

From quotation to concession: the case of East Circassian

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1 Introduction

CONCESSIVE CONNECTIVES IN MATRIX SENTENCES

- truth conditionally equivalent to conjunction
- convey “contrast” between the conjuncts
König 1991; Winter & Rimon 1994; Azar 1997; König & Siemund 2000; Iten 2000 *inter alia*.

- (1) p although q
 - a. Asserts: $p \wedge q$
 - b. For some r , implies: $p \rightsquigarrow \neg r, q \rightsquigarrow r$ (in Rimon and Winter’s formulation)
- (2) The police opened fire although the protest was peaceful.
 - a. Asserts *the police opened fire and the protest was peaceful*
 - b. Implies: **the police opened fire** \rightsquigarrow **\neg the protest was peaceful**

THIS TALK: a puzzling quotative concessive adverbial found in East Circassian (or Kabardian, Northwest Caucasian), which differs from familiar concessives in intriguing ways.¹

- (3)

[[deʁ ^w wədewpʂe]	ž’ə-p-ʔ-wə]	ž’əyəm wə-de-mə-pʂe
good 2SG.ABS.climb.DYN	PREV-2SG.ERG-say-ADV	tree.OBL 2SG.ABS-LOC-NEG-climb

‘Although you may climb well, don’t climb the tree’ (Kuban)

The quotative concessive cannot be analyzed like *although*.

- 3 does not assert the matrix, which is not declarative.
- 3 does not assert the prejacent (speaker not committed to you **climb well**)
- The adverbial is restricted in ways that *although* and its equivalents are not.

MAIN GOALS:

- Describe the distribution and interpretational effects of the quotative concessive
- Propose a preliminary analysis

¹This paper is based on data from two dialects of East Circassian: Kuban, spoken in the village Khodz, and Besleney, spoken in the village Ulyap, in the Republic of Adygea, Russia. The construction under discussion has the same distribution in the two dialects, so examples from the two are used intermittently, with the corresponding dialect marked in parentheses after the translation. The data was collected by the first author during two trips to the region in the summers of 2015 and 2016, in collaboration with researchers from HSE and RSUH in Moscow. The authors are grateful to the speakers of East Circassian for sharing their knowledge of the language. Additional thanks go out to Yury Lander and Anastasia Giannakidou.

MAIN CLAIM: The quotative concessive is associated with a presupposition and a selectional restriction, which account for its distribution.

Presupposition: the (individual denoted by) the quotative subject believes the prejacent p

Selectional restriction: the modiﬁand S asserts speaker dispreference for a contextually salient q such that, in the context, $p \rightsquigarrow q$

2 The details

A The quotative concessive adverbial is restricted both in what it can take as prejacent, and in what it can modify.

- Unlike the lexical verb $\check{z}'\acute{a}?\acute{e}$ ‘say’, the quotative concessive is incompatible with factive-marked prejacent.

(4) aslan $\acute{q}\acute{e}z\check{z}'j\acute{e}?\acute{a}$ [nwebe **zer** \acute{a} -m \acute{a} - \acute{k}^w e-ne-r]
 Aslan 1SG.IO+3SG.ERG.say.PST today **FCT**-NEG-go-FUT-ABS
 ‘Aslan told me that he won’t come today.’ (Besleney; Ershova 2013:79)

(5) [[w \acute{a} -**zer** \acute{a} -x^wesa $\acute{q}\acute{a}$ -r] $\check{z}'\acute{e}p?\acute{w}\acute{e}$] $\acute{s}'er$ j $\acute{e}m\acute{a}\acute{k}^w\acute{e}t$
 2SG.ABS-**FCT**-beware-ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV milk.ABS NEG.spill
 ‘Don’t spill the milk while saying that you’re being careful.’
 *‘Even though you’re careful, don’t spill the milk.’ (Besleney)

- The quotative concessive can only modify matrix clauses in a directive mood, and is incompatible with roughly equivalent modal statements:

(6) a. Context: Zara wants to eat a piece of spicy sausage, says: ”This isn’t spicy, I can eat this.” Marina thinks that Zara is wrong. She says.

b. [ar $\check{z}'\acute{e}p?\acute{w}\acute{e}$] ar w \acute{a} -m \acute{a} - $\acute{s}x$
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV that.ABS 2SG.ABS-NEG-eat(**IMP**)
 ‘That said, don’t eat that.’ (Besleney)

c. (*[ar $\check{z}'\acute{e}p?\acute{w}\acute{e}$]) ar p $\acute{s}x\acute{e}$ $\chi^w\acute{e}ne-\acute{q}\acute{e}m$
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV that.ABS 2SG.ERG.eat can-NEG
 ‘(*That said,) you can’t eat that.’ (***modal**)

d. (*[ar $\check{z}'\acute{e}p?\acute{w}\acute{e}$]) ar p $\acute{s}x\acute{e}nw\acute{e}$
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV that.ABS 2SG.ERG.eat.MOD.ADV
 $\acute{q}\acute{a}$ -p-x^wa-z-de- $\acute{q}\acute{e}m$
 DIR-2SG.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-allow-NEG
 ‘(*That said,) I forbid you to eat that.’ (***indicative**)

- Even with directive matrix clauses, it is restricted to negative ones, unlike the concessive connective $\acute{s}ha\check{c}'\acute{e}$ ‘although’

(7) a. [[axer $\acute{q}we\check{z}e$ $\check{z}'\acute{e}p?\acute{w}\acute{e}$] w \acute{a} -m \acute{a} - \acute{k}^w e
 that.PL.ABS 2SG.IO.call 2SG.ERG.say.ADV 2SG.ABS-NEG-go
 ‘Don’t go thinking that they’re calling for you.’

- b. # [[axer q̣weʒeǰəm] ž'əpʔwə] ḳ^we
that.PL.ABS 2SG.IO.call.NEG 2SG.ERG.say.ADV go
Intended: 'Go, even though they're not calling for you.'
- c. [[axer q̣weʒeǰəm] **šhač'e**] ḳ^we
that.PL.ABS 2SG.IO.call.NEG **although** go
'Go, even though they're not calling for you.' (Kuban)

In some cases, the matrix can be a positive imperative with a negative adverbial modifier:

- (8) a. Daughter: "I'll stop by the store and by the school, maybe chat with some people."
Mother responds:
b. [ar ž'əpʔwə] z-we-mə-płəh-wə ḳ^we
that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV REFL.ABS-2SG.ERG-NEG-look-ADV go(**IMP**)
'That said, go without getting distracted (lit. while not looking around)' (Besleney)

Except for imperatives, other directive moods are also possible, such as the prohibitive -q̣^wen 9, the jussive *jere-* 10, and the cohortative 11.

- (9) [ar ž'əpʔwə] zəg^werem wə-ʔene-q̣^wen
that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV something.OBL 2SG.ABS-hurt-**PROH**
'That said, don't hurt anyone.' (Besleney)
- (10) a. Context: One woman says to another: "I bought my children a bicycle, now they can play with it." The other responds:
b. [ar ž'aʔwə] wjəsəbjəxem sjənešebeg^{wə}
that.ABS 3PL.ERG.say.ADV 2SG.POSS.child.PL.OBL 1SG.POSS.cucumber
jare-mə-wəte (< a-**jere**-mə-wəte)
3PL.ERG+**JUS**-NEG-trample
'That said, your children shall not trample my cucumbers.' (Besleney)
- (11) [ar ž'əpʔwə] d-a-d-we-mə-βe-žeg^w
that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV 1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-2SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS-play
'That said, let's not play with them (lit. don't make us play with them)' (Besleney)

B The quotative concessive is a root phenomenon: it may not modify embedded propositions, even if they are imperatives framed as indirect speech (12).

- (12) wənem səǰjəməḳ^were səbjəxem [(*[ar ž'aʔwə])
house.OBL 1sg.ABS.NEG.leave.CNV child.PL.OBL that.ABS 3PL.ERG.say.ADV
jałaq̣^we jaməβewəçənəž'ənwə] jaž'jesʔa
3PL.POSS.foot 3PL.ERG.NEG.get.wet.MOD.ADV 3PL.IO+1SG.ERG.say.PST
'Before leaving the house I told the children not to get their feet wet.'

3 The analysis

Descriptively, two components are involved in the interpretation of sentences with the quotative concessive:

- Attributed belief
- Consequential eventuality

- (13) [[pš'edje ž'əw wəqetežəneqəm] ž'əpʔwə] kwedre
 tomorrow early 2SG.ABS.get.up.FUT.NEG 2SG.ERG.say.ADV much
 wə-š'ə-mə-s
 2SG.ABS-LOC-NEG-sit

'Even though you won't be getting up early tomorrow, don't stay up too long.' (Besleney)

Attributed belief: Addressee does not need to get up early.

Consequent eventuality: Addressee stays up late.

An utterance of (13) gives rise to three inferences:

- ATTENUATED CONCESSION: The speaker entertains, but does not commit to, the attributed belief.
- DISPREFERENCE: The speaker dispreferes the consequent eventuality.
- PRETEXT DENIAL: The speaker rejects the attributed belief as motivation for the consequent eventuality.

How is the adverbial interpreted and how do these inferences arise?

- (14) PROPOSAL: The quotative concessive adverbial involves a presupposition and a selectional restriction (or felicity condition):

Presupposition: the (individual denoted by) the quotative subject believes the prejacent p

Selectional restriction: there is a contextually familiar q such that, in the context:

- the issue 'whether q ' is unsettled and
- the quoted belief p leads to a ranking (metaphysical or epistemic) of q over $\neg q$
- the matrix modifier matrix S asserts speaker preference for $\neg q$

THE PRESUPPOSITION

— The inference that the quoted subject is epistemically committed to the prejacent cannot be cancelled:

- (15) [[wered de_B^w qəž'əbewʔe] ž'əpʔwə] prazdnikəm vəstupat'
 song good 2SG.ERG.DYN.say 2SG.ERG.say.ADV celebration.OBL perform
 š-ew-mə-š (*[wered de_B^w qəž'əpʔwə we wjəfəš
 LOC-2SG.ERG-NEG-do song good 2SG.ERG.say.ADV you 2SG.POSS.certainty
 χ^wež'qəm])
 become.NEG

'Don't perform at the celebration even though (you think) that you sing well. *(You yourself don't think you sing well.)' (Kuban)

—The speaker need not commit to the prejacent:

- In 16, the matrix presupposes speaker commitment to falsity of the prejacent (speaker thinks dress is NOT ready)

(16) [[*ʒ*aner *q*ebwəxaw] *ʒ*'əpɿwə] *š*'-we-mə-taɕe
 dress.ABS 2SG.ERG.finish.PST.ADV 2SG.ERG.say.ADV LOC-2SG.ERG-NEG-put.on
*j*əç'e ç'edež'an x^wəje
 POSS.edge sew.MOD must
 'Don't put the dress on thinking that it is finished, the hem still needs trimming.'
 (Besleney)

- Incompatibility with factive marker

THE SELECTIONAL RESTRICTION

— For regular directives, such as imperatives, things are fairly clear, since such sentences conventionally commit the speaker to a preference regarding an action under the addressee's control.

- Following Condoravdi & Lauer (2012), imperatives utterances commit speakers publicly to a preference about the addressee's actions.

(17) [[IMP] = $\lambda p[\lambda w[PEP_w(Sp, p)]]$ (Condoravdi and Lauer's (2012) ex. (34))
 where $PEP_w(Sp, p)$ is true in w iff the speaker is publicly committed to acting as if they prefer p to $\neg p$.

- Since the modified matrix must express speaker **dis**-preference for some q that is implied (in the context) by the attributed belief, only negative directives are possible.
- If q is itself negative, two negations surface.

(18) a. [*ar* *ʒ*'əpɿwə] *mə* *zəB*^weg^wəm *wə-qe-mə-tež-wə*
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV this time.OBL 2SG.ABS-DIR-NEG-stand.up-ADV
p-šə-q^wen
 2SG.ERG-do-PROH
 'That said, this time make sure to stand up (lit. don't not stand up).'

b. (*[*ar* *ʒ*'əpɿwə]) *mə* *zəB*^weg^wəm *qetež*
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV this time.OBL stand.up
 Expected: 'That said, this time make sure to stand up.' (Besleney)

How the inferences arise:

- ATTENUATED CONCESSION: This is the presupposition of the adverbial.
- DISPREFERENCE: This is the force of the matrix clause
- PRETEXT DENIAL: This is a contextual entailment when the consequential eventuality q is an action causally linked to the quoted belief p :
 - Speaker entertains the quoted belief p
 - The belief that p leads quoted subject to prefer consequential action q
 - Speaker prefers (or presumes to prefer) that quoted subject NOT prefer q \rightsquigarrow Speaker believes that p does not motivate q .

4 Some consequences

The analysis anticipates cases in which the relation between attributed belief and consequential eventuality is not causal.

- (19) a. Context: Thinking to oneself: “Everyone around me is sick, I’m the only one who isn’t.”
Suddenly realizing, that the likelihood of getting sick is very high:

b. [ar ž’əsʔwə] sə-ǰe-mə-səmežə-tere
that.ABS 1SG.ERG.say.ADV 1SG.ABS-DIR-NEG-sick-OPT

‘That said, if only I wouldn’t get sick! / I wish I wouldn’t get sick!’ (Besleney)

- Here, the consequential eventuality is not under the quoted subject’s (= speaker’s) control.
- The relation between the belief and the eventuality is epistemic, not causal.
- Hence, there is no pretext denial, just expression of speaker’s bouletic preferences.

The analysis also anticipates that the adverb can modify matrix sentences that are not negative directives but nevertheless conventionally commit the speaker to a dispreference. We conjecture, but don’t yet know, that the following are such cases:

- Sentences where the matrix S contains a (presumably performative) negated deontic modal.

(20) [[ǰəzdeǰ^we ž’aʔe] ž’əpʔwə] zewe aje
1SG.IO.marry 3PL.ERG.say 2SG.ERG.say.ADV immediately yes
ž’əpʔenwə šət-ǰəm
2SG.ERG.say.MOD.ADV should-NEG

‘If you are being asked to marry (lit. if they say “marry me”), you don’t have to immediately say yes.’ (Kuban)

- Sentences in which the matrix clause contains an inferential existential copula

(21) [[zəg^wereč’^e ǰəzeleʔ^waxe] ž’əpʔwə wəž’u ar
something.INS 1SG.IO.ask.PL.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV 2sgabs.run.ADV that.ABS
pšenu-ra-ǰəm
2SG.ERG.do.MOD.ADV-EMPH-NEG

‘Just because you were asked (to do) something, it’s not that you should rush to do it (lit. do it, running).’ (Kuban)

- Sentences in which the matrix clause contains a rhetorical question

(22) [[səbje] ž’əpʔwə] adrxem jag^w xebbeš χ^wəne
1SG.ABS.rich 2SG.ERG.say.ADV other.PL.OBL 3PL.POSS.heart 2SG.ERG.hurt may

‘(You think) you can hurt other people because you’re rich?’ (Kuban)

- Sentences in which the matrix clause contains a negated attitude predicate

(23) se səg^wəbe-ǰəm abə wəǰjepč’^wenwə [[jəpeč’^e
I 1SG.ABS.think-NEG that.OBL 2SG.ABS.jump.MOD.ADV before
wəǰjepč’^wefwə šta] ž’əpʔwə]
2SG.ABS.jump.POT.ADV can.PST 2SG.ERG.say.ADV

‘I don’t think that you can jump from there, even though you’ve jumped from there before.’ (Kuban)

Finally, the analysis has something to say about cases where negation is in a clause embedded by the matrix clause.

— Negative adverbials inside directives

(24) a. Context: A guest says that they will not start eating without the rest of the guests. The host answers:

b. [ar ž'əpʔwə] [axem w-ja-**mə**-ž-wə]
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV that.PL.OBL 2SG.ABS-3PL.IO+DAT-**NEG**-wait-ADV
 šxe
 eat.IMP

‘That said, don’t wait for them, eat something. (Literally: Not waiting for them, eat something.)’ (Besleney)

- *eat without waiting* has a negative directive force: *don’t wait before eating*.
 Or: *eat! don’t wait!*

— Directives to give negative directives

(25) a. Context: Aslan tells his mother that his friends are calling for him to play with them; he still has homework to do, but speculates about going after finishing the homework or at some other time. His mother replies:

b. [ar ž'əpʔwə] jaž'jeʔe [wə-zerə-**mə**-žeg^{wə}-ne-r]
 that.ABS 2SG.ERG.say.ADV 3PL.IO.say 2SG.ABS-FCT-**NEG**-play-FUT-ABS

‘That said, tell them you won’t be playing.’ (Besleney)

- Here, the consequential action is telling the friends that he will play later, and hence also playing later.
- A negative directive *don’t tell them you’ll be playing* would be too weak, expressing dispreference for the speech act, but not dispreference for playing.
- The positive directive in 25b conveys dispreference for both.

5 Conclusion and questions

- The Circassian quotative is different from familiar contrastive connectives like *although*
 - presupposes an attributed belief – due to its quotative origin.
 - presupposes that the attributed belief implies a certain resolution of a contextually familiar unsettled issue – also due to quotative origin.
 - requires the matrix modifiand to commit the speaker to a dispreference to that resolution
- Inferences of negated causality (König 1991) arise as contextual entailments in some contexts

Looking forward:

- More field work to determine the status of the cases where the matrix is not a negative directive.
- Better understanding of the relation between this adverbial and related connectives in other languages:
 - Japanese quotative concessive restricted to negative contexts (Suzuki 2008)
 - English *just because* construction Bender & Kathol (2001)

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