

Tetszettek volna forradalmat csinálni! On a type of optative construction

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1. Aim: to predict the word order possibilities and the interpretation of (1):

- (1) a. *Jöttél* *volna haza idejében tegnap este!*
come-PAST-2SG COND home in.time last night
'(If only) you had come home in time last night!'
- b. *Járnál* *haza idejében!*
come-COND-2SG home in.time
'(If only) you came home in time!'
- c. *Ne késtek* *volna el!*
not be.late-PAST-3PL COND PRT
'(If only) they hadn't been late!'
- d. *Ne ŐT választottátok* *volna meg már* *megint!*
not him elect-PAST-2PL COND PRT already again
'(If only) you hadn't elected HIM again!'

2. Facts to be accounted for

i. Reversed 'verb modifier, verb' order:

- (2) a. *Jöttél* *volna haza!*
come-PAST-2SG COND home
'(If only) you had come home!'
- b. *%Haza-jöttél volna!*

ii. Postverbal focus:

- (3) a. *%KEVESEBB TÁRGYBÓL buktál* *volna meg!*
fewer subject-from fail-PAST-2SG COND PRT
- b. *Buktál volna meg KEVESEBB TÁRGYBÓL!*
'(If only) it had been fewer subjects that you failed in!'

iii. Negation by *ne*, the negative particle licensed in subjunctive/imperative contexts:

- (4) *Ne/*nem jöttél* *volna haza olyan későn!*
NEG.SUBJ/not came-PAST-2SG COND home so late
'(If only) you hadn't come home so late!'

iv. Preverbal negated focus:

- (5) a. *Ne ŐT választottátok* *volna meg már* *megint!*
not him elect-PAST-2PL COND PRT already again
'(If only) you hadn't elected HIM again!'
- b. **Választottátok volna meg ne ŐT már megint!*

v. The construction can marginally include a topic:

- (6) *Péttert BÜNTETNÉ* *már meg egyszer a rendőr* *gyorshajtásért!*
Peter-ACC fine-COND.3SG already PRT once the police speeding-for
'(If only) the police would once fine Peter for speeding!'

vi. Verb in the conditional; counterfactual volitive interpretation expressing an unfulfilled expectation or demand.

3. Claim: (1a-d) represent a type of optative sentence.

Definitive properties of optative sentences: conditional V, negation with *ne*

Conditional sentence:

(7) *Ha nem/*ne késtél volna el ...*
if not /NEG.SUBJ be-PAST-2SG COND PRT
'If you had not been late, ...'

Optative sentence:

(8) *Bárcsak ne /*nem késtél volna el!*
if.only NEG.SUBJ/not be-PAST-2SG COND PRT
'If only you had not been late!'

4. The syntax of mood (e.g., imperative, optative) in UG:

Assumptions about the position of Mood:

Rivero-Terzi (1995): 2 types of language:

1. Mood feature in C; V-to-C (Modern Greek, Spanish)
2. Mood feature in Infl, no V-movement (Ancient Greek, Serbo-Croatian)

Hahn (2000): imperative (an illocutionary operator) = a feature in C, attracting the V

Schwager (2006): imperative: a covert modal operator in Spec,CP; imp feature in C triggering V-to-C

Poletto (2000) In some Italian dialects optative/imperative Vs move to a „very low” layer of the C-domain (above NegP).

Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (2004):

Ancient Greek: Mood (subjunctive, optative, and imperative) fused with Infl

Hellenistic times: the emergence of a separate functional category Mood inside the C-layer, between CP and NegP. Imp/Subj marker relocated from Infl to Mood.

A problem:

semantically: mood > neg

syntactically: in some languages: mood > neg, allowing no negative imperatives

in others: neg > (morphosyntactic) mood → a scope problem

Proposed solutions:

Rivero-Terzi (1995):

in type 1 (V-to-C) languages: V-movement to C blocked by Neg, hence no negative imperatives

in type 2 languages: Mood features in Infl, no V-movement; negative imperatives exist

Hahn (2000): Negative imperatives are ruled out in languages where Neg is a clitic on the V, and [Neg [V]] is attracted to C, resulting in Neg c-commanding V+Imp.

If no V-to-C (but only feature movement to C), Imp in C will c-command Neg.

Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (2004):

Imp in Mood: a bound morpheme attracting the V. Neg blocks V-to-Imp.

Subjunct in Mood is a free morpheme, eliciting no V-to-Mood. Instead of neg imp, neg subjunctives.

5. Hungarian canonical optative clauses

An optative particle: *bár, bárcsak, csak, legalább* in the C-domain, eliciting conditional Infl on the V.

Two word order possibilities in optative clauses:

- (9) a. *Bárcsak meg-gyógyulna Péter!*
if only PRT recover-COND-3SG Peter
'If only Peter would recover!'
- b. *Bárcsak gyógyulna meg Péter!*

V-movement in (9b)? Or obligatory imperfective like in Greek counterfactuals (Iatridou 2000)?

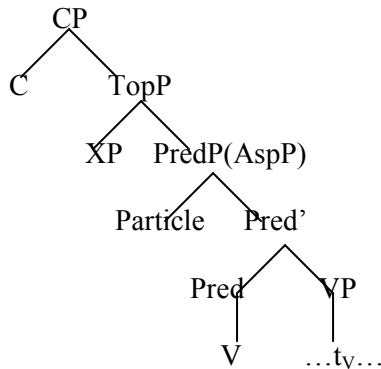
- (10)a. *Bárcsak teljesen meg-gyógyulna Péter!*
if only completely PRT recover-COND-3SG Peter
'If only Peter would completely recover!'
- b. *Bárcsak gyógyulna teljesen meg - Péter!*
- c. **Bárcsak teljesen gyógyulna meg Péter!*

Explanation of the dual word order behavior: categorial ambiguity of *bár*, *bárcsak*, *csak*, *legalább*:

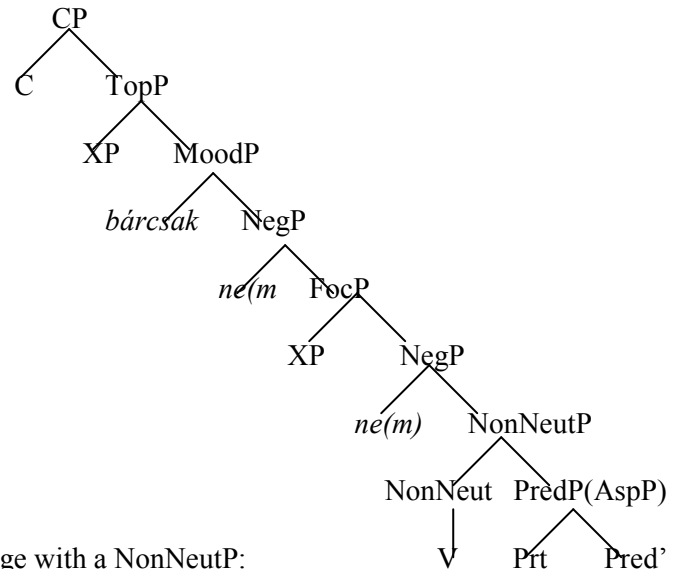
- (i) discourse particles/adverbs in Spec,CP (9a, 12a,b);
- (ii) modal operators (similar to Imp - cf. Varga (2009), Turi (2009)) in the specifier of Mood, to be merged with a NonNeutP (9b, 13a,b).

Hungarian sentence structure:

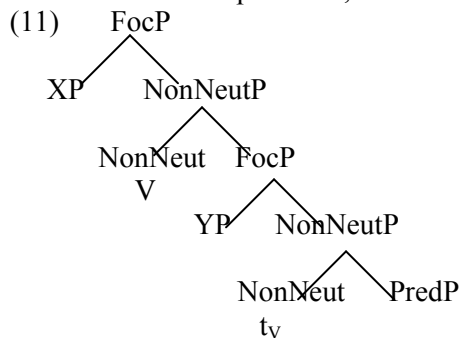
(10)a. Neutral:



b. Non-neutral:



In the case of multiple focus, both foci merge with a NonNeutP:



Neg blocks V-movement to a higher NonNeut.

Bár(csak) as an optative discourse particle:

(12)a. [_{CP} *Bár(csak)* [_{PredP} ***haza jött volna Péter idejében!***]]
 if only home come-PAST.3SG COND Peter in.time
 'If only Peter had come home in time!'

b. [_{CP} *Bár(csak)* [_{TopP} *Péter* [_{PredP} ***haza jött volna idejében!***]]]

Bár(csak) as a modal operator:

(13)a. [_{MoodP} *Bár(csak)* [_{NNP} ***jött volna*** [_{PredP} *haza Péter idejében!*]]]

b. [_{TopP} *Péter* [_{MoodP} *bár(csak)* [_{NNP} ***jött volna*** [_{PredP} *haza idejében!*]]]]]

MoodP can be merged with a NonNeutP dominated by a FocP and/or a NegP:

(14)a. [_{MoodP} *Bár(csak)* [_{FocP} *PÉTER* [_{NNP} *kapná meg a díjat!*]]]
 if only Peter get-COND-3SG PRT the prize-ACC
 'If only it would be Peter who gets the prize!'

b. [_{MoodP} *Bár(csak)* [_{NegP} *ne* [_{NNP} *kapná meg Péter a díjat!*]]]
 if only not get-COND-3SG PRT Peter the prize-ACC
 'If only Peter would not get the prize!'

c. [_{MoodP} *Bár(csak)* [_{FocP} *PÉTER* [_{NegP} *ne* [_{NNP} *kapná meg a díjat!*]]]]]
 'If only PETER would not get the prize!'

Mood can merge with [_{FocP} XP [_{NNP} V ...]], or Mood and Foc can license two separate NNPs:

- (15)a. [_{MoodP} *Bárcsak* [_{FocP} *KEVESEBB TÁRGYBÓL* [_{NNP} *buktál* *volna* [_{PredP} *meg* *tv* ...]]]]]
 if only fewer subject-from fail-PAST.2SG COND PRT
 'If only you had failed in fewer subjects!'
 b. [_{MoodP} *Bárcsak* [_{NNP} *buktál volna* [_{FocP} *KEVESEBB TÁRGYBÓL* [_{NNP} *tv* [_{PredP} *meg* *tv* ...]]]]]]]

4. The analysis of (1a-d)

(1a-d) are optative sentences with the optative particle absent. Spec of MoodP can be empty if it is immediately followed by a V-initial NonNeutP (1a,b), or by a *ne*-initial NegP (1c,d).

Derivation:

I. Tentative hypothesis (to be discarded):

the V-initial optative construction is the output of V-movement across the focus into the Mood head.

- (16)a. [_{MoodP} *Bár(csak)* [_{FocP} *KEVESEBBET* [_{NNP} [_{NN'} [*ittál* *volna*]]]]] →
 if only less-ACC drink-PAST-2SG COND
 'If only you had drunk less!'
 b. [_{MoodP} [_{Mood'} [*Ittál volna*]_i] [_{FocP} *KEVESEBBET* [_{NNP} *t_i*]]]]]

Neg blocks V-movement to Mood, as in Mod. Greek:

- (17)a. * [_{MoodP} [_{Mood'} [*Ittál volna*]_i] [_{NegP} *ne* [_{FocP} *PÁLINKÁT* [_{NNP} *t_i*]]]]]
 cf. b. [_{MoodP} [_{Mood'} 0 [_{NegP} *Ne* [_{FocP} *PÁLINKÁT* [_{NNP} *ittál volna!*]]]]]
 'If only it hadn't been palinka that you had drunk!'

But: if (17b) is licit without V-to-Mood, why should the V move to Mood in (16b)?

II. Alternative hypothesis:

In (1a,b) and (16b), the empty Mood is identified by an adjacent V+conditional,

in (1c,d) and (17b), the empty Mood is identified by an adjacent *ne*.

How is it possible?

The conditional morpheme is +opt/+cond; it is +opt unless c-commanded by *ha* 'if'.

Ne is +opt/+subj/+imp; it is +opt unless c-commanding an imperative V.

Hence:

- +opt is interpretable: i. in the optative particle,
 ii. in the V+conditional morpheme complex, and
 iii. in the *ne* variant of the negative particle.

Claim:

- (18) The +opt of Mood is to be checked either by a +opt particle in spec-head configuration, or by a +opt head (*ne*, or a conditional V) in head-head configuration.

Or simply:

- (19) An optative clause must be in the c-command domain of a +opt marked element.

Argument for the latter:

Different types of +opt heads, different interpretations - cf.

- (20)a. *Bárcsak forradalmat tetszettek volna csinálni!*
 if only revolution-ACC please-PAST-3PL COND make-INF
 'If only you had made a revolution!'
 b. *Tetszettek volna forradalmat csinálni!* V+na/ne: underspecified +cond/+opt?
 'Had you made a revolution, (then things would be different now.)'
 (21)a. *Bárcsak ne loptatok volna!*
 if only not steal-PAST-2PL COND
 'If only you had not stolen!'
 b. *Ne loptatok volna!* Ne: underspecified +opt/+imp?
 You shouldn't have stolen! (Then things would be different now.)

(Cf. Iatridou 1993: an *if*-conditional and a conditional with inversion are not synonymous.)

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