

Axel Holvoet, Anna Daugavet, Liina Lindström, Asta Laugalienė

Types of irrealis in Baltic and Fennic

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The idea

- Irrealis is a cover term for marked moods like subjunctive, optative, conditional (all these terms have been applied to the Baltic forms, but we will use conditional except when referring to the functional domain).
- Many authors assume a conceptual distinction between events conceived as real and such as belong to the realm of the imagination as the basis for mood distinctions.
- Others (most prominently Joan Bybee) think that ‘irrealis meaning’ is epiphenomenal and the distribution of irrealis forms is but the sum of the results of individual grammaticalisation processes (involving functions much more concrete than that of marking ‘imaginary’ events) and subsequent generalisations.

The idea

- In spite of cross-linguistic variation, we can single out a set of typical irrealis uses of which various subsets are instantiated in individual languages:
 - object of volition (***caveant** consules, exhortabatur ut **adiuvarent*** ‘urged them to help’)
 - counterfactivity (*if I **were** you*)
 - doubt (*je doute qu’il **viene*** ‘I doubt he will come’)
 - past habitual (BCS *sedela **bi** kod prozora / she **would** be sitting at the window*)
 - factive (It. *è strano che lei mi **chieda** questo / it is strange you **should** be asking me this*)

The idea

- Our aim is to look which types of irrealis use are instantiated in Baltic and Fennic, and whether areal convergences can be found.
- In order to discern tendencies in irrealis use, we need at least a rough classification of irrealis domains. For Romance the following have been proposed:
 - volitional/optative
 - dubitative/potential
 - thematic/factive

The types

- volitional/optative: with verbs like ‘want’, ‘order’, ‘request’, ‘suggest’:

Lith. *noriu,* *kad* *žinotum*
want.PRS.1SG that know.COND.2SG ‘I want you to know’

- dubitative/potential: with verbs like ‘know’, ‘think’, ‘believe’, ‘say’:

Lith. *nesakau,* *kad* *būčiau* *tuo* *patenkintas*
NEG.say.PRS.SG that be.COND.1SG with.it happy
‘I’m not saying I’m happy about this.’

- Verbs of fear (apprehensive verbs) are intermediate between ‘think’ and ‘want’: ‘I fear this may happen’ = ‘I think it may happen and I don’t want it to happen’. Hence two types:

Lith. *bijau,* *kad* *lis* / *ne-lytų*
fear.PRS.1SG that rain.FUT.3 NEG-rain.COND.3
‘I’m afraid it’s going to rain.’

The types

- The third type is associated with predicates expressing an evaluation. In Romance languages the subjunctive is used with evaluative predicates even when they are factive (i.e. presuppose that the content of the embedded predicate is real), e.g.

E' *peccato che* *io* *non* ***parli*** *inglese.*
is pity that I not speak.SBJV.1SG English
'It's a pity I don't speak (SBJV) English.'

- In Baltic and Slavic the subjunctive is restricted to contexts that are not unambiguously factive:

[*Motina nekreipė dėmesio:*]
gėda, *kad* *toks* *didelis* *berniukas* ***bijotų.***
shame that such big boy be.afraid.COND.3
'[Mother doesn't pay attention:] It's a shame such a big boy should be afraid.'

Explaining irrealis uses

- The use of irrealis forms is often bewildering if one starts out from the assumption that the irrealis encodes unreal events.
- The explanation works in some cases: if we say *I don't think she will come*, the coming is viewed as unreal.
- But the object of an act of volition (*I would like her to come*) is neither real nor unreal, it's potential.
- More problematic still is the factive irrealis (*It's strange you should be asking me this*), because here the event is real (presupposed).
- This has led to alternative accounts not involving 'reality' distinctions, e.g. the view of the irrealis as encoding what cannot be asserted (Lunn 1989).

Explaining irrealis uses

- Holvoet (2020) sets out a new account in which irrealis uses are connected with the types of clauses in which they occur.
- In clausal complementation, a distinction has been made between ‘propositions’ – situationally anchored and truth-valued clauses (as in *She writes **she is in London now***) – and states-of-affairs – clauses describing virtual events without situational anchoring and without truth value (*I would wish **for things to be different***) (Kehayov & Boye 2016)
- In propositional clauses the irrealis encodes irreality while in state-of-affairs clauses it encodes **situational and temporal unanchoring**.

Explaining irrealis uses

- While these irrealis functions differ along the propositions vs states-of-affairs distinction, there are many cases of spillover, the most interesting of which is irrealis use in evaluative (factive) contexts.
- Evaluative contexts highlight the intrinsic qualities (intrinsic likelihood or desirability) of events regardless of whether they are real or not. This abstracting away from actual occurrence or non-occurrence is marked by the use of the unanchoring irrealis, which suspends temporal and situational location.
- In some languages (Romance) this evaluating/unanchoring irrealis is used even in unambiguously factive contexts, whereas, e.g. in Slavic, it is subject to restrictions in factive contexts (we have two competing constraints here).

Tendencies in irrealis systems

Which irrealis types will appear in an individual language is rather unpredictable; e.g., English has a kind of irrealis for past habitual (*would go out for a walk*), which is unknown in other Germanic languages.

But it is possible to formulate certain generalisations as to the major types of irrealis functions predominating in a language, e.g., in German the irrealis dimension of the irrealis is strongly represented (*er tut als **kenne** er mich nicht* ‘pretends not to know me’; cf. also the use of irrealis in indirect speech), while the unanchoring function is now obsolete (*sie will, dass er **mitkommt** / ?**mitkomme*** ‘She wants him to come along’).

The aim of this study is to look at the major functional types of irrealis (as defined above) in Baltic and Fennic.

Corpus data: Lithuanian and Latvian

- corpora at sketch.engine
lvTenTen14 (Latvian), ltTenTen14 and Lithuanianwac_2v (Lithuanian)
- several predicates from each of the groups
(volitional, epistemic, evaluative, also predicates of fear)
in each of the two Baltic languages, for example,
Latv *uzskatu*, Lith *manau* '(I) have an opinion; (I) believe' (epistemic)
Latv *svarīgi*, Lith *svarbu* '(it is) important' (volitional)
- verbs in the 1SG.PRS (/PST) form, often resulting in performative which might have influence on results
- samples consisting of at least 100 examples, but some are smaller to the small number of corresponding items in a corpus
- not all examples in a sample represent the types of uses we are interested in (partly because complementizers were not part of the search query -- a comma was)

Complementizers: Latvian and Lithuanian

Lithuanian typically uses *kad* 'that' and its less frequent synonym *jog* there are 3 uses of *idant* 'so that' with *įsakau* '(I) order' alongside *kad ar* 'if' is found with *abejoju* '(I) doubt' (and epistemic uses of fear predicates), alongside *kad*

In Latvian, *ka* 'that' is likewise universal, although with certain volitional predicates *lai* 'let' is much more frequent; *lai* is also possible with volitional uses of fear predicates

As in Lithuanian, *vai* 'if' is common with *šaubos* '(I) doubt' (and epistemic uses of fear predicates)

Volitional predicates: Lithuanian and Latvian

translation	Lithuanian	Latvian
(it is) necessary	<i>būtina</i>	<i>obligāti</i>
(it is) important	<i>svarbu</i>	<i>svarīgi</i>
(it is) desirable	<i>pageidaujama</i>	<i>vēlams</i>
(I) want	<i>noriu</i>	<i>gribu</i>
(I) recommend	<i>rekomenduoju</i>	<i>iesaku</i>
(I) order	<i>įsakau, liepiu</i>	<i>pavēlu</i>
(I) encourage	<i>skatinu</i>	<i>mudinu</i>

Volitional predicates: Lithuanian

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs
(it is) necessary	<i>būтина</i>	100	20	20	0
(it is) desirable	<i>pageidaujama</i>	100	62	62	0
(it is) important	<i>svarbu</i>	100	55	55	0
(I) want	<i>noriu</i>	100	65	65	0
(I) recommend	<i>rekomenduoju</i>	100	3	3	0
(I) order	<i>įsakau</i>	39	14	14	0
(I) order	<i>liepiu</i>	28	4	4	0
(I) encourage	<i>skatinu</i>	40	17	16	1

Volitional predicates: Lithuanian

- the conditional is grammaticalized

<..> *skatinu, kad jie niekada **nenuleistų** rankų.*
encourage.prs.1sg that they never **lower.cond.3** hand.gen.pl
'I encourage that they never give up'

- exceptions do exist, involving modal verbs in the present tense

*Skatinu, kad **turime** **kurti** verslą užsieniui.*
encourage.prs.1sg that **must.prs.1pl** **create.inf** business.acc abroad.dat
'I encourage that we should create business across the border'

Volitional predicates: Latvian

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut
(it is) necessary	<i>obligāti</i>	100	15	7	4	2
(it is) desirable	<i>vēlams</i>	100	49	36	13	0
(it is) important	<i>svarīgi</i>	100	57	45	12 (?)	0
(I) want	<i>gribu</i>	100	52	18	34	0
(I) recommend	<i>iesaku</i>	100	4	0	4	0
(I) order	<i>pavēlu</i>	100	19	7	11	1
(I) encourage	<i>mudinu</i>	11	4	0	4	0

Volitional predicates: Latvian

- the conditional is more frequent with non-verbal predicates

Ir svarīgi, lai skatītājs domātu līdzī <...>
be.prs.3 **important.adv** let viewer.nom.sg **think.cond** along
'It is important that the viewer think along <...>'

- verbal predicates are more often accompanied by the present

Es iesaku, lai katrs cilvēks veltī vienu dienu nedēļā apzinātības praktizēšanai.
I recommend.1sg.prs let every.nom.sg.m person.nom.sg **devote.prs.3**
one.acc.sg day.acc.sg week.loc.sg awareness.gen.sg practicing.dat.sg
'I recommend that every person spend a day per week practicing awareness.'

Volitional predicates: Latvian

- One instance of the future represents an archaic modal construction

*Tādēļ es tagad **pavēlu**,*

therefore I now order.prs.1

ka *visās tautās, ciltīs un valodās*

ikvienu,

that all.loc.pl nation.loc.pl tribe.loc.pl and language.loc.pl

everyone.acc

<kas zaimotu Sadraha, Mesaha un Abed-Nego Dievu,>

būs sacirst gabalos <...>

be.fut.3 cut.up.inf pieces.loc.pl

'Therefore I decree that the people of any nation or language who say anything against the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego be cut into pieces <...>'

(Daniel 3:29)

Volitional predicates with negation: Latvian and Lithuanian

negation does not change the distribution of the conditional vs the present

language	translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs
Lith	(I) want	<i>noriu</i>	100	65	65	0
	(I) don't want	<i>nenoriu</i>	100	52	52	0
Latv	(I) want	<i>gribu</i>	100	52	18	34
	(I) don't want	<i>negribu</i>	100	58	23	35

Volitional predicates with negation: Lithuanian and Latvian

- the only option in Lithuanian is the conditional

O *aš* *nenoriu,* *kad* *jūs* *taptumėte*
demonų
but I **neg.want.prs.1sg** **that** you **become.cond.2pl**
demon.gen.pl
bendrininkais.
ally.inst.pl
'But I don't want you to become associates of the demons.'

Volitional predicates with negation: Lithuanian and Latvian

- in Latvian, the verbal predicate *negribu* favours the present tense over the conditional

Es negribu, *lai* *tu* *raudi* <...>
I neg.want.prs.1sg let you weep.prs.2sg
'I don't want you to cry'

Es negribu, *lai* *tu* *viņu* *čakarētu.*
I neg.want.prs.1sg let you it fumble.cond
'I don't want you to fumble it'

Predicates of fear (volitional type): Lithuanian and Latvian

translation	Lithuanian	Latvian
(I) fear	<i>bijau</i>	<i>baidos</i>
(I) worry	<i>nerimauju</i>	<i>satraucos</i>
worry (SUB)	<i>nerimas</i>	<i>bažas</i>

Predicates of fear (volitional type): Lithuanian and Latvian

Although very rare in Latvian, otherwise seem to repeat the pattern for the volitional predicates

lang	translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs
Latv	(I) fear	<i>baidos</i>	100	1	0	1
	(I) worry	<i>satraucos</i>	100	2	1	1
Lith	(I) fear	<i>bijau</i>	100	12	12	0
	(I) worry	<i>nerimauju</i>	100	7	7	0

Predicates of fear (volitional type): Latvian

- present

[*Kad piedzima maziņais,*]

Es ļoti stipri satraucos, ka tik kaut kas nenotiek <...>

I very strongly **worry.pst.1sg** **that** only something **neg.happen.prs.3**

'When the little one was born, I worried a lot that something might happen'

- conditional

Arī baidos, lai nebūtu lipīgs.

also **fear.prs.1sg** **let** **neg.be.cond** catching

'I also fear that it (the virus) might be contagious'

Epistemic predicates: Lithuanian and Latvian

translation	Lithuanian	Latvian
(I) claim	<i>tvirtinu, teigiu</i>	<i>apgalvoju</i>
(I) deny	<i>neigiu</i>	<i>noliedzu</i>
(I) believe	<i>tikiu</i>	<i>ticu</i>
(I) have opinion	<i>manau</i>	<i>uzskatu</i>
(I) doubt	<i>abejoju</i>	<i>šaubos</i>

Epistemic predicates: Latvian

Except with *noliedzu* '(I) deny', the use of the conditional is exceptionally rare in Latvian

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(I) claim	<i>apgalvoju</i>	100	64	1	52	8	3
(I) deny	<i>noliedzu</i>	52	20	6	13	1	0
(I) believe	<i>ticu</i>	100	55	0	30	22	3
(I) have opinion	<i>uzskatu</i>	100	76	0	67	1	8
(I) doubt	<i>šaubos</i>	100	70	2	29	31	8

Epistemic predicates: Lithuanian

The use of the conditional is almost non-existent

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(I) claim	<i>tvirtinu</i>	59	30	0	22	2	6
(I) claim	<i>teigiu</i>	90	40	0	33	1	6
(I) deny	<i>neigiu</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
(I) believe	<i>tikiu</i>	100	59	0	28	25	6
(I) have opinion	<i>manau</i>	100	35	0	24	4	7
(I) doubt	<i>abejoju</i>	100	60	1	28	23	8

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

- Normally, epistemic predicates are accompanied by the present:

Latv

Kur es apgalvoju, ka esmu objektīvs?
where I claim.prs.1sg that be.prs.1sg unbiased'

'Where do I claim that I am unbiased?'

Lith

*Aš kategoriškai tvirtinu, kad hidroelektrinės
(yra) statomos dešimtmečiams <...>*
I positively claim.prs.1sg that hydroelectric.power.plant.nom.pl
be.prs.3 built.act.prs.ptcp decade.dat.pl

'I positively claim that hydroelectric power plants are built to serve for decades'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

- With Latv *ticu* / Lith *tikiu* '(I) believe' and Latv *šaubos* / Lith *abejoju* '(I) doubt' the future is equally common:

Latv

Un es ticu, ka tas viss piepildīsies.
and I believe.prs.1sg that this all come.true.fut.3 rfl

'And I believe that everything will come true'

Lith

Tikiu, kad jos stropiai studijuos <...>
believe.prs.1sg that they diligently study.fut.3

'I believe that they will study diligently'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

- The past tense is rare

Latv

<...>	<i>es</i>	<i>tomēr</i>	<i>uzskatu,</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sistēmas</i>
	I	but	consider.prs.1sg	that	system.gen.sg
<i>izmēģinājums</i>	<i>bija</i>		<i>veiksmīgs.</i>		
test.nom.sg	be.pst.3		successful		

‘<...> but I consider the system test to be successful’

Lith

<i>Manau,</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>buvo</i>	<i>savotiškas</i>
consider.prs.1sg	that	he.dat	this	be.pst.3	peculiar.nom.sg.m
<i>drąsos</i>	<i>šaltinis.</i>				
courage.gen.sg	source.nom.sg				

‘I consider this to be have been a source of courage for him, in a way’

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

Few instances of the conditional are associated with non-affirmative uses (although non-affirmative context is not sufficient for the conditional to appear)

- lexical meaning (only Latv *noliedzu* '(I) deny', Latv *šaubos* / Lith *abejoju* 'I doubt')

Latv

Es kategoriski noliedzu, ka mana sieva izmantotu manu dienesta automašīnu personīgām vajadzībām <...>

Lith

Abejoju, kad lietuviams dar kada tektų kautis kardais <...>

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

Few instances of the conditional are associated with non-affirmative uses (although non-affirmative context is not sufficient for the conditional to appear)

- lexical meaning (only Latv *noliedzu* '(I) deny', Latv *šaubos* / Lith *abejoju* 'I doubt')

Latv

<i>Es</i>	<i>kategoriski</i>	<i>noliedzu,</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>sieva</i>	<i>izmantotu</i>
I	positively	deny.prs.1sg	that	my.nom.sg.f	wife.nom.sg	use.cond
<i>manu</i>	<i>dienesta</i>	<i>automašīnu</i>		<i>personīgām</i>	<i>vajadzībām</i>	<...>
my	office.gen.sg	car.acc.sg		personal.dat.pl.f	need.dat.pl	

'I positively deny that my wife uses my official car for personal needs'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

Few instances of the conditional are associated with non-affirmative uses (although non-affirmative context is not sufficient for the conditional to appear)

- lexical meaning (only Latv *noliedzu* '(I) deny', Latv *šaubos* / Lith *abejoju* 'I doubt')

Lith

<i>Abejoju,</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>lietuviams</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>kada</i>	<i>tektų</i>
doubt.prs.1sg	that	Lithuanian.dat.pl	again	ever	fall.cond.3
<i>kautis</i>	<i>kardais</i>	<...>			
fight.inf rfl	sword.inst.pl				

'I doubt that Lithuanians will ever have to fight with swords again'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

Few instances of the conditional are associated with non-affirmative uses (although non-affirmative context is not sufficient for the conditional to appear)

- an interrogative sentence

Latv

*Vai tad es apgalvoju, ka tās
visas*

if then I **claim.prs.1sg** that these.nom.pl.f all.nom.pl.f
sistēmas būtu pēc vienas šnites?

system.nom.pl **be.cond** of the same kind

‘Do I claim then that all these systems are of the same kind?’

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

One can find additional examples when specifically looking for a predicate in combination with a complementizer and a conditional form, see an interrogative sentence with Latv *apgalvoju* '(I) claim'

<i>Es</i>	<i>kaut kur</i>	<i>apgalvoju,</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kāds</i>	<i>spēlētājs</i>
I	somewhere	claim.prs.1sg	that	some.nom.sg.m	player.nom.sg
<i>staigātu</i>	<i>PLL</i>	<i>kreklā</i>	<i><...>?</i>		
walk.cond	pn	shirt.loc.sg			

'Do I claim anywhere that a player walks in a PLL T-shirt <...>?'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian and Lithuanian

In Lithuanian extra searching yield results with negation on an adverb

<i>Nes</i>	<i>aš</i>	<i>nelabai tikiu,</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>meno</i>	<i>kūrėjai</i>
Because I		neg.very believe.prs.1sg that	art.gen.sg		creator.nom.pl
<i>būtu</i>		<i>suinteresuoti</i>	<i>kurti</i>	<i>vien tik mažai</i>	
be.cond		interested.pass.pst.ptcp	create.inf	only	small.adv
<i>apmokamas</i>			<i>naujų</i>	<i>administracijėlių</i>	
pay.pass.prs.ptcp.acc.pl.f			new.gen.pl	administrator.dim.gen.pl	
<i>darbo</i>		<i>vietas.</i>			
work.gen.sg		place.acc.pl			

'Because I don't honestly believe that artists would be interested in only creating low-paid positions for new administrators'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian

The use of the conditional in non-affirmative contexts brings us to the use of the conditional after epistemic predicates with negation

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(I) don't claim	<i>neapgalvoju</i>	100	74	1	66	2	5
(I) don't believe	<i>neticu</i>	100	40	1	21	13	5
(I) don't have opinion	<i>neuzskatu</i>	100	46	11	33	0	2

Epistemic predicates: Latvian

<i>Neuzskatu,</i>		<i>ka</i>	<i>krāsu</i>	<i>risinājums</i>
neg.consider.prs.1sg		that	colour.gen.pl	arrangement.nom.sg
<i>būtu</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>slikts</i>		
be.cond	so	bad.nom.sg.m		

[*kā cienījamais apskatnieks mālē. Indīgi zaļā krāsa ir tikai lapas augšpusē*]
'I don't consider the colour arrangement to be so bad [as it is painted by the esteemed reviewer. The toxic shade of green is only found on the top of the page]'

Epistemic predicates: Lithuanian

The use of the conditional in non-affirmative contexts brings us to the use of the conditional after epistemic predicates with negation

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(I) don't claim	<i>netvirtinu</i>	21	16	0	11	1	4
(I) don't claim	<i>neteigiu</i>	86	65	1	52	3	9
(I) don't believe	<i>netikiu</i>	100	34	1	22	11	0
(I) don't have opinion	<i>nemana</i>	100	73	4	49	13	7

Epistemic predicates: Lithuanian

Netikiu, *kad* *tokie* *senovės*
neg.believe.prs.1sg **that** such.nom.pl.m antiquity.gen.sg
eksponatai *kam nors* ***nusibostų.***
exhibit.non.pl anyone.dat **become.boring.cond.3**
'I don't believe that such ancient objects can be boring for anyone'

Epistemic predicates: Latvian

compound forms of the conditional referring to the past

<i>Neuzskatu,</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>šis</i>	<i>incidents kaut kā</i>	
neg.consider.prs.1sg	that	this.nom.sg.m	incident.nom.sg	
<i>būtu</i>	<i>iespaidojis</i>		<i>sacīkstes</i>	<i>iznākumu.</i>
be.cond	influence.act.pst.ptcp.nom.sg.m		contest.gen.sg	result.acc.sg

'I don't think that this incident might have influenced the results of the contest'

Epistemic predicates: Lithuanian

compound forms of the conditional referring to the past

<i>Nemanau,</i>	<i>kad</i>	„ <i>Nesinervink.lt</i> “	<i>būtu</i>	<i>kam nors</i>
neg.consider.prs.1sg	that	pn	be.cond.3	anyone.dat
<i>turėjusi</i>		<i>teigiamą</i>	<i>poveikį.</i>	
have.act.pst.ptcp.nom.sg.f		positive.acc.sg	influence.acc.sg	

‘I don’t think that (the content at) nesinervink.lt might have had positive influence on anyone’

Evaluative predicates: Lithuanian and Latvian

translation	Lithuanian	Latvian
(it is) strange	<i>keista</i>	<i>dīvaini</i>
(it is a) pity	<i>gaila</i>	<i>žēl</i>
(it is) wrong	<i>negerai</i>	<i>nav labi</i>
(it is) unbelievable	<i>netikėtina</i>	<i>neticami</i>

'(it is) unbelievable' can be also interpreted as epistemic

Evaluative predicates: Latvian

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(it is) strange	<i>dīvaini</i>	100	45	0	37	0	8
(it is a) pity	<i>žēl</i>	100	67	0	44	2	21
(it is) wrong	<i>nav labi</i>	100	7	0	7	0	0
(it is) unbelievable	<i>neticami</i>	100	29	3	20	5	1

Evaluative predicates: Lithuanian

translation	predicate	sample	all	cond	prs	fut	pst
(it is) strange	<i>keista</i>	100	37	0	23	1	13
(it is a) pity	<i>gaila</i>	100	66	0	32	5	29
(it is) wrong	<i>negerai</i>	100	9	0	7	0	2
(it is) unbelievable	<i>netikėtina</i>	1	1	1	0	0	0

Evaluative predicates: Latvian

normally accompanied by the present or past; the future is rare

Dīvaini, *ka* *viņai* *nekas* *nekaiš*
strange.nom.sg.m **that** she.dat nothing.nom **neg.harm.prs.3**
pēc *tik* *pamatīga* *trieciena!*
after so substantial.gen.sg blow.gen.sg
'It is strange that she is ok after such serious blow'

Dīvaini, *ka* *jūs* *pieminējāt* *to* *aklo* <...>
strange.nom.sg.m **that** you **mention.pst.2pl** this.acc.sg blind.acc.sg.def
'It is strange that you mentioned this blind person'

Evaluative predicates: Lithuanian

normally accompanied by the present or past; the future is rare

Man keista, kad mane kažkas prisimena
I.dat strange that I.acc somebody.nom remember.prs.3

'It seems strange to me that I'm remembered by anybody'

Man keista, kad politikas taip pasielgė
I.dat strange that politician.nom.sg so behave.pst.3

'It seems strange to me that the politician did this'

Evaluative predicates: Latvian

- The conditional is associated with the predicate ‘unbelievable’ in both languages, although it is still in the minority

Tas ir vienkārši neticami, ka kāds
this be.prs.3 simply **unbelievable.adv** that somebody.nom
lasītu par to kā man dzīvē iet <...>
read.cond about that.acchow I.dat life.loc.sg go.prs.3
‘This is simply unbelievable that anybody should read about my circumstances’

<...> *liekas gandrīz neticami, ka viņš tās*
seem.prs.3 almost **unbelievable.adv** that he.nom that.nom.pl.f
nebūtu spējis saskatīt.
neg.be.cond be.able.act.pst.ptcp.nom.sg.m see.inf
‘it seems almost unbelievable that he wasn’t able to see them’

Evaluative predicates: Lithuanian

<...> *visiškai netikėtina, kad kuris nors bankas*
entirely **unbelievable** that some.nom.sg.mbank.nom.sg
atsisakytų milijardinių apyvartų.
refuse.cond.3 billion.adj.gen.pl turnover.gen.pl
'it is entirely unbelievable that a bank should refuse transactions in billions'

Although this is the only example with *netikėtina* in Lithuanianwac_2v, an additional search in ItTenTen14 yields 31 examples of *netikėtina* with a complementizer, 8 out of these 31 examples containing a conditional form, some of them also referring to the past

Evaluative predicates: Lithuanian

- Specifically searching for other predicates combined with a complementizer and a conditional form produces a couple of Lithuanian examples

[*O tokia specifiška, akademiška informacija yra aktuali siauram akademiniam ratui,*]

todėl nėra nieko keista, kad tokių

that's	why	neg.be.prs.3	nothing.gen	strange	that
such.gen.pl					
<i>knygų</i>	<i>būtu</i>		<i>nuperkama</i>		<i>50-60</i>
<i>egzempliorių</i>					
book.gen.pl	be.cond.3		buy.pass.prs.ptcp	50-60	copy.gen.pl

per metus.
per year.acc.pl

‘[But this kind of special academic information is important for a narrow circle of

Evaluative predicates: Latvian

- Specifically searching for other predicates combined with a complementizer and a conditional form produces a couple of Lithuanian examples and a single Latvian example, from a religious context where the example is given as a citation:

<i>Citāts:</i>	"Nav	labi,	ka	cilvēks
citation.nom.sf	neg.be.prs.3	well	that	human.nom.sg
zinātu	pārāk	daudz".		
know.cond	too	much		

‘The quotation is: ‘It is wrong that a human knows too much’

Conclusions on Latvian and Lithuanian

- the use of the conditional is only typical for **volitional** predicates, corresponding to state-of-affairs clauses
it is obligatory in Lithuanian and one of the two main ways of expression in Latvian (together with the present tense)
- with **epistemic** predicates, corresponding to propositional clauses, the conditional is possible, but never prevails, in non-affirmative contexts created by the lexical meaning of the predicate ('deny', 'doubt'), negation, and interrogative sentences
- with **evaluative** predicates, corresponding to propositional clauses with factive meaning, the conditional is possible, but never prevails, with predicates meaning disbelief

Estonian & Finnish data

- Estonian National Corpus 2019 (Web Corpus, comparable to TenTen series) in SketchEngine
- 8 predicates, 2 of each group
- random sample of 300 occurrences was analysed manually
 - only finite verbs as complement-taking verbs included (for 'be sad', 'be strange' also omission of the 'be' is included)
 - only clear complements included to analysis
 - data was sorted and coded manually
- Finnish data was collected similarly; source: Finnish Web 2014 (fiTenTen)

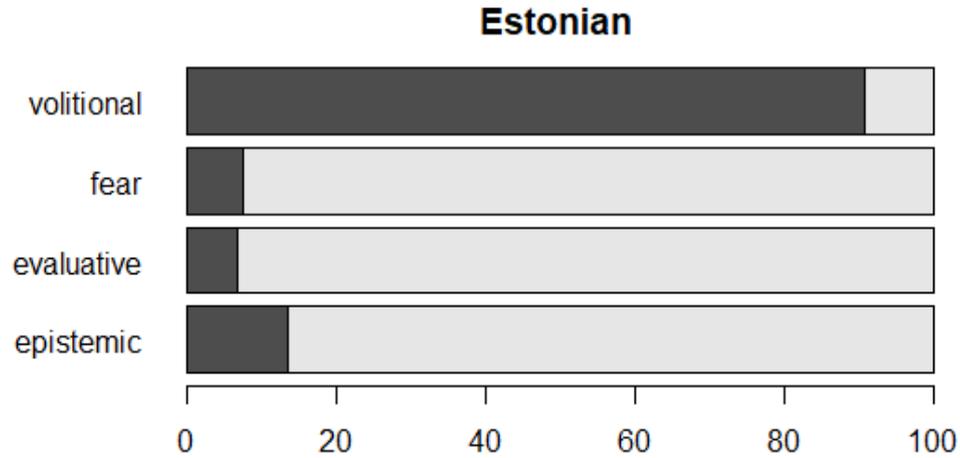
Estonian data

Type	Predicate	Translation	No of occ. in the sample	Complementizers
Epistemic	uskuma	believe	253	et 'that'
	arvama	guess	236	et 'that'
Evaluative	imelik (olema)	(it's) strange	180	et 'that' (156) kui 'when, if' (24)
	kurb (olema)	(it's) sad	173	et 'that' (123), kui 'when, if' (50)
Fear	kartma	fear	191	et 'that'
	muretsema	worry	161	et (107), kui 'when, if' (14), whether (30), et + kas ~ ega (10)
Volitional	tahtma	want	245	et 'that'
	soovima	wish	257	et 'that'
Total			1696	

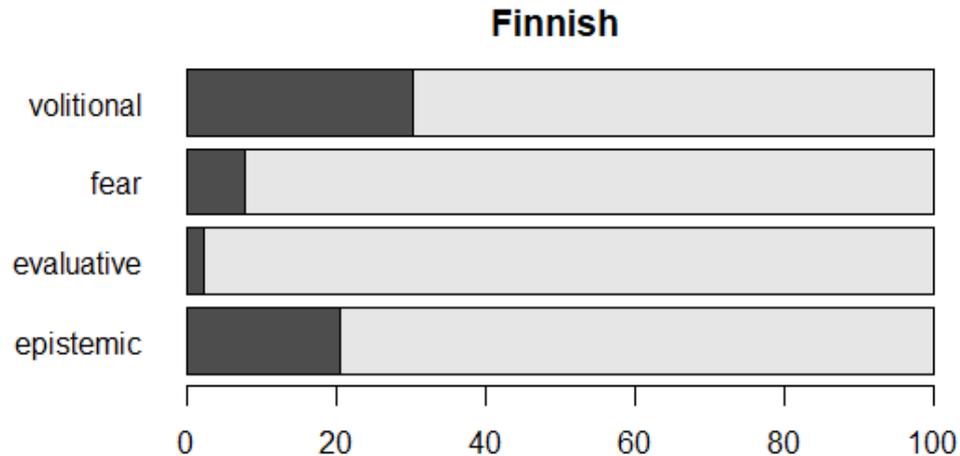
Finnish data

Type	Predicate	Translation	No of occ. in the sample	Complementizers
Epistemic	uskoa	believe	231	<i>että</i> 'that'
	Arvata	guess	173	<i>että</i> 'that'
Evaluative	(olla) outoa	(it's) strange	238	<i>että</i> 'that' (145) <i>kun</i> 'when, if' (93)
	(olla) surullista	(it's) sad	229	<i>että</i> 'that' (165), <i>kun</i> 'when, if' (64)
Fear	pelätä	fear	213	<i>että</i> 'that'
	huolehtia	worry	204	<i>että</i> 'that'
Volitional	haluta	want	260	<i>että</i> 'that'
	toivoa	wish	227	<i>että</i> 'that'
Total			1775	

Estonian and Finnish: overview



- Distribution of conditional and indicative in 4 domains



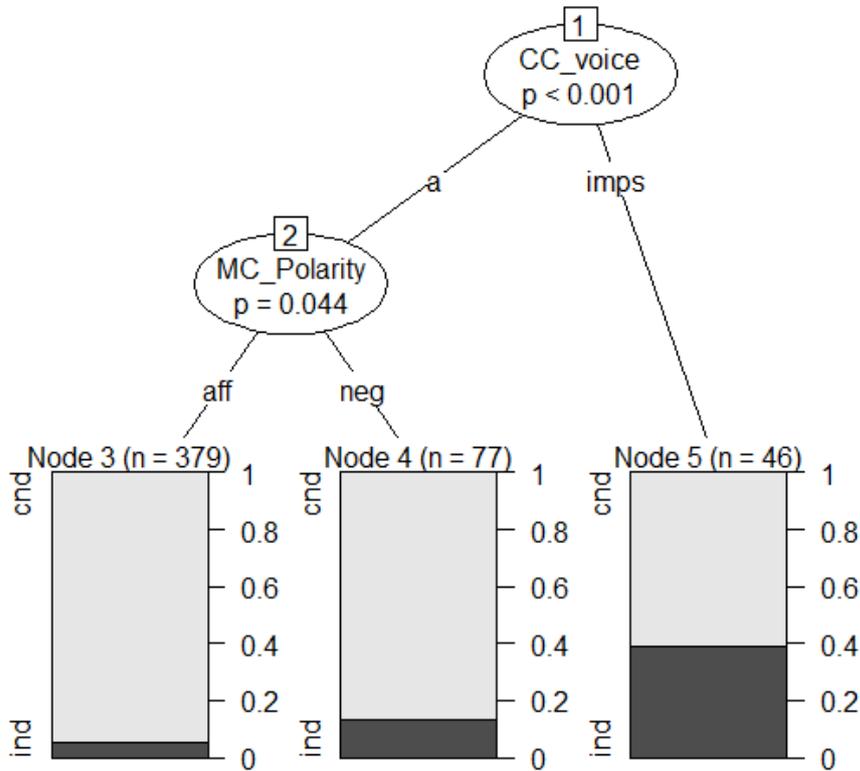
Dark = conditional
Light = indicative

Predictors

COMPL	Complementizer (et, kui, kas, others)
MC_Mood	Mood in the main clause (indicative, conditional, imperative, no verb)
MC_Polarity	Polarity in the main clause (aff, neg)
CC_Mood	Mood in the complement clause (indicative, conditional)
CC_Polarity	Polarity in the complement clause (aff, neg)
CC_voice	Voice in the complement clause (a=active,imps=impersonal+passive)
CC_Tense	Tense in the complement clause (pr=present, perf=perfect + pluperfect, imf=imperfect)
Verb	Verb translation
Type	Verb type

Method: conditional inference trees → binary splits by the most important statistically significant predictor; works recursively

Estonian: volitional verbs



- Conditional dominates (91%)

Ma taha-n, et sa tea-ksi-d.
 I want-1sg that you know-cnd-2sg
 'I want you to know.'

- **Indicative** is used more likely if the verb of the complement clause is in the impersonal voice

Taha-n, et se-da seadus-t haka-takse täit-ma
 Want-1sg that this-prt law-prt **start-ind.imps** enforce-sup
 'I want this law to be enforced'

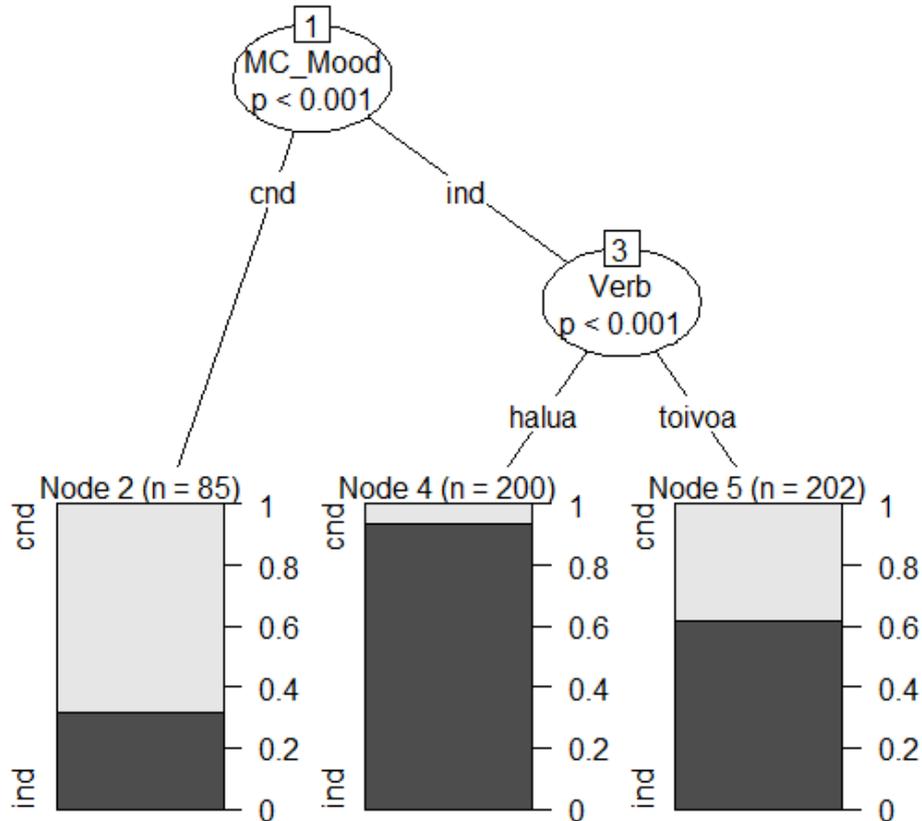
- phonological similarity?

conditional, 3rd person, present tense: *ta hakka-ks* 'he, she would start'

conditional, present impersonal: ***haka-ta-ks***

indicative, present conditional: ***haka-takse***

Finnish: volitional verbs



Use of conditional: 30,4%

Conditional is preferred if the predicate of the main clause is in the conditional:

Mä halua-isi-n

I want-cnd-1sg

että ol-is jo perjantai!

that be-cnd.3sg already Friday

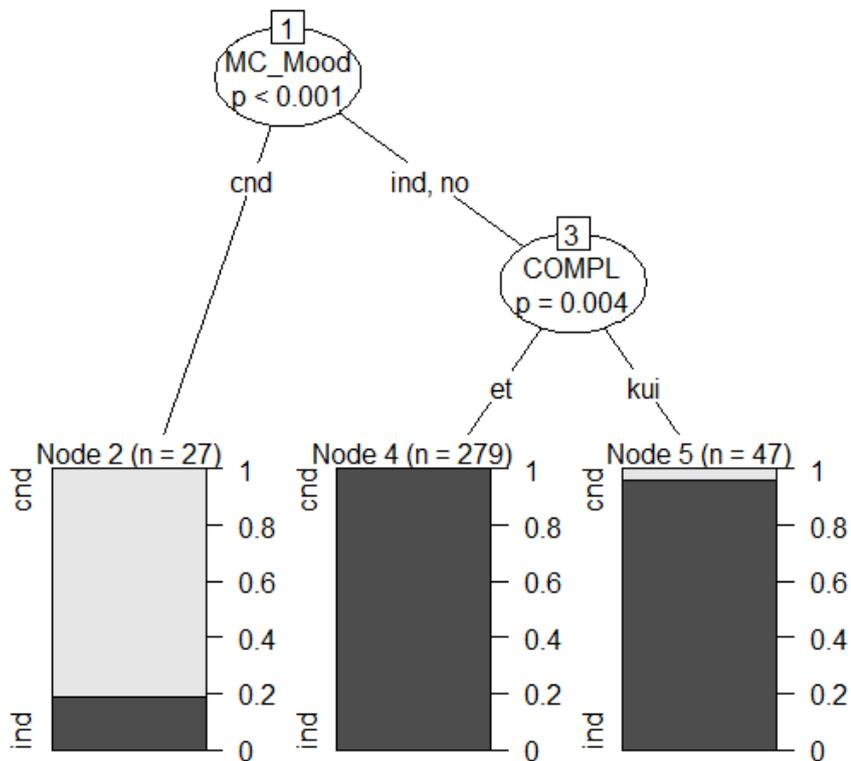
'I wish it was already Friday'

Difference bw verb lexems: *toivoa*

'wish' uses conditional more often than

halua 'want'

Estonian: evaluative verbs



Use of conditional: 7%

Conditional in the main clause increases the use of conditional in CC

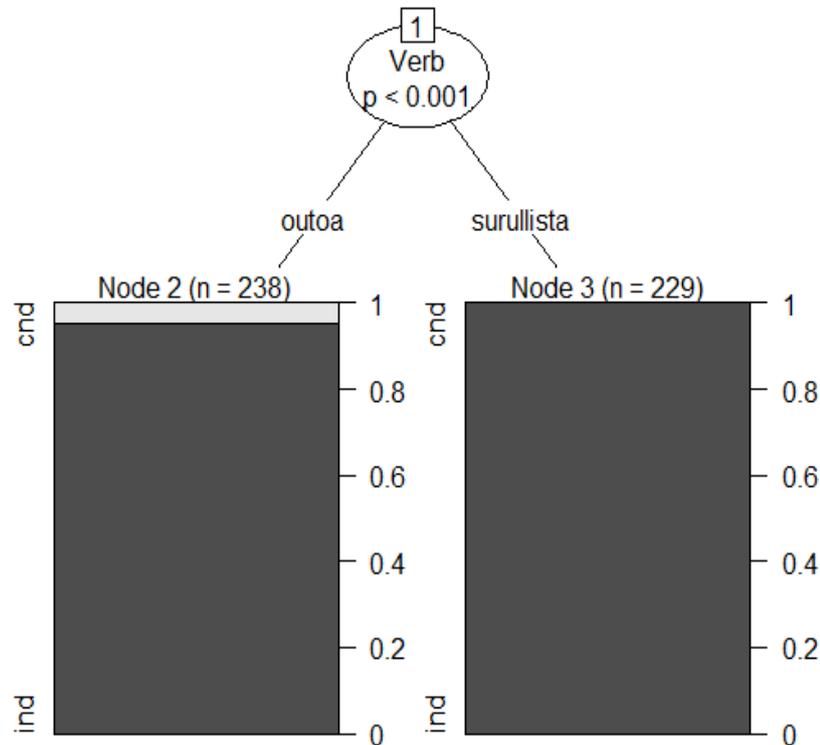
All such cases have a complementizer *kui*!

kui as a complementizer increases the probability to use the conditional in the CC

Aga	eks	ole-ks	ka	imelik,
but	ptc	be-cnd	ptc	strange
kui	keegi	iseenda-st	kolmanda-s	isiku-s kõnele-ks.
that/if	somebody	himself-ela	third-iness	person-iness
speaks-cnd				

'But it would also be weird if someone spoke about himself in a third person.'

Finnish: evaluative verbs



Use of conditional: 2,4%

Slight difference between the two predicates

Often also the predicate of the main clause in the conditional

Ja ol-isi outoa

and be-cnd strange.prt

että Itä-Pasila-n laida-lla seiso-isi

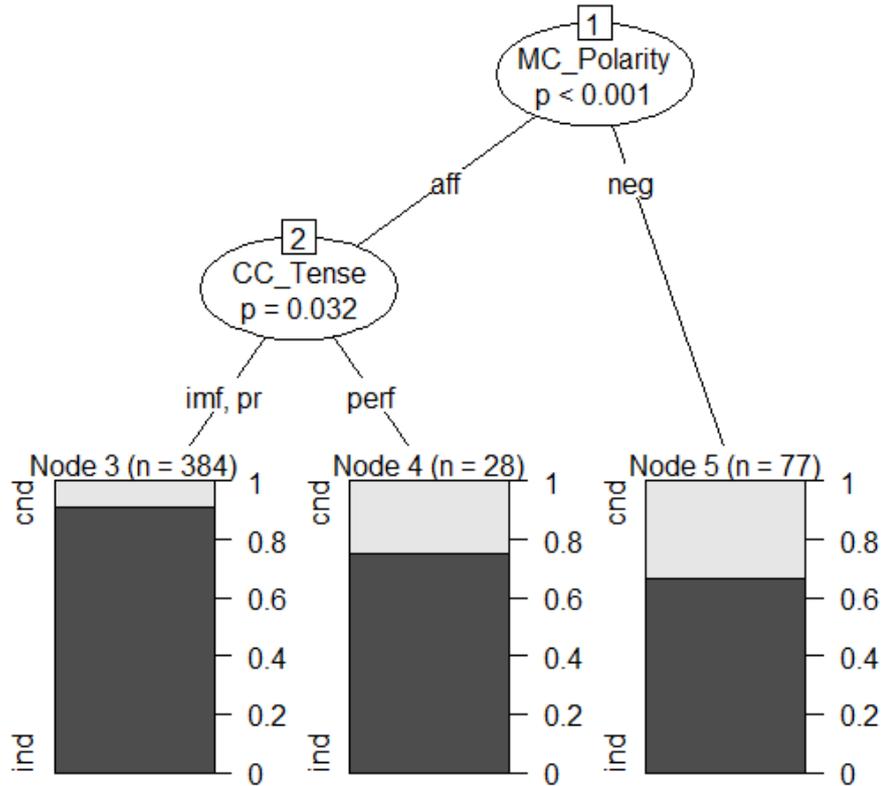
That Itä-Pasila-gen edge-ade **stand-cnd**

yksinään kovin korkea torni.

alone very high tower

‘And it would be strange that a very tall tower would stand alone on the edge of Itä-Pasila.’

Estonian: epistemic verbs



- Use of conditional: 14%
- Negation in the main clause increases the probability to use the conditional in the CC

/.../ kuid **ma ei usu**, et

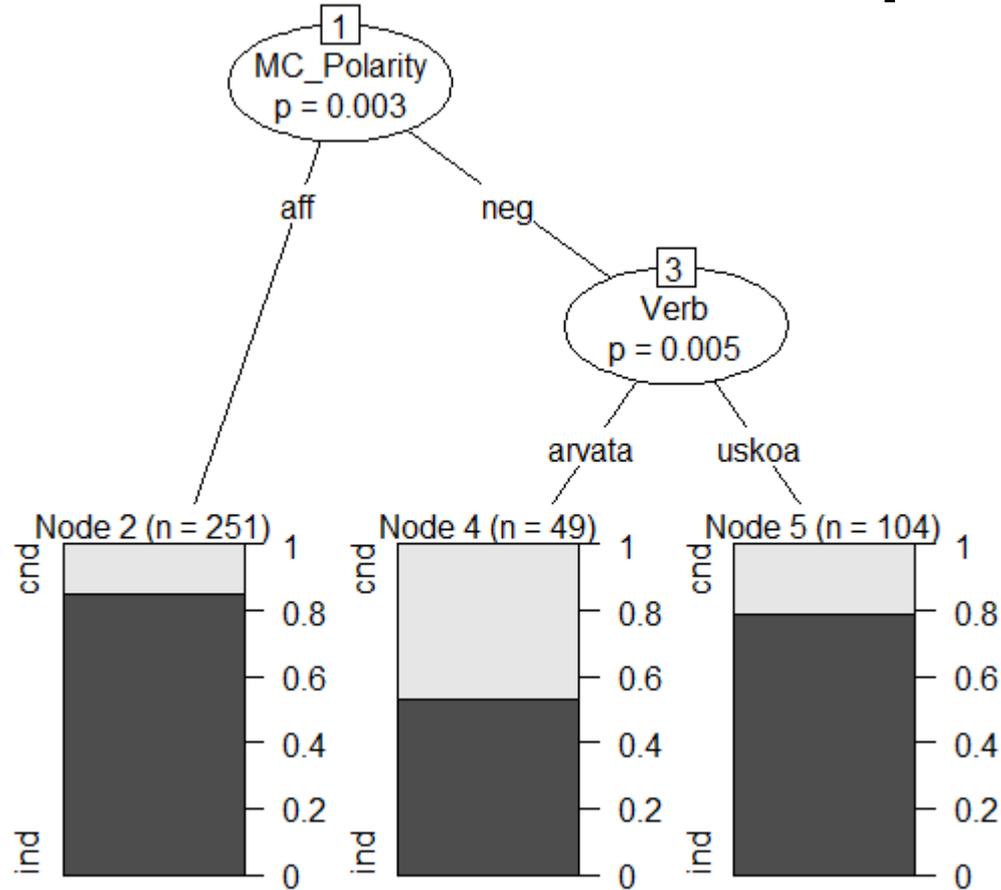
but I neg believe that

aktsiisitõus se-da eriti **mõjuta-ks**

excise_increasethis-prt particularly affect-cnd

‘But I do not believe that excise increase would particularly affect it’

Finnish: epistemic verbs



Use of conditional: 20,5%

Negation in the main clause increases the use of conditional in CC:

E-n arvannu

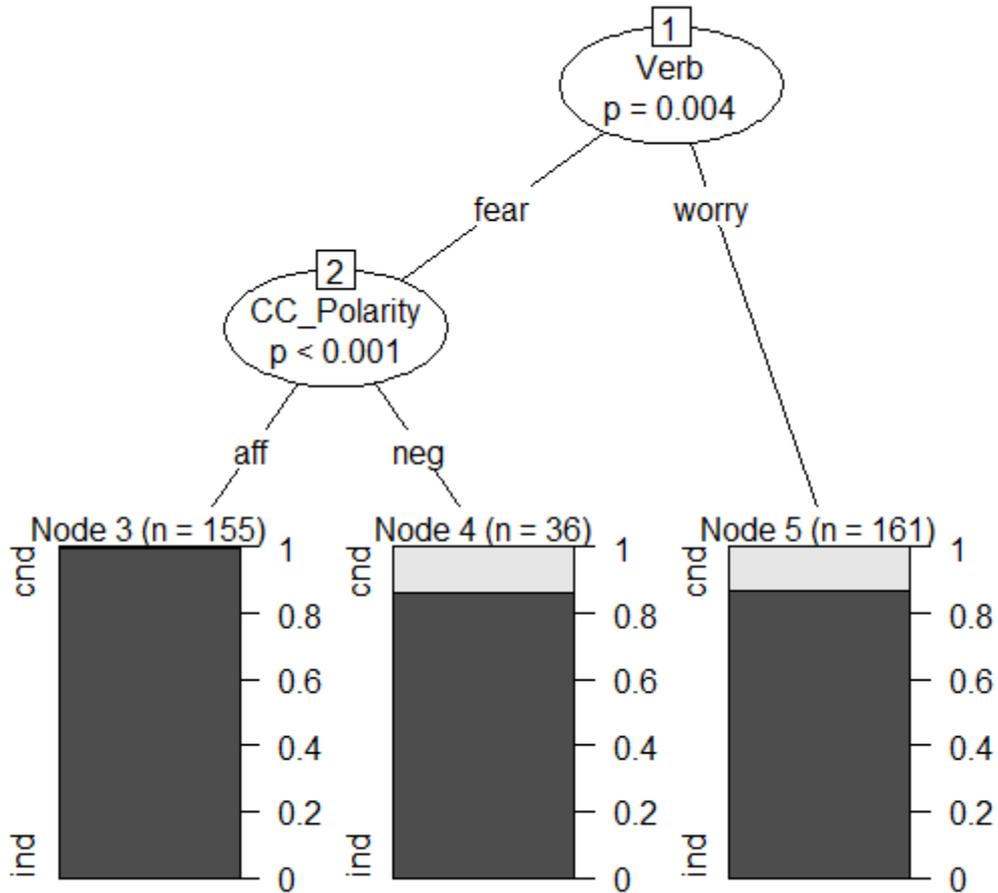
Not-1sg think.pst.ptcl

että saisin noin paljo lahjoja

that get-cnd-1sg so many gift-pl.prt

'I didn't think I would get that many gifts'

Estonian: verbs of fear



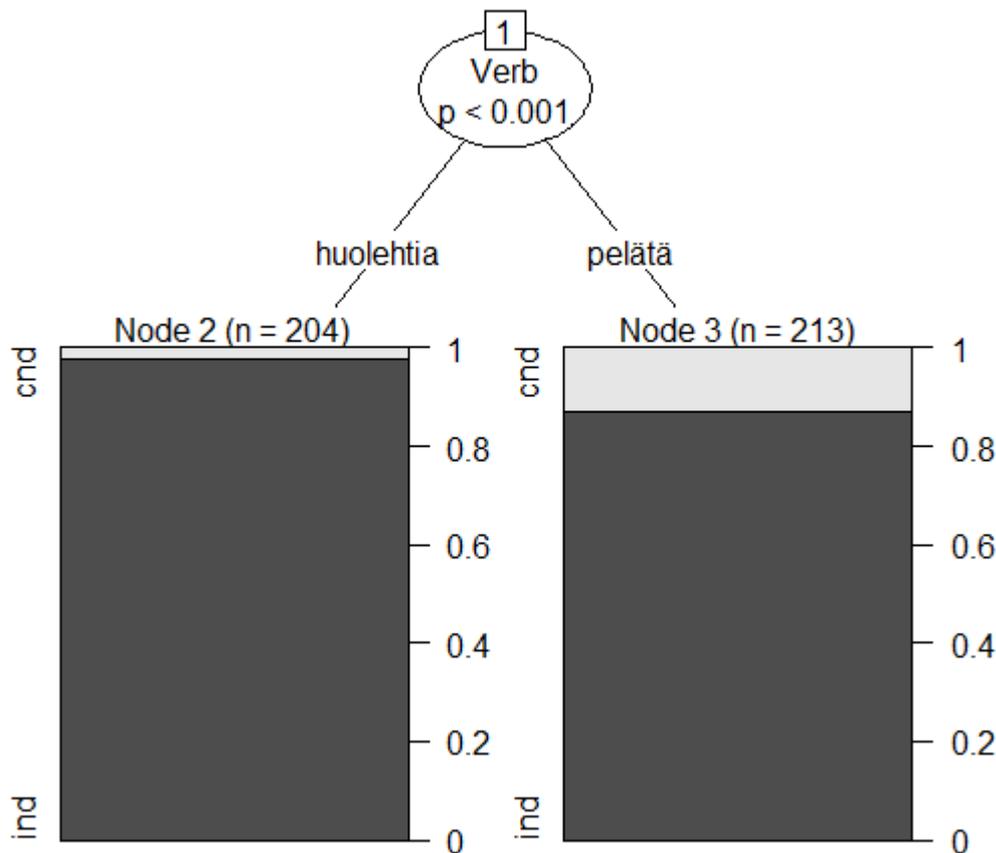
- Use of conditional: 8%
- ‘Worry’ makes more use of conditional than ‘fear’

Te ei pea muretse-ma,
 You neg must.cng worry-sup
et Teie mobiilseade kannata-ks ülelaadimise all.
 that your mobile_device **suffer-cnd** overloading.gen under
 You don't have to worry that your mobile device will suffer from overloading.

- *kartma* ‘fear’: negation in the CC increases the probability to use the conditional

Kardan, et sel põhjusel see lahendus **ei täidaks** oma eesmärgi.
 I fear that for this reason this solution **would not fulfil** its purpose.

Finnish: verbs of fear



Use of conditional: 8%
Difference bw predicates, *pelätä* 'fear, be afraid' uses more conditional in CC

Se on vielä koke-ma-tta,
this be.3sg yet experience-inf2-abe
mutta vähän pelkää-n
but a_little scare-1sg
että tulos ol-isi hengetön.
that result be-cnd spirit.without
'It is yet to be experienced, but I am a little
afraid that the result would be lifeless.'

Estonian and Finnish: conclusion

Finnish uses less conditional in the CC in all verb types, except epistemic verbs

With volitional verbs, conditional in the CC occurs more than 90%; the exceptions are related mostly to impersonal voice

Especially in Finnish but also in Estonian, the conditional marking in the main clause triggers the use of conditional in CC („hypothetical frames“)

With epistemic verbs, the negation increases the use of conditional in both languages

Comparison of all 4 languages

Use of conditional with different predicate types

