

Conditionals and concessive conditionals in Abzakh

Conditional constructions across World languages
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Roadmap

- Introduction
 - Abzakh dialect
- Conditionals
- Concessive conditionals (typological and dialectal properties)
- UCCs or correlatives ?
- Conclusion

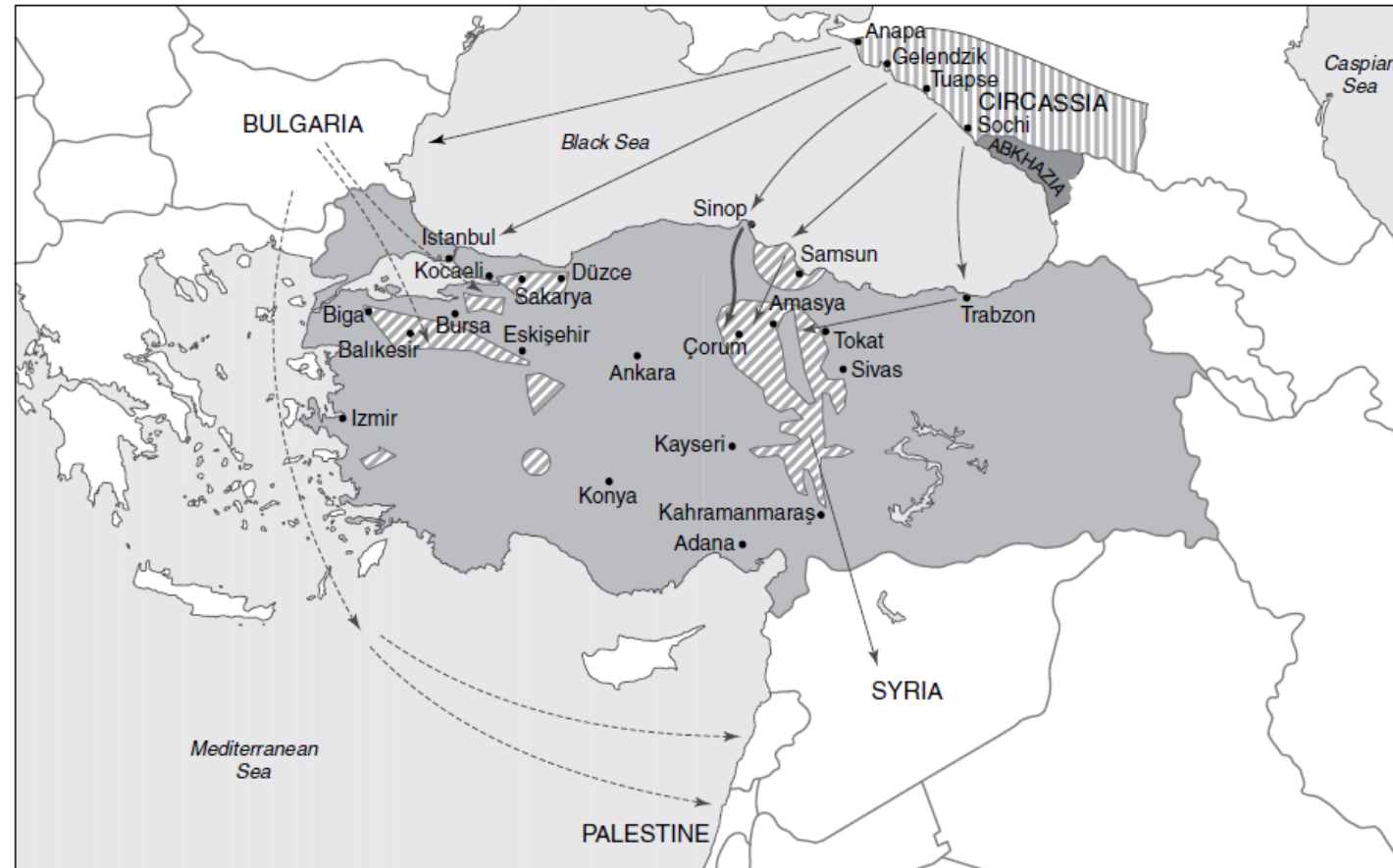
Introduction: some information about Abzakh

Northwest Caucasian languages

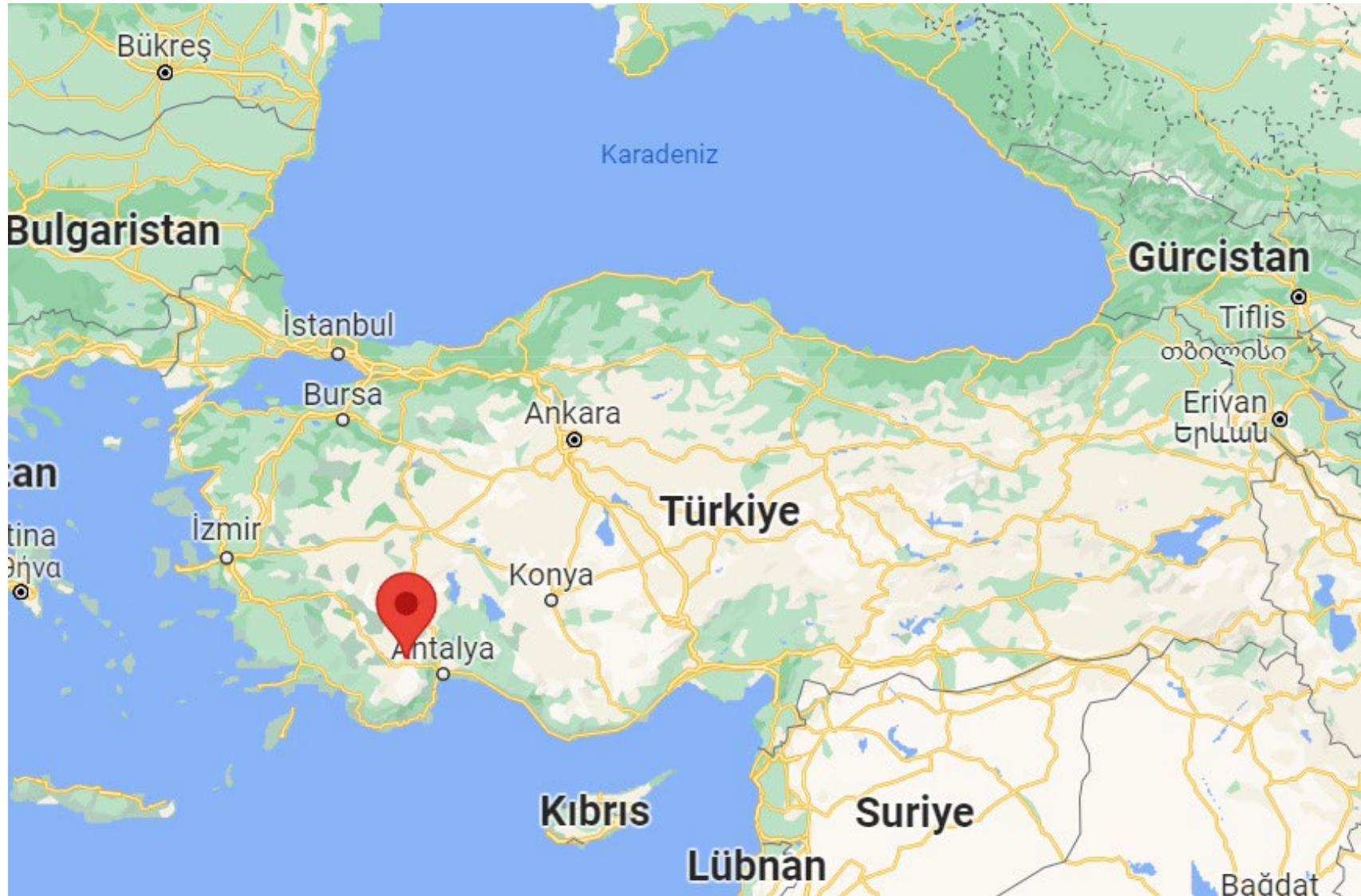
- Abaza-Abkhaz branch
- Ubykh †
- Circassian branch
 - East Circassian
 - Kabardian
 - Besleney
 - West Circassian
 - Temirgoey (Kemirgoey / Ç'emguy)
 - Bjedugh
 - Shapsough
 - Abzakh

Introduction: some information about Abzakh

The map of the roads followed during the exile in 1864 (Besleney 2014)



Introduction: some information about Abzakh



Introduction: some information about Abzakh*

- Ergative alignment
- Polysynthetic pro-drop language
- Two-term case system
- Left-branching language
 - Postpositions
 - Syntactically autonomous attributes are placed before heads

* See mainly Arkadiev (2008), Arkadiev & Lander (2020) Arkadiev & Lethuchiy (2011), Konuk (2022), Paris (1984) for more information on Circassian morphosyntax.

1. Conditional constructions in Abzakh

conditional construction :

- ✓ characterized by a formal marker either in the protasis or apodosis
- ✓ primary function of this marker is to signal conditionality (Comrie 1986)

(1) <https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0007950#S66>

w3	nesəp	wə-m-jəʔ3-m3	s3	sə	qə-p-f3-s-ʃʔ3-n
2SG	luck	2SG.ERG-NEG-have-COND	1SG	what	CIS-2SG.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-do-PROB

protasis

apodosis

“If you don’t have luck, what can I do for you?”

1. Conditional constructions in Abzakh

(2) Hypothetical conditional (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006056#S6>)

w-jə-nəbe jəz mə-x^wə-~~be~~3-mə bzəw-əm jə-s-tə-n
2SG-POSS-stomach full NEG-be-~~PERF~~-COND bird-OBL 3SG.IO-1SG.ERG-give-PROB

Lit: If your stomach didn't become full, I will give it to the bird.

“If you are still hungry, I will give (it) to the bird.” (Context: children game song)

1. Conditional constructions in Abzakh

(3) Counterfactuals (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006044#S62>)

w3-rəj	w3-w	s-ʃʰe- ʁ3 -m3
2SG-ADD	2SG-ADV	1SG.ERG-know- PERF -COND
zentʃʰ3	sə-bl3-x ^w əʃ ^w t-əʃt-əʁ-aʁ3	
directly	1SG.ABS-LOC-go.past-CERT-PERF-PERF ¹	

“If I had known you (that it was you), I would have gone past directly.”

¹ Use of two past suffixes yields a pluperfective interpretation (Arkadiev 2017)

1. Conditional constructions in Abzakh

Conditionals & Counterfactuals:

Abzakh conditionals and counterfactuals are nonfinite-subordinations and make use of the conditional suffix *-m3* in the protasis.

The counterfactuals make use of a combination of TAM markers both in the protasis and in the apodosis:

- вѐ.в3 passé lointain [pluperfective in Arkadiev, 2017]
- нə.в3 conditionnel I
- ʃtə.в3 conditionnel II, imperfectif
- в3.n passé probable
- в3.в3.n passé lointain probable (Paris, 1984:130)



2. Concessive conditionals

“Concessive conditionals are thus defined as conditional constructions which express a contextually exhaustive set of antecedent values in the protasis.” (Bossuyt, 2023)

“(…) whenever a conditional protasis contains an expression marking a suitable extreme value on some scale for some propositional schema, the conditional is interpreted as a concessive conditional.” (König, 1986)

Scalar Concessive Conditionals (SCC)

« **Even if** we do not get a financial support, we will go ahead with our project. »

Alternative Concessive Conditionals (ACC)

« **Whether** we get financial support **or not**, we will go ahead with our project. »

Universal Concessive Conditionals (UCC)

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

(Haspelmath & König, 1998:563)

2. Concessive conditionals in Abzakh: Scalar concessive conditionals

(4) Elicited

ḏ̌ʒʒg^wə-r jə-mə-ʃtʒ-**m-əj** ʃə-r jə-xe-n
game-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-NEG-win-**COND-ADD** horse-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-take-PROB

“Even if s/he doesn’t win the game, s/he takes the horse.”

(5) Conditional construction (elicited):

ḏ̌ʒʒg^wə-r jə-ʃtʒ-**mʒ** ʃə-r jə-xe-n
game-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-win-**COND** horse-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-take-PROB

“If s/he wins the game, s/he takes the horse.”

« 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. »

(Haspelmath & König 1998: 575)

2. Concessive conditionals in Abzakh: From scalar to alternative concessive construction

(6) Elicited

[d̪ɜ̌ɜ̌g^wə-r jə-ʃtɜ-m-əj jə-**mə**-ʃtɜ-m-əj]
game-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-win-COND-ADD 3SG.OBL.A-**NEG**-win-COND-ADD

ʃə-r jə-xə-n
horse-ABS 3SG.OBL.A-take-PROB

“Whether s/he wins the game or not, s/he takes the horse.”

2. Concessive conditionals in Abzakh: alternative CCs ?

(7) Elicited

[qə-kʷə-ɤ3-m-əj	q3-mə-kʷə-ɤ3-m-əj]	t-ʃʷ3-r3-p
CIS-go-PERF-COND-ADD	CIS-NEG-go-PERF-COND-ADD	1PL.OBL.AGT-know-DYN-NEG

“Whether s/he came or not, we don’t know (that).” / “We don’t know if s/he came.”

(8) Elicited

[txəl-əm	j3-dʒə-ɤ3-m-əj	j3-m-dʒə-ɤ3-m-əj]
book-OBL	DAT-read-PERF-COND-ADD	DAT-NEG-read-PERF-COND-ADD

sənəw-əm	x3-tʃʷə-ɤ
exam-OBL	LOC-pass-PERF

“Whether s/he read the book or not, s/he passed the exam.” / “Even if s/he didn’t read the book, s/he passed the exam.”

2. Concessive conditionals in Abzakh: Universal concessive conditionals

« (...) 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. »
(Haspelmath & König, 1998:571)

(9) elicited

səd jə-ʃʷe-ɸ3-m-əj

what 3SG.OBL.AGT-do-PERF-COND-ADD

qəlɜ ʃxʷ3-m d3-sə-ʃʷə-ɸ-3p

city big-OBL LOC-to.be.sitting-HBLT-PERF-NEG

“Whatever s/he did, s/he could not stay in the big city.” / “No matter what s/he did, s/he could not stay in the big city.”

3. Correlative constructions: typological perspective

- first studied in Indo-Aryan languages
- constructions **where a sentence-initial relative clause has a demonstrative correlate in the main clause** as a common variety of the adjoined relative clauses (Lehmann 1986).

(10) Hindi (Srivastav 1991, 639)

[jo laRkii khaRii hai]_k vo_k lambii hai

REL girl standing is **that** tall is

“The girl who is standing is tall.”

(lit. ‘which girl is standing, that is tall.’)

3. Correlative constructions: Abzakh

(11) (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006058#S5>)

[xɜt	jə-bɜ]	wərbən-əm	nax	bɜ	ʃəɜɜ-w	qə-nɜ-m-əj]
who	POSS-stick	gap-OBL more	much	far-ADV	CIS-stay-COND-ADD	

e-r	səd	χ ^w ə-ʃt-əɜɜ ?
DEM-ABS what	be-CERT-PERF	

Litt : if the stick of who stays as more far to the gap too that would be what?

“The one whose stick falls farthest from the gap, what would s/he be?”

(Context: in a game where one explains the rules)

3. Correlative constructions: Abzakh

(12.a) Relative clause (elicited)

[z3-ʃʷe-ɸ3]	wəʔsʰə-r	j3-z3ɸ-eɸ-3p
RES-drink-PERF	herb-ABS	3SG.OBL.R-avail-PERF-NEG

« The pills (litt :herb) that s/he took did not make any benefit (to her/his health). »

(12.b) Internally-headed relative clause (elicited)

[wəʔsʰə-w	z3-ʃʷe-ɸ3-r]	j3-z3ɸ-eɸ-3p
herb-ADV	RES-drink-PERF-ABS	3SG.OBL.R-avail-PERF-NEG

« The pills (litt :herb) that s/he took did not make any benefit (to her/his health). »

(12.c) Free relative clause (elicited)

[z3-ʃʷe-ɸ3-r	j3-z3ɸ-eɸ-3p
RES-drink-PERF-ABS	3SG.OBL.R-avail-PERF-NEG

« The one(s) that s/he took did not make any benefit (to her/his health). »

1. Correlative constructions: Abzakh

(11) (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006058#S5>)

[xɜt	jə-bɜʃ	wərbən-əm	nax	bɜ	ʃəɜɜ-w	qə-nɜ-m-əj]
who	POSS-stick	gap-OBL more	much	far-ADV	CIS-stay-COND-ADD	

e-r	səd	χ ^w ə-ʃt-əɜɜ ?
DEM-ABS	what	be-CERT-PERF

Litt : if the stick of who stays as more far to the gap too that would be what?

“The one whose stick falls farthest from the gap, what would s/he be?”

(Context: in a game where one explains the rules)

=> Overt conditional schema ?

3. UCC vs Correlative constructions

(13) UCC

[səd jə-ʃʷə-ɛ3-m-əj]

what 3SG.OBL.AGT-do-PERF-COND-ADD

qɛlɜ ʃxʷ3-m d3-sə-ʃʷə-ɛ-3p

city big-OBL LOC-to.be.sitting-HBLT-PERF-NEG

“Whatever s/he did, s/he could not stay in the big city.” / “No matter what s/he did, s/he could not stay in the big city.”

(14) Correlative (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006058#S5>)

[xɜt jə-bɜʃ wərbən-əm nax bɜ ʃə33-w qɛ-nɜ-m-əj]

who POSS-stick gap-OBL more much far-ADV CIS-stay-COND-ADD

(ɛ-r) səd χʷə-ʃt-əɛ3 ?

DEM-ABS what be-CERT-PERF

Litt : if the stick of who stays as more far to the gap too that would be what?

“The one whose stick falls farthest from the gap, what would s/he be?”

(Context: in a game where one explains the rules)

3. Correlative or UCC ?

Abzakh :

- ❖ Subordinate clause contains an obligatory INT pronoun (free choice quantifier)
- ❖ Predicate of the subordinate clause marked by conditional suffix *-m* and additive suffix *-aj*
- ❖ Matrix clause has an optional anaphoric demonstrative pronoun

Typological perspective:

- The fact that subordinate clause is marked by a conditional marker is a common phenomenon in correlatives
(Liptak, 2009)
- Typologically both (additives and conditionals) are quite widespread for UCCs
(Haspelmath & König, 1998)
- Combining additives and conditionals is typical for concessives
(Xrakovskij et al., 2012)

To sum up...

- Conditionals make use of the suffix *-m3* in protasis without backshifting in tense
- UCCs, ACCs, SCCs => same morphosyntactic pattern :

V-Cond-ADD = Type I = uniformly marked CCs

(vs ‘differentially marked CCs such as English)

“Type-1 languages encode all concessive-conditional subtypes overtly as conditionals.”
(Bossuyt 2023)

- Concessive conditionals
 - SCCs : (Neg)-V-Cond-Add
 - ACCs : V-Cond- Add, Neg-V-Cond-Add
 - UCCs : Correlatives : **Int** (Neg)-V-Cond-Add

To sum up...

➤ Why a uniform pattern in these constructions ?

Haspelmath & König (1998):

uniformly-marked concessive conditionals -> languages that are primarily
nonfinite-subordination,

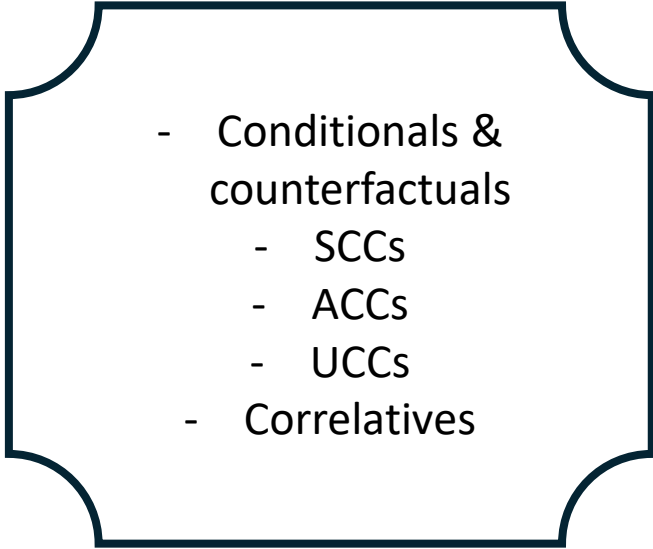
differentially-marked concessive conditionals -> predominantly “finite” subordination.

- nonfinite-subordinating languages are OV,
- finite-subordinating languages tend to be VO.

=> Place of WH- word: WH-fronting in VO vs WH- in situ in OV.

To sum up...

Abzakh follows the same strategy to form =>

- 
- Conditionals & counterfactuals
 - SCCs
 - ACCs
 - UCCs
 - Correlatives

- nonfinite-subordination
- as a nonfinite-subordinating language -> OV order,
- as an OV language : WH- in situ

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