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Insubordinated concessive imperatives: An areal constructional idiom type

Axel Holvoet
Vilnius University,

Anna Daugavet
Vilnius University and St Petersburg University,

Liina Lindström
Vilnius University and University of Tartu

The article deals with a constructional idiom attested in both Baltic languages as well as in the neighbouring Slavonic and Fennic languages and in Yiddish, containing as its central component what is argued to be an insubordinated imperatival concessive clause and characterising a situation by hyperbolically describing the consequences conceivably flowing from it or a course of action it could be imagined to induce. This construction, which is clearly an areal feature, has a stable constructional meaning but its formal shape is extraordinarily fluid and differentiated. It also displays a considerable degree of cross-linguistic variation partly resulting from separate developments and partly from interaction with other constructional idioms as well as with other languages. The article deals with the structure and origin of the construction and gives an overview of its variation across languages.

Keywords: Lithuanian, Latvian, Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Estonian, Yiddish, concessives, insubordination, scalar particles, constructional idiom

1. Introduction[1]

In several northern Slavonic languages (Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian), in both Baltic languages (Lithuanian and Latvian), in the neighbouring Fennic languages (at least in Estonian) and in Yiddish we find a

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constructional idiom based on the 2SG imperative, always accompanied by certain constructional markers including subordinators and/or scalar particles, and used to characterise a state of affairs diverging from the usual by depicting, in a hyperbolic fashion, the course of action it could induce or the consequences one could imagine flowing from it:

(1) Russian (RNC)
[*Vot i v Germanii v poslednie god-dva ponaotkryvalos' vsego stol'ko*],
čto ***xot'*** ***zabyvaj*** *pro* *Ermitaž* *i*
that CONC forget.IMP.2SG about Hermitage.ACC and
Tret'jakovku [...] *i* *mčis'* *na*
Tretyakov.gallery.ACC and rush.IMP.2SG for
berlinskij *èkspress.*
Berlin.ADJ.ACC.SG.M express.ACC.SG
'In Germany as well, so much (i.e. so many new museums) has opened over the last few years] that you could as well forget about the Hermitage and the Tretyakov Gallery and rush headlong for the Berlin express.'

(2) Polish (Stanisław Lem, NCP)
Fizys, ***że*** ***daj*** *ją* *katu.*
face[NOM.SG] that give.IMP.2SG 3.ACC.SG.F hangman.DAT.SG
'A face [so repulsive] that you would give it to the hangman.'

(3) Lithuanian
Kad *ir* *į* *parduotuvę* *eini,* *tai* ***nors***
when PTC to shop.ACC.SG go.PRS.2SG then CONC
dantim *gatvėj* ***kabinkis.***
tooth.INS.PL street.LOC.SG hang.IMP.2SG.RFL
'Even when you just walk to the shop, you almost have to cling with your teeth to the pavement.' (i.e. it is so slippery)[2]

(4) Latvian
[*Pasaule nu bezgala steidzīga un strauja kļuvusi,*]
darbu *tik* *daudz,* *ka* ***kaut*** *vai* *ar*
job.GEN.PL so many that CONC PTC with
lāpstu ***šķipelē.***
spade.ACC.SG shovel.IMP.2SG
'[The world has become infinitely bustling and striving],
there is so much work that you could shovel it with a spade.'[3]

[2] http://www.ignalina.lt/go.php/lit/41/685/400

[3] http://www.adventurerace.lv/?DocID=165

(5) Estonian (etTenTen13)

Nii	*ilus*	*poiss,*	*et*	***söö***
so	beautiful.NOM.SG	boy.NOM.SG	that	eat.IMP.2SG
või	***ära!***			
PTC	away			

'[He is] such a good-looking boy that you could eat him!'

(6) Yiddish (from Weinreich 1977 *s. v.*)

S'	*iz*	*shlekht*	*khotsh*	*zets*	*zikh*
it	is	bad	CONC	sit.IMP.2SG	RFL
un		*weyn.*			
and		cry.IMP.2SG			

'It's so bad one might as well sit down and cry.'

All the units glossed CONC in the above examples are concessive subordinators ('although, even if') and also concessive scalar particles (a notion we will comment upon below), and the gloss CONC is intentionally vague. In the constructional idiom we will be discussing here the function of CONC is probably purely constructionally determined and cannot be unambiguously formulated, but in the source constructions they can be stated as concessive subordinator or concessive scalar particle. An exception is Estonian *või* (usually *kas või*), which functions only as a scalar particle, not as a concessive subordinator. Yiddish *khotsh*, a borrowing from Slavonic, has inherited the twofold function of concessive subordinator and scalar particle.

A number of instances of the constructional idioms dealt with in this article have become fully lexicalised and are now substantive idioms with fixed lexical content (the Polish variety even has an archaic imperatival form not used elsewhere: in modern Polish the verb is *wykłuć* and the imperative is *wykłuj*):

(7a) Russian

temno,	*xot'*	*glaz*	*vykoli*
dark.NA	CONC	eye.ACC.SG	out.poke.IMP.2SG

(7b) Polish

ciemno,	*choć*	*oko*	*wykol*
dark.NA	CONC	eye.ACC.SG	out.poke.IMP.2SG

(7c) Lithuanian

tamsu,	*nors*	*akį*	*išdurk*	/	
dark.NA	CONC	eye.ACC.SG	out.poke.IMP.2SG		
į	*akį*	*durk*			
into	eye.ACC.SG	poke.IMP.2SG			

(7d) Latvian

tumšs	*vai*	*acī*	*dur*
dark.NOM.SG.M	CONC	eye.LOC.SG	poke.IMP.2SG

'It is so dark you could poke an eye out.'

Among the languages mentioned, Russian is the one that has been most exhaustively described, and the Russian variety of our construction type is the only one that has been the object of special studies. Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986, 241) give a brief but accurate description of the construction, basically with reference to Russian, but it holds for the other languages as well. Xrakovskij and Volodin characterise this construction as juxtaposing "two situations, one of which is real and is evaluated by the speaker as having been pursued to its utter limit, whereas the other (expressed by the construction with the particle and the imperative) is potential and objectively follows from the real situation in the sense of being determined by it". They note that the resulting situation may be volitional or non-volitional. This description is basically accurate even though the first situation is often left implicit. This is seen in (3), where the conditioning situation is not that which is expressed in the conditional clause ('when you walk to the shop'), but the fact of the streets being slippery (true, this state of affairs is discovered when one walks to the shop, so that the introductory clause allows the addressee to infer the conditioning situation).

While the function of the construction is clear, and adequately characterised by Xrakovskij and Volodin, its structure is not. The standard way to express the meaning formulated by Xrakovskij and Volodin would be to use a complex clause with a consecutive subordinate clause (i. e. a subordinate clause expressing consequence). This strategy is actually used in the translations of examples (1), (2) and (4)–(6) above. The true meaning of the construction cannot be derived from the functions of its constituent parts, which is why we describe it as a constructional idiom. The name which we propose for our construction, and which is contained in the title, does not reflect its actual function but its putative origin, as a name based on function could hardly be used as a distinctive label enabling easy identification of the construction. In this article we will argue that the core of our construction, typically introduced by a word that can function as a concessive subordinator or a scalar particle, arose from an insubordinated concessive imperatival clause, i. e., a concessive clause used without apodosis. It is true that this insubordinated concessive clause was, in its turn, embedded in a

consecutive clause (which accounts for the sequence of subordinators *čto xot'* 'that even if' in example (1) and *ka kaut* in (4)), but this does not alter the fact that the most indispensible and recognizable constitutive part of the construction is historically an insubordinated concessive clause.

In this article we hope to achieve three things. First, we want to offer a description of the structural properties and variability of the insubordinated concessive imperative construction, and to characterise its function. Secondly, we want to account for our construction from a diachronic point of view, i. e. to present a plausible hypothesis concerning its origin and an attempt at reconstructing its oldest shape, which can serve as a point of reference in characterising the other attested varieties. And thirdly, we want to look at the development the construction has gone through in the individual languages, starting out from the reconstructed original shape, and the ways in which it has interacted with other constructions as well as undergone the influence of constructions of other languages.

The structure of the article is follows. First, we will give a formal description of our construction type in terms of syntactic structure, segmental markers and their positioning. Next, we will examine the functions of these markers, and the properties of the imperatives occurring in the construction, to show that it is non-compositional and has a specific constructional meaning. Basing ourselves on this analysis, we will also attempt a diachronic analysis, partly based on what is already known about the rise of non-directive imperatives. Next, we will attempt to describe the semantics of our construction. The remaining part of the article is devoted to the individual languages in which the construction occurs. We will try to characterise the developmental tendencies and patterns of interaction that have given shape to the construction as it is now used in the respective languages.

We have furthermore attempted to gain a picture of the relative frequency and formal properties of our construction in the languages investigated by using corpus material. Some of the corpora enable searching for an imperative form in combination with other elements of our construction (Belarusian *хоć*, Russian *xot'*, Ukrainian *хоč*, Polish *choć* and *że*, Latvian *kaut (vai)*). In Latvian we have also searched for 2SG forms of the present tense, as these are not formally distinguished from the 2SG imperative. The lack of morphological search facilities in the Lithuanian corpus is made up for by the fact that imperatives can be easily extracted by searching for

the imperative marker *-k-* followed by a personal ending (and the reflexive marker), in combination with the concessive subordinator/particle *nors*. The corpora show the construction under discussion to be rather frequent in East Slavonic languages, less frequent in Lithuanian, and rare in Latvian, Estonian and Polish.

2. Topology and internal structure of the construction

2.1. Topology

As Xrakovskij and Volodin (1986, 241) point out, our construction compares two situations, one real and one imaginary. These often, though not always, have their syntactic realisation, so that we will refer to them as propositions rather than situations. Below we will mark them as Prop I (where Prop stands for proposition) and Prop II. The first proposition may be implicit, as in example (3), which we here repeat for the sake of convenience:

(8) Lithuanian

Kad	*ir*	*į*	*parduotuvę*	*eini,*	*tai*
when	PTC	to	shop.ACC.SG	go.PRS.2SG	then
nors	*dantim*		*gatvėj*	*kabinkis.*	
CONC	tooth.INS.PL		street.LOC.SG	hang.IMP.2SG.RFL	

'Even when you just walk to the shop, [(I) it is so slippery that] (II) you almost have to cling with your teeth to the pavement.'

The introductory clause 'when you walk to the shop' is not the situation that is being evaluated, but facilitates its identification: it is the slipperiness of the streets that would constitute the content of Prop I. We will refer to this introductory clause as 'Intro'. This introductory clause is not necessary when Prop I is explicitly expressed, but its communicative load becomes greater when Prop I remains implicit. Sometimes, however, the introductory sentence is required for the contextualisation of Prop I:

(9) Lithuanian

Kai	*tik*	*mėgini*	*pakurti,*	*rūksta*		*kaip*
when	only	try.PRS.2SG	make.fire.INF	smoke.PRS.3		like
iš	*pragaro,*	*nors*	*bėk*	*iš*	*namų.*	
from	hell.GEN.SG	CONC	run.IMP.2SG	from	home[PL].GEN	

'Every time you try to light a fire, (I) there is a hellish smoke (II) which makes you want to run away.'

But there are also cases where Prop I is sufficiently discourse-grounded to go without an introductory clause:

(10)	*Kai kam*	*pinigų*	*yra*	*tiek,*	*kad*
	INDEF.DAT	money[PL].GEN	be.PRS.3	so.much	that
	nors	*kiaulių*	*gardus*	*kreik.*	
	CONC	pig.GEN.PL	sty.ACC.PL	litter.IMP.2SG	

'(I) Some people get so much money (II) one could litter pigsties with it.'

We can now give a tabular representation of the topology of our construction:

***Table 1**. The topology of the construction*

Intro	Prop I	Prop II
Kai tik mėgini pakurti, 'Every time you try to light a fire	*rūksta kaip iš pragaro,* ...there is a hellish smoke...	*nors bėk iš namų* (9). CONC run away from home.'
Kad ir į parduotuvę eini, 'Even when you just walk to the shop...	— (...it is so slippery...)	*tai nors dantim gatvėj kabinkis* (8). CONC cling with your teeth to the pavement.'
—	*Kai kam pinigų yra tiek,* 'Some people get so much money...	*kad nors kiaulių gardus kreik* (10). CONC litter pigsties with it.'

2.2. Degree markers

The 'utter limit' mentioned by Xrakovskij and Volodin may be made explicit or it may remain implicit. In the former case, Prop I contains a degree marker like 'so', 'such', 'so much', 'so many' etc. The degree marker licences a consecutive complement clause introduced by 'that'. There is a lot of variation in the actual syntactic realisation of our construction, and we may find (i) both degree marker and consecutive complementiser, (ii) only the former, (iii) only the latter or (iv) neither. When Prop I is implicit, no complementiser is present.

Table 2. *Degree markers and consecutive subordinators in the construction*

Intro	Prop I	compl	Prop II
(11) Lithuanian *Šaltis* *palenda* frost.NOM get.under.PRS.3 *po* *nagais,* under nail.INS.PL	*rankas* ***taip*** hand.ACC.PL **so** *gelia,* sting.PRS.3	***kad*** **that**	*nors* *šauk* CONC shout.IMP.2SG *iš* *skausmo.* from pain.GEN.SG
'The cold gets under your nails, your hands ache so much that you could shout with pain.'			
(12) Russian *Noč'ju* night.INS.SG *dumaju-dumaju:* think.PRS.1SG-think.PRS.1SG	***do togo*** *ploxo* **so** bad.NA *stalo* become.PST.N		*xot'* *kriči* CONC shout.IMP.2SG
'At night I keep saying to myself: I feel so rotten I could shout.'			
(13) Polish *Najpierw* *odbijanie* first bouncing.NOM.SG *piłeczki* *o* ball.GEN.SG against *ścianę,* *potem* wall.ACC.SG then *basen* *i* swimming.pool.NOM.SG and	*wydolność* performan- ce.ACC.SG *podniosę,* improve.FUT.1SG	***że*** **that**	*choć* *weź* CONC take.IMP.2SG *a* *w* and to *Pireneje* Pyrenees.ACC.PL *idź* go.IMP.2SG
'I'll start with bouncing a ball against a wall, then some swimming, and I'll enhance my performance so that I will be fit for a trek in the Pyrenees.'			
(14) Lithuanian —	*Simpatiškas* nice.NOM.SG.M *vyrukas,* guy.NOM.SG		*nors* *kviesk* CONC invite.IMP.2SG *drauge* *pameškerioti.* together go.fishing.INF
'Nice guy that, one of those you would want to invite to go fishing together.'			

2.3. Sequence of clauses

If both Prop 1 and Prop 11 are expressed, usually Prop 1 precedes Prop 11, but the sequence of clauses may (rarely) be inverted, as in the following example from Latvian:

Table 3. *Sequence of propositions in the construction*

Intro	Prop 11	Prop 1
(15) Latvian *Mājās* home.LOC.PL *pārģērbjos* change.PRS.1SG.RFL *un* and	*tā,* ***ka*** ***sit*** thus that kill.IMP.2SG ***kaut*** ***nost,*** CONC down	*neceļas* NEG.raise.PRS.3.RFL *rokas* *ko* hand.NOM.PL anything.ACC *pasākt.* undertake.INF
'At home I change clothes and you could strike me dead, I don't feel up to anything.'		

2.4. Distinctness of Prop 1 and Prop 11

As mentioned above, Prop 1 can be left implicit. There are also instances where Prop 1 and Prop 11 are not fully distinct. Prop 1 can be reduced to a noun expressing the bearer of the property that is being evaluated in a scale, and it can also be syntactically integrated in Prop 11, acquiring a grammatical function assigned by the verb of Prop 11, e.g., direct object.

Table 4. *Telescoping of propositions in the construction*

Intro	Prop 1	Prop 11
(16) Russian *S* *utra* from morning.GEN.SG *kak* *vstanu,* when get.up.FUT.1SG	*rubašku* shirt.ACC.SG	*xot'* *vyžmi.* CONC squeeze.out.IMP.2SG
'When I get up in the morning, I could squeeze the sweat out of my shirt.'		

In a structure like this, the nominative *rubaška* would also be possible. It actually stands for a complete proposition: '[my] shirt is so soaked

with sweat [that]'. In both cases, the articulation in terms of information structure is the same:

(17)	*rubašku*	|	*xot' vyžmi*
	(theme)		(rheme)

3. Compositionality

It seems fairly obvious that the structure we are dealing with is a constructional idiom whose meaning cannot be derived from that of its constituent parts. This concerns, first of all, the use of the imperative, which is not directive (i. e. does not express a command). In this section we will briefly discuss which aspects of the construction at hand make its meaning non-compositional. These aspects will shed a certain light on the history of the construction.

It seems fairly obvious that the imperative in (1)–(6) is not properly directive. However, we may assume that this use ultimately derives from the directive use. Whereas in the past attempts have been made to derive non-directive functions of imperatives from some very general, basically non-directive meanings (as in Jakobson 1932), the more recent tendency has been to start out from the directive meaning and to connect other uses with this directive prototype through processes of metaphorical transfer, pragmatic inferences etc. Compare, in particular, Fortuin (2000), Holvoet (2018) and Holvoet (forthcoming).

Several authors have attempted to connect the constructions under discussion directly with the basic directive use. Isačenko (1960, 504) says that in our construction the imperative has its original 'appeal function' (*prizyvnoe značenie*), with the sole difference that there is no normal 'appeal situation' and the appeal becomes generic. In a similar vein, Fortuin writes:

> The sentences under discussion convey that the scene expressed by the first clause is *almost* a reason to give an impulse to the realization of the imperative situation. (Fortuin 2000, 113)

One obvious difficulty with this explanation is that the constructions under discussion also contain non-volitional predicates, as noted already by Xrakovskij and Volodin. An example with a non-volitional predicate is given in (18):

(18) Lithuanian

Vyras		*verslo*	*reikalais*	*išvyko,*
husband.NOM.SG		business.GEN.SG	need.INS.PL	depart.PST.3
tai	***nors***	***išprotėk***	*viena*	
so	**CONC**	**go.mad.IMP.2SG**	alone.NOM.SG.F	
nuo	*visų*	*darbų.*		
from	all.GEN.PL	work.GEN.SG		

'My husband is away on business and I feel I could go mad from all the work I have to cope with alone.'[4]

This could, of course, be a result of secondary extension, a point to which we will return below. But Fortuin's explanation does not refer to the presence of the marker *xot'*. Assuming the imperative to be properly directive at some initial stage, what would have been the effect of combining it with *xot'*? Here we must pause over the meaning of *xot'* in general and in our construction in particular.

Russian *xot'* and its counterparts in the other languages under discussion have several functions: they combine the function of concessive subordinators with that of scalar particles. Both are illustrated below for Lithuanian:

(19) Lithuanian

Nors	*nemėgstu*	*laikraščių,*		*kartais*
though	NEG.like.PRS.1SG	newspaper.GEN.PL		sometimes
išsirenku	*skaityti*	*tam tikras*		*skiltis*
choose.PRS.1SG	read.INF	certain.ACC.PL.F		columns.ACC.PL
ir	*pasisemti*	*idėjų*	*iš*	*jų.*
and	draw.INF	idea.GEN.PL	from	3.GEN.PL

'Although I don't like newspapers, I sometimes pick out certain columns for reading and draw inspiration from them.'[5]

(20) [*Renginio pabaigoje mokiniai pažadėjo, kad*]

ateityje	*pabandys*	*perskaityti*	*nors*	*vieną*
future.LOC.SG	try.FUT.3	read.INF	at.least	one.ACC.SG
storą	*knygą.*			
thick.ACC.SG	book.ACC.SG			

'[At the end of the event the pupils promised that] some time in the future they would try to read at least one thick book.'[6]

[4] http://uchriebulka.blogas.lt/

[5] https://www.elta.lt/lt/pranesimai-spaudai/choreografes-is-izraelio-meta-issuki-pavirsutiniskiems-pokalbiams-188181

[6] http://www.dainavos.salcininkai.lm.lt/?paged=7

The constructions in (1)–(6) do not immediately make sense as instances of concessive subordination, as they are not instances of "assertion of two facts against the background assumption of their general incompatibility" (König 1988). Quite to the contrary, these sentences suggest a specific kind of compatibility or even causal link between two events. We should therefore look at the other function of the markers involved, viz. that of scalar particles. They belong to what is now described as concessive scalar particles (cf., e.g., Nakanishi & Rullmann 2009, Crnič 2011). Such particles, which also include, e.g., German *wenigstens*,[7] indicate that the speaker regards a higher scalar value as desirable but is prepared to settle for a lower value (for Polish *choć* cf. Grochowski, Kisiel & Żabowska 2014, 248). Concessive scalar particles are restricted to downward-entailing and deontic contexts. The latter include, for instance, directive imperatives, as illustrated by the following example:

(21) Russian
Xot' *prisjad'.*
CONC sit.down.IMP.2SG
'At least sit down for a moment.'

Such an utterance entails that the speaker would like the addressee to accept more manifestations of hospitality (sitting down to tea, for instance) and what is requested is regarded as an absolute minimum the addressee should concede. *xot'* has minimal scalar value, i.e. there is no value under consideration which ranks lower on the scale determined by the open sentence in the focus of the particle (on focus differences in scalar particles see König 1981, 122ff.).

On the other hand, when *xot'* has another word or phrase in the sentences in its focus rather than the whole clause, it can also have maximal scalar value, that is, it can refer to the most extreme type of situation the speaker would be ready to envisage:

(22) Russian

Prisjad'	*xot'*	*na*	*minutku.*
sit.down.IMP.2SG	CONC	for	minute.DIM.ACC.SG

'At least sit down for a minute.'[8]

[7] English does not have a specialised concessive scalar particle: *at least* may be concessive (*You should read at least ten books*) but it also has an 'epistemic' sense in *At least a thousand people demonstrated* (German *mindestens*). The epistemic meaning is conveyed by Russian *po krajnej mere*, Lithuanian *mažiausiai*, Latvian *vismaz* etc.

[8] https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=216876&p=27

(23) Russian (L. A. Čarskaja, RNC)
[*Ja gotova letet' s toboju daleko, daleko,*]
xot' *na* *kraj* *sveta.*
CONC to edge.ACC.SG world.GEN.SG
'[I am prepared to fly far, far away with you,] even to the end of the world.'

We could still call the function of *xot'* in (23) concessive, but the meaning is obviously not 'the least you could do is take me to the end of the world'; the natural reading is 'take me wherever you want, even if that would mean to the end of the world'. It is not rare for a scalar particle to have two opposite scalar values, as is the case with English *even* in *John is surprised that Bill likes even Mary*, where *even* may have minimal or maximal value[9] (cf. Karttunen & Karttunen 1977). In combination with imperatives, however, the scalar value of Russian *xot'* and its counterparts in the languages we are dealing with seems to be construction-specific. Consider an imperative like

(24) Russian
Xot' *ubej.*
CONC kill.IMP.2SG

This could theoretically mean 'the least you could do to oblige me is strike me dead', which is pragmatically odd. The more likely value is associated with non-directive use—either it is concessive, as in (25), or it is an instance of the construction under discussion here, as in (26). It will be noted that (26) has an imperfective verb form: this is a characteristic feature of the Russian variety of our construction, setting it apart from the properly concessive one:

(25) Russian (constructed)
Xot' *ubej* — *ne* *pomnju.*
CONC kill[PFV].IMP.2SG NEG remember.PRS.1SG
'Even if you strike me dead, I don't remember.'

[9] This sentence may be construed as meaning '... that Bill likes even Mary, for whom any person is least likely to feel sympathy' (maximal value) or '...that Bill, who is unlikely to feel sympathy for anybody, has even the little bit of feeling in him needed to like Mary' (minimal value).

(26) Russian
[*A kogda prixoditsja prostye zakony fiziki iz škol'nogo kursa rasskazyvat', tut voobšče*]

zlost'	*takaja*	*beret,*	*čto*	*xot'*
anger.NOM.SG	such.NOM.SG.F	seize.PRS.3SG	that	CONC
ubivaj	*ètix*	*obrazovancev.*		
kill[IPFV].IMP.2SG	DEM.ACC.PL	highbrow.ACC.PL		

'[But when it comes to reciting elementary laws of physics from the school textbook,] one is so taken by anger that one would like to kill all those highbrows.'[10]

This suggests that the construction is, in this respect as well, non-compositional: a normal combination of the scalar particle *xot'* with an imperative would yield a different scalar reading. Also important is that the divergent scalar reading of *xot'* occurs both in the concessive imperatival construction illustrated in (25) and in the construction under discussion here, which suggests a certain affinity and, as we will argue, a diachronic link, between the two.

4. Origin and basic lines of development

In the preceding section we have argued that in the construction under discussion the imperative does not have its usual directive function. Though in some cases a directive interpretation could be imagined,[11] in others it cannot, and we must somehow explain how the variety with imperatives from non-volitional verbs comes into being. The atypical function of the imperative is not the only fact that has to be taken into account in explaining the origin of our construction: the occurrence of the conjunction/particle *xot'/nors* etc. also needs an explanation.

Non-directional imperatives are frequent in many, perhaps all, languages, and there are several mechanisms by which directive imperatives develop into non-directive ones. A discussion of these mechanisms, combining

[10] https://forum-msk.org/material/economic/11007507.html

[11] In order to uphold such a directive interpretation of the imperative one would have to assume that it refers to a directive speech act one could imagine somebody uttering in the situation described in Prop II; that is, it would be an interpretive (echoic) use of the imperative (on echoic imperatives cf. Holvoet & Konickaja 2011). This is in itself plausible, but does not explain the presence of the concessive subordinator or, assuming we are dealing with a concessive scalar particle, its unusual scalar value not characteristic of directive imperatives.

semantic and pragmatic factors, is given in Holvoet (2018) and Holvoet (forthcoming). One of the prominent semantic mechanisms involved in meaning chains leading to various types of non-directive imperatives is the shift from directive to hypothetical imperative, to be observed in sentences like (27):

(27) *Give me a place to stand and I will move the world.*

The hypothetical imperative can be drawn into two types of broader context, in which it assumes either a conditional or a concessive sense. The hypothetical imperative reflects a mechanism of subjectification or "a shift […] from describing an external situation to reflecting evaluative, perceptual, or cognitive aspects of the 'internal situation'" (Langacker 1990, 16). Instead of appealing to the addressee to perform a certain act, the speaker appeals to her/him to imagine this act being performed. The continuation then makes this hypothetical imperative conditional or concessive:

(conditional imperative)
"imagine *p*; you will then see that *q* follows from *p*"
(concessive imperative)
"imagine *p*; you will then see that *q* still holds"

(28) Latin (Cicero, *Tusc.* i.30)

Tolle	*hanc*	*opinionem,*
take.away.IMP.2SG	DEM.ACC.SG.F	opinion.ACC.SG
luctum	*sustuleris.*	
grief.ACC.SG	do.away.FUT.PERF.2SG	

'Take away this notion and you will have done away with grief.'

(29) Latin (Horace, *Odes* i, 22)

Pone	*sub*	*curro*	*nimium*	*propinqui*
put.IMP.2SG	under	chariot.ABL.SG	too	near.GEN.SG.M
solis […]	*dulce*	*ridentem*	*Lalagen*	*amabo.*
sun.GEN.SG	sweetly	laughing.ACC.SG	PN.ACC.SG	love.FUT.1SG

'Put me under the chariot of the too near Sun […] and I will still love my sweetly laughing Lalage.'

What suggests, in our case, a specific connection with the concessive reading of the conditional-concessive imperative, is the possible (though not always necessary) occurrence, in all languages concerned, of what, in the given context, we will be inclined to characterise as a particle but is also the concessive subordinator: Russian *xot'*, Polish *choć*, Latvian *kaut*,

Lithuanian *nors*. This subordinator can be used, in all languages concerned, also with the concessive imperative. We will restrict ourselves to an example from Russian:

(30) Russian (RNC)
Xot' *osyp'* *ee* *zolotom,*
CONC strew.IMP.2SG 3SG.ACC.F gold.INS.SG
ona *ne* *soglasitsja.*
3.NOM.SG.F NEG agree.FUT.3SG.RFL
'Even if you shower her with gold, she will not agree.'

It is also striking that exactly the same construction can sometimes be used both as a concessive imperative and in the construction under discussion here. The following pair of examples, illustrating the two functions, is from Lithuanian:

(31) Lithuanian
[*Lynai, karosai, šamai kimba, o*]
karpio ***nors*** ***užsimušk*** *neina* *apgauti.*
carp.GEN.SG **CONC** **be.killed.IMP.2SG** NEG.go.PRS.3 deceive.INF
'[A tench, a crucian carp or a catfish will swallow the hook, but] even if you toil yourself to death, you won't get the better of a carp.'[12]

(32) [*O krašto žmonės juokaudami prideda:*]
pas *mus* *vandens* *tiek,* *kad* *nors*
at 1PL.ACC water.GEN.SG so.much that CONC
prigerk, *medžių* *tiek,* *kad* *nors*
be.drowned.IMP.2SG tree.GEN.PL so.many that CONC
susidegink, *o* *akmenų* *tiek,* *kad* ***nors***
be.burned.IMP.2SG and stone.GEN.PL so.many that **CONC**
užsimušk.
be.killed.IMP.2SG
'[The locals add in a jocular fashion:] we have so much water you could be drowned, so many trees you could be burned, and so many stones you could break your neck.'[13]

Taking our clue from the idea that this formal correspondence is perhaps not a coincidence, we could speculate on a possible concessive origin of

[12] http://www.medziotojas.eu/viewtopic.php?t=47&start=120

[13] http://www.savzinios.lt/index.php? lang=lt&id=2&mag_id=353&art_id=1197&tech=print

the construction under discussion. To be more precise, we are considering non-factive concessives, or concessive conditionals of the type *even if* as a source. These are a subtype of conditional clauses, not always formally distinguished from them (usually they contain a conditional subordinator combined with a scalar particle, which may also be missing). Now conditional imperatives are an important source for other non-directives uses of imperatives, and it therefore makes sense to consider the conditional imperative in its concessive use as a possible source for some non-directive usage types as well.

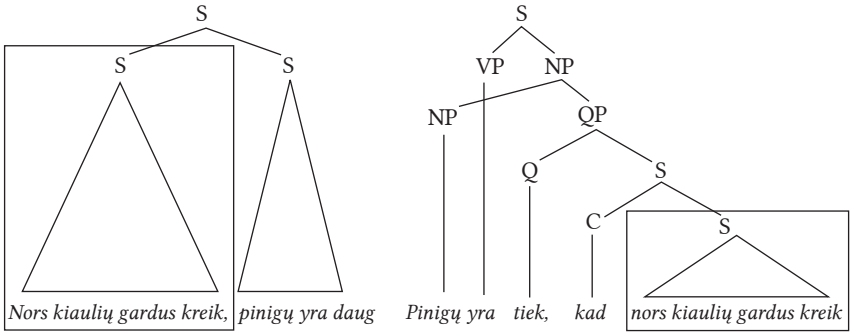
Starting out from a source construction of the type 'even if you do/experience *x*, a certain existing situation will hold to such a degree that *y*', we can arrive, by deleting the concessive apodosis and making the concessive subordinate clause into a kind of degree marker, at a construction of the type 'a certain situation holds to a degree such that it will obtain even if you do/experience *x*'. Taking as an example the situation from (11), we could illustrate this with the following paraphrases:

(i) 'even if you litter pigsties with it, there is a lot of money (left)'

→ (ii) 'there is so much money that even if you litter pigsties with it [there is still a lot of it left]'s

The concessive apodosis now remains unexpressed, which is why we call the concessive construction insubordinated (for the notion of insubordination cf. Evans & Watanabe 2016). However, the insubordinated construction without apodosis is again embedded in a compound sentence with a consecutive complement clause dependent on the degree expression. For the example given above the syntactic process would be as follows:

***Figure 1**. Insubordination and subsequent embedding of the concessive clause*



If this reconstruction is correct, we would expect at least part of the constructions under discussion to take the shape of consecutive clauses depending on a degree marker like 'so' or 'such' in the main clause, which is actually the case. The expected consecutive marker does not appear in many cases because the original syntactic structure becomes, for several reasons, opaque. The degree marker in Prop 1 may, for instance, be absent, as in example (14); or Prop 1 may be implicit, as in (8). Still, the evidence for consecutive marking is strong. In Polish, the subordinator *że* is at least as frequent in our construction as *choć*, occurring also in varieties without 'so', 'so much' etc. in the preceding clause. This is shown in (2), here repeated as (33):

(33) Polish (Stanisław Lem, *Pamiętnik znaleziony w wannie*)

Fizys,	*że*	*daj*	*ją*	*katu.*
face[NOM.SG]	that	give.IMP.2SG	3.ACC.SG.F	hangman.DAT.SG

'A face [so repulsive] that you would give it to the hangman.'

This *że* is presumably the consecutive *że*. If our reconstruction is correct, the original shape of the construction would be introduced by 'that even if'. We actually find this double subordinator in (1), (4) etc., but very often one of them is left out, with languages showing a tendency to leave out either 'even if' (Polish) or 'that' (Russian, Lithuanian etc.). There are even, as we will see further on, varieties where both are absent, but in this case an alternative marker must appear further on in the construction.

The hypothesis outlined here concerning the rise of the constructions in (1)–(6) is reflected in the name used for this type in the title: **insubordinated concessive imperative construction,** abbreviated as ICIC. As already mentioned, this term does not reflect the meaning of the construction, but then it is intended primarily as a label enabling easy cross-linguistic identification.

It should be mentioned that what we are here referring to as insubordinated concessive imperatives is not always kept apart in the literature from the concessive imperative construction proper (henceforth abbreviated CIC). Isačenko (1960, 504–505) discusses them as one single type. In fact, though one single sequence of concessive subordinator and imperative may be used in both functions — concessive proper and insubordinated concessive, it is always possible to establish to which type a construction belongs, as we will see further on. Though our construction is correctly identified as a distinct type of use in Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986), some of the subsequent publications on Russian mix them up again.

The term 'insubordinated concessive imperative' reflects the origin of the construction and the close affinity it still has with the concessive construction proper. We will discuss this affinity further on. Considered in isolation, our construction cannot be regarded as properly concessive except that in many (not all) cases it contains a concessive particle. The status of the concessive marker — Russian *xot',* Belarusian *xoc'*, Ukrainian *xoč*, Polish *choć,* Lithuanian *nors,* Latvian *kaut* — is unstable. Concessive subordinators tend to arise from scalar particles (on this see Haspelmath & König 1998, 584–589). At the stage where the shift from concessive to insubordinated concessive took place, *xot'* and its counterparts were concessive subordinators, but once this shift had occurred, their status became, again, closer to that of scalar particles, unless we prefer to say that its function can only be determined in the context of the whole construction and it is pointless to ask what traditional part of speech this unit exactly represents. But the indeterminacy of markers like *xot'* between concessive subordinator and concessive scalar particle seems to have been an important factor in the rise of our construction, because a comparative scale is now introduced also in the second clause characterising the resultant situation:

(i) '**even if** you litter pigsties with it, there is (still) a lot of money'

→ (ii) 'there is so much money that **even if** you litter pigsties with it [there is still a lot]'

→ (iii) 'there is so much money that you could **even** litter pigsties with it'

In these paraphrases, the meaning of *xot'*, *nors*, *kaut* etc. shifts from 'even if' in (i) and (ii) to 'even' in (iii), which means that these markers are reinterpreted as scalar particles, but it should be remembered that they have the meaning 'even' only in specific contexts, viz. concessive clauses and the construction under discussion here.

6. More on the semantic and structural features of the ICIC

How can we establish whether a construction is an instance of the concessive imperative construction (CIC) or the insubordinated concessive imperative construction (ICIC)? As the two constructions are not always very clearly differentiated, it is important to have a test allowing us to establish which type a sentence belongs to, or to show that it is ambiguous between two clearly distinct readings.

The essential difference between the concessive and the insubordinated concessive imperative is that in the former a certain scalar property of an entity is said to hold regardless of what is expressed by the imperative, while in the latter the proposition represented by the imperative is a way of defining that property. In order to assign a construction to the insubordinated concessive imperatival construction it must be possible to formulate that property in Prop 1 together with a degree marker: 'so', 'such', 'so much' etc.

This test will also disambiguate sentences susceptible of both readings:

(34) Lithuanian (constructed)

Nors	*nuogas*	*vaikščiok,*	*baisiai*	*šiandien*
CONC	naked.NOM.SG.M	walk.IMP.2SG	terribly	today
karšta.				
hot.NA				

(i) 'Even if you walk about naked, you'll find it terribly hot today.' (concessive *nors*)

(ii) 'It is so terribly hot today that you could walk about naked.' (insubordinated concessive *nors*)

This sentence can be disambiguated by introducing a degree marker:

(35) Lithuanian (constructed)

Taip	*baisiai*	*šiandien*	*karšta,*	*kad*
so	terribly	today	hot.NA	that
nors	*nuogas*		*vaikščiok.*	
CONC	naked.NOM.SG.M		walk.IMP.2SG	

'It is so terribly hot today that you could walk about naked.'

The imperative in our construction has a generic subject referent, which is one of the features setting it apart from the properly concessive imperative, whose subject referent is often understood to be the addressee, cf. Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986, 241) on the 'generic human subject reference'. The scalar property referred to in Prop 1 or implied by the broader context is characterised by describing a conceivable (though perhaps unlikely) event involving a generic human entity as a result of that feature. The event may be volitional or non-volitional, that is, the generic human subject could, as a result of the said property, either become involved in an event *x* or initiate an event *x*. The construction correspondingly may be said to have two subtypes, which we will call volitional and non-volitional

respectively. Earlier classifications involve the notions of 'comparison' and 'consequence' (Prozorova 2007; see also the section on Russian), but the criteria are not clearly formulated; the difference seems to consist in the degree of explicitness with which the scalar property is expressed or hinted at. This, however, is a formal rather than a semantic property.

The following table shows a number of differences between the concessive imperatival construction and the insubordinated concessive imperatival construction:

***Table 5**. Formal features of the concessive and insubordinated concessive imperative*

CIC	ICIC
more often in first position	more often in second position
human subject, specific or generic	human subject, generic
explicit subject may be present	basically no explicit subject
verb usually but not always in the singular	verb only in the singular
concessive/scalar marker not necessarily in initial position (at least in Russian)	concessive/scalar marker in initial position (except in Latvian and Estonian)

The postposition of Prop II is connected with its putative origin: consecutive clauses never precede the main clause. It is only after the loss of the formal properties of the source construction (degree marker in Prop I and complementiser preceding Prop II) that the order may be inverted, as in (15) above.

The three features mentioned next in the table—generic subject, lack of overt expression and singular form of the verb—are interconnected. The subject is, in these cases, the generic second person, which is always singular and always (also in the case of the indicative) has zero pronominal representation.

The requirement for the concessive/scalar marker to be in initial position in the ICIC means that it must have the whole of Prop II within it focus. The situation is less clear in the CIC: in principle one could read the concessive clause in (30) as 'you may even shower her with gold' or 'you

may shower her even with gold' — two readings not always easy to keep apart in a language with free word order like Russian. If the concessive/scalar marker has focus over the whole clause, it can be regarded as a subordinator, and we can then speak of a formal variety of the CIC, possibly a variety with semantic features slightly different from those of the CIC without segmental marker of subordination. We must assume that it was this variety that formed the basis for the ICIC.

7. The insubordinated concessive imperative as an areal construction type

Until now we have been citing examples from different languages because the features illustrated in them, like pieces in a puzzle, allow us to assemble all elements necessary for the reconstruction of the diachronic process giving rise to our construction. The varieties occurring in the individual languages are all instantiations of one construction type, but every language has also specific features, which we will now discuss in greater detail.

7.1 East Slavonic

Since the Corpus of the Ukrainian language (further referred to as CUL, 36 mln words in the fiction subcorpus and 40 mln words in the non-fiction subcorpus) only allows searching for a combination of maximum two words, the comparison between the three East Slavonic languages is based on the results produced by the search for the Belarusian *хос'*/Russian *хот'*/Ukrainian *хоч* immediately followed by the singular form of an imperative. Belarusian is represented by the Belarusian N-korpus (BNk, 163 mln words), and Russian by the Russian National Corpus (RNC, 209 mln words). (BNk and RNC also provided additional data obtained by searching for those instances of *хос'*/*хот'* that are divided from the following imperative by one or two words.) Examples with ICIC were manually selected from the results of the automatic searches, yielding 603 lines for Belarusian, 1420 for Russian and 493 for Ukrainian. In terms of frequency per million words, the three languages do not show much variation, with 7 per mln in Russian and 4 per mln in Belarusian and Ukrainian. These preliminary numbers need to be verified in future research by introducing additional criteria that would enable a more precise differentiation between ICIC and CIC in less clear cases.

Since the Russian construction is the only one that has been given attention in the literature, the general description of ICIC vs CIC above owes much to the available studies on Russian. Their findings are not reported in detail here but some of the issues discussed above are mentioned and illustrated with examples.

Although not differentiated in Isačenko (1960), ICIC is set clearly apart from CIC in later studies by Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986), Percov (2001), Podlesskaja (2004), Prozorova (2007), Kuznecova (2007), Apresjan (2015, 234), though not in Dobrushina (2008). The two instances of CIC in (36)–(37) differ in the placement of *xot'*, which reflects its different focus, while no such variation is possible within ICIC.

(36) Russian (RNC)

Xot'	*osyp'*	*ee*	*zolotom,*
CONC	strew.IMP.2SG	3.ACC.SG.F	gold.INS.SG
ona	*ne*	*soglasitsja.*	
3.NOM.SG.F	NEG	agree.FUT.3SG.RFL	

'Even if you shower her with gold, she will not agree.'

(37) Russian (Aleksandr Blok)

Živi	*ešče*	*xot'*	*četvert'*	*veka —*
live.IMP.2SG	more	CONC	quarter.ACC.SG	century.GEN.SG
vse	*budet*	*tak.*	*Isxoda*	*net.*
all.NOM.SG.N	be.FUT.3SG	so	way.out.GEN.SG	be.PRS.3SG.NEG

'Even if you live for a quarter of a century, it will be the same. There is no way out.'

The examples of ICIC below differ as to the explicit or implicit nature of Prop I. Prozorova (2007) correspondingly formulates the meanings as 'comparison' (38) and 'consequence' (39), but as we hypothesise that an assessment of degree is implicit also in constructions like (39), we think the consecutive relation holds in all instances.

(38) Russian (RNC)

Gljadi,	*kakoj*	*vyšel*	*iz*		
look.IMP.2SG	what.NOM.SG.M	become.PST.M.SG	out.of		
kapitana	*komandir*	*dobryj,*	*xot'*	*na*	
captain.GEN.SG	commander.NOM.SG	kind.NOM.SG.M	CONC	on	
xleb	*ego*	*maž'.*			
bread.ACC.SG	3.ACC.SG.M	spread.IMP.2SG			

'Look, the captain has grown into such a kind-hearted commander that you could even spread him on your bread (like butter).'

(39) Russian (RNC)
[*Utrom prišel z zajavleniem uvolnjat'sja ešče odin mladšij naučnyj sotrudnik, Žora Pčelkin, zanimavšijsja svetjaščejsja kišečnoj paločkoj —*]
xot' *zakryvaj* *temu.*
CONC close.IMP.2SG project.ACC.SG
'[This morning one more junior researcher quit, Žora Pčelkin, who did research on luminous E. coli.] (There are so few left that) you could as well close down the project.'

An alternative for *xot'* is *prjamo* 'directly', as in (40), and other particles with a similar meaning (Prozorova 2007), such as *prosto* 'simply' in (41).

(40) Russian (Nikolaj Gogol)
[*Takaja čertovščina voditsja,*]
čto *prjamo* *beri* *šapku*
that PTC take.IMP.2SG hat.ACC.SG
da *i* *ulepetyvaj* *kuda* *nogi*
PTC and run.away.IMP.2SG where leg.NOM.PL
nesut.
carry.PRS.3PL
'[There are such evil forces at work here] that you'd like just to take your hat and run away wherever your legs carry you.'

(41) *Metodika <...>* *nastol'ko* *prostaja* *i*
methodology.NOM.SG so.much simple.NOM.SG.F and
effektivnaja, *čto* *prosto* *beri* *i* *delaj.*
effective.NOM.SG.F that PTC take.IMP.2SG and do.IMP.2SG
'The methodology <...> is so simple and effective that you can simply go ahead and apply (it).'[14]

Since both *prjamo* and *prosto* are more often found in combination with *xot'* than alone, we consider them a further development of the ICIC with *xot'*.

(42) Russian (RNC)
[*I tut ètot voj ix razdaetsja —*]
prosto *xot'* *begi.*
simply CONC run.IMP.2SG
'[And suddenly their howl was heard,] (and it was so frightening) that you could have simply ran away.'

[14] https://t-i.ru/articles/24461

(43) [*Vot èto ran'še bylo —*]
prjamo *xot'* *roman* *piši!*
directly CONC novel.ACC.SG write.IMP.2SG
'The way it was earlier (was so exciting) that you could write a novel (about it)!'

A feature apparently specific to East Slavonic is an additional subtype of ICIC characterised by a binary CONC + imperative construction presenting mutually exclusive alternatives envisaged as a reaction to the situation described in Prop 1 (Kuznecova 2007):

(44) Russian (RNC)
Prosto *tak* *tjaželo* <...>, *čto* *xot'* *stoj,*
simply so hard.NA that CONC stand.IMP.2SG
xot' *padaj.*
CONC fall.IMP.2SG
'It is just so hard <...> that you don't know whether to stand or fall.'

(45) *Možno* *narvat'sja* *na* *takogo* *diletanta,*
possible come.upon.INF on such.ACC.SG.M dilettante.ACC.SG
čto *xot'* *smejsja,* *xot'* *plač.*
that CONC laugh.IMP.2SG CONC cry.IMP.2SG
'Sometimes you hit upon such a dilettante that you don't know whether to laugh or to cry.'

If we regard this construction as a variety of the volitional subtype, we could view it as describing two mutually exclusive courses of action that are thought of as equally futile when it comes to an attempt at changing the real situation in Prop 1. On the non-volitional reading, this variety would describe two possible non-controllable reactions to the situation described in Prop 1. According to Kuznecova, this variety is related to the so-called alternative concessive construction where conjoined imperatives show alternative ways of dealing with a situation that are nevertheless known to be equally futile:

(46) Russian (RNC)
Xot' *doverjaj,* *xot'* *proverjaj,* *vse*
CONC trust.IMP.2SG CONC check.IMP.2SG all.the.same
naportačat.
botch.FUT.3PL
'Whether you trust them or check what they do, they will botch the job anyway.'

A variety of ICIC involves the construction 'take and V', which is marginal in Russian (about 1% of the data), slightly less so in Belarusian (5%), but jumps to 13% in Ukrainian and seems to be even more common in the ICIC in the other languages discussed here (see below).

(47) Russian (RNC)
Mne *stalo* *tak* *tošno,* *takaja*
1SG.DAT become.PST.N so sick.NA such.NOM.SG.F
toska, *čto* *xot'* *beri* *i*
sadness.NOM.SG that CONC take.IMP.2SG and
tjavkaj.
yelp.IMP.2SG
'I felt so sick and sad that I (literally: you) could have started yelping.'

(48) *Odežda* *mokraja,* *xot'* *voz'mi* *da*
clothes.NOM.SG wet.NOM.SG.F CONC take.IMP.2SG and
vyžmi.
squeeze.IMP.2SG
'The clothes are so wet that you could take and squeeze the water out of them.'

Another peculiar feature of ICIC in Russian and other East Slavonic languages is that it is usually associated with imperfective verbs, their share in the corpus data slightly varying around 70–80%. Perfective verbs are much less frequent, but they are also found, as *pokati* and *vyžmi* in (49) and (50) below, including (but not limited to) some fixed expressions (listed in the dictionaries) as in (7) above and (49) below.

(49) Russian (RNC)
Deneg *v* *kasse —* *xot'* *šarom*
money.GEN.PL in cashbox.LOC.SG CONC ball.INS.SG
pokati.
roll[PFV].IMP.2SG
'There is no money in the cashbox, (it is so empty that) you could roll a ball around.'

(50) Russian (Iosif Brodskij, RNC)
[*L'ëtsja dožd',*]
i *platoček* *eë* *xot'* *vyžmi.*
and scarf.DIM.NOM.SG 3.GEN.SG.F CONC squeeze[PFV].IMP.2SG
'[It is raining,] and her scarf (is so wet) you could squeeze the water out of it.'

No explanation seems to have been offered in the literature for this strong preference for imperfective imperatives in the ICIC, and no obvious explanation presents itself. There is nothing similar in Polish as far as the productive constructions with 'take + V' are concerned. In Latvian the phrasal verbs like *sit nost*, *smoc nost* etc. are imperfective as well, but it is not clear that they are selected for their aspectual value: syntax and prosody seem to play a more important role here (see below on the Latvian and Estonian constructions).

7.2 Polish

In Polish the concessive/scalar marker *choć* can be used in the ICIC construction, but it is relatively rare. Instead, the complementiser *że* introduces Prop II, sometimes together with *choć*, but more often without it. As mentioned above, the putative origin of the construction suggests that the combined *że choć* 'that even if' must have been original.

The National Corpus of Polish (NCP), more specifically its balanced subcorpus consisting of 300 mln words, yields some three instances of ICIC containing *że choć*, less than 10 instances of *choć* and about 100 examples with *że*, usually but not always correlated with *taki* 'such in the first clause.[15]

(51) Polish (Władysław Reymont, 1867–1925, *Ziemia obiecana*)
[*Nasz agent wynajął pałac Borcha na Miodowej, ale*]
należliśmy *go* *w* *takim* *stanie,*
find.PST.1PL.VIR 3.ACC.SG.M in such.LOC.SG.M state.LOC.SG
że ***choć*** *łeb* *sobie* ***rozbij***
that **CONC** head.ACC.SG RFL.DAT **smash.IMP.2SG**
z *rozpaczy!*
out.of despair.GEN.SG
'[Our agent has rented the Borch palace on Miodowa Street, but] we found it in such a state that you could have smashed your head in despair!'

[15] 70 out of these 100 examples are not typical ICIC as they actually contain idiomatic expressions that mention God as their subject (these are also found in other languages):
Pretensjonalne *to* *było,*
pretentious.NOM.SG.N DEM.NOM.SG.N be.PST.SG.N
że ***nie*** ***daj*** *Boże.*
that **NEG** **give.IMP.2SG** god.VOC.SG
'It was so pretentious — God save us [from the likes of it].'

(52) Polish (NCP)

Co	*wtedy?*	*Pustka,*	***choć***	*w*
what	then	emptyness.NOM	**CONC**	in
łeb		*sobie*	***strzel.***	
head.ACC.SG		RFL.DAT	**shoot.IMP.2SG**	

'What next? (Such an) emptiness you could even put a bullet in your head.'

(53) Polish (NCP)

A	*bywają*	*takie*	*listy,*
but	happen.PRS.3PL	such.NOM.PL.NVIR	letter.NOM.PL
że	*w ogóle*	***zapomnij.***	
that	at.all	**forget.IMP.2SG**	

[*Na przykład ktoś do nas pisze tak* <…>]

'But some of the letters we get are such that you would simply want to forget them. [For example, someone writes to us like this <…>]'

One variety of the insubordinated concessive imperative not found in NCP, but such that it can be easily searched for on the internet, incorporates the construction 'take and V', the constructional idiom already briefly mentioned for East Slavonic. There are no combinations of an imperative with a preceding *weź* in NCP but they are not so rare on the internet. They show several varieties, with *choć*, *że*, and *że choć*. The last possibility is illustrated in (13) above; here we give examples for the varieties with *choć* and *że*:

(54) Polish

[*Najpierw* [*samochody*] *próbowały wyminąć policjanta i jechać przeciwnym pasem a potem to już jeden wielki korkociąg*].

Choć	*weź*	*i*	*żurawiem*	*te*
CONC	take.IMP.2SG	and	crane.INS.SG	DEM.ACC.PL.NVIR
samochody	*poprzestawiaj.*			
car.ACC.PL	move.IMP.2SG			

'[First [the cars] tried to bypass the policeman and to drive in the opposite lane, and then everything became one great jam.] It would have taken a crane to move these cars.'[16]

(55)

Fabuła	*kończy*	*się*	*w*	*taki*		
plot.NOM.SG	end.PRS.3SG	RFL	in	such.ACC.SG.M		
sposób,	*że*	*weź*	*i*	*teraz*	*czekaj*	
way.ACC.SG	that	take.IMP.2SG	and	now	wait.IMP.2SG	

[16] http://emergency.gry-online.pl/forum/viewtopic.php?t=3127

na *kontynuację.*
for continuation.ACC.SG
'The plot ends in such a way that you cannot help waiting for the continuation.'[17]

The distribution of these markers differs somewhat from what we observe in the other languages. In Russian we can still discern the original pattern with *čto xot'* if there is a degree marker in Prop 1 and only *xot'* if it is lacking, as shown by (47) and (48). In Polish, *że* does not necessarily correlate with a degree marker but tends to oust *choć*.

In Polish there has also been interaction with an originally infinitival construction introduced by *tylko* 'only' or *nic tylko* 'nothing else than'. This is probably in origin an elliptic construction of the type 'nothing else [is left], only…' or 'the only thing one can do is…', illustrated in (56):

(56) Polish
Nic, *tylko* *uciekać* *na* *Marsa,*
nothing only escape.INF to Mars.ACC.SG
[*bo na Ziemi niebawem nie będzie można żyć.*]
'There's nothing left than to escape to Mars,
[for on Earth there will soon be no life].'[18]

The interaction is proved by the occurrence in the construction *nic, tylko* of certain stock metaphors with stable lexical realisation that have traditionally been used (and are still used elsewhere, e.g., in Russian and Lithuanian) in the ICIC. Cf. (57), with an instance of the ICIC:

(57) Polish
[*Wszyscy tak chwalą panią dyrektor,*]
że *najlepsza,* *choć* *do* *rany*
that best.NOM.SG.F CONC to wound.GEN.SG
przyłóż,
apply.IMP.2SG
'Everybody is full of praise for the director and [says] she is the very best, a balm for any wound.'[19]

[17] https://forum.gram.pl/temat/10214-starcraft-2-temat-ogolny-m/?page=278

[18] https://www.fahrenheit.net.pl/publicystyka/felietony/

[19] http://tygodniksiedlecki.com/t12627-zlozy.odwolaja.font.colorredaktualizacjafont.colorblack.htm#

Nowadays Polish has this metaphor also in the construction with *nic, tylko*:

(58) Polish
[*Ten to potrafi budować miłą, serdeczną atmosferę, wzajemne zrozumienie…*]
Nic, *tylko* *do* *rany* *przyłożyć..*
nothing but to wound.GEN.SG apply.INF
'[That one knows how to build up a nice, cordial atmosphere and mutual understanding] … his manner could soothe any wound' (lit. 'you could apply him to a wound')[20]

And (59) illustrates the contamination of the two constructions, with *nic tylko* 'nothing else but' and the imperative:

(59) Polish
[*To nie tylko super pielęgniarka ale i człowiek…*]
nic *tylko* *do* *rany* *przyłóż.*
nothing but to wound.GEN.SG apply.IMP.2SG
'[She is not only a super nurse but also a [super] person],
a balm for any wound.'[21]

The productive pattern is, however, with the infinitive, and the infinitival pattern is also embedded in a consecutive clause yielding something that could be characterised as an infinitival variety of the ICIC:

(60) Polish
Za *oknem* *taka* *pogoda,*
behind window.INS.SG such.NOM.SG.F weather.NOM.SG
że *nic* *tylko* *czytać.*
that nothing but read.INF
'The weather outside is such that nothing is left but reading.'

7.3 Lithuanian

The Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language containing 140 mln words yields more than 200 examples that can be identified with ICIC, that is 1 per mln words. The frequency of ICIC in Lithuanian is thus slightly lower than in East Slavonic but still considerably higher in comparison to Polish as it is represented in the Polish National Corpus.

[20] http://dziennik.lowiecki.pl/forum.php?f=15&t=129666&numer=4520

[21] http://forum.gk24.pl/hipokrates-2015-ciesza-mnie-pacjenci-wracajacy-do-zdrowia-t114674/

The two living Baltic languages do not present a homogeneous picture with regard to the realisation of the ICIC, which may be attributed to the different areal contexts. The Lithuanian variety of the ICIC is similar to the Russian one in that it is consistently introduced by the concessive/scalar *nors*. It can be preceded by the complementiser *kad* 'that', but this is not obligatory:

(61) Lithuanian

Taip	*stinga*	*energijos*	*ir*	*nuotaikos,*
so	be.lacking.PRS.3	energy.GEN	and	mood.GEN
kad	***nors***	***išprotėk.***		
that	**CONC**	**get.mad.IMP.2SG**		

'I feel such a lack of energy and of the right mood that it drives me mad.'[22]

(62)

Tokios	*trumpos*	*eilutės —*	*nesutelpa*
such.NOM.PL.F	short.NOM.PL.F	verse.NOM.PL	fit.into.PRS.3
man,	***nors***	***išprotėk.***	
1SG.DAT	**CONC**	**get.mad.IMP.2SG**	

'A line of verse is so short I can hardly squeeze anything into it — it simply drives you mad.'[23]]

Prop II is sometimes introduced by *tai* 'then', a connector linking Prop II with the Intro, not to Prop I; this is seen in (8) and (18) above.

Lithuanian, like Polish and Ukrainian, makes relatively frequent use of the construction 'take and V' in the ICIC:

(63) Lithuanian

[*Jei bent snigtų, tai kokį besmegenį draugą susiridenčiau,*]

o	*dabar*	***nors***	***imk***	***ir***	*su*
but	now	**CONC**	**take.IMP.2SG**	**and**	with
termosu			***šnekėkis.***		
thermos.flask.INS.SG			**talk.IMP.2SG**		

'[If it snowed I could at least roll myself a snowman for a friend,] but as things are, I could just as well talk to my thermos flask.'
(i.e. I feel so lonely)[24]

[22] https://bukturbo.wordpress.com/tag/saldu/

[23] http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2009-03-16-jonas-strielkunas-ranka-prie-stalo-prirakinta/9216

[24] https://www.lzinios.lt/lzinios/gamta/silkes-kisieliuje/256510

The imperative of a verb is preceded by the verb *imti* 'take', also in the imperative, in more than one third of the Lithuanian examples, which is a high frequency even in comparison to the 13% shown by the Ukrainian corpus. As stated above, while absent from NCP, this particular variety is common in Polish when one searches on the internet. A unique formal feature of the Lithuanian variety is that the verb 'take' can be in the past active participle rather than in the imperative:

(64) Lithuanian (CCLL)
[*Žinai, tu visai europietiškai atrodai. Nuostabingai!*]
Nors ***ėmęs*** ***vežk*** *tave*
CONC **take.PPA.NOM.SG.M** **convey. IMP.2SG** 2SG.ACC
tiesiai *į* *Paryžių.*
straight to Paris.ACC
'[You know, you look quite European. Wonderful!] One could take you straight to Paris.'

7.4. Latvian

The latest version of the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2018), containing 10 mln words, yielded only a few instances of the ICIC, containing the markers *kaut* and *kaut vai*. The construction can thus be said to be rare in Latvian.

The Latvian variety of the ICIC differs markedly from that of Lithuanian; as we will see, it shows striking convergences with Estonian. There is a variety that is fairly similar to the Lithuanian one, introduced by *kaut*, a concessive/scalar marker analogous to Lithuanian *nors*, Russian *xot'* etc.[25] Additionally the scalar particle *vai* (also used as an interrogative marker and a marker of disjunction) can be added:

(65) Latvian (LVK2018)
[*Atlikušie trīsarpus makanie maizes kukuļi ar katru dienu pārakmeņojās*]
kaut ***vai*** *ar* *cirvi* ***cērt.***
CONC **PTC** with axe.ACC.SG **chop.IMP.2SG**
'[The three remaining huge loaves of bread turned to stone a bit more every day] you could have chopped them with an axe.'

[25] A careful analysis of the different uses of this marker is offered in Petit (2012). Latvian *kaut*, which has no etymological counterpart in Lithuanian, has been claimed to be a borrowing from Old Russian *xot'*, but this is phonetically implausible. A new etymology is proposed by Petit (2012, 133–134).

The Latvian insubordinated concessive imperative shows a variety that has no initial marker but has the marker *vai* between the verb and its adverbial modifier:

(66) Latvian
[*Uztaisa tik cīsiņu celofānā un plastmasas logus saliek*]
un *pēcāk* ***smoc*** ***vai*** ***nost,***
and afterwards **suffocate.IMP.2SG** **PTC** **down**
[*jo ventilācijas uzlabošana neesot paredzēta*].
'[They just make a sausage wrapped in cellophane and put in plastic windows], and after that you could as well suffocate, [for repair of the ventilation is not provided for].'[26]

Interestingly, the construction *smakt vai nost* is used not only in the imperative, bet in all tenses and moods, cf.

(67) Latvian (Anatols Imermanis, 1914–1998, *Mortona piramīda*, 1971)
Pats *jau* ***smaku*** ***vai*** ***nost,***
self.NOM.SG.M PTC **choke.PST.1SG** **PTC** **down**
[*viss viļņoja acu priekšā, un man vajadzēja pieslieties pie sienas, lai nepakristu.*]
'I was myself choking, [everything was whirling before my eyes, and I had to lean against the wall in order not to fall].'

The construction is based on a phrasal verb consisting of a simple verb and a basically local adverb. Such phrasal verbs have been discussed in Latvian grammar mostly in the context of verbal aspect: spatial prefixes are said to perfectivise the verb, and the creation of a phrasal verb from a simplex with a spatial adverb enables expression of a spatial modification without perfectivisation; e.g., *ie-nākt* 'come in (PFV)' vs *nākt iekšā* 'come in (IPFV)' (Endzelin 1923, 741–742). Problems pertaining to aspect will not be discussed here. When a phrasal verb of this type is combined with a scalar particle — *kaut* or *vai*, or both together — the scalar particle is inserted between the simple verb and the spatial adverb:

(68) Latvian
Galva *plīst* *(kaut)* *vai* *pušu*!
head.NOM.SG burst.PRS.3 (CONC) PTC asunder
'My head is almost bursting asunder.'

[26] http://jekabpilslaiks.lv/index.php?mod=1&op=out&id=23110&r=Jekabpils

The Latvian phrasal verbs with spatial adverbs have an almost exact counterpart in Estonian, and their development was certainly parallel (cf. Wälchli 2001 for Latvian and Livonian), though the aspectual functions of the Estonian adverbs differ from the Latvian ones. In Estonian the group of relevant structures should be expanded with resultative constructions with the translative. What is important here is that the Estonian resultative constructions appear in exactly the same syntactic pattern when they occur with the scalar particle *või* (also *kas või*, the functional counterpart of *kaut vai*) viz. the scalar particle is inserted between verb and resultative adverbial:

(69) Estonian (constructed)

Ta	*naerab*	*ennast*	*(kas)*	*või*	*surnuk*s.
3SG	laugh.PRS.3SG	self.PART	(PTC)	PTC	dead.TRANS

'He is laughing himself almost to death.'

If we take into account the fact that *vai* is a loanword from Fennic, it seems likely that this borrowing paved the way for the borrowing of the characteristic syntactic pattern of phrasal verbs combined with scalar particles. The pattern is not known in Lithuanian, where such postverbal particles are much rarer than in Latvian (on the few instances used mainly in Žemaitian cf. Mikulskas 2003). It seems to be a stable word order pattern with a stable prosodic contour, and the placement of the scalar marker does not seem to have any specific function. In the ICIC, one also finds an alternative pattern of word order with the subordinator/scalar particle in initial position, apparently without meaning difference:

(70) Latvian

[*Cilvēkam pat vairs nav tiesības uz veselību, jo, ja tev nav naudas,*]

tad	*kaut*	*vai*	*mirsti*	*nost.*
then	CONC	PTC	die.IMP.2SG	down

'[One doesn't even have a right to health — if you have no money] you could as well die.'[27]

It is evident from the facts adduced here that in Latvian the pattern of the insubordinated concessive imperative known from Lithuanian and

[27] http://www.ogresnovads.lv/lat/pagasti/keipenes_pagasta_parvalde/laikraksts_keipenes_vestnesis/2010/files/textdoc/2010%20nov.pdf

the Slavonic languages has interacted with a (not specifically imperatival) lexical construction type of Fennic origin, combining in a specific way with scalar particles. To understand the nature and the causes of this interaction, we must look more closely at Estonian.

7.5. Estonian

The Estonian ICIC differs from its Baltic and Slavonic counterparts by the origin of the marker used in the construction: *kas või* (in informal usage also *kasvõi*) is not historically related to any concessive marker but rather to alternative questions. *Kas või* consists of two parts: *kas* is a general question particle used in polar and alternative questions, and *või* is a disjunctive conjunction. Usually *kas … või* appears in alternative questions:

(71) Estonian

Kas	*sa*	*nägid*	*seda*	*hommikul*
Q	2SG.NOM	see.PST.2SG	this.PART	in.the.morning
või	*õhtul?*			
DISJ	in.the.evening			

'Did you see this in the morning or in the evening?'

But it is also used in affirmative alternative constructions:

(72) Estonian

Mine	*randa*	***kas***	*varahommikul*
go.IMP.2SG	beach.ILL.SG	DISJ	early.in.the.morning
või	*hilisõhtul.*		
DISJ	late.in.the.evening		

'Go to the beach either early in the morning or late in the evening.'

By dropping the first alternative, *kas või* has grammaticalised as a scalar particle that can be translated as 'for example', 'at least' or 'even', often expressing an extreme option.[28] This complex particle is used widely, mostly for focusing on certain alternatives among many other possible options.

[28] There is a striking parallelism between Estonian *kas või* and Latvian *kaut vai* even though their first components, Estonian *kas* and Latvian *kaut*, have quite different meanings that do not even seem to intersect. The compound expressions are similar in use, they are also prosodically similar and can both be reduced to their second component. Interaction between the two languages is almost certainly involved here.

The use of *kas või ~ kasvõi* is frequent and does not depend on a particular construction; thus, the use of *kas või* is not restricted only to CIC and ICIC. (73) illustrates the use of *kasvõi* as a scalar particle with minimal scalar value:

(73) Estonian (etTenTen13)
[*Appi tullakse ainult siis*],
kui *me* *oleme* ***kasvõi*** *lühiajaliselt*
if 1PL.NOM be.PRS.1PL PTC for.short.time
vastupanuvõimelised.
resistance_capable.NOM.PL
'Somebody comes to our aid only if we are able to offer resistance at least for a short time.'

The use of *(kas) või* in concessive-conditionals is discussed by Karu (2004), who characterises it as a quasi-imperatival constructional idiom belonging to the periphery of concessive conditionals. She provides examples from Estonian and compares them to Russian. An example is given in (74); note that this example contains a 3rd-person imperatival form, called 'jussive' in Estonian grammar:

(74) Estonian (cited from Karu 2004)
Tööta-gu *ta* ***või*** ***poole*** ***ööni***,
work-JUS 3SG.NOM **CONC** **half.GEN** **night.TER**
ikka *ei* *jõua* *me* *raamatut*
still NEG reach.CONNEG 1PL.NOM book.PART
õigeaegselt *valmis.*
in.time ready
'Even if he works half the night, still we won't get the book ready in time.'

In the Estonian ICIC, the complex scalar particle *kas või* may stand at the beginning of the clause, as typical concessive markers do:

(75) Estonian (etTenTen13)
Praegu *on* *tuju* *nii* *paha* *et*
now be.PRS.3 mood.NOM so bad.NOM that
kas ***või*** *hakka* *nutma.*
PTC **PTC** start.IMP.2SG cry.SUP
'Right now the mood is so bad you might as well burst out in tears.'

More commonly, however, it occurs after the verb. This depends on whether it has the verb or a postverbal element in its focus. Whereas clause-initially only *kas või* is used, it is often reduced to *või* in the position between the verb and the postverbal element in focus:

(76) Estonian (etTenTen13)

Siis	*enne*	*minekut*	*oli*	*nii*	*palju*
then	before	going.PART	be.PST.3SG	so	many
viperusi,	*et*	***jäta***	***või***	***minemata***	
mishap.PART.PL	that	**stay.IMP.2SG**	**CONC**	**go.SUP.ABE**	

'And then before the departure there were so many mishaps that one could as well have decided to stay home.'

Often the element in focus is a verbal particle:

(77) Estonian (etTenTen13)

Nii	*ilus*	*poiss,*	*et*	***söö***
so	beautiful.NOM.SG	boy.NOM.SG	that	eat.IMP.2SG
või	***ära!***			
PTC	away			

'[He is] such a good-looking boy that you could eat him!'

If there is no postverbal element in focus alongside the verb, the full form *kas või* (never reduced to *või* in this case) can be used:

(78) Estonian (etTenTen13)

Mõnel	*aga*	*lihtsalt*	*tuleb*	*see*
some.ADESS	but	simply	come.PRS.3SG	this.NOM.SG
kaal,	***nuta***		***kas***	***või.***
weight.NOM.SG	cry.IMP.2SG		PTC	PTC

'But some people simply put on weight, you just want to cry [but nothing helps].'

Two facts stand out when we compare the Estonian facts with those of the Slavonic and Baltic languages discussed in this article. First, the Estonian markers *kas või* and *või,* though not limited to clause-initial position, are more likely to occur in postverbal position, between the verb and an element in focus. Secondly (and this fact is, of course, connected with the first), neither of these markers is used as a concessive subordinator. If *või* is used in a concessive clause in (74), it is as a concessive scalar particle; the concessive character of the subordinate clause results from the concessive use of the imperative/jussive.

If the above explanation for the rise of the ICIC is correct, then the process involved rests on the use of concessive markers combining the functions of concessive subordinators and concessive scalar particles. The Estonian markers involved have only the latter function. This would suggest that the Estonian ICIC is a contact-induced grammaticalisation

pattern for which the marker *(kas) või* was appropriated on the grounds of its concessive scalar function, at least if the account proposed above for the rise of our construction is correct. At the stage of insubordination and subsequent embedding in a consecutive clause Russian *xot'*, Lithuanian *nors* etc. were concessive subordinators, and it was only after this insubordination process that they could be interpreted as scalar particles. At this stage, our construction was borrowed from some contact language into Estonian. The Estonian concessive scalar construction, in its turn, influenced its Latvian counterpart: alongside the pattern found in Lithuanian and Slavonic, Latvian adopted a pattern with *(kaut) vai* occurring non-clause-initially, between the verb and an element in focus.

8. Interaction between constructions

As we have seen above, the insubordinated concessive imperative interacts with a number of other constructions. First of all, it seems to interact with its source construction, the properly concessive imperative. It is natural for the formal features of the concessive source construction to be inherited by the insubordinated concessive construction, but there is evidence that the influence goes both ways. This is suggested by Latvian, where the insubordinated concessive imperative has undergone certain changes, notably the loss of the initial concessive marker and the insertion of the scalar particle *vai* before a stressed resultative adverb, producing a characteristic prosodic structure. This pattern can also be found in the properly concessive variety:

(79) Latvian

Man,	*sit*		*vai*	*nost,*	*nepatīk,*
1SG.DAT	strike.IMP.2SG		PTC	down	NEG.please.PRS.3
ka	*tu*	*tur*	*sēdi*	*ar*	*to*
that	2SG.NOM	there	sit.IMP.2SG	with	that.ACC.SG
Jaunupu,	*bet,*	*nu*	*labi.*		
PN.ACC	but	PTC	well		

'Even if you strike me dead, I don't like your sitting about with that Jaunups, but let it be.'[29]

[29] http://www.aprinkis.lv/sabiedriba/dzive-un-ticiba/item/39438-artuss-kaimins-mes-nelie-sim-udeni-uz-svesam-dzirnavam

(80) [*Es pirms grūtniecības biju veģetāriete, bet kādā 4tajā mēnesī*]
tā *sagribējās* *gaļu,* *ka* *sit*
so want.PST.3.RFL meat.ACC that strike.IMP.2SG
vai *nost.*
PTC down
'[I used to be vegetarian until I got pregnant, but somewhere in my fourth month] I felt such a craving for meat that you could have struck me dead.'[30]

We do not know in which construction the change originated, but it seems obvious that there was influence of one construction on the other, and it seems likely that the influence can go both ways. This bidirectional influence suggests an enduring link between the two constructions. It is, as we now see, not so astonishing that certain authors (e.g., Isačenko) do not even distinguish between the two. They are quite distinct as far as the logical relationship between the contrasted situations is concerned (ineffectual obstacle as against possible consequence), but both may be added for the sake of strengthening a claim. This probably does not apply to all varieties of our construction, but it probably does to the more formulaic ones like *xot' plač'* (i) 'however much you cry' and (ii) 'it makes you want to cry':

(81) Russian (Ljudmila Ulickaja, RNC)
[*Rodnoj, znakomyj čelovek, mnogo let znakomyj—a imja vyskočilo, i*]
xot' *plač',* *ne* *najdëš'.*
CONC weep.IMP.2SG NEG find.FUT.2SG
'[Such a dear, familiar person, an acquaintance of many years, and now his name escapes you, and] cry as much as you want, you can't remember it.'

(82) Russia (Ju. O. Dombrovskij, RNC)
I *vypit'* *net* *—* *xot'* *plač'!*
and drink.INF there.is.not CONC weep. IMP.2SG
'And not a drop to drink—one could have wept.'

Another instance of this interaction would be the spread of the pattern with two parallel clauses with CONC from the alternative concessive construction to the ICIC, as illustrated in (44) and (45).

The insubordinated concessive imperative also interacts with other non-directive imperatival constructions. One of these is the 'echoic neces-

[30] http://www.maminuklubs.lv/forum/20120829-2010-gada-oktobreni-/?page=74

sitive imperative' (Holvoet, forthcoming; on echoic deontic expressions in general see Holvoet & Konickaja 2011). It expresses resented necessity, always occurs in the 2sg form and has an explicit nominative or dative subject.[31] It is frequent in East Slavonic and in Lithuanian (in East Slavonic the nominative seems to be more frequent while Lithuanian has the dative):

(83) Russian (Jurij Koval', *Priključenija Vasi Kurolesova*, 1971, rnc)

Tam	*dela*	*delajutsja,*	*a*	*ja*
there	thing.nom.pl	do.prs.3pl.rfl	and	1sg.nom.
sidi	*zdes'.*			
sit.imp.2sg	here			

'All kinds of things are going on there, and I'm supposed to sit here!'

(84) Lithuanian

Ir	*apskritai,*	*kai kas*	*šarinasi,*	
and	in.general	indef.nom	share.prs.3.rfl	
o	***man***	***sėdėk***	***ir***	***klausyk***
and	**1sg.dat**	**sit.imp.2sg**	**and**	**listen.imp.2sg**
apie	*visus*	*košmarus.*		
about	all.acc.pl	nightmare.acc.pl		

'And besides, some people keep sharing [all kind of things], and I'm supposed to sit and listen to all that nightmarish stuff.'[32]

This imperatival construction can be embedded in the icic, where the use of an overt 1st or 3rd person subject with a 2nd person singular imperative creates a possibility of providing Prop ii, which in the basic variety of the icic can only have an implicit generic subject, with a specific 1st person or 3rd person subject:

(85) Lithuanian

[*O kokiam gi darbui tinka baigęs mūsų gimnaziją jaunuolis?*]

Jeigu	*jam*	*neduosi*	*"vietos"*	*kokiame*
if	3.dat.sg.m	neg.give.fut.2sg	place.gen.sg	some.loc.sg.m
nors	*biure,*	*raštinėj,*	*tai*	***jam***
indef	bureau.loc.sg	office.loc.sg	then	**3.dat.sg.m**

[31] The term 'echoic imperative' is based on the fact that the resented necessity is expressed by echoically referring to an imaginary utterance in which a person imposes this necessity by using a 2nd person imperative. In (83), for instance, the speaker characterises his situation by referring to an imputed utterance of the type 'You sit here!'

[32] https://banga.tv3.lt/lt/2forum.showPosts/447635.121-=(570414756

nors ***mirk*** *badu.*
CONC **die.IMP.2SG** hunger.INS.SG
'[And for what kind of job is a young man fit on graduating from our grammar school?] If you don't give him a 'place' in some bureau or office, he can as well starve to death.'

(86) Ukrainian (CUL)
[*Jak dovidajut'sja, ščo ce ty od mene počuv take,*]
meni *todi* ***xoč*** ***utikaj*** *z* *Kyjeva.*
1SG.DAT then **CONC** **flee.IMP.2SG** from Kiev.GEN
'[If they get to know you heard this from me,]
then I could as well flee Kiev.'

This embedding is rendered possible by the basic compatibility of constructional meanings. The necessity expressed by the echoic necessitive imperative is always something the subject and/or the speaker regards as something unreasonably imposed by other persons (or by the general situation), and in the ICIC the event described in Prop II is also viewed as being imposed by the situation in Prop I.

Another type of interaction already mentioned above is with the construction 'take + V' (dealt with in more detail by Nau, Kozhanov, Lindström, Laugalienė & Brudzyński, this volume). The authors find that the function of 'take + V' is different according to whether it contains a directive form (an imperative) or a narrative form (say, a past tense). When the context is narrative, the construction mostly conveys unexpectedness, but the imperative suggests a situation where an addressee is encouraged to undertake resolute action after a period of hesitation. It is this aspect of the meaning of 'take + V' that could have contributed to its integration into the ICIC: extreme situations of the kind described in Prop I call for extreme decisions of the kind not easily taken, and the construction 'take + V' might be a way of suggesting these. In Polish, the use of 'take + V' in the ICIC seems to have become to a certain extent conventionalised, and the variety incorporating the 'take + V' construction has apparently become the basic one in the spoken language. Some well-established instances of the type without 'take' are preserved, but have been drawn into the orbit of the construction *(nic) tylko* + INF, and the interaction of the two constructions is attested by contaminated constructions like (59).

The ICIC also occasionally interacts with completely idiomatic imperatival constructions, such as in (87):

(87) Russian (Ju. O. Dombrovskij, *Xranitel' drevnostej*, 1964, RNC)

Vot	*Marus'ka*	*takoj*	*geroj*	*byla,*
PTC	PN.NOM	such.NO.SG.M	hero.NOM.SG	be.PST.F.SG
čto	*ne*	*podxodi.*		
that	NEG	come.close.IMP.2SG		

'Now this Marus'ka was such a firebrand that one was well-advised to steer clear of her.'

This construction is reminiscent of the ICIC, but it lacks the subordinator/scalar particle *xot'* otherwise characteristic of the Russian variety of the ICIC. On closer scrutiny it becomes clear that this is not a genuine instance of an ICIC. The sequence *ne podxodi* is an idiom in its own right: it is a kind of generalised imperative used to characterise a person or group of persons, cf.

(88) Russian (A. I. Èrtel', *Zapiski Stepnjaka*, 1883, RNC)

None	*takoj*	*stal*		*narod —*
nowadays	such.NOM.SG.M	become.PST.M.SG		people.NOM.SG
ne	*podxodi*	*k*	*nemu.*	
NEG	come.close.IMP.2SG	to	3.DAT.SG.M	

'People have become like that [sc. so aggressive] nowadays. One is better off giving them a wide berth.'

This idiom is occasionally embedded in a consecutive clause dependent on *takoj* 'such', a process that is evidently licenced by the ICIC, as suggested by the fact that the marker *xot'* is also occasionally introduced, testifying to the complete integration of the idiom *ne podxodi* in the ICIC.

(89) Russian

On	*kak*	*sjadet,*		*da*	*groxnet,*
3.NOM.SG.M	when	sit.FUT.3SG		and	bang.FUT.3SG
potom	*voobšče*	*k*	*rojalju*		
afterwards	at.all	to	grand.piano.DAT.SG		
ne	*podxodi.*				
NEG	come. close.IMP.2SG				

'When he sits down at the piano and attacks the keys, one wouldn't dare come close to the piano after him.'[33]

The examples given above certainly do not exhaust the list of interactions of the ICIC with other constructions. Their extent of the interaction

[33] http://diachkov.com/Capitula/Unio/Bakk/Bakk.html

is, however, not the same everywhere. In some cases it does not affect the basic pattern of the construction, while in other instances the interacting construction fundamentally alters the basic pattern, as seems to have happened in Latvian and Polish.

9. In conclusion

The insubordinated concessive imperative is an areal phenomenon spread over a compact linguistic space comprising North Slavonic, Baltic, neighbouring Fennic and Yiddish. Though non-directive imperatives are typologically common enough, this particular type is non-trivial and thus areally significant. Its meaning shows a considerable degree of uniformity, and can be characterised by means of Xrakovskij and Volodin's formulation cited in the introductory part of the article. With regard to syntactic structure, the construction displays a considerable degree of formal variation that gives it a Proteus-like appearance. In each of the languages involved one could formulate, apart from the imperatival form, at least one additional feature enabling the identification of the construction. In both Lithuanian and Russian, for instance, this would be the occurrence of a conditional subordinator/scalar particle (*nors*, *xot'*). Whenever the properly directive interpretation of the imperative does not apply, the combination of these two elements is interpreted to mean that a certain situation (usually expressed by a preceding clause, which, however, may be considerably reduced or even implicit) is being characterised in terms of its imaginable consequences. Cross-linguistically, however, the construction does not have, apart from the imperative, a single constant feature, e. g. the concessive subordinator/scalar particle is present in almost all languages involved but not in Polish, where the complementiser *że* may appear in its place; in this case, however, another kind of marking must be present, viz. Prop I may not be zero (implicit). Thus, cross-linguistically, the different varieties of our construction are connected by the principle of family resemblance, without any invariant marker in addition to the imperatival form. An interesting feature is that the construction partly ignores the rules of clause structure, causing the clauses representing Prop I and Prop II to telescope into each other, cf. (90)–(92), which illustrate the process of reduction of Prop I to a noun phrase (the subject), and the subsequent syntactic integration of this noun phrase as an object in Prop II:

(90) *rubaška* *takaj* *mokraja* | *xot'* *vyžmi*
shirt.NOM.SG such.NOM.SG.F wet.NOM.SG.F CONC squeeze.IMP.2SG

(91) *rubaška* | *xot'* *vyžmi*
shirt.NOM.SG CONC squeeze.IMP.2SG

(92) *rubašku* | *xot'* *vyžmi*
shirt.ACC.SG CONC squeeze.IMP.2SG
'the shirt is so wet you could squeeze it out'

What is constant across these structures is information structure. Prop II is always a rheme; the subject of Prop I (the bearer of the property that is being evaluated) is the default theme, and Prop I may be reduced to it, leading to further syntactic integration of Prop I and Prop II. When Prop I remains implicit, the theme position is occupied by Intro, as in (3) above. The construction probably also exhibits certain constant prosodic features following the pattern of information structure and ignoring clause boundaries.

In all the languages concerned one finds some degree of interaction with other constructions, either in the sense of unification or in the sense of overlapping and contamination. These manifold interactions seem to be caused by the massive ellipsis entailing loss of distinctive structural properties, such as the concessive marker (*nors*, *kaut*, *xot'* etc.), the complementiser (*kad*, *ka*, *čto*, ...) and the degree marker ('so', 'so many', 'such' etc.) in Prop I. The result is that the ICIC becomes a rather amorphous pattern broadly consisting of a clause characterising a situation and an imperatival clause commenting on it in a usually hyperbolic fashion, with both the borderlines between the two and their syntactic relationship becoming rather indeterminate. The syntactic quasi-independence of Prop II opens the way for the introduction of other, independently established, imperatival and even (as in Polish) non-imperatival constructional idioms that can be used to characterise a situation in a lively and expressive fashion.

The area of occurrence of the ICIC is not quite homogeneous. As we have seen, its frequency is relatively low in Polish and Latvian in comparison with East Slavonic and Lithuanian. The more or less peripheral status of the Polish, Latvian and Estonian varieties of the ICIC in its area of expansion also seems to be reflected in the fact that the construction has undergone important structural changes in these languages, such as

the loss (or absence) of the concessive subordinator. We could therefore characterise East Slavonic together with Lithuanian as the core area of the construction. As East Slavonic provides the connecting link between all the languages participating in this areal phenomenon, we may assume it to have played a crucial role both in its establishment and subsequent expansion. Historical corpus research into this construction would probably bring more clarity here.

Abbreviations

ABE — abessive, ABL — ablative, ACC — accusative, ADESS — adessive, ADJ — adjectival suffix, CONC — concessive subordinator/particle, CONNEG — connegative form, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, DEM — demonstrative, DIM — diminutive, DISJ — disjunction marker, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, ILL — illative, IMP — imperative, INDEF — indefinite, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, IPFV — imperfective, JUS — jussive, LOC — locative, M — masculine, N — neuter, NA — non-agreeing form, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, NVIR — non-virile, PART — partitive, PL — plural, PN — personal name, PERF — perfect, PFV — perfective, PL — plural, PPA — past participle active, PRS — present, PST — past, PTC — particle, Q — question marker, RFL — reflexive, SG — singular, SUP — supine, TER — terminative, TRANS — translative, VIR — virile, VOC — vocative

Sources

BNk = Belarusian N-korpus at https://bnkorpus.info

CCLL = Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language at http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/

CUL = Corpus of the Ukrainian language at http://www.mova.info

LVK2018 = Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian 2018 at http://www.korpuss.lv/

NCP = National Corpus of Polish at http://nkjp.pl

RNC = Russian National Corpus at http://www.ruscorpora.ru

etTenTen13 = Estonian Web Corpus at https://www.sketchengine.eu

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Axel Holvoet
Vilnius University Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltic
Universiteto 5
LT-01131 Vilnius
axel.holvoet@flf.vu.lt

Anna Daugavet
Vilnius University & St Petersburg University
Department of General Linguistics
Universitetskaya nab. 11
RU-199034, St Petersburg
a.daugavet@spbu.ru

Liina Lindström
Vilnius University & University of Tartu
Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics
Ülikooli 18
EE-50090 Tartu
liina.lindstrom@ut.ee