Concession. A typological study
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Appendix

In Chapters 6–9 I assessed the data which form the basis of this study. For the sake of transparency I add this appendix, in which the relevant examples of the concessive constructions in the 36 sample languages are listed. Thus, instances are given of various linkers at the four relevant semantic levels, adverbal linking, coordination, etc. As I stressed in Section 5.2.2, the concessive constructions given here for each language are not exhaustive.

Some of the examples contain two or more linkers separated by a slash. This means that the consultant in question has given various options for the expression of the concessive linker in the questionnaire sentence.

AMHARIC

Content

(a) ăissu băđänb b-ay-ay-ĩm mănăs's'ĩr āy-ṟąg-ĩm.
3SG:M:SBJ good COND-NEG-see-INCL eyeglasses NEG-put.on-NEG
’He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

(b) ăissu aynun tammo ῆṭyy-ալա-m mănăs’s’ĩr
NEG-put.on-NEG
’He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic

(a) (i) ăissu mist-un ăinna լիջ-ոճ-un բաթ’հմ
3SG:M:SBJ wife-his and child-PL:OBJ very
bi-wădd-acc-ավ-ĩm, tit-ow-acc-ավ ĥedă.
COND-like-3PL-3PL:OBJ-INCL leave-GER-3PL-OBJ he.went
’He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

(ii) ăissu mist-un ăinna լիջ-ոճ-un բաթ’հմ
3SG:M:SBJ wife-his and child-PL:OBJ very
ĭṭyya-waddăd-acc-ավ-ĩm, īl-kițără-m.
TEMP-like-PF-3PL-3PL:OBJ-INCL NEG-remain-NEG
’He did not remain with his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’
Appendix

(b) (i) ðìssu bet yàllàmm,

3SG:M:SBJ house exist.not

nagar gin makina-w dàjjìu k'om-all-àcc.

thing but car-DEF:F outside stand-AUX-3SG:F

‘He’s not at home, although his car is parked outside.”

(ii) ðìssu bet yàllàmm,

3SG:M:SBJ house exist.not

màkina-w gin dàjjìu k'om-all-àcc.

car-DEF:F but outside stand-AUX-3SG:F

‘He’s not at home, although his car is parked outside.”

(iii) màkina-w dàjjìu k’oma ðìyy-all-àcc-ìm,

car-DEF:F outside stand TEMP-AUX-3SG:F-INCL

ìssu bet yàllàmm,

3SG:M:SBJ house exist.not

‘He’s not at home, although his car is parked outside.’

Speech-act

(i) cìggir-ìh bi-gàb-añì-ìm,

problem-your COND-enter-1SG:OBJ-INCL

sìra-wì-n lä-nàgà ðìnd-it-c’àrrìs ðì-fàllìg-all-àhu.

work-DEF-OBJ for-tomorrow EMPH-2SG-finish 1SG-want-AUX-1SG

‘Although I understand your problem, I want you to finish the work for tomorrow!’

(ii) cìggir-ìh yi-gàb-añìal,

problem-your IMPF-enter-1SG:OBJ

nagar gin sìra-wì-n lä-nàgà ðìnd-it-c’àrrìs

thing but work-DEF-OBJ for-tomorrow EMPH-2SG-finish

ðì-fàllìg-all-àhu.

1SG-want-AUX1SG

‘Although I understand your problem, I want you to finish the work for tomorrow!”
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(iii) cïggïr-ïh yï-gâb-aññal gïn,
problem-you IMPF-enter-1SG:OBJ but
sïra-wï ñâ-nâgâ ñând-it-c'ârrís ñâ-fâllig-all-âhu.
work-DEF-OBJ for-tomorrow EMPH-2SG-finish 1SG-want-AUX-1SG

‘Although I understand your problem, I want you to finish the work for tomorrow!’

Textual

(a) A: Almaz, lïj-lïs yâmmi-t’t’at’t’a ti-fâllig-all-âcc?
Almaz child-your REL-drink 3SG:F-want-AUX-3SG:F
B: a-mäsâggïn-all-âhu kokakollâ biçça. länâgâru bïzu
1SG-thank-AUX-1SG Coca-Cola only for-that.matter a.lot
t’ät’t’-it-all-âcc.
drink-3SG:F-AUX-3SG:F
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Almaz?’
B: ‘Thanks. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) rïne gurâgïnña mä-ñnagâr ñnna mä-s’âf ñ-cîl-all-âhu.
I Gurage INF-speak and INF-write 1SG:IMPF-be.able-AUX-1SG
nâgâr gïn k-amarïnña bâ’k’är bâ-lela k’wank’uwa
thing but so-Amharic except INST-other language
hassab-en bâdänb mä-glâs’ al-cîl-im. ahun s-asibâw gïn
thought-my good INF-express NEG-able-NEG now when-I.think but
yïhïn bïzu gize adrig-e-all-âhu.
this a.lot time do-1SG-AUX-1SG
‘I speak the Gurage language, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feel-
ings in any other language than Amharic. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . . ’

BAHASA INDONESIA

Content
La tidak memakai kacamata
he NEG wear glasses
walaupun/meskipun ia melihat sedikit sekali.
although he see little very
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
Isteri-nya dan anak-anak-nya ditinggalkan-nya,
wife-his and child-RDP-his leave-NR
walaupun/meskipun amat disayangi-nya.
although much love-NR
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Lit: ‘I understand your problem, but I want you to finish the work for tomorrow!’
Speech-act
(a) (i) Saya dapat mengerti persoalan anda,
I EMPH understand problem your
namun berusahalah supaya pekerjaan anda besok selesai.
nevertheless try CMPLR work your tomorrow finished
‘Although I do understand your problem, get the work done tomorrow!’

(ii) Walau pun/biapun saya dapat mengerti persoalan anda,
although I EMPH understand problem your
berusahalah supaya pekerjaan anda besok selesai.
try CMPLR work your tomorrow finished
‘Although I do understand your problem, get the work done tomorrow!’

(b) (i) Tingkah-laku-mu memalukan,
behaviour-your disgrace
namun/walaupun ini bukan urusan saya.
nevertheless/although this NEG business my
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

(ii) Meskipun sebenar-nya saya tidak perlu ikut campur
although actually I NEG need interfere
urus an kamu, tingkah-mu memalukan sekali.
business your behaviour-your disgrace very
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

Textual
(a) Apakah anak perempuan-mu mau minum, The?
INT child daughter-your want drink, Thea
Yah, terima kasih, Miel. Cola saja.
yes, thanks Mily Coke any
Walau pun/Meskipun ia memang sudah minum cukup.
although she actually already drink enough
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Thea?’
B: ‘Thanks, Mily. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

Lit.: “I do understand your problem, nevertheless try to finish your work tomorrow.” This type of literal translations will be omitted in the following. Whether a consultant has expressed a construction which deviates from the questionnaire construction or not, can be clearly deducted from the glosses.
Saya bisa berbicara bahasa Belanda, saya bisa menulis bahasa Belanda, tetapi saya hanya bisa mengungkapkan perasaan saya dalam bahasa Indonesia. feeling my in language Indonesian.

'Namun/walaupun, kalau pikir lagi, saya toh juga sering mengungkapkan perasaan saya dalam bahasa Belanda. 

'I Speak Dutch, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Bahasa. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .' 

BASQUE

Content

(i) Ez du betaurreko-rik erabilt-zen
    neg have:3SG eyeglasses-PTT wear-PRT
    ezer gutxi ikusten duen arren.
    nothing little seeing he.has.that in.spite.of

(ii) Ez du betaurreko-rik erabilt-zen
    neg have:3SG eyeglasses-PTT wear-PRT
    nahiz eta gutxi ikusten duen.
    although little seeing he.has.that
    'He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic

(i) Bere emazte eta seme-alabak utzi zituen,
    his wife and sons-daughters abandon he.had.them
    asko maite zituen arren.
    much loved he.had.them in.spite.of
    'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(ii) Bere emazte eta seme-alabak utzi zituen,
    his wife and sons-daughters abandon he.had.them
    nahiz eta asko maite zituen
    although much loved he.had.them
    'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'
Speech-act

(i) Zure arazo-ak ulert-zen ba-ditut ere,
your problem-DEF:PL understand-PRPART COND-l.have.them even
lan-a biharko egina egon behar da!
work-DEF for.tomorrow done be must it.is
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(ii) Nahiz eta zure arazo-ak ondo ulert-zen ditudan,
although your problem-DEF:PL well understand-PRPART l.have.them
lan-a biharko egina egon behar da!
work-DEF for.tomorrow done be must it.is
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(iii) Zure arazo-ak ulert-zen ditudan arren,
your problem-DEF:PL understand-PRPART l.have.them in.spite.of
lan-a biharko egina egon behar da!
work-DEF for.tomorrow done be must it.is
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(iv) Zure arazo-ak ondo ulert-zen ditut,
your problem-DEF:PL well understand-PRPART l.have.them
baina buka ezazu lan-a biharko!
but finish have:IMP work-DEF for.tomorrow
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

(a) A: Atera-ko diot zerbait edateko zure
get-FUT l.it.to.her something to.drink you:POL:GEN
alab-ari, Ana?
daughter-DEF:DAT Ana

B: Eskerr-ik asko, Miren. Coco-Cola bat, mesedez.
thanks-PTT much Miren Coca-Cola one please
Nahiko edan du, dena dela.

enough drunk she.has anyway
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Ana?’
B: ‘Thanks, Miren. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink any-

way.’
(b) Gaztelaniaz hitz-egiten dut, eta idatzi ere bai,
Spanish-inst word-making I.have.it and written also
baina nire barreranko sentimendu-ak euskerak ez de-n
but my inner feeling-def:pl Basque neg is-rel
beste hizkuntza bat-en ezin ditut adi-erazi.
other language one-gen impossible I.have.them explain
Beno/hala ere/baina, egia esan, pentsatz-en hasten ba-naiz,
well/still/but truth said think-ger beginning cond-I.am
behin baino gehiagotan...
once than more.often
‘I speak Spanish, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Basque. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .’

BOBODA

Content
A hà  líné tií pë kàsòrô à mà zê forí nà.
he neg glasses wear although he neg see good postp
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
À tigue tà yàard ṅkpë ñ nùmënë sù.
he ran he conn woman with he children drop
kàsòrô è dá nê dìá à mà.
although they thing conn please he postp
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(a) Hälé mà nê bià dà kërì,
even I conn your thing make.clear
yè bê dàgà ṣ bààrà bê tà sê yiře nà!
still you:sg must rel work this do tomorrow poss for
‘Even though I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’
(b) Hälé bô- mà ñ tà dà ré, bê dàkùrê ñ tà.
even these neg me conn thing emph you:sg bad.things rel do
‘Even though I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a dis-

Textual
(a) A: Wò’ mënëfrá mà ŋ nà diá bê nô mà mò, Máriyà?
what drink thing rel will please you child to int Maria
B: Lemùrùği. A yè rê mënë wë ñ yigè hà.
Lemurugi she even drink finish conn be.full anyway
Appendix

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Maria?’
B: ‘Just a Lemurugi. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) Mā tömdā bērē nē è sēbē, īkā mā hā sōbē
I Jula speak CONN them write but I NEG can nē nē kōrō hā dā yirā bērē wērē hā ī mā tē
CONN me belly in things say speech another in except bōbōdā. Ō! Nē kākīrī digē. Mā ē tā nē zā
Boboda oh me spirit sounds I them do CONN see kāyīnā dāmānē nā.
times many POSTP
‘I speak Jula, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other
language than Boboda. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done
it many times . . .’

BURMESE

Content
Tu mjisi ni bu me? mjlnē mā ta phu
he eye bad although spectacle NEG wear PURP
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
Tu mema nI khle-dwil gō Tē TʃI pe me? szi Twaj a dē
he wife and child-PL OBJ very.much love although leave go MOD REAL
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
mi? pjaTama-dwil gō ŋa na lē ba dē da be me?
your problem-PL OBJ I understand HAB REAL although
mante pha gō dɔl alo? pi pə: ze
tomorrow OBJ when work finish get IMP
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual
(a) A: mi? th̪aṁi xe-Tā? tʃI mə-lā bē
your daughter cold.drink-CL want NEG-int FP
B: tʃeṭu be Ni Ni koka kola  po?
thanks Ni Ni Coca-Cola just
Tu le baj piŋ ne ŋa ba
she also stomach full being might MIT
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’
B: ‘Thanks, Ni Ni. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink any-
way.’
Appendix


that think PAST REAL
da be मे? ना भुवी द्वे जी। ठी। ना although I now think look over I ।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।.

time many speak happen PAST PTCL PP

'I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language but Burmese. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .' 

CANTONESE

Content

Sëui-yihn kéuih jihng-haih tái dou siu siu, although s/he only-be see manage little little daahnhaih kéuih dòu mh daai ngáahn-géng. but s/he still NEG wear eye-glass

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic

Sëui-yihn kéuih hòu oi kéuih ge taai-taai tühng jái-néui, although s/he much love s/he POS wife and children daahnhaih kéuih dòu léih hoi jó kéuihdeih. but s/he still leave part PP them

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act

Sëui-yihn ngóh mihng-baahk néih ge kwan-náahn, although I understand you POS difficulty daahnhaih ting-yahk dòu yiu gáau-dihm! but tomorrow still need manage-finish

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

Ngóh sik góng tühng sik sé Ying-mán, I know speak and know write English daahnhaih chèuih-jó Gwóng-düng Wá ji-ngoiih, but except Cantonese Speech apart.
Appendix

ngóh jauh níh hó-yíh yuñg kēiñ-tā yūh-yíhn
I then NEG can use other language
biu-dāhph ngóh ge jān gām-chihng. Bāt-gwo,
express I POSS true feeling however
nām hā-hā nam hān, ngóh dōu sī-gwo hōu dō chi.
think ASP think I still experience-EXP very many times
yuñg Ying-mán.
use English
'I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Cantonese. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .'

DARGI

Content
(i) harha-li če<b>i-ub-Gi,
rare-ADV see:N-AOR-CONC
il-i-ni  hul-bi  d-irš+he-d-irš-u
this-OBL-ERG eye-PL:ABS pl-fasten+NEG-pl-fasten-FUT3
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

(ii) harha-li če<b>i-ub-li-šalli,
rare-ADV see:N-AOR-GER-although
il-i-ni  hul-bi  d-irš+he-d-irš-u
this-OBL-ERG eye-PL:ABS pl-fasten+NEG-pl-fasten-FUT3
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
(i) il  araq'-un-ō  šuny-či-w-ad  wa  durh-n-a-či-w-ad,
this:ABS leave:M-AOR-3 wife:OBL-SUP-M-EL and child-PL-OBL-SUP-M-EL
sune-s  il-di  debali  dig-ul-šalli-ra
self:OBL-DAT this-PL:ABS very love-GER-although-INCL
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(ii) il  araq'-un-ō  šuny-či-w-ad  wa  durh-n-a-či-w-ad,
this:ABS leave:M-AOR-3 wife:OBL-SUP-M-EL and child-PL-OBL-SUP-M-EL
sune-s  il-di  debali  dig-uGi-ra
self:OBL this-PL:ABS very love-CONC-INCL
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

Speech-act
(i) he-la  Giyan-ti  nu-ni  irğ-uli-šalli,
you:OBL-GEN difficulty-PL:ABS me-ERG understand-GER-although
hanči  džaʃal  taman+d-ar-a
work:ABS tomorrow end+pl-do-IMP
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
Appendix

(ii) ḥe-la Giyan-ti nu-ni irğ-uGi,
you:OBL-GEN difficulty-PL:ABS me-ERG understand-CONC
hanci dżakčil taman+d-ar-a
work:ABS tomorrow end+pl-do-IMP

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

A: se d-udğ-ehe-w nuša-ni, ṣarqi-la, ʧaƣir-la Ahmad?
what pl-drink-FUTIP-INT we-ERG wodka-GEN wine-GEN Ahmed:ABS

B: ṣarqi-la, sen+ahe-nu nuša-ni d-açari d-erdż-i-l-ra
wodka-GEN why+be:not-so we-ERG pl-enough pl-drink-AOR-GER-1

A: ‘What shall we drink, vodka or wine, Ahmed?’
B: ‘Vodka probably. Although we already drank enough.’

DUUNGGIDJAWU

Content
gunugunu yxrì myagun, wakka yxrì gilasu ye:
eyes his blinding NEG his glass it.is

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
yxran galan yxrì, nyoamgan-na na gimmabam-ma wannenji.
they good to.him wife-OBJ and children-OBJ leave:INCMPLPAST
‘He left his wife and children, although they were good to him.’

Speech-act
ŋaddyu benga:o nyingari dyanbal, galan,
I:ERG intend.to.understand your pain well
nyin dya:o diraiwa bummi binygu.
you:SG:NERG intend.to.go tribal.hunt to.kill.game tomorrow

‘Although I am trying to understand your problem, please join the tribal hunt to kill for food tomorrow!’

Textual
ŋaddyu yalle Du:ngidyawu na Baddyala. nyinangurana ŋaddyu
I:ERG speak Duunggidjawu and Baddyala. mythology I:ERG
yalle Du:ngidyawu. wakka. ŋaddyu wana yalle Baddyala m̩xanin.
speak Duunggidjawu NEG I:ERG also speak Baddyala much
‘I speak Baddyala, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Duunggidjawu. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times...’
FINNISH

Content
Hän ei käytä laseja
he aux:NEG:3SG use glasses
vaikka hän näkee hyvin heikosti.
although he sees very weakly
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
Hän jätti vaimo-nsa ja lapse-nsa,
he left wife-POSs:PL and child-POSs:PL
vaikka hän rakasti heitä hyvin paljon.
although he loved them very much
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
Vaikka ymmärrä-nsi ongelma-si, tee työ huomenna!
although understand-1SG problem-POSs:2SG do:IMP work tomorrow
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual
A: Tarja haluaisi-ko tyttäre-si juotavaa?
Tarja want:COND:3SG-INT daughter-POSs:2SG to:drink
B: Kiitos, Ritva. Vain kokis-ta. Toisaalta hänellä on
thanks Ritva only Coke-PTT on.the.other.hand she-ADESS AUX:3SG
ollut riittävästi juotavaa muutenkin.
been enough to:drink anyway
A: ‘Tarja, would your daughter like a drink?’
B: ‘Thanks, Ritva. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

HUNGARIAN

Content
Nem hord szemüvege-t
NEG wear:3SG glasses-ACC
pedig/ambár nagyon rosszul látt.
although very poorly see:3SG
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
Elhagy-ta a feleség-é-t és a gyermek-ei-t
leave:3SG-PAST DET wife-3SG:POSs-ACC and DET child-3SG:POSs:PL-ACC
pedig/ambár szeret-te ök-et nagyon.
although love-3SG:PAST they-ACC very
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’
Appendix

Speech-act

(a) (i) Ért-em a problémá-d-at, 
understand-1SG DET problem-2SG:POSS-ACC 
de a munká-nak kész kell len-ni-e holnap! 
but DET work-DAT ready must be-INF-it tomorrow

Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!

(ii) Ámbár/ugyan ért-em a problémá-d-at, 
although understand-1SG DET problem-2SG:POSS-ACC 
a munká-nak kész kell len-ni-e holnap! 
DET work-DAT ready must be-INF-it tomorrow

Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!

(b) (i) Ez ugyan nem rám tartóz-ik, de botránynos a 
this although NEG me concern-it but scandalous DET 
viselkedé-sed.

Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a dis-grace.

(ii) Ámbár ez nem rám tartozik, botránynos 
although this NEG me concern-it scandalous 
a viselkedé-sed.

Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a dis-grace.

Textual

(a) A: Kér valami-t in-ni a lány-od, János? 
ask:3SG something-ACC drink-INF DET daughter-2SG:POSS, Janos

B: Köszön-öm, Péter. Csak egy Kóld-t. 
thanks-1SG Peter only one Cola-ACC 
Ivott ő már eleg-et. 
drank:3SG she already enough-ACC

A: 'Would your daughter like a drink, Janos?'
B: 'Thanks, Peter. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she's had enough to drink any-way.'
(b) Beszél-ek holland-ul és ír-ök is, de az érzés-eim-et speak-I SG Dutch-in and write-I SG too but DET feeling-I SG:PL:POSS-ACC nem tud-om már más nyelv-en kifejez-ni mint NEG know-I SG already other language-on express-to as magyar-ul. És mégis, hogy ez-en gondolkod-om, Hungarian-in and still, that it-on think-I SG úgy tün-ik, mintha sokszor megte-tt-em volna... thus seem-3SG as.though often do-PAST-I SG would.have 'I Speak Dutch, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Hungarian. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times...'

JAMAICAN CREOLE

Content
im na wi er glass siz ivndou im kjá a:dlí sí.
he NEG wear glasses although he CAN:NEG hardly see 'He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
im lef im um an pikni dem,
he left his wife and child PL
ivndou im did ril Ínv dem.
although he PAST really love them
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

Speech-act
(a) mi si we ju a sè, bá get i wak ðân tumara.
I see what you PROG say but get the work done tomorrow
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!
'I see what you are saying, but get the work done tomorrow!

(b) mu neva dwi, ivndou ju mast na biliv mi.
I never do it although you maybe NEG believe me
'I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.'

Textual
(a) A: ju da:ta wà wan djíüns, miérí?
your daughter want a drink Mary
B: tenk you, an. djíis wan suada. Bá ju nu, im
thank you Ann just a soda but you know she
djínk mas aredi.

drink enough already
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Mary?’
B: ‘Thanks, Ann. Just a soda. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.'
(b) *mi tāk inglīs an mi rait i, bā mī kjā se mī rilh*
I talk English and I write it but I *can:* *NEG* say my real
feel in any other language than Patwa *but/even though now*
that I think about it I *do* it enough time
'I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Patwa. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .'

JAPANESE

Content
(a) *asi-no hone-ga ore-te-mo kare-wa uti-made*
foot-GEN born-NOM break-GER-also 3SG:M-TOP home-till
*zutto hasit-ta*
all.the.time run-PAST
'He ran all the way home although he had broken his foot.'

(b) *kare-wa yoku mie-nai-noni megane-wo kake-nai*
3SG:M-TOP well see-NEG-although glasses-ACC hang-NEG
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
(a) *kare-wa tuma-to kodomo-o aisi-te*
3SG:M-TOP wife-and child-ACC love-GER
*i-ta-nimokakawarazu/-noni wakare-ta*
be-PAST-although separate-PAST
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(b) *kuruma-wa ie-no mae-ni tome-te*
car-TOP house-GEN front-LOC park-GER
*aru-keredomo/-ga kare-wa ie-ni i-nai*
exist-but 3SG-TOP house-LOC be-NEG
'He's not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.'

Speech-act
*anata-no mondai-wa wakari-masu-ga/-keredomo sono sigoto-wa*
2SG-GEN problem-TOP understand-HON-but DEM work-TOP
*asita sumase-te kudasai*
tomorrow get.done-GER give:IMP
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
Textual

(a) A: Hanako-san, ozyoosan-ni nominono-wa ikaga desu-ka
   Hanako-hon your.daughter-DAT drink-TOP how COP-INT
B: arigatoo, Yoko-san, jaa koka koora-o.
   thanks Yoko-hon then Coca-Cola-ACC
   nominono-wo moo zyuubun non-de i-masu-keredomo
drink-TOP already enough drink-GER be-POL-PAST-but
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Hanako?’
B: ‘Thanks, Yoko, just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s already had enough to
drink anyway.’

(b) watasi wa eigo o hanasi-tari kai-tari suru-keredo,
   I TOP English ACC speak-and write-and do-concessive
   nihongo igai no kotoba de wa zibun no
   Japanese other.than GEN language LOC TOP self GEN
   hontoo no kimoti wa hyoogen-deki-nai.
   true GEN feeling TOP express-can-NEG:FIN
   kangae-te-miru to watasi wa sore o nando mo
   think-GER-tr try and I TOP that ACC many.times too
   si-te-ki-ta no da-ga/-keredomo . . .
   do-GER-come-PAST NR COP-CONC
   ‘I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other.language than Japanese. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .’

KANNADA

Content
avā jasti ka:N-add-ar-ude kannaDka maDi-kko-tt-ā:y-ille
he much see-NEG-COND-EMPH specs keep-REFL-PRES-3SG:M-NEG
‘He does not wear glasses although he does not see much’

Epistemic
avan-ge heNDati-makka-La me:le oLLLe pri:ti i-dd-ar-u:
he-DAT wife-child-PL on much love be-PRES-COND-EMPH
avā avara biTT-ikki ho:-d-ā
he them left-COMPL go-PAST-3SG:M
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(a) avā ba:r-add-ar-ude ningo banni
   he come-NEG-COND-EMPH you:PL come:IMP:PL
   ‘Even though he does not come, you come!’
(b) a:nu enna viSayav-a no:Di-goND-i-dd-are sa:ku nija,
I my business-gen look-refl-be-nonpast-cond enough true
a:-d-are ninna naDate marya:di tegeva-du he:Li
become-past-cond your behaviour honour remove-it that
he:L-ekk-a:-v-uttu.
say-must-become-nonpast-3sg:n
'It is true that I should be minding my own business, but I must say that your
behaviour is a disgrace.'

(c) a:nu he:Lu-d-ara ni:nu namb-add-i-pp-al-u: sa:ku,
I say-it-gen you believe-NEG-be-sbjv-emph possible,
a:dare a:nu tappitastā alla
but I wrongdoer not
'I'm innocent, although you probably don't believe me.'

Textual
(a) A: malini, ninna magaLin-ge kuDi-vaLe be:k-akk-o
Malini, your daughter-dat drink-purp want-possible-int
B: raja: ha:lu be:-k-a:-d-are koDu;
little milk want-sbjv:3-become-past-cond give;
a:dare adu suma:ru kuDdu.
but she much drunk
A: 'Would your daughter like a drink, Malini?'
B: 'Give some milk, if you want; although she has already drunk much.'

(b) a:nu ingli:S-ili ma:tana:Dutte, adar-alli barav-alu: eDittu,
I English-loc speak, it-loc write-purp can,
a:dare ena-ge kannaDa-lli all-adde enna nijava:da bha:vaneya
but me-dat Kannada-loc not-cnV my true feeling
he:Lu-le eDi-ya; ha:nge no:D-i-re suma:ru satti
say-purp possible-NEG thus look-past-cond many time
a:nu ha:nge ma:D-i-d-d-u: i-dd-u
I thus do:conv-be-past-3sg:n:emph jbe-pres-3sg:n
'I speak English, and I can write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Kannada. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times.'

KET

Content
(a) Bu qmat qaj dutη,
he little although sees
budantya xkan bni'-śan.
with.him glasses neg-is
'Although he sees little, he doesn't wear glasses.'
Appendix

(b) *Bu byl'de us'ka qo'qí təxtarəx'bat*,
   he the whole back way run:PART
   *qo't da-bul' hatets*.
   although his-foot broken
   'He ran the whole way back although he had broken his foot.'

Epistemic
(a) *Bu da qim haj da kət daRən̥taξ'bat*,
   he his wife and his children left
   *qo't bu bu'na qə l'üverəx'bat*.
   although he them big loved
   'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'
(b) *Bu bən' qaru*,
   er NEG home
   *buda ma's'ina in'Gus't kal'ga qaj ujbaRət*.
   his car house:GEN beside although stands
   'He's not at home, although his car is parked beside the house.'

Speech-act
(a) *At uk problemən qaj ətpar'əm*,
   I your problems although know
   *iļ'get anəks' byl'de l'svet*.
   do tomorrow the whole work
   'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
(b) *Qo't ət'ər e bən' ap d'ela*,
   although this NEG my business
   *uk dəq satij ədəq*.
   your life disgraceful life
   'Although it is none of my business, your life is a disgraceful life.'

Textual
*At kys'nbəs' dəsgəsiya haj dir'injivât*,
ich Russian speak and write
*nc ap hitin anənə at tanga*
but my true thoughts I only
*əxtiyənəs' tayyya, bən' bi'k qərənəs*.
Ket say NEG other words with
*Qo't at al'in təm tayyya, at*
although I much thus speak I
*dan's'iivət-kəyXə*.
consider-when
'I speak and write Russian, but I say my true thoughts in Ket, with no other words.
Although I often (also) speak like that, now that I come to think about it.'
KHOEKHOE

Content
(a) \( \| lb \ ge \ bril-de +nui \ tama h\`a \)
\( \text{he IND glass-PL:F put.on NEG ASP} \)
\( +khwusase ra m\`u-l\`a. \)
very weakly PRESENCH see-although
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’
(b) \( \| lb \ ge \ hoaraga dao-b-a go \!kho\|aru, \)
\( \text{he IND all road-SG:M-OBJ REC.PAST go.home} \)
\( +aisab khoa ha xawe. \)
foot break ASP although
‘He ran all the way home although he had broken his foot.’

Epistemic
\( \| lb \ ge \| lb \ di \ tara-s ts\i\! \| lb \ di \| go\a-n-a \) go
\( \text{he IND he POSS spouse-3SG:F and he POSS kids-3PL-OBJ REC.PAST} \)
\( \| n\`a\`u, kaise-b \| ina ra \| nam xawe. \)
leave very-3SG:M:OBJ they PRESENCH love although
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(a) \( Sa \! gomsiga \ tara \! ndu!a xawe, \)
your problems I PRESENCH understand although
\( \| goaga \! nai \! n\`a \! sisen-e toa kai re! \)
tomorrow already that work-3SG:N:OBJ finished CAUS IMP
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’
(b) \( Titati \! xu-n \! \| kha \! gui \! ni \! \| \! a\!l\!a\!s\!e\!n-s \)
my thing-3PL:INDEF with one FUT WORRY-REFL-3SG:F
\( ka \! i \! xawe-s, \! ge \! sa \! tanisen-s-a \! a \)
TAM happen although-3SG:F:OBJ IND your behaviour-3SG:F-OBJ COP
taotaoa.
shameful
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a dis-

Textual
\( Titag \! E\! nglisha \! ra \! !hoa \! tsi \! xoa \! xawe \)
I IND English-OBJ PRESENCH speak and write but
\( ta \! ge \! ti \! ama \! tsasiga \! ni \! h\`a \! gowa-i \! \! n\`a-\`u \)
I IND my true feelings FUT ASP language-3SG:N through
\( a \! gowa+uisen \! !oa \! hana-b \! ga \! Khoekhoegowa \)
PRES express-REFL unable IT-3SG:M:OBJ OPT Damara-speech
tama kara-ïo. Nësi ta nès xa nësi ɬgui ra ñais
NEG TAM-happen now I this about now only PRES:INCH think
kara i xawe tage ɬnà-s-a ɬgui ɬnà-de
TAM happen although I IND that-NR-OBJ many time-3PL:F
already REM:ASP try ASP:PAST
'I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Khoekhoe. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .'

KIWAI

Content
Nanie damari uba ai-r-era nou girasi pai k-owagoria.
although eyes bad FACT-SBJ-be he glasses NEG VN-wearing
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
Nanie nou orobora-gido ra meremere-gido nirimagare k-oiit,
although his wife-for and child.child-for strong.love VN-having
aime g-imeser-ai-bi.
then 3SG:PAST-leave.many-SUDACT-3:OBJ
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

Speech-act
(a) Nanie mo ororo tore ai-n-irowidiro,
although I your:SG tears FACT-1SG:SBJ-hear.many
ro duduwo aime ri-deregedio-ri.
you:SG tomorrow then 2SG:SBJ-FUT-work-DEF:FUT
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'

(b) Mo pai ubi ai-r-era ro k-emarogo-gido, ro uba
I NEG wish fact-SBJ-be you:SG VN-scolding-EMPH you:SG bad
ai-r-era ro uba ai-r-era.
FACT-SBJ-be you:SG bad FACT-SBJ-be
'Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.'

(c) Mo uba-tato ai-n-era, nanime oro pai irowai.
I bad-without FACT-1SG:SBJ-be truly you NEG believe.it.all
'I'm innocent, although you probably don't believe me.'
Appendix

(a) A: *Ororo besere ubi ai-r-erea k odio-gido mo?*  
    your:SG daughter wish fact-sbj:be VN-drinking-for INT

B: *Nou ubi ai-r-erea obo k odio-gido, nanime auwo she wish fact-sbj:be water VN-drinking-for truly big wodio.*
    drink:3SG:REC:PAST

A: 'Would your daughter like a drink?'  
B: 'Just some water. Although she's had enough to drink anyway.'

(b) *Mone newa overa ai-n-umoro. Moro k-emaragidiro I two language fact-1SG:PRES-know my VN-thinking moro overa-ito aime n iarogo.*

my language-INST then 1SG:SBJ:PRES-speak.about.many

*Nanie siriotagu moro kemaragidiro ata overa-ito although often my thoughts the.other language-INST n iarogo.*

1SG:speak.about.many

'I know two languages, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than my own language. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .'
Although I know my speaking of the White man’s language, I speak my true speaking of the Kwaza language. Nevertheless I have the speaking of the White man’s language.'

LAKXOTA

Content

Ishtagxungxa eyash, ishtamanza un shni.
blind although glasses wear NEG
'He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic

(a) Txawicu na cinca tewichaxila nus, awich-ayushtan.
wife and off-spring love supposedly them-left
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(b) Car ki enna nazhin eyash, iye toki iyaye.
car TOP stand parked although self somewhere gone
'He’s not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.'

Speech-act

Taku tokxa (eyash), hihanni ki wowashi glu-shtan ye.
thing problem although tomorrow TOP work yours-finish ENCL
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
Appendix

(b) Washicu iwaye, na owa unmaspe, eyash lakxot-iyab
English speak:1SG and write know:1SG although Lakxota-talk
ogna icela woyukcan hena tanyan owaglake owakihi.
through only thoughts those good I.tell.for.me can:1SG
phiya iweglukcan yunkxan washicu iya owakihi s'e-lecheca.
over I.think.for.me so.then English I.talk I.can my-thoughts
'I speak English and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Lakxota. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .'

LINGALA

Content
Ata a-monaka muke mpenza, a-lataka na yé maneti té.
although 3SG:AN-see little very 3SG:AN-wear himself glasses NEG
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
(a) Ata-tikaki mwasi na bana na yé,
3SG:AN-leave:RECPAST wife and children his
ata a-zalaka ko-linga bango mingi.
although 3SG:AN-be INF-love them ardently
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(b) Mótuka na yé e-telemi na libosó ya ndáko,
car his 3SG:INAN-stand in front CONN house
kasi/mais yé moko a-zali na ndáko té.
but he self 3SG:AN-be in house NEG
'He's not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.'

Speech-act
(a) Ata na-zá ko-comprendre ba problemes na yó,
although 1SG:AN-be INF-understand PL problems your
na-lingi o-silisa musala wànà lobi.
1SG-want 2SG-finish work DEM tomorrow
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'

(ii) Na-zá ko-comprendre ba problemes na yó,
1SG:AN-be INF-understand PL problems your
mais il faut o-silisa musala wànà lobi.
but it.is.necessary 2SG-finish work DEM tomorrow
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
Appendix

(b) *E-táli nango ngai té,*

3SG:INAN-look of.conf itself NEG
kasi ezaleli na yó e-za nsuni mingi.

but behaviour your 3SG:INAN-be ridiculous very

'Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a dis-
grace.'

Textual

(a) A: *Moninga, Suzanna na yó a-lingi ko-mela elóko?*

friend:FEM Suzanna your 3SG:AN-want INF-drink something

B: *Ee, pes-d yé kaka Coca-Cola. Yé moko asi a-zali*

no give-IMP her just Coca-Cola she self had 3SG:AN-have

na elóko ya ko-mela.

something CONN INF-drink

A: 'Friend, would your Suzanna like to drink something?'

B: 'No, just give her a Coca-Cola. Although she's had enough to drink any-
way.'

(b) *Na-lobaka Hollandais mpe na-komaka yangó malamu, kasi*

1SG:AN-speak Dutch and 1SG:AN-write 3SG:INAN well but

ba vrai mani a-na ngai ya sembo na-koki ko-yebisa

PL real feeling my CONN heart 1SG:AN-can INF-tell

yangó na munoko mosus té kaka na Lingala.

them in language other NEG just in Lingala

*Kasi/mais, sóki na-kanisa malamu, na-sála yangó*

but if 1SG:AN-think good 1SG:AN-do:PAST 3S:INAN

mbala ebele.

times many

'I speak Dutch, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Lingala. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .'

LOKONO

Content

Ma-khono-n l-a kushike
NEG-wear-SR 3SG:M-AUX glasses

barhin sa m-a-n l-a-n dükhu-n.

although good NEG-AUX-SR 3SG:M-AUX-SR see-SR

'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'
Epistemic

(a) (i) *L-iba lü-bianthe matho lü-sa-be,*
   3SG:M-leave 3SG:M-partner and 3SG:M-child-PL
   *barhin minkho l-anshi-n ye.*
   although very 3SG:M-love-SR 3PL
   'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(ii) *Barhin minkho l-anshi-n lü-bianthe matho*
   although very 3SG:M-love-SR 3SG:M-partner and
   *lü-sa-be,* *kiaki l-iba ye.*
   3SG:M-child-PL nevertheless 3SG:M-leave 3PL
   'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(b) *Barhin lü-darhidikoana lü-shikoa shibon nin,*
   although 3SG:M-vehicle 3SG:M-house front LOC
   *ma bahū-n m-a-n l-a.*
   but house-LOC NEG-AUX-SR 3SG:M-AUX
   'He's not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.'

Speech-act

(a) (i) *D-eitha hama bali-n b-oma,*
   1SG-know what pass-SR 2SG-with
   *ma möchi b-ibidi-ha bü-nekhebo-wa.*
   but tomorrow 2SG-finish-FUT 2SG-work-POSS

(ii) *Barhin d-eichi-n hama bali-n b-oma,*
   although 1SG-know-SR what pass-SR 2SG-with,
   (ma) möchi b-ibidi-ha bü-nekhebo-wa.
   (but) tomorrow 2SG-finish-FUT 2SG-work-POSS
   'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'

(b) *Barhin dei khonan m-a-n th-a-n,*
   although 1SG about NEG-AUX-SR 3SG:N-AUX-SR
   *kiaki haburichina-chi b-a.*
   nevertheless shameful-ADV R 2SG-AUX
   'Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.'
Textual

Da-dià-ka matho da-bùrhüta farhetho dian loko
1SG-speak-ASP and 1SG-write foreign language in
ma hama da-koborokoа-sia kia loko-non dian loko
but what 1SG-think-rel that Arawak-PL language in
ron da-dià-koma. Ma da-koborokoаtoа-n tho-khona,
only 1SG-speak-POT but 1SG-think-SR 3SG:N-about,
da-dià-koma farhetho dian loko da no.
1SG-speak-POT foreign language in PTCL 3SG:N
'I speak Dutch, and I write it, but I cannot express my true
feelings in any other language than Arawak. Although, now
that I come to think of it, I have done it in Dutch...'
Textual

_Iech spreek Nederlands, en iech sjrijf ’t,_
I speak Dutch and I write it
_meh m’n echte geveules kin iech in gein aander taol_
but my true feelings can I in no other language
_oetdrökke es ’t Mestreechs._
express then _ART_ Maastricts

_Allewel/Maar, noe iech d’re euver naodink:_
although/but now I it over think
_ietch höb ’t wel dèks gedoon._
I have it _EMPH_ often done

‘I speak Dutch and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Mestreechs. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .’

MOHAWK

Content

_Iáh tehokahränhe,_
_NEG are.his.eyes.layered_
_sha’té:ioht iáh é:so tehá:ken._
although _NEG much does.he see_

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic

_Wahshakote’wén:tehte ne ró:ne tanon_
he.left.then _DEF his.spouse and_
_shakoien’okón:ža sha’té:ioht tsi é:so shakonorónhhkwakhwe._
he.is.parent.to.them although so much he.loves.them

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act

_Shá’té:ioht ki wake’nikonhraiêntas nahò:ten tesa’nikónhrare,_
although just I.understand what your.mind.is.down
_eníörhen’ne ki énhtsa ne kaio’tênhséra._
tomorrow just you.will the work

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

(a) _B:_ _Niá:wèn Sóse. Cöke khok. Sha’té:ioht ki_
thanks Joe Coke too.only although just
_wáhi iekaiè:ri tsi níkon ön:en iakohnkì:ren._
right it.is.enough so much already she.has.drunk
Appendix

[A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’]
B: ‘Thanks. Just a Coke. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) Kahrónka tanon khá:tons ne Tiohřhén:sha,
I.understand and I.write.a.language DEF English
nektsi iáh thankwé:ni nakathrô:ri tsi
but NEG is.it.possible for.me.to.tell what
nikonhô:ten, tanon tsi niwake’nikonhrô:ten toka iáh
so.is.my.feeling and what.so.is.my.thought or NEG
Kanien’kéha thakatá:ti. Nektsi, tsi :enen
Mohawk could.I.talk but that now
I.think much often in.past
‘I speak English and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Mohawk. Although, now that I come to think of it, I
have done it many times . . .’

MONGOLIAN

Content
Baga zereg xar-j bolovč,
little seeing do-conv although
Bold nud-nij šil ziiu-gee-güj bajna.
Bold eye-gen glasses wear-vn-NEG it.is
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little’

Epistemic
Dorj exner xiüüx-ed-dee ix xajr-taj baj-san bolovč,
Dorj wife child-pl-pos big goodness-com be-vn although
ted nar-yg-aa orx-iod jaw-san.
they 3pl-acc-refl leave-ger cause-vn
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much’

Speech-act
Bi činij bol-son xüäd asuudl-yg ojłgo-f baj-gaa
I your: fam be-vn heavy.problems-obj understand-conv might-vn
bolovč, či margaaš ajil-taj jawa-x xereg-tej.
although you:fam tomorrow work-com go-fut necessity-com
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual
A: Bilgüün, tany oxin juu uu-x dur-taj ve?
   Bilgüün your:pol daughter what.int drink-vn desire-com-int
B: Bajarłalaa, Cüxee. Zövxön süü. Minij oxin ugn’ zamdaa
   thank,you Cüxee just milk my daughter actually traveling
xangalt-taj jum uu-san.

Adequacy-com something drink-vn

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’

B: ‘Just a Coca-Cola. Although she's actually had enough to drink on the way.’

MOTU

Content

ena be mata-na e dika to asine galasi abia-mu.

although eye-his are bad still Pres:3SG:NEG glasses has.its-contPres

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic

ena be adava-na bona natu-dia vada e ura-mu henia-dia

although wife-SG:OBJ and child-PL:OBJ he has been wanting give-PL:OBJ lalodika, to idia e-rakatania-dia.

very.thoroughly still them he-leave.behind-them

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act

ena be emu gari dibu-gu,

although your:SG fear know-my
to oi daba ba gaukara.

still you:SG tomorrow 2SG:CLSFUT work

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

A: kekeni-mu e ura-mu inu-a?
daughter-your she wish-cont drink-it

B: e ura-mu baine inu-a ranu.
she wish-cont 3SG:FUT:AFF drink-it water

ena be, vada e inu-a-mu to be inu-a-mu.

although she has been drinking until now still 3SG:IMMFUT drink-it-cont

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’

B: ‘Just some water. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

NAHUATL

Content

yewa x-kikwi anteojos maske x-mas kita.

he NEG-use glasses although NEG-much see

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’
Appendix

Epistemic

o-k-in-kaw i-kone-wan wan i-siwaw,
maske k-in-tlasotla-ya weyi
although OBJ-PL-love-IMPF big
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(i) maske ni-kasokamati tlin mits-pano-tok,
although 1SG-understand REL to.you-happen-cont
x-tlami mo-tekiw mostla!
IMPF-finish your-work tomorrow
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(ii) maske x-nik-neki-ska x-ni-mo-kalak-ti-ska
although NEG-1SG-want-COND NEG-1SG-REFL-enter-CAUS-COND
kan x-no-tekiw, pero mo-tlamach-1is x-kwalli.
where NEG-my-work but you-know-NR NEG-good
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

Textual
A :: ki-neki-s mo-siwa-konew i-tla koni-s,
OBJ-want-FUT 2SG:POSS-woman-child 3SG:POSS-something drink-FUT,
Juan?

B :: tlaxtlawi, Pedro. San se tsopelik-tsin, maske ye
thanks Pedro. Just one sweet-DIMIN although CULM
y-o-koni-k weyi.
CULM-PAST-drink-SG big
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Juan?’
B: ‘Thanks, Pedro. Just a softdrink. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

PIMA

Content
bi:do ha-hau vu:pt ëeda pïna.
NEG:having glass eyes yet NEG:see
‘He doesn’t have glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
ha-dato tãg g ë-fo:ksa c g ë-ããala,
has-left EMPH DET POSS-wife and DET POSS-PL:child
ë:da ma:cum si has ha-õ:lid.
yet definitely with great POSS-feelings
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much’
Speech-act
(a) *maňa samcuď mo muň haicu łam ĵem ve:hejed ĵam,*
I:do understand that many things there your self are
*pi::- Yapı, ḳamk nato ĵe:-cikpan sia日本人．* 
NEG-good do finish that poss-work tomorrow
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(b) *Bin ɿab ʂaň ʰi-hu moňap ʰi-ɿabcuď,*
I:do against NEG my-do there-against me-blame,
*haba pi:-ɿab ʂaň ɿoňockuď.* 
but NEG-against EMPH:NEG truthfully
‘I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.’

Textual
(a) A: *nás ɿo haicu ḵi g m-cehia ḳalidag ḵu: ĵuan?*
what is something drink det poss-girl man’s:child hon Juan
B: *da:m çud lo:dac. ʂaň hemako ma:k g so:la.*
thank you Lodac just one give det soda
*heku ḵatu geše ḵi.*
already has big drink
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Us Juan?’
B: ‘Thank you, Lodac. Just a soda. Although she’s had enough to drink any-

way.’

(b) *maňa milgan-kac ɿeok ɿa:ma ḳep ɿoįohan,*
I:do American-with speak and also do write
*haba ma?i akimel ɿoįodham-kac s-mac maň haicu łam* 
but only Akimel ‘O’dodham-with poss-know do things have
*has ḳe:lid. Haba łam ḳe:cektö maňtik muňko he:ko* 
great feelings but have remember that many long:time:ago
*ʔab ʰi-hu* 
against me-did
‘I speak American, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Akimel ‘O’dodham. Although, now that I come to think
of it, I have done it many times in the past . . .’

ROMANI (ERLI)

Content
*Ov na piravel očilas nisto kaj na dikhel.*
he NEG wear:pres:3sg glasses although NEG see:pres:3sg
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’
Epistemic
*Ov muklijs pe romnij em pe čhaven,*
he leave:AOR:3SG his.own wife:ACC and his.own child:PL:ACC
*nisto kaj but dehelas len.*
although much love:AOR:SG them
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(a) *Avka nanaj miri buti, ama tu na keres šukaripe.*
this is. not my business but you NEG do:PREs:2SG good. things
‘Althought I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

(b) *Mo vogi si šužo, nisto kaj na apakijs man.*
my soul is clean although NEG believe:PREs:2SG me
‘I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.’

Textual
(a) A: *Ka mangel li ti čeje i Šakira te Fut want:PREs:3SG INT your daughter DEF Shakira that piel?*
drink:PREs:3SG
B: *Va, makarkajoi pilas dosta.*
yes although she drink:AOR:3SG enough
A: ‘Would your daughter Shakira like a drink?’
B: ‘Yes, although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) *Me vakārav Bulgarsko, taj kalijrav, ama me našti I speak:PREs:1SG Bulgarian and write:PREs:1SG but I not. able te sikavav mo čaci emocia avere čibinde sar ki that explain:PREs:1SG my real feeling other language:LOC than in Romani, ama me gindinavkaj me kergiom veče but var. Romani but I think:PREs:1SG I do:AOR:1SG already many times ‘I speak Bulgarian, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Romani. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .’

ROMANI (TERZI MAHALLA)

Content
*Ov na phiravela guslukja pajoj kaj na dikhela šuka.*
he NEG wear:PREs:1SG glasses although NEG see:PREs:1SG good
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’
Epistemic

Ov mukLa pa romna hem pe foşnen,
he leave:AOR:3SG his:own wife:ACC and his:own child:PL:ACC

pajsoj kaj kamla olen but.
although love:AOR:3SG them much

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act

Pajsoj kaj anglanava te problemja,
although understand:PRES:1SG your problem:PL
tahara ker e buti!
tomorrow do:IMP the work

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

Textual

A: Manela mi ti čhaj te pijol, Beki?
want INT your daughter that drink:PRES:3SG Beki

B: Hajri te kere, Mily. Več Coca-Cola.
thanks Mily Just Coca-Cola

Pajsoj oj kaj pila but.
although she drink:AOR:3SG much

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Beki?’
B: ‘Thanks, Mily. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink any-

way.’

SAN

Content
à laané à jîj à wọ̀ jii wà à
in.spite.of 3SG eye PRES:NEG space see:IMPF NEG he

lyńéti wóé wà.
glasses put:IMPF NEG

Epistemic

à laané à njaa-ná láaká à lô à kōná
in.spite.of 3SG child:PL conn 3SG wife PRES:AFF like
à gāná, à bāasi á n tɔ̀xà wɔ́lã.
3SG POSTP 3SG RUN:PF 3SG:PF 3PL leave:PF there

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act

à laané à bà mà bāané wà,
in.spite.of 3SG EXIST:NEG 1SG place NEG

n sìi mè zènã à sǐnì wà.
2SG problem EMPH do:PF 3SG to.be.good NEG

‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’
Textual

(a) A: Natu, n nêlô læ á jô miî?
   Natu 2SG child-woman DEF PRES:AFF beer drink
B: iî á jô miî. à lâané á wù bîi.
   yes 3SG beer drink IN.spite.of 3SG:PF too eat:PF
A: 'Would your daughter like a drink, Natu?'
B: 'Yes she would like to drink a beer. Although she's has eaten anyway.'

(b) mâa Frâsi pti, máa kîê dêê, sinî mâ
   1SG French speak 1SG:PRES write:IMPF know:IMPF but 1SG:PRES:NEG
bôê là mâ n gêê gêê bôô géê péêni wà.
   to.be.able 1SG:NEG REFL inside inside speech behind say NEG
sinî mâ né bè mâ zênâ bâûtëné.
   but 1SG used.TO CONJ 1SG do often
'I speak French, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than San. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done
it many times . . .'

TAHITIAN

Content
'aïta  'oia 'e  'o'omo nei runete
NEG he GENPRES wear GENPRES glasses
noa âtu â 'aïta  'oia 'e  'ite nei maita'i.
although NEG he GENPRES see GENPRES well
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
'ua tu'u  'oia 'i te tâna vahine fa'aipaipe e 'i te
PSTPF leave he OBJ ART his woman marry and OBJ ART
mau tôna tamari'i,
PL his child
noa âtu â te here nei  'oia rahi  'ia râtou.
although GENPRES love GENPRES he very.much OBJ they
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

Speech-act
noa âtu â 'ite vau 'i te ta'oe mau mata'ura'a,
although see I OBJ ART YOUR:SG PL fear
a rave 'i te 'ohipa 'ananahi!
IMPF do OBJ ART work tomorrow
'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'
Appendix

A: e’ita anei to’oe tamahine ’e hina’aro ’e inu ’i te pape?
  NEG:FUT INT your:SG daughter wanting to:drink OBJ ART water
B: e, te hina’aro nei ’oia ’e inu,
  yes GEN:PRES want GEN:PRES she drink:FUT
  noa ātu ā’ua inu ’oia ’i te pape ’e raverahi.
  although PSTP drink she OBJ ART water much
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’
B: ‘Yes, she does; although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

THAI

Content
kháw māj sāj wē:n
3SG:NEG wear glasses
thūn kháw ca mxn māj khāj hèn
although 3SG:PROSP look NEG a.little see
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’

Epistemic
(a) kháw thēn mia lè lā:k mē: wā: thūn kháw ca rāk māk
  3SG:NEG leave wife and children although 3SG:PROSP love much
  ‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’
(b) thūn rōt kháw ca cēt jū: nā: bā:n
  although car his PROSP park CONT opposite house
  tē: tua kháw māj jū: bā:n rēk
  but body he NEG be house still
  ‘He’s not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.’

Speech-act
(a) chān khāw-caj panhā: khēn khun
  1SG:F understand problems of you:POL
  tē: khun kā: tēn thamgān hāj-sēt phrān
  but you:POL anyway must work ready tomorrow
  ‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’
(b) chān māj khuan ca jān kāp rūan khēn khun
  1SG:F NEG should PROSP meddle with story of you:POL
  tē: wā khwā:m-prāphrūt khēn khun nā: āj ciŋ ciŋ
  but behaviour of you:POL face shame really
  ‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’
(c) phôm bəxrisüt cîn cîn
1SG:MM pure really
mâ: wâ:sthūŋ khun ca mâj chîwâ k̥: tâ:m
although YOU:POL PROSP NEG believe anyway
'I'm innocent, although you probably don't believe me.'

Textual
(a) chān phû:t ʔaŋkrit ʔâ:n ʔaŋkrit dâj tê: thâ: catx̂n
1SG:F speak English read English able but if must
bû:k lîw khwa:m rû:sûk lûk lûk lê:w tûŋ châj phasâ
tell tell feelings deep deep then must use language
thaj tê: ma: khît du: âk krâŋ chán k̥: khâj khît
Thai but come think look another time 1SG:F also sometime think
pen phasâ ʔaŋkrît tûŋ lâj khrâŋ
be language English surely many times
'I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Thai. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .'

(b) A: Lek lûk sâw thâ: ca kin nâm ʔaraj rû: plâ:w
Lek daughter you: FAM PROSP eat water something or not
B: khû:x caj Noi
thank you: FAM Noi
rûaw kola k̥: dâj thî: cîn kin ma:
want Cola also good actually eat come
jâ lê:w là
much already PTCL
A: 'Would your daughter like a drink, Lek?'
B: 'Thanks, Noi. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she's had enough to drink anyway.'

TURKISH

Content
O az gör-me-sin-e rağmen gözlûk tak-mi-yor
he little see-VN-POSS:3SG-DAT although glasses wear-NEG-PROG
'He doesn't wear glasses although he sees very little.'

Epistemic
Kar-sîn-t ve çocuk-lar-in-i, çôk sev-me-sin-e
wife-POSS:3SG-ACC and child-PL-POSS:3SG-ACC much love-VN-POSS:3SG
sev-me-sin-e rağmen, onlari birak-tî.
love-VN-POSS:3SG-DAT although them leave-PAST
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'
Speech-act

(a) Senin problem-ler-in-i anh-yor-um ama,
your problem-PL-poss:2SG-acc understand-prog-1sg but
iş-in-i yarın yap-mals-sin.
work-2sg:poss-acc tomorrow do-nec-2sg
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow.’

(b) Beni ilgilendir-me-me-si-ne rağmen,
me concern-NEG-VPN-3sg:poss-dat although
senin hareket-ler-in çok kötü.
your behaviour-PL-2sg:poss very bad
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

Textual

(a) A: Ömer, kızın birşey içmek iste-r-mi?
Omar girl-poss:2sg something drink-inf need-aor-int
B: Teşekkürler, Ahmet. Yalnız bir kola.
many.thanks Ahmed just a coke
Zaten o çok iç-misti.
anyhow she much drink-pluperf
A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Omar?’
B: ‘Thanks, Achmed. Just a Coke. Although she’s had enough to drink any-
way.’

(b) Ben ingilizce konuș-uyor ve yazı-yor-um, ama
I English speak-prog and write-prog-1sg but
his-ler-im-i türkçe dışında başka bir dil-de
feeling-pl-1sg:poss-acc Turkish except other one language-loc
anlat-amin-yor-um. Aslinda düşününince birçok defa
express-impot-prog-1sg actually think-GER several time
yap-tığ-im-1 hattrı-yor-um.
do-VPN-1sg:poss-acc remember-prog-1sg
‘I speak English, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any
other language than Turkish. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have
done it many times . . .’

UZBEK

Content
Közler-i yaman bolsa ham, očki-si yoq.
eyes-his bad although spectacle-his is.not
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.’
Epistemic

_Ularni köp sev-gan bolsa ham,_

them much love-VN although

_khatin-i ve bala-lar-i-ni taşlap ketti._

wife-his and child-pl-his-obj leaving he.went

'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

Speech-act

(a) _Men qiyinçilik-ler-ingiz-ni tüşün-gen bolsa ham,_

1 difficulty-pl-your-obj understand-VN although

_siz ertege iş qil-a-siz._

you tomorrow work do-FUT-you:pol

'Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!'

(b) _Khaqiqatta bu mening išim yoq,_

truly this my my.work is.not

(ammo) uslub-ingiz köp yamon.

(but) behaviour-your:pol very bad

'Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.'

(c) _Men beayib, ammo ekhtimol sen iSon-mey-sen._

I innocent but perhaps you: fam believe-NEG-you: fam

'I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.'

Textual

(a) A: _Qiziq bir nerse içmoqchi mi?_ daughter one thing drink.wanting int

B: _Rakhmat, bir bardaq suw._ thanks one glass water

_Khaqiqatta/togridir, ičkeni yetarli._ truly/it.is.true her.having.drank is.enough

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink?’

B: ‘Thanks. Just a glass of water. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) _Men ikki tilni gapir-gan bolsa ham, içki fikir-ler-im-ni_ I two language speak-VN although internal thought-pl-my-obj

faqat öz til-im-de ifodalo-al-a-man. Yoq, khozir

only own language-my-in express-can-aor-I is.not now

_bil-a-man, köp başqa til-im-de ajt-a-man._

know-aor-I much other language-my-in say-aor-I

'I speak two languages, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than my own. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . . '
Appendix

WEST-GREENLANDIC

Content
isigi-arsu-laar-aluar-luni
see-not.fully-a.little-although-CNT:3SG:CRF:SBJ
isarua-qangil-aq
isarua-qangil-aq
glasses-have-NEG:IND:3SG:SBJ
glasses-have-NEG:IND:3SG:SBJ
‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he only sees a little.’

Epistemic
nulim-eeqqa-ni-lu qimap-pai
asa-galuar-qalugit
love-although-much:IND:3PL:OBJ
‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.’

Speech-act
(a) ajor-nar-tor-siuti-tit
be.bad-such.as.to.be-use-means-2SG:3PL
paasi-sinnaa-galuar-pakka
understand-can-although:IND:3SG:SBJ:3PL:OBJ but-but
sulia-titat
work:FUT-2SG:3PL tomorrow
naamma-si-sariaqar-patit
be.complete-cause-must:IND:2SG:SBJ:3PL:OBJ
‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(b) uanga susa-ssa-ri-ngik-kaluar-para
I matter:FUT:have.as-NEG-although:IND:1SG:SBJ:3SG:OBJ
kisianni qanoq ilior-ner-it
but how behave:STAT:2SG:3SG
kanngusu-uti-gi-sariaqar-pat
feel.ashamed-means:have.as-must:IND:2SG:SBJ:3SG:OBJ
‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

(c) uppe-ri-guna-ngik-kalua-rimma
believe-with.respect-NEG-although-PART:2SG:SBJ:1SG:OBJ
pi-ngit-su-u-vunga
be-NEG:PART-be:IND:1SG:SBJ
‘I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.’

Textual
(a) A: Maalat, pani-it immer-ta-kka-mik
Maalat daughter:2SG-3SG drink:HAB-PART-INST:SG
pi-ssa-va?
have:FUT-INT:3SG:SBJ
Appendix

B: **qujanaq Sufi ajuyngil-aq** Coca-Cola
thank.you Sufi be.bad-NEG-IND:3SG:SBJ Coca-Cola
naammát-tu-nik **ime-rea-ar-atuar-poq**
be.enough-PART-INST:SG drink.already-although-IND:3SG:SBJ

A: ‘Maalat, does your daughter want something to drink?’
B: ‘Thank you, Suffi. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had already enough to drink.’

(b) (i) **qallunaa-tut oqalus-sinnaa-vunga allas-sinnaa-llunga-lu**
Dane-EQU:SG speak-can-IND:1SG:SBJ write-can-CNTEMP:1SG:SBJ-and
kisianni misigi-ssutsi-kka **iti-ner-it oqaatsi-nik**
but feel.quality.of-1SG:3PL deep.most-PL word-INST:PL
kalaalli-suu-ju-ngit-su-nik
Greenlandic-EQU:SG be-NEG-PART-INST:PL
oqaatigi-sinnaa-ngil-akka
tell.about-can-NEG-iSG:SBJ:3PL:OBJ
eqqarsaatige-riar-akku-li
think.set.about-CAUS:1SG:SBJ:3SG:OBJ-but
amerlasoo-riar-lunga
many-do.times-CNTEMP:1SG:SBJ
ta-ama-aliorniku-vunga
this.like.that-do.so-PAST-IND:1SG:SBJ
‘I speak Danish, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than West-Greenlandic. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .’

(ii) **qallunaa-tut oqalus-sinnaa-vunga allas-sinnaa-llunga-lu**
Dane-EQU:SG speak-can-IND:1SG:SBJ write-can-CNTEMP:1SG:SBJ-and
kisianni misigi-ssutsi-kka **iti-ner-it oqaatsi-nik**
but feel.quality.of-1SG:3PL deep.most-PL word-INST:PL
kalaalli-suu-ju-ngit-su-nik
Greenlandic-EQU:SG be-NEG-PART-INST:PL
oqaatigi-sinnaa-ngil-akka **kisianni(-li)**
tell.about-can-NEG-1SG:SBJ:3PL:OBJ but(-but)
eqqarsaatige-riar-akku
think.set.about-CAUS:1SG:SBJ:3SG:OBJ
amerlasoo-riar-lunga
many-do.times-CNTEMP:1SG:SBJ
ta-ama-aliorniku-vunga
this.like.that-do.so-PAST-IND:1SG:SBJ
‘I speak Danish, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than West-Greenlandic. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .’
Appendix  

WOLAITTA

Content
(i) ḋ ṭūtti ḋe#SBATCH-enna-kko-kka ṭāmnās's'iriya ṭōtt-enna.
he good see-NEG-COND-INCL eye.glasses put.on-NEG
'He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little.'

(ii) ḋ ṭūtti ḋe#SBATCH-iiddi-kka ṭāmnās's'iriya ṭōtt-ēesi.
he good see-TMP-COND-INCL eye.glasses put.on-3SG:M:IMPF
'Even though he sees good, he wears eyeglasses.'

Epistemic
(a) (i) ḋ ṭū ṭā-mmāc-ciyo-nne ṭā-ṇāata ḏāro ḏosa-iya-kko-kka,
he LOG-wife-OBJ-and LOG-children very like-REL-COND-INCL
īagg-idi b-īisi.
give.up-COND go-3SG:M
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(ii) ḋ ṭū ṭā-mmāc-ciyo-nne ṭā-ṇāata ḏāro ḏosa-iiddi-kka
he LOG-wife-OBJ-and LOG-children very like-TMP-COND-INCL
īagg-idi b-īisi.
give.up-COND go-3SG:M
'He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much.'

(iii) ḋ ṭū ṭā-mmāc-ciyo-nne ṭā-ṇāata ḏāro ḏosa-išiŋka
he LOG-wife-OBJ-and LOG-children very like-But:COND-INCL
īeti ḋa  ḍekk-i b-iidosona.
they him take-COND go-3PL:SBJ:PF
'They took him away, even though he loved his wife and children very much.'

(b) (i) ḋ soo-n ḍa-śin(i) ḋa ṭāmakin-ya ḏare-n
he house-LOC exist.not-but his car-SBJ outside-LOC
 ḍekk'-āasu.
stand-3SG:PF
'He’s not at home, although his car is parked outside.'

(ii) ḋ soo-n ḍa yamm-enna-kko-kka ḋa ṭāmakin-ya ḏare-n
he house-LOC exist.NEG-COND-INCL his car-SBJ outside-LOC
 ḍekk'-āasu.
stand-3SG:PF
'He’s not at home, although his car is parked outside.'
Appendix

Speech-act
(a) (i) ne met-o-y t-aw ier-ett-esi
your problem-SBJ me-DAT know-PASS-3SG:M:IMPF


gidd-ikk-kka, ha iooos-uwa wonto-s wurs-a!


happen-COND-INCL this work-OBJ tomorrow-DAT finish-IMP:SG


‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(ii) ne met-o-y t-aw ier-ett-išinka
your problem-SBJ me-DAT know-PASS:but:INCL


ne ha iooos-uwa wurs-ana mala koyy-aisi.


you this work-OBJ finish-FUT COMP want-1SG:PF


‘Although I understand your problem, I want you to finish this job!’

(b) hage tana gatt-iya-ha gidd-enna-sin
this me reach-REL-NR be-NEG:but


ne iooott-ido-ge loffo gidd-enna.


you:SBJ do-PF-NR good be-NEG


‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace.’

(c) (i) ne tuma ge-enna-kko-nne, taani t’illo.
you true say-NEG:COND:and I clean

(ii) taani t’illo gid-ikko-nne, ne tuma ga-akka.
I clean happen-COND:and you true say-NEG:IMPF

‘I’m innocent, although you probably don’t believe me.’

Textual

(a) A: Almaz, ne nañya Ḩayanaw koyy-ay?
Almaz your child to.drink want-IMPF:INT


B: Ḩa  daro Ḩay-asu-šin guutta koka kolla ñimm-a.
she a.lot drink-3SG:PF:but little Coca-Cola give-IMP:SG

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Almaz?’
B: ‘Just a little Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’

(b) taani amarratt-uwa haasayoga-nne s’aafiyoga ier-aisi
I Amharic-OBJ speaking-and writing know-1SG:IMPF


gid-in-ka ta k’opa wolaitattuuw-appè hara k’aala-n
happen-TEMP:INCL my thought Wolaitta-source another language-LOC


loyta iooada-aw danda?-ikke. gid-ikk-kka ha??i ta
good tell-IMPF:DAT can-NEG:1SG:IMPF happen-COND-INCL now I


k’oppa ÿekkiyo-de ta hega daro wode iooott-aasi.


think take-time I that:OBJ many time do-1SG:PF

‘I speak Amharic, and I write it, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Wolaitta. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times . . .’
YORUBA

Content

*Kí mí à n’lò jígí bì ò tìlè jè pé kò ríránpúpú.*

*NEG PROG use glasses although NEG see much*

‘He doesn’t wear glasses although he sees very little’

Epistemic

(i) *Ọ fí iyàwò àtì àwọn ọmọ rè sìlè,*

3SG left wife and they child poss at.dawn

*àmọ ọ níṣẹ wọn lọpọlọpọ.*

but 3SG loved them very.much

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much’

(ii) *Ọ fí iyàwò àtì àwọn ọmọ rè sìlè,*

3SG left wife and they child poss at.dawn

*bì ò tìlè jè pé ò níṣẹ wọn lọpọlọpọ.*

although 3SG loved them very.much

‘He left his wife and children, although he loved them very much’

Speech-act

(a) (i) *bì ò tìlè jè pé, mo ọmọ iṣòro rè,*

although I know problem poss

*pàrt iṣè yẹn lọlal!*

finish work that tomorrow

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(ii) *Mo ọmọ iṣòro rè,*

I know problem poss

*ṣùgbón pàrt iṣè yẹn lọlal!*

but finish work that tomorrow

‘Although I understand your problems, get the work done tomorrow!’

(b) *kì t se ejó mi,*

NEG be problem my

*àmọ iwá rè jè nìkan ètèjú.*

but behaviour poss is thing disgrace

‘Although I should be minding my own business, your behaviour is a disgrace’

Textual

A: *Sé ọmọ rè obinrin fèn mu nìkan, Adé?*

INT child poss daughter like to.drink something Ade
Appendix

   thank you John Coca-Cola just
   Àmòè yí tí ó mu télè tító.
   but this one 3sg to.drink before enough

A: ‘Would your daughter like a drink, Ade?’
B: ‘Thanks, John. Just a Coca-Cola. Although she’s had enough to drink anyway.’