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The imperative and the subjunctive proper in Hungarian

Abstract
The paper examines Hungarian complement clauses where two morphologically identical moods in Hungarian, the subjunctive proper and/or the imperative may be used, including comparison of minimal pairs of contexts, where both are grammatical. It presents a case study and its statistical analysis aimed at characterising the grammatical and semantic role of the moods in question. On the basis of the empirical study it is suggested that independent semantic factors also support the claim that these moods need to be handled separately.

0 Introduction
The subjunctive proper and the imperative are morphologically identical in Hungarian, hence, the status of the subjunctive proper provides a controversial issue, most descriptive grammars do not even recognise it as a formally distinct mood. However, adopting the syntactic criteria given by Pataki (1984) to differentiate the imperative and the subjunctive proper in complement clauses it can be argued that the subjunctive proper comprises an individual mood. The aim of this paper is to examine those linguistic contexts where the subjunctive proper and/or the imperative mood may be used in Hungarian, including comparison of minimal pairs of contexts, where both moods

1 My work on the present paper was supported by the Research Group for Theoretical Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the Universities of Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged. It was also supported by the project OTKA NI 68436.
are grammatical. On the basis of a case study and its statistical analysis it is argued that semantic factors influence the distribution of the imperative and the subjunctive proper in complement clauses. Moreover, the results of the experiment to be discussed below provide further evidence in support of the need to differentiate the moods in question.

1 The subjunctive proper and the imperative

Traditionally the notion of mood is restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology. However, Palmer (1986) argues that while verbal inflection is an important formal feature of mood, mood is not only a morphosyntactic category of the verb, but it has certain semantic functions that affect the meaning of the whole sentence. In most Hungarian grammars three grammatical moods are differentiated, the indicative, the conditional and the subjunctive. Sometimes a further syntactically motivated distinction is made (cf. Pataki 1984, Keneesi 1992) stating that the subjunctive comprises two morphologically identical moods: the imperative and the subjunctive proper.

The subjunctive proper mood seems to appear only in subordinate clauses in Hungarian, which is a striking similarity between Hungarian and several Indo-European languages, and as we will see later it seems to be reasonable to suppose that the matrix predicate governs its use.

Let us consider several examples, which are motivated by the ones to be found in Pataki (1984):^2

(1) Olyan hideg van itt, hogy fűtsünk be.
   so cold is here that heat.IMP PV
   'It is so cold here. Let’s heat up the room.'

(2) *Olyan hideg van itt, hogy be-fűtsünk.
   so old is here that PV-heat.SUBJ
   'It is so cold here. Let’s heat up the room.'

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^2 As the issue would become too many-fold to be treated in the present discussion, I make the following restriction on the predicate of the main clause: The predicate of the main clause always will appear in present tense and in the indicative mood, but it may undergo negation. It also has to be noted here that until the explicit introduction of the subjunctive proper the label ‘subjunctive’ refers both to the imperative and the subjunctive.
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(3) Nincs itt olyan hideg, hogy be-fütsünk.
   NEG here so cold, that PV-heat.SUBJ
   'It is not so cold here that we should heat up the room.'

(4) *Nincs itt olyan hideg, hogy fütsünk be.
   NEG here so cold, that heat.IMP PV
   'It is not so cold here that we should heat up the room.'

The use of the imperative in (4) does not seem to be really motivated semantically, since negation in the matrix clause denies the necessity of heating up the room, but (3) is grammatical. Considering (1) and (2) just the opposite can be observed. The difference between (1) and (2) on the one hand and (3) and (4) on the other hand can be easily grasped if we assume that in (2) and (3) we find occurrences of the subjunctive proper, while in (1) and (4) that of the imperative. In the following section I will discuss the syntactic criteria offered by Pataki (1984), which provide adequate tools to differentiate the imperative and the subjunctive proper.

2 Predicates licensing the subjunctive proper and/or the imperative

As we have seen, the main difficulty concerning the status of the subjunctive proper in Hungarian is that its forms cannot be distinguished morphologically from that of the imperative. However, using syntactic evidence at least three groups of predicates can be differentiated depending on which grammatical mood can be licensed in their subordinate clauses.

Group 1: Predicates licensing the imperative

Predicates belonging to the first group require a subordinate clause with an imperative verb form, as in (5):

(5) Az-t javaslom, hogy olvasd el a könyv-et.
    that-ACC suggest.IND that read.IMP PV the book-ACC
    'I suggest you reading the book.'

For the rest of the paper I make the following restriction: I will examine only matrix clauses that contain besides the subject only a lexically simple predicate and a referring word at most, thus, analysing matrix sentences with lexically composite predicates lies out of the scope of the present study (cf. (3)–(6)).
Inversion of the preverb and verb is obligatory in such sentences. If the preverb does not move, the sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(6) *Az-t javaslom, hogy el-olvasd a könyv-et.
that-ACC suggest.IND that PV-read.IMP the book-ACC
'I suggest you reading the book.'

Another characteristic feature of these predicates is that they allow omission of the complementiser. Thus, (9) is grammatical:

(7) Az-t javaslom, olvasd el a könyv-et.
that-ACC suggest.IND read.IMP PV the book-ACC
'I suggest you reading the book.'

Predicates licensing the imperative in their subordinate clause are:

- **assertives** with a directive meaning: mond 'tell', megmond 'tell', figyelmeztet 'warn', üzen 'send a message', ír 'write', szól 'say', kiált 'shout', felhatalmaz 'authorize', felkér 'request'

- **directives**: parancsol 'order', megparancsol 'give orders', javasol 'suggest', utasít 'instruct', felszólít 'summon', kér 'ask', megkér 'request', kíván 'demand', elrendel 'direct', biztat 'encourage', buzdít 'prompt', követel 'seek', ajánl 'suggest', tanácsol 'recommend', könyörög 'implorer', kényszerít 'compel', kötelez 'oblige', meghagy 'bid', rászorít 'force', rimánkodik 'beseech'

**Group 2: Predicates licensing the subjunctive proper**

In the case of predicates belonging to the second group, the preverb must remain in situ, and deletion of the complementiser results in an ungrammatical sentence. Consider the following sentences:

(8) Elkerülhetetlen, hogy el-utazz.
unavoidable that PV-leave.SUBJ
'It is unavoidable that you leave.'
Now, it is obvious that there is syntactic evidence to make a distinction between the imperative and the subjunctive proper mood, even if the verb forms are identical. It seems to be the case that these two properties help us in identifying the mood of the embedded verb.

Predicates licensing the subjunctive are:

a) **rational evaluation predicates:**
   - **qualitative:** fontos 'important', hasztalan 'useless', felesleges 'needless', értelmetlen 'senseless', alkalmas 'suitable', alkalmatlan 'unsuitable', távol áll tőle 'wouldn't dream of', idegen tőle 'be averse to', tűrhetetlen 'insupportable', butaságnak tart 'think it nonsense', megérdemel 'deserve'
   - **deontic:** **positive:** kell 'must', szükséges 'necessary', nélkülözhetetlen 'essential', elkerülhetetlen 'inescapable', elengedhetetlen 'inindispensable', kötelesség 'duty', feladat 'task'

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4 It has to be noted here that the inner structure of the subordinate clause may also influence the order of the verb and the preverb, i.e. if the focus position is filled in the subordinate clause, inversion of the verb and the preverb is also triggered. For example (capitals signal stress):

(i) Elkerülhetetlen, hogy a NAGYMAMA utazzon el.
   Unavoidable that the grandmother leave.SUBJ PV
   'It is unavoidable that the grandmother must leave.'

In (i), *grandmother* is in focus, since it receives stress, and the sentence could be continued as 'and not the grandfather'. The semantic function of the focus is identifying through exclusion.

However, if *grandmother* is not in focus position, inversion does not occur, it would make the sentence ungrammatical. Negation of the subordinate predicate has the same effect. In what follows I will deliberately use examples containing neutral affirmative subordinate clauses.

Here I disagree with Molnár (1995), since she argues that the above mentioned two criteria for identifying the subjunctive can be refuted by citing examples where the focus position is filled in the subordinate clause, resulting in the inversion of the preverb and verb.
negative: szükségtelen 'unnecessary', megencehetetlen 'unadmissible', szó sem lehet róla/szóba sem jöhet 'it is out of the question'

b) epistemics expressing remote possibility: lehetetlen 'impossible', valószínűtlen 'not likely', nem tudja elhinni 'can't believe', kizárt 'out of the question', elképzelhetetlen 'unimaginable', kétséges 'doubtful', hihetetlen 'unbelievable'

c) permissives: positive: megenged 'allow', hagy 'let', lehetővé tesz 'render sg possible', beleegyezik 'consent', lehetőség/alkalom van rá 'have an opportunity', alkalmat ad 'provide an opportunity', megbíz valivel 'trust', elvár 'expect', joga van rá 'have the right to', nincs elene kifogása 'have no objections against'

negative: megtilt 'forbid', akadályoz 'inhibit', megakadályoz 'prevent', lehetetlenné tesz 'make sg impossible', gátol 'hinder', visszatart 'keep back', óv 'protect', megóv 'safeguard', lebeszél 'dissuade', óva int 'warn', int 'caution', kimél 'save', megkimél 'spare', véd 'protect', oltalmaz 'shield', tiltakozik ellene 'protest', mentesít 'except', ellenez 'object'

c) purposives: positive: rászánja magát 'make up one's mind', törekszik 'strive', igyekszik 'endeavour', vállalkozik 'undertake', tesz róla 'take care/see', hajlandó 'willing', elszánja magát 'make up one's mind', az a célja 'his aim is', az a szándéka 'his intention is', azon van 'be after'

negative: fél 'be afraid', letesz 'give up', visszaraid 'shrink from sg', írtozik 'dread', képtelen umire 'not capable', letesz/lemond umiről 'give up the idea', tartózkodik umitől 'refrain'

d) volitives: vágyik 'long for', vágyakozik 'yearn for', áhítzik 'desire', ácsingózik 'crave', szomjazik 'be eager for'

Group 3: Predicates licensing both moods

Predicates comprising the third group allow a subordinate clause both with an imperative or a subjunctive proper verb form. This is illustrated in (11a) and (11b):
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(11)a. Ragaszkodom hozzá, *(hogy) meg-írd a lecké-t.
    insist on that PV-write.SUBJ the homework-ACC
    'I insist on your doing the homework.'

(11)b. Ragaszkodom hozzá, (hogy) írd meg a lecké-t.
    insist on that write.SUBJ PV the homework-ACC
    'I insist on your doing the homework.'

Here, the deletion of the complementiser is allowed only in the imperative clause, thus, in (11b).

Predicates governing both the imperative and the subjunctive are: 
akar 'want', kíván 'wish', óhajt 'desire', szeretné 'long', vár 'look forward', drukkol 'keep fingers crossed', ragaszkodik hozzá 'insist', gondoskodik róla 'ensure', meggyőz 'convince', szorgalmaz 'urge', rávesz 'persuade', rábeszél 'exhort'

Now the following question arises: what kinds of factors determine the mood of the subordinate clause? In what follows I will argue that semantic factors are indispensable if we want to find a reasonable explanation for mood choice in subordinate clauses.

3 The experiment

3.1 The hypothesis

The survey I am reporting on below has been aimed to explore various characteristics of the predicates licensing both the imperative and the subjunctive proper in their subordinate clauses in Hungarian. With the help of the experiment I wanted to show that the distribution of the imperative and the subjunctive proper in subordinate clauses is indeed determined by semantic features.

The starting point for the analysis was the assumption that grammatical contrasts and distributions are meaningful, since language is

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5 Molnár (1995), citing Klemm (1931) suggests that there may be a difference in meaning if the mood of the embedded clause is changed, with respect to the actuality or generality of the act in question.

6 There is no clear borderline between semantics and pragmatics; it is a matter of opinion what belongs to the areas in question. For that reason it is possible that other researchers would say that certain characteristics that I judged to be semantic are rather pragmatic in nature.
economic, there are no superfluous structures, thus, every grammatical difference signals at least a slight difference in meaning. Accordingly, when we examine two sentences that differ from each under only in the mood of the subordinate clause, then we can expect some kind of meaning difference between the given sentences. Consider the following pair of sentences:

(12)a. Mónika szül-e-i azon voltak, hogy lány-uk
Mónika parent-PL-POSS did their best that daughter-POSS
utazzon el néhány nap-ra pihenni.
'ʃMónika’s parents did their best to convince their
daughter to go on holiday.'

(12)b. Mónika szül-e-i azon voltak, hogy lány-uk
Mónika parent-PL-POSS did their best that daughter-POSS
el-utazzon néhány napra pihenni.
PV-travel.IMP several day-FOR rest.INF
'ʃMónika’s parents did their best to convince their
daughter to go on holiday.'

As Prileszky (1974) observes, (12a) would be used in a situation where the parents explicitly demanded that the person referred to by the embedded subject should carry out the act described by the embedded clause, i.e. the utterance expresses strong manipulation. As opposed to that, in (12b) the subjunctive proper signals that the parents tried to persuade their daughter in an indirect way, for instance via giving her a traveller’s cheque. I will call this latter case weak manipulation.

The hypothesis can also be supported with data from other languages. Givón (1994) states the tendency that the subjunctive in various languages often surfaces in complements of predicates expressing weak, but intended manipulation, preference, or epistemic uncertainty. Givón also claims that for instance in Spanish in those cases where both the subjunctive and the infinitive are grammatical in the complement clause the subjunctive expresses weak manipulation,

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7 Farkas (1992) does not differentiate the imperative and the subjunctive proper, but she notes that the order of the preverb and the verb is sensitive to the imperative meaning contributed by the matrix predicate.

8 Prileszky (1974) used the terms ‘imperative feature' and 'purpose feature', respectively, to distinguish the cases described above.
while the infinitive signals stronger manipulation. According to Givón (1994) this is an implicational universal.

Weak and strong manipulation can be characterised by the following properties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strong manipulation</th>
<th>weak manipulation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future oriented (posterior)</td>
<td>non-implicative$^9$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong deontic force</td>
<td>weak deontic force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directly manipulative</td>
<td>indirectly manipulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the outcome is always possible</td>
<td>the outcome is not always possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Weak and strong manipulation*

The groups of predicates mentioned in Section 2 can be clearly placed on a scale based on different degrees of deontic force.$^{10}$ Predicates licensing only the imperative will appear at one end point of the scale, predicates allowing only the subjunctive proper at the other end, while those licensing both moods occupy an intermediate position between the two endpoints according to our hypothesis. Here mood alternation can be observed.

- **strong deontic force**
  - Group 1: only imperative
  - Group 3: mood alternation

- **weak deontic force**
  - Group 2: only subjunctive

*Figure 1*

In matrix imperatives and in purpose clauses the same features are present, and the distribution of moods follows the same pattern. Hence, by verifying the hypothesis we would gain a unified treatment of the imperative and the subjunctive proper both in matrix and complement clauses.

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$^9$ This property means that the sentence does not imply that the event described by the embedded clause has happened (cf. Karttunen 1971).

$^{10}$ 'Deontic force' is meant to be related to the situation as a whole, and not only to the agent of the embedded clause.
The existence of the meaning difference pointed out above can be further supported by the fact that in the case of embedded predicates where the lexical meaning of the predicate is less compatible with strong manipulation (for instance *meggyógyul* 'recover', *kiszabadul* 'be released'), the imperative is unacceptable in the complement clause, while the subjunctive proper is grammatical:

(13)a. Az-t akarta, hogy a férfi-POSS
    that-ACC wanted that the husband
    ki-szabaduljon a börtön-FROM
    be released
    'She wanted her husband to be released from prison.'

(13)b. ??Az-t akarta, hogy a férfi-POSS
    that-ACC wanted that the husband
    szabaduljon ki a börtön-FROM
    be released
    'She wanted her husband to be released from prison.'

The acceptability of the imperative is again questionable when the matrix subject and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential:

(14)a. Peti azon van, hogy meg-nézze a film-ACC.
    Peti does his best that
    PV-watch
    SUBJ the movie
    'Peti does his best to watch the movie.'

(14)b. *Peti azon van, hogy nézze meg a film-ACC.
    Peti does his best that
    IMP PV watch
    SUBJ the movie
    'Peti does his best to watch the movie.'

Matrix negation may also influence the distribution of moods:

(15)a. Nem akarta, hogy el-kísérjék a mozi-ba.
    NEG wanted that
    PV-accompany
    SUBJ the cinema
    'She did not want to be accompanied to the cinema.'

(15)b. *Nem akarta, hogy kísérjék el a mozi-ba.
    NEG wanted that
    IMP PV accompany
    'She did not want to be accompanied to the cinema.'

The same phenomenon can be observed when the matrix predicate has an inherent negative meaning:
(16)a. Ellenezte, hogy meg-vegyem a könyv-et.
   opposed that PV-buy.SUBJ the book-ACC
   'He opposed my buying the book.'
(16)b. *Ellenezte, hogy vegyem meg a könyvet.
   opposed that buy.IMP PV the book-ACC
   'He opposed my buying the book.'

Taking as the starting point for the discussion the assumption that mood choice is meaningful I wanted to prove the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis
In the case of a given matrix predicate from Group 3 the imperative is licensed in the complement clause when strong manipulation is present, while the subjunctive proper appears when weak manipulation is expressed by the clause.

In order to verify this hypothesis I carried out an experiment.

3.2 Materials and methods
There were 55 participants in the experiment, all young adults and native speakers of Hungarian; their average age was 21.5. The subjects were randomly selected, in a way to make sure that the possible dialectal differences were not statistically significant. Thus, the subjects represented different dialectal regions; they did not come from the same part of the country.

The subjects' task was to fill in a multiple choice test that was aimed to examine the supposed meaning difference between imperative and subjunctive proper clauses embedded under the same matrix predicate. To achieve that, subjects had to choose between sentences that differed from each other only in the mood of the embedded clause depending on the context. The pairs of sentences were always presented in a given situation, and the task was to mark the sentence that fitted the situation described better in the opinion of the subject. However, it was allowed to select both sentences if the subjects did not find any remarkable difference between them. The sentences of the test contained verbs with preverbs, in that way relying on the more reliable syntactic criterion differentiating the imperative and the subjunctive proper.
For instance, the situations corresponding to example sentences (12a) and (12b) are the following:

(a) Seeing that their daughter, Mónika has been in such a stress for a long time her parents kept on pestering her with going on holiday. (cf. Appendix, Question 4).

Here, the expected answer is the one containing a reported request, i.e. the one expressing strong manipulation: (12a).

(b) Mónika has been working too much lately, so her parents thought that she should go on holiday, and gave her a traveller's cheque. (cf. Appendix, Question 15).

Here, the expected answer is the one expressing weak manipulation: (12b).

The test consisted of 6 similar pairs of situations, i.e. there were 12 situations in total. Each situation was separated from its pair, and they were also ordered randomly with respect to the expected answers. Among the situations some distractors were hidden, too, in order to prevent the subjects from answering in a routine fashion. The subjects had to fill in the test on the spot, they had only 10 minutes to do so. With the time limit I tried to ensure that the subjects could rely on their intuitions only, in that way they did not have time to search for certain patterns or regularities in the test.

### 3.3 Results

The method of evaluation was the following: relying on the frequency of the imperative and the subjunctive proper clauses in the case of each situation I got two probability variables, which can undergo statistical comparison.

These variables are discrete and nominal in nature ($\xi$: subjunctive proper, $\eta$: imperative), since the frequencies of the moods cannot be measured in units, but are of a yes-no type (either subjunctive proper or imperative). Because of that we can compare the frequencies of the different moods using the chi-square test, which enables us to contrast the distribution of the variables. The variables are shown in Table 2, rows 1-6 represent those situations where the subjunctive proper, while rows 7-12 those where the imperative was expected.

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11 The original test can be found in the Appendix.

12 Cf. questions 3., 6., 9., 12. in the Appendix.

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Table 2 – Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>subjunctive proper: $\xi$</th>
<th>imperative: $\eta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>expected: subjunctive proper</td>
<td>1. 22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>6. 31</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expected: imperative</td>
<td>7. 16</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. 16</td>
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<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. 19</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The homogeneity test carried out by the chi-square test compares the distribution of the variables. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in distribution between the subjunctive proper and the imperative, i.e. the variables are homogeneous, their parameters (e.g. variance) are equal; in other words, the frequencies are almost the same in the case of a given question.

The result of the chi-square test is: $\chi^2(11) = 51.418$, so the calculated value is greater than the relevant critical value at 11 degrees of freedom, 0.001 significance level, i.e. the null hypothesis has to be rejected, the variables are not homogeneous, their distributions are different.

The same method was applied to the results gained by taking into consideration only those situations where the subjunctive proper or the imperative was expected (Table 2: rows 1-6, 7-12, respectively).

In the case of the situations where the subjunctive proper was assumed to be preferred the calculated value is $\chi^2(5) = 24.616$, $p<<.05$, so the null hypothesis has to be rejected again, the distributions of the variables are significantly different.

The result of the chi-square test for the situations where the imperative was expected shows that there is no significant difference between the frequencies of the subjunctive proper and the imperative; the variables are homogeneous, the null hypothesis is accepted.
Accordingly, there is a significant difference between the frequencies of the subjunctive proper and the imperative in the case of the complete set of data, i.e. considering all situations together, the ones expecting the subjunctive proper and the ones where the imperative is assumed to be preferred. The same observation holds for the situations where the subjunctive proper is expected, i.e. in the case of the situations where weak manipulation is involved. However, there is no such difference if we consider only the situations where strong manipulation is present, i.e. in the case of the situations where the imperative is expected. What does that mean exactly?

3.4 Evaluation

From the fact that the distributions are not homogeneous when we consider all the data we can conclude that the distribution of the subjunctive proper and the imperative is different to a remarkable extent, hence the moods in question fulfil different roles in subordinate clauses. This statement is further supported by the results of the tests relying only on the situations where a given mood is expected, since in the case of the subjunctive proper we get inhomogeneous distributions, while in the case of the imperative the distributions are homogeneous. This shows that the distribution of moods depends on the relevant situation; in other words, it is influenced by certain semantic features.

If we examine the data thoroughly we can see that in the case of the situations where, according to the hypothesis, the imperative was assumed to be preferred the results fulfil this expectation; in each of these situations (Table 2, rows 7-12) the frequency of the imperative in the complement clauses was greater than that of the subjunctive proper.
If we consider the data about situations where the subjunctive proper was expected (Table 2, rows 1-6) we find some problematic examples: it is clear that in three cases (1., 2., 5. situations) the frequency of the imperative is more prominent than that of the subjunctive proper, which contradicts the hypothesis (cf. Figure 2). However, I suggest that the unfavourable imbalance between the frequencies is not enough in itself to refute the hypothesis. Let us have a closer look at the situations in question. In the problematic situations the following predicates are present (in the same order): *rávesz valamire* 'persuade', *azt akarja, hogy* 'want', and *azt kívánja, hogy* 'wish', while in the situations fulfilling the expectations *gondoskodik róla, hogy* 'ensure', *azt szeretné, hogy* 'long for', *azon van, hogy* 'do one's best' appear (again in the same order).

It would be worth testing the grammaticality of the sentences involved in the experiment. Obviously, if some speakers find certain sentences unacceptable, then this may influence the results. (There were 51 situations in total where both of the sentences were marked as acceptable; this is only 7.7 percent of the answers received.)
Table 3 represents the proportion of the imperative and the subjunctive proper as the individual subjects in the test selected them. For instance, there were five subjects who marked 7 imperative and 5 subjunctive proper sentences. On the basis of the data we can state that certain individual differences can be observed with respect to the choice of mood, since 12 subjects marked imperative sentences in more than 75 percent of the situations, whereas only 3 speakers selected subjunctive proper sentences in the same proportion. Accordingly, the number of speakers preferring the imperative to the subjunctive proper in their idiolect seems to be remarkably high. It is also possible that the three problematic situations are not composed in an unambiguous way; the imperfection of the test itself may also have had an effect upon the results. However, in order to prove that further experiments should be carried out. Hence, it would be interesting to repeat the experiment on a larger sample and to compare the results with the ones achieved now.

In Table 3 the rows labelled as 'subjunctive proper 2/11/12' and the column of 'imperative 1' are missing, since that particular distributions have not appeared among the subjects.
5 Summary

To sum it up, we can conclude that the results of the experiment strengthened our hypothesis. It has been shown that there is a systematic difference in the distribution of the imperative and the subjunctive proper in complement clauses. Speakers clearly prefer the imperative in complement clauses expressing strong manipulation, whereas in the case of the subjunctive proper there is only a tendency, the subjunctive proper seems to be the preferred option in clauses with weak manipulation. However, this finding does not refute our starting hypothesis, we only need an auxiliary hypothesis. Namely, we have to suppose that the distribution of the imperative is not as restricted as that of the subjunctive proper. This is a reasonable assumption, since the imperative appears not only in complement clauses, but in matrix sentences, too.

Overall, the analysis of the experimental data supported the starting hypothesis, thus it was proved that the distribution of the imperative and the subjunctive proper in Hungarian complement clauses is determined by semantic factors. The statistical analysis partly confirmed that the imperative is licensed in clauses expressing strong manipulation, while the subjunctive proper in clauses designating weak manipulation. The present discussion can be regarded as a pilot study to further research on the distribution of moods in Hungarian. Nevertheless, I think that the results of this analysis provide another argument in favour of the treatment of the subjunctive proper as an independent mood.

15 This remark is due to an anonymous reviewer of my paper published in LingDok 4.
Appendix

1. Karikázd be azt a mondatot, amelyik jól jellemzi az alábbi szituációit. Ha mind a kettő illik a szituációra, mindkettőt megjelölheted.

1. Mariról megjelent egy kép az újságban, amire nagyon büszke volt, de nem akart vele dicsekedni, ezért családja tagjainak csak az újságot ajánlotta a figyelmébe.
   a) Mari rávette családja tagjait, hogy megnézzék az újságot.
   b) Mari rávette családja tagjait, hogy nézzék meg az újságot.

2. A cégvezető nagyon precíz, akkurátus ember, mindig időben tájékoztatja kivánságairól a titkárnőt. Most is előre jelezte azt az óhaját, hogy céges autó várja az állomáson.
   a) A cégvezető gondoskodott róla, hogy megvárják az állomáson.
   b) A cégvezető gondoskodott róla, hogy várják meg az állomáson.

3. János nem szereti a nagy tömeget, zsúfoltságot, felesége viszont szívesen költözne nagyvárosba.
   a) János lebeszéli arról a feleségét, hogy elköltözzenek Budapestre.
   b) János lebeszéli arról a feleségét, hogy költözzenek el Budapestre.

4. Látva, hogy lányuk mennyire túlhajszolja magát, Mónika szülei állandóan azért rágták a fülét, hogy szánja rá magát egy utazásra.
   a) Mónika szülei azon voltak, hogy elutazzon néhány napra.
   b) Mónika szülei azon voltak, hogy utazzon el néhány napra.

5. Bélának viszonya van egy nővel, aki mindent megtesz annak érdekében, hogy rávegye a válásra.
   a) Azt akarja, hogy Béla elváljon a feleségétől.
   b) Azt akarja, hogy Béla váljon el a feleségétől.

6. Peti szorgalmazta, hogy kövérkés öccse minden nap fusson.
   a) Ennek érdekében szulinapjára edzőcipőt vett neki.
   b) Azonban hiába mondta neki minden este, hogy tartson vele.

   a) Pisti szülei szeretnék, hogy kisfiuk megírja a leckét.
   b) Pisti szülei szeretnék, hogy kisfiuk írja meg a leckét.
8. A cégvezető nagyon előrelátó ember, legutóbb is, amikor Bécsbe utazott, előre rendelt egy taxi.
   a) A cégvezető már előre gondoskodott róla, hogy megvárják az állomáson.
   b) A cégvezető már előre gondoskodott róla, hogy várják meg az állomáson.

9. Az iskola udvarán focizó srácok véletlenül betörték a tornaterem ablakát. Az igazgató szigorú, de igazságos ember, ezért méltányos büntetést szabott ki.
   a) Az igazgató elrendelte, hogy a fiúk megtérítsék a kárt.
   b) Az igazgató elrendelte, hogy a fiúk térítsék meg a kárt.

10. Mariról megjelent egy kép az újságban, azt szerette volna, hogy minél többen lássák, ezért mindenki figyelmét felhívta rá.
    a) Mari rávette családja tagjait, hogy megnézzék az újságot.
    b) Mari rávette családja tagjait, hogy nézzék meg az újságot.

11. Az evezők mindent megtettek annak érdekében, hogy a következő nagy világversenyre megfelelően felkészüljenek. Ez elképzelhetetlen lett volna edzőjük segítsége nélkül, aki ennek a célnak megfelelően állította össze a felkészülési tervet.
    a) Az edző azt kívánta, hogy tanítványai megnyerjék a versenyt.
    b) Az edző azt kívánta, hogy tanítványai nyerjék meg a versenyt.

12. Lacika ragaszkodik hozzá, hogy minden este meséljenek neki.
    a) Így esténként mindig előveszi a meséskönyvet.
    b) Az esti fürdés után mindig kérleli szüleit.

13. Písti rosszcsont gyerek, nem akar leülni az asztal mellé, hiába kérlelik szüleie este, hogy tanuljon.
    a) Písti szülei azt szeretnék, hogy kisfiuk megírja a leckét.
    b) Písti szülei azt szeretnék, hogy kisfiuk írja meg a leckét.

14. Bélának viszonya van egy nővel, aki állandóan azt mondogatja neki, hogy vessen véget ennek a tarthatatlan állapotnak, és legyen végre csak az övé.
    a) Azt akarja, hogy elváljon a feleségétől.
    b) Azt akarja, hogy váljon el a feleségétől.
   a) Mónika szülei azon voltak, hogy lányuk elutazzon néhány napra.
   b) Mónika szülei azon voltak, hogy lányuk utazzon el néhány napra.

   a) Azt kívánta, hogy tanítványai megnyerjék a versenyt.
   b) Azt kívánta, hogy tanítványai nyerjék meg a versenyt.

References


