

Verbal mood distribution in Brazilian Portuguese

Distribuição do modo verbal em português brasileiro

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Resumo: This paper aims to describe indicative and subjunctive mood distribution in Brazilian Portuguese, especially in complement clauses. We assume that the expression of an attitude towards a proposition governs the mood selection (or its alternation). In this sense, we follow Farkas (1992), who proposes that this distribution is related to either the lexical meaning of the matrix predicate or the contextual reading of the sentence. In the first case, we assume the subjunctive selection is triggered by an imperative meaning of the predicate (KEMPCHINSKY, 2009), as well as by a temporal sequence between events in the sentence (FARKAS, 1992). Secondly, the indicative mood is selected by the commitment of the matrix subject about the truth of the proposition. Finally, the contextual reading occurs in cases allowing mood alternation, a phenomenon described by different authors in different languages, also in Portuguese (MARQUES, 2004; MARQUES; OLIVEIRA, 2016; OLIVEIRA, 2006, among others). Applying the proposal formulated by Farkas (1992), we chose an introspective methodology to argue that mood distribution in Brazilian Portuguese remains on a scale that goes from only indicative mood selection (by positive categorical epistemic verbs) to an only subjunctive mood selection (by directive ones). Cases which allow alternation are mainly related to fiction, factive-emotive, belief and desiderative predicates.

Palavras-chave: Modality; mood verbal; mood distribution; mood alternation.

Abstract: Este trabalho tem como objetivo descrever a distribuição dos modos indicativo e subjuntivo em português brasileiro, em especial em orações subordinadas. Assumimos que a expressão de atitude em relação a uma proposição ordena a seleção de modo (e sua alternância). Nesse sentido, seguimos Farkas (1992), para quem essa distribuição está relacionada ou ao significado lexical do predicado da oração principal ou à leitura contextual da sentença. No primeiro caso, a seleção do subjuntivo é disparada pelo significado imperativo do predicado (KEMPCHINSKY, 2009), assim como pela sequência temporal entre os eventos na sentença (FARKAS, 1992). Depois, o modo indicativo é selecionado pelo comprometimento do sujeito da oração principal com a verdade da proposição. Finalmente, a leitura contextual ocorre nos casos em que a alternância de modo é permitida, fenômeno descrito por diferentes autores em diferentes línguas, também em português (MARQUES, 2004; OLIVEIRA, 2006; MARQUES; OLIVEIRA, 2016, entre outros). Aplicando a proposta formulada por Farkas (1992), escolhemos uma metodologia introspectiva para defender que a distribuição de modo em português brasileiro segue uma escala que vai da seleção exclusiva pelo modo indicativo (pelos predicados epistêmicos) aos que selecionam apenas o subjuntivo (pelos verbos diretivos). Casos que permitem alternância são principalmente relacionados aos predicados de ficção, factivo-emotivos, de crença e de desejo.

Keywords: Modalidade; modo; distribuição do modo; alternância de modo.

1 INTRODUCTION

It has been known that mood distribution and interpretation is a complex matter among languages (FARKAS, 1992; MARQUES, 2004, QUER, 2009, among others). Despite this, as claimed by Quer (2009, p. 1779), the issue “has not been deprived of enough attention in descriptive grammar and traditional linguistics, but it has never become a major focal topic in theoretical approaches”. In Portuguese, as claimed by Marques (2004, p. 90), “the differences are found mainly in complement clauses and in particular in some types of main clauses/verbs”. Thus, in this paper, we focus on mood distribution in these particular contexts in Brazilian Portuguese.

The issue on mood selection has been discussed specially with respect to Romance languages, which exhibits different morphological mood marks. The main proposal – that *realis/irrealis* would distinguish respectively predicates that governs indicative and subjunctive – has debated in different works. Farkas (1992), for instance, assumes that this assumption does not explain why fiction verbs, such as *sonhar* ‘to dream’, govern the indicative mood in several languages – French, Romanian, Spanish or Portuguese –, since they are related to an unreal world. Thus, some authors propose that the choice between one or other mood cannot be determined by the matrix subject or the speaker commitment on the truth of the proposition on actual world (FARKAS, 1992; KEMPCHINSKI, 2009).

It has also been assumed that some groups of predicates select only the indicative mood, and others select only the subjunctive one. Farkas (1992) and Quer (2009) show that declaratives (1) and predicates of certainty (2) govern the indicative mood, while desiderative (3) and directive predicates (4) govern the subjunctive.¹

- (1) João disse que o presidente caiu.
John said that the president fell.IND²
- (2) João sabe que o presidente caiu.
John knows that the president fell.IND
- (3) João quer que o presidente caia.
John wants that the president falls.SUBJ
- (4) João mandou que o presidente caísse.
John ordered that the president falls.SUBJ

In this sense, Farkas (1992, p. 70) claims that “mood distribution is not completely random”, even if these cases do not show the whole picture. The traditional view on mood used to explain that (1) and (2) govern the indicative mood because they are related to real facts (*realis*), differently from (3) and (4), which are related to non-real ones (*irrealis*). However, different works underline the difficult in assuming this view on mood in order to explain some borderline cases.

A first problem that arises is the selection of indicative mood by fiction verbs (FARKAS, 1992, QUER, 2009, among others). Against the traditional view, it has been underlined that they do not commit anybody about the truth of the proposition in the complement clause. Nevertheless, they consistently govern the indicative in Romance languages, as we see the following example with *sonhar* ‘to dream’ in Brazilian Portuguese (5).

¹ For a matter of simplicity, we will show examples in Brazilian Portuguese whenever it is possible. For the same reason, we put on the glosses only the indicative form in English since mood in this language is not our focus.

² In this paper, IND stands for ‘indicative mood’, SUBJ, for ‘subjunctive’ and IMP for ‘imperative’.

- (5) João sonhou que o presidente caiu/*caísse.
John dreamed that the president fell.IND/*SUBJ

A second issue on that simplified assumption (*realis/irrealis*) are the “factive-emotive predicates, which show not only substantive variation across Romance languages concerning mood selection (Farkas, 1992), but also within a single language”. (QUER, 2009, p. 1779). These predicates – select the subjunctive mood, in spite of the truth of their complements being taken as sure (6).

- (6) João lamenta que o presidente seja/é estúpido.
John regrets that the president is.SUBJ/IND stupid

These data indicate that mood choice and interpretation should be analyzed from different sources (QUER, 2009). Following Farkas (1992), we assume that mood is related to a particular world or a set of worlds on which the truth of a proposition is evaluated. This can be triggered either by the lexicon (the meaning of the predicates in the matrix clause) or by the evaluation on the context (when the alternation is allowed).

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 1, we discuss Farkas’s proposal on mood interpretation and distribution; in Section 2, we analyze Brazilian Portuguese data; then, we present our concluding remarks.

2 FARKAS’ PROPOSAL ON MOOD INTERPRETATION AND DISTRIBUTION

Mood choice in Romance languages, especially in French and Romanian, is the issue discussed by Farkas (1992). She is particularly interested in explaining why some predicates seem to require a specific mood and others allow an alternation. Thus, we consider that her approach is useful in understanding the same phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese. Farkas starts with verbs that allow both moods but trigger different meanings (7).

- (7) a. João disse que Maria saiu.
John said that Mary left.IND
b. João disse que Maria saísse.
John said that Mary left.SUBJ

In (7a), the sentence reports an assertion of John about the leaving of Mary. On the other hand, (7b) denotes a directive meaning, in which John ordered the leaving of Mary. Farkas (1992) observes the same pattern in other communicative act predicates, such as *to write*.

The second point is the possibility of mood shift under negation. In Romanian, belief predicates govern the indicative in affirmatives, but they also allow the subjunctive under negation (8).

- (8) a. Ion crede [că a venit Ana]. (FARKAS, 1992, p. 70, ex. 2)
John believes that has come A.
‘John believes that Ana has arrived’
- b. Nu cred [că a venit Ana/să fi venit Ana].
Not believe. I that has come A./subj. past come A.
‘I don’t believe that Ana has arrived’

In Romanian this alternation is motivated by a change in the commitment of the subject: while the indicative in (8a) shows a “positive epistemic commitment with respect to the proposition in the complement clause” by the matrix subject, the subjunctive in (8b) indicates an “uncertain epistemic attitude” by the same subject (FARKAS, 1992, p. 71).

Although French and Spanish follow Romanian, Brazilian Portuguese patterns differently, since both moods are allowed by belief predicates (9), as shown in Oliveira (2006).

- (9) a. Eu acredito que o presidente cai/caia.
I believe that the president falls.IND/SUBJ
- b. Eu não acredito que o presidente cai/caia.
I not believe that the president falls.IND/SUBJ

Roughly saying, the mood in (9) seems to be interchangeable without much difference in meaning, against what we saw in (7). However, the preference for one or another mood in some contexts seems to be a clue for such a difference (OLIVEIRA, 2006; MARQUES; OLIVEIRA, 2016), an issue that will come back further.

Regarding fiction verbs, as we have observed, they govern the indicative in Romance languages (5), although the truth of the proposition is not committed neither by the subject nor by the speaker.

- (5) João sonhou que o presidente caiu/*caísse.
John dreamed that the president fell.IND/*SUBJ

Then, Farkas (1992) proposes that complements of fiction verbs are not taken as true in the actual world, but they are evaluated in a particular one (the world of dreams, for instance) – we will show the complete account on fiction verbs after presenting the theoretical approach by Farkas.

As we previously observed in (6), factive-emotive predicates allow alternation on mood, in spite of the truth of the proposition in the complement clause.

- (6) João lamenta que o presidente seja/é estúpido.
John regrets that the president is.SUBJ/IND stupid

Farkas considers that these predicates are complex but not counterexamples to the assumption that mood involves the commitment about the truth of a proposition. She assumes that the explanation is twofold. First, these predicates trigger the truth of the proposition in the complement clause; then, the indicative is possible because this truth must be assumed by both the subject of the matrix clause and the speaker in a particular world. Second, they express an evaluation about the situation given by the complement; then, the subjunctive is possible because it is related to the subject judgements on situations in a set of possible worlds.

Looking to all these cases, Farkas proposes to analyze mood distribution as follows. Firstly, if the matrix predicate subcategorizes for a particular complement type, mood shift is not allowed. This is the case of positive epistemic predicates, desiderative and directive ones. Otherwise, mood alternation has to do with the intended semantic meaning. This is the case of declarative verbs (in which the alternation triggers different meanings) but also of factive-emotive predicates, which seem to have the same reading. Farkas proposes that we need a better explanation, since the subjunctive adds a semantic ingredient in the sentence.

Working in a syntactic perspective, Kempchinsky (2009) develops the same idea. She claims that some predicates subcategorize for a specific mood. In this case, since mood shift is forbidden, subjunctive or indicative has no additional semantic information, since morphology features are only checked in the sentence. Complementarily, she assumes that, whenever mood shift is possible, it “has evident consequences for the semantic interpretation”, as one observes in declaratives like *to say*, or even in factive-emotive predicates (KEMPCHINSKY, 2009, p. 1803). Then, we observe that Farkas and Kempchinsky go in the same direction in order to provide ingredients for the mood interpretation.

This difference in mood distribution leads Farkas (1992, p. 79) to pursue the “assumption that the truth of the complement affects mood selection so that the indicative is associated with complements that are true and non-indicative moods are used with complements that are not.”. She proposes that the notion of truth must be relativized to individuals”, namely, the matrix subject and the speaker; thus, the truth is based on an “individual anchor”. (FARKAS, 1992, p. 79). Thus, adapting the classical Kratzer’s proposal on modality,³ Farkas assumes that propositions are evaluated in possible worlds and these worlds are related to the individual anchor; the following formula tries to capture this idea.

³ Kratzer’s works on modality appeared on 70’s and 80’s. They are all together in Kratzer (2012).

- (10) $p=T$ in $W_R(x)$ (Adapted from Farkas, 1992, p. 80, ex. 15)

where: p = proposition; T = truth; W = world; R = real; X =the individual anchor.

In words, the truth of the proposition is evaluated in the actual (real) world related to the individual anchor. In that sense, the proposition embedded in positive categorical epistemic predicates – *know*, *believe*, *say* a.o. – must be true for the matrix subject. In cases like (7a), repeated below as (11a), the proposition “Mary left” is evaluated in the actual world of John. Therefore, while the speaker may not believe in the proposition – and (11b) is fine in this case –, the matrix subject has to – thus, (11c) is a contradiction.

- (11) a. João disse que Maria saiu.
John said that Mary left.IND
- b. João disse que Maria saiu, mas eu não acredito.
John said that Mary left.IND, but I [do] not believe [it]
- c. *João disse que Maria saiu, mas ele não acredita.
John said that Mary left.IND, but he [does] not believe [it]

The difference exhibited here has to do with the individual anchor: since the proposition of epistemic predicates are evaluated according to matrix subject worlds, it is not possible that one knows something but at the same time does not believe in the assertion. This proposal leads Farkas (1992, p. 84) to assume that positive categorical epistemics “govern the indicative in Romance because they commit the referent of their subject to the truth of the complement proposition”. But it does not explain why fiction verbs govern the indicative in the same language family, since they are not evaluated in the actual world – neither by the subject nor by the speaker.

Farkas (1992, p. 84) solves this puzzle by assuming that “the proposition expressed by their complement is true in a particular world anchored to their subjects”. For “particular world” she means a single world but not necessarily the actual one. Such a conclusion puts the traditional view (on *realis/irrealis* opposition) away, showing an important theoretical alternative related to a larger modal approach.

Another piece of explanation for mood distribution must be given by directive and desiderative predicates, which govern the subjunctive. Farkas (1992, p. 85) defends that a proposition can be “interpreted with respect to a particular world or a set of worlds”, called respectively “extensional” and “intensional anchoring”. The mood choice is directly related to this difference on modal anchoring: the indicative has an extensional anchoring in which the evaluation is based on a particular world – the actual one, for positive categorical epistemic predicates, and an alternative world, for fiction verbs.⁴ On the other

⁴ Farkas (1992) underlines that the complement proposition in positive categorical epistemics adds some information in the background shared by the speakers in a particular conversation. In opposite to that, fiction verbs introduce an alternative world that the subsequent (fiction) discourse is based on. This is crucial to explain that the indicative has to do with a particular world not with the actual one.

hand, the subjunctive is intensionally anchored, and the evaluation of the proposition is based on a set of (possible) worlds. Regarding to directive and desiderative predicates, they are intensionally anchored, and the set of worlds they trigger are “possible futures”; thus, “they are allowed to differ within the limits of what one takes to be possible” (FARKAS, 1992, p. 90). Farkas argues that the future is indicated by the precedence of the order time with respect to the event time. Then, the difference in time brings some possible futures, in which the event holds (or not). Sentences in (3) and (4), with desiderative and directive predicate respectively are repeated below.

- (3) João quer que o presidente caia.
John wants that the president falls.SUBJ
- (4) João mandou que o presidente caísse.
John ordered that the president falls.SUBJ

This account fits perfectly for Romance languages, and Portuguese is not an exception. But it is worth to say that in Brazilian Portuguese desiderative predicates also allow indicative mood, as previously shown in (9a). In next section, we work more specifically with Brazilian Portuguese data.

Finally, we detail the way that Farkas account for the alternance in factive-emotive predicates, such those in (6).

- (6) João lamenta que o presidente seja/é estúpido.
John regrets that the president is.SUBJ/IND stupid

Farkas (1992, p. 100) proposes that “the evaluative/emotive character of these predicates makes them compatible with the subjunctive, while their factivity puts them in the class of indicative governs”. Then, on the one hand, the subjunctive brings a set of (possible) worlds (intensional anchor) in which the truth of the proposition is evaluated. On the other hand, the truth of the proposition is easily associated to a particular world (the actual one) in which the proposition is true. Such an account suggests that mood alternation is not only a matter of language variation, since each mood triggers a different anchoring modal type. In what follows, we will pursue Farkas’ proposal, trying to draw a general picture about mood interpretation and distribution in complement clauses in Brazilian Portuguese.

3 MOOD DISTRIBUTION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Based on the comparison between indicative and subjunctive moods in European and Brazilian Portuguese, Marques (2004, p. 90) claims that “the indicative is the mood most easily found in Portuguese [both varieties]. This follows from the fact that the indicative is obligatorily selected for clauses associated with an assertive speech act”. In fact, it is much more common in languages which morphologically distinguish mood, as

it has been observed in the literature. Thus, in the traditional view, the indicative is the default mood, associated to “facts taken as verisimilar” (reality), while the subjunctive is the “subordination mood”, related to “uncertain propositions” (non-reality), as pointed out by Bechara (2009) for Portuguese and as it has been described for other languages.

Focusing on this distinction, Marques (2004, p. 90) also asserts that “the differences are found mainly in complement clauses and in particular in some types of main clauses/verbs”. In this paper, we are going to discuss only Brazilian Portuguese data, since our main goal is to describe the mood distribution in this language.

Beginning at predicates that govern the indicative in embedded sentences, Marques (2004) shows that Brazilian Portuguese patterns with other Romance languages, in which only declarative (1) and positive categorical epistemic predicates (2) allow this mood.

- (1) João disse que o presidente caiu/#caísse
John said that the president fell.IND/#SUBJ
- (2) João sabe que o presidente caiu/*caísse
John knows that the president fell.IND/*SUBJ

In all cases, the indicative mood selection concerns the evaluation of the proposition by the subject of the main clause with respect to a particular world – an extensional anchoring, in Farkas’s approach. We have already observed that in (1) the subjunctive is possible (2), although it triggers a directive meaning and not a reportative one, as the indicative does.

At the other end, Marques (2004) proposes a large list of verbs that govern the subjunctive, among them, desiderative (3), directive (4) and factive- emotive (6) predicates.

- (3) João quer que o presidente caia/?cai.
John wants that the president falls.SUBJ/?IND
- (4) João mandou que o presidente caísse/*cai.
John ordered that the president falls.SUBJ/*IND
- (6) João lamenta que o presidente seja/é estúpido.
John regrets that the president is.SUBJ/IND stupid

We have already shown that desiderative verbs can allow mood shift in Brazilian Portuguese (OLIVEIRA, 2006) – even it is less productive than the subjunctive form. We have also discussed why factive- emotive verbs (6) allow both moods in Romance family, according to Farkas (1992). Therefore, we must add these two predicates in Marques’ list of verbs that allow mood alternation, namely, *acreditar* ‘to believe’ (9), *admitir* ‘to admit’ (12) and *suspeitar* ‘to suspect’ (13).

- (9) Eu acredito que o presidente cai/caia.

I believe that the president falls.IND/SUBJ.

- (12) Eu admito que esse presidente é/seja um fracasso.
I admit that this president is.IND/SUBJ a failure
- (13) Eu suspeito que esse presidente dura/dure só mais um mês.
I suspect that this president last.IND/SUBJ only more one month

All these predicates share an evaluative flavor: (9) is based on speaker's beliefs on the permanence of the president; (12) is supported by an evaluation on the president works; (13) is based on an evaluation about the possibility (or not) of the president remaining in his position.

In order to explain these facts, Marques (2004) admits that Farkas' (1992) proposal sheds some light on mood distribution and interpretation, but it fails in explaining some cases in Portuguese. Among them, he points out for the possibility of factive- emotives to appear in the subjunctive (despite triggering the truth of the proposition in their complement) and the occurrence of fiction verbs in the subjunctive in Brazilian Portuguese (although they are evaluated in a particular world as proposed by Farkas). However, in this paper we assume that both "problems" are in fact additional pieces of evidence in favor of Farkas' approach.

Therefore, Marques (2004) proposes some changes in the indicative selection in Portuguese by adding two necessary conditions: the predicate refers to "the expression of an epistemic attitude", and "the proposition [in its complement] is taken to be true" (MARQUES, 2004, p. 98). Thus, the inference that the proposition is true is taken by an individual in the context (the subject, the speaker, or both). Consequently, if a predicate does not trigger the truth of the proposition in its complement, it selects the subjunctive – which is the default mood for Marques.⁵ This is what happens to *acreditar* 'to believe' and *duvidar* 'to doubt', among others, which are epistemic verbs but do not infer the truth of the proposition in their complement. Consequently, Marques (2004, p. 99) concludes: "with respect to verbs associated with epistemic modality, those that express knowledge or belief select indicative, while those that express lack of belief (or at least a low degree of belief) select subjunctive". Although this approach seems correct, we must observe that it fails in two points of the mood alternation, a general and a particular one.

First, by considering that some predicates allow both moods, we have to assume that they lack at least one of necessary conditions proposed by Marques. If they lack any, they should appear only in the subjunctive. On the other hand, if they allow indicative, would not they require such conditions? But, in that case, the subjunctive should be put away. However, in Brazilian Portuguese, belief predicates usually appear in the indicative (OLIVEIRA, 2006), even in the negative form, which is an example of "lackness of belief", a condition of being in the subjunctive.

⁵ Marques (2004) claims that the subjunctive must be the default mood in Portuguese, while the indicative must be the marked one since it occurs under restricted conditions. For a discussion on the markedness of mood see also Quer (2009) and references therein.

Second, his proposal also fails in explaining the alternance in reportative predicates as *dizer* 'to say', as previously seen in (1), since the subjunctive choice in this case is related to a temporal sequence of events (FARKAS, 1992; QUER 2009; LACA, 2013) and an imperative meaning (KEMPCHINSKY, 2009).

Marques and Oliveira (2016) present a general picture on mood and modality in Portuguese, proposing Kratzer's account on modal semantics in order to explain some facts – as Farkas (1992) does. They review some facts presented in Marques (2004) and admit the possibility of alternance in evaluative (factive-emotive) and fiction predicates in Brazilian Portuguese. However, since their conclusions are basically the same that we have observed in Marques (2004), the explanation on the mood alternation is still left open.

Therefore, by considering that only the triggered meaning in the sentence is not a sufficient condition to explain mood selection in Brazilian Portuguese, we must find an account that considers not only an intended meaning in the sentence but also lexical requirements in mood selection. Therefore, we follow Farkas' (1992) approach on mood interpretation and distribution. We will consider that we had an enough discussion about the indicative selection: it appears in positive categorical epistemic and reportative predicates. Then, we will see in more detail the case of subjunctive requirements and mood alternation.

In the first case, we observe that directive predicates select the subjunctive mood in Romance languages and Brazilian Portuguese is not an exception, as we have observed in (4).

- (4) João mandou que o presidente caísse/*caía.
John ordered that the president falls.SUBJ/IND

In this case we assume that Farkas' (1992) proposal is corroborated by a syntactical view given by Kempchinsky (2009). She proposes that the imperative mood has a modal operator, which is semantically related to a set of worlds. In embedded sentences, the subjunctive should be required in order to check a modal feature. Furthermore, she adds that subjunctive requiring predicates – like directives – also have the same imperative modal operator and the same checkness occurs. In this case, we see that there is a lexical requirement (by the directive predicate) for subjunctive mood, which can be syntactically accounted for. Kempchinsky (2009) argues that such a checkness may explain why mood alternation or mood loss is not usually verified in such predicates.

Turning to desiderative predicates, we have shown that they alternate in Brazilian Portuguese – see example in (3) – against some observations in the literature.

- (3) João quer que o presidente caia/?cai.
John wants that the president fall.SUBJ/IND

Oliveira (2006) shows that in the Northeast of Brazil (Paraíba), the occurrence of the subjunctive is almost categorical with desideratives. However, she underlines that this data differs from Rio de Janeiro (Southeast) and Brasília (Central), in which some

variations are found by Rocha (1997), especially regarding the age of speakers: the subjunctive mood is more productive in older than in younger informants. Then, the question is: why is this found in Brazilian Portuguese?

Again, we call for Kempchinsky's (2009) account to shed some light on this puzzle. After presenting some works that observe the loss of the subjunctive (production and interpretation) in some languages and varieties, she claims that "as speakers lose the morphological distinctions, they increasingly fail to recognize the semantic contribution of the subjunctive." (KEMPCHINSKY, 2009, p. 1803). We propose that, for Brazilian Portuguese, the only requirement for the subjunctive mood is the imperative force in directive predicates. Desiderative verbs have no imperative force, just a volitional ingredient. Consequently, the further away from desiderative predicates, the higher possibility of the indicative mood.

Belief verbs are much more easily found in the indicative, as attested in the literature on Romance (FARKAS, 1992, QUER, 2009), and specially in Brazilian Portuguese (MARQUES, 2004; OLIVEIRA, 2006; MARQUES; OLIVEIRA, 2016), as we have discussed in (9), repeated here.

- (9) Eu acredito que o presidente cai/caia.
I believe that the president falls.IND/SUBJ.

By the way, we remember that this is the only group of verbs that allow alternation in Marques (2004), and data presented in Oliveira (2006) attests that the indicative mood is much more productive.

Factive-evaluative predicates felicitously appear in both moods in Brazilian Portuguese, as shown in (6), repeated here.

- (6) João lamenta que o presidente seja/é estúpido.
John regrets that the president is.SUBJ/IND stupid

We remember that, for Marques (2004), the possibility of occurring in the subjunctive must be a counterexample of Farkas's proposal. Since Farkas (1992) considers that the proposition in the complement of these predicates can be evaluated in a particular world, Marques (2004) understands that it must only occur in the indicative predicate. However, Farkas herself calls "anchors" the worlds at which the proposition is evaluated. Furthermore, the possibility of an alternation in mood is related to exactly with the anchor changing, which is not as predictable as one can imagine. Therefore, for us, the modal shift in the referred group corroborates Farkas' proposal on mood selection, against Marques' analysis.

Turning our attention to fiction verbs, Marques (2004) and Marques and Oliveira (2016) highlight that in some cases they alternate mood in Brazilian Portuguese (14), differently from what we have seen in the Romance family.

- (14) Suponha que hoje é/seja Domingo.

Suppose-imp that today is.IND/SUBJ Sunday

In fact, this is a very interesting fact for a theory like that by Farkas, because it corroborates the idea that fiction verbs can trigger an extensional anchoring – a particular world in which the proposition is evaluated – but they can also have an intensional one, in which a set of possible worlds is required for the evaluation, in a similar way we have observed for factive- emotive predicates – see that this conclusion clashes against considerations in Marques (2004) and Marques and Oliveira (2016). We also underline that *supor* ‘to suppose’ in (14) is in the imperative mood, which virtually obligates the assumption of an alternative world to evaluate the proposition – besides governing the subjunctive in the complement in Kempchinky’s (2009) account. However, in the indicative mood, fiction verbs pattern with belief predicates, since they trigger both an evaluation about the fact, and the supposition of a fiction world. This means that the subject can be committed about the truth of the proposition in some (possible and real) world. See examples in (15).

- (15) a. João imagina que o presidente cai/caia (nos próximos meses)
John imagines that the president falls.IND/SUBJ (in next months).
b. João imaginou que o presidente caía/caísse (nos meses seguintes).
John imagined that the president fell.IND/SUBJ (in next months).

Mood alternation is possible here, at exactly the same way it holds for belief predicates – in fact, we assume they are belief predicates in these cases.

To conclude this analysis, we discuss two more cases related to subjunctive presented by Marques (2004). The literature has considered that negation supports the occurrence of subjunctive in some cases, especially in belief predicates (FARKAS, 1992; QUER, 2009). Marques adds that verbs expressing epistemic modality, like *duvidar* ‘to doubt’ and *negar* ‘to deny’ also select the subjunctive. However, we verify an alternation in Brazilian Portuguese, as (16-17) show.

- (16) João duvida que o presidente cai/caia
John doubts that the president falls.IND/SUBJ
(17) João nega que apoia/apoie o presidente.
John denies that [he] supports.IND/SUBJ the president

In both cases, the proposition is not taken as true; then, the subjunctive should be the chosen mood in some proposals (MARQUES, 2004; MARQUES; OLIVEIRA, 2016). However, as we follow Farkas, we must say that the choice of mood brings some consequences: if the subjunctive is selected, the proposition has an intensional anchoring; if the indicative is selected, it has an extensional anchoring.

To sum up, we propose the following table about mood selection in Brazilian Portuguese. The order in predicates allowing alternation shows the preferable mood.

PREDICATE	MOOD	EXAMPLES
POSITIVE CATEGORICAL EPISTEMIC	Indicative	<i>Saber</i> 'to know', <i>descobrir</i> 'to discover', <i>dizer</i> 'to say'
FICTION	Indicative/Subjunctive	<i>Supor</i> 'to suppose', <i>imaginar</i> 'to imagine'
EVALUATIVE/FACTIVE-EMOTIVE	Indicative/Subjunctive	<i>Lamentar</i> 'to regret', <i>estranhar</i> 'to be surprised', <i>chocar</i> 'to be shocked'
BELIEF	Indicative/Subjunctive	<i>Acreditar</i> 'to believe', <i>admitir</i> 'to admit', <i>duvidar</i> 'to doubt'.
DESIDERATIVE	Subjunctive/Indicative	<i>Querer</i> 'to want', <i>esperar</i> 'to hope'
DIRECTIVE	Subjunctive	<i>Mandar</i> 'to order', <i>exigir</i> 'to demand', <i>obrigar</i> 'to obligate'

Table 1 - Mood distribution on Brazilian Portuguese. Source: Author's own elaboration.

Looking at the extremes of this table, we found predicates that lexically govern only one mood. All others are interchangeable in mood. This picture leads us to see that mood distribution is twofold, as proposed by Farkas (1992): on the one hand, lexical choice – predicates governing only one mood; on the other hand, semantic/contextual choice – predicates allowing alternation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, we followed Farkas' (1992) proposal on mood interpretation and distribution in order to explain Brazilian Portuguese data. We argued that only directive predicates govern the subjunctive mood in this language, which has to do with both the temporal sequence of events they trigger and the imperative force (in Kempchinsky's account). At the other end, we observed that positive categorical epistemic predicates govern indicative mood, which is straightly related to the idea that the proposition on the complement is evaluated by the matrix subject in a singular particular world – the actual one. All other remaining predicates under discussion allow alternation, which means that they are sensitive to an evaluation at possible worlds in Farkas's analysis.

Now, we would like to joint some non-discussed issues that deserve more attention in future works on the field of mood /modality. First, as Marques and Oliveira (2016) point out, much more empirical research are necessary in order to verify assumptions argued in the literature, especially on mood alternation. An interesting point is whether this alternation in Brazilian Portuguese is only a matter of variation, or it has a really semantic perspective uttered and captured by speakers.

Second, the issue on time and alternation. As we have seen, it has been assumed that the temporal sequence of events observed in directive and desiderative predicates leads to the subjunctive mood selection. The “future” triggered in these cases would be related to a set of possible worlds, the intensional anchoring. However, we have also seen desiderative verbs allowing alternation in Brazilian Portuguese. Therefore, we could ask: is this temporal feature left out in these cases?

Many questions about mood remain open. But, as pointed out by Portner (2009, p. 258), “the subjunctive may be triggered in a wide range of contexts, and one of the main empirical challenges is to describe the range of triggers for each language and to understand the patterns of variation in the types of triggers relevant to different languages”. We hope that the present work has brought contributions and more interests in researching mood in Brazilian Portuguese.

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