The subjunctive as a linguistic expression of the core of emotions: A contribution to Wiltschko's (2024) view on constructed emotions¹

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DOI: 10.31885/lud.7.1.264

Paper received: 17 July 2025
Published online: 2 September 2025

Abstract. This short essay discusses the syntactic implications of Wiltschko's (2024) proposal concerning the structure of emotions. Based on a generative analysis of embedded subjunctive clauses cross-linguistically, it argues that the emotive component associated with the subjunctive mood originates in a sub-component of the predicates licensing embedded subjunctives. This emotive component is interpreted as an attitude of desire, with respect to the situation described by the embedded clause. More specifically we argue that the relevant predicates are decomposed into a set of hierarchically organised functional projections, the highest one headed by a bouletic operator—syntactically realised as a [BOUL] feature. We contend that this feature is responsible both for the interpretation of the external argument as the bearer of an emotion and for the syntactic licensing of the subjunctive mood. That the expression of emotions is syntactically encoded into complex structures may shed light on the structure of both the linguistic and psychological structures of emotions.

Keywords: emotive feature, bouletic modality, subjunctive mood, syntactic decomposition

1 Introduction

Martina Wiltschko (2024) provides an extensive discussion on the nature of emotions, their structure and their relation to language. Essentially, she claims that: (i) there is no one-to-one

Language Under Discussion, Vol. 7, Issue 1 (August 2024), pp. 80–91 Published by the Language Under Discussion Society



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¹ We would like to thank the reviewers and editors for their close reading and useful suggestions, as well as Furkan Dikmen for insightful discussions on the topic. Of course, all remaining errors are our own.

relation between emotions and how they are expressed linguistically, (ii) emotions are, just like linguistic expressions, complex and hierarchically organized constructions and (iii) both the construction of linguistic expressions (utterances) and that of emotions (experiences) are governed by Grammar.

In previous work we argued that the subjunctive mood is a grammatical category, with more or less explicit morphological realization cross-linguistically, whose contribution to the interpretation of sentences/utterances is that of conveying an emotive component (see Baunaz & Puskás 2014, 2022, see also Baunaz 2017, Baunaz & Lander 2019, 2024, in press, as well as Baunaz, Blochowiak & Grisot 2024).

In light of Wiltschko's proposal that there is no grammatical category associated with emotions, the question we would like to address is the following:

(1) What does the subjunctive, as a grammatical category, contribute to the expression of emotions?

Given Baunaz and Puskás' analysis of subjunctive and assuming that Wiltschko's proposal has some identifiable cognitive grounding, there are two hypotheses that are interesting to explore. They are presented here as H1 and H2:

- H1: the subjunctive, as a grammatical category contributes a meta-emotion, i.e. a general 'family' of emotions.
- H2: the subjunctive, as a grammatical category, contributes a sub-component of emotion, which is cross-linguistically available in all subjunctive-related constructions.

The consequences of H1 are that, under a parallelism approach, such as the one proposed by Wiltschko, the subjunctive is a 'large' construct, which may encompass several more or less atomic properties, and allows the expression of a set of emotive properties. The consequences of the H2 approach are that the subjunctive, as a basic grammatical category, is (exclusively?) associated with some component of what was identified as an expression of 'emotive' content. It therefore needs to be associated with other categories to provide the full emotive interpretation we assume is the characteristic of the subjunctive.

In this discussion note, we will explore both paths and come to the conclusion that the subjunctive does not, per se, contribute any emotion, but that what licenses the subjunctive is a subcomponent of a grammatical category, and that its contribution is an atomic part of what (some) emotions are built of, namely *desire*.

The note is organized as follows: in section 2, we offer a brief exposition of our analysis of the subjunctive mood, namely its 'emotive' component. We base our discussion on French, with excursions into English, Modern Greek, Balkan languages and Hungarian, languages which have different morpho-syntactic markings of what we call the subjunctive. In section 3, we explore the possibility and consequences of an approach to the subjunctive as a complex construction which expresses a (complex) higher-order emotion. In section 4, we take the reverse path and, following Wiltschko's idea about grammatical categories expressing minimal features, we consider how the subjunctive can fit into the picture, and what sub-component of emotion it is dedicated to. Section 5 takes stock and proposes an answer, albeit tentative, to the question we raise at the beginning of this paper.

2 The subjunctive, its syntactic and semantic properties

2.1 Subjunctive marking cross-linguistically

On the basis of the contrasts in (2) below, Baunaz and Puskás (2014), Baunaz (2017), and Baunaz and Puskás (2022) explore the contribution of the subjunctive mood to the interpretation of a sentence:

- (2) a. Georges comprend que Léon a volé un livre à la bibliothèque. Georges understands that Léon has.IND stolen a book at the library 'Georges understands that Léon stole a book from the library.'
 - b. Georges comprend que Léon ait volé un livre à la bibliothèque Georges understands that Léon has.SUBJ stolen a book at the library.' 'Georges understands that Léon would have stolen a book from the library.'

The pair in (2) differs minimally in the mood of the embedded clause: while (2a) displays an auxiliary 'a' in the indicative, (2b) includes an auxiliary 'ait' with the subjunctive morphology. However, Baunaz and Puskás argue that the two sentences reveal a sharp contrast in terms of interpretation. In the relevant contexts, the two are hardly interchangeable:

- (3) a. Context: After having received detailed explanations from the librarian: Georges comprend que Léon a volé/*ait volé un livre à la bibliothèque.
 - b. Context: Léon loves reading, he has what may be considered an addiction to books. Last week, he spent all his weekly allowance on paying all the fees for late returns, and he is furious: not only is he forbidden from borrowing books from the library, but he has no money left to buy one. Under these circumstances (even if Georges' moral sense is a bit shaken),

 Georges comprend que Léon ait volé/#a volé un livre à la bibliothèque.

While in (3a) the subjunctive is ungrammatical, in (3b) the indicative leads to semantic oddness (as indicated by the hashtag). This contrast shows that while the indicative use of *comprendre* ('understand') involves a deduction from clues to a conclusion (i.e. a cognitive exercise by a sentient individual), the subjunctive use of the same verb involves in addition some emotive commitment to the event and/or its outcome. The subject of the matrix clause is emotionally involved, experiences some empathy towards the situation and the potential participants.

On the basis of this, and of a large bulk of comparative data, Baunaz and Puskás (2014, 2022 and elsewhere) have proposed that the subjunctive mood signals an emotive component in the interpretation of the clause. In other words, subjunctive is the mood of the linguistic expression of emotion, as the matrix subject's attitude towards the situation described in the embedded clause.

Baunaz and Puskás (2022) further extend this analysis to a variety of cases in which the subjunctive mood appears, overtly or, as they argue, covertly, focusing on the properties of the matrix predicate. They show that cross-linguistically, embedded subjunctives are associated with an emotive component, namely a situation in which the subject of the matrix clause experiences an emotive stance with respect to the embedded clause. In addition to verbs which typical-

ly alternate, as in (2) above, other predicates systematically select for a subjunctive marked embedded clause, among which are verbs of volition and other future-oriented predicates (but see the authors for a more detailed discussion). Note that the subjunctive is morphologically marked on the predicate in French (4) and in Hungarian (5), but is realized as dedicated 'complementizers' in Greek (6) and Bulgarian (7) (subjunctive marking is indicated in boldface):

- (4) a. Léon souhaite que Georges écrive/ *écrit des poèmes. Léon wishes that Georges write.3SG.SUBJ/*IND INDEF poems 'Léon wishes Georges to write poems.'
 - b. Léon se réjouit que Georges finisse/ *finit son chapitre.
 Léon REFL is happy that Georges finishes.3SG.SUBJ/*IND his chapter
 'Léon is happy that Georges would finish his chapter.'
 (adapted from Baunaz & Puskás 2022: 88, (15b))
- (5) Leon azt kívánja, hogy Georges egy regényt írj**on**/ *ír.
 Leon that wish.3SG that Georges a novel.ACC write.3SG.SUBJ/*IND
 'Leon would like Georges to write a novel.'
 Lit: 'Leon would like that Georges write a novel.'
 (Baunaz & Puskás 2022: 148, (50b))
- (6) a. O Yannis epithimí *pu/ na/ *oti zísi sto Parísi.

 The Yannis wishes COMP.FACT/COMP.SUBJ/COMP.IND live in Paris

 'Yannis wishes to live in Paris.'

 (E. Kalfountzou, p.c.)
 - b. O Nicholas xerete pu/ *na/ *oti efije i Ariadne. the Nicholas is happy COMP.FACT/COMP.SUBJ/COMP.IND left.3SG the Ariadne 'Nicholas /is happy that Ariadne left.'

 (adapted from Giannakidou [2015] 2016: 39, (76))
- (7) Iskam *che tja da dojde.
 want.1SG COMP.IND she COMP.SUBJ come.3SG
 'I want her to come.'
 (adapted from Sočanac 2017: 106, (139))

What emerges from the cross-linguistic study is that the subjunctive is systematically associated with predicates involving some emotive state of the subject, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the indicative marking in all these examples (note that the reverse is not necessarily true, as discussed in Baunaz & Puskás 2022). They adopt a definition for an emotional state as proposed in Blochowiak (2014), where eventuality e designates the eventuality described by the embedded proposition:

- (8) a. x is in an emotional state s towards some eventuality e
 - b. eventuality *e*
 - c. x wishes that e occurs or that e does not occur [cf. bouletic Op]

d. *e* is or is not desirable with respect to some corpus of rules [cf. axiological Op] (Blochowiak 2014: 177, (274))

In Blochowiak's work, emotive propositional attitudes convey the subject's emotional stance toward the eventuality described in the embedded clause. Such eventualities are semantically linked to a bouletic operator [wish] and an axiological operator. The bouletic operator expresses a positive or negative desire regarding the embedded situation. This represents the subject's emotional evaluation, signalling a wish for or against the situation's occurrence.

2.2 The emotive attitude

Baunaz and Puskás (2022), and later Baunaz and Lander (2024, in press), adopt the idea that what licenses the subjunctive mood is an emotive propositional attitude.

To clarify the role of the *emotive* attitude in subjunctive contexts, Baunaz and Puskás (2022) argue that emotive verbs involve a subevent characterized by a *desire* attitude, introduced via a bouletic operator. This subevent is conceptualized as a state, with the *emotive* participant holding some degree of desire for a given eventuality to occur. Desirability is treated as a gradient, ranging from positive to negative. The bouletic operator thus encompasses propositions expressing situations evaluated as more or less desirable compared to alternatives (Baunaz & Puskás 2022: 106). A negative bouletic attitude (e.g., *fear*) corresponds to non-desirability or aversion—a kind of negative wish. In sum, the subjunctive mood is licensed by predicates associated with a bouletic operator, which expresses some form of emotive or desirable attitude toward the embedded proposition. The Emotive attitude is defined below:

(9) Emotive attitude, adapted from Baunaz and Puskás (2022: 106, (48))

The holder of an emotive attitude has some (positive or negative) desire with respect to an eventuality based on an evaluation of other comparable eventualities

Baunaz and Puskás thus claim that 'emotive' predicates are predicates whose (external) argument possesses the above property of an emotional state. Note that the definition itself comprises two sub-components of 'emotion', a desire component (bouletic operator) and an evaluation of the desirability (axiological operator). Therefore, the authors in Baunaz and Puskás (2022) propose that the predicates which select for a subjunctive, the so-called 'emotive' predicates, include, among others, a head endowed with a [BOUL] operator, and "the external argument of these predicates will be (...) an entity which entertains some desire that an eventuality be the case" (Baunaz & Puskás 2022: 113).² The bouletic operator on the main predicate is argued to license the subjunctive mood in its embedded clause. From a formal (syntactic) perspective, the bouletic operator is best understood as a syntactic element associated with the emotive domain. Within a Nanosyntactic framework (Starke 2009, 2014; Baunaz & Lander 2018; De Clercq et al. in press), this corresponds to an emotivity-related feature [EMO] instantiated as a head in the functional sequence (see also Baunaz & Lander 2024, in press; as well as Baunaz et al. 2024).

In order to avoid ambiguity and make our claim clearer, we slightly modify the labelling and mark the syntactic feature realizing the bouletic operator as [BOUL]:

² The axiological operator is left aside for this discussion. See Blochowiak (2014) for details.

(10) Embedded subjunctive licensing

The subjunctive mood is licensed by a predicate which is minimally associated with a bouletic operator, syntactically realized as a feature [BOUL] of the verb.

This bouletic syntactic feature encodes the subject's attitude toward the embedded situation. This proposal offers a more precise formalization of how mood licensing reflects the subject's emotive commitment.

3 Subjunctive as a complex construct

The first hypothesis that emerges from Wiltschko's (2024) focus paper with respect to the research question in (1) is that the subjunctive is a grammatical category that contributes a metaemotive dimension, understood as the encoding of a broad emotive spectrum or an affective family. This view entails that the subjunctive is not a minimal or atomic feature, but rather a complex grammatical construct. It comprises a range of smaller, potentially decomposable properties, each contributing to the subjunctive's capacity to encode various emotive meanings.

Let us consider the interpretation of subjunctive marking itself:

- (11) a. Léon se réjouit [que le tournoi se termine]. irrealis (future) Leon REFL rejoices that the tournament REFL end.SUBJ 'Léon is glad that the tournament is ending.'
 - b. Léon est triste [que le tournoi soit terminé]. realis (completed)
 Leon is sad that the tournament be.SUBJ ended
 'Léon is sad that the tournament has ended.'
 - c. Léon comprend [que le tournoi se termine]. realis (present) Leon understands that the tournament REFL end.SUBJ 'Léon understands that the tournament is ending.'
 - d. Léon rêve [que le tournoi se termine]. irrealis (hypothetical)
 Leon dreams that the tournament REFL end.SUBJ
 'Léon dreams that the tournament would end.'

We observe that all the embedded clauses, which bear a subjunctive marking, are identical in form (modulo tense marking), even if the sentences in (11) are interpreted as conveying Leon's different emotions (positive excitement/anticipation, sadness, empathy, desire). This suggests that in (11), subjunctive marking (as a grammatical category) does not express irrealis mood—since the subjunctive is also used to convey realis mood, as in (11b))—nor does it, in itself, convey any emotive reading. It signals some degree of *affectedness/emotional implication* of the subject in the unfolding/outcome of the event. In that sense, what subjunctive marking contributes may be understood as an (underspecified) meta-emotional pointer. The clause must be interpreted with respect to some emotional state.

So the subjunctive, as such, does not provide any emotive content. While this is in line with what Baunaz and Puskás (2022) (and Baunaz & Lander 2024, in press) propose—namely, that the embedded subjunctive is formally licensed under some conditions, such as c-command by a

BOUL feature located in the matrix predicate (we come back to this in section 4)—it also raises relevant issues with respect to Wiltschko's (2024) proposal.

First, there are no specific grammaticalizations of the various emotions the subjunctive is associated with. But the subjunctive, while not contributing emotions per se, does point to a family of emotions. This again might lead to two approaches: either the subjunctive is an opaque pointer/'placeholder', or it is actually a bundle (a construction) of more elementary units, each of which is dedicated to some basic component of emotions. That the subjunctive is not a uniform phenomenon is a point worth exploring, however it goes beyond the scope of this note (but see, among others, Sočanac 2017 for an implementation of this idea).

Another path to explore is the question of cross-linguistic variation. While we assumed until now a rather uniform system, it is clear that not all languages express a morphological subjunctive mood in comparable contexts:

- (12) a. Georges est triste que Léon déménage à Nice. Georges is sad that Leon move.SUBJ to Nice 'Georges is sad that Leon is moving to Nice.'
 - b. O Pavlos lipate pu/ *oti/ *na diavase afto to vivlio. the Paul regrets COMP.FACT/COMP.IND/COMP.SUBJ he.read this the book 'Paul regrets that he read this book.' (adapted from Giannakidou & Mari 2016, (8))

When embedded under an emotive factive predicate, such as sad or regret, many languages appear not to have subjunctive marking, as in the case of Modern Greek (12b) (as well as Bulgarian, Croatian and Serbian). However, Baunaz and Puskás (2022) have argued that languages vary as to the class of emotive predicates which select morphological subjunctives. Typically, emotive-factive predicates such as regret, be happy do not select the subjunctive mood in Hungarian, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Modern Greek. Yet these languages have strategies to mark the object of emotion in the embedded clause. For instance, Balkan languages have a special complementizer (cf. Giannakidou [2015] 2016 for Greek pu, Baunaz 2018 for Serbian što, etc.). In other words, pu and što are complex complementizers incorporating the subjunctive component.

Thus, Hypothesis 1, namely, that the subjunctive, as a grammatical category contributes a meta-emotion, i.e. a general 'family' of emotions, is partly verified, in that the subjunctive marker, as a grammatical category, is a placeholder/signal for (different types of emotions). However, this marker does not provide any emotive content itself. On the other hand, its capacity to relay emotive content of a general type may be in line with Wiltschko's proposal that syntactic structures and emotions are both complex constructs. Hypothesis 2 that is that the subjunctive, as a grammatical category, contributes a sub-component of emotion, which is cross-linguistically available in all subjunctive-related constructions. turns out, in this perspective, to be falsified, in that the subjunctive itself does not participate in the construction of emotions. We now turn to what exactly makes the subjunctive capable of relaying emotive content.

4 Where does the emotive component come from?

We just saw that emotive contents are not provided by the subjunctive itself. In order to understand how emotive meanings arise, we now turn to the question of matrix predicates which license subjunctive clauses.

- (13) a. Léon pense que Georges écrit un livre. Leon thinks that George writes.IND a book 'Leon thinks that George is writing a book.'
 - b. Léon souhaite que Georges écrive un livre. Leon wises that George write.SUBJ a book 'Leon wishes that George would write a book.'
- (14) a. Leon azt gondolja, hogy György egy könyvet ír. (Hungarian) Leon that thinks that György a book.ACC writes.IND 'Leon thinks that György is writing a book.'
 - b. Leon azt akarja, hogy György egy konyvet írjon Leon that wishes, that György a book.ACC write.SUBJ 'Leon wishes that György would write a book.'

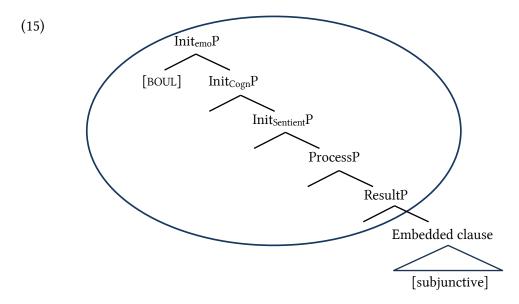
Predicates of the type (13a), (14a), typically *belief*-predicates, involve a sentient and a cognitive component, in the sense that *penser/gondol* 'think' requires that its argument refer to a sentient agent who exercises a mental activity of the cognitive type. In addition to these components, predicates of desire (13b, 14b) include a bouletic property, in the sense defined in section 2— Leon is emotionally involved in the outcome described in the embedded event—and hence associated with an 'emotive' attitude. Indeed, among possible situations, the eventuality described in the embedded clause is evaluated as desirable.

We consider, in the theoretical framework of nanosyntax, that each of these components is an actual individual syntactico-semantic property of the predicate, and that the predicate is a lexicalization of these hierarchically organized properties or features. Similarly, the two versions of alternating predicates like *comprendre* 'understand' (see e.g. (2) and its discussion in section 2 above) are syncretic, in that they realize different portions of the hierarchy of features: emotive *comprendre* realizes a set of features (bouletic > cognitive > sentient) which is a superset of the features realised by cognitive *comprendre* (cognitive > sentient).

We propose, following a Ramchandian approach, that the verbal root is decomposed into discrete syntactic properties (Ramchand 2008). For instance, the emotive predicate *regret* will involve a Process associated with the transition(s) in the sub-events and a Result, which encodes the result of the eventuality. Thus in the sentence *Jean regrette que Marie parte* ('Jean regrets that Marie leave.SUBJ'), the predicate *regretter* includes a subcomponent ProcessP, a meaning component which contributes to a negative evaluation of the situation. It also includes a Result component, ResultP, whose complement is the embedded clause. *Jean*, the external argument (i.e., the subject) is a sentient individual with cognitive capacities. It is also the holder of the emotive attitude, i.e. he experiences the desire that p not be the case. These external arguments related properties are realized as the individual components Init(iator)_{sentient}, Init_{cognitive}, and

Init_{emotive}. The bouletic feature is located in the highest component of this structure, where the external argument is licensed.³

So, an emotive predicate is a complex structure involving complex root enriched with several external-argument-related components, "initiator" projections. The highest of these contributes the bouletic operator realized as a [BOUL] feature. We follow Ramchand and assume that the predicate lexicalises the Result, Process and Init projections, as indicated by the circle around these projections:



In this section, we have moved the focus from the subjunctive marking itself, which we argued is an underspecified 'place-holder' for different types of emotions, to the actual linguistic encoding of emotions, the matrix predicate which selects the subjunctive. Our proposal is that these predicates minimally include a [BOUL] feature. While the bouletic property is described as a component of the linguistic expression of emotions (see e.g. Deonna and Teroni 2012), we further argue that this property is actually the basic component thereof, which can be enriched with many other layers in the structure of the predicate. This rich emotive construction is encoded in the syntax as a set of hierarchically organized features, of which the [BOUL] feature is the fundamental component.

The present discussion focussed on the relation between the matrix subject (i.e. emotive attitude holder) and the embedded subjunctive mood. However, the subjunctive mood is not limited to embedded contexts, as we will discuss below. The question of how it is licensed needs to be addressed.

Wiltschko (2021, 2024) argues that clauses, as well as emotions, also include Speaker-oriented information which is linguistically encoded in high structural positions. If on the right track, this raises the question of the role of these speaker-oriented projections in the licensing of matrix subjunctive.

In order to contribute some material to the discussion, we briefly consider matrix subjunctives, which are not selected by an emotive matrix predicate. Typically, optatives appear with various strategies cross-linguistically: in French (16a), the (syncretic) complementizer *que*

 $^{^3}$ We refer the reader to Ramchand (2008) for a detailed discussion of these projections within the verbal domain.

('that') can be doubled with the marker *pourvu* 'provided', in English (16b), the aspectual/modal marker raises to the highest syntactic position, Hungarian resorts to a specific optative marker (16c):

- (16) a. (Pourvu) que la guerre finisse! (provided) that the war finish.SUBJ 'May the war end!'
 - b. May she win a medal!
 - c. Bár (csak) aranyérmet nyerne (Hungarian)

 OPT (only) gold-medal.ACC win

 'If only she would win a gold medal!'

In these languages, optative clauses typically appear with the subjunctive mood.⁴ This is consistent with our analysis, as optatives express a clear desire of the speaker that p (=the situation described by the clause). Since they are not selected by a matrix predicate, the question of the source of their emotivity arises.

Puskás (2018) has shown that these optative markers appear at the edge of the clause:

- (17) a. *La semaine prochaine, puisse-t-elle obtenir une médaille. the week next, may.SUBJ she obtain a medal
 - b. *Next week, may she win a medal.

Using Wiltschko's (2014) domain of *perspectivisation*, Puskás proposes that the head of S(peaker) GroundP, which expresses the speaker's beliefs, realises a bouletic operator, given that optatives express the speaker's wish. Transposing this analysis to Wiltschko's current views about the interactional domain, where the Ground-Self encodes "relating [the] utterance to [a] self's epistemic state" (Wiltschko 2024: 44), we propose that the bouletic operator is situated in the Ground-Self projection and is syntactically realized as a [BOUL] feature. Indeed, as opposed to embedded contexts, optatives express the speaker's attitude of desire with respect to the situation described by the clause. The various optative markers thus lexicalize the bouletic feature and license the subjunctive mood on the predicate.⁵

5 Conclusion

As briefly discussed here, it appears that from a linguistic point of view, a complex construction of the expression of emotion is sustainable. In sentences which embed a subjunctive mood, the core emotive component intervenes at the predicate level, i.e. Wiltschko's classifying event/evaluation experience. The embedded clause, marked as subjunctive, is the (non-realized or no longer realizable) object of desire of the predicate and its external argument, when relevant. In

⁴ Hungarian has conditional marking, which takes up the functions of the subjunctive in many contexts (cf. Tóth 2008).

⁵ As a peer-reviewer notes, it seems that the optative marker can be zero, as exemplified in Swahili:

⁽i) a end e 1SM go SUBJ/OPT 'May he/she go'

optative matrix clauses, which also exhibit subjunctive marking, we suggest that the Ground-Self level is involved, as the subjunctive marks the speaker's attitude in relating the utterance to a self-epistemic state.

We thus propose that the marking of the subjunctive mood, which indeed corresponds to a grammatical category, is licensed as a reflex of the most basic component of emotive states/contents, namely *desire*. In line with a compositional view of meaning, we suggest that this desire feature, which we called [BOUL], occurs at a very basic level of the syntactic structure of clauses containing an emotive predicate. Other features may contribute to the building up of emotive meanings, accounting for the array of complex emotions expressed in human language.

Again, what is remarkable is that both at the level of the propositional structure and the interactional structure, the bouletic core component (of emotion) seems to be located at the basic layer, namely at the level of the classifying, and the Ground-Self functions. What ultimately emerges from our proposal is that the core component of the linguistic expression of emotion at the heart of subjunctive mood is a bouletic operator, and that its syntactic realization also occurs as a basic, atomic component of sentence structure, in the form of a [BOUL] feature located at the root of the two spines identified by Wiltschko (2024). While on the syntactic side, our proposal might confirm that emotions are constructed, we also hope that it might contribute to more research on the compositionality of emotions from the psychological point of view.

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