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9 Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe

1. Introduction

The construction type whose properties across the languages of Europe will be examined in this chapter is exemplified by the following English examples, each of which identifies one specific subtype of such concessive conditionals:

(1) a. **Scalar concessive conditionals**

Even if we do not get any financial support, we will go ahead with our project.

b. **Alternative concessive conditionals**

Whether we get any financial support or not, we will go ahead with our project.

c. **Universal concessive conditionals**

No matter how much (/However much) financial support we get, we will go ahead with our project.

In traditional descriptions of English these three constructions are usually not grouped together as varieties of one construction type¹ and this is also true of the relevant constructions and grammars in other European languages. Universal concessive conditionals are usually regarded as a variety of relative clauses, alternative concessive conditionals are very often treated together with embedded interrogatives, whereas only sentences of type (1 a) are usually analysed as a specific type of conditional. If these three constructions are brought together at all, it is only in connection with the pragmatic category of ‘conceding’ or ‘concession’. Moreover, a wide variety of labels have been used for one of the three different constructions or for all three constructions in those rare cases where they have been assigned to one class: “concessives”, “hypothetical concessives”, “irrelevance conditionals”, “unconditionals”, “concessive relative clauses”, “concessive interrogative subordinate clauses”, “semifactuals”, etc. Each of these labels captures important intuitions about the meaning of these

constructions, as will be shown below, but no one term is suitable as a cover term for all the three constructions exemplified by (1 a–c) above or as a basis for cross-linguistic comparison.

This chapter will be organized as follows: In § 2 the basic semantic properties of the constructions exemplified by (1 a–c) are discussed. It will be shown that these three constructions share essential semantic properties, which justify assigning them to the notional space between conditionality and concessivity and analyzing them as variants of one construction type, even if they are not coded identically in the majority of European languages. In § 3 it is shown that concessive conditionals are closely related to four other construction types, a fact that is responsible for the great variety of labels used for concessive conditionals in the literature. § 4 examines very briefly some diachronic aspects of these constructions as well as some weakly grammaticalized forms typically used for the relevant meanings. In § 5, we give a detailed classification and description of the formal types of concessive conditionals, defining the possible space of typological variation within Europe. While the main task of this section is a taxonomic one, first general observations will be made whenever this seems appropriate. In § 6, we take a closer look at some of those cases where a construction type also has some other functions and we will raise the question whether a specific function is primary or derived. In § 7, we attempt to formulate some typological generalizations that allow predictions from one grammatical feature to others. Finally, in § 8, we will look at the areal distribution of concessive conditionals.

2. Semantic properties

2.1. Concessive conditionals are conditionals

In English and many other European languages the three subtypes of concessive conditionals distinguished above do not share any formal properties. Their analysis as subtypes of one general construction type must, therefore, be based primarily on semantic arguments.² Semantically, these three constructions can all be analyzed as conditionals and this intuition is reflected in many of the terms traditionally used to label these sentences, including our own term **concessive conditionals**. Such an analysis is, first of all, supported by the sequence of tenses permissible in concessive conditionals. These constructions exhibit the same combinations of tense and mood also found in ordinary conditionals, i. e., combinations associated with such labels as “open (realis)”, “hypothetical (potentialis)” and “counterfactual (irrealis)”:

- (2) a. Whatever medication you take, it won't help you.
 b. Whatever medication you took, it would not help you.
 c. Whatever medication you had taken, it would not have helped you.

The cover term “conditional” is, furthermore, totally unproblematic in the case of the construction exemplified by (1 a), which is simply an expanded version of a regular conditional.³ Alternative concessive conditionals, however, also reveal their basic conditional meaning in the following paraphrase:

- (3) b. If we get some financial support we will go ahead with our project and if we do not get any financial support we will (still) go ahead with our project.
 b'. $(p \vee \sim p) \rightarrow q \equiv (p \rightarrow q) \& (\sim p \rightarrow q)$

The relevant equivalence (3 b') seems to be another manifestation of de Morgan's Law. In other words, alternative concessive conditionals are simply a conjunction of two conditionals which differ only in so far as the protasis of the second conjunct is the negated version of that of the first conjunct. Finally, universal concessive conditionals can be paraphrased by alternative ones:

- (3) c. Whether we get a lot of financial support or none at all, we will go ahead with our project.

In addition to these paraphrase relations, there are more specific semantic considerations that justify an analysis of the examples in (1 a–c) as conditional constructions. All three sentence types express a conditional relationship between a protasis and an apodosis. What differentiates them from ordinary conditionals is the nature of the protasis. In contrast to ordinary conditionals not a single protasis, but a set of protases is related to an apodosis, as is illustrated by the following representation:

- (4) If {*a* or *b* or *c* or *d* ...} then *q*

This set can be specified by some quantification over a variable in the protasis (**universal concessive conditionals**), by a disjunction between a protasis *p* and its negation (**alternative concessive conditionals**) or by characterizing the protasis as an extreme value for the relevant conditional sentence form (**scalar concessive conditionals**). The fact that the conditional is asserted for the extreme

case implies that it also holds for the less extreme cases. Hence the quantificational effect of *even*. The basic conditional meaning of sentences like (1 a–c) can thus be captured more clearly by the following semantic representations:

- (5) a. Even (λx [if x then q], not- p)
 b. If (p or not- p) then q
 c. ($\forall x$) (if p_x then q)

The representation (5 c) is meant to capture the intuition that universal concessive conditionals involve some kind of universal quantification over a variable in the protasis, whose sortal restriction is indicated by an expression also used as an interrogative or relative pronoun (*who-ever*, *what-ever*, *where-ever*, *when-ever*, etc.) in a wide variety of languages. In (5 b) the conditional connective relates a disjunction of a protasis and its negation to an apodosis. Representation (5 a), finally, is the result of extracting the focused part of a sentence such as ‘even if not- p , q ’, of replacing it by a variable and of binding the variable by a lambda operator. The focus particle *even* combines with the resultant “structured” proposition, i. e., with the proposition (or sentence) analyzed into a focused and a backgrounded part. This representation is thus to be read as follows: Even for the value ‘not- p ’ it is the case that ‘if x then q ’. It would take us too far afield to summarize the rich literature on the meaning of scalar particles such as English *even* at this point. Despite some controversial points there seems to be wide-spread agreement that *even* characterizes its focus as a strong (or maybe extreme) value for the relevant propositional schema among the alternatives (also called “comparison class”) under consideration in some context (cf. Bennett 1982; Barker 1991, 1994; König 1991; and Berckmans 1993 for further references and discussion).

2.2. Concessive conditionals are concessive

Now that we have justified the use of “conditionals” as a cover term for the sentences exemplified by (1 a–c), what remains to be done is to justify the restrictive label “concessive”. Concessive constructions, identified in English by conjunctions like *although*, *even though*, by prepositions like *in spite of* or *despite* and conjunctive adverbs like *nevertheless* or *even so*, are used to assert two propositions against the background assumption that the relevant situations do not normally go together, i. e., that the situation described in one clause is an unfavourable condition for the situation described in the other (i. e., ‘if p then normally not- q ’).

- (6) a. Even though it was pouring down, John went for a walk.

What concessive conditionals share with genuine concessives is the inclusion of an unfavourable circumstance in the set of protases related to an apodosis. In the examples under (1) this unfavorable circumstance is very little or no financial support and in (2) it is very expensive medication, etc. A second property shared by these two types of adverbial constructions is the factuality of the main clause. Sentences with concessive clauses entail both their main clause and their subordinate clause, i. e., anyone who utters (6 a) is committed to both (6 b) and (6 c):

- (6) b. It was pouring down.
 c. John went for a walk.

Concessive conditionals are semifactual in the standard cases, i. e., they typically entail their apodosis (cf. Barker 1991). Alternative concessive conditionals manifest this property most clearly. One of the two possibilities given in the protasis (i. e., ‘ p ’ and ‘not- p ’) is necessarily true or bound to materialize and thus the apodosis is invariably true. The protasis of a universal concessive conditional also exhausts the set of possibilities along some parameter and these conditionals, therefore, also entail their apodosis in all cases, except for the one where the apodosis contains a variable that is bound by the quantifier in the protasis (cf. (7 d)). Scalar concessive conditionals do not always, but may entail their apodosis. The conditions which allow and disallow this are rather complex and not completely understood. We will return to this problem below. The example in (7 a) certainly is a case of semifactual concessive conditional, just like (7 b) and (7 c):

- (7) a. Even if you dislike ancient monuments, Warwick castle is worth a visit.
 b. Whether you join me or not, I will go to the meeting.
 c. Whatever your problems are, they can’t be worse than mine.
 d. Whatever they offer her, she won’t accept it.

On the basis of these two shared properties, an unfavourable circumstance identified by the adverbial clause and the factuality of main clause, concessive conditionals are often classified as hypothetical concessives or simply as concessives. That there is indeed a close relationship between these two types of

constructions is revealed by a very general tendency of semantic change: concessive conditionals tend to develop into genuine concessives and thus provide one of the typical sources for the historical development of concessives (cf. König 1985, 1988). The following two examples illustrate this development. At the time of Shakespeare, *though*, which is clearly a concessive conjunction in Modern English, could still be used in a concessive conditional sense (= 'even if'). In Latin, reduplication of interrogative pronouns was the relevant morphological process for the formation of free-choice quantifiers in universal concessive conditionals (cf. (90 a) below). The reduplicated form of the interrogative pronoun for manner and extent (*quamquam*), however, is used in a purely concessive sense:

- (8) a. I'll speak to it though hell should gape and bid me hold my peace.
(Shakespeare, *Hamlet* I.ii)
- b. *Quamquam sunt sub aqua maledicere temptant.*
although be:PRS:3PL under water speak.evil try:PRS:3PL
'Although they are under water, they are trying to speak evil.'

This general tendency of semantic change from concessive conditionals to concessives is also visible in the synchrony of many languages. In the sample of seventy languages analyzed in König (1988), nearly all languages had a construction usable both in a concessive conditional and in a genuine concessive sentence. In Modern English sentences introduced by *even if* are a case in point. In examples such as the following *even if* and *even though* are interchangeable:

- (8) c. Even if the Reagen tax program might theoretically produce the desired increase in savings and investment over the long run, there is no indication that it will work quickly.

2.3. Three levels of linking

One aspect frequently neglected in earlier semantic and logical analyses of conditional and causal constructions, but clearly identified in a recent study by Sweetser (1990), is the fact that conditional, causal and concessive connectives may establish a relationship between three different types of entities: (i) real or hypothetical situations, (ii) aspects of knowledge and (iii) speech acts. Linking at the "content level", at the "epistemic level" and at the "illocutionary level" are the labels used by Sweetser for these three cases. The following examples illustrate these distinctions in the case of ordinary conditionals:⁴

- (9) a. If you overcook the potatoes they will fall apart.
b. If John left London at ten he will be here by noon.
c. If you are hungry, there is some soup in the fridge.

The first sentence is an example of linking at the content level. Two situations are linked in such a way that the second follows and is probably brought about by the first. The use of temporal correlative conjunctions in the apodosis of conditionals, like *then* in English, is based on this type of linking. In (9 b), by contrast, the conditional connective combines two items of knowledge, a premise and a conclusion (epistemic linking) and in (9 c) the protasis raises a question assumed to be relevant for the assertion of the main clause.

This distinction between three types of linking is important because it enables us to assess more clearly the validity of certain traditional claims and assumptions about the properties of conditionals. Certain well-known and frequently discussed properties of conditionals only hold for one type of linking and are not called into question by examples of another type: constraints on the sequence of tenses in conditionals, for example, can only be found in conditionals with linking at the content level. In the case of epistemic linking there is no temporal sequence between situations and it is therefore only for these cases that contraposition (if p , $q \equiv$ if not- q , not- p) is a valid inference. And, as is well-known, conditionals with linking at the illocutionary level (cf. (9 c)) are semifactuals and never give rise to the conversational implicature called "conditional perfection" (if p , $q \rightarrow$ if not- p , not- q).⁵

The most important point in the context of the present discussion is that these three types of linking can also be found in concessive conditionals. The sentences in (10 a–c) are examples of linking at the content level. In (10 a–c), by contrast, the relevant connectives establish a link between a conclusion (expressed by the main clause) and aspects of knowledge brought into the discussion as possible evidence for the conclusion (linking at the epistemic level). So, what is expressed by these sentences is (i) ignorance of the speaker with regard to the question raised in the protasis⁶ and (ii) the irrelevance of potential evidence for a conclusion, which can be asserted with great certainty on the basis of other evidence.

- (10) a. Even if this had not been his intention, he certainly managed to alienate most of his colleagues.
b. Whether he actually was at his office or not, he certainly did not pick up his mail.
c. Whatever his motive was, it was not entirely altruistic.

Finally, in (11 a–c), the adverbial clauses mention conditions that are potentially relevant for the uttering of the main clause, but are pushed aside as irrelevant in this case (linking at the illocutionary level):

- (11) a. Even if you don't want to hear this, your mother is waiting for you.
 b. Whether you like it or not, your paper was not very good.
 c. However you may feel about this, I don't particularly like your friend.

2.4. Quantification in universal concessive conditionals

After this brief characterization of the basic semantic properties of concessive conditionals, we can now take a closer look at some of the problems mentioned only very briefly above, especially the question concerning the nature of the quantification involved in universal concessive conditionals and the questions concerning the conditions which allow or exclude a semifactual reading for scalar concessive conditionals. It was assumed above that the meaning of universal concessive conditionals can be captured by a formula with a universal quantifier (cf. (5 c)). More specifically, we could assume that expressions like *who-ever* or *when-ever* are generalized quantifiers just like *every man* or *every time*, the only difference being that in the former case the determiner follows the set expression. Such an analysis is, however, not feasible for many of the relevant expressions found in universal concessive conditionals across languages. Neither is it viable for those structures in English where the quantification is expressed by a “prefix of indifference” (*no matter, I don't care*, etc.) and where the quantification affects several parameters. In these cases the quantificational force clearly arises in a compositional fashion:

- (12) No matter who gave how much money to whom, I don't trust politicians anymore.

The quantificational force of this sentence is clearly the result of the interaction of the “irrelevance prefix” and the interrogative pronouns.

At this point it is very helpful to recall the analysis proposed by Lewis (1975) and Heim (1982) for indefinite noun phrases. In order to cope with the problems presented by the notorious donkey sentences (e. g., *A man who owns a donkey always beats it now and then*), Lewis and later Heim argued that indefinite noun phrases do not have any quantificational force themselves, but essentially serve as free variables in the logical representation. The quantificational

force of the indefinite noun phrases is, according to this analysis, determined by expressions that c-command them in some larger domain, like adverbs of frequency. These expressions are characterized as “unselective binders”, i. e., they bind not just one variable but an unlimited number of variables simultaneously. In Nishigauchi (1991), these ideas are applied to the analysis of WH-expressions in Japanese, which can be used as interrogative pronouns, as indefinite pronouns or as “quantifiers” in universal concessive conditionals, depending on the selection and placement of such an “unselective binder”. If, for example, the quantificational particle *mo* ‘also’ follows a clause with the converb in *-te* and a WH-expression, the result is a universal concessive conditional:

- (13) Dare ga ki-te mo, boku wa aw-anai.
 who NOM come-CONV also I TOP meet-NEG
 ‘Whoever may come I will not meet him.’

A very similar constellation is found in an English sentence like (12): the quantificational force of such sentences arises as a result of the interaction of the indifference marker and the WH-expressions and such a compositional analysis will also be required for many of the weakly and more strongly grammaticalized patterns in other European languages.

A second question which we need to consider briefly in connection with the analysis of universal concessive conditionals concerns the exact nature of the quantification expressed in such sentences. There appears to be some evidence that the relevant quantifiers (or determiners) cannot simply be equated with the universal quantifier from predicate logic, but are free-choice quantifiers, more like positive-polarity *any* in English.

There are at least two properties which make the relevant quantifiers different from standard universal quantifiers: (i) there does not seem to be a restriction to a universe of discourse established in the context, i. e., universal concessive conditionals are not context-dependent in the way sentences with universal quantifiers are and (ii) the quantifiers operate over a structured set of possible values.⁷ This structure can be specified by extreme opposite values along some dimension:

- (14) a. Whatever he offers you, (be it) money or financial support, consolation or revenge, don't accept it.

The appropriate test, or method of falsification, for such sentences therefore is to pick a random extreme value for a variable and to see whether its substitution for the variable makes the sentence true.

Such appended specifications of the range of values for a variable are more frequent in the alternative subtype, which in such cases is difficult to distinguish from the universal subtype:

- (14) b. Whether ill or well, calm or worried, she is always restrained in her expression.

The only way in which scalar concessive conditionals differ from such examples is that in these structures the range of possible values for a variable along some dimension is specified by an extreme value, so that a whole scale of values is given by implication:⁸

- (14) c. Even if he offers you a lot of money, don't do it.

2.5. Semifactual interpretation of scalar concessive conditionals

A further question which was raised, but not discussed or answered above concerns the conditions which license a semifactual interpretation of scalar concessive conditionals. A factor which is clearly relevant is the type of linking between protasis and apodosis: all concessive conditionals with epistemic or illocutionary linking entail their consequent and are thus semifactual. In the latter case, this property is also shared by ordinary conditionals (cf. (9c)). What a speaker does in uttering a concessive conditional with epistemic linking between protasis and apodosis is discuss and reject the relevance of certain premises for the assertion of a conclusion. These premises do not have any bearing on the conclusion, which is independently assertable. All concessive conditionals with epistemic linking are thus semifactual. The examples given in (15) and (10a) are cases in point.

- (15) a. Even if he is a little slow, he is actually quite intelligent.
b. Even if he made a mistake, it is none of our business.

Problems only arise, therefore, for concessive conditionals with linking at the content level. One of the factors that are clearly relevant here is the identity of the focus chosen for *even*. If the focus is on the polarity of the protasis, scalar concessive conditionals have more or less the same interpretation as alternative concessive conditionals and do entail their consequent (cf. Barker 1994):

- (16) a. You will get a scholarship, even if you DON'T get an A.
b. Even if your mother-in-law DOES turn up, we will have a good time.

Since the only alternative value to negation is affirmation and vice versa, these sentences are practically equivalent to concessive conditionals introduced by *whether ... or not*. Examples with the nuclear tone on *if* can probably also be counted among this group.

- (16) c. But even IF your mother-in-law turns up, we will have a good time.

In those cases where the focus of *even* is some constituent of the protasis or the protasis itself, the relevant factor seems to be whether the scale induced by *even* includes the real world, i. e., the case of inertia, the case where nothing happens. Example (17a) clearly does not entail its consequent: Somebody who does not drink will not be fired. In the second example, on the other hand, 'nothing at all' seems to be included in the scale induced by *even*: If somebody refuses to do a repulsive act for a lot of money, s/he will also refuse to do it for nothing.

- (17) a. Even if you drink just A LITTLE, your boss will fire you.
b. Even if he gives me A MILLION DOLLARS, I won't do it.

A more detailed discussion of these problems presupposes a detailed knowledge about such issues as focus selection and focus projection. We will therefore not pursue this discussion any further, but refer the interested reader to Barker (1994).

2.6. Further issues

If sentences like (1a–c) are basically conditionals, albeit a special type of conditional, the question arises whether they shed any light on the old controversies about the correct semantic analysis of conditionals. One of these controversies is whether a logical or a causal connection between protasis and apodosis is an essential ingredient of the meaning of conditionals. Counterfactual conditionals provide the clearest support for such a "connectionist" analysis:

- (18) If you had worked a little harder you would have passed your exam.

In this particular case it is the causal connection between hard work and success in examinations that is at issue. On the other hand, many analyses, old and recent, have rejected the view that a necessary condition for the truth of a conditional is to be formulated in terms of a logical or causal connection between protasis and apodosis. The analysis of conditionals in terms of material implication is a case in point. Do concessive conditionals throw any light on this controversy? At first sight they seem to provide evidence against the connectionist view. If such constructions combine protases with an apodosis for which they are clearly irrelevant, such a linking does not seem to be based on a causal or logical connection. A sentence like the following apparently denies the relevance of hard work for success in examinations:

(19) Even if he had worked very hard, he would have (still) failed his exam.

The problem is, however, more complicated than that. One of the questions that is crucially involved in a solution of this controversy is the question of whether the specific markers of concessive conditionals, i. e., expressions like *even*, *still*, *anyway*, etc. make any contribution to the truth conditions of the relevant sentences or not. If they do not make such a contribution, scalar concessive conditionals have the same truth conditions as ordinary conditionals and their semifactual interpretation in the standard cases is incompatible with the connectionist analysis. If *even* or *still* are truth-conditionally relevant, however, they bear the responsibility for the specific meaning of concessive conditionals and such an analysis is certainly compatible with the connectionist view (cf. Bennett 1982; Lycan 1991; Barker 1991 for some recent discussions of these issues).

Circumstantial relations like conditional, temporal, causal and concessive ones, are not only expressed by conjunctions, but also by prepositions or conjunctive adverbs. Thus *even though*, *in spite of*, *even so* are members of different lexical classes (or subclasses), but share the semantic property of expressing a concessive relation. As far as concessive-conditional relations are concerned, the relevant prepositions in English are *irrespective of*, *regardless of* and the analogous conjunctive adverbs are *anyway*, *in any case*, *at any rate*. In some languages, specific conjunctive adverbs are found for each subtype of concessive conditionals distinguished above. In German, for example, we find the following expressions with quantifier-like component: *in jedem Fall*, *auf alle Fälle*, *auf jeden Fall*, *jedenfalls* (universal concessive conditionals), in addition to *so-wie-so* 'so as/like so' (alternative concessive conditional) and *ohnehin*, *ohnedies* 'without that' (scalar concessive conditional). Moreover, *in jedem Fall* is clearly preferred for linking at the content level and *jedenfalls*, *auf jeden Fall* for linking at the epistemic level.

3. Overlap and delimitation

As indicated by the amazing variety of labels used for these constructions in the literature, concessive conditionals overlap in their formal and semantic properties with four other construction types and a characterization of this overlap as well as a discussion of the criteria for delimiting concessive conditionals from these other constructions is another prerequisite for the subsequent typological study.

3.1. Conditionals and concessive conditionals

On the basis of semantic, as well as syntactic criteria, concessive conditionals can be characterized as a variety of conditionals and it is this basic categorization which justifies the terminological choice made in this study. Of the three subtypes distinguished above it is the scalar case that is most closely related to ordinary conditionals in English and many other Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages. Scalar concessive conditionals can simply be analyzed as expanded versions of ordinary conditionals in which a constituent of the antecedent or the whole antecedent is focused and thus interacts with the scalar focus particle *even* prefixed to the conditional. The scalar focus particle takes wide scope over the whole conditional, which thus functions as background for the focused part (cf. Bennett 1982; König 1991; Barker 1991). If focusing in conditional antecedents is achieved solely by lexical and prosodic means, rather than by an introductory particle, the resultant construction looks like an ordinary conditional, even though it has a concessive-conditional interpretation. Consider the following two examples:

- (20) a. /You would have been welcome if you had said NOTHING AT ALL./
 b. /Remember of course that you have to pay your bills if you don't sell A SINGLE DAMNED PICTURE./

A further crucial property of these examples is that they constitute only one tone group, i. e., have only one nuclear tone. This intonational phrasing indicates that the constituent represented in capitals is focused relative to the entire rest of the sentence, which functions as background. Within this context given as background the focused part identifies an extreme value and thus implies that other, less extreme, values also satisfy the relevant propositional schema (20':

- (20') a. [You would have been welcome if you had said x.]
 b. <nothing at all, a few words, ..., a lot, ...>

Examples like (20) therefore allow the addition of *even* without a change in meaning. Note furthermore that the scalar concessive reading disappears if the intonational phrasing is changed, i. e., if these sentences are read as two tone groups:

- (21) /You would have been WELCOME/ if you had said NOTHING AT ALL./

Whereas (20 a) could be used to thank an invited speaker after his talk, (21) would clearly be an insult. Scalar concessive conditionals may thus be formally indistinguishable from ordinary conditionals. It is the focusing of (a part of) the antecedent relative to the entire rest of the sentence and the resultant specification of a set of protases that makes such conditionals concessive ones.

3.2. Concessives and concessive conditionals

In a wide variety of reference grammars at least one or two subtypes of concessive conditionals are simply grouped together with concessive sentences. The properties shared by these two construction types (unfavourable circumstance specified in the adverbial clause, factuality of the main clause) as well as the properties differentiating between the two constructions have already been discussed. But given the close relationship between these two constructions types and the tendency for concessive conditionals to develop into concessives, it should not come as a surprise that the former may often have a genuine concessive interpretation. The following French examples are a case in point:

- (22) a. Nous viendrons à coup sûr, même s'il pleut.
 'We will definitely come, even if it rains.'
 b. Cela fait beaucoup de travail, même si nous n'avons pas invité beaucoup de gens.
 'That makes a lot of work, even if we haven't invited a lot of people.'

The first example is a straightforward concessive conditional, but (22 b) clearly has a concessive interpretation as a result of the fact that the conditional protasis is given by the context; the speaker can be assumed to know that s/he has not invited many people.

3.3. Non-specific free relative clauses and concessive conditionals

Universal concessive conditionals are difficult to keep apart from headless ("free") relative clauses where the relativized constituent has a nonspecific meaning:

- (23) a. free relative:
 I'll buy what you are selling.
 b. nonspecific free relative:
 I'll buy whatever you are selling.
 c. concessive conditional:
 Whatever you are selling, I'll buy it.

As has already been mentioned, this fact is also reflected in the terminology of many grammarians. Universal concessive conditionals are typically treated in the section on relative clauses. A crucial difference between the two constructions is that free relatives are a constituent of the containing clause and may fill a functional slot within that clause. Thus the clause *whatever you are selling* is the object of the verb *buy* in (23 b), but not in (23 c). The concessive conditional in (23 c) could simply be analysed as the result of extraposing or dislocating the free relative of (23 b) and replacing it by a pronoun. The fact that concessive conditional clauses do not fill a functional slot in the main clause has consequences for word order in verb-second languages like German. The German version of (23 c) does not have the conditional concessive clause in the forefield position, i. e., in the position immediately before the finite verb.

- (23') c. Was immer du verkaufst, ich werde es kaufen.
 what ever you sell I will it buy

In those cases where the free relative clause is not an argument, but an adjunct, the distinction between the two categories is exclusively expressed by word order in German. In the first example of the following minimal pair we find a free relative with the function of local adverbial within the main clause. The free relative, therefore, occupies the forefield position. The analogous universal concessive conditional, by contrast, does not immediately precede the finite verb and is thus not fully integrated into the main clause (cf. König & van der Auwera 1988):

- (24) a. Wo immer du hingehst bist du steuerpflichtig.
 where ever you go are you taxable
 'Wherever you go you are liable to taxation.'

- b. Wo immer du hingehst, du bist (überall) steuerpflichtig.
 where ever you go you are everywhere taxable
 'Wherever you go, you are liable to taxation (everywhere).'

3.4. Embedded interrogative clauses and concessive conditionals

The constructions most closely related to all types of concessive conditionals are embedded interrogatives. The division into three subtypes of concessive conditionals made above has a clear parallel in the traditional division of interrogatives into constituent interrogatives ("wh-questions"), alternative interrogatives and polar interrogatives ("yes-no questions"). Consider the following examples:

- (25) a. I don't know what he said. – Whatever he said ...
 b. I don't know whether he likes it or not. – Whether he likes or not.
 c. I don't know if/whether he is interested. – Even if he is interested...

This parallel is emphasized in the term "concessive interrogative subordinate clauses" used for concessive conditionals, for instance, by Huddleston (1984). In addition to these formal parallels there are also a number of shared semantic properties: all interrogatives can be analyzed as denoting sets of propositions or, more precisely, functions which pick out, for any given situation, the set of propositions which jointly constitute a complete and true answer in that situation (cf. Karttunen 1977). And, as pointed out above, concessive conditionals relate a set of protases to an apodosis. Furthermore, both interrogatives and concessive conditionals license negative-polarity items and permit only a non-specific interpretation for the indefinite noun phrases that they contain. The close relatedness between embedded interrogatives (or indirect questions) and concessive conditionals is particularly obvious in the case of epistemic linking between protasis and apodosis. In such "*nescio*-sentences" (cf. note 6) the speaker expresses ignorance with regard to the question raised in the protasis (cf. 10).

Interrogative sentences, on the other hand, are also closely related to two of the other constructions discussed in this section: to conditionals (cf. Haiman 1978) and to free relatives (cf. Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978). We may, therefore, expect that all of these similarities and parallelisms will be reflected in one way or another by the formal properties of concessive conditionals across languages.

4. Diachronic aspects

Concessive conditionals are a particularly clear example of the syntacticization of discourse, i. e., of the development of complex syntactic constructions from loosely linked paratactic combinations of sentences (cf. König 1992). Various stages in this development are well documented in studies on historical syntax of languages such as English (cf. Visser 1963–73) and German (Paul 1916–20). In Modern English and Modern German this phenomenon is still visible in the following phenomena (i–iv):

(i) In contrast to all other types of adverbial clauses, concessive conditionals can often still be used as independent sentences:

- (26) a. You can say what you want, I am not going.
 b. Laugh as much as you like, I shall stick to my plan.
 c. What matters whether I succeed or fail, nobody will notice.
 d. I don't care what you call it, it is exactly what we want.
 e. I don't care if you dislike him – we promised to come to his party.

(ii) In their most strongly syntacticized form universal concessive conditionals in English are identified by an emphatic particle *-ever*, which is suffixed to interrogative pronouns (*whatever, whoever, whenever*). Another option, which is also available for alternative concessive conditionals, are explicit expressions of indifference prefixed as superordinate clauses to the whole construction. Such superordinate clauses can be reduced progressively, as is shown by the following examples:

- (27) a. It does not matter whether you get there early or late, nobody will notice.
 b. No matter whether you get there early or late, nobody will notice.
 c. Whether you get there early or late, nobody will notice.

(iii) The conjunctions used in concessive conditionals are frequently identical to the complementizers that introduce object clauses (English *whether*, French *que*, German *ob*). Given that the protases of alternative concessive conditionals typically derive from object clauses embedded under verbs of volition or expressions of indifference, it should not come as a surprise that the comple-

mentizers *whether* and *que* occur in a non-argument position in examples like (27 c) and (28).

- (28) Qu' il pleuve ou pas, je sortirai.
 whether it rain:PRS:SUBJ:3SG or NEG I go.out:FUT:1SG
 'Whether it is raining or not, I will go out.'

(iv) in verb-second languages like German, preposed adverbial clauses fill the forefield position immediately before the finite verb. Interestingly enough, concessive conditionals do not occur in this position, but require a different (or additional) filler of the forefield position:

- (29) a. Wo immer er jetzt sein mag, wir müssen ihn sofort
 where ever he now be may we must him right.away
 holen.
 get
 'Wherever he may be now, we have to go and get him.'
- b. Ob es uns passt oder nicht, wir müssen jetzt handeln.
 whether it us suits or not we must now act
 'Whether we like or not, we have to take action now.'
- c. Selbst wenn er oft zu spät kommt, er leistet gute Arbeit.
 even if he often too late comes he does good work
 'Even if he is often late, he does excellent work.'

This lack of integration of the concessive conditional clause into the main clause is another symptom of a process of syntacticization still under way. It is interesting to note in this connection that Scandinavian languages exhibit a higher degree of integration for concessive conditionals than does German.

A closer look at less syntacticized forms, i. e., paratactic formulations of concessive conditionals, reveals further interesting aspects of the discourse basis of these circumstantial relations. The wide variety of expressive devices found in English and other languages in addition to the more syntacticized forms listed above, i. e., imperatives, expressions of volition, permission and agreement suggest that this circumstantial relation has its origin in a negotiation between speaker and hearer over permissible instantiations of variables in a conditional schema 'if... x..., then q'. The permissible values are often given by way of exemplification, by specifying a dimension with a free choice of values in that dimension, by specifying an extreme value in some dimension and so on.

- (30) a. Let him be ever so bad, he has some good points.
 b. Come death, come anguish, come a whole life of sorrow as the end of this love, wouldst thou yet repent that thou hast loved? (Early Modern English, Visser 1963–73: 909)
 c. Whether well or ill, calm or worried, she is always restrained in her expression.
 d. Alois will give you leave. You can skip one university lecture, go sick, whatever.
 e. I am an editor. I deal with all sorts of writers – men, women, geniuses, idiots, sociopaths ... you name them, I get 'em.
 f. Some of the American writers, be they never so charming, occasionally just threaten our patience a little. (Visser 1963–73: 909)

However interesting the inclusion of such expressive devices in our study would be, we will mainly have to concentrate on the more syntacticized forms of concessive conditionals, since the detailed information required for a broader data base is simply not available for the languages in our sample and would also be extremely difficult to elicit with the help of a questionnaire. Moreover, languages manifest hardly any systematic typological variation in such weakly grammaticalized patterns. What should be pointed out in this context, however, is that expressions from all of the relevant semantic fields also show up in the strongly grammaticalized forms of various languages, as will be shown below.

The antecedent of concessive conditionals can be reduced in various ways and such reductions may give rise to the development of adverbs, as in (31 b) or prepositions, as in (31 d):

- (31) a. But this meanness, intended or not, hit Stern like a blow.
 b. The new law will be passed willy-nilly. (> adverb)
 c. Whatever your problems, they can't be worse than mine.
 d. He wants his story, no matter the price he has to pay. (> preposition)

Gapping, i. e., the elision of morphological material repeated elsewhere in the sentence, standardly leads to such reductions in alternative concessive conditionals. In English the negation can be directly conjoined to the complementizer:

- (32) a. Whether I like it or (do) not (like it), I think you are the man I have to talk to.
 b. Whether or not he finds a job in New York, he is moving there.

5. Formal types of concessive conditionals – the range of possible variation

5.1. Language coverage

After this introductory discussion of problems of identification, delimitation and semantic analysis, we can look at the cross-linguistic data systematically and in detail. We have questionnaire-based data for about 40 languages of Europe, including 20 languages of the minimal sample of 23 languages which is described in the introduction to this volume. Occasionally, but not systematically, data from non-European languages are also taken into account. The languages for which we have questionnaire-based data are listed in (33), and those that belong to the 23-language sample are marked by an asterisk. There are three languages that belong to the minimal sample, but for which we lack complete data: Abkhaz, Chechen and Nenets.

(33)	Assyrian	*Georgian	Norwegian
	*Albanian	German	Piedmontese
	*Armenian	*Greek	Polish
	*Basque	Hungarian	*Romani
	Bulgarian	Icelandic	Romansch
	Catalan	*Irish	Rumanian
	*Chuvash	Italian	*Russian
	Czech	*Kalmyk	Sardinian
	*Danish	Latvian	Slovene
	*Dutch	*Latin	*Spanish
	English	*Lezgian	*Turkish
	*Finnish	*Lithuanian	Udmurt
	French	*Maltese	Welsh
	Friulian	*Ossetic	Yiddish

First of all, it is worth noting that the large majority of the languages that we looked at have concessive conditional clauses of all three types. Indeed, we have not encountered a single case of a language in which there is no way of

expressing concessive conditionals (or at least one of the three subtypes) by grammatical means. The qualification “grammatical” is important because any language has of course many roundabout ways of expressing the same idea. Thus, alongside (34 a), we can also say (34 b), (34 c) or (34 d).

- (34) a. Wherever you go, I won't leave you.
 b. You can go wherever you wish – I won't leave you.
 c. I don't care where you may go – I won't leave you.
 d. Go to Kilkenny, to Dublin or even to London – I won't leave you.

For a typological study like the present one, it makes little sense to compare structures like (34 b–d) across languages, as was pointed out in the preceding section. Clear typological patterns emerge only with the most grammaticalized structures. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a construction is sufficiently grammaticalized to merit consideration or not, because the process of grammaticalization is gradual. But on the whole, it seems that all European languages have concessive conditionals that are grammaticalized sufficiently. Thus, there is apparently no European language that is like Samoan, where concessive conditionals can only be expressed by sentences containing the verb *tusa* ‘(be) the same’ followed by an embedded interrogative clause.

- (35) Samoan (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 663–665)
- a. E leai se ala e tatau ai ona
 GNR not:exist ART reason GNR appropriate ANAPH CONJ
 ma le ola filemu e tusa lava pe na
 1EXCL:DU not live peaceful GNR the.same PTL INT 3SG
 te soli l-o-u togalaau ...
 GNR trespass ART-POSS-1SG garden
 ‘There is no reason why we should not live in peace, even if he steps into my garden.’
- b. 'Ole'a fai-a e tusa lava pē timu pē leai.
 FUT do-ERG GNR the.same PTL INT rain INT not
 ‘It will be done whether it rains or not.’
- c. Tusa lava po o a ni faafiafianga malie e
 the.same PTL INT PRS what ART entertainment funny GNR
 fai-a e le ata.
 do-ERG GNR not laugh
 ‘Whatever funny entertainments were done, she did not laugh.’

There do not seem to be any clear indications of grammaticalization in Samoan, and all three types of concessive conditionals work like this. Such cases do not seem to exist in Europe. (The language that comes closest to this according to our data is Romani, where both alternative concessive conditionals and universal concessive conditionals are not unlike the Samoan constructions in (35). However, Romani has grammaticalized scalar concessive conditionals.)

Let us now look at each of the three types in more detail.

5.2. Scalar concessive conditionals

5.2.1. Two main types

There are two main structural types of scalar concessive conditionals (henceforth, SCCs) attested in European languages: (i) SCCs that consist of a conditional clause plus a scalar additive focus particle ('even'); (ii) SCCs marked by a subordinator that also marks concessive clauses. The first type is by far the most common in European languages, as can be seen from Table 1, where we list the markers used in the languages of the minimal sample.

It is interesting to note that the type that could be regarded as the simplest, namely the use of a special subordinator for SCCs, is extremely rare in European languages. We have not found a single good example of such a case. An example from a non-European languages is given in (36). A possible explanation for the rarity of this type is the fact that it is not compositionally based on other constructions, such as conditionals.

- (36) Mandarin Chinese
Jǐshì nǐ jiěshì, tā yě bù huì tóngyì de.
 even.if you explain he also NEG can agree NOML
 'Even if you explain it, he will not be able to agree.'

The two main types distinguished above will now be discussed in more detail.

5.2.2. Conditional clause plus scalar additive focus particle

It is not surprising that this type is so widespread because it is transparent in its formal make-up and compositional in its interpretation: a scalar additive focus particle like 'even' combined with a conditional clause compositionally yields a scalar concessive conditional clause (cf. König 1991). There are two

Table 1. Two main structural types of SCCs in the sample languages

(i) conditional clause plus scalar additive focus particle					
(a) non-finite subordination					
Abkhaz	... -(za+)r-g'ə	-(za+)r	'if'	-g'ə	'also'
Basque	... <i>ba</i> ... <i>ere</i>	<i>ba</i> -	'if'	<i>ere</i>	'also, even'
Chuvash	... <i>-san ta</i>	<i>-san</i>	'if'	<i>ta</i>	'also, even'
Kalmyk	... <i>-v č(ig)n</i>	<i>-v</i>	?	<i>č(ig)n</i>	'also, even'
Lezgian	... <i>-t'a-ni</i>	<i>-t'a</i>	'if'	<i>-ni</i>	'also, even'
Turkish	... <i>-sA dA/bile</i>	<i>-sA</i>	'if'	<i>dA/bile</i>	'also, even'
(b) finite subordination					
Albanian	<i>edhe po/sikur</i>	<i>po/sikur/</i>	'if'	<i>edhe</i>	'even'
	<i>/në(se) ...</i>	<i>në(se)</i>			
Armenian	<i>nuynisk et'e ...</i>	<i>et'e</i>	'if'	<i>nuynisk</i>	'even'
Dutch	<i>zelfs als ...</i>	<i>als</i>	'if'	<i>zelfs</i>	'even'
Georgian	<i>tunda(c)</i>	<i>tu</i>	'if'	<i>unda</i>	'is necessary'
Greek	<i>ésto ke an ...</i>	<i>an</i>	'if'	<i>ésto ke</i>	'be it even'
Irish	<i>fiú (ambáin)</i>	<i>má</i>	'if'	<i>fiú (ambáin),</i>	'even'
	<i>má ..., má ...</i>			<i>féin</i>	
	<i>féin</i>				
Latin	<i>etiamsi</i>	<i>si</i>	'if'	<i>etiam</i>	'even'
Lithuanian	<i>kad ... ir ...</i>	<i>kad</i>	'if'	<i>ir</i>	'also'
Maltese	<i>anki jekk ...</i>	<i>jekk</i>	'if'	<i>anki</i>	'also'
Romani	<i>vi te ...</i>	<i>te</i>	'if'	<i>vi</i>	'also'
Russian	<i>daže esli ...</i>	<i>esli</i>	'if'	<i>daže</i>	'even'
Spanish	<i>incluso si ...</i>	<i>si</i>	'if'	<i>incluso</i>	'even'
(ii) subordinator also used in concessive clauses					
Dutch	<i>al</i>				
Finnish	<i>vaikka</i>				
Lithuanian	<i>tegul</i>				
Spanish	<i>aunque</i>				

main formal subtypes of this type, depending on whether the language has (predominantly) finite subordination or nonfinite subordination. Since the distinction between finite and nonfinite subordination is a salient typological parameter, we will refer to this distinction on several occasions, and we will speak of "finite" and "nonfinite" languages, although such a binary distinction is of course an idealization.

In finite languages, the subordinating conjunction precedes the clause, and the focus particle generally precedes the conjunction. Typical examples of this construction are given in (37 a–c). Other languages of this type are Bulgarian (*daže/dori ako*), English (*even if*), German (*auch wenn*), French (*même si*),

Italian (*anche se*), Latvian (*pat ja*), Norwegian (*selv om*), Polish (*nawet jeśli*), Rumanian (*chiar/și dacã*), Yiddish (*afile oyb/az/ven*).⁹

(37) a. Dutch

Zelfs als het regent zullen we naar buiten gaan.
even if it rains will we to outside go
'Even if it rains we will go outside.'

b. Albanian

Edhe po/sikur të bjerë shi do të dalim jashtë.
also if SUBJ falls rain FUT SUBJ go.out:1PL outside
'Even if it rains we will go outside.'

c. Latvian

Pat ja (arī) līs, mēs iesim ārā.
even if also rains we go:1PL outside
'Even if it rains we will go outside.'

Irish *féin* 'even' is unusual in that it does not precede, but follows a finite conditional clause:

(38) Irish

Má chuireann sé *féin*, rachaimid amach.
if rains it even go:1PL outside
'Even if it rains we will go outside.'

In all of these cases the focus particle interacts with the antecedent as focus and takes scope over the whole conditional. The situation expressed by the antecedent is thus characterized as an extreme case for an open sentence of the form 'if *x* then *q*'. In some languages the focus particle may also follow the conditional connective, but this is typically a marked option. In Italian *se anche* may replace the more usual *anche se* only in hypothetical, but not in open conditionals (*se anche piovesse* 'even if it rained'). The order 'if + even' can also be found in French and Russian:

(39) a. French

Si même Pierre ne lui a pas téléphoné, Marcel l'aura fait et il nous attend.
(Simenon, *La folle de Maigret*, p. 143)
'Even if Pierre did not call him, Marcel will have done so and he will be waiting for us.'

b. Russian

Esli daže ja i poedu, to ved' rešitel'no iz ètogo
if even I also go:1SG then PTL definitely from that
ničego ne vyjdet.
nothing not come.out:3SG
'Even if I go, it is definite that nothing will come of it.'

Structures like these do not exhibit the usual regularities for the marking of scope: the particle clearly does not c-command the whole conditional and so it is perhaps not surprising that such structures tend to develop a concessive meaning, as is the case, for instance, in German. In Slovene both concessive conditionals and concessives are based on conditionals and are differentiated only by different particles attached as enclitics to the conditional connective:

(40) Slovene

- a. *Če-tudi* bo deževalo bomo šli ven.
if-also were rained we.were gone out
'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'
- b. *Če-prav* je deževalo, smo šli ven.
if-true is rained we.are gone out
'Although it was raining, we went outside.'

In nonfinite languages, the conditional marker is usually a verbal suffix and the focus particle follows the verb which in the typical case is preceded by both subject and object. Thus, nonfinite languages show the mirror image of the typical finite pattern in (37). As far as we can see, nonfinite languages always exhibit the pattern 'V-COND even', i. e., the second main type (§ 5.2.3) is not attested in this language type. Typical examples of this construction are given in (41 a–b). Other languages of this type are Kabardian (*-m-i*) and Udmurt (... *ke no*). Non-finite languages outside of Europe are also often of this type, e. g., Japanese (*-te-mo*), Kannada (*-ar-uu*), Huallaga Quechua (*-r-pis*).¹⁰

(41) a. Chuvash

Šumār šu-*san* ta, epir urama kaj-atpär.
rain fall-COND also (?) outside go-1PL
'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'

b. Japanese

Ashita wa ame ga fut-*te-mo* ensoku ni iku
tomorrow TOP rain NOM fall-CONV-also picnic DAT go
'Even if it rains tomorrow we will have a picnic.'

Basque is unusual in that its conditional marker *ba-* is a prefix on the verb. However, the focus particle *ere* 'even' follows the verb, as in other non-finite languages.

- (42) Basque
 Eskola-ra joa-ten *ba*-da *ere*, gogo txarr-ez
 school-ALL go-HAB COND-3SG:ABS:AUX even wish bad-MOD
 joa-ten da.
 go-HAB 3SG:ABS:AUX
 'Even if she goes to school, she goes reluctantly.'

In some languages, the subordinator combined with 'even' is not quite the same as the conditional subordinator. This is the case, for example, in Kalmyk and Bulgarian.

- (43) a. Kalmyk
 Xur or-*v* *čn* *γ*aza *γ*ar-x-*vdn*.
 rain fall-PST even outside go.out-FUT-3PL
 'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'
- b. Bulgarian
I da vali, šte izleznem.
 also SUBJ rains FUT go.out:1PL
 'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'

In Kalmyk, conditional clauses are formed with the verbal suffixes *-v-l* or *-lagä*, but in concessive conditionals, *čn* combines directly with the (otherwise past-tense marking) verb form in *-v*. Similarly, in Bulgarian the focus particle *i* 'and, also' can combine with the subjunctive verb form *da vali* (although the more explicit variant *daže/dori ako* 'even if' is also possible), and in Rumanian *chiar să* ('even SUBJ') is a possible alternative to *chiar dacă* ('even if'). We may speculate that the conditional relation may be expressed less explicitly in such cases because the presence of the focus particle combined with an appropriate (e. g., subjunctive) verb form uniquely determines the concessive conditional nature of the clause.

While the clause-external position of the focus particle illustrated above is certainly the unmarked case, we sometimes encounter concessive conditionals with a clause-internal focus particle. "Clause-internal" here means a position following the subject. This seems to occur only in finite-subordination languages. In some languages, such as Lithuanian, this is obligatory (**ir kad* is impossible):

- (44) Lithuanian (Ambrāzas (ed.) 1985: 747)
Kad aš ir išgysiu, bet tavo ne-būsiu.
 if I also recover:1SG but yours not-be:FUT:1SG
 'Even if I recover, I will not be yours.'

Such cases raise interesting questions as to the focus and scope of the particle. Sometimes it is not easy to decide whether we are dealing with a clause-internal particle, with wide scope over the conditional and the antecedent as focus, or with a particle that has its focus and scope within the conditional antecedent and whose interaction with such a focus and scope yields a similar concessive effect.

- (45) a. English
If you even/so much as/but hesitate everything is lost.
- b. Russian
Esli ja daže naučus' katar'sja kak čempion, oni vsë ravno
 if I even learn skate like champion they all same
najdut pričinu, čtoby menja ne pustit'.
 find reason for.to me not let
 'Even if I learn to skate like a champion, they will find a reason anyway not to let me.'

5.2.3. Subordinators also used in concessive clauses

In some languages the same connective is used for both concessive conditional and for concessive clauses. If the two clause types are differentiated at all it is by means of mood: concessive clauses have indicative verbs, and concessive conditional clauses have subjunctive or other modalized verbs. Examples are given in (46)–(50). Other languages of this type are Sardinian (*mançari*) and Maltese (*għadli*).

- (46) Spanish
 a. *Aunque llueva, salgo.*
 though rains:SUBJ I:go.out
 'Even if it is raining, I am going out.' (subjunctive)
- b. *Aunque llueve, salgo.*
 though rains:IND I:go.out
 'Although it is raining, I am going out.' (indicative)

- (47) Finnish
- a. *Vaikka* sata-isi(-kin), lähde-mme ulos.
though rain-COND-even go-1PL outside
'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'
- b. *Vaikka* sat-oi(-kin), lähd-i-mme ulos.
though rain-PST-even go-PST-1PL outside
'Although it rained, we went outside.'
- (48) Lithuanian (Ambrāzas (ed.), 1985: 707, 747)
- a. *Tegul* mane auksu apiberia, o už nemylimo
though me gold:INST cover but behind non.loved
ne-isiu.
NEG-go:FUT:1SG
'Even if they cover me with gold, I will not marry someone I don't love.'
- b. *Tegul* niekas to ne-mate, aš vis vien ne-galiu jam meluoti.
though nobody it not-saw I all one not-can him lie
'Even though nobody saw it, I still cannot lie to him.'
- (49) Upper Sorbian
- a. *Nje-bjer sej jón, byrnjež tež lěpši byl.* (subjunctive)
not-take self it though also better be
'Do not take it, even if it is better.'
- b. *Spytachmy wśistko, byrnjež wědzeli, zo...* (indicative)
we:tried everything though knew that
'We tried everything, although we knew that ...'
- (50) Dutch
- a. *Al kom je midden in de nacht bij hem, hij is altijd*
though come you middle in the night to him he is always
te spreken.
to talk
'Even if you visit him in the middle of the night, you can always talk to him.'
- b. *Zijn bezoek, al was het maar kort, heeft...*
his visit although was it but short has
'His visit, short though it was, has ...'

Early Modern English was also of this type, as was shown in (8 a) above. With a subjunctive verb, *though* could be used in the sense 'even if'. This is no longer possible in Modern English.

In addition to the languages mentioned above, many others use the same expression type for SCCs and concessives, but are not listed in Table 1 under (ii) because they also belong to type (i). That is, in these languages both concessive conditional clauses and concessive clauses are expressed by adding a focus particle to a conditional clause. This is particularly characteristic of nonfinite subordination languages, as illustrated in (51)–(52). Concessivity is also expressed by Abkhaz *-(za+)r-g'ə*, Basque *ba-... ere*, Kalmyk *-v č(ig)n*, Lezgian *-t'a-ni*, Udmurt *ke no*.

- (51) a. Chuvash
Šumar šu-san ta, epir urama kajrämär.
rain fall-COND even (?) outside we:went
'Although it was raining, we went outside.'
- b. Godoberi (Nakh-Daghestanian)¹¹
Čai r-a?-aLa ru-k'-alara-la, iše
rain PL:NT-come-CONV.PRS PL:NT-be-COND-even we
be:r-qi hila b-axid-i.
mountains-DIS on PL:H-go.up-AOR
'Although it was raining, we went up the mountains.'

But 'even + if' can also be used in the sense of 'although' in some finite languages, as illustrated in (52). Other cases in point are Lithuanian *kad... ir*, Norwegian *selv om*, and, as pointed out above, also English *even if*.

- (52) a. Czech
I když pršelo, šli jsme ven.
also if rained went AUX:1PL outside
'Although it was raining, we went outside.'
- b. Italian
Anche se pioveva, siamo usciti.
also if rained we:are gone.out
'Although it rained, we went outside.'

In (51)–(52), it is clear that the concessive meaning is secondary, and the concessive conditional meaning is primary. The cases in (46)–(50) are more interesting because it is not immediately obvious which of the two uses is primary.

Icelandic is particularly interesting in this connection, because here concessive conditionals may be expressed by adding the focus particles *jafnvel* or *enda* not to the conditional connective *ef*, but to a connective *þótt*, which by itself has a concessive interpretation.

- (53) Við förum út, *jafnvel þótt* það rigni.
we went out even though it rains
'We will go outside even if it rains.'

However, a closer look at the etymologies of the subordinators in (46)–(50) gives plausibility to the strong hypothesis that whenever concessive and concessive conditional subordinators are identical, the concessive conditional function is primary and the concessive function is secondary (cf. König 1988: 152). The reason is that all of them contain elements that express scalarity. Scalarity is a semantic characteristic of concessive conditionals, but not of concessives. Thus, not all concessive subordinators contain an element of scalarity (e. g., French *malgré que*, Bulgarian *văpreki će*, Albanian *megjithëse* (lit. 'with all that'), Irish *ainneoin go* (lit. 'despite that')), but only those which derive from concessive conditionals do.

5.2.4. Some weakly grammaticalized construction types

In addition to the main types of SCCs described in § 5.2.2–3, there are several less strongly grammaticalized constructions which will be mentioned briefly here, since they appear among the data elicited by our questionnaire.

The most important weakly grammaticalized construction involves an optative or potential form of the main verb or of the verb 'be'. That is, expressions like 'let it rain', 'it may rain', 'let it be that it rains', 'it may be that it rains' can express the idea 'even if it rains'. A few examples are given in (54).

- (54) a. English
She may be the world's leading Etruscologist, but I doubt that she knows what concessive conditionals looked like in Etruscan.
- b. Latin (*licet* 'it is allowed, it is possible')
Licet omnes mihi minae impendeant, ...
possible all me threats hang.over:PRS:3PL
'Even if all threats hang over me, ...'

- c. Piedmontese
Ch' a pieuva pura, i surtiroma l'
PTL 3SG:SBJ rain:SUBJ:3SG PTL 1PL:SBJ go.out:FUT:1PL the
istess.
same
'Let it rain, we'll go outside anyway.'

- d. Lithuanian (Ambrāzas (ed.) 1985: 710)
Gal ne visai tais žodžiais mes tada vertinome
perhaps not all those words we then we:appreciated
skaitomus poetus, bet jie mums iš tikrųjų labai patiko.
read poets but they us from true very pleased
'Maybe we didn't quite appreciate the poets we read at the time, but we really liked them.'

When the subject is 2nd person, the imperative is used instead of the optative.

- (55) a. Lithuanian
Nors tu galvą duo-k į sieną, o man nieko ne-padarysi.
be.it you head give-IMP in wall but me nothing not-do:FUT
'Even if you hit your head against the wall, you will do nothing to me.'
- b. Polish
Pracuj jak wół, nic ci nie pomoże.
work:IMP like ox nothing you not helps
'Even if you work like an ox, it won't help you.'
- c. Russian
Obeščaj mne xot' gory zolotye, ja na èto delo ne
promise:IMP me be.it mountains golden I to that thing not
pojdu.
I:go
'Even if you promise me golden mountains, I won't get involved in that.'

Such cases are of course the basis for the grammaticalization of expressions like 'it may be', 'let (it be)', etc. as concessive conditional (and later concessive) conjunctions (e. g., Lithuanian *tegu*, Russian *pust'*).

5.3. Alternative concessive conditionals

5.3.1. Five main types

The structural typology of alternative concessive conditionals (henceforth, ACCs) is more complicated than that of SCCs. The discussion below takes the following classification as a starting point: (i) ACCs based on conditionals; (ii) ACCs based on indirect questions; (iii) ACCs marked only as subjunctive/optative; (iv) ACCs marked by 'you want'; (v) special subordinators.

Table 2. The five main structural types of ACCs in the sample languages

(i)	ACCs based on conditionals ('if ... or if ...')
	Basque ... <i>ba-V nahiz</i> ... <i>ba-V</i>
	Lezgian ... <i>V-t'a-ni (wa ja)</i> ... <i>V-t'a-ni</i>
	Turkish ... <i>V-sA dA</i> , ... <i>V-sA dA</i>
	Kalmyk ... <i>V-v ĉn</i> , ... <i>V-v ĉn</i>
	Latin <i>sive</i> ... <i>sive</i> ...
	Spanish <i>si/aunque</i> ... <i>o</i> ...
	Irish <i>má</i> ... <i>mura</i>
(ii)	ACCs based on embedded interrogatives ('whether ... or ...')
	Dutch <i>of</i> ... <i>of dat</i> ...
	Russian <i>X li</i> ... <i>ili</i> ...
	Irish <i>cé acu</i> ... <i>nó</i>
(iii)	ACCs marked only as subjunctive/optative ('be it ... or be it ...')
	Albanian $V_{SUBJ} a V_{SUBJ}; ndo$... <i>ndo</i>
	Armenian $V_{SUBJ} t'e V_{SUBJ}$
	Finnish $V_{IMP} tai V_{IMP}$
	Irish $V_{IMP} nó V_{IMP}$
	Maltese $V jew V$
(iv)	ACCs marked by '(you) want' ('(if) you want ... (if) want ...')
	Georgian <i>ginda</i> ... <i>ginda</i> ...
	Ossetic <i>fændy</i> ... <i>fændy</i> ...
(v)	expression of irrelevance in main clause
	Romani <i>sa jekh te</i> ... <i>vaj te</i> ...
	Irish <i>is cuma an</i> ... <i>nó an</i> ...

These types are discussed in more detail below.

5.3.2. ACCs based on conditionals

Like SCCs, ACCs too may be based on conditionals. This is particularly common in nonfinite languages, where the form of ACCs is most often '... V-COND-even (or) ... V-COND-even'. In (56) some typical examples are given. (Outside of Europe, this structure is also found, e.g., in Japanese: ... *V-te-mo* ... *V-te-mo*.)

- (56) a. Lezgian
 Am šehardi-z fe-ji-t'a-ni fi-n
 [she:ABS town-DAT go-PART-COND-also go-PER
 t-awu-r-t'a-ni ada qe k'walax
 NEG-do-PART-COND-also] [she(ERG) today job
 kütäh-un lazim ja.
 finish-MASD] necessary is
 'Whether she goes to town or not, she has to finish the job today.'
- b. Turkish
 Yağmur yağ-sa da güneşli ol-sa da dışarı-ya
 rain rain-COND even sunny be-COND even outside-DAT
 gid-eceğ-iz.
 go-FUT-1PL
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'
- c. Basque
 Euria ari ba-du nahiz eguzkia atera-tzen ba-da,
 rain ASP COND-has or sun shine-HAB COND-is
 irten-go gara.
 go.out-FUT we:are
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'

In finite languages, ACCs are rarely based on conditionals. Such is the case, however, in Latin (*si-ve* ... *si-ve* ..., where *-ve* is a suffix meaning 'or') and in Rumanian (where *și dacă* ... *și dacă* ... is one of several possibilities).

- (57) a. Latin
Si-ve pluit *si-ve* sol lucet, (tamen) discedimus.
 if-or rains if-or sun shines still we:go:out
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'
- b. Rumanian
Și dacă plouă *și dacă* e soare, vom ieși.
 even if rains even if is sun FUT:1PL go.out
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'

In the above examples, both alternatives of the ACC are marked as (concessive) conditionals. Another possibility that is occasionally encountered is a structure of the type ‘(even) if ... or ...’ where only the first alternative is explicitly conditional and the disjunction is overtly marked by ‘or’.

(58) a. Spanish

Aunque llueva o salga el sol/ *Si* llueve o sale
 though rain:SUBJ or go.out:SUBJ the sun if rains or go.out
 el sol, saldremos.
 the sun we:will:go.out
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.’

b. Yiddish

Afile ven ’s regnt *oder* di zun sheynt, veln mir geyn in droysn.
 even if it rains or the sun shines will we go in outside
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.’

5.3.3. ACCs based on embedded interrogatives

In some Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages and in Irish, ACCs may have exactly the same form as subordinate alternative interrogative clauses. In these languages, different subordinators are used synchronically in conditional clauses, so it is clear that their ACCs are more closely related to alternative interrogatives than to conditionals.

(59) a. German (conditional: *wenn*)

Ob ich gewinne *oder* verliere, Badminton macht mir Spass.
 whether I win or lose badminton makes me fun
 ‘Whether I win or lose, Badminton is fun.’

b. Russian (conditional: *esli*)

Pojdem *li* my v kino *ili* ostanemsja doma, ja xoču
 go INT we in cinema or we:stay home I want
 provesti večer s toboj.
 spend evening with you
 ‘Whether we go to the movies or stay at home, I want to spend the evening with you.’

c. Irish (conditional: *má*)

Cé acu a chuirfidh sé nó a bheidh grian ann,
 which of:them REL rain it or REL be:FUT:3SG sun in:it
 rachaimid amach.
 go:FUT:1PL outside
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we’ll go outside.’

Another language of this type is Icelandic. But in this language alternative concessive conditionals are differentiated from embedded interrogatives in so far as the relative marker *sem* and the particle *að* follow the interrogative complementizer in the former, but not in the latter case:

(60) Icelandic

- a. Við munum fara út, *hvort sem að* það er rigning *eða*
 we will go out whether that PTL it is rain or
 sólskin.
 sunshine
 ‘We will go outside whether there is rain or sunshine.’
- b. Við vitum ekki *hvort* það er rigning *eða* sólskin.
 we know not whether it is rain or sunshine
 ‘We don’t know whether it is raining or the sun is shining.’

In the languages illustrated by (61) the subordinator that marks subordinate alternative interrogatives is identical to the expression of disjunction (i. e., ‘whether’ = ‘or’).

(61) a. Dutch (conditional: *als*)

Of het nu regent *of* dat de zon schijnt, we zullen
 whether it now rains or that the sun shines we will
 (toch) naar buiten gaan.
 still to outside go
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we’ll go outside.’

b. Latvian (conditional: *ja*)

Vai nu līs *vai* spīdēs saule, mēs iesim ārā.
 whether now rains or shines sun we go out
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we’ll go outside.’

c. Polish (conditional: *jeśli*)

Czy będzie deszcz *czy* słońce, wyjdziemy na dwór.
 whether will:be rain or sun we:go.out to outside
 ‘Whether it rains or the sun shines, we’ll go outside.’

Thus, theoretically one could doubt that they involve a subordinator at all, maintaining that they should be grouped with type (iii) of Table 2, the main difference being that disjunction is expressed twice. Two facts argue against this: first, there is no trace of a subjunctive or optative in (61), and second, in all cases the “subordinator/disjunction” (*of*, *vai*, *czy*) is also used as the subor-

dinator in polar (i. e. nondisjunctive) interrogatives, showing that it is indeed a subordinator. In other words, the only difference between the two subtypes distinguished by (59) and (61) consists of the fact that the two correlative conjunctions that may introduce two alternatives are formally distinct in the first group (Eng. *whether ... or*) and identical in the second (Latvian *vai ... vai*).

5.3.4. ACCs marked only as subjunctive/optative

In quite a few European languages, ACCs lack a subordinator completely. They have the form of two main clauses (combined by the disjunction 'or') whose verbs are in the optative mood (often coinciding with subjunctive or imperative). This structure, of course, reminds us of the optative/imperative SCCs mentioned in § 5.2.4, which we qualified as weakly grammaticalized. By contrast, the ACCs mentioned in this section seem to be more strongly grammaticalized, although it is not easy to give precise criteria in order to substantiate this view. In most of these languages, this type of ACC is the only or the major type. Further languages with patterns like those in (62) are French and Albanian.

- (62) a. Armenian
Anjrev lini *t'e arev, menk' durs k-gna-nk'*.
rain be:FUT:SUBJ:3SG or sun we out COND-go-FUT:1PL
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'
- b. Spanish
Llueva o brille el sol, saldremos.
rain:SUBJ or shine:SUBJ the sun go.out:FUT:1PL
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'
- c. Spanish
Toque Juan el piano o la flauta, saldremos.
play:SUBJ Juan the piano or the flute go.out:FUT:1PL
'Whether Juan plays the piano or the flute, we'll go out.'
- d. Irish
Cuireadh sé *nó* biodh sé ina ghrian, rachaimid amach.
rain:IMP it or be:IMP it in:its sun go:FUT:1PL out
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'
- e. Sardinian
O pioat o besa su sole, èssimus su matessi.
or rain:SUBJ or shine:SUBJ the sun go.out:1PL the same
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'

- f. Italian
(*Che*) piova o (*che*) faccia bello, usciremo.
PTL rain:SUBJ or PTL do:SUBJ beautiful we:will:go.out
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'
- g. Finnish
Sata-*koon* tai paista-koon, lähde-mme ulos.
rain-IMP or shine-IMP go-1PL out
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'
- g. Belorussian
Xaj tam budze sonca *ci* tuman, ceplaxod mjane bol'sh ne
let there be sun or fog steamboat me more not
tryvožyc'.
alarm
'Whether it's sunny or foggy there, the steamboat does not bother me anymore.'

In the Germanic languages (and in Romance when *que/che* is not used, cf. the Spanish examples), the verb must precede the subject in such optative clauses, as in other optative constructions (*long live the king*, French *vive le roi*, etc.). In English, such optative ACCs with subject-verb inversion are also possible, but mostly limited to the verb 'be'.

- (63) English
a. Be he friend or foe, the law regards him as a criminal.
b. Come wind or rain, we will climb the mountain.

5.3.5. ACCs marked by 'you want'

In a few (mostly marginal) European languages, ACCs are marked by an expression that originally means '(you) want', preceding each alternative. Examples are given in (64).

- (64) a. Hungarian (*akar*- 'want')
Akár esik *akár* süt a nap, ki-megy-ünk.
want rains want shines the sun out-go-1PL
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go out.'

b. Ossetic (*fænd-* 'want')

Fændy uargæ ær-kæn-a, *fændy* hur kæs-a, uæddær mah
 want rain PREV-do-SUBJ want sun shine-SUBJ still we
 a-cæu-dzys-tæm uying-mæ tezyo kænyn-mæ.
 PREV-go-FUT-1PL street-ALL walk do-ALL

'Whether it rains or the sun shines, nevertheless we'll go on the street to have a walk.'

c. Georgian (*-inda* 'want', *g-* '2nd person subject')

Ginda cecxl-ši čavarde, *ginda* zyva-ši, ...
 want fire-into fall want sea-into

'Whether you fall into the fire or into the sea, ...'

d. Basque (*nabiz* 'wish', *-z* 'modal case suffix')

Nabiz hotz, *nabiz* bero, mendira doa egunero.
 want warm want cold mountain goes daily

'Whether it is warm or cold, he goes up the mountain every day.'

In some of these languages (Basque, Ossetic, perhaps also Hungarian) the 'want' expression also means 'or', and so one might suspect that these cases should be grouped with those in § 5.3.4. Since several of these languages also use a subjunctive (e. g., Ossetic *ær-kan-a*, *kæs-a*), their exclusion from the type of § 5.3.4 is not definite.

However, it seems clear that the connection to § 5.3.4. is at a different level. 'You want' is a hearer-oriented way of expressing arbitrariness and free-choice, while the optative ('it may be', 'let it be') is a speaker-oriented way of expressing the same meaning.¹² This more objective way may also find an independent expression, when the optative of 'be' is used in the same way as 'you want' in (65).

(65) a. Dutch

Hetzij (dat) je hier blijft, *hetzij* (dat) je weggaat, ik moet
 be:it that you here stay be:it that you go.away I must
 mezelf toch zien te reddén.
 myself still see to save

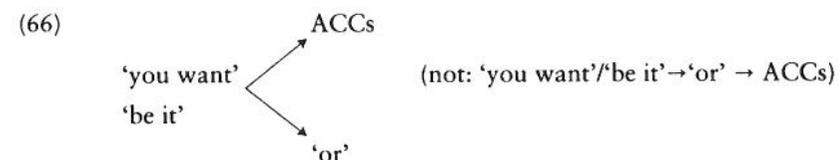
'Whether you stay here or go away, I will be thrown on my own resources.'

b. Italian

Sia che piova *sia* che faccia bello, usciremo.
 be:it that rains be:it that makes fine go.out:FUT:1PL

'Whether it rains or the weather is fine, we'll go out.'

An expression like 'be it' also often means 'or', but again there is no reason to assume that the use in (65) derives from 'or'. Rather, the use of 'be it' and 'you want' both in ACCs and in disjunctions are independent developments, as schematized in (66).



5.3.6. A weakly grammaticalized construction type

In a few languages, an embedded interrogative clause dependent on an expression of irrelevance ('it does not matter', 'it's all the same') is the best way of expressing the meaning of an ACC. This is the case in Romani, Norwegian and a few other languages, where no other strategy seems to be available.

(67) a. Romani

Sa jekh te d-el-a biršind vaj te av-l-a šukar
 all one if give-3SG-FUT rain or if come-3SG-FUT nice

vrjama, ame ža-s-a avri.
 weather we go-1PL-FUT out

'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'

b. Norwegian

Uansett om det regner eller om sola skinner,
 independently whether it rains or whether the:sun shines

(så) går vi ut.

then go we out

'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'

c. Polish

Wszystko jedno czy pójdziemy do teatru czy

all one whether we:go to theater whether

zostaniemy w domu, chciał-by-m spędzić ten wieczór z

stay:1PL at home want-SUBJ-1SG spend this evening with

tołą.

you

'Whether we go to the theater or stay at home, I would like to spend the evening with you.'

d. Irish

Is cuma an gcuirfidh sé nó an mbeidh sé ina
 is irrelevant INT rain:FUT:3SG it or INT be:FUT:3SG it in:its
ghrian, rachaimid amach.
 sun go:FUT:1PL out
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.'

Another language which could be listed here is Old English, where *sam ... sam ...* is used, as illustrated in (68).

(68) Old English

Sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal secgan ...
 whether I want whether I not:want I shall say
 'Whether I want or not, I will say ...'

The correlative conjunction *sam* can plausibly be assumed to be related to the adverbs *same* 'similarly, likewise' Dutch *samen* 'together' and a variety of compounds all expressing identity.

The construction type exemplified by (67) and (68) seems to be weakly grammaticalized in all languages.

5.3.7. Reduced ACCs

In quite a few languages, reduced ACCs are possible in which neither the subordination nor the disjunction is overtly expressed.

(69) a. Lithuanian

Gali ne-gali o išėiti reikės.
 you:can no-you:can but go.out must
 'Whether you can do it or not, you have to go out.'

b. Russian

Vkusno ne vkusno prigotovit – vsë s"edjat.
 tasty not tasty cooks everything they:will:eat
 'Whether he cooks well ('tastily') or not, they'll eat everything.'

c. Albanian

Mundesh s' mundesh, ti duhet të dalësh.
 you:can not you:can you must SUBJ you:go.out
 'Whether you can do it or not, you have to go out.'

d. Armenian

Anjrev ga č-ga, es piti gna-m gorc'-i.
 rain come:SUBJ NEG-come:SUBJ I must go-1SG work-DAT
 'Rain or no rain, I have to go to work.'

e. Bulgarian

Dojdeš, ne dojdeš, šte izleznem.
 you:come not you:come FUT we:will:go.out
 'Whether you come or not, we will go out.'

In the examples in (69), the disjunction is of the semantic type ' $p \vee \sim p$ ', i. e., the second disjunct is the negation of the first. In this case it is particularly clear that the disjunction is a tautology, which makes sense only when interpreted as an ACC. This may explain why reduction is possible in ACCs, but not to the same extent in other adverbial clause types.

Occasionally reduction can also be found when the two disjuncts only imply a contradictory relationship, but there is no overt negation.

(70) a. Albanian

Unë duhet të shkoj në punë, shi a diell.
 I must SUBJ I:go to work rain or sun
 'I have to go to work, rain or sun.'

b. English

Right or wrong, it is my country.

c. Maltese

Xemx jew xita, noħorġu barra.
 sun or rain we:go.out:IMPF out
 'Sun or rain, we'll go out.'

Some such reductions have become fixed idiomatic expressions:

(71) a. Italian

Volente o nolente, devi uscire.
 wanting or not:wanting must:2SG go.out
 'Whether you want or not, you have to go out.'

b. English

You will have to go there, willy-nilly.

c. German

Ich muss das nolens volens machen.

I must that willy-nilly do

'I have to do that willy-nilly.'

(*nolens volens* borrowed from Latin 'not wanting, wanting')

5.4. Universal concessive conditionals

5.4.1. Eight main types

Universal concessive conditionals (henceforth, UCCs) exhibit great formal diversity in the languages of Europe. However, there is one formal element that is shared by virtually all types of UCCs in Europe (apparently this is a universal feature of UCCs): the parameter that is presented as irrelevant for the validity of the consequent is expressed as an interrogative pronoun, or at least as a pronoun based on an interrogative pronoun (we sometimes use "WH" as a shorthand for "interrogative pronoun" below). Table 3 shows the main structural types of UCCs in the languages of the minimal sample.

Table 3. The main structural types of UCCs in the sample languages

(i)	UCCs marked by a focus particle affixed to the verb	
	Abkhaz	WH-V-g'ə
	Chuvash	(kirek) WH V-san ta
	Finnish	WH (tahansa) V-kin
	Kalmyk	WH V-v čn
	Lezgian	WH V-t'a-ni
	Lithuanian	WH be-V-tu
(ii)	UCCs marked by an element following WH	
(ii-a)	'ever' etc.	
	Greek	o-WH-đi-pote
	Latin	WH-cum-que
	Ossetic	WH-dæriddær
(ii-b)	'want'	
	Albanian	WH-do
	Finnish	WH (tahansa)
	Georgian	WH-c ar unda
	Ossetic	WH-fændy
	Spanish	WH-quiera
	Basque	WH-nabi

Table 3. (continued)

(ii-c)	'also'	
	Dutch	WH dan ook, WH ook maar
	Latin	WH-cum-que
	Armenian	WH êl
	Greek	o-WH-đi-pote ke, o-WH ke an
	Georgian	WH-c
(ii-d)	'that'	
	French	WH que
	Icelandic	WH sem
(ii-e)	'if'	
	Greek	o-WH ke an
(ii-f)	'only'	
	Dutch	WH ook maar
(ii-g)	'yet', 'then'	
	Norwegian	WH enn
	Dutch	WH dan ook
(iii)	UCCs marked by an element preceding WH	
	Basque	edo WH
	Chuvash	kirek WH
(iv)	UCCs marked by reduplication	
	Latin	WH-WH
(v)	UCCs marked by negation on the verb	
	Georgian	WH-c ar unda
	Russian	WH by ni V
(vi)	Optative UCCs	
	Spanish	V _{SUBJ} [WH V _{SUBJ}]
	Turkish	[WH V _{COND}] V _{OPT}
	Irish	V _{IMP} ... rogha ...
	Maltese	V _{IMPF} [WH V _{IMPF}]
(vii)	'no matter'	
	Romani	sa jekh WH
	Finnish	ihan sama WH
	Irish	is cuma WH
(viii)	non-WH-based UCCs	
	German	so ADJ auch
	French	(aus)si ADJ que

The fact that UCCs generally contain an interrogative pronoun could be taken as evidence that they are clearly related to interrogative clauses (or even that they *are* interrogative clauses in a sense, cf. Zaefferer 1987). This would be consistent with the fact that ACCs may also show close formal resemblances with interrogatives (cf. § 5.3.3). And there is of course not the slightest doubt that UCCs of the ‘no matter’ type (vii in Table 3) involve embedded interrogatives. However, on purely formal grounds, most UCCs could also be derived from nonspecific free relative clauses (cf. our earlier discussion in § 3.3). Nonspecific free relatives make use of WH-pronouns in all European languages, as far as we can determine. The pattern in (72) is quite typical. (Note that the use of interrogative pronouns in normal relative clauses, like English *which*, *who*, is much less common.)

- (72) German
- a. *Was* schreibt sie? (interrogative)
 what writes she
 ‘What is she writing?’
- b. *Was* sie schreibt wird gut. (free relative)
 what she writes becomes good
 ‘What she writes turns out good.’

However, in some languages the relative pronoun formally differs from the interrogative pronoun from which it is derived. Such is the case in Modern Greek, for example, where the relative pronoun is derived from the interrogative pronoun by means of a prefix *o-*.

- (73) Greek
- a. *Ti* γράφι? (interrogative)
 what writes
 ‘What is she writing?’
- b. *Ó-ti* γράφι jinete kaló. (free relative)
 REL-what writes gets good
 ‘What she writes turns out good.’

The following generalization seems to hold, at least in European languages: whenever a language uses a special set of (WH-derived) relative pronouns in nonspecific free relative clauses, those pronouns are also used in UCCs. In addition to Greek, such special relative pronouns exist in Bulgarian (*WH-to*), Slovene (*WH-r*), and Georgian (*WH-c*). Further evidence for this view is pro-

vided by the historical development of UCCs in English (and other Germanic languages), which can roughly be sketched as follows:

- (74) *swa hwæt swa* >
s(wa) hwæt swa > *what so* >
what so ever >
what(so)ever

Thus, the traditional view that a UCC is a kind of nonspecific (or “generalizing”) free relative clause, has some foundation in the cross-linguistic data and cannot be simply rejected (as Zaefferer 1987 does, based only on the meaning of UCCs and their form in German).

Let us now look in more detail at each of the structural types distinguished in Table 3.

5.4.2. UCCs marked by a focus particle on the verb

The group of languages that can most easily be generalized over are the non-finite languages. Their UCCs are generally marked by a focus particle which follows the conditional form of the verb, as in ACCS and SCCs. In these languages the focus particle functions as an unselective binder which may bind one or several WH-phrases. (For a Basque example, see (81 c) below. Turkish, however, shows a different pattern.)

- (75) a. Godoberi
InL'ašū hawa bu-k'-alara-la iLe išqa-ru
 which weather N-be-COND-also we:ABS home-EL
ma-n-iLibu-da.
 PL:H-go-FUT.PART-be
 ‘Whatever the weather will be, we will go outside.’
- b. Chuvash
Nina kirek ašta kaj-san ta, Boris āna pēččen
 Nina necessary where go-COND also Boris her alone
xāvar-mě.
 leave-NEG(3SG)
 ‘Wherever Nina goes, Boris will never leave her.’
- c. Kalmyk
Xama jov-v čn, duusndan' xajx-uga.
 where go-PAST also never leave-NEG
 ‘Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.’

The use of the conditional form is characteristic of this language type (but see below, § 5.4.3.5). What does it tell us concerning the issue whether UCCs are more closely related to interrogatives or to relatives? Again, the evidence is not conclusive, but it appears that it favours the view that the relationship is closer with relatives. In Lezgian, Turkish and Chuvash, free relatives show verbs in the conditional form (Kalmyk seems to lack free relatives):

(76) a. Lezgian

Wa-z hik' k'an-da-t'a hak' aja.
 you-DAT how want-FUT-COND so do:IMP
 'Do as you please.'

b. Turkish

Ayşe ne söyler-se, Murat tekrar ed-iyor.
 Ayşe what say-COND Murat repeat do-IMPF
 'Murat repeats whatever Ayşe says.'

By contrast, embedded interrogatives are based on the conditional form of the verb only in Lezgian, but not in the other languages.

A focus particle following the verb is also found in Finnish, which is a marginal nonfinite language.

(77) Finnish

Minne (tahansa) hän mene-e-kin, mies ei koskaan tule
 where want she go-3SG-also man not never will
 jättämään häntä.
 leave her
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

The marking of a UCC by a verbal prefix, as in the case of Lithuanian *be-*, is quite unique among European languages. We illustrate it in this section because it is not quite clear what *be-* means. It can signal 'still' and progressive aspect (Ambrāzas (ed.) 1985: § 305–308), but also 'only', so it would fit in our categories § 5.4.3.6–7. But a connection with the particle *bent* 'be it' seems also possible.

(78) Lithuanian

Kur ji be-eitu, aš jos niekada ne-paliksiu.
 where she PTL-go:SUBJ I her never not-leave
 'Wherever she goes, I never leave her.'

5.4.3. UCCs marked by an element following WH

In the finite languages in the centre of Europe (the Standard Average European languages), UCCs are mostly marked by a particle or suffix that immediately follows the WH-phrase or the WH-word, which is invariably clause-initial. Clause-internal particles are rarer. In most of these languages, the quantificational force seems to be directly associated with the WH-phrase and its affix. Some languages manifest an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization process leading from unselective binding to the development of free choice quantifiers. The verb is often in a subjunctive form. The different particles and suffixes will be discussed and illustrated in turn below.

5.4.3.1. 'ever', etc.

An expression that emphasizes the irrelevance of the antecedent in the temporal dimension is used in English (*WH-ever*), where it is a suffix, and in German, where it is either a particle that follows the WH-phrase immediately, or a clause-internal particle when the focus particle *auch* is also present (cf. § 5.4.3.3).

(79) German

Was immer du uns kochst/ Was du auch immer kochst, ich
 what ever you us cook what you also ever cook I
 freue mich auf das Essen mit dir.
 rejoice self on the meal with you
 'Whatever you are cooking for us, I am looking forward to the meal with you.'

In some languages, UCCs have WH-words followed by a suffix that only etymologically goes back to 'ever' (as far as we can tell), but synchronically is an opaque marker. Examples are Italian *WH-unique* (< Latin *umquam* 'ever'), Greek *o-WH-đipote* (< Ancient Greek emphatic particle *dē* plus *potē* 'ever'), Polish *WH-kolwiek* (perhaps from **koli* 'when; ever' plus *wiek* 'age'), Latin *WH-cum-que* (< **quom* 'when; ever' plus *-que* 'and, also', cf. § 5.4.3.3).

(80) a. Latin

Quo-cumque ea contendit, is numquam ab ea
 whither-ever she go:PRS:3SG he never from her
 discedet.
 go.away:FUT:3SG
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

b. Polish

Co-kolwiek ona powie, on milczy.
 what-ever she says he keeps:quiet
 'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'

c. Italian

Qual-unque cosa lei dica, lui sta zitto.
 what-ever thing she says he stays silent
 'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'

Ossetic *WH-dærridær* is also synchronically opaque, and we do not have etymological information on its origin.

5.4.3.2. 'want'

We already saw expressions meaning '(you) want' in ACCs (§ 5.3.5), and now they reappear in UCCs, following the WH-phrase. Some examples are given in (81). (Finnish WH *tahansa* has already been illustrated in (77).)

(81) a. Ossetic

Cy-fændy dzur-a uyj, uyj uy-dzæn ænædzuræg.
 what-want say-SUBJ she he be-FUT(3SG) silent
 'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'

b. Spanish

Donde-quiera que vaya, nunca la dejará.
 where-want that go:SUBJ never her leave:FUT:3SG
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

c. Basque

Nora-nahi joan da ere, ez du inoiz utzi-ko.
 where-want go she:is also not he:her ever leave-FUT
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

d. Albanian

Ku-do që të shkojë ajo, ai kurrë nuk do ta
 where-want that SUBJ go she he never not FUT her
 braktisë.
 leave
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

Again, the element '(you) want' expresses the irrelevance of the antecedent by leaving the choice to the hearer. Literally, (81 b) could be rendered as 'Wherever you want her to go, he will never leave her'. And again, there are parallel structures involving the objective counterpart of 'you want', 'it may be'. In French, *qui que ce soit* is a common equivalent of *qui que*, and the Italian suffix *-siasì* (in *qualsiasi* 'whichever') also contains *sia* 'be it'. (82 b) shows its Sardinian cognate.)

(82) a. French

Qui que ce soit que je rencontre, je lui parle.
 'Whoever (it is that) I meet, I talk to him or her.'

b. Sardinian

A *calisiat* logu andet, isse le ponet fattu.
 to whichever place goes he her puts following
 'Wherever she goes, he follows her.'

5.4.3.3. 'also'

In several languages, the additive focus particle 'also, even' follows the WH-pronoun. In Dutch (cf. (83 a)) and in German (cf. (80)), 'also' is clause-internal.

(83) a. Dutch

Waar ze ook maar heen gaat, hij zal haar nooit verlaten.
 where she also only to goes he will her never leave
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

b. Armenian

Inc êl Seda-n asi, Asot-ə lřum ê.
 what also Seda-ART says Asot-ART quiet is
 'Whatever Seda says, Asot keeps quiet.'

c. Greek

O-pu-đipote ke na pái, aftós poté ðen θa tin
 REL-where-ever also SUBJ goes he ever not FUT her
 engatalipsi.
 will:leave
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

d. Bulgarian

Kåde-to i da otide, toj njama da ja napusne.
 where-REL also SUBJ go.away he not.will SUBJ her leave
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

5.4.3.4. 'that'

In some languages, a general subordinator ('that') follows the WH-word. This was illustrated above for Spanish ((81 b), *que*), French ((82 a), *que*) and Albanian ((81 d), *që*). In those examples, the general subordinator follows an expression of the type 'you want'/'it may be', so the occurrence of a subordinator is not surprising. But at least in French, the subordinator *que* also occurs when *ce soit* is not present, as in (84 a). And Hebrew (in some sense also a European language) shows the same pattern (84 b), as well as Icelandic (84 c) and Georgian (*sada-c rom ar* 'where-also that one' = 'wherever').

(84) a. French

Quoi qu'il advienne, observe cette règle.
'Whatever happens, observe this rule.'

b. Hebrew

Mi še-lo yavo, ha-mesiba tihye mesa'amemet.
who that-not comes the-party will:be boring
'Whoever comes, the party will be boring.'

c. Icelandic

Hann mun aldrei yfirgefa hana, *hvert sem* hún fer.
he will never leave her where that she goes
'He will never leave her, wherever she goes.'

So far we have not found a good explanation for the occurrence of a subordinator in such cases.

5.4.3.5. 'if'

The occurrence of a conditional marker ('if') is rare in finite languages, but not unattested. (85) is an example from Modern Greek.

- (85) *Ó-ti ke an léi aftí*, aftós méni pánda siopilós.
REL-what also if says she he stays always silent
'Whatever she says, he always remains silent.'

5.4.3.6. 'only'

Occasionally the restrictive focus particle 'only' is used in UCCs. Dutch *maar* 'only' was illustrated in (83 a). More examples can be found in (86).

(86) a. Yiddish

Vos nor zi zol zogn, shvaygt er.
what only she SUBJ say keeps:quiet he
'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'

b. Udmurt

Kinleś gine ug juaśky, nokin no ug tody.
who only not I:ask nobody also not knows
'Whoever I ask, nobody knows.'

c. German

Was sich nur rühret, alles zu Fuß ihm fällt.
what self only moves everything to foot him falls
'Whatever moves, every creature bows to his glory.'

5.4.3.7. 'yet', 'then'

In a few cases, temporal adverbs like English *still*, *yet* and *then* mark UCCs. However, these glosses are slightly misleading, since it is not the temporal meaning of continuation or sequence that is relevant here, but rather something like the additive use of German *noch*.

(87) a. Norwegian

Hvor hun enn drar hen, kommer han aldri til å forlate henne.
where she still goes to will he never to PTL leave
her
'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

b. Dutch

Waar ze dan ook heen gaat, hij zal haar nooit verlaten.
where she then also to goes he will her never leave
'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

c. German

Er mag *noch* so stark sein, diesen Stein kann er nicht heben.
he may ever so strong be this stone can he not lift
'However strong he may be, he is not able to lift this stone.'

5.4.4. UCCs marked by an element preceding WH

In some languages, UCCs are marked by an element that precedes the WH-pronoun. Four examples are given in (88), and a further example is Chuvash *kirek* (cf. (75 b)).

- (88) a. Hungarian
Akár-hová is megy, soha nem fogja elhagyni.
 PTL-where also goes never not will leave
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'
- b. Rumanian
Ori-unde (/Măcar unde) merge (ea), (el) nu o va părăsi
 PTL-where be.it where goes she he not her will leave
 niciodată.
 never
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'
- c. Basque
Edo zein hil dadin, ...
 PTL which killed is
 'Whichever is the victim, ...'
- d. Latvian
Lai arī kur viņa (ne-)ietu, viņš nekad viņu ne-atstās.
 for.to also where she not-goes he never her not-leaves
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

It is difficult to make generalizations over these cases. On the one hand, one could say that a 'want' expression can occur in this position: Hungarian *akár* (< *akar-* 'want') and Rumanian *ori* (< Latin **volet*) etymologically go back to 'want', and Chuvash *kirek* is related to *kir-* 'be necessary'. But synchronically, it may be more correct to say that a disjunctive expression is used in this way, because *akár* and *ori* also mean 'or', and Basque *edo* only means 'or'. To make things worse, there is a third possibility: Hungarian *akár* is also used as a focus particle 'be it, at least'. The multiple polysemies are summarized in (89). (Latvian *lai arī* 'for.to also' does not fit in here at all.)

(89)		'want'	'or'	'be it'
	Chuvash	<i>kirek</i>		(? <i>kirek</i>)
	Rumanian	<i>ori</i>	<i>ori</i>	<i>ori</i>
	Basque		<i>edo</i>	
	Hungarian	<i>akár</i>	<i>akár</i>	<i>akár</i>

It seems that a comprehensive study of such expressions is necessary before we can decide which of these meanings UCCs are based on.¹³

5.4.5. UCCs marked by reduplication

In some languages the WH-pronoun is reduplicated in UCCs. With reduplication being in general extremely rare in European languages, it is not surprising that this strategy is also rare in UCCs. The only case we know of is Latin, illustrated in (90 a). Reduplication in this function is probably much more common outside of Europe; (90 b) from the Australian languages Bagandi shows a structure that is completely parallel to Latin.

- (90) a. Latin
Quid-quis id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.
 what-what that is I:fear Danaans even gifts bringing
 'Whatever that is, I fear the Danaans even if they bring gifts.'
- b. Bagandi (Hercus 1982: 171)
Gila yuri-wa-yiga-ayi, miŋa-miŋa yawara ŋaɖu
 not hear-ASP-3PL-SUBJ-1SG:OBJ what-what word I:ERG
gulba-ra-na-ama.
 speak-TOP-PTL-2SG:OBJ
 'They don't understand me, whatever words I may be saying to you.'

But not only the WH-pronoun may be reduplicated. (91) from Sicilian shows an example where the verb is reduplicated.

- (91) Sicilian (Bollée 1978: 329)
Unni vaju vaju, tutti mi salutunu.
 where I:go I:go all me they:greet
 'Wherever I go, everyone greets me.'

Reduplication here probably signals distributivity, or perhaps irrelevance (cf. Haspelmath 1997: § 7.4 for a discussion of the related use of reduplication in free-choice indefinites).

5.4.6. UCCs marked by negation on the verb

In some eastern European languages, UCCs are signalled by (among other things) a negated main verb. The best-known case is Russian (cf. (92 a)), but negation also occurs in non-Slavic languages. Above we have already given examples from Latvian (88 d), Udmurt (86 b), and Hebrew (85 b).

- (92) a. Russian
Gde by ja ni byla, vezde menja vstrečali druželjubno.
 where SUBJ I not be everywhere me met friendly
 'Wherever I was, everywhere people met me in a friendly way.'
- b. Yiddish
Es iz mir gut vu ikh zol nit zayn.
 it is to:me good where I SUBJ not be
 'I'm fine wherever I am.'
- c. Georgian
Sada-c (rom) ar c'a-vedi, ...
 where-REL that not PREV-I:go
 'Wherever I go, ...'

This strategy is thus clearly areally restricted, and it is quite likely that Udmurt, Yiddish and Latvian borrowed the pattern from Russian (or rather Polish/Ukrainian in the case of Yiddish). The existence of this pattern in Hebrew can probably also be attributed to Slavic or Yiddish influence. Only in the case of Georgian is the development likely to be independent. Georgian grammar does not otherwise show any strong influences from Russian. From the semantic point of view, the occurrence of negation as a marker of UCCs is rather puzzling.¹⁴ (See § 6 for some further discussion.)

5.4.7. Optative UCCs

We have seen the use of strategies involving the optative mood both for SCCs and ACCs, so it does not come as a surprise that such strategies are also available for expressing UCCs. A clause like 'Wherever she goes' can alternatively be expressed as 'Let her go X', where X is an arbitrary referent. This X can be expressed as (i) a nonspecific free relative clause ('Let her go where she may go ...'); (ii) a free-choice indefinite pronoun ('Let her go anywhere, ...'); or (iii) an explicit expression of free choice or arbitrariness ('Let her go to the place of her choice, ...').

The first case is represented by Spanish, Catalan, Turkish, and Maltese.

- (93) a. Spanish/Catalan
Vaya adonde vaya, nunca la dejará.
Vagi on vagi, mai no la deixarà.
 go:SUBJ:3SG where go:SUBJ:3SG never not her leave:FUT:3SG
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

- b. Turkish
Nereye gider-se-m gid-eyim, bin-i bırak-ma-yacağ-ın.
 where go-COND-1SG go-OPT.1SG I-ACC leave-NEG-FUT-2SG
 'Wherever I go, you will never leave me.'
- c. Maltese
Tipprova kemm tipprova, ma jirnexxilek qatt.
 you:try:IMPF how you:try:IMPF NEG succeed:to.you never
 'However much you try, you will never succeed.'

The second case is not uncommon in Czech (94 a), and has been attested in English as well.

- (94) a. Czech
At' je to kdo-koli, bude přísně potrestán.
 let be it who-ever will:be severely punished
 'Whoever it is, s/he will be severely punished.'
- b. Early Modern English (Jespersen 1940: 477)
 Let the season be whatsoever ... we take all in good part.

The third case can be found in Irish. *Rogha* means 'choice', so *ina rogha áit* is literally 'in her choice place', i. e., in the place that is her choice.

- (95) Irish
Téadh sí ina rogha áit, ní fhágfaidh sé go deo
 go:IMPV she in:her choice place not leave:FUT:3SG he ever
í.
 her
 'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

Note that this Irish pattern is one of the rare instances where a UCC does not involve a WH-pronoun.

Of course, less grammaticalized variants to these constructions are also possible. In particular, the X in 'Let her do X' may be expressed by a free relative clause whose predicate is the verb 'want'. The examples in (96) show sentences that clearly do not involve UCCs, but such structures could be the sources for later grammaticalized patterns.

- (96) a. English
 You can say *what you want*, I am not going.

b. German

Ich kann *wo* *ich will* hinkommen, nirgends werd ich
 I can where I want get nowhere am I
 ernst genommen. (Reinhard Mey)
 seriously taken
 'I can go where I want, nowhere am I taken seriously.'

5.4.8. 'no matter'

Probably all languages allow the possibility of expressing the equivalent of a UCC by means of an embedded interrogative clause dependent on an expression of irrelevance ('it does not matter', 'it's all the same') (cf. § 5.3.6 for ACCs). In Romani, this is again the only possibility, and some other languages have more or less grammaticalized variants of this construction (including English, where *no matter* is a reduced variant of *it does not matter*).

(97) a. Romani

Sa jekh kaj voj ža-l-a vov šoha či mekh-el-a la.
 all one where she go-3SG-FUT he never not leave-3SG-FUT he
 'No matter where she goes, he will never leave her.'

b. Irish

Is cuma cá rachaidh sí, ní fhágfaidh sé
 is irrelevant where go:FUT:3SG she not leave:FUT:3SG he
 go deo í.
 never her
 'No matter where she goes, he will never leave her.'

c. Finnish

Ihan sama mitä hän sanoo, mies pysyy vaiti.
 quite same what she says man stays silent
 'No matter what she says, he keeps quiet.'

5.4.9. Non-WH-based UCCs

In German and in the Romance languages, there exist two strategies for forming UCCs that do not make use of an interrogative pronoun. These strategies can only be used when the parameter quantified over is a degree of a property expressed by an adjective. In German and French, the demonstrative degree

expression *so/(aus)si* 'so much' can be used as if they were WH pronouns ('however much ...'):

(98) a. German

So verschwenderisch du auch bist, das ganze Geld kannst
 as lavish you also be the entire money can
 du gar nicht ausgeben.
 you simply not spend
 'However lavish you may be, you simply cannot spend all that money.'

b. French

(Aus)si méticuleux que soit le règlement, il ne parvient pas à tout prévoir.
 'However meticulous the regulation might be, it cannot succeed in foreseeing everything.'

The second strategy is found throughout the Romance language family. It consists of putting the preposition *per/por/pour* in front of the adjective, followed by the subordinator *que/che*:

(99) a. Italian

Per veloce che tu sia, non la puoi raggiungere.
 for quick that you be not it you:can catch.up
 'However quick you are, you cannot catch up with her.'

b. Spanish

Por mucho que lo intentes, no tendrás éxito.
 for much that it you:try not you:will:have success
 'However much you try, you won't succeed.'

c. French

Ce texte, pour intéressant qu'il soit, n'est pas probant non plus.
 'This text, however interesting it is, is no proof either.'

Irish has a somewhat similar construction:

(99) d. Irish

Dá ghaiste thú, ní bheidh tú ann in am.
 of:POSS quick you NEG be:FUT you there in time
 'However quick you are, you won't be there in time.'

Both of these constructions are rather puzzling.

6. Directionality

Above we have had occasion in various places to point out semantic and formal similarities between concessive conditionals and other constructions, such as concessives, conditionals, interrogative clauses, relative clauses and exclamative clauses. By showing that formal similarities correlate with semantic similarities, we have to a large extent explained the observed phenomena. But in some cases we can go beyond observing symmetric similarities and establish synchronic and diachronic directions of derivation, i. e., asymmetric relations. In this way we can put additional restrictions on possible phenomena in the domain of concessive conditionals, and thereby on possible human languages.

Consider first a synchronic example: SCCs are semantically closely related to conditionals, as we saw in § 2, § 3.1. Many languages also exhibit striking formal similarities between the two construction types, as shown in § 5.2.2. These similarities are all of the same nature: SCCs are derived from conditionals by adding something (a scalar focus particle) to conditionals, but the reverse never occurs; conditionals are never derived from SCCs. Such asymmetries are also found in the diachronic development. Thus, we saw in § 5.2.3 that concessive conditional subordinators may turn into pure concessive subordinators diachronically, while the reverse is never found.

In this section we summarize the possible paths of derivation that account for the connections between concessive conditionals, (embedded) interrogatives, conditionals, exclamatives, and relative clauses. (The connections with pure concessive clauses are discussed in great detail in König 1988). The five construction types are illustrated in Table 4. The labels polar, alternative and parametric are used as general terms to express the parallels between the three types of concessive conditionals and the three types of interrogatives.

Interrogatives are closest to concessive conditionals in that they also have all three types: polar (“yes–no”), alternative, and constituent interrogatives. Exclamatives seem to have only two types (polar and parametric exclamatives), and in the case of conditionals, only the polar type is widespread, although parametric conditionals have been attested.¹⁵ Finally, relative clauses can have only the parametric type, by definition (the ‘parameter’ here is the relativized constituent, and relative clauses cannot lack a relativized constituent).

Table 4 shows that when all three types of CCs are taken together, the formal similarities are closest with (subordinate) interrogatives, because only interrogatives show the same three main subtypes. Above we saw more specific similarities between ACCs and alternative interrogatives (§ 5.3.3), and between UCCs and parametric interrogatives (the virtually universal presence of an interroga-

Table 4. Concessive conditionals and related constructions

	POLAR	ALTERNATIVE	PARAMETRIC
CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL	Scalar concessive conditional <i>even if she comes ...</i>	Alternative concessive conditional <i>whether she comes or goes ...</i>	Universal concessive conditional <i>wherever she goes ...</i>
INTERROGATIVE	polar interrogative <i>... if/whether she will come</i>	alternative interrogative <i>... whether she will come or go</i>	constituent interrogative <i>... where she will go</i>
CONDITIONAL	“polar conditional” <i>if she comes ...</i>	?	“parametric conditional” <i>whoever comes, (then) ...</i>
EXCLAMATIVE	polar exclamative <i>is she rich!</i>	–	parametric exclamative <i>how rich she is!</i>
RELATIVE	–	–	free relative <i>whoever comes, (s/he) ...</i>

tive pronoun or a pronoun derived from an interrogative pronoun, § 5.4). The same could also be said for SCCs and polar interrogatives: seven of our minimal-sample languages mark embedded interrogatives by means of a subordinator that is also used in SCCs, e. g., Maltese *jekk* ‘whether’/ *anki jekk* ‘even if’, Modern Greek *an* ‘whether’ / *ésto ke an* ‘even if’, etc. So could it be that the similarities between questions and concessive conditionals can in general be explained by the fact that they are derived from subordinate questions (cf. 100)?

- (100) Directionality hypothesis I
interrogative → concessive conditional

There is a simple mechanism from which the similarity between questions and concessive conditionals could be derived: the omission of a superordinate irrelevance expression like ‘it doesn’t matter’. Semantically, this hypothetical mechanism would work in all three cases, as is illustrated schematically in (101):

- (101) a. (SCC) It doesn't matter whether/if it rains, we'll go out. →
Whether/if it rains, we'll go out.
- b. (ACC) It doesn't matter whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out. →
Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go out.
- c. (UCC) It doesn't matter what she says, he won't listen. →
What she says, he won't listen.

The problem with this scenario is that there is no further positive evidence for it, and that it does not account for the formal differences between concessive conditionals and embedded interrogatives. After all, concessive conditionals are rarely completely identical to embedded interrogatives. Curiously, the only cases of concessive conditionals that may be totally identical to embedded interrogatives are ACCs (cf. the examples in § 5.3.3). Thus, the pathway of (100) may be valid for these ACCs, but for SCCs and UCCs we must look elsewhere.

Semantically, concessive conditionals are of course closest to conditionals. In the case of SCCs, there is also good formal evidence that conditionals are more closely related to concessive conditionals than questions: in all cases in our data where polar interrogative subordinators occur in concessive conditionals, they are also used as conditional subordinators, while the reverse is not true. Since questions are one of the sources of conditional clauses (cf. Jespersen 1940: 374; Haiman 1978: 570–572; Traugott 1985), this distribution is easily explained by the scenario in (102).

- (102) Directionality hypothesis II
interrogative → conditional → concessive conditional

In languages like Maltese or Modern Greek, conditional markers would thus go back to interrogative markers, while in languages like German where interrogative markers differ (*ob* 'whether', vs. *wenn* 'if', *auch wenn* 'even if'), the conditional marker has a different source (in this case, a temporal conjunction).¹⁶ But the pathway in (102) can account only for SCCs, because there are no alternative conditional clauses, and parametric conditional clauses are very rare.

As a next step, let us see where relative clauses come in. Lehmann (1984) identifies a plausible mechanism by which interrogative pronouns become relative pronouns. Since we saw earlier (§ 5.4) that in those languages where free relative pronouns differ formally, UCCs make use of these relative pronouns rather than of interrogative pronouns, we must assume the pathway in (103 a).

- (103) Directionality hypotheses III–IV
a. interrogative → relative → concessive conditional
b. concessive conditional → relative

The problem with pathway (103 a) is that there is no really plausible scenario that would explain how free relative clauses can turn into concessive conditionals. Consider a free relative clause as in (104 a), which can be paraphrased as (104 b).

- (104) a. Whatever she writes is brilliant.
b. Anything that she writes is brilliant.
- (105) a. Whatever she writes, film producers queue up to buy the movie rights.
b. *Anything that she writes, film producers queue up to buy the movie rights.

But while the relative clause in (104 a) can also be used as UCC in (105 a), there is no way in which the expression *anything that she writes* can be interpreted as a UCC. By contrast, it is easy to see how a UCC could turn into a free relative clause. In (106 a) *auch* is a typical marker of a concessive conditional relation.

- (106) German
a. *Wer auch (immer) kommt, er wird gut aufgenommen werden.*
who also ever comes he will well received get
'Whoever comes, he will be well received.'
- b. *Wer auch (immer) kommt wird gut aufgenommen werden.*
who also ever comes will well received get
'Whoever comes will be well received.'

The only change needed to turn (106 a) into a free relative clause in (106 b) is the omission of the pronoun *er*, so that the subordinate clause can be interpreted as an argument of the main clause. Especially in languages where anaphoric pronouns may be omitted, it is thus but a small step from (106 a) to (106 b). Thus, it seems that the pathway in (103 b) must also be allowed, and no unidirectional relation between relative clauses and concessive conditionals can be established.

Finally let us consider exclamative sentences. Parametric exclamatives with interrogative pronouns as in (107) occur in many languages. Some languages also have "polar" exclamatives that resemble polar questions, as in (108).

- (107) a. Lezgian
Am *hiq'wan* q^hsan kar že-da!
that how.much good thing be-FUT
'What a great thing that will be!'
- b. Upper Sorbian
Kajki je to hlupak!
what is it fool
'What a fool he is!'
- (108) a. German
Ist die reich!
'Is she rich!'
- b. French
Est-elle gentille!
'Is she pretty!'

Exclamatives are relevant in the present context because in some languages, exclamatives contain redundant negation, in a way that reminds one of negation found in UCCs (§ 5.4.6), cf. (109).

- (109) a. German
Was Sie *nicht* sagen!
what you not say
'You don't say!'
- b. French
Que de fois *n'a-t-il pas* couru des risques inutiles!
'How often has he run senseless risks!'
- c. Russian
Kakie tol'ko igry *ne* uvekajut rebënka!
which only games not enthrall child
'What kinds of games the child is having fun with!'

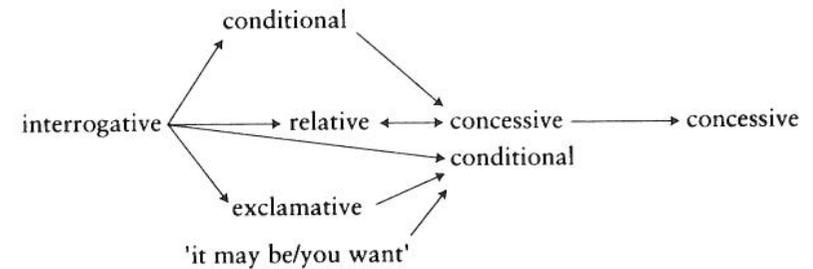
Thus, there is some (admittedly tenuous) justification for the pathway in (110).

- (110) Directionality hypothesis V
interrogative → exclamative → concessive conditional

Taking together the various pathways discussed in this section, we arrive at the picture in (111). In addition to the paths discussed in this section, the source

construction 'it may be / you want' had been added, which shows up at several places earlier (§ 5.2.4, § 5.3.4, § 5.3.5, § 5.4.3.2, § 5.4.7).

- (111) paths leading to concessive conditionals



The schema in (111) is not complete, and not all of the pathways depicted on it are equally well-established. But it does illustrate the importance of directionality: all but one of the pathways in (111) are one-way streets, i. e., the development may be only in one direction. It is curious and perhaps somewhat suspicious that there should be four different pathways from “interrogative” to “concessive conditional”, but it seems that this reflects the somewhat unusual reality.

7. Summary of typological connections

After the detailed taxonomy of structural types in § 5 and the discussion of diachronic relationships with related constructions in § 6, let us now come to typology in the strict sense, and ask: what other grammatical features can predict (or be predicted by) the structure of concessive conditionals in a language? The main typological connection has already been mentioned in § 5, so we need only summarize it here: the parameter of finite subordination vs. non-finite subordination. This parameter is responsible for one of the most striking typological divisions in Europe, and a version of it figures prominently in two other chapters in this volume (Kortmann on adverbial subordinators, I. Nedjalkov on converbs), so it is not surprising that it also makes predictions about concessive conditionals. The parameter of finite vs. nonfinite subordination in turn is correlated with word order in European languages: verb-final languages tend to have nonfinite subordinators, and verb-medial and verb-initial languages tend to have finite subordination.

So what are the predictions? For SCCs, we saw in § 5.2.2 that nonfinite languages usually mark concessive conditionals by a focus particle that follows

a conditional verb form, whereas finite languages mark them by a focus particle that precedes a conditional conjunction. SCC subordinators which do not occur in conditionals but which are also used in concessives seem to be confined to finite languages (§ 5.2.3). The latter generalization is not easy to explain, but the former could be a consequence of certain regularities in the way focus particles identify their focus and perhaps also scope in surface structure. In both finite and nonfinite languages focus particles occur at the periphery of the adverbial clause and adjacent to the conditional marker. In other words, they occur adjacent to (and c-command) what can plausibly be assumed to be their focus. Another correlation exhibited by the regularities mentioned above concerns the placement of the focus particle and the placement of the head in the conditional antecedent: the focus particle seems to be adjacent to the head: the verb in nonfinite languages and the conditional connective in finite languages.

For ACCs, we saw in § 5.3.2 that nonfinite languages appear to prefer structures that look like two successive SCCs ('V-COND-even, V-COND-even'), whereas this structure is rare in finite languages. Conversely, ACCs that are identical to subordinate alternative interrogatives, but differ markedly from conditionals seem to be confined to finite languages (§ 4.2.2). We cannot think of a straightforward explanation for this correlation.

For UCCs, we saw in § 5.4.2 that the structure "WH ... V-COND-even" occurs only in nonfinite languages, whereas the structure "WH-marker V ..." occurs mainly in finite languages. Again, as in SCCs, nonfinite languages allow marking on the verb, whereas finite languages prefer marking on the initial subordinator, the WH-pronoun. In fact, one might say that the crucial difference between the two language types is that nonfinite languages mark the subordination on the verb, so that the WH-pronoun has nothing to do with subordination, whereas the WH-pronoun is simultaneously the subordinator in finite languages.¹⁷ After all, it is easy to imagine a finite language that has the exact mirror image of the nonfinite construction in (112) from Avar. This mirror image is exemplified in (113) (Pseudo-English).

(112) Avar (see (75) for examples from other languages)
Kije hej a-ni-gi, di-ca kidanigi hej tolaro.
 where she go-COND-even I-ERG never she leave:FUT:NEG
 'Wherever she goes, I will never leave her.'

(113) Pseudo-English
Even if she goes where, I will never leave her.

It seems that what is wrong with (113) is that the WH-pronoun is *in situ*, which conflicts with the general requirement that WH-pronouns must be in

initial position, whether in main or in subordinate clauses. By contrast, in Avar and in many other verb-final languages, WH-pronouns are not normally shifted to a special position, but remain *in situ*. We are not aware of any systematic typological study of WH-pronoun positions, but it appears that obligatory WH-fronting occurs mainly in verb-medial and verb-initial languages, i. e., mainly in finite languages. This would explain why conditional markers cannot appear in UCCs in these languages: both the conditional subordinator and the WH-pronoun seem to compete for the same clause-initial position (sometimes called "COMP"), and they cannot both be there simultaneously.¹⁸ If this explanation that links the impossibility of (113) to WH-fronting is correct, then we make the following prediction: if a finite language with a clause-initial conditional conjunction should be found which has WH-pronouns *in situ*, then sentences like (114) should also be possible. (But note that the languages might still prefer one of the other UCC types, so that there are other possible reasons why a sentence like (113) might be impossible in a language.)

Thus, it is the postposed position of concessive conditional markers and the possibility of *in situ* WH-pronouns that allows nonfinite languages to show close formal parallels in the expression of the three types of concessive conditionals. Triples such as those in (114)–(117) are apparently never found in finite languages.

- (114) Lezgian
- a. Wuna šeker q^hiweh-aj-t'a-ni, i čajdi-q^h dad
 you:ERG sugar throw-PART-COND-also this tea-POSTESS taste
 gala-č.
 be.behind-NEG
 'Even if you add sugar, this tea does not taste good.'
- b. Am šherdi-z fe-ji-t'a-ni fi-n
 [she:ABS town-DAT go-PART-COND-also go-PER
 t-awu-r-t'a-ni ada qe k'walax
 NEG-do-PART-COND-also] [she(ERG) today job
 kütah-un lazim ja.
 finish-MASD] necessary is
 'Whether she goes to town or not, she has to finish the job today.'
- c. Hiniz zun fe-ji-t'a-ni zun zi xürü-z
 [whither I:ABS go-PART-COND-also] I:ABS I(GEN) village-DAT
 xkwe-da.
 return-FUT
 'Wherever I may go, I'll return to my village.'

(115) Godoberi

- a. *čai r-aʔ-alara-la, iLe išqa-ru*
rain PL:NT-come-COND-also we:ABS home-ELAT
ma-n-iLibu-da.
PL:H-go-FUT.PART-COP
'Even if it rains we will go outside.'
- b. *čai raʔ-alara-la, mili b-ax-alara-la, iLe*
rain PL:NT-come-COND-also sun N-fall-COND-also we:ABS
išqa-ru ma-n-iLibu-da.
home-ELAT PL:H-go-FUT.PART-be
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'
- c. *inL'ašu hawa bu-k'-alara-la iLe išqa-ru*
which weather NT-be-COND-also we:ABS home-ELAT
ma-n-iLibu-da.
PL:H-go-FUT.PART-COP
'Whatever the weather will be, we will go outside.'

(116) Karbardian

- a. *Wešx q'e-šx-m-i mez də-k'°e-nu-s'.*
rain or-fall-COND-also forest SBJ:1PL-go-FUT-DECL
'Even if it rains, we'll go into the forest.'
- b. *Wešx q'e-šx-m-i dəye q'e-psə-m-i mez*
rain or-fall-COND-also sun or-shine-COND-also forest
də-k'°e-nu-s'.
SBJ:1PL-go-FUT-DECL
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we'll go outside.'
- c. *Xet-əw wə-s'ə-mə-t-m-i*
who-ABS SBJ:2SG-LOC-NEG-be-COND-also
wə-s'°e-he-fə-nu-s'.
SBJ:2SG-LOC-go-POT-FUT-DECL
'Whoever you are, you may come in.'

(117) Kalmyk

- a. *Xur or-ν čn γaza γar-x-vdn.*
rain fall-PST even outside go.out-FUT-3PL
'Even if it rains, we will go outside.'

- b. *Nar-ta bol-ν čn, xur or-ν čn, γaza*
sun-COM shine-PST even rain fall-PST even outside
γar-x-vdn.
go.out-FUT-3PL
'Whether the sun shines or it rains, we will go outside.'
- c. *Xama jov-ν čn, duusndan' xajx-uga.*
where go-PST even never leave-NEG
'Wherever she goes, he will never leave her.'

Similar triples can be found in non-European languages as well. Not accidentally, our examples come from verb-final languages.

(118) Japanese

- a. *Asu ame-ga fut-te-mo iki-masu.*
tomorrow rain-NOM fall-COND-even go-POL
'Even if it rains tomorrow, I will go.'
- b. *Ame-ga fut-te-mo fur-anaku-te-mo kasa-o*
rain-NOM fall-CONV-even fall-NEG-COND-even umbrella
mot-te iku.
carry-CONV go
'Whether it rains or not, I will take an umbrella.'
- c. *Kimi-wa dare-ga ki-te-mo iki-taku-nai desu-ka?*
you-TOP who-NOM come-COND-even go-want-NEG be-INT
'Do you not want to go, whoever may come?'

(119) Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan; Hutchison 1981: 287–288)

- a. *Tàwàjì yàyé, násəgin-bâ.*
get.up even.if reach-NEG
'Even if he gets up early, he won't catch me.'
- b. *Lənəmin yàyé, lənəm-bâ yàyé, lāmbīnyī bâ.*
go even.if go-NEG even.if care NEG
'Whether you go or don't go, I don't care.'
- c. *Ábí sə-dí yàyé, ngəlājīn-bâ.*
what 3SG-do even.if good-NEG
'Whatever he does, he will not get any better.'

Before leaving this section, we should discuss one additional point: possible further connections among the three types of concessive conditionals. Even if

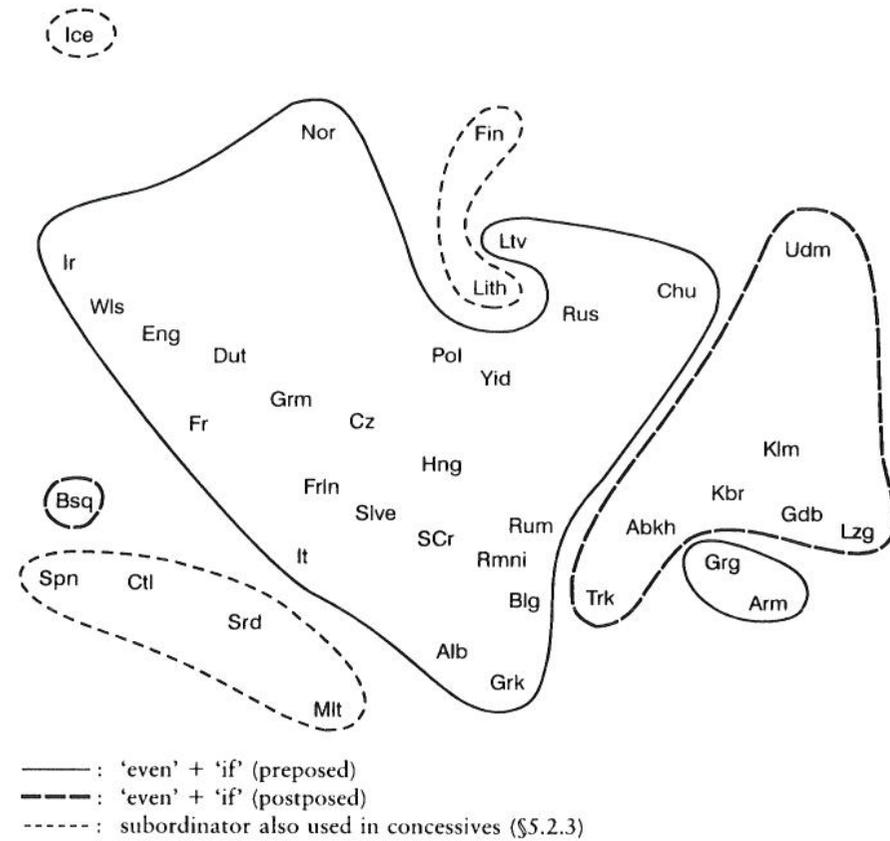
there is nothing elsewhere in the grammar that predicts which form concessive conditionals will take, we might expect that there are at least some correlations within the different types of concessive conditionals, such that, for instance, the choice of a given type of SCC would allow predictions about the choice of the UCC type. However, this expectation is not really borne out. To be sure, there are a few cases where one might see such connections. For instance, in Hungarian, in Ossetic and in Georgian the verb 'want' is used both in ACCs (cf. § 5.3.5, (64 a–c)) and in UCCs (cf. § 5.4.3.2, (81 a), and § 5.4.4, (88 a)). But there are also languages that have 'want' only in UCCs (Spanish (81 b), Albanian (81 d), Finnish (77)), and in Basque *nahi* 'want' is rather unnatural in UCCs. Another case is the use of optative verb forms in concessive conditionals. In Irish, Spanish and Maltese, this is possible both in ACCs and UCCs. However, in Albanian, Armenian and Finnish this is possible only in ACCs, and in Catalan, Turkish and Czech, this is confined to UCCs. It is thus doubtful whether even a tendency of a correlation can be established. Of course, in the cases of (114)–(118) above all three types behave uniformly, but as we saw earlier, in these cases there is another grammatical parameter that predicts all three types of concessive conditionals. For the most typical European languages, i. e., those that are generally taken to instantiate Standard Average European, there is little that can be said except that they show great diversity and that the pattern of (112)–(117) does not occur in them. Thus, from the point of view of concessive conditionals, Standard Average European can be identified only negatively, if at all.

8. Areal distribution in Europe

Let us now briefly look at the areal distribution of different types of concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe. There is naturally an areal component to the typological distribution, but we will see that it is rather weak.

8.1. Scalar concessive conditionals

The areal distribution is shown on Map 1. It is clear from this map that the preposed 'even + if' type occurs throughout Europe. The two minor patterns show some degree of areality. This is of course expected for the postposed 'even' + 'if' type, which correlates with nonfinite subordination, and nonfinite languages cluster in eastern Europe (as so often happens, Georgian and Armenian are exceptions). The third type distinguished on the map, subordinators

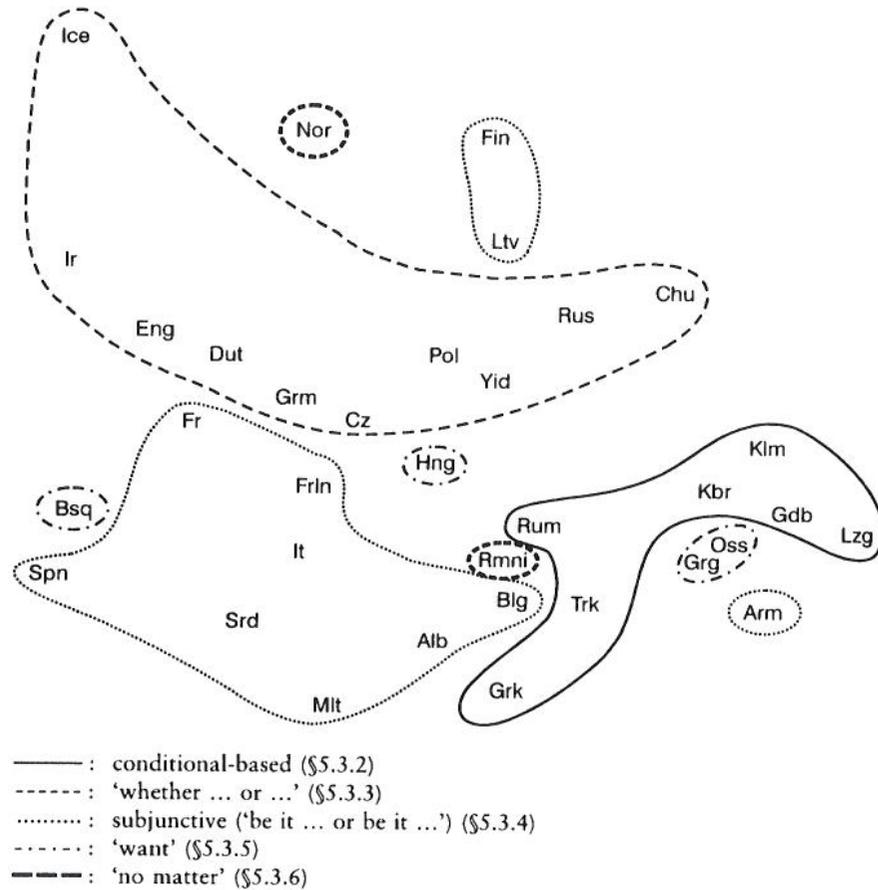


Map 1. Scalar concessive conditionals

identical to concessive conjunctions, also seems to cluster areally, in the western Mediterranean and in the Baltic regions. (However, the subordinators that we subsume under this type are not very homogeneous, so it is not quite clear to what extent these generalizations are real.)

8.2. Alternative concessive conditionals

The areal distribution is shown on Map 2. We see that the ACC type shows not only the greatest internal structural diversity, but also the greatest areal variability. We have tried to capture some areal generalizations on Map 2, but

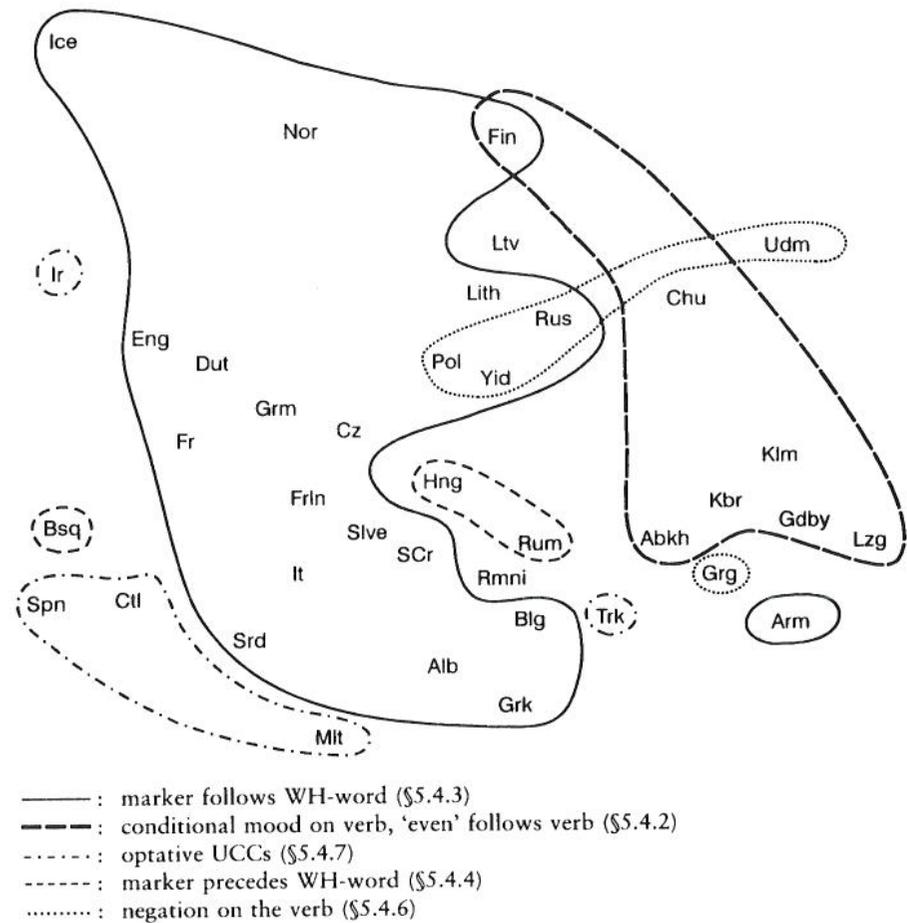


Map 2. Alternative concessive conditionals

they are only tentative. The case of ACCs also presents the greatest difficulties of classification. There are quite a few cases where other decisions seem equally plausible. Thus we will refrain from making any definite conclusions.

8.3 Universal concessive conditionals

The areal distribution is shown on Map 3. The picture is not quite as varied, but it is still confusing. To some extent this may be due to the simplified nature of the representation. For example, an ideal map should show the adjacency



Map 3. Universal concessive conditionals

relations clearly. Russian is contiguous with both Udmurt and Yiddish (at least via Belorussian in the latter case), so the fact that these three languages have negation on the verb must be areal, but this does not show up clearly on the map. Another clear pattern is of course shown by the conditional-'even' type in the east. Turkish, however, does not pattern with the nonfinite languages this time: instead, it seems to belong to a "southwestern fringe" area comprising also Maltese, Spanish and Catalan, and Irish. The "WH-marker" type, evidently representing Standard Average European, occupies the center.

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Notes

1. One of the few exceptions is Quirk et al. (1985) as well as its earlier version, which includes a section on "conditional-concessive clauses" in the chapter on adverbial clauses (1985: § 15.41–42).

2. It will be shown below, however, that there are languages, inside and outside of Europe, where the three types of concessive conditionals are coded identically (see § 7).
3. In addition to the conjunction *if*, inversion of subject and auxiliary verb is also a formal device for marking a conditional antecedent in English. Scalar concessive conditionals based on such structures are also still marginally possible in Modern English:

(i) Even had there been no prize at the end of the night's trail, he would have been the same. (Mary Stewart, *The Crystal Cave*, p. 432)

4. An analogous distinction is drawn in Dik, Hengeveld, Vester & Vet (1990). These authors differentiate between predicational conditionals, propositional conditionals and illocutionary conditionals.
5. The type of conditionals exemplified by the following examples, in which the antecedent is a presupposition of the consequent, invariably involves epistemic linking:

(i) But if he had been seeking a moment for further confidences, it had disappeared.

(ii) If she felt surprise or relief at his choice, she concealed it.

6. It is this property that von Bremen (1983: 73–77) wants to capture by calling these constructions "*nescio*-sentences".
7. Cf. Haspelmath 1997 for some recent discussion of free-choice quantifiers (or free-choice indefinites, in his terminology).
8. Some recent analyses of *even* express the view that this particle makes an implicit reference to a universal class (cf. Lycan 1991; Barker 1991). Such a view, which is not very plausible, however (cf. Berckmans 1993), would establish an even closer semantic relatedness between the three types of concessive conditionals than is assumed in this paper.
9. In many languages the simple additive particle corresponding to English *also* or *too* is used, rather than the scalar particle corresponding to English *even* in simple sentences such as *Even Bill smiled*. Examples are Italian, where *anche* 'also', rather than *perfino* 'even' is found in SCCs and Albanian, where *edhe* 'also, too, and' rather than *bile*, *madje* or *poende* 'even' are found. What seems to happen in these cases is that the additive particle receives a scalar reading in a conditional context due to pragmatic principles. This reading may then become conventionally attached to the relevant constructions.
10. Note that the conditional verb form itself is often not nonfinite in languages with predominantly nonfinite subordination. For instance, in Turkish and Basque it is clearly finite, and in Lezgian it also has some finite features. It seems that conditionals are in general a construction type that tends to be finite, even in languages that otherwise show mainly nonfinite subordination. Nevertheless, the correlation between nonfinite subordination and particular types of concessive conditionals seems undeniable (see also § 7 below). (However, it could also be that word order is the primary determinant of the form of concessive conditionals: nonfinite lan-

guages in Europe strongly tend to be verb-final, and vice versa. A deeper exploration of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.)

11. The Godoberi data are from Martin Haspelmath's fieldnotes (Moscow State University field trip organized by Aleksandr Kibrik, July 1993).
12. Cf. Haspelmath (1997: Ch. 6), where it is shown that free-choice indefinites ('anything') are commonly expressed across languages by markers meaning 'it may be' or 'you want'.
13. Note that there is a fourth possibility: in all four languages of (89), the element in question is also used as an indefiniteness marker that marks free-choice indefinites, e. g., Hungarian *akár-mi* 'anything', Basque *edo-nor* 'anybody'. So it could be that this use in indefinite pronouns is the starting point for UCCs. However, in Haspelmath (1997: § 6.2.3.) it is argued that the relationship is invariably the reverse, i. e., that indefinite pronouns derive from reduced UCCs, not vice versa.
14. Theoretically, it could even cause ambiguity, because in principle nothing rules out a negated UCC like (i) (although such cases are quite unusual).

(i) I just heard that someone won't show up for the panel discussion, though it's not clear yet who. But *whoever does not show up*, it will be an interesting discussion because we can easily replace them with someone from the audience.

15. Cf. the following examples cited in Blatz (1900: § 206) and Curme (1952: § 159) from older German:

(i) Rein und erquickend strömt die Wahrheit, wer sie vom Quell schöpft.
'Purely and refreshingly truth pours forth, [for those] who take it in from the spring.'

(ii) Einheit? ein schönes Wort, wer's recht versteht.
'Unity? a beautiful word, [for those] who understand it rightly.'

(iii) Fragen ist keine Schande, wer ein Ding nicht weiß.
'Asking is no disgrace, [for those] who do not know something.'

Curme calls this construction "conditional relative", and Blatz calls it *beziehungsloser substantivischer Relativsatz* ("relationless substantival relative clause"). In the more recent literature, such examples are mentioned only by von Bremen (1983).

16. Unfortunately, there are two problems with this account: first, it does not explain why conditional markers are often identical only to markers of embedded interrogatives. E. g., Greek *an* cannot be used in independent questions. To be sure, it is easy to find languages where the same marker is used both for independent and for embedded questions, but in our data these markers can never be used as conditional (or concessive conditional) markers (e. g., Armenian *ard yok*', Chuvash *-i*, Finnish *-ko*, Irish *an*, Lithuanian *ar*, Bulgarian *li*, Japanese *ka*, Latvian *vai*, Polish *czy*, Yiddish *tsi*). This is surprising, because it is easiest to imagine how independent questions could become conditional protases.

The second problem is that there seems to be an attested case of a conditional marker becoming a subordinate interrogative marker, thus exemplifying a change

"conditional → interrogative" that shows the opposite direction of (102). This is Latin/Romance *si*. In Classical Latin, *si* was only used as a conditional marker, and *num* introduced subordinate questions. *Num* was later lost, and most Romance languages extended *si* to mark embedded questions as well.

17. This probably also explains why UCCs with multiple WH-pronouns are generally acceptable in nonfinite languages, whereas they are often dubious in finite languages. Thus, the nonfinite Kalmyk and Chuvash contrast with the finite Polish and Spanish:

(i) Polish
?*Kto-kolwiek czego-kolwiek powie, ja tego nie słucham.
who-PTL what-PTL says I it not listen
'No matter who says what, I don't listen to it.'

(ii) Spanish
*Quiquiera que diga lo que quiera que diga, no
who:PTL that say:SUBJ ART that wants that say:SUBJ not
escucho.
I:listen
'No matter who says what, I don't listen to it.'

(iii) Kalmyk
Kjen ju kel-v čign, bi soŋs-x-uga-v
who what say-PST even I listen-FUT-NEG-1
'No matter who says what, I don't listen.'

(iv) Chuvash
Kirek kam men kala-san ta, epě äna itle-mestep.
at.least who what say-COND even I him listen-NEG
'No matter who says what, I don't listen.'

18. A possible counterexample to this explanation are those cases where the marker that follows the WH-pronoun in UCCs is identical to the conditional conjunction, as in Modern Greek (§ 5.4.3.5). However, it could be that *an* 'if' has a different diachronic source from the UCC marker *an* (specifically, *an* 'if' < Old Greek *eán* 'if', *an* 'UCC marker' < Old Greek *án* 'modal particle'), so that this would be a coincidence.

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10 Adverbiality: The view from the Far East

I. Preliminaries

1. Thematic areas, aim, and languages

In the present section I shall try to comment on all the areas from a Far Eastern viewpoint. Since there are four thematic areas dealing with clause combining, I shall treat them together in section VI. The other thematic areas will be presented individually, i. e., each in a separate section (cf. § II–V).

The aim of my chapter is to contrast some of the generalizations made by my colleagues on the basis of European languages with the situation in some languages of the Far East. Of course, I am not able to make my statements with the same statistical rigour because, on the one hand, I cannot look at a statistically balanced sample and, secondly, because I cannot study all the thematic areas I shall comment on with the same depth as somebody who can fully concentrate on one particular theme. Nevertheless, it should be possible to see whether the results based on European languages also hold in other languages and, therefore, may be claimed to be universal or whether they are purely European. Only through this method will it finally be possible to find out where European languages are typologically special.

I shall look at Chinese and Japanese and, if I have the data, at Vietnamese, Thai, and Khmer. In § VI.3 on converbs, I shall include a much broader range of languages into my studies since otherwise Japanese would be the only language in my "mini-sample" showing converbs at all. The wider range of data on converbs will also lead me to attempt a typology of converbal morphology in that section.

The languages to be treated in this chapter show different word order. Japanese is SOV, Vietnamese, Thai and Khmer are SVO. Chinese seems to be SVO with some characteristics of SOV like, for example, the well-known fact that determinators and attributes generally occur in front of the head noun (for some further controversial discussion cf., for example, Li & Thompson 1973, 1974 a, 1974 b, 1975 vs. Sun & Givón 1985 and Wang 1987).