Pattern replication in para-hypotactic concessives

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The present study is concerned with so-called "para-hypotactic" concessive constructions. Simply put, concessive constructions are a type of adverbial clause constructions that combine two factual propositions, *p* and *q*, which are generally incompatible (König 1988: 146–147, 2006: 820–821; Croft 2022: 536). In the example from Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec in (1), *she is sick* (=*p*) and *she is still working* (=*q*) cooccur, contrary to the common expectation that one normally would not work if one is sick.

(1) Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec (Otomanguean)

visi	*ku'u*	*ña*	***kovaa***	*ndíko-ka*	*ña*
although	be_sick.PRS	3SG.F	but	work.PRS-more	3SG.F

'Although she is sick, she is still working.' (de Hollenbach 2013: 425)

In many languages, concessive relations are marked by a subordinator in the concessive clause (e.g. English *although*). In other languages, however, concessives may also contain an additional coordinator in the main clause. Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec is a case in point, cf. *visi* 'although' and *kovaa* 'but' in (1), respectively. The combination of overt subordinators and coordinators in adverbial-clause constructions is known as "para-hypotaxis" (Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012; Ross et al. 2018).

Based on a world-wide convenience sample of 94 languages, I first give a general typological overview of the occurrence of para-hypotaxis in concessive clauses, demonstrating that this phenomenon is more widespread than previously assumed in the literature. Para-hypotactic concessives are attested in 39 languages (41%) in my sample, cf. Figure 1.

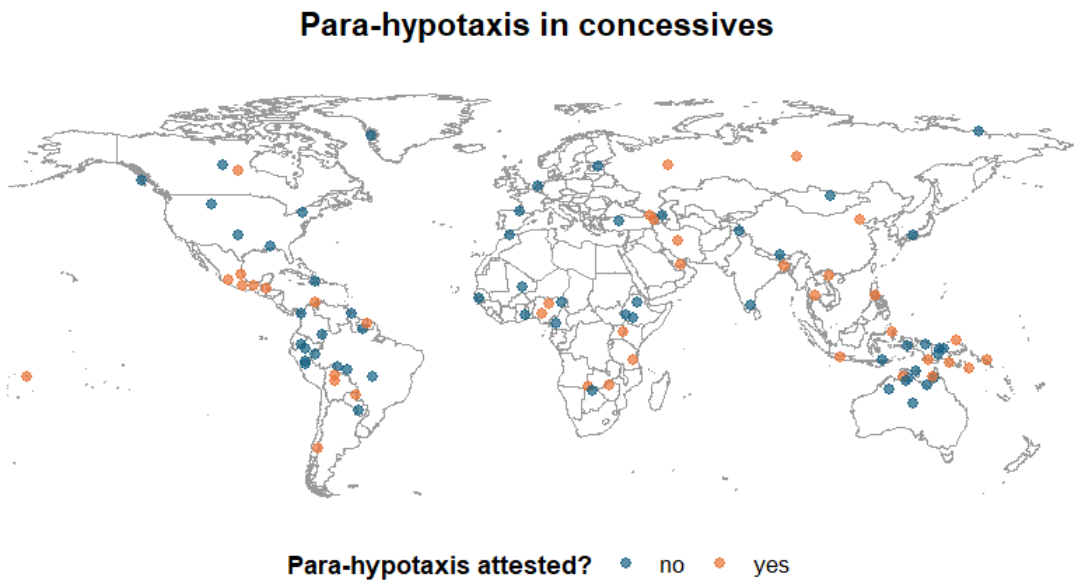


Figure 1: Para-hypotaxis in concessives based on a 94-language convenience sample.

I then show that, while para-hypotaxis may develop independently, it is prone to "pattern replication" (Sakel 2007): languages may replicate the 'although *p* but *q*' pattern from other languages they are in contact with, without necessarily borrowing the subordinator or coordinator themselves.

According to Olguín Martínez (2022: 29–33), para-hypotactic concessives are found in several genealogically unrelated languages of Southern Mexico, including Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec as in (1) and Veracruz Huasteca Nahuatl as in (2). In the latter, the conjunctions *maske* and *pero* are Spanish loans, whereas para-hypotaxis is thought to have originated in Meso-american languages (Stolz & Stolz 1996: 101).

(2) Veracruz Huasteca Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan)
maske *kaui-tl* *ach-kuali-yaya* ***pero*** *ti-mauilti-to-h*
although weather-ABS NEG-good-IPFV but 2PL.SBJ-play-PURP-PL
'Even though the weather wasn't good, you went to play.' (Olguín Martínez 2016: 114)

My data suggest that similar cases of pattern replication are also found in other parts of the world. In Melanesia, for example, some Papuan languages and creoles borrowed the pattern from Malayo-Polynesian languages, cf. the example from Yele in (3).

(3) Yele (isolate/unclassified)
k:om_tpile *nyi* *ye* *daa* *kwo* ***ngmênê*** *dpî* *lili*
although 2SG.DES 3PL.DAT NEG standing but 2SG.IMP go.IMP
'Even though they don't want you, you should go.' (Levinson 2022: 482)

Furthermore, certain varieties of English have replicated the pattern from local languages, e.g. para-hypotactic concessives in Singaporean English as in (4) are likely due to contact with Mandarin Chinese and/or Malay.

(4) Singaporean English (Indo-European)
Although *the neighboring countries tried to cool down both sides* ***but*** *the conflict sill can not* [sic!] *be immediately stopped.* (GloWbE corpus, Davies & Fuchs 2015)

Abbreviations
2/3: second/third person
ABS: absolutive
DAT: dative
DES: desire
F: feminine
IMP: imperative
NEG: negative
PL: plural
PRS: present
PURP: purposive
SBJ: subject
SG: singular

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