

On the variation of concessive *embora*-clauses in Portuguese

Łukasz Jędrzejowski (University of Cologne)

l.jedrzejowski@uni-koeln.de

In this paper, I examine adverbial clauses headed by *embora* ‘although’ in modern European Portuguese (= EP). Although the conditions which led to the emergence of *embora* have been investigated in diachronic studies (cf. de Lima 1997, de Araújo 2013), its variation in EP has not been addressed; in addition, the question has not been addressed as to why *embora*-clauses obligatorily require the subjunctive mood:

- (1) *Embora esteja/*está a chover, o dia está agradável.*
although be.3SG.SUBJ/be.3SG.IND at rain the day be.3SG.IND pleasant
‘Although it is raining, the day is pleasant.’ (Marques 2010: 136, ex. 6; slightly modified by author)

The main objectives of this paper are twofold. Firstly, I provide empirical evidence showing that *embora*-clauses can never be analyzed as central adverbial clauses in the typology advocated in recent work by Schönenberger & Haegeman (2023) and Frey (2020, 2023a, b). Instead, they should be analyzed either as peripheral or as disintegrated adverbial clauses, attaching in either case above TP. Evidence for this claim comes from: i) variable binding, ii) negation scope, and iii) root phenomena. Based on their high base-generation positions, I show that the subjunctive mood is still used in *embora*-clauses because they do not involve commitment to the truth of the embedded proposition due to the incomplete grammaticalization process *embora* undergoes. Secondly, using the distinct layers of assertive clauses proposed by Krifka (2023), I show that *embora*-clauses differ in the kind of modifiers they can host; for instance, whereas disintegrated adverbial *embora*-clauses can host speech act modifiers like *falando sinceramente* [‘frankly (speaking)’], peripheral adverbial *embora*-clauses cannot. In general, examining both issues contributes to a more detailed typology of adverbial clauses in EP (cf. Lobo 2003, 2013).

References

- de Araújo, Francisco Jardes Nobre. 2013. A gramaticalização de *embora*: Um caso prototípico. *Verbum – Cadernos de pós-graduação* 5: 39–53.
- de Lima, José Pinto. 1997. Caminhos semântico-pragmáticos da gramaticalização: O caso de *embora*. In: Ana Maria Brito, Fátima Oliveira, Isabel Pires de Lima & Rosa Maria Martelo (eds.), *Sentido que a Vida Faz. Estudos para Óscar Lopes*, 643–655. Porto: Campo das Letras.
- Frey, Werner. 2020. German concessives as TPs, JPs and ActPs. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 5 (Article 110): 1–31.
- Frey, Werner. 2023a. On the categorical status of different dependent clauses. In: Jutta M. Hartmann & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich: Theorie und Empirie / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theoretical and Empirical Issues*, 363–408. Tübingen: Narr.
- Frey, Werner. 2023b. Types of German causal clauses and their syntactic-semantic layers. In: Łukasz Jędrzejowski & Constanze Fleczonek (eds.), *Micro- and Macro-variation of Causal Clauses: Synchronic and Diachronic Insights*, 51–100. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2023. Layers of assertive clauses: Propositions, judgements, commitments, acts. Jutta M. Hartmann & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich: Theorie und Empirie / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theoretical and Empirical Issues*, 115–182. Tübingen: Narr.
- Lobo, Maria. 2003. *Aspectos da sintaxe das orações subordinadas adverbiais do Português*. Lisboa: Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.
- Lobo, Maria. 2013. Subordinação adverbial. In: Eduardo Buzaglo Paiva Raposo, Maria Fernanda Bacelar do Nascimento, Maria Antónia Coelho da Mota, Luísa Segura & Amália Mendes (eds.), *Gramática do português*, 1981–2057. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Marques, Rui. 2010. Modality, context change potential and mood selection in European Portuguese. In: Martin G. Becker & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), *Modality and Mood in Romance: Modal Interpretation, Mood Selection and Mood alternation*, 133–162. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schönenberger, Manuela & Liliane Haegeman. 2023. English rationale *since* and a reassessment of the typology of adverbial clauses. In: Łukasz Jędrzejowski & Constanze Fleczonek (eds.), *Micro- and Macro-variation of Causal Clauses: Synchronic and Diachronic Insights*, 129–166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.