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ON SOME CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE CONDITIONAL AND THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN ITALIAN AND IN ENGLISH COMPARED WITH FINNISH AND CZECH

Jaroslav Ondráček

The main objective in writing about the conditional and the subjunctive in four structurally different languages is to show the reader some of the characteristic features these moods present when we compare them with the indicative. If we think of the indicative as the mood by which a language shows the reality of an action in a straightforward way, then any deviation from that straightforwardness calls for an effort in the language to differentiate the non-indicative action.

Naturally, the number of verb forms the language has at its disposal to indicate what is unreal (conditional) or dependent (subjunctive) in comparison with what is real (indicative) may differ or there may be some unexpected uses of the indicative, as we shall see in some Finnish examples, so let us first, with a due apology to those who are in the know, make a brief morphological summary.

The richest language in this respect is, of course, Italian. It has two conditionals (present and past: *scriverei, avrei scritto*) and four subjunctives (present, present perfect, past and past perfect: *scriva, abbia scritto, scrivessi avessi scritto*). Two conditionals (present and past) are also found in English (*I should/would write, I should/would have written*), but as to the subjunctives, they are — with the possible exception of the verb *to be* (*were* in all persons) — exactly alike the indicative (past and past perfect: *I wrote, I had written*); the subjunctive equivalent *should + the infinitive* must not be forgotten, either. Finnish has two conditionals (present and past: *kirjoittaisin, olisin kirjoittanut*), but no subjunctive. Still, it can use the conditionals or, as we have pointed out above, the indicative to the same effect. Finally, the Czech language: no special subjunctive forms, only two conditionals (present and past: *psal bych, byl bych psal*), of which the latter does not resist the influence of the spoken language, where the past conditional is considerably retreating (cf. M. Dokulil 1963.212). The explanation lies in the fact that forms of more than two words are out of favour with language users, who regard them as uncomfortable, clumsy, and whenever there is a chance, however small, they replace them by shorter ones (*ibidem*). By the way, it is interesting to notice that in Rus-

sian we meet only with the present conditional, so that the two Finnish forms correspond to one Russian form (*sanoisin, olisin sanonut* — *ja skazal by*, cf. *Grammatika finskogo jazyka* 1958.163, 164). The Russian language simply does not need the past conditional, which is becoming rare in Czech; in Italian and in English, nevertheless, it is fully functional and not interchangeable because it refers to the past, whereas the present conditional refers to the present or the future.

At this point I should like to elaborate the remark about the Finnish indicative. It is obvious that here we are dealing with something rather unusual. Our example is taken from a big Finnish-Russian dictionary (*Suomalais-venäläinen sanakirja* 1975): *Sytytä valo, jottet kompastu*. This is a final clause introduced by the conjunction *jotta (aby)*: *Rozsviť světlo, aby nezakopl*. The main clause contains an imperative, which means that in Czech we could also have a final clause with *at*: *Rozsviť světlo, at nezakopneš*; the present indicative *nezakopneš* is identical with the Finnish *et kompastu*. Another conjunction after which the present indicative (*kestää*) may follow is *että*: *Kankaan tulee olla lujaa, että se kestää* (*Nyky-suomen sanakirja* 1962). *Látka musí být pevná, aby vydržela*. The same conjunction *että* with present indicative forms (*tulee, on, he viihtyvät*) appears in wish-clauses: *... „sillä en suinkaan halua että viisaiden miesten tulee kuuma lähelläni, vaan haluan että heidän on hyvä olla ja että he viihtyvät viileästi seurassani”* (M. Waltari 1943.33). *... „neboť si nijak nepřeji, aby moudrým mužům bylo horko v mé blízkosti, ale chtěla bych, aby jim v mé společnosti bylo dobře a aby se jí osvěžili”* (M. Waltari 1976.23).

The present conditional is current in both Czech and Finnish wish-clauses after *aby (että)*, but what about the past conditional? This, according to Bauer and Grepl, is possible in Czech ‘only in wish-clauses with reference to a past action’ (1972.252). Their example is a quotation from Pujmanová: *Skoro si nyní přál, aby byl nepřijel*. Only that the past action of a wish-clause is either simultaneous with or anterior to the action of the main clause. In the quotation the action *byl by nepřijel* precedes the action *přál si*. The action would be simultaneous in the sentence *Skoro si nyní přál, aby tady nebyl*, simultaneous, that is, from the point of view of the past situation ($\rightarrow 0$, where 0 means the present and the arrow \rightarrow stands for the past standpoint).

Simultaneity in the past viewed from the present standpoint ($\leftarrow 0$; the direction of the arrow is now reversed) is expressed in Finnish by means of the past conditional: *... toivoin, että koirani olisi ollut luonani...* (M. Waltari 1949.26). *... velmi jsem si přál, aby můj pes byl tady u mne* (M. Waltari 1976.19). And this happens not only in wish-clauses but in final clauses, too, which is unthinkable in Czech (cf. Bauer, Grepl 1972.296: Since final clauses always refer to an action that, as regards the time of the main clause, is just to take place, they always have the present conditional in them). The Finnish example from Waltari ends as follows: *... tai joku vaikka vain vieraskin ihminen olisi pitänyt minua kiini kädessä, jotta olisin osannut nukkua* (p. 26). In Czech: *... , nebo aby mě někdo — třeba i cizí člověk — držel za ruku, abych mohl usnout* (p. 19). Here we find the past conditional in the Finnish wish-clause after the

conjunction *että*, which is not repeated (*olisi pitänyt*), and in the final clause after the conjunction *jotta* (*olisin osannut*). *Jotta* is a conjunction that introduces in the examples of the dictionary *Nykysuomen sanakirja*, apart from the present indicative we have mentioned, the past conditional (*Join kuumaa mehua, jotta olisin hionnut. Napil jsem se horké štávy, abych se zapotil*), the past indicative (*Hakunta oli supistettava, jotta metsä pääsi kasvamaan. Bylo třeba omezit kácení, aby les mohl růst*), which indicates the same conception of reality as the present indicative, and the present conditional depending on the present of the main verb (*Jotta liike voisi menestyä, sillä tulee olla hyvä johtaja. Aby obchod mohl být úspěšný, musí mít dobrého vedoucího*).

The comprehensive grammar by A. Penttilä (1963.476-480) enumerates in detail the uses of the present conditional but the past conditional is not mentioned. In the paragraph dedicated to final clauses it says that 'konditionaali ei ole aivan välttämätön' (the conditional is not quite necessary), but the function of the indicative does not receive any closer clarification. In my opinion, a change of mood brings about a different view of the action. The indicative can make its independence all the more valid because the conjunction *jotta* means *niin (että)* in consecutive clauses, i. e. so that: *Jalkani olivat herpautuneet, jotten voinut kulkea* (*Nykysuomen sanakirja*). *Nohy mi zeslábly, takže jsem nemohl jít*.

The final clause both in Czech and in Finnish can furthermore have the present conditional after the past tense of the main clause, e. g.: *Kätkin sanomalehden pieluksen alle nojatuoliin, jottei Maxim näkisi sitä* (D. du Maurier 1966.345). *Ukryla jsem noviny pod podušku na křesle, aby je Maxim nezahlédl* (D. du Maurier 1946.289). This is simultaneity or, as the case may be, posteriority in the past from the point of view of the past situation ($\rightarrow 0$). The present standpoint, as we have seen, would require the past conditional: *Käänsin pääni pois päin ja hapuilin jotakin laukustani auton lattialta, jottei kukaan olisi nähnyt* (D. du Maurier 1966.408). *Aby mi nikdo neviděl do tváře, shýbla jsem se a narovnála jsem si na podlaze vozu kabelku* (D. du Maurier 1946.340).

All the examples we shall work with in the following chapters have been chosen from the novel *Rebecca* by D. du Maurier (1970) and its translations into Italian (1972), Finnish (1966) and Czech (1946). We hope that by comparing concrete instances which reflect the same reality we shall be able to arrive at some more general characteristics of the given moods and their places in the corresponding verb systems.

II

As has been hinted at in the introductory chapter, the use of the conditional is generally connected with the idea of an unreal action. This unreality may be linked, for example, with a condition the fulfilment of which presupposes the realization or non-realization of the action expressed by the conditional.

In the conditional sentence „*Se Billy avesse una casa come Manderley, non se ne andrebbe girando per Palm Beach!...*“ (27) the action of the negative verb in the main clause (*non se ne andrebbe gi-*

rando) is joined with the action of the subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *se* (*se avesse*). The meaning of *se* is *kdyby* in Czech, and it is easy to recognize in its part of the conditional form: „*Kdyby měl Billy takový domov, jako je Manderley, také by se mu nechtělo potloukat po Palm Beach*“ (20). The Finnish version uses a simple conjunction (*jos*) followed by the conditional (*olisi*): „*Jos Billyllä olisi Manderleyn tapainen koti, hän ei varmastiikaan viitsisi leikitellä Palm Beachillä*“, *hän sanoi* (21). The English original has also a simple conjunction (*if*), but unlike Czech and Finnish, it makes it follow by the subjunctive (*had*), which in this case is identical with the past indicative: ‘*If Billy had a home like Manderley he would not want to play around in Palm Beach,*’ *she said* (18). Despite the seemingly indicative form, *had* corresponds exactly to the special Italian subjunctive form *avesse*. Although we shall speak about the subjunctive and its function of dependence later on, we could not avoid mentioning it here when explaining the structure of a typical conditional sentence.

Now let us consider the temporal sphere in which the conditional may operate. We remember that the present conditional represents a present or a future action. For example:

Ma questa mia vita è stata finora abbastanza romantica; e volentieri darei qualche anno di essa, se ciò bastasse a garantirci un po' di pace per il resto dei nostri giorni (16).

But I have had enough melodrama in this life and would willingly give my five senses if they could ensure us our present peace and security (9).

Mutta minä olen saanut kyllikseni melodraamoista tässä elämässä ja antaisin halukkaasti kaikki viisi aistiani, jos voisin niillä lunastaa melle nykyisen rauhan ja turvallisuuden tunteen ikuisiksi (10).

Měla jsem však dosti divadelně dramatický život, a obětovala bych ochotně všech svých pět smyslů, abych nám zajistila nynější klid a bezpečnost (11).

As the borderline between the present and the future is blurred, it is the context that decides which of the two is meant. The Italian version of the following example proves the possibility of transition from the present to the future (the present forms *riusciamo* and *possiamo* point in fact to that direction):

‘I believe if we knew who Baker was we’d be getting to the bottom of the whole business,’ said Colonel Julian (340).

„Se riusciamo a scoprire chi era questo Baker, possiamo dire d’essere a cavallo“ disse il colonnello Julian (396).

The main clause need not be in the same temporal sphere as the subordinate clause. If we compare the English original text ‘*I think if Maxim wanted anything done he would tell me,*’ ... (129) and its Finnish and Czech translations „*Jos Maxim tahtois sille tehtävän jotta-kin, hän sanoisi kyllä minulle*“, ... (150). „*Kdyby Maxim chtěl, aby se s domkem něco podniklo, jistě by o tom se mnou promluvil,*“ ... (131) with the Italian sentence „*Se Maxim volesse farci qualche riparazione me lo avrebbe già detto*“ ... (155—156), we can see that instead of the present conditionals *he would tell*, *hän sanoisi* and *promluvil by* we have the Italian past conditional *avrebbe detto*. The reason for this form is given by

the Italian adverb *già* (*už*), which signalizes the completion of the action as regards the present situation. In that sentence the past conditional belongs in fact to the present, but in the next example the action, this time after the conditional conjunction, takes place completely in the past:

„Se m'avessi dato retta, invece di metterti a saltare giù per quegli scogli, a quest'ora saremmo a casa“ (140).

'If you had listened to me instead of rushing wildly over those rocks we would have been home by now,' said Maxim (115).

„Jos olisit kuunnellut minua etkä syöksynyt mielestön noiden kallioiden yli, olisimme nyt jo kotona“, sanoi Maxim (135).

„Kdybys mě byla poslechla a nelezla jako blázen přes ty skály, mohli jsme už být doma“ (118).

In the Italian and Finnish main clauses the unreal action referring to the present appears in the form of the present conditional (*saremmo*, *olisimme*). But even the English past conditional (*we would have been*) touches the present by emphasizing the completion of the action at that level (*by now*): *teď už bychom byli doma, mohli jsme už být doma*.

Sometimes it is nothing but the speaker's standpoint that either places both the actions of the conditional sentence in the same temporal sphere or makes them operate at different levels. Thus in the example 'If he had been anyone important Danny here would know him' (341). „Jos hän olisi ollut joku tärkeä, niin Danny tuntisi hänet“ (392). „Kdyby to byl někdo důležitý, Danny by o něm věděla“ (327) the present conditionals *would know*, *tuntisi* and *věděla* by relate to the present, while the actions of the subordinate clauses (*had been*, *olisi ollut*) are connected with the past. The Italian translation, on the other hand, chooses a past action, i. e. a past conditional, even for the main clause: „Se fosse stato una persona d'una certa importanza, Danny lo avrebbe saputo“ (396—397), which means that the whole sentence passes to the area called by Weinrich 'die erzählte Welt'.

In Chapter I, I mentioned very briefly two viewpoints from which a past level of action may be looked at, namely that of the narrator (← 0), e. g.:

„Anche se non vi fosse accaduta la disgrazia di rovesciare il vaso, vi avrei invitata ugualmente“ (35).

'Even if you had not knocked over that vase so clumsily I should have asked you' (24).

„Olisin pyytänyt teitä tulemaan, vaikkette olisikaan kömpölyyksissänne kaatanut tuota maljakkoa“ (28).

„Byl bych vás o to poprosil, i kdybyste nebyla tak neobratně porazila tu vázu“ (27),

or that of the character, i. e. from the direction of the past level (→ 0), as shown by the following English example:

Could one but rob him of his English tweeds and put him in black, with lace at his throat and wrists, he would stare down to us in our new world from a long-distant past - ... (17).

Here the author of the story transfers herself to the past situation and becomes a character expressing a thought that came to her mind, that is

an action simultaneous with the past level in the form of the present conditional (*he would stare*). But this is not the only solution. The translations into Italian and Finnish use the past conditionals (*avrebbe guardato, hän olisi tuijottanut*), viewing the action from the present level (– 0):

Lo si fosse potuto spogliare del suo abito di tweed inglese e vestire di nero, con un merletto al collo e ai polsi, egli avrebbe guardato a noi, nel nostro nuovo mondo, da un remoto passato; ... (26).

Jos olisin voinut riisua häneltä tuon englantilaisen tweedpuvun ja pukea hänet mustiin, kietoa pitsejä hänen kaulaansa ja ranteisiinsa, hän olisi tuijottanut alas tähän uudenaikaiseen maailmaamme etäisestä muinaisuudesta - ... (20).
Kdyby bylo šlo svléci pana de Wintra z letních šatů ze skotské látky a obléci ho do černého oděvu s bílými krajkovými manžetami a okružím, shlížel by na nás, na lidi nového věku, jako z doby dávno minulé ... (20).

Similarly in conditional sentences governed by past actions (*I wondered, mi domandavo, aprikoin*) it is possible to observe this double standpoint; while Italian has the past conditional (i. e. the present level standpoint), the English original as well as the Finnish translation prefers the past level standpoint and expresses the action by the present conditional:

Che cosa avrebbe mai detto Beatrice, mi domandavo, sedendo e spiegando il tovagliolo, se avesse saputo che ignoravo tutto di quell'anno precedente, ... (119).

..., but as I sat down and unfolded my napkin, I wondered what Beatrice would say did she realize that I knew nothing of that preceding year, ... (97).
Mutta kun istuuduin ja avasin lautasliinani, aprikoin, mitä Beatrice sanoisi jos tietäisi, etten tiennyt mitään siitä mitä edellisenä vuonna oli sattunut, ... (114).

..., ale když jsem si sedla a rozkládala ubrousek, napadlo mě, co by si asi Beatrice pomyslíla, kdyby věděla, jak málo znám z toho, co se v Manderley událo ... (99).

We have already drawn attention to that possibility of using the conditional in a stylistic way (J. Ondráček 1971.66, 78—79).

It is understandable that the conditional is not restricted to conditional sentences only. The unreality of the action continues to be its characteristic feature but is no longer based on an explicit condition, although in many cases some sort of condition still remains in the background. For instance, the sentence '*I'm not sure, I began, ...* (38), which has the indicative also in the Finnish and Czech translations: „*En tiedä varmastii, aloin ...* (46), „*To teď opravdu přesně nevím*“ *vyklouzlo ze mne ...* (42), whereas the Italian version resorts to the present conditional: „*Non saprei, proprio ...*“ *cominciai; ...* (52). The negation is weakened or softened (cf. S. Battaglia-V. Pernicone 1960.374) thereby being joined to an implicit condition (*if I were to answer, or something like that*). It goes without saying that the decisive role is played by the speaker, who instead of the indicative *mohu* (*voin*) chooses, e. g., the conditional form *mohla bych* (*I might, potrei*):

..., I might say that we have paid for freedom (9).

... potrei dire che noi abbiamo acquistato la libertà a caro prezzo (16).

... ja minä voin sanoa..., että olemme maksaneet hinnan vapaudestamme (9-10).

A mohla bych říci..., že jsme svou svobodu draze zaplatili (11).

To illustrate a conditional (*unreal*) action with an implicit condition at a level covering both the present and the future, let us consider a rather long but very instructive example:

Le cose che abbiamo tentato di dimenticare, di gettare dietro di noi si ridesterebbero, e quel senso di terrore, di furtiva inquietudine, tale da diventare, a tratti, cieco irragionevole panico - ora, grazie a Dio, pietosamente assopito - per qualche impreveduta via potrebbe diventare il nostro compagno vivente, così come già è stato un giorno (15).

The things we have tried to forget and put behind us would stir again and that sense of fear, of furtive unrest, struggling at length to blind unreasoning panic - now mercifully stilled, thank God - might in some manner unforeseen become a living companion, as it had been before (8).

Asiat, jotka olemme koettaneet unohtaa ja jättää taaksemme, heräisivät jälleen henkiin, ja tuosta pelon tunteesta, äkillisestä levottomuudesta, joka ennen pitkää kiihtyi sokeaksi, järjettömäksi kauhuksi - ja joka nyt on armeliaasti laantunut, Jumalan kiitos - saattaisi jollakin ennakoita aavistamattomalla tavalla tulla jälleen ainainen seuralaisemme, niin kuin oli ollut ennen (9).

Všecko to, nač se snažíme zapomenout a co si přejeme odvrhnout daleko za sebe, mohlo by se opět vzbouřit a bývalý pocit strachu, bývalý tajný neklid, vystupňovaný konečně v slepý, bezhlavý děs, který teď bohudíky milosrdně pomínul, mohl by se nám jakýmsi nepředvídaným způsobem státi opět životním druhem. jakým býval dříve (10).

The conditional actions *si ridesterebbero* (*would stir again*, *heräisivät jälleen henkiin*, *mohlo by se opět vzbouřit*) and *potrebbe diventare* (*might become*, *saattaisi tulla*, *mohl by se státi*) get their verb forms indirectly from the sentence that comes before: *Non potremo tornarvi mai più: questo almeno è certo.* (*We can never go back again, that much is certain.* *Emme voi koskaan enää mennä takaisin, se on ainakin varmaa. Je jisto, že se už nikdy nemůžeme vrátit.*)

Sometimes the condition is hidden in the semantic structure itself of the sentence: „*Al posto vostro, andrei a casa e farei una buona dormita*“ (75). „*Měla byste se teď jít domů trochu vyspat*“ (60). *Al posto vostro* (*na vašem místě*) has the same validity as the conditional clause *se fossi in voi* (*kdybych byl vámi*). The Finnish translation, too, contains a similar phrase: „*Teidän sijassanne menisin kotiin nukkumaan*“ (69), i. e. *teidän sijassanne* (*na vašem místě*). However, in the English original there is just the present conditional *I should go* (*andrei, menisin, já bych šel*): ‘*I should go home and have some sleep*’ (58), without the explanatory phrase we find in the Italian and Finnish versions.

Finally, the idea of a condition may be very remote or completely excluded. We have mentioned the ‘weakening function’ of the Italian conditional (see p. 116), and the next example only adds to the description of the conditional (*non sareste*) in its function to express an action the unreality of which helps the speaker to formulate a question more politely: „*Scusate, signora*“ *riprese l'uomo* „*ma non sareste la signora de Winter?*“ (353). ‘*Excuse me, Madam, he said, ‘aren’t you Mrs de Winter?’* (303). „*Suokaa anteeksi, rouva*“, *hän sanoi*, „*ettekö ole rouva de Winter?*“

(349). „Dovolte, dámo.“ zastavil mě policista, „nejste snad paní de Wintrová?“ (292).

To sum up the main use of conditional verb forms, we may repeat what we suggested in the second paragraph of Chapter I, i. e. their function to express unreality. It is a very general description but very suitable and practical, just as 'dependence' is for summarizing the second mood under discussion, the subjunctive, which will be our theme in Chapter III.

III

The subjunctive could be characterized as the reverse side of the indicative. It differs from the conditional in being dependent upon certain ways of looking at reality. In the comparatively modern Italian grammar by A. Marchese-A. Sartori (1970.280) we can read about the subjunctive as the mood of wishing, thinking, supposing.

Although we are going to concentrate on the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, which is of course its chief domain, we may first notice two sentences from D. du Maurier's novel, very similar to the examples in the entry 'congiuntivo' of the Garzanti Dictionary (1965):

„Che sia tornato indietro?“ dissì (135).

'Perhaps he's gone back to the Happy Valley?' I said (110).

„Ehkä se on mennyt takaisin Onnen laaksoon“, sanoin (129).

„Snad se vrátil do Blaženého údolí?“ hádala jsem (113).

We know that the subjunctive expresses a dependent action. In the English original the sentence begins with the adverb *perhaps* (*ehkä* in Finnish, *snad* in Czech). We may, therefore, assume that the initial idea of the Italian translation is the impersonal phrase *è possibile* (*it is possible* → *maybe, perhaps; on mahdollista* → *ehkä; je možné* → *snad*). The other sentence puts side by side the Italian subjunctive, the English subjunctive (identical in form with the indicative) and the Finnish and Czech conditionals:

Se tutta quella gente se ne fosse rimasta a casa! (120).

I began to wish none of them had come (98).

Aloin toivoa, etteivät vieraat olisi tulleetkaan (115).

Zrodilo se ve mně přání, aby nikdo z nich nebyl přišel (101).

That is a wish in the form of an exclamatory conditional sentence (Italian), while in English, Finnish and Czech we find a wish-clause. We referred to this type of clauses in Chapter I, so it seems logical to link up the situation in subordinate clauses with an example that will remind us of the wish-clauses:

Per un attimo mi colse lo sgomento, e avrei voluto che non fosse accaduto nulla, e trovarmi lontana, a passeggio, spensierata . . . (75).

I wished, for one wild moment, that none of this had hapened, that I was alone somewhere, going for a walk, and whistling (57-58).

Toivoin yhden ainoan hurjan hetken, ettei mitään olisi tapahtunut, että olisin yksin jossakin, lähdössä kävelyille, että viheltelisin (68).

Jednu nepřítetnou chvíli jsem si dokonce přála, aby se nic z toho všeho nebylo

stalo, ale abych byla někde sama, abych se procházela někde venku a hvízdala si (60).

The example, apart from showing the dependence of the actions in the subordinate clauses upon a verb of wishing (which, let me repeat, is one of the basic categories requiring the subjunctive), also indicates the temporal placing of the dependent actions from the standpoint of the character ($\rightarrow 0$), for whom *fosse accaduto* (*had happened, olisi tapahtunut, bylo by se stalo*) is an anterior action, and *I was* (less formal than *I were*), *olisin, viheltelisin, byla bych, hvízdala bych si* simultaneous actions.

The English verb *wish* can govern not only a simple subjunctive but also the so-called subjunctive equivalent. First, we shall notice the verbs *could* and *would*, which merely signalize that a mood different from the indicative is meant and are, naturally, not translated: *Desiderai che venisse presto, ...* (84). *... and I wished it could come quickly; ...* (65). *... ja toivoin että se tulisi pian, ...* (77). *... a horoucně jsem si přála, aby ten čas přišel rychleji, ...* (68). *Avrei dato non so cosa perché se ne fosse andata* (94). *I wished she would go away* (74). *... ja toivoin että hän lähtisi* (88). *... a já toužila jen po tom, aby už odešla* (77). The Italian version in the second example resorts to a periphrasis 'byla bych dala nevímco') after which a final clause follows; the past perfect subjunctive *se ne fosse andata* suggests a slight shift in viewing the action when compared to the English original and the Finnish translation, a shift that corresponds to the Czech version (*aby už odešla*). However, the fact remains that the functions of the Italian and English subjunctives coincide with those of the Finnish and Czech conditionals.

A further dependence we can observe between actions regards impersonal phrases, e. g.:

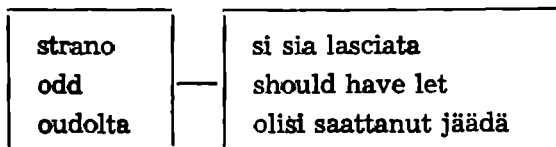
„A tutti noi è sembrato un po' strano che essa si sia lasciata cogliere così in trappola nella cabina“ (347).

'It seems so odd to us, Madam, that she should have let herself be trapped like that in the cabin' (297-298).

„Meistä tuntui niin oudolta, rouva, että hän olisi saattanut jäädä sillä tavoin hyttiin“ (343).

„Nám všem se zdá velmi zvláštní, milostivá, že se nechala lapit do kabiny jako do pastí“ (287).

If we leave the Czech indicative without comment for the time being, we find here the Italian subjunctive, the English subjunctive equivalent (with *should* in this case) and the Finnish conditional of the modal verb *saattaa*, all dependent upon the expression 'je divné, zdá se zvláštní'. The dependence of *strano* (*odd*) and the verb in the Italian, English and Finnish subordinate clauses could be diagrammatically illustrated as follows:



In the Czech translation, on the other hand, there is no explicit dependence, no conditional, so that the diagram would be:



We must add, however, that the Finnish modal verb *saattaa* (*potere, be able, moci*), unlike the English *should*, may also have its own meaning, identical with *could*; then, of course, the dependence is not present:

Strano davvero, che un articolo sui colombi selvatici avesse tanto potere da richiamare il passato e turbarmi mentre lo leggevo ad alta voce (17).

How strange that an article on wood pigeons could so recall the past and make me falter as I read aloud (10).

Kummallista, että jokin metsäkyyhkisiä koskeva kirjoitus saattoi tuoda menneisyyden niin elävästi mieleeni ja saada minut änkyttämään lukiessani (11).

Jak je to divné, že pojednání o divokých holubech mi mohlo tak dokonale připomenout minulost a způsobit, že mi při čtení hlas vázl a se chvěl! (12).

The solid link between an impersonal phrase and the action of a subject clause in Italian with its subjunctive contrasts with the loosened link of the corresponding Finnish clause, where the modal verbs (*saada, potere, be allowed, smėti; pitää, dovere, have to, musiti*) do not lose their meaning like the English *should*:

„Non mi è piaciuto che lui e la signora Danvers fossero lì“ (342).

‘It’s not right that he and Mrs Danvers should sit there, listening to that evidence’ (311).

„Ei ole oikein, että hän ja rouva Danvers saavat istua siellä kuuntelemassa todistajia“ (358).

„Není to dobře, že on a paní Danversová tam sedí a slyší výpovědi svědků“ (300).

„Una vera sfortuna che sia capitato proprio oggi“ (217).

‘It’s very unfortunate it should happen today’ (184).

„On hyvin ikävää, että sen piti tapahtua tänään“ (214).

„Je to hrozně nepříjemné, že to na ni přišlo právě dnes“ (185).

There is an easy passage from the modal verb that, in Finnish, retains its semantic content (‘Není správné, že on a paní Danversová tam smějí / mohou sedět a poslouchat svědky.’ ‘Je velmi nepříjemné, že se to musilo stát dnes’) to the indicative of the full verb (*hän on närkästynyt*):

„Dopo tutto, è giusto che essa risenta un poco la mia presenza, i primi giorni“ (98).

... , ‘after all, it’s natural enough that she should resent me a bit at first’ (78).

... „onhan luonnollista, että hän on alussa hiukan närkästynyt minulle“ (92).

„Je ostatně jen velmi přirozené, dává-li mi z počátku najevo svou nemilost“ (81).

But English, just as Finnish, can use the indicative as well, if it wants to unbind the verb of the subordinate clause from the impersonal phrase and thus emphasize the independence of its action. Here is an example which in Finnish has almost the same words at the beginning as the example

quoted earlier; after all, the English original with the expression *it's too bad* is very close in meaning to the expression *it's very unfortunate*:

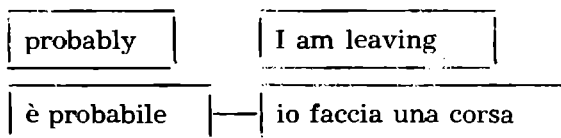
- „Peccato che partiate domattina“ ... (65).
 'It's too bad you are leaving tomorrow,' ... (50).
 „Onpa kovin ikävää, että lähdette jo huomenna“, ... (59).
 „To je opravdu škoda, že odjíždíte už zítra,“ ... (51).

So the question arises: what is the difference between *It's very unfortunate it should happen today* and *It's too bad you are leaving tomorrow*? We could in fact also say *It's too bad you should leave tomorrow*. I think that the answer lies in the dependence *should* creates with the phrase *it's too bad*, whereas the indicative *you are leaving* reflects directly, i. e. independently, the objective reality: 'Zítra odjíždíte, a to je škoda'.

Sometimes it is possible to choose a suitable adverb instead of the impersonal phrase, e. g.:

- ... „ma è probabile ch'io faccia domani una corsa a Sospel, ...“ (30).
 ... 'tomorrow I am probably driving to Sospel...' (20).
 „Valitettavasti taidan ajaa huomenna Sospeliin...“ (24).
 ... „ale zítra asi pojedu do Sospelu...“ (23).

In that way the formal dependence of the verb is abolished and the meaning is only made more precise by the adverb. The situation in the English sentence and in its Italian translation admits of this diagram:



Italian is very sensitive to any deviation from the straightforwardness expressed by the indicative. Take, for example, the action of a subordinate clause that depends upon the phrase 'říkají, říká se, prý':

- „Si dice che quel secondo bambino non sia di lui, ma io non ci credo“ (29).
 'They always say that second child isn't his, but I don't believe it' (20).
 „Sanotaan, ettei tuo toinen lapsi olisi herttuan, mutta sitä minä en usko“ (23).
 „Všichni říkají, že to druhé dítě není jeho, ale já tomu nevěřím“ (22).

The dependence upon 'říká se' is duly shown by the Italian subjunctive (*non sia*) and the Finnish conditional (*ei olisi*), but English and Czech pay no attention to it and use the indicative (*isn't, není*). The Finnish conditional is not always necessary, either, after *sanotaan* (*dicono, they say, prý*):

- „Sanotaan, ettei hän puhu siitä koskaan, ei koskaan mainitse rouvansa nimeä“ (42).
 „Dicono che lui non parli mai, che non faccia mai il nome di lei“ (48).
 'They say he never talks about it, never mentions her name' (36).
 „Nikdy prý o tom s nikým nemluví - ani její jméno jakživ nevysloví“ (38).

The form of *si dice* does not seem to be far from the conditional *si direbbe*, still the shift in meaning is quite considerable: we are no longer in the sphere of 'another person's opinion' but we get an action with the general subject, viz. 'one would say'. And we notice that in this case Italian can either bind the action of the subordinate clause with that phrase (using the subjunctive *sia*) or separate it (using the indicative *si è*):

- „Non si direbbe che il mare sia tanto vicino, da questa parte della casa“ (93).
 'You would not know the sea was anywhere near, from this wing' (73).
 „Täällä ei tiedä mistään, että merta on lähelläkään“ (86).
 „V tomto křídle člověk ani netuší, že je moře tak blízko“ (76).
 „Mai si direbbe che si è a cinque minuti dal mare“ (98).
 'You could never tell you were within five minutes of the sea, from this room' (77).
 „Täällä ei ikinä arvaisi, että mereen on vain viiden minuutin matka“ (91).
 „Nikdo by neřekl, že je odtud sotva pět minut k moři“ (80).

The deviation from the straightforwardness of an indicative action may be further connected with the idea of possibility, appearance or necessity. Let us compare, e. g., the means of expressing 'možná', 'snad' and add some more information about what we said at the beginning of this chapter:

- „Potrebbe darsi che dopo aver visto Baker, aveste bisogno di me“ (413).
 'After you've seen Baker you may find you want me, up in London' (355).
 „Sitten kun olette tavanneet Bakerin, tarvitsette mahdollisesti minua Lontoossa“ (408).
 „Snad mě budete po návštěvě u Bakera potřebovat v Londýně“ (339).

We can see that Finnish uses here the adverb *mahdollisesti*, corresponding to the Czech *snad*, whereas English chooses the combination of the modal *may* with the full verb, and Italian decomposes the idea of possibility into 'bylo by možné, že...':

As far as 'appearance' is concerned, the Italian subjunctive joins its action with verbs like *sembra, pare* (*it seems, it looks, näyttää, zdá se*). English and Finnish, on the other hand, may indicate this connection by using a comparative clause with *as though* (*kuin*):

- „Sembra che le cose non si mettano bene“ (142).
 'It looks as though things are not going very well' (117).
 „Näyttää siltä, kuin asiat eivät oikein sujuisi“ (137).
 „To není zvlášť slibný začátek!“ (119).

Comparative clauses, however, will be discussed later on.

A necessary or unnecessary action really belongs to the wider category of 'wishing', just as appearance could be classed with 'supposing'. For example:

- „Bisogna che lo scriva a mia figlia“ (28).
 'I must write and tell my daughter; ...' (18).
 „Minun on kirjoitettava siitä tyttärelleeni, ...“ (22).
 ...; „musím to napsat dceři, ...“ (21).

The Italian subjunctive linking the action of the verb *scrivere* with the expression *bisogna* (*je třeba*) has its counterpart in the English personal construction with the present passive participle.

The subordinate clause in which we find again, side by side, the Italian subjunctive, the English subjunctive equivalent with *should* and the Finnish and Czech conditional is the final clause. Since this type of clause was partially dealt with in the last paragraph but one of the first chapter, the following example will be sufficient for our illustration:

Mi alzai, andai alla finestra, volgendogli le spalle perchè non mi vedesse in viso (329).

I stood up, my back turned to him so that he should not see my face (282).

Nousin seisomaan ja käänsin selkäni häneen, jottei hän näkisi kasvojani (325).

Postavila jsem se zády k němu, aby mi neviděl do tváře (272).

The main clause contains an action to which we could add the words 's přáním': *Postavila jsem se zády k němu (s přáním), aby mi neviděl do tváře*.

The finite verb forms may be replaced in English by the infinitive if the subjects of both parts of the sentence are the same, or if the *for*-construction is used:

E chiusi gli occhi perchè l'istante durasse di più (51).

..., and I shut my eyes to make the experience more lasting (38).

..., ja suljin silmäni saadakseni elämyksen pysyvämmäksi (45).

... a zavřela jsem oči, abych v sobě tento zážitek upevnila navždy (41).

Giles buttò un rametto a Jasper perchè lo riportasse (125).

Giles threw a twig for Jasper to retrieve (102).

Giles heitti oksan, jotta Jasper hakisi sen takaisin (120).

..., hodil Giles Jasperovi větvičku a všichni jsme se dívali, jak se pes za ní žene (105).

The final clause is in close relation to the consecutive clause. It is interesting to compare the Italian and Finnish translations of the English sentence *I turned away, so that Frith should not see my face* (117), *Odvratila jsem se, aby mi Frith neviděl do tváře* (119), the subordinate clause of which is identical with that of the sentence given above (*I stood up, my back turned to him so that he should not see my face*). The Italian version had there *perchè non mi vedesse in viso*, the Finnish translation ran as follows: *jottei hän näkisi kasvojani*. The English sentence now has this form: *Mi voltai in modo da nascondergli il viso; ...* (142), *Käänsin kasvoni muualle, jottei Frith nähnyt niitä* (137). That means a transfer of the action 'aby mi neviděl do tváře' from the level of 'wishing' to the level of 'manner': *Obrátila jsem se tak, aby mi neviděl do tváře*, which change is represented in Italian by the construction *in modo da + the infinitive*. That can be rendered into Czech either as 'tak, aby' or 'tak, že'; the latter possibility is represented by the Finnish version because *ei nähnyt* is a past indicative and the conjunction *jotta*, as we mentioned in Chapter I, is sometimes interchangeable with *niin että* (*tak, že*).

In content clauses, too, we can observe the process of forming a sort of dependence on the part of the Italian subjunctive and the Fin-

nish conditional as regards the governing verb, and of shifting the action into the sphere of 'wishing'. Thus the sentence which has an infinitive (*to stop*) as the object in the English original:

... , and I did not know how to prevent myself from turning round and screaming to him to stop (358).

... ; non so come mi tenessi dal voltarmi per gridargli ad alta voce che la smettesse (415).

... , ja minun oli vaikea pidättäytyä kääntymästä ympäri ja huutamasta hänelle, että hän lopettaisi (410).

... a stěží jsem se ovládl, abych se neobrátila a nevykřikla, aby přestal (341),

translated by the Italian subjunctive (*smettesse*) and the Finnish and Czech conditional (*lopettaisi, přestal by*), tells us about the speaker's wish: if I scream to somebody to stop, I scream because I want him to stop. Or when we say that we shall send wires to everybody not to come, we want them in fact not to come. Such is the sense of the following example, in which the Finnish and Czech conditionals parallel the infinitive constructions in Italian and in English:

„Se telegrafassimo a tutti quanti di non venire?“ (241).

... , 'let's send wires to everybody not to come' (204).

... , „lähetetään sähkösanoma kaikille, etteivät tulisikaan“ (237).

„Proboha, pošleme raději všem telegramy, aby sem nechodili!“ (205).

If, however, the action we want to be performed is looked upon in our mind as already realized, Finnish uses the indicative:

„Menen sanomaan keittiöön, että järjestävät ruokasaliin loppujen lopuksi kylmän lounaan“, ... (285).

'I will tell them in the kitchen to serve cold lunch in the dining-room after all,' ... (246).

„Avvertirò in cucina che servono pure la colazione fredda per voi, in sala da pranzo“ (288).

„Řeknu jim v kuchyni, aby přichystali studený oběd...“ (240).

Before we pay attention to actions dependent upon verbs of 'thinking', we shall examine some examples of subordinate clauses in which the Italian subjunctive (corresponding here to the English, Finnish and Czech indicatives) assumes a special function. That consists in shifting the action of the subordinate clause to the background with the result of making the action of the main clause more prominent. For example:

E prima ancora che potessi reagire, egli s'era seduto sulla mia scomoda seggiola, ... (25).

... ; and before I knew what had happened he was sitting in my usual hard chair, ... (16-17).

Ennen kuin ehdin huomata, mitä oikein tapahtui, hän oli istahtanut minun tavalliselle kovalle tuolilleni ... (19).

Než jsem poznala, jak se vše vlastně sběhlo, seděl na mé obvyklé tvrdé židli ... (19).

We could imagine the temporal clause introduced by *prima che* (*before, ennen kuin, než*) as the developed adverbial 'before my reaction', which, in other words, represents a condensed form of our temporal clause, a form

without a finite verb but dependent on the action it refers to. And that dependence is then made clear in the subordinate clause by the Italian subjunctive. Even more obvious in that respect are the concessive clauses in the following example:

E benchè Maxim si fosse rimesso e fosse tornato quello di prima, e noi insieme vivessimo la nostra vita, ... nonostante tutto ciò io sentivo che c'era tra di noi una barriera (146).

And although Maxim had recovered, and was himself again, and we lived our lives together, ... I knew there was a barrier between us because of it (120-121).
Ja vaikka Maxim oliin toipunut, vaikka hän oli jälleen oma itsensä ja elimme elämäämme yhdessä, ... tiesin silti, että tuon asian tähden oli välillämme erottava muuri (140-141).

A ačkoli se Maxim ze všeho vzpamatoval a byl opět bývalým Maximem a ačkoli jsme žili spolu své životy, ... věděla jsem, že příhoda u opuštěné chatrče utvořila mezi námi přehradu (123).

The words *nonostante tutto ciò* sum up what is particularized in the preceding subordinate clauses with the subjunctive. Its use here follows, as we have pointed out, from the ability to let the action of the main clause stand out.

Now we can take up the point concerning the comparative clauses mentioned earlier (see p. 122). While the indicative in English, Finnish and Czech is a direct reflection of reality, the subjunctive in Italian enables us to concentrate attention on the verb of the main clause. The unstraightforwardness of expression in the subjunctive action is often underlined by the negative particle *non*:

Ero rimasta assente più a lungo di quanto non avessi creduto, ... (25).

I had been longer than I thought, ... (16).

Olin viipynyt kauemmin kuin luulinkaan, ... (19).

Patrně jsem se nahoře zdržela déle, než jsem myslila, ... (18).

The 'connective' capacity of the subjunctive is well illustrated also in the next sentence, the Finnish version of which contains the adverb *ennen* (*before, prima, dříve*) in combination with *kuin* (*jako*). That verbless expression telescopes the English comparative clause, where we find the indicative; the Italian translation has the subjunctive, the Czech version uses the conditional:

Hän ei näyttänyt niin jäykältä kuin ennen, ... (32).

... ; he seemed less fettered than he had been before, ... (27).

Pareva meno inceppato di quanto non lo fosse prima, ... (38).

... ; vypadal, jako by mu bylo volněji, ... (30).

The subjunctive may then express 'supposing'. It appears, therefore, in subordinate clauses with actions conditionally dependent. Compare, for instance, the Italian translation of this English sentence:

'What do you think of Monte Carlo, or don't you think of it at all?' he said (19).
„Che cosa ne pensate di Monte Carlo? Sempre ohece ne pensiate qualche cosa ...“ (28).

There are two actions: one, unconditioned, in the indicative (*pensate*), the other in the subjunctive (*pensiate*), which unlike the independent indicative does not reflect reality in a direct way but as a condition. The Finnish and Czech versions use the conjunction *vai* (*či*), which is the same as in the English original (*or*):

„Mitä mieltä olette Monte Carlosta, vai eikö teillä ole mitään mielipidettä siitä?“ hän sanoi (22).

„Co soudíte o Monte Carlu - či nesoudíte o něm vůbec nic?“ zeptal se mne konečně (21).

Curiously enough, the idea of condition (the subjunctive *sia*) may penetrate a purely temporal relationship in the subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *quando* (*when, kun, až*):

„E quando sia più caldo si potranno anche fare i bagni“ (118).

‘And I can bathe too, when it’s warmer’ (96).

„Ja voinhan uidakin, kun ilmat lämpenevät“ (112).

„A také se už těším, až se oteplí a až se budu moci koupat“ (98).

But let us come back to actions which are bound with the action of the main clause to such a degree that the subjunctive in Italian is quite inevitable. A good example is the verb *čekat* (*aspettare, expect, odottaa*):

She paused, expecting him to smile, ... (18).

Odmělela se a čekala, až se její společník usměje, ... (20).

Hän pysähtyi ja odotti toisen hymyilevän, ... (21).

There is the accusative + the infinitive construction in the English sentence, the present active participle construction in Finnish, and the subordinate clause with the indicative in Czech, but in Italian it is the subjunctive that is needed:

Ella s'interruppe, aspettando forse ch'egli sorridesse (27).

Expectation together with a wish is present in the verb *doufat* (*sperare, hope, toivoa*):

Speravo che se ne andassero, in cuor mio (125).

I hoped they would go (102).

Toivoin, että he lähtisivät (120).

Doufala jsem, že se s námi budou také loučit.

Here we have the subjunctive in Italian with reference to the future. English and Finnish use the present conditional form to express the so-called future in the past, and in Czech we find the normal future tense.

The subjective element in verbs expressing a wish is formally manifested in Italian also with phrases denoting ‘states of mind’, such as *jsem rád* (*sono contento, I am glad, olen iloinen*), or *bojím se* (*temo, I’m afraid, pelkään*). The Italian language creates in fact a link between those phrases and the action of the subordinate clause by means of the subjunctive, whereas English, Finnish and Czech do not realize a similar dependence:

„No, proprio no“ risposi, contenta che di nuovo si fosse mutato argomento, che la signora Danvers andasse tosto obliata; . . . (120).
 ‘No, I’m afraid I don’t,’ I answered, glad that the subject had been changed again, that Mrs Danvers was forgotten, . . . (98).
 „En, en osaa sitä ollenhaan“, vastasin iloisena siitä että puheenaihe oli jälleen vaihtanut ja että Danvers unohtui (115).
 „Bohužel nikoli,“ řekla jsem a byla jsem ráda, že se předmět hovoru změnil a že se zapomnělo na paní Danversovou (100).

But Italian can relieve the action of that dependence, as shown by the following examples. The first one (with the exception of the Czech version, which uses a future tense) contains a conditional action, the other one a future action:

„Questo è molto garbato da parte vostra, Frank“ dissi „ma temo che non sarei capace di tanto“ (155).
 ‘That’s very polite of you, Frank,’ I said, ‘but I’m afraid I should not be able to do that very well either’ (128).
 „Tuo oli hyvin kohteliaasti sanottu, Frank“, sanoin, „mutta pelkäänpä, etten taitaisi pystyä siihenkään“ (149).
 „Jste sice velmi dvorný, Franku, ale bojím se, že vám ani po této čistě dekorativní stránce nebudu k velkému užitku“ (131).
 „Ho ben paura che dovrà affrontarla ora“ egli mi rispose, irritato (86).
 ‘I’m afraid you will have to face it now,’ he said, in irritation (67).
 „Pelkäänpä, että sinun on kestettävä se nyt“, hän sanoi ärtyisästi, . . . (80).
 „Obávám se, že se tomu teď už nebudeš moci vyhnout,“ řekl a já poznala, že se zlobí (69).

To finish this part of Chapter III, we shall have a look at actions in subordinate clauses that depend upon verbs of thinking in the widest possible sense of the word. That dependence may be revealed by the Italian subjunctive or the Finnish conditional, but not so in English and Czech, where the verb is in the indicative. For example:

„Non vi sarete mica illusa che sia innamorato di voi?“ (80).
 ‘You haven’t flattered yourself he’s in love with you?’ (62).
 „Et kai ole kuvittelutkaan, että hän olisi rakastanut sinuun?“ (74).
 „Ci snad si lichoříte, že se do vás zamiloval?“ (65).

In the next sentence, however, even Finnish can use the indicative because the action is qualified by the adverb *luultavasti* (*probabilmente, probably, pravděpodobně*).

„Luultavasti olet niin nuori, että voisit olla tyttäreni, . . .“ (51).
 „Mi figuro che siate abbastanza giovane da essere mia figlia, . . .“ (57).
 ‘I suppose you are young enough to be my daughter, . . .’ (43).
 „Jste ještě tak mladá, že byste asi mohla být mou dcerou, . . .“ (46).

The adverb *luultavasti* has almost the same meaning as the inflected first infinitive *luullakseni* (*a mio avviso, in my opinion, podle mého mínění*): *Luullakseni jokainen joutuu koetukselle ennemmin tai myöhemmin elämässään* (9). The English original uses again the verb *suppose*: *I suppose sooner or later in the life of everyone comes a moment of trial* (8). In Czech: *Zdá se mi, že v životě každého člověka přichází dříve či později chvíle zkoušky* (11). The Italian translation chooses the verb *convincere*

(*convince, vakuuttaa, přesvědčit*), which does not express supposition but rather the speaker's certainty, and yet the action of the subordinate clause is not understood as an independent statement reflecting reality in a straightforward way, and instead of the indicative we find here the subjunctive which binds the verb *giungere* with the verb *convincere*: *Io sono convinta che nella vita di ognuno giunga, tosto o tardi, l'ora della prova* (15). *Luullakseni* also stands for the English *I think (credo, myslím)*, a typical verb in the category of 'thinking':

Luullakseni hänen kasvojensa ilme aiheutti minulle ensi kerran tuon levottomuuden tunteen (13).
I think it was the expression on her face that gave me my first feeling of unrest (11-12).
Credo sia stata l'espressione sul volto di lei, a darmi la prima impressione d'inquietitudine (19).
Myslím, že výraz její tváře ve mně vzbudil první pocit neklidu (14).

The dependence between the action of the subordinate clause and the verb *credere* is sometimes abolished by shifting the action into the future, e. g.:

„Credo sarà meglio che me la cavi da solo“ egli disse (74).
'I think I had better deal with this alone,' he said; . . . (57).
„Minun kai on parasta hoitaa tämä asia yksin“, hän sanoi (68).
„Myslím, že bude nejlíp, pojednám-li s paní Van Hopperovou sám“ (59).

Another case of relieved dependence exists in the conditional action:

„Credo che la signora de Winter avrebbe ordinato una salsa al vino, signora“ (108).
'I rather think Mrs de Winter would have ordered a wine sauce, Madam' (87).
„Luulisin melkein, että rouva de Winter olisi määrännyt viinikastikkeen, rouva“ (103).
„Myslím, že paní de Winterová by byla poručila omáčku z vína, madam“ (90).

Here the conditional *avrebbe scelto* (*would have ordered, olisi määrännyt, byla by poručila*) is independent of *credo* (*I rather think, luulisin, myslím*). A dependent action would require the subjunctive: *Credo che ordinasse* (*I think she ordered. Luulisin, että hän määräsi*), i. e. *Myslím že poručila*.

The Italian subjunctive as the mood that puts the action of the subordinate clause in dependence on the action of the main clause also acts in indirect questions. These are usually divided into two types: yes-no questions and wh-questions. The latter type appears, e. g., in this sentence:

„I don't know what you mean,' I said (61).
„Non so che cosa vogliate dire“ risposi (78).
„En ymmärrä, mitä tarkoitatte“, sanoin (72).
„Nevím, co tím myslíte,“ řekla jsem (63).

The direct question would be: *What do you mean? Che cosa volete dire? Mitä tarkoitatte? Co tím myslíte?*, i. e. the Italian verb would be used in the indicative (*volete*). But that action is subordinated to the negative action of the main clause *non* so the meaning of which is uncertainty.

Certainty, on the other hand, implied by the affirmative form so would not request the subjunctive: *So che cosa volete dire*. The matter, however, is not quite as simple as that because the element of uncertainty may be suggested by the modality of the verb in the main clause, e.g. *Mohu vědět* (= *možná, že vím*), *co chcete říci* (*I may know what you mean*. *Saatan tietää, mitä tarkoittatte*), which in Italian could be expressed by the modal verb *potere*: *Posso sapere che cosa vogliate dire*. Illustrative in this sense is the following example, in which the indirect question first has the subjunctive (*avesse passato*) and then the indicative (*aveva dormito*):

...la padrona di casa, sfogliandolo, poteva sapere al giorno, all'ora quasi, quale ospite avesse passato la notte, la tal giornata, a Manderley, e dove aveva dormito, ... (107).

...the hostess, glancing back, would know to the day, almost to the hour, what guest had passed what night under her roof, and where he had slept, ... (86).

...emäntä saattoi tietää päivän, melkein tunnin tarkkuudella, kuka vieras oli viettänyt minkän yön hänen kattonsa alla, missä hän oli nukkunut... (101).

...hostitelka z ní mohla zjistit na den, ba téměř na hodinu přesně, který host strávil kterou noc pod její střechou, kde spal... (88).

The verb of the main clause *poteva sapere* (*would know*, *saattoi tietää*, *mohla zjistit*) is affirmative, so the certainty or uncertainty of the dependent action has to be looked for in the certainty or uncertainty of the idea the speaker joins to the action. In our example the finding out of the guest's name is somewhat different from making sure where he slept because the guest may be anybody (as if we asked *Who ever passed the night under our roof at that or that time?*), while the idea of the room is considered as something given, something definite.

In questions we are often to deal with not quite clear ideas, no wonder, therefore, the Italian subjunctive is used after the verb *chiedersi* (*ponder*, *aprikoida*, *uvažovat*):

Forse si chiedeva quali fossero esattamente i legami che mi univano a quella donna, e se eravamo parenti anche in fatto di futilità... (28).

He was pondering my exact relationship to her, and wondering whether he must bracket us together in futility (19).

Hän aprikoi, minkälaisessa suhteessa oikein olin rouva Van Hopperiin ja olisiko meidän hupsuutemme arvioitava ythä suureksi (22).

Uvažoval patrně o tom, jaký je vlastně můj vztah k paní Van Hopperové a má-li nás obě dvě zařadit do téže skupiny prázdných žvanilek (21).

Here we meet in fact a double assessment of the dependent action: the wh-question in Italian has the subjunctive (*fossero*), the yes-no question has the indicative (*eravamo*) simply because the idea in the first case is indefinite and in the second case it is looked on as something given. We shall devote special attention to yes-no questions: nevertheless we can point out now that the Finnish conditional (*olisi*) functions here like the Italian subjunctive. It occurs, too, in wh-questions, for example:

Aprikoin, mitä Maxim sanoisi rouvalle, mitä sanoja hän käyttäisi (69).

I wondered what he was saying to her, how he phrased his words (58).

Byla bych ráda věděla, co jí říká, jaká slova zvolil (60).

The Italian translation uses direct questions:

Che cosa le diceva egli? Come rigirava le sue frasi? (75).

The indirect yes-no questions are introduced by the conjunction *se* in Italian, *whether* (or *if*) in English, the particle *-ko* in Finnish, and by *-li*, *zdali* in Czech, e. g.:

Rimasi immobile, le mani in grembo. Ancora una volta non sapevo se facesse sul serio o no (55).

I sat still, my hands in my lap, not knowing whether he meant it or not (41).

Istuin hiljaa kädet helmassani enkä tiennyt, tarkoittiko hän mitä sanoi (49).

Seděla jsem tiše s rukama v klíně a nevěděla jsem, mluvi-li vážně (44).

The subjunctive *facesse* reflects the uncertainty which exists in the negation *non sapevo* (*not knowing, en tiennyt, nevěděla jsem*). We spoke about that phenomenon in connection with indirect wh-questions (p. 128). But let us see what we can learn from the following example with the verb *domandarsi* (*wonder, aprikoida, zajímat*):

Non c'erano altri fiori nella stanza, e mi domandai se non ci fosse un'idea prestabilita, se la stanza non fosse stata concepita per quell'effetto, poiché in nessun altro luogo entravano i rododendri (106).

They were the only flowers in the room, and I wondered if there was some purpose in it, whether the room had been arranged originally with this one end in view, for nowhere else in the house did the rhododendrons obtrude (85).

Ne olivat huoneen ainoita kukkia, ja aprikoin oliko sillä jokin tarkoitus, oliko huone järjestetty alun perin vain tätä päämäärää silmällä pitäen, sillä rhododendronit eivät tunkeutuneet minnekään muualle taloon (100).

Kromě rhododendronů nebylo v salónku jiných květin, a mne zajímalo, zda byl touto výlučností sledován jistý cíl, zdali bylo na tuto květinovou výzdobu pomýšleno hned při zařizování pokoje, poněvadž nikde jinde v budově nepadaly rhododendrony tak nápadně do oka jako zde (87-88).

The uncertainty of the idea expressed by the indirect questions with the subjunctive could be denoted by the adverb *snad* (*forse, perhaps, ehkä*), but we should realize that apart from that function there is also the basic 'connective' function which joins the action of the subordinate clause with that of the main clause. If the connection is loosened, the indicative steps in and the uncertainty disappears:

Tanto che finii per domandarmi se per me soltanto avesse rinunciato agli ospiti, o se realmente si seccava ad aver tanta gente per casa (238).

..., and I wondered whether he did it for my sake alone, or whether a large crowd of people really bored him as he said (201).

Aprikoin, sanoiko hän niin vain minun tähteni vai ikävystyttikö suuri ihmisjoukko häntä tosiaan, kuten hän väitti (233).

..., a já nevěděla, zda učinil své rozhodnutí jen kvůli mně, či zda ho veliký dav lidí skutečně obtěžuje tak, jak říká (202).

The clue to the difference between the subjunctive (*avesse rinunciato*) and the indicative (*si seccava*) is the adverb *realmente* (*really, tosiaan, skutečně*), which moves its verb into the area of reality, certainty, so that the action takes on the form of the indicative.

Now I should like to resume in more detail the examination of the

comparative clauses (mentioned for the first time on p. 22). The imagined, unreal action that appears in them is expressed by the subjunctive in Italian and in English, and by the conditional in Finnish and Czech. The action is either simultaneous with that of the main clause, or it precedes it. Simultaneity with the present is, e. g., in this sentence:

„E tu parli come se fossi convinto che abbiamo commesso un errore?“ (175).

„You talk as though you thought we had made a mistake?“ (146).

„Puhut aivan kuin ajattelisit, että olemme tehneet tyhmyyden“ (170).

„Ty mluvíš, jako by sis myslil, že náš šátek byl omyl?“ (149).

Here the past subjunctive *fossi* (*convinto*), the past subjunctive *you thought* and the present conditionals *ajattelisit*, *myslil by sis* have the same function, i. e. the expression of an imagined action at the level which is represented by the present tense of the main clause (*parli, you talk, puhut, mluvíš*). However, if we compare the actions dependent upon the Italian and English subjunctives, we can notice that the form *you thought*, in spite of its present placing calls into play the sequence of tenses (*we had made*) by being identical with the simple past, whereas no such shift occurs in Italian (*abbiamo commesso*) or in Finnish (*olemme tehneet*).

Simultaneity with the past is shown by this example:

E intanto, lui seguitava a mangiar marmellata come se niente fosse (71).

And he went on eating his marmalade as though everything were natural (54).

Ja hän söi edelleen marmelaattiaan, kuin kaikki olisi ollut aivan luonnollista (64-65).

Ale on si pochutnával klidně dále na topince se zavařeninou, jako by všechno to, co se dalo mezi námi, byla nejpřirozenější věc na světě (56).

Italian, English and Czech view the action in the comparative clause from the past standpoint (→ O), while Finnish looks at the simultaneity in the past from the present standpoint (← O) and so uses the past conditional (*olisi ollut*).

The last section dedicated to the three moods is designed to complete our general knowledge of their characteristic features (conditional — unreality, subjunctive — dependence, indicative — reality, see the second paragraph of Chapter I) by analysing the relative clauses. We shall first consider our own example, which changes a bit the sentence with the subjunctive *È un bene che non si ripeta due volte, la febbre del primo amore* (49), namely: *È un bene che non si ripete due volte* (*It is a good thing which is not repeated twice. Se on hyvä asia, joka ei toistu kahta kertaa. Je to dobro, které se dvakrát neopakuje*). In the main clause there is the affirmative verb *è* (*is, on, je*) and the noun *un bene* (*a good thing, hyvä asia, dobro*), the relative clause qualifying it as an attribute. The verb in the relative clause is in the indicative (*non si ripete, is not repeated, ei toistu, neopakuje se*). The negative verb *non è* (*is not, ei ole, není*) brings about a double dependence in Italian: the relative clause is still an attribute, but its verb in the subjunctive also suggests that the action is a dependent one, e. g.:

Happiness is not a possession to be prized, ... (9).

La felicità non è un bene che possa esser stimato a peso d'oro, ... (16).

Onne ei ole rahalla arvioitava omaisuus, ... (10).
 Štěstí není majetek, který lze hmotně ocenit; ... (11).

It is almost as if we said: *La felicità è un bene che non può esser stimato a peso d'oro*. Or without the relative clause: *La felicità non può esser stimata a peso d'oro*. So *non* and *può esser* belong together in meaning. Their dependence is formally expressed by the subjunctive.

A completely different function is performed by the word *che* in the sentence we had at the beginning of this section:

È un bene che non si ripeta due volte, la febbre del primo amore (49).
 I am glad it cannot happen twice, the fever of first love (36).
 Olen iloinen siitä, ettei ihminen sairastu kahta kertaa ensi rakkauden kuumeeseen (42).
 Jsem ráda, že horečka první lásky nemůže člověka přepadnout v životě dvakrát (39).

Here *che* is no longer a relative pronoun but the conjunction *že*, which introduces a subject clause. Put side by side, the sentences *È un bene che non si ripete due volte* and *È un bene che non si ripeta due volte* reveal quite clearly that the change in function of the word *che* results from the mood: the indicative signalizes the relative pronoun, the subjunctive signalizes the conjunction. (The importance of classifying subordinate clauses in order to explain the use of the subjunctive in Italian is stressed, for example, by J. Schmitt Jensen 1970.9, 22.) The mood in the subordinate clause is then dependent upon the meaning of the main clause. The sentence *Je to dobro, které se dvakrát neopakuje* reflects the objective reality, but the other example (*Je dobře, že se dvakrát neopakuje*) presents a subjective opinion, something affecting the speaker personally. After all, the English original has a personal construction (*I am glad*), appearing also in the Finnish and Czech translations (*olen iloinen, jsem ráda*). The basic function of the Italian indicative and subjunctive thus comes to the foreground, namely that 'si ricorre all' indicativo dopo i verbi che indicano certezza, mentre si usa il congiuntivo dopo i verbi di significato dubbio o dopo le espressioni che indicano un 'opinione strettamente personale' (S. Battaglia — V. Pernicone 1960.535).

Our objective in this article has not been a complete enumeration of all cases requiring the subjunctive because such information can be found in grammar books or in the above-mentioned work by Jensen. First and foremost, we wanted to compare the functions of the conditional and the subjunctive and give the general characteristics of these moods. As to the relative clauses in Czech, we may add that 'kondicionálem se vyjadruje děj nereálný' (J. Bauer — M. Grepl 1972.264). It is, of course, indispensable to bear in mind the 'distribution of forces' between the indicative, the subjunctive and the conditional in our four languages. Finnish and Czech with the pair indicative — conditional gives a different picture from that of Italian (or, to some extent, English) with the threefold group indicative — subjunctive — conditional. But in the Italian relative clauses, as we shall see, the real combination is between the indicative and the subjunctive. These moods are, so to speak, two sides of the coin (reality — dependence), while the conditional has a more or less independent position.

It may be helpful to quote an example similar to the one we used at the beginning of this section: *Non era uno spettacolo che rattivasse il mio appetito per il piatto freddo che m'ero scelto, . . .* (22). If we shorten it to get the essential relationship between the noun and the relative clause, we can arrive at the following six sentences:

<i>è uno spettacolo che rattiva</i>	— indicative
<i>non è uno spettacolo che rattivi</i>	— subjunctive
<i>(non) è uno spettacolo che rattiverebbe</i>	— conditional
<i>era uno spettacolo che rattivò</i>	— indicative
<i>non era uno spettacolo che rattivasse</i>	— subjunctive
<i>(non) era uno spettacolo che rattivato</i>	— conditional

In the subjunctive (*rattiva, rattivasse*) there is, as we know, a double dependence: the verb being part of the relative clause modifies the noun *spectacolo* of the main clause, but at the same time it is affected by the negation of its verb. The equivalent forms in Czech would be the two conditionals: *pohled, který by vzbudil*; *pohled, který by (byl) vzbudil*. The problem is that those forms also stand for the conditionals *rattiverebbe* and *avrebbe rattivato*. From the point of view of the surface structure the Czech conditionals are in both cases identical. Only when we realize that from the point of view of the deep structure it is possible to complete the meaning of the Italian conditional — perhaps just theoretically — by a condition, that is by a clause with *se (kdyby)*, does the nature of the Italian subjunctive become unmistakably clear, because it admits of no such completion.

The dependence of an action in the form of the Italian subjunctive (as the opposite of the indicative which expresses an independent real action) also exists in attributive clauses introduced by the relative adverb *ove* and *dove*. The first example suggests some sort of possibility (see the conditional *would scribble* of the English original and the modal verb *voidu (moci)* in the Finnish translation), but the second and last example of our article does not:

Eppure quello scrittoio, bello e prezioso, non era certo un grazioso trastullo
ove una donna scribacchiasse dei bigliettini, . . . (106).

But this writing-table, beautiful as it was, was no pretty toy where a woman
would scribble little notes, . . . (85).

Mutta niin kaunis kuin tämä kirjoituspöytä olikin, se ei ollut mikään sievä
lelu, jonka ääressä nainen olisi voinut töherrellä pikku kirjellippujaan, . . .
(100).

Ale překrásný psací stůl, k němuž jsem usedla, nebyl jen jednou z půvabných
hraček, u kterých ženy okusují konec násadky a čmárají několik zbytečných
poznámek . . . (88).

Quell'uomo apparteneva a una città fortificata del XV secolo, una città tutta
viuzze strette, selciati di pietra e guglie sottili, dove gli abitanti portassero
calzari a punta e calze di lana fatte a mano (26).

He belonged to a walled city of the fifteenth century, a city of narrow, cob-
bled streets, and thin spires, where the inhabitants wore pointed shoes and
worsted hose (17).

Hän kuului muurin ympäröimään viidennentoista sataluvun kaupunkiin, ka-
peille nupukivikaduille hoikkien torninhuippujen väliin, missä asukkailla oli
teräväkärkiset kengät ja kampalankaiset vaatteet (20).

Jeho místo bylo v hrazeném městě patnáctého století, v městě úzkých uliček,
dlážděných kočičími hlavami, v městě se špičatými věžemi, kde obyvatelé nosí
zobákovitě zahnuté střevíce a nohavice z česané příže (19-20).

The action of the Italian subjunctive *portassero* (*wore*) is part of the idea of an old city with narrow streets, where the inhabitants wear pointed shoes. The man is spoken of as if he belonged to such a city.

CONCLUSION

I remember that when I was a university student, our lector of Italian insisted on learning the subjunctives together with either *che* (*che io scriva, che io abbia scritto*, etc.) or *se* (*se io scrivessi, se io avessi scritto*, etc.) He must have had his reasons for such a conjugation because he was an experienced teacher, very fond of drills in grammar.

Some years later I discovered that Italian grammarians, too, liked to present the subjunctives in a similar way (cf. S. Battaglia — V. Pernicone 1960:296: *che io ami, che io abbia amato, che io amassi, che io avessi amato*, etc.).

Now that we have examined some of the characteristic features of the Italian subjunctive in comparison with English, Finnish, and Czech verb forms, we can understand that practice. It suggests that the subjunctive is mainly found in subordinate clauses. As a dependent mood it is the reverse side of the indicative. We have seen its use, for example, after verbs of wishing, thinking and supposing, in connection with impersonal expressions (where it corresponds to the English subjunctive equivalent with *should*), in final clauses (again *should* in English and the conditional in Finnish and Czech), after phrases denoting states of mind, in indirect questions, comparative clauses and relative clauses, with which we finished our article.

To put the general characteristics of the three moods in a nutshell, there is perhaps no better way of doing so than the one the reader is already familiar with, viz.: indicative — reality, conditional — unreality, subjunctive — dependence.

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K CHARAKTERISTICE KONDICIONÁLU A KONJUNKTIVU V ITALŠTINĚ A V ANGLIČTINĚ VE SROVNÁNÍ S FINŠTINOU A ČEŠTINOU

Článek, zabývající se některými obecnějšími stránkami použití kondicionálu a konjunktivu v italštině a v angličtině ve srovnání s finštinou a češtinou, vychází z důsledné konfrontace konkrétního materiálu, kterým je moderní anglický román a jeho příslušné překlady.

Pokud jde o kondicionál, zdůrazňuje autor roli dvojího pohledu: z roviny přítomnosti a z roviny minulosti. U konjunktivu upozorňuje na možnost uvolnit „spojení“ a indikativem odrážet přímo, tj. nezávisle, objektivní skutečnost.

Považujeme-li indikativ za způsob, jímž jazyk vyjadřuje přímočaře reálnost děje, pak jakákoliv odchylka od této přímočarosti vyvolává v jazyku snahu neindikativní děj odlišit. Heslovitě lze funkce zkoumaných způsobů shrnout takto: indikativ - děj reálný, kondicionál - děj nereálný, konjunktiv - děj závislý.

