	< <i>dire</i>	⇔		[V]	⇔	SAY	>
b.	< <i>savoir</i>	⇔		[Fact [V]]	⇔	KNOW	>
c.	< <i>vouloir</i>	⇔	[Emo	[V]]	⇔	WANT	>
d.	< <i>regretter</i>	⇔	[Emo [Fact	[V]]]	⇔	REGRET	>

(11) Modern Greek lexical entries

a.	< <i>leo</i>	⇔		[V]	⇔	SAY	>
b.	< <i>gnorizo</i>	⇔		[Fact [V]]	⇔	KNOW	>
c.	< <i>thelo</i>	⇔	[Emo	[V]]	⇔	WANT	>

⁶ Only strictly relevant features are indicated here. See Ramchand (2008) and Baunaz & Puskás (2022: Ch.4) for arguments in favor of the decomposition of V into further hierarchically organized features.

We now get to the lexical structure of emotive factive verbs like Fr. *regretter* ‘regret’, which by the reasoning followed so far should involve both Fact and Emo. While this is the lexical structure we will propose for French emotive factive verbs, as seen in (10d), it is not the correct way to think about Modern Greek.

6. Emotive complementizers in Balkan

In Modern Greek, the non-emotive vs. emotive interpretation under *non-factive* verbs like *elpizo* ‘hope’ is tracked by the choice between *oti* and subjunctive *na*, as seen above. Interestingly, some *factive* predicates like MG *lipame* ‘regret’ cannot appear with *oti* or *na*, requiring instead the complementizer *pu*. With some factive verbs, moreover, *pu* can alternate with *oti*, as in (12). Different readings arise depending on the complementizer.

- (12) a. O Janis paraponethike **pu/oti/*na** ton ksexasa. *Modern Greek*
 the J. complained.3SG that/*SUBJ him forgot.1SG
 ‘John complained that I forgot him.’ (Giannakidou 2015: 44, her (91))
- b. Thimame **pu/oti** ton sinandisa sto Parisi.
 remember.1SG that him met.1SG in.the Paris
 ‘I remember that I met him in Paris.’ (Giannakidou 2009: 1887, her (9))

When *pu* is selected, there is a “strong ‘subjective’ dimension” (Giannakidou 2009: 1887, citing Christidis 1981/1982), with *pu* contributing “emotive” or “expressive content” (Giannakidou 2015, *passim*). In other words, for *factive* verbs which show the non-emotive/emotive alternation, like ‘remember’ or ‘complain’, the distinction is tracked by the choice between *oti* (non-emotive) and *pu* (emotive) in Modern Greek.

Bulgarian (13) and Serbian (Niš) (14) show a similar pattern. When ‘regret’ appears with Bg. *deto* and Serb. *što*, it has the more emotive meaning of ‘feel sorrow/sorry’ or ‘wishing one had done differently’. When ‘regret’ appears with Bg. *če* and Serb. (our informant being from Niš) *da*, it has the more non-emotive reading of ‘regret to inform’.

- (13) Naistina sâžljam, **deto/če** ne otedlix poveče *Bulgarian*
 really regret.1SG that not devoted.1SG more
 vnanie na postrojkata.
 attention to construction.the
 ‘I really feel sorry/regret to inform that I did not devote greater attention to the
 construction’ (adapted from Krapova 2010: 26, her (56a))
- (14) Žao mi je **što/da** si povredio Ivana. *Serbian (Niš)*
 is.sorry to.me AUX.3SG that AUX.2SG hurt I.
 ‘I feel sorry/regret to inform that you hurt John.’

The same kind of pattern is discernible in Belgrade Serbian and Croatian too, but there it appears to be *da* which is favored in the emotive context (Tomislav Sočanać, p.c.). See Roussou (2010) for more on MG *oti* and *pu*, Krapova (2010) on Bulgarian *če* and *deto*, and Arsenijević (2020) on Serbian *da* and *što*.

Since the emotive reading with factive predicates very clearly depends on the complementizer in Balkan, we propose that Emo is located not on the verb but on the complementizer in these contexts. In other words, we need a lexical entry for MG *pu* which is minimally of the shape $\langle pu \Leftrightarrow [\text{Comp} + \text{Emo}] \rangle$ (with the syntactic ordering of these features to be clarified below). In other words, there is no such thing as an ‘emotive factive’ predicate in Balkan; instead, in these situations we have a *factive* predicate (structurally, [Fact [V]]) appearing with an *emotive complementizer*.

7. The importance of lexical availability

In other words, we have accounted for a point of variation between Romance and Balkan by using the same basic inventory of features (Emo, Fact, V) but hypothesizing that the two language types store these features in different structural configurations.

(15) French lexical entries

a.	< <i>dire</i>	⇔		[V]	⇔	SAY	>
b.	< <i>savoir</i>	⇔		[Fact [V]]	⇔	KNOW	>
c.	< <i>vouloir</i>	⇔	[Emo	[V]]	⇔	WANT	>
d.	< <i>regretter</i>	⇔	[Emo [Fact [V]]]		⇔	REGRET	>
e.	< <i>que</i>	⇔		[Comp]			>
f.	< -INFL	⇔		[Subj]			>

(16) Modern Greek lexical entries

a.	< <i>leo</i>	⇔		[V]	⇔	SAY	>
b.	< <i>gnorizo</i>	⇔		[Fact [V]]	⇔	KNOW	>
b'.	< <i>lipame</i>	⇔		[Fact [V]]	⇔	REGRET	>
c.	< <i>thelo</i>	⇔	[Emo	[V]]	⇔	WANT	>
d.	< <i>pu</i>	⇔		[Comp + Emo]			>
e.	< <i>na</i>	⇔		[Comp + Subj]			>
f.	< <i>oti</i>	⇔		[Comp]			>

As seen in (15) and (16), French has genuine emotive factive predicates like ‘regret’ (15d), whereas Balkan only has emotive *non-factive* predicates like ‘want’ (16c) or just regular *factive* predicates like *lipame* ‘regret’ (16b’). The lexical entries in (16) do not, admittedly, account for the difference between two types of factive verb – the *gnorizo* type (16b), which cannot select for *pu*, and the *lipame* type (16b’), which requires *pu* – but we assume that additional features and more detailed lexical entries are needed to capture this difference. We save this for future work.⁷

Consider now the important role played by lexical availability. The French lexicon contains entries where Emo is part of the internal lexical structure of factive verbs,

⁷ One way of thinking about the problem might be that Emo is actually a zone of multiple features, say $\text{Emo}_3 > \text{Emo}_2 > \text{Emo}_1$. Suppose that *lipame* stores Emo_1 in its lexical entry, but not Emo_3 and Emo_2 , which together are realized on *pu*. Suppose also that factives like *gnorizo* do not contain Emo_1 . An entry like < *pu* ⇔ [Emo₃ [Emo₂]] > will never become derivationally relevant unless Emo_1 is provided for, since we cannot reach Emo_2 and Emo_3 without first going through Emo_1 . Thus factives like *lipame* would subcategorize for *pu* in a way that factives like *gnorizo* would not.

whereas Modern Greek does not have any lexical entries specifying that Emo is part of the internal lexical structure of a factive verb. Importantly, this is purely a lexical difference, not a syntactic one. The syntax is equally free to generate [Emo [Fact [V]]] in both Romance and Balkan, but only the former language type will actually be able to lexicalize such a structure when it comes time for spellout, since Romance languages have the appropriate lexical entries available in their lexicons; Balkan languages do not have the appropriate lexical entries, meaning that such structures cannot be externalized. In Romance, on the other hand, there are no lexical entries storing Emo and Comp together, in contrast with Balkan where such entries are available. Thus the syntactic possibility of generating a structure where Emo and Comp are merged together as a constituent is available in both language types, but only Balkan can actually lexicalize such a structure.

Although the lexicons above contain extremely simple lexical entries, they nevertheless shed a great deal of light on the Romance and Balkan facts discussed so far. If we assume that Emo must be part of the internal structure of the matrix predicate in order for subjunctive to be triggered, then volitionals in both Romance and Balkan should behave the same, since they both contain lexical entries for ‘want’-type verbs of the structural type [Emo [V]]. Thus we expect subjunctive to be assigned in both language types, which is indeed what happens. Moreover, whether subjunctive appears on the verb or the complementizer is also lexically specified – contrast (15f) for Romance with (16e) for Balkan. If Emo is not found on the verb itself, then subjunctive is not triggered. For Romance, emotive verbs like non-factive *vouloir* and factive *regretter* will trigger subjunctive, since Emo is contained within these verbs, whereas non-emotive verbs like non-factive *dire* and factive *savoir* do not select subjunctive but rather indicative instead, since these verbs do not contain Emo. In Balkan, interestingly, only *thelo*-type verbs will select subjunctive, since this is the only type of verb with Emo in its structure – again,

there is no such thing as an inherently emotive factive verb in Balkan. Emotive *pu* will not trigger subjunctive, because in this case Emo is found not on the verb but rather on the complementizer. In the next section we provide an explanation for why subjunctive is triggered by verbal Emo but not by complementizer-borne Emo.

8. EmoP, c-command, and subjunctive

To understand why Emo triggers subjunctive if it is spelled out on the verb but not if it is spelled out on the complementizer, let us begin by stipulating that the functional sequence of a verb also contains the features responsible for building the complementizer above it, with the Emo-layer in between these two zones, as sketched in (17). We assume that all three zones (V, Emo, and Comp) are actually composed of multiple features, but for our purposes the simplified structure is sufficient.

(17) Comp > Emo > V

We stipulate as a starting point that the structure in (17) is merged with an embedded clause (EC), as in (18).

**this is the internal structure of the verb,
parallel to the clausal spine (CP-TP-VP)
EC is the complement**

(18) [Comp [Emo [V]]] [EC]

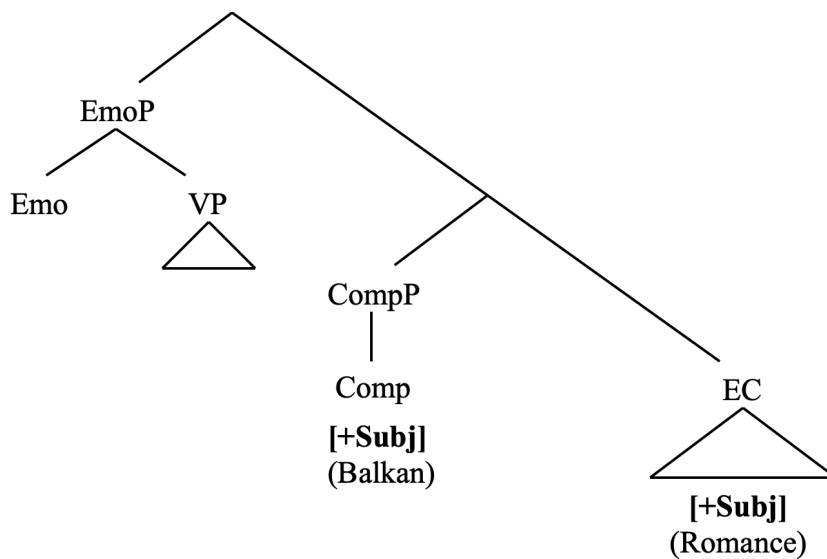
In the course of the derivation of a [*main clause* [*complementizer* [*embedded clause*]]] type of structure, the VP (i.e. the main verb) will have to be extracted and moved up, in order to give the correct linear order of main verb plus complementizer plus embedded clause. There are two options here: either VP pied-pipes Emo (19a), or it does not (19b).

- (19) a. [Emo [VP]]_i [Comp _____i] [EC]
 b. [VP]_i [Comp [Emo ___i] [EC]

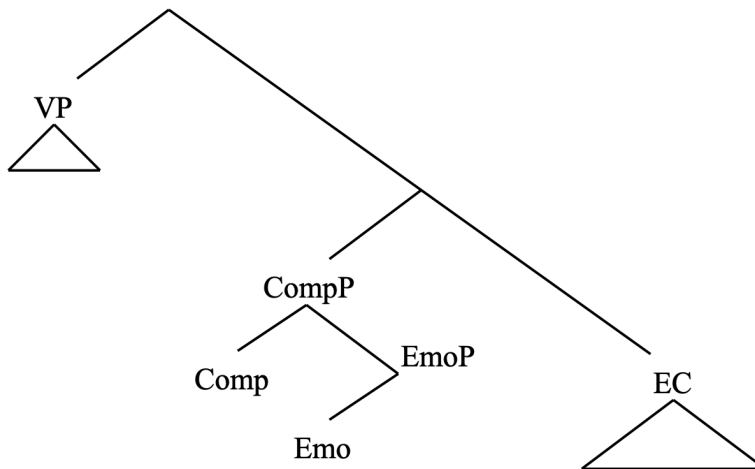
(19a) results in a constituent [Emo [V]], which is spelled out by an emotive verb from the lexicon. In Balkan this can only be a non-factive verb, but in Romance both factives and non-factives are lexically available to spell out such a structure. (19b) results in a constituent [Comp [Emo]], which is spelled out by an emotive complementizer from the lexicon. Such an entry is available only to Balkan, since Romance has no lexical entries storing Comp and Emo together.

Consider now the tree structures in (20) (subjects, objects, adjuncts, etc. need not concern us here since such ‘specifier’ elements are presumably built in a separate derivational workspace and then inserted into the basic skeleton shown here; see Starke 2018 for some relevant discussion).

- (20) a. Option with pied-piping of Emo



b. Option without pied-piping of Emo



In (20a), the verb moves along with Emo, leading to a situation where EmoP c-commands both the complementizer and the embedded verb. In (20b), however, Emo is left buried within the complementizer, such that EmoP does not c-command out of the complementizer constituent at all. However subjunctive selection works, it is a reasonable assumption that the trigger should be in a c-commanding position. What (20) tells us is that an emotive main verb c-commands both the complementizer and the embedded verb, while an emotive complementizer does not. Thus an emotive verb in Balkan (which for lexical availability reasons can only be non-factive), like Greek *thelo*, should be able to license the subjunctive complementizer *na*, just like an emotive verb in French (which can be either non-factive or factive) should be able to license subjunctive inflection in the embedded clause.

Thus, if we assume only that subjunctive selection must involve c-command, we have an explanation for why Emo triggers subjunctive in the embedded clause if it is spelled out on the verb, but not if it is spelled out on the complementizer. The analysis relies on the notion of lexical availability discussed in the previous section. The syntax is, in principle, free to extract the constituent [Emo [Fact [V]]] in the mind of a Greek speaker, just as happens in the mind of a French speaker, but in Greek there will never be

a suitable spellout for this structure, meaning that such a structure, while able to be generated, will never be externalized. The same goes for moving out [Fact [V]] and leaving behind [Comp [Emo]]. While this is technically possible in the mind of a French speaker, there is simply no suitable spellout available for the complementizer constituent.⁸

9. Conclusion

In conclusion, we have argued that mood selection in Romance and Balkan operates in essentially the same way as far as the syntax goes, but with important differences in the ultimate surface results due to the availability of certain lexical entries in one language type vs. the other. In Table 3 we have summed up the main syntactic patterns and their realizations in French vs. Modern Greek. (Note that we have added Fact as a functional layer between Emo and V. Furthermore, we assume that constituents of the form [Comp + Fact] are not lexically available in either Romance or Balkan, so these options are not included in Table 3.)

⁸ It is standard to consider *selection* as a relationship between heads, licensed under locality, with locality being defined in terms of immediate c-command (see Shlonsky 2021 for recent discussion, and references cited there). Combining this version of selection with ours raises at least two issues. First, mood selection in Romance violates the strict locality requirement, since the matrix verb selects mood on the embedded verb, skipping C. Second, since heads do not have the same status in nanosyntax as in more traditional approaches, selection should perhaps not be thought of as ‘head to head’ in the same way. Tackling these issues surrounding the formal mechanism of selection may very well lead to a reformulation of locality. See also Caha (2009: Ch.4) on the *peeling* approach, which builds on ideas of Michal Starke.

Table 3. Syntax and lexical availability summed up⁹

Syntax	Description	French	Modern Greek
[V] [Comp]	Non-emotive non-factive V ‘say’ + Comp No Emo → [-Subj]	<i>dire + que ...</i> Ind. V	<i>leo + Ind. Comp (oti)</i>
[Fact [V]] [Comp]	Factive non-emotive V ‘know’ + (non-emotive) Comp No Emo → [-Subj]	<i>savoir + que ...</i> Ind. V	<i>gnorizo + Ind. Comp (oti)</i>
[V] [Comp [Emo]]	Non-factive V + Emo. Comp Emo does not c-command out → [-Subj]	*lexical entry for [Comp [Emo]]	*(see footnote 9)
[Emo [V]] [Comp]	Emotive non-factive V ‘want’ + Comp Emo c-commands out → [+Subj]	<i>vouloir + que ...</i> Subj. V	<i>thelo + Subj. Comp (na)</i>
[Fact [V]] [Comp [Emo]]	Factive V + Emo. Comp Emo does not c-command out → [-Subj]	*lexical entry for [Comp [Emo]]	<i>lipame + Emo. Comp (pu)</i>
[Emo [Fact [V]]] [Comp]	Emotive factive V ‘regret’ + Comp Emo c-commands out → [+Subj]	<i>regretter + que ...</i> Subj. V	*lexical entry for [Emo [Fact [V]]]

If EmoP c-commands the complementizer and embedded clause, then subjunctive is assigned. In Balkan subjunctive can only spell out on the complementizer (see lexical entry (16e)), while in French subjunctive is realized as an inflectional morpheme on the verb (see lexical entry (15f)). If Emo is spelled out on the complementizer, there is no c-command relation with the embedded clause, so embedded subjunctive is not assigned, but Balkan can still lexicalize such an emotive complementizer (MG *pu*). Romance does not have a lexical entry for an emotive complementizer, so such a structure cannot be lexicalized. On the other hand, Balkan does not have lexical entries for emotive factive verbs, i.e. [Emo [Fact [V]]]. It only makes sense to speak of emotive factives in Romance, where Emo c-commands the embedded clause and therefore can assign subjunctive. In Balkan, a factive verb can appear with an emotive complementizer,

⁹ The option [V] [Comp [Emo]] amounts to asking why Modern Greek does not allow the emotive complementizer *pu* with verbs of the structure [V], e.g. *leo* ‘say’. As elaborated on in footnote 7 above, the Emo-zone is in all likelihood overly simplified here. If *pu* realizes Emo₃ and Emo₂ while Emo₁ must be provided by the verb, then we can assume that *leo* ‘say’ does not realize Emo₁. This, in turn, would mean that it is not compatible with the emotive complementizer *pu*.

producing a similar type of ‘emotive factive’ context, except that Emo is spelled out on the complementizer. This, we propose, puts Emo in a non-c-commanding position, which in turn prevents it from assigning subjunctive.

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