Hypothetical manner constructions in world-wide perspective

JESÚS FRANCISCO OLGUÍN MARTÍNEZ[1]

[1]UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

Abstract

Similatives (e.g. *she swims like a fish*) have been the focus of a number of investigations (e.g. Treis & Vanhove 2017). However, hypothetical manner constructions (e.g. *She treats me as if I were a stranger*) have received little attention cross-linguistically. Therefore, our typological knowledge of this type of comparative clause is still in its infancy. This paper offers an analysis of the cross-linguistic variation in the expression of hypothetical manner constructions in a sample of 61 languages. Among the most common strategies found are similative 'like' markers and free adverbial conjunctions. Also discussed are other rare strategies, which seem to show clear areal patterns. In particular, some languages from Mesoamerica use correlative words, some Australian languages use counterfactual mood markers and some African languages employ head nouns meaning 'thing'. This paper also explores whether hypothetical manner constructions show formal resemblances to other constructions.

Keywords: Comparative clauses; adverbial clauses; hypothetical manner constructions; similatives; real manner constructions.

1. Introduction

Qualitative comparative constructions "do not express a quantitative gradation on a particular parameter, but bring together the two terms of the comparison on the basis

of similarity or likeness" (Fuchs 2014: 133).[1] Qualitative comparative constructions are divided into similarity (e.g. *she swims like a fish*) and hypothetical manner (e.g. *She treats me as if I were a stranger*) (Treis 2018: iii). The linguistic typological literature has especially been concerned with similatives (e.g. Treis & Vanhove 2017) while hypothetical manner constructions have received little attention cross-linguistically (but see Hetterle 2015: 195). To the best of my knowledge, this construction has been explored mostly in individual languages, such as Pesh (Chamoreau 2017: 331-332), Zaar (Caron 2017: 183) and North Saami (Ylikoski 2017: 275) and in European languages (e.g. Kortmann 1997: 284). Therefore, our typological knowledge of this type of comparative construction is still in its infancy. Martowicz (2011: 144) mentions that this type of semantic relation has not as yet received serious linguistic interest, let alone special attention in any cross-linguistic study. In a similar fashion, Hetterle (2015: 195) points out that hypothetical manner constructions are unexplored territory in that no previous studies have addressed the precise semantic and discourse functions of this type of comparative clause.

The aims of this paper are two-fold. First, this research offers an analysis of the cross- linguistic variation in the expression of hypothetical manner in a sample of 61 languages. Kortmann's (1997) study of free adverbial conjunctions in the languages of Europe shows that hypothetical manner constructions tend to be formed by phrasal clause-linking devices, such as Spanish *como si* 'as if', German *als ob* 'as if', Portuguese *como se* 'as if' and Icelandic *likt og* 'as if'. However, it is not entirely clear whether languages from other areas of the world also use free adverbial conjunctions to encode hypothetical manner constructions. The present research should make it clear that there may be more to the story, in that languages may use other clause-linking devices to express hypothetical manner. Some languages from Mesoamerica use correlative words, as in (1), some Australian languages use counterfactual mood markers, as in (2) and some African languages employ head nouns meaning 'thing', as in (3).

(1)   Silacayoapan Mixtec (Oto-Manguean/Mixtecan; Shields 1988: 431-432)

   tá   ***tuhūn***   *ndáā*   *nā*   *xyoko,*   ***xá***   *ndáā*   *nā*
   if   word   appear:PL   3PL.SBJ   San.Andrés   thus   appear.PL   3PL.SBJ

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[1] Translated from the French original: "… une comparaison qualitative qui n'opère pas de gradation quantitative sur un paramètre, mais rapproche les deux termes de la comparaison sur la base d'une similarité ou d'une analogie."

ndahví.

poor

'As if they were from San Andrés, those poor people look (lit. about like the people from San Andrés appear, so appear those people).'

(2) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 378)

*jani-jani-ja   niwan-ju, yakuri-ya buru-tha   thaa-tha   **marak**.*
search-RDP-ACT 3SG-PROP fish-LOC   take-ACT   return-ACT   CF
'They searched for him, as if they were going out to get fish.'

(3) Dogul Dom (Dogon; Heath 2016: 269)

*è-wé   **gòŋ**   ɲǎ: bè   ɲà:-l   **yáŋ**, yǎ: yê:-ǹ.*
child-PL thing   meal   3PL.SBJ eat-PFV.NEG.PL like tears weep-IPFV.3PL.SBJ
'As if the children have not eaten, they are crying.'

Given that these strategies seem to be only attested in particular areas forming areal clusters, it is proposed that the most obvious explanation seems to be language contact. This is because: (1) the languages are spoken in the same region, (2) they are not genetically related and (3) the probability of chance resemblance is low, given the rarity of the strategies. Interestingly, the forms of the strategies are not the same. Accordingly, speakers seem to have replicated these clause-linking strategies with native material. This is known as pattern replication. In this scenario, only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed (Weinreich 1964: 39; Heath 1978; Sakel 2007: 15; Heine & Kuteva 2008). Therefore, this research aims at contributing to theories of language contact in that it can help us to better understand how a particular grammatical pattern may have spread to different neighboring languages not genetically related (e.g. the different possible directions from which a particular development could have been stimulated; Mithun 2012).

Second, this paper explores whether hypothetical manner constructions show formal resemblances to other constructions. Some work has shown that hypothetical manner constructions exhibit formal and functional resemblances to similatives (e.g. *The man swims like a fish*; Fortescue 2010: 131; Chamoreau 2017: 331-332). Another construction that is also very similar to hypothetical manner constructions is that of

real manner adverbial clauses (e.g. *do as I told you*; Darmon 2017: 372-373). In achieving this goal, the guiding questions are: do hypothetical manner constructions tend to resemble similative or real manner constructions formally? How can hypothetical manner constructions be classified according to whether they resemble similatives and/or real manner constructions? Are any of these systems frequent in particular areas of the world? If hypothetical manner, similative and real manner constructions are expressed by the same marker in a particular language, how do the different meanings arise (e.g. context, specific TAM values)? Put it another way, if 'X' language employs the same marker to express hypothetical manner, similative and real manner, how do speakers differentiate these meanings? Is context the only factor that can distinguish them? Or do specific TAM markers aid in the disambiguation process? Some work has shown that TAM markers may differentiate one adverbial meaning from others (Hetterle 2015). A case in point comes from Lango (Nilotic/Eastern Sudanic). This language expresses *when*-relations and *after*-relations by means of the device *àmɛ̂*. Interestingly, the 'when' interpretation arises in combination with the progressive aspect and the 'after' interpretation arises in combination with perfective aspect (Noonan 1992: 243-246).

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 provides some remarks on hypothetical manner constructions. Section 3 addresses methodological questions relating to the language sample of the present study and the collection and analysis of the data. Section 4 discusses the range of strategies used to express hypothetical manner in the language of the sample, highlighting the role of language contact in the spread of some strategies. Section 5 explores the formal and functional resemblances that hypothetical manner constructions show to other constructions, in particular to similatives and real manner constructions. Section 6 summarizes the main points of the study as a whole and presents its overall conclusions.

2. Hypothetical manner: some remarks

A large number of unrelated languages scattered throughout the world share a complex sentence construction that portrays an imagined ('do X as if it was caused by Y'), or counterfactual ('do X as if Y were true') situation (Dixon 2009: 35; Hetterle 2015: 54; Darmon 2017: 372-373). Because of the lack of typological studies, there is as yet no consensus on the proper terminology for referring to this construction.

Kortmann (1997: 195) employs the term "comparative clause" to refer to hypothetical manner clauses. He mentions that 'comparative clauses' encoded by morphemes whose meaning is close to 'as if' express a situation that is typically hypothetical. Hengeveld (1998: 355) employs the term "unreal circumstance clause". He notes that this construction is introduced by a counter-factive conjunction characterizing the situation as not real. Vanhove (2017: 206), in her description of similative, equative and comparative constructions in Beja (North-Cushitic), uses the term "pretence clauses". Roulon-Doko (2017: 226) calls this construction "modus essendi". Heath (2014, 2016), in various grammatical descriptions of Dogon languages, uses the term 'counterfactual manner adverbial clauses'. Finally, Treis (2017: 125) employs the term "hypothetical similarity clause". In this paper, Dixon's terminology (i.e. hypothetical manner clauses) has been adopted in that it seems to be the most accessible term to refer to this construction. The term 'simulative' may be confused with the term 'similative' because of their phonological similarity. The term "comparative clause" used by Kortmann (1997) is also ambiguous in that there are different types of comparative constructions (e.g. inequality, superlatives).

Hypothetical manner constructions may be considered adverbial clauses or complement clauses. In order to flesh out this claim, however, it is necessary to elaborate somewhat on what is meant by adverbial clauses and complement clauses. Hypothetical manner constructions may be adverbial clauses, that is, non-argument clauses that relate to the predicate or the entire proposition expressed by another clause (i.e. the main clause) (Schmidtke-Bode & Diessel to appear: 2). This is nicely illustrated in the West Coast Bajau example in (4), in which the non-argument clause introduced by *masam* 'as if' fulfils a semantic and syntactic role in another unit. Accordingly, the dependent clause spells out part of the setting of the main-clause situation.

(4) West Coast Bajau (Austronesian/Sama-Bajaw; Miller 2007: 418)
     *be-sinar-sinar   no   emas   e   **masam** keadaan   kampung   e   tunu.*
     DISTR-shine-RDP FOC gold   DEM as.if   condition village   DEM burn
     'The gold shimmered as if the village were burning.'

Hypothetical manner constructions may also be considered complement clauses, that is, the predicate of one clause "entails reference to another proposition or state of affairs expressed in a second clause" (Cristofaro 2003: 95). They would function as a

syntactic argument of a higher clause (Dixon 2006: 15). The range of semantic classes of complement-taking predicates in this construction is rather limited in that only some verbs may appear in this environment. First, hypothetical manner constructions in which the verb of the main clause means 'to act' or 'to pretend' are known in the literature as MISTAKEN IDENTITY constructions (see Spronck 2015; Spronck & Vuillermet 2019). The mistaken identity involves a reversal of polarity by expressing some ideas inconsistent with behavior of a particular participant (Qian 2016: 220), as is shown in the Donno So example in (5).

(5)   Donno So (Dogon; Heath 2016: 269)

    ù=ŋ   *bɛ̀ndɛ́-dɛ̀-ŋ*   ***gìnɛ̀***   ***kán-jɛ̀-Ø***.

    2SG=ACC hit-IPFV-LOG.SBJ as.if   act-IPFV-3SG.SBJ

    'He acts as if he's going to hit you.'

Second, hypothetical manner constructions in which the verb of the main clause means 'to look' or 'to seem', as in (6), are known in the literature as EPISTEMIC-JUDGEMENT PREDICATES (Schmidtke-Bode 2014: 44) and they belong to the domain of propositional modality (Palmer 2001: 8). This stems from the fact that speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition (Palmer 2001: 8). This type of hypothetical manner construction is a subject complement clause. Schmidtke-Bode (2014: 44) mentions that "the experiencer, or holder, of the propositional attitude is normally the speaker, and the proposition whose truth is evaluated is coded as a complementation pattern in a main clause."

(6)   Ojibwe (Algic/Algonquian; Valentine 2009: 214)

    dibishkoo   *miznaakide-g*   ***izhinaagwad***-*w*.

    as.if   be.printed-CNJ look-IND.OBJ

    'It looked as if there were printing on it.'

This study only takes into account adverbial hypothetical manner clauses. However, based on a close inspection of the languages of the sample, it has been found that hypothetical manner constructions have usually developed by extension from the adverbial domain to the complementation domain. This theoretical fact has not gone unnoticed. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2015: 193) show that this development is not restricted to English and other Indo-European languages, such as Spanish, Dutch

and German, but can also be found in other languages (e.g. Caucasian languages). What this seems to indicate is that this connection cannot be considered a language specific phenomenon, but rather a development common in many languages not genetically related. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2015: 196) mention that this development is a case of secondary grammaticalization, that is, it refers to "increased grammaticalization of already grammatical items in specific contexts" (Hopper & Traugott 2008: 175). With this in mind, the hierarchy put forward in (7) aims at capturing this tendency.

(7)   Adverbial clause > complement clause ('to look' or 'to seem') > complement
       clause ('to act' or 'to behave') > insubordinate clause[2]

There are two main theoretical observations to be gleaned from the hierarchy in (7). First, if adverbial hypothetical manner constructions and mistaken identity constructions ('to act' or 'to behave') are encoded by the same linking device in 'X' language, epistemic-judgement predicates ('to look' or 'to seem') will also tend to be encoded in the same way. Second, one further development attested in the languages of the sample of the present study is that of insubordination, that is, once adverbial hypothetical manner constructions develop into complement clauses, they may develop into insubordinate clauses, i.e. "the conventionalized independent use of a formally subordinate clause" (Evans 2007: 377). This development is only attested in a few languages of the sample, mainly Indo-European. For instance, in the Spanish example in (8), the *como si* 'as if' insubordinate construction has the illocutionary force of an exclamation, that is, the *como si* 'as if' has come to serve another function (e.g. incredulity, disbelief, repulsion, disgust), but at the same time the construction retains its irreality value. Given that only a few languages have insubordinate clauses functioning in this way, further studies will enable us to explore in more detail the functions served by this type of insubordinate construction.

(8)   Spanish (Indo-European/Romance)
       como si   *tuvieras   suficiente   dinero*!
       as   if   have.SBJV   enough   money
       'As if you had a lot of money!'

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[2] In English the 'as if' conjunction can be used colloquially on its own (e.g. *"Miss me, honey?" As if. Where's my crab cake?*; Brinton 2014: 95). This usage has not been attested in the languages of the sample.

Before leaving the present section, mention should be made of another domain relevant to the study of hypothetical manner constructions. Hypothetical manner constructions may be encoded by TAM markers appropriate to this context in the languages of the sample, such as irrealis, subjunctive markers and counterfactual mood markers. For instance, Chafe (1995) mentions that Caddo (Caddoan) has a realis/irrealis distinction encoded within pronominal prefixes on verbs. He notes that irrealis pronouns are used in several contexts, such as yes/no questions, prohibitions, obligations, conditions and hypothetical manner constructions. The fact that hypothetical manner constructions appear with TAM markers that harmonize with their meaning is the expected scenario in that, as explained by Darmon (2017: 372-373), hypothetical manner constructions portray an imagined ('do X as if it was caused by Y'), or counterfactual ('do X as if Y were true') situation. However, there are languages in which hypothetical manner constructions are encoded by past tense marking, perfective marking and/or completive marking. This is only attested in a few languages of the sample. In Korean, the hypothetical manner clause has to appear with the past tense marker *-ʌt*. In a similar fashion, in Uyghur, the hypothetical manner construction occurs with the past tense marker *-d*.

(9)   Korean (Koreanic)[3]

kɨ-nɨn   **matɕʰi**   *njʌn toŋan   mʌktɕi   anɨn kʌt-tɕʰʌrʌm mʌk-ʌt-ta.*
3SG.SBJ-TOP   as.if   year during eat   NEG thing-as.if   eat-PST-DECL
'He ate as if he had not eaten in years.'

(10) Uyghur (Turkic)[4]

u   **xuddi** *hëchqachan   tamaq   ye-mi-gen-**dek**   yë-**d**-i.*
3SG.SBJ   like   never   food   eat-NEG-PTCP-SIM   eat-PST-3SG
'S/he ate as if s/he had never eaten before.'

Given that hypothetical manner constructions portray an imagined ('do X as if it was caused by Y'), or counterfactual ('do X as if Y were true') situation, it seems reasonable to explore whether other constructions expressing imagined or counterfactual situations also occur with the same TAM markers. A possible candidate to this analysis is counterfactual conditionals, a complex sentence construction in which the relation

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[3] Example provided by Jiyoung Jang (personal communication).

[4] Example provided by Michael Fiddler (personal communication).

between the two clauses is that of an imagined situation that did not happen ('if it had not been for him, we could have got lost') (Olguín-Martínez & Lester to appear). Before proceeding to the analysis of this domain, it is important to bear in mind that many of the sources taken into account in the present study do not contain a detailed analysis of counterfactual conditionals. Therefore, this pioneering research can make only a modest contribution to the understanding of this domain.

Of the 61 languages of the sample, 16 languages provide a detailed analysis of counterfactual conditionals. As is shown in Table 1, in most languages, the *as if*-clause and the *if*-clause of a counterfactual conditional construction tend to appear with different TAM markers. Note that only in two languages, the *as if*-clause and the *if*-clause appear with the same TAM markers (i.e. Korean and Finnish). Accordingly, these results seem to indicate that although hypothetical manner constructions and counterfactual conditional constructions express imagined situations, they tend to appear with different TAM markers. However, caution needs to be exercised with these results given that they are based on 16 languages. Furthermore, these languages are for the most part African languages and Eurasian languages. Future studies will have to find out whether these results hold in a larger sample.

3. Sample and methodology

Since this is primarily an explorative study that seeks to characterize a type of construction that has been traditionally neglected, the method for language sampling employed here is the Genus-Macro-area method proposed by Miestamo et al. (2016). This is a variety sample method, which aims at capturing as much variety as possible with respect to the expression of the phenomena under investigation and to reveal even the rarest strategies (Miestamo et al. 2016: 234). In this method, the primary genealogical stratification is made at the genus level, and the primary areal stratification at the level of macro-areas. In particular, a bottom-up variant of the method has been employed in this research. In what follows, the structure and motivations behind the selection of the languages of the current sample are introduced.

An ideal sample would include one and only one language from each genus of the classification of the world's genera in Dryer (2013). However, for some genera (e.g. Alacalufan, Camsá, Tacame, Shabo, Yurimangí), it has not been possible to find any source that provides a description of hypothetical manner constructions.

Language	*As if*-clause TAM marking	*If*-clause TAM marking
Alto Perené	Irrealis and conditional mood (Mihas 2015: 285)	Irrealis and counterfactual mood (Mihas 2015: 263)
Armenian	Present tense (Dum-Tragut 2009: 440)	Past tense and irrealis (Dum-Tragut 2009: 263)
Ben Tey	Progressive (Heath 2015: 253)	Past tense (Heath 2015: 258)
Boko	Progressive (McCallum Jones 1998: 263)	Past perfect (McCallum Jones 1998: 269)
Cuwabo	Past perfect (Guérois 2015: 350)	Counterfactual mood (Guérois 2015: 410)
Finnish	Conditional mood (Sulkala & Karjalainen 1992: 53)	Conditional mood (Sulkala & Karjalainen 1992: 315)
Goemai	Consecutive marker (Hellwig 2009: 333)	Past tense (Hellwig 2011: 463)
Ingush	Simultaneous converb (Nichols 2011: 574)	Irrealis (Nichols 2011: 305)
Iraqw	Past tense (Mous 1992: 167)	Past infinitive tense and perfective (Mous 1992: 329)
Ket	Non-past tense (Nefedov 2015: 201)	Past tense and irrealis (Nefedov 2015: 187)
Korean	Past tense (Jiyoung Jang, personal communication)	Past tense (Chang 1996: 159)
Lezgian	Aoristic participle (Haspelmath 1993: 247)	Past tense and aoristic converb (Haspelmath 1993: 396)
Lumun	Incompletive (Smits 2017: 669)	Completive (Smits 2017: 390)
Supyire	Perfect or potential mood (Carlson 1994: 570)	Counterfactual mood (Carlson 1994: 576)
Tundra Nenets	Dubitative (Nikolaeva 2014: 104)	Perfective aspect (Nikolaeva 2014: 374)
Udihe	Present participle (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 748)	Past tense and irrealis (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 750)

Table 1: TAM marking of the *as if*-clause and the *if*-clause in the languages of the sample.

As can be observed in Table 2, Eurasia has a stronger representation in the languages of the sample. This is because many genera of this macro-area contain languages with good grammatical descriptions of hypothetical manner constructions. Note that many languages from Australia and South America could not be taken into

Macro-area	Number of genera	Number of genera in the sample	Coverage
Africa	77	12	15.58%
Australia	43	3	6.97%
Eurasia	82	21	25.60%
North America	95	11	11.57%
Papunesia	136	10	7.35%
South America	110	4	3.63%
Total	543	61	---------

Table 2: Genera covered in the sample.

consideration. This is due to the fact that various grammars provide detailed descriptions of hypothetical manner constructions. However, they do not explain the encoding of similatives and real manner constructions. Table 3 shows a complete list of the languages taken into account for each macro-area.

Macro-area	Sample languages	Sum
Africa	Beja, Ben Tey, Boko, Cuwabo, Gbaya, Goemai, Iraqw, Kusaal, Lumun, Supyire, Tadaksahak, Yulu	12
Australia	Arabana, Kayardild, Warrongo	3
Eurasia	Armenian, Biak, Chinese, English, Finnish, Georgian, Greek, Ingush, Karbi, Ket, Korean, Latvian, Lezgian, Mongolian, North Saami, Spanish, Tundra Nenets, Turkish, Udihe, Yakkha, Yukaghir (Kolyma),	21
North America	Crow, Barbareño Chumash, Francisco León Zoque, Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec, Pech, Sahaptin, Sochiapan Chinantec, Huasteca Nahuatl, Warihio, Xicotepec Totonac, Yuchi	11
Papunesia	Komnzo, Makasae, Mali, Manambu, Marind, Moskona, Urim, Samoan, West Coast Bajau, Yimas,	10
South America	Alto Perené, Cavineña, Chamacoco, Piapoco,	4
		61

Table 3: Languages of the sample per macro-area.

The uneven distribution of comprehensive descriptions of hypothetical manner constructions and the limitations mentioned above cause what Bakker (2011: 106) calls a bibliographical bias. In this regard, Schmidtke-Bode (2014: 49) notes that the sampling procedure for complex sentence constructions is complicated because of the

of lack of comprehensive reference materials. This gives rise to areal biases that cannot be controlled for.[5]

4. Range of strategies

Across languages, the semantic relation between the adverbial clause and its associated main clause may be indicated by various strategies (Hetterle 2015: 106). In this section, the focus is on individual items that serve this function. Section 4.1 first concentrates on the most common clause-linking strategies in the languages of the sample, viz. similative 'like' markers and free adverbial conjunctions. Section 4.2 then proceeds to explaining the less common strategies attested in the languages of the sample, to which more time is devoted in that some of them seem show clear areal patterns. In this regard, some languages from Mesoamerica use correlative words, some Australian languages use counterfactual mood markers and some African languages employ head nouns meaning 'thing'.

4.1. Most common strategies

Across the languages of the sample, similative 'like' markers are more common in the expression of hypothetical manner, as in the Cuwabo example in (11). Among the languages of the sample, 39 seem to show this scenario in that they employ the similative 'like' marker to express hypothetical manner. This clause-linking device tends to introduce clauses whose internal structure shows no evidence of dependent status, dependent verb forms or a combination of both. Accordingly, they operate in clauses that appear with the same properties of main clauses. This finding echoes Hetterle (2015: 173) who shows that 'as if' constructions exhibit the lowest degree of downgrading in comparison to other types of adverbial clauses (e.g. purpose, cause).

(11) Cuwabo (Niger-Congo/Bantoid; Guérois 2015: 350)

nyúwó	*mu-ní-óná*	***nínga***	*ddi-a-kweńt-ílé*	*iiyí*
2PL.SBJ	2PL.SBJ-IPFV-see	like	1SG.SBJ-PST-copulate-PFV	while

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[5] The sample taken into account in the present study is first and foremost a variety sample. Accordingly, the areal bias is not directly harmful for the general aims of variety sampling (Miestamo et al. 2016: 251).

ka-ddi-a-kweńt-île.

NEG-1SG.SBJ-copulate-PFV

'You see me as if I had had sex, whereas I had not.'

Free adverbial conjunctions (Kortmann 2001: 842) are morphemes which mark adverbial clauses for their semantic relationship to the main clause. Of the languages of the sample, 22 have free adverbial conjunctions encoding hypothetical manner constructions, as in the Comaltepec example in (12), where the adverbial clause is introduced by the adverbial conjunction *laˡhuaʔ* 'as if'. Free adverbial conjunctions also tend to introduce clauses whose internal structure shows no evidence of dependent status. Therefore, similative 'like' markers and free adverbial conjunctions tend to operate in clauses that appear with the same properties as main clauses.

(12) Comaltepec Chinantec (Oto-Manguean/Chinantecan; Anderson 1989: 50)

ʔiᴸ hiúːᴸ naᴸ-b zé **laˡhuáʔ** ŋóᴸ hnäᴸ.
REL child that-AFF go as.if go 1SG.SBJ
'That child is going as if I were going.'

Two general remarks on free adverbial conjunctions are in order here. First, in some languages of the sample, the free adverbial conjunction seems to have been derived from a verb meaning 'to say'. In Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian/Lezgic), *guja na luhudi* 'as if' is a fixed expression that is synchronically best regarded as a free adverbial conjunction. Etymologically, *na luhudi* means 'you would say' (*na* is the ergative case of *wun* 'you' and *luhudi* is the archaic future of *luhun* 'say') (Haspelmath 1993: 247). Another example comes from Georgian (Kartvelian). In this language, the free adverbial conjunction *titkos* 'as if, as though' derives from *tu ttkva* 'if it was/is said' or *tu ttkva* 'if it transpires that it is said' (Hewitt 1995: 589). An interesting example is found in Supyire (Niger-Congo/Senufo). In this language, hypothetical manner may be expressed by a construction, which literally means 'you would say' (cf. French *on dirait*). Carlson (1994: 570) notes that this clause is beginning to function as a phrasal connective meaning 'as if' because it is not possible to pronounce it with pauses. This finding echoes Heine & Kuteva (2002: 268), in which verbs meaning 'to say' may grammaticalize into devices expressing the meaning 'as if'. Although not explicitly mentioned by them, the examples shown by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 268) seem to indicate that this is common in Mande languages, such as Koranko (Mande/Western

Mande), e.g. *kó* 'say', *> íko* ('you say') 'as if ' and Vai (Mande/Western Mande), e.g. *ro* 'say' *> iːro* ('you say') 'as', 'as if '.

Second, there are languages in which a similative 'like' marker and a free adverbial conjunction may occur at the same time in a clause, as in (13), (14), and (15). Interestingly, in these languages, it is the similative 'like' strategy that has become optional. Cross-linguistically, various types of adverbial clauses may appear at the same time with two clause-linking devices expressing the specific semantic relation in question. In this scenario, one of the markers is usually dropped (Hetterle 2015: 108; Schmidtke-Bode & Diessel to appear: 15). One possible hypothesis is that hypothetical manner constructions in these languages appeared first marked by similative 'like' markers. After that, speakers gradually developed a more specialized way of expressing hypothetical manner in order to differentiate similatives from hypothetical manner constructions. Once the two strategies converged in the same construction, the similative 'like' marker gradually became optional. Schmidtke-Bode & Diessel (to appear: 15) mention that in the recent typological and psycholinguistic literature, such patterns have attracted increasing attention under the label of redundancy management in grammar.

(13) Boko (Mande/Eastern Mande; McCallum Jones 1998: 263)

má	*kã*	*zu*	*gbɛ̃*	*pĩ*	*sàɛ́*	***láńdɔ̃***	*málɛ́*
1SG.SBJ.FUT	arrow	shoo	rock	that	beside	as.if	1SG.SBJ.PROG

pɔ	*bã*	***wà***.
animal	fire	like

'I will shoot an arrow beside that rock as if I am firing at an animal.'

(14) Makasae (Timor-Alor-Pantar/Makasae-Fataluku-Oirata; Huber 2008: 116)

gi	***nagar***	*seu*	*meti*	*wa'a*	*lor*	***hani***.
3SG.SBJ	as.if	meat	sea	REL	swim	like

'He swims as if he were a fish.'

(15) Piapoco (Arawakan/Inland Northern Arawakan; Klumpp 2019: 332)

báawa-ca	*na-icá-ca*	*wía,*	***càide***	***iyúwa***	*wa-dé-ca*	***nacaicaalí***
bad-DECL	3PL-see-DECL	1PL.OBJ	thus	like	1PL-attain-DECL	as.if

> *wa-màni-ca   báawa-iri.*[6]
> 1PL-do-DECL   bad-M
> 'They look badly upon us (i.e. they hate us), as if we had done (something) bad to them.'

The mono/polyfunctionality of the strategies shown above seems to be another domain relevant to the study of hypothetical manner constructions. By polyfunctionality is meant the range of meanings within the domain of adverbial subordination that a particular temporal clause-linking strategy can have (Kortmann 1997: 89; Hetterle 2015: 202). Hetterle (2015: 214) shows that hypothetical manner and concession are the two relations most commonly expressed by monofunctional markers, as is illustrated in Figure 1. However, it is important to mention that her analysis is based on only one example found in her sample. Accordingly, this seems to suggest that there may be more to the story. One question that arises at this point is: does the form of the clause-linking strategy encoding
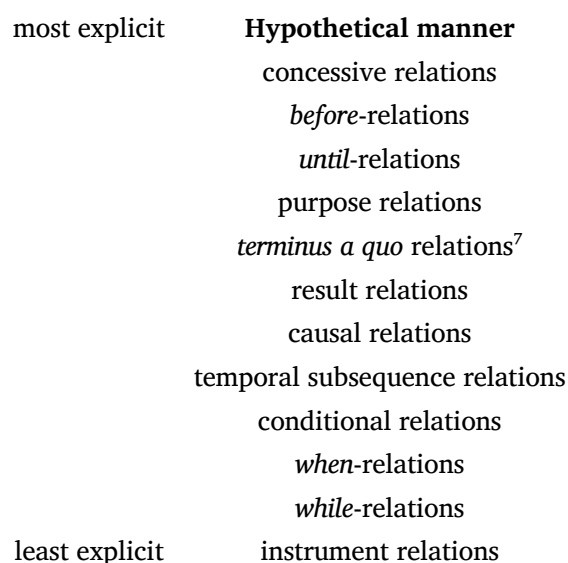
<div align="center">

most explicit   **Hypothetical manner**

concessive relations

before-relations

until-relations

purpose relations

terminus a quo relations[7]

result relations

causal relations

temporal subsequence relations

conditional relations

when-relations

while-relations

least explicit   instrument relations

</div>

Figure 1: The explicitness scale of adverbial relations (Hetterle 2015: 218).

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[6] One reviewer mentions that the example (15) could be analyzed as a correlative construction. However, it is important to stress that in correlative constructions, both clauses must appear with a clause-linking device. In (15), the first clause does not appear with a clause-linking device.

[7] Clauses that express *terminus a quo* refer to a semantic relation in which the situation of the dependent clause indicates a starting point or starting period of time in the (relative) past from which the situation in the main clause has been true (Kortmann 1997: 85).

hypothetical manner constructions play a role in the degree of mono/polyfunctionality? That is, do similative 'like' markers used to express hypothetical manner and free adverbial conjunctions develop different degrees of mono/polyfunctionality?

One interesting observation on the languages of the sample is that while free adverbial conjunctions tend to be monofunctional, similative 'like' markers used in the expression of hypothetical manner tend to be polyfunctional in that they are also used to express other adverbial semantic relations. Accordingly, this suggests that the mono/polyfunctionality of clause-linking devices encoding hypothetical manner constructions will vary depending on their form.

4.2. Less common strategies

After having explored the most common strategies that languages may use to express hypothetical manner, I can now proceed to explaining some rare strategies attested in the languages of the sample. Interestingly, these strategies form particular areal clusters. Since these strategies are cross-linguistically rare and are only found in languages not genetically related spoken in the same area, diffusion through language contact is most likely to have taken place.

4.2.1 Correlative words

From a cross-linguistic perspective, languages may use pairs of correlative words to connect clauses together into complex sentences (see Haspelmath 2004 for an overview of correlative coordinators). Perhaps the best known case is that of comparative correlatives, such as *the more money you have, the more you want to travel* (see Culicover & Jackendoff 1999) and immediate temporal subsequence (e.g. *No sooner had I left home than the phone rang*), to name but a few.

In the languages of the sample, Silacayoapan Mixtec and Huasteca Nahuatl express hypothetical manner by means of a correlative construction. In this correlative construction, the first connective is a conditional marker which can be optionally followed by a lexical item meaning 'word'. Note that the main clause must appear with a linker meaning 'thus'. Interestingly, in both languages, the verbs of both clauses must be the same. In the Silacayoapan Mixtec example in (16), the verb of the dependent clause *ndáá* 'to appear' must occur in the main clause. In a similar fashion,

in the Huasteca Nahuatl example in (17), the two verbs must be the same in both clauses. Furthermore, the first connective is a conditional marker optionally followed by a lexical item meaning 'word' and the main clause must appear with a linker meaning 'thus'. The most obvious explanation to this parallelism seems to be language contact. This is because: (1) the languages are spoken in the same region, (2) they are not genetically related and (3) the probability of chance resemblance is low given the rarity of the strategies.

(16) Silacayoapan Mixtec (Oto-Manguean/Mixtecan; Shields 1988: 431-432)

tá	**tuhūn**	ndáā	nā	xyoko,	**xá**	ndáā	nā
if	word	appear:PL	3PL.SBJ	San.Andrés	thus	appear.PL	3PL.SBJ

ndahví.
poor

'As if they were from San Andrés, those poor people look (lit. about like the people from San Andrés appear, so appear those people).'

(17) Huasteca Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan/Aztecan)

tla	**tlahtol**	**mayana-h**,[8]	**yekah**	**mayana-h**	ki-kua-yaya	baka naka-tl,
if	word	be.hungry.PL	thus	be.hungry.PL	3SG.OBJ-eat-IPFV	cow meat-ABS

'As if they were hungry, they ate the cow meat.'

This pattern is also attested in other Mixtec languages. In the Alacatzala Mixtec example in (18), the verb of dependent clause *ndóō* 'to sit' must appear in the main clause. In this correlative construction, the first connective is a conditional marker which can be optionally followed by a lexical item meaning 'word'. Note that the main clause must appear with a linker meaning 'thus'. It is important to stress that other Nahuatl varieties do not express hypothetical manner in this way. For instance, Tetelcingo Nahuatl expresses this semantic type by means of the phrasal linker *kiem tlɔ* 'as if', composed of the similative marker *kiem* 'like' and the conditional marker *tlɔ* 'if' (Tuggy 1979: 129). Accordingly, this seems to indicate that Mixtec languages served as the source. The fact that several Mixtec adverbial clause-linking strategies may have spread to Huasteca Nahuatl is an interesting finding in that it has been proposed for the most part that Nahuatl served a prominent role in the formation of Mesoamerica as a linguistic area (Brown 2011: 201). This stems from the fact that

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[8] The Huasteca Nahuatl example comes from the fieldwork of the author of the paper.

this language served as a widely used lingua franca. However, it is important to stress that this does not necessarily mean that Nahuatl did not copy linguistic traits from other Mesoamerican languages (Brown 2011: 201). Speakers of Mixtec languages and Nahuatl languages have been in contact through intermarriage, alliances and warfare at least since the colonial period (Sousa & Terraciano 2003: 353), which has resulted in a complex network of interactions and bilingualism (Terraciano 1990: 142). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Nahuatl may have copied various patterns from Mixtec languages and vice versa.

(18) Alacatzala Mixtec (Oto-Manguean/Mixtecan; Zylstra 1991: 149)

tá ndóō   ñīī   kīti **sãá** ndóō   nā.

If   sit.CONT.PL one   animal thus sit.CONT.PL 3PL.SBJ

‘They live as if they were animals (lit. as animal live, so they live).’

Before leaving the present section, it is important to mention that in spite of the fact that neighboring languages have not copied the same Mixtec pattern for expressing hypothetical manner, they seem to have copied some properties for expressing other meanings closely related to the hypothetical manner meaning. Chiapas Zoque has a construction expressing real manner in which the verbs of both clauses must be repeated as in (19), where *kips* ‘think’ is repeated in the second clause. Bear in mind that this is a feature similar to one attested in Mixtec hypothetical manner constructions. Similatives in Francisco León Zoque show an interesting scenario. As can be seen in the example in (20), the second clause must appear with the linker *jetse* ‘therefore’; a feature similar to one attested in Mixtec hypothetical manner constructions. What this seems to indicate is that some of the properties of a construction may be copied from one language to another to express a similar meaning. This can set the stage for further processes of development, which may be internally motivated.

(19) Chiapas Zoque (Mixe-Zoque; Faarlund 2012: 172)

uj-t   *te’=se=ti*   *ñu*   *ø-**kips**-ke’t-u*

1SG.SBJ-ERG   DET=SIM=LIM   PROG   1SG.SBJ-think-REP-PROG

*m-**kips**-u-se.*

2SG.SBJ-think-PROG=SIM

‘I think the same way as you think.’

(20) Francisco León Zoque (Mixe-Zoque; Bartholomew & Engel 1987: 358)

    como   ncastillo   nø   jya'pøtyøju-se   jetse   ajnøpya.

    like   castle   PROG.AUX fire.PST.TERM-like therefore sound.CONT

    'It sounds like a castle is on fire (lit. like a castle is on fire, therefore it sounds).'

4.2.2 Counterfactual mood markers

Hypothetical manner constructions encoded by counterfactual mood markers are only found in Australia in the languages of the sample. This is attested in Warrongo, a Pama-Nyungan language, as in (21), and Kayardild, a Tangkic language, whose genetic affiliation lies with the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land (Evans 1995: 239), as in (22).

(21) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 683)

    *nyola   yaji-garra-n   jilbay-Ø=**gaji**.*

    3SG.NOM   laugh-ITER-NON.FUT   knowing-NOM=CF

    'He is laughing as if he knew (i.e. understood Warrongo).'

(22) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 378)

    *jani-jani-ja   niwan-ju, yakuri-ya buru-tha   thaa-tha   **marak**.*

    search-RDP-ACT   3SG-PROPì fish-LOC   take-ACT   return-ACT CF

    'They searched for him, as if they were going out to get fish.'

What is interesting to note is that these languages show a striking parallelism in a type of pattern that is quite unusual cross-linguistically. Therefore, this pattern cannot be explained by chance. Another important aspect to bear in mind is that these languages are not genetically related. Accordingly, the fact that both express hypothetical manner by means of counterfactual mood markers cannot be due to common inheritance. The most likely explanation is language contact because the languages are spoken in the same geographical region. In this regard, Evans (1995: 239) notes that there is evidence for sustained contact with Pama-Nyungan languages now spoken on the northern fringe of the Central Australian desert.

    One important aspect that further supports the idea that this construction may have spread through language contact comes from the fact the markers in both languages

have almost the same range of functions. The counterfactual marker *maraka* in Kayardild expresses not only hypothetical manner, but also other meanings. First, it indicates the course of action which should have been taken, but was not, as in (23). Second, it may refer to events that could have happened but did not, as in (24). Third, it may be used to express mistaken identity or belief, that is, it indicates that, at the time of the situation, someone either held a false belief about the identity or characteristics of the relevant entity, or acts as if they had such a belief, as in (25). Fourth, this marker may be used to express similative meanings, as in (26).

(23) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 378)

nyingka **maraka** *raba-nangku* *dathin-ku* *dulk-u.*
2SG.NOM CF tread-NEG.POT that-PROP place-PROP
'You should not have set foot in that place.'

(24) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 378)

maraka *yuuma-thu* *barruntha-y.*
CF drown-POT yesterday-LOC
'He could have drowned yesterday (but did not).'

(25) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 379)

kurri-ja *manharr-iy* **maraka** *dangka-karran-ji* *birra* *niwan-ji.*
see-ACT torch-LOC CF man-GEN-LOC too his-LOC
'They saw a bark torch, and thought it was the man's, that it too was his.'

(26) Kayardild (Tangkic; Evans 1995: 381)

kaban-d **maraca** *kamarr.*
stargazer-NOM CF stone-NOM
'The stargazer (fish) is like a stonefish.'

In a similar fashion, the Warrongo counterfactual mood marker =*gaji* expresses not only hypothetical manner, but also other meanings similar to those expressed by the Kayardild marker *maraka*. First, it may be used for expressing epistemic-judgements, that is, the speaker expresses his judgments about the factual status of the proposition, as in (27). Second, it may also be used to express mistaken identity or belief, that is, it indicates that, at the time of the clause, someone either held a false belief about the

identity or characteristics of the relevant entity or acts as if they had such a belief, as in (28).

(27) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 586)

 *gibagiba-Ø = **gaji***   *jombi-Ø*   *yino*.

 mushroom-NOM-CF   penis-NOM   2SG.GEN

 'It looks as if your penis were a mushroom.'

(28) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 677)

 yarro-Ø   *ngalnga = **gaji***   *jojarra-Ø*.

 this-NOM   CF = CF   urine = NOM

 'I thought it was urine, but in fact it was not (it was semen).'

This pattern is also attested in other Pama-Nyungan languages, such as Bidyara, Gungabula and Wunambal. Tsunoda (2011: 984) mentions that this marker is a cognate attested in various Pama-Nyungan languages that can be reconstructed. Accordingly, this seems to indicate that Pama-Nyungan languages served as the source, that is, Kayardild seems to have replicated this pattern from Pama-Nyungan languages by using native material.

4.2.3 Nouns meaning 'thing'

In the sample used for the present study, hypothetical manner constructions encoded by head nouns meaning 'thing' appear as an African singularity. As can be seen in the Dogul Dom example in (29), hypothetical manner is expressed by means of the noun *gòŋ* 'thing' plus the similative *yáŋ* 'like'. This is also attested in other Dogon languages, such as Donno So, as in (30). Jeffrey Heath (personal communication) informs me that the noun meaning 'thing' is not an argument (subject or object) within the predicate of the 'as if' clause. Accordingly, this construction should be understood as 'like the thing (situation) in which the children have not eaten' in (29), and as 'like the thing (situation) in which I had hit him' in (30).[9]

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[9] As correctly pointed by one reviewer, the examples in (29) and (30) are similar to those shown in §4.1, in which a similative 'like' marker and a free adverbial conjunction occur at the same time in a clause.

(29) Dogul Dom (Dogon; Heath 2016: 269)

è-wé   **gòŋ**   *ɲǎ:*   *bè*   *ɲà:-l*   **yáŋ**,   *yǎ:*
child-PL   thing   meal   3PL.SBJ   eat-PFV.NEG.PL   like   tears

yɛ̂:-ǹ.
weep-IPFV.3PL.SBJ

'As if they the children have not eaten, they are crying.'

(30) Donno So (Dogon; Heath 2014: 269)

Î   *yǎ:*   *yà:-dè-Ø*,   **kìdè**   *wò=ŋ́*   *mí*   *bɛ̀nd-ɛ́-Ø*
child   tears   weep-IPFV-3SG.SBJ   thing   3SG=ACC   1SG.SBJ   hit-PFV-3SG.SBJ

gìnè̀.
like

'The child is crying, as if I had hit him.'

Interestingly, a similar pattern is also attested in another African language of the sample. In Gbaya, hypothetical manner is expressed by a similative 'like' marker accompanied by a noun meaning 'thing', as in (31). Dogon languages and Gbaya are not genetically related and the probability of chance resemblance is low given the rarity of the strategies. Although it is very tempting to propose that language contact may have played a role, Jeffrey Heath (personal communication) informs me that this scenario is highly unlikely in that Dogon languages have not been contact with this language. Therefore, care should be taken when interpreting these results.

(31) Gbaya (Niger-Congo/Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka; Roulon-Doko 2017: 227)

ʔà   *gònà*   *gásá zɔ́* **hé** **mè** *nɛ́*   *Gbàmbɔ̀ndɔ́ mɛ̀í*   **gá.**
3SG.SBJ carve.out.PFV big   grass SIM   thing be   Gbàmbɔ̀ndɔ́ over.there SIM

'He prepared a large plot of lands as if it were Gbambɔndɔ (the village's largest hunting territory) over there.'

5. Hypothetical manner and formal resemblances to other constructions

This paper also explores whether hypothetical manner clauses show formal resemblances to other types of constructions. It is well-known that comparative and superlative constructions are more similar to each other than to other types of

comparative clauses (Ultan 1972). Equative and similative constructions are more similar to each other than to other types of comparative clauses (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 278). With this in mind, the question is: are there any structural similarities between hypothetical manner clauses and other types of comparative constructions? Various language-specific investigations have shown that hypothetical manner clauses show formal and functional resemblances to similatives. In this regard, Chamoreau (2017: 331-332) notes that hypothetical manner expressions and similatives are related in various languages. These concepts are distinct but connected, as hypothetical manner means "to imitate, pretend, aspire to the appearance of something" and similarity means "to give the same appearance as something" (Chamoreau 2017: 331-332). In a similar fashion, Fortescue (2010: 131) mentions that most languages have expressions related to those they use as similative markers that express hypothetical manner relations. However, as he acknowledges, no typological study has explored this aspect in more detail.

Another construction that is also very similar to hypothetical manner is that of real manner clauses (e.g. *do as I told you*). Although real manner clauses are not a subtype of comparative construction, they show formal resemblances to hypothetical manner constructions in many languages. Darmon (2017: 372-373) notes that while hypothetical manner portrays an imagined ('do X as if it was caused by Y') or counterfactual ('do X as if Y were true') situation, real manner adverbial clauses depict an action or state identical to that of the main clause. Hetterle (2015: 54) mentions that both hypothetical manner and real manner constructions answer the questions 'how?', but they differ from one another in that real manner describes the character of a situation comparing it to a real situation and hypothetical manner compares a situation to a hypothetical or counterfactual situation.

Here it is proposed that hypothetical manner constructions can be classified into three main types according to whether they are encoded in the same way as similatives and/or real manner clauses. In what follows, this classification is discussed in more detail.

5.1. Hypothetical manner, real manner and similatives marked in the same way

Hypothetical manner, real manner and similative meanings may all be expressed by the same clause-linking device, as is illustrated in the Chamacoco examples in (32), (33), and (34). Note that *itso* is used to express a similative meaning in (32), while it

is employed to express hypothetical manner in (33) and real manner in (34). This is the most common system in that 30 languages in the sample have this type. Note that all constructions in the languages showing this pattern are always marked by a similative 'like' marker. This indicates that from a diachronic perspective hypothetical manner constructions and real manner constructions seem to have developed from similatives. Although this pattern is attested in all macro-areas, in the languages of the sample, it seems to be more frequent in Papunesia.

(32) Chamacoco (Zamucoan)[10]

    o-ho   *naraje*   *oti-ch*   *shɨ*   ***itso*** *awɨ-t.*
    3PL-drink orange   juice-M.SG   only   like   water-M.SG
    'They drink orange juice like water.'

(33) Chamacoco (Zamucoan)

    ese   *ɨr*   *oti-ch*   *nosh=ãha*   *õr*   *ishu-wo*   *shɨ*   ***itso*** *uje*   *o-ch-ũrhu*
    that 3SG liquid-M.SG spill=PREP   3PL dress-M.SG only like SUB   PL-3-wash
    l-asu-wo=ho   *wɨr*   *erze*   *wino.*
    REFL-dress-M.PL-PREP DET.PL that.PL   wine
    'Its liquid spills from their dresses, as if they had washed their dresses with wine.'

(34) Chamacoco (Zamucoan)

    uhu   ***itso***   *uje*   *y-ɨkitkẽryẽr.*
    2SG.do   like   SUB   1PL-talk REC.F
    'You do the way we talk to each other'

One question that may arise at this point is: if hypothetical manner, real manner, and similative constructions are realized by the same clause-linking device in a particular language, how are the various meanings differentiated?

In almost all languages showing this system, contextual factors seem to be the only factor disambiguating the different meanings. In Pesh, a Chibchan language spoken in Honduras, the similative clitic *=kán* appears in hypothetical and real manner constructions. In this scenario, the distinction is only given by context (Chamoreau 2017: 331-332). In a similar fashion, Luca Ciucci (personal communication) informs me that, in Chamacoco, hypothetical manner, real manner and similative

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constructions are expressed by the similative marker *itso* 'like'. He mentions that the only way one can distinguish them is based on the context.

For only a small number of languages, scattered pieces of information are available regarding this disambiguation process. Therefore, this pioneering research can make only a modest contribution to the understanding of this domain. In some languages for which this sort of information is available, hypothetical manner constructions are marked by a similative 'like' marker plus a TAM marker that aids in disambiguation. A case in point comes from Alto Perene. In this language, hypothetical manner, real manner and similative constructions appear with the similative marker *ki-* 'like'. Hypothetical manner constructions occur with the similative marker *ki-* plus the irrealis marker *-ia* and the conditional clitic *=rika*, which allows speakers of this language to disambiguate this adverbial meaning from the others, viz. similative and real manner meanings.[11]

(35) Alto Perene (Arawakan/Pre-Andine Arawakan; Mihas 2015: 285)

   a=ny-i=ri   *nihaa-tsapya-ki*   *kisaa-tsantsana-ite*   *katari*
   1PL=see-REAL=3SG.OBJ.M   river-bank-LOC   be.black-wide-AUG   duck

   *i=**ki**-t-ak-a*   *i=mitsaink-**ia**=**rika***   *y=ovayeri-t-ia-ranki.*
   3PL=SIM-EP-PFV-REAL   3PL=be.in.line-IRR=COND   3PL=fight-EP-IRR-ADV

   'We see black ducks on the river banks as if they were all warriors standing in lines.'

Another example comes from Karbi. In this language, hypothetical manner, real manner and similative constructions are encoded by *asón* 'like'. Hypothetical manner constructions appear with the irrealis marker *-jí*, as in (36), to disambiguate this meaning from the similative and real manner meaning. Interestingly, hypothetical manner constructions can also appear with *thàngbāk* 'as if', considered another constructional property used to disambiguate hypothetical manner from similative and real manner. This seems to be an instance of compositional encoding; i.e., specific

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[11] Mithun (1995: 384) explains that the notion IRREALIS portrays a state of affairs as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination. A source of potential confusion in any discussion on irrealis is that it has been applied to different concepts and constructions in languages from many areas of the world. It is therefore important to clarify what is meant when using this term. In this paper, irrealis is considered a specific marker (rather than notional descriptions of non-encoded meanings of constructions) in the form of verbal affixes and clausal enclitics (Brooks 2018: 4).

constructional properties of a clause combine to dictate a particular adverbial reading (Hetterle 2015: 106) and also to disambiguate various meanings from one another.

(36) Karbi (Sino-Tibetan/Kuki-Chin; Konnerth 2014: 409)

 mh   *è-lì=ke*   *ke-rè-èt*   *a-tum=ke* **thàngbāk**=*si*

 pause   1PL.INCL-HON=TOP NMLZ-be.alive-all POSS-PL=TOP as.if=FOC

 ke-lè-dūn-tām   *thèk-jí*   **asón**

 NMLZ-reach-join-impossible   know.how.IRR   like

 nang=pinkhát-táp   *nang=pinkhát-phrú.*

 1SG.NON.SBJ=advise-here.and.there 1SG.NON.SBJ-advise-here.and.there

 'Since we are alive, how can you give me so many pieces of advice as if we could reach (the place where my wife has gone after she died).'

5.2. Hypothetical manner and similative constructions marked alike; Real manner encoded differently

The second most common system in this study is that of languages in which hypothetical manner and similative constructions are marked in the same way, while real manner constructions are encoded differently. In Tadaksahak, hypothetical manner and similative constructions occur with the similative marker *inʒin* 'like', as in (37) and (38), respectively. Note that real manner clauses appear with the head noun *əmmək* 'manner', as in (39). Of the languages of the sample, 18 languages seem to have this system. These languages are scattered in the different areas of the world showing no effects of areal grouping.

(37) Tadaksahak (Songhay; Christiansen-Bolli 2010: 268)

 ee-dag *aɣo* *senda* **inʒin** *ni=yyikkəl-a* *ni=dd=a* *suubu* *ka.*

 SG-place DET DEM as.if   2SG=lift-3SG 2SG-put-3SG hay LOC

 'This matter is as if you take it (fire) up and put it to the hay.'

(38) Tadaksahak (Songhay; Christiansen-Bolli 2010: 268)

 feeji *aɣ(o)* *ooda* **inʒin** *aɣ=wani.*

 sheep DET DEM like   2SG=of

 'This sheep is like mine.'

(39) Tadaksahak (Songhay; Christiansen-Bolli 2010: 284)

> *əmmək   aɣo   ənda aɣ=tə-d-a…*
> manner   DET   with 1SG-FUT-do-3SG
> 'The manner in which I do it…'

Another example comes from Crow. In this language, hypothetical manner and similative constructions are encoded by the similative marker *kummah* 'like', as in (40) and (41), respectively. Real manner clauses are marked by a headless relative construction in which a head noun meaning 'manner' has been omitted, but it is understood from context, as in (42). Note that in this example the construction still keeps the relativizer *am-*.

(40) Crow (Siouan/Core Siouan; Graczyk 2007: 350)

> *"kuss-dee-ssaa-la-h"   he-m   **kummah** "naa-la-h"   he-lahth   dee-laa.*
> GL-go-NEG-PL-IMP   say-DS as.if   go-PL-IMP   say-even.if go-SS
> '"Do not go", he said, and as if he had said "go", they went.'

(41) Crow (Siouan/Core Siouan; Graczyk 2007: 350)

> ***kummah** issaxpuatahchewishke   ahkaash-dak…*
> like   sheep   many-COND
> 'They were like sheep…'

(42) Crow (Siouan/Core Siouan; Graczyk 2007: 255)

> *biaxaake   **am**-ma-lasitt-uua   ko   kala-koot-uu-k.*
> ducks   REL-1PL.SBJ-happy-PL PRO   PREF-like.that-PL-DECL
> '(The way) that we ducks are happy, it is like that.'

One interesting correlation shown by languages having this type of system is as follows: while hypothetical manner and similative constructions are encoded by a similative 'like' marker, real manner constructions tend to be formed by a relative clause appearing with a head noun meaning 'manner' or a relative clause from which a noun meaning 'manner' has been elided, as in the Crow example shown above. The fact that manner adverbial clauses are encoded in this way is not surprising. Thompson et al. (2007: 245) point out that adverbial clauses expressing time (e.g. *We'll go when Tom gets here*), location (e.g. *I'll meet you where the statue used to be*) and

manner (e.g. *She spoke as he had taught her to*) can commonly be paraphrased, in many languages, with a relative clause that appears with a generic head noun that is semantically empty, such as 'time' (e.g. *We'll go at the time at which Tom gets here*), 'place' (e.g. *I'll meet you at the place at which the statue used to be*) and 'way/manner' (e.g. *She spoke in the way in which he had taught her to*), respectively.

5.3. Hypothetical manner, real manner and similatives each marked by a different strategy

Hypothetical manner, real manner and similative constructions may each be formally distinguishable from one another in that they are encoded by a different marker. Therefore, in this type of system there does not seem to be a diachronic connection among these constructions. Note that this is the third, and least common pattern in the present research. Of the languages of the sample, 11 languages seem to have this sort of system. Instances of this type are found in all macro-areas, but they seem to show a clear areal cluster in Eurasia. Languages vary with respect to the strategies they employ to express this system. The examples discussed below do not exhaust the whole range of ways in which languages formally distinguish this type of system, but they should serve for discussion purposes. With that proviso, let us briefly discuss a couple of languages showing this system.

In Iraqw, hypothetical manner is expressed by the free subordinating conjunction *barékwa'o* 'as if', as in (43), similatives appear with *at* 'like', as in (44) and real manner is realized by means of a relative clause occurring with the head noun *adó* 'manner', as in (45).

(43) Iraqw (Afro-Asiatic/Southern Cushitic; Mous 1992: 329)
    hamí   *án*   *qaat*   *dí-r*   *afá*   *loohi,*   **barékwa'o**   *a-na*
    now   1SG   3SG.M.PRS.lie place-F mouth   way   as.if   1SG-PST
    gwáa'.
    1SG.die
    'Now I will lie at the side of the path, as if I have died.'

(44) Iraqw (Afro-Asiatic/Southern Cushitic; Mous 1992: 280)
    a   **at**   *see'aay.*
    COP   like   dog
    'He is like a dog.'

(45) Iraqw (Afro-Asiatic/Southern Cushitic; Mous 1992: 280)

adó-r   ís   dawe   ngi-r   hlakat-i,   an   ahlaw-ká.
manner-F   3SG   elephants   OBJ-INSTR   hunt-3SG.M   1SG   1SG.can-NEG
'I cannot hunt elephants the way he does.'

The second example is from Tundra Nenets. This language has 15 inflectionally formed non-indicative moods which express various epistemic, deontic and evidential meanings (Nikolaeva 2014: 85). One of these moods is that of the reputative mood which is formed by means of the marker *-məna* and is used to express hypothetical manner or, as stated by Nikolaeva (2014: 85), it is employed to express "irrealis comparison", as in (46). Real manner constructions are formed by means of the postposition *p'iruw°na* 'how', as in (47), and similatives are realized by means of the similative marker *-rəxa*, as in (48).

(46) Tundra Nenets (Uralic/Samoyedic; Nikolaeva 2014: 104)

*wada-xəqnata   s'ita   xa-ma-m,   nyi-***w°n'a***=w°h nəmtor°-q   yet°h*
word-3SG.LOC   SG.ACC   call-IPFV.AN-ACC NEG-REPUT-DUB   listen-CONNEG   DP
tolaŋku.
read
'He is reading as if he does not hear that is being called.'

(47) Tundra Nenets (Uralic/Samoyedic; Nikolaeva 2014: 372)

*t'irt'a-q   məl°nə-wa-h   **p'iruw°na**ləx°nə°-n'ih.*
bird-GEN.PL   chirp-IPFV.AN-GEN   how   talk-1SBJ.DU
'We talk the ways birds chirp.'

(48) Tundra Nenets (Uralic/Samoyedic; Nikolaeva 2014: 35)

*…numki°-q   tu-**rəxa**-q.*
star.PL.GEN   fire-SIM-PL
'…like the lights of the stars.'

Before I leave the present section, mention should be made of one system that seems to be rare cross-linguistically in that it is only found in two languages of the sample. This pattern is concerned with those instances in which similative and real manner constructions appear with the same clause-linking strategy, while hypothetical

manner constructions occur with a different one. The first example comes from Mali. In this language, similative and real manner constructions are formed with the similative marker *klan* 'like', as in (49) and (50), respectively. Hypothetical manner is realized by means of the free subordinating conjunction *gisnia* 'as if', which seems to be a contraction of a part of a larger expression used to introduce sensory experiences *ngia tu gia snēng ia* 'you would think (say) that'. Recall that this is in line with the observation that in various languages free adverbial conjunctions may have been derived from a verb meaning 'to say'.

(49) Mali (Baining; Stebbins 2009: 377)

ki	*tneng*	***klan***	*ka.*
3SG.F	dodge.PRS	like	3SG

'She dodges like him.'

(50) Mali (Baining; Stebbins 2009: 377)

a = musnēng	*ngē*	*muēn*	*vēt*	*gu = auj*		***klan***
SPEC = idea	3SG	arrive.NON.PRS	at	1SG.POSS = grandmother		like

da = ithik	*ia*	*"ngo*	*da*	*vandingu*	*vlek*	*ngu*	*vang".*
EMPH = DEM	REL	1SG	and	DES		1SG want	1SG.run.NON.PRS

'An idea came to my grandmother the way in which she thought it, "I want to try and run away.'

(51) Mali (Baining; Stebbins 2009: 377)

da	*koki*	*ka*	*tet*	***gisnia***	*kule*	*ka*	*pe*	*mēni*	*aut*
and	just	3SG.M	go.PRS	as.if	stay.PRS	3SG.M	there	on	1PL.POSS

gling-igēl.
place-EXC.SG

'He had just gone as if he was staying at our place.'

The second example is found in Warrongo. In this language, similative and real manner constructions appear with *yamanyon* 'similar', as is shown in the examples in (52) and (53), respectively. This item seems to have acquired the status of an enclitic in that it receives stress, so it should not be considered a suffix (Tsunoda 2011: 671). Etymologically, *yamanyon* 'similar' contains the demonstrative member of adverbs *yama* 'in such a way'. Note that the etymology of *-nyon* is unknown (Tsunoda 2011:

671). Hypothetical manner is not expressed by *yamanyon* 'similar'. Rather, the language has developed a different formal way of expressing this meaning. As can be seen in (54), hypothetical manner constructions are realized by the counterfactual clitic =*gaji*. Etymologically, this counterfactual clitic comes from the adverb(ial) of modality *gaji* 'maybe, might' and 'you try!' (Tsunoda 2011: 679).

(52) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 673)
  ngaya=***yamanyon***   *nyola*   *gawa-l.*
  1SG.NOM=like   3SG.NOM   call.out-NON.FUT
  'He is calling out like me.'

(53) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 683)
  yinda   *yani-ya*   *yangga-gali-ya*   *ngaya*=***yamanyon.***
  2SG.NOM   go-IMP   search.for-ANT-IMP   1SG.NOM=like
  'Go and look for it the way I do it.'

(54) Warrongo (Pama-Nyungan/Northern Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 683)
  nyola   *yaji-garra-n*   *jilbay-Ø*=***gaji.***
  3SG.NOM   laugh-ITER-NON.FUT   knowing-NOM=CF
  'He is laughing as if he knew (i.e. understood Warrongo).'

The present study has faced some challenges and is not without its limitations. In this regard, determining the classification of particular types of systems has been one of the most time-consuming parts of the analysis. A case in point comes from Cuwabo. In this language, hypothetical manner, real manner and similative constructions occur with *nínga* 'like'. However, real manner may also be expressed by means of the head noun *mikálélo* 'way' or the Portuguese loanword *mánééra* 'way' (Guérois 2015: 484). Given that real manner is more frequently expressed by means of *nínga* 'like' (Guérois 2015: 484), the present study has classified Cuwabo as a language in which hypothetical manner, real manner and similative meanings are expressed by the same clause-linking device. These examples do not exhaust the whole range of problematic cases that have been encountered during the analysis of the data. However, they suffice to provide the reader with an idea of some of the difficulties that have arisen

during the analysis. Nonetheless, such problematic cases are rather few and do not detract from the validity of the overall conclusions.

(55) Cuwabo (Niger-Congo/Bantoid; Guérois 2015: 350)

nyúwó	*mu-ní-óná*	***nínga***	*ddi-a-kweńt-ílé*	*iiyí*
2PL.SBJ	2PL.SBJ-IPFV-see	like	1SG.SBJ-PST-copulate-PFV	while

ka-ddi-a-kweńt-île.
NEG-1SG.SBJ-copulate-PFV

'You see me as if I had had sex, whereas I had not.'

(56) Cuwabo (Niger-Congo/Bantoid; Guérois 2015: 341)

ńttítti	*Rosa*	*ni-luw-ey-ilé*	***nínga***	*árígóra.*
hair	Rosa	NC-plait-NEUT-PFV	like	ring

'Rosas's hair is like rings.'

(57) Cuwabo (Niger-Congo/Bantoid; Guérois 2015: 483)

ddi-ní-fúná	*ddi-kál-é*	***nínga***	*e-á-ligí=ímí*
1SG-IPFV-want	1SG-be-SBJ	like	NC-PST.IPFV-be-HAB=1SG

va-tákúlú=vênyu.
NC-house=2PL.POSS

'I want to be the way I used to be in your house.'

(58) Cuwabo (Niger-Congo/Bantoid; Guérois 2015: 484)

mikálélo	*dhi-á-lí=iye...*
way	NC-PST.IPFV-be=3SG.SBJ

'The way she was…'

6. Final remarks

This paper has set out to describe hypothetical manner constructions in a sample of 61 languages. It has been demonstrated that similative 'like' markers and free adverbial conjunctions are more common in the expression of hypothetical manner than other types of strategies (e.g. counterfactual markers, etc.). These devices tend to operate in clauses that appear with the same properties as main clauses. One

interesting observation in the languages of the sample is that while free adverbial conjunctions tend to be monofunctional, similative 'like' markers used in the expression of hypothetical manner tend to be polyfunctional in that they are also used to express other adverbial semantic relations. It has also been shown that some rare strategies are only attested in particular areas of the world. In particular, some languages from Mesoamerica use correlative words, some Australian languages use counterfactual mood markers and some African languages employ head nouns meaning 'thing'. Interestingly, the forms of the strategies are not the same. Given that these strategies are cross-linguistically rare and are only found in languages not genetically related spoken in the same area, diffusion through language contact is most likely to have taken place.

It has been proposed that hypothetical manner constructions can be classified into three main types according to whether they are encoded in the same way as similatives and/or real manner clauses: (1) hypothetical manner, real manner and similatives marked in the same way; (2) hypothetical manner and similative constructions marked alike, real manner encoded differently; and (3) hypothetical manner, real manner and similatives marked by different strategies. It has been demonstrated that in the majority of the languages, hypothetical manner, real manner and similative meanings are all expressed by a similative 'like' marker. Contextual factors are the most common factor used to disambiguate the different meanings of this type of system. Scattered pieces of information seem to suggest that TAM values may also aid in such a disambiguation process. However, at the current stage of our typological knowledge, much more work needs to be done in this area.

There are a number of aspects relevant to the study of hypothetical manner constructions that this study could not address. Accordingly, they remain to be investigated by future studies, and in what follows some potentially fruitful areas are mentioned. First, the diachronic origin of clause-linking devices seems a promising area. As was shown in this paper, in some languages of the sample, the free adverbial conjunction seems to have been derived from a verb meaning 'to say'. Second, another candidate for larger-scale future investigations is the number of clause-linking devices that may appear in the construction. In various languages of the sample, the complex sentence construction may appear with two clause-linking devices at the same time (e.g. similative marker and free adverbial conjunction). Interestingly, for the most part, one of the devices is always optional. It remains an open task to explore the range of factors that lead to this optionality. Third, for some large genera, this study

could only take into account one language (e.g. Oceanic). Therefore, the next step is to explore the typology of the expression of hypothetical manner within particular large genera. This will enable us to explore internal diversity and try to come up with more fine-grained typological generalizations. Fourth, in most languages of the sample, the adverbial clause tends to appear post-posed to the main clause. The motivations for the positioning of hypothetical manner clauses are an unexplored territory and open for future research (cf. Hetterle 2015: 127). Fifth, hypothetical manner constructions usually develop from the adverbial domain to the complementation domain. After that, they tend to develop into insubordinate constructions. It remains an open task to explore whether this holds in a larger sample. Furthermore, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1152) mention that insubordinate 'as if' constructions usually develop an exclamatory function. This holds for various Indo-European languages. However, it is not clear whether other languages with insubordinate 'as if' construction develop this function. This also remains an unexplored territory and open for future research.

Abbreviations

1 = 1st person	ERG = ergative	PFV = perfective
2 = 2nd person	EXC = excised	PL = plural
3 = 3rd person	F = feminine	POSS = possessive
ABS = absolutive	FOC = focus	POT = potential
ACC = accusative	FUT = future	PREF = unglossable prefix
ACT = actor	GEN = genitive	PREP = preposition
ADV = adverbial	GL = goal	PRO = emph./contr. proform
AFF = affirmative	HAB = habitual	PROG = progressive
AN = action nominal	HON = honorific	PROP = proprietive
ANT = anterior	IMP = imperative	PRS = present
AUG = augment	INCL = inclusive	PST = past
AUX = auxiliary	IND = indicative	PTCP = participle
CF = counterfactual	INSTR = instrumental	RDP = reduplication
CNJ = conjunct	IPFV = imperfective	REAL = realis
COND = conditional	IRR = irrealis	REC = reciprocal
CONNEG = connegative	ITER = iterative	REFL = reflexive
CONT = continuous	LIM = limitative	REL = relativizer
COP = copula	LOC = locative	REP = repetitive
DECL = declarative	LOG = logophoric	REPUT = reputative
DEM = demonstrative	M = masculine	SBJ = subject

DES = desiderative	NC = noun classifier	SBJV = subjunctive
DET = determiner	NEG = negative	SG = singular
DISTR = distributional	NEUT = neutral	SIM = similative
DP = discourse particle	NMLZ = nominalizer	SPEC = specifier
DS = different subject	NOM = nominative	SS = same subject
DU = dual	NON.FUT = non future	SUB = subordinator
DUB = dubitative	NON.PRS = non present	TERM = terminative
EMPH = emphatic	NON.SBJ = non subject	TOP = topic
EP = epenthesis	OBJ = object	

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CONTACT

olguinmartinez@ucsb.edu