Linking some syntactic and semantic features of concessives and adversatives

Werner Frey

Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS)

frey@leibniz-zas.de

The concessive (Conc) and the adversative (Adver) relation per se cannot be realised as central adverbial clauses (CACs) (e.g. Haegeman 2012) but as peripheral ones (PACs) or as non-integrated dependent clauses (NonICs). Thus, e.g., a German *obwohl-* ('although') or *während-* ('while') clause cannot be attached low in its host clause. It is argued that this stems from the fact that the Conc- and the Adver-relation involve a judgement. This is because they come with presuppositions, albeit different ones, which contain modal operators (e.g. Kortmann 1997, Brauße 1998). It will be demonstrated that instances in which a Conc seems to appear as a CAC (Freywald 2018) are those in which the modalised presupposition is not operative.

A judgement constitutes a private act of evaluation, cf. Krifka (2017) building on Frege and Peirce, which is to be distinguished from the public act of a speech act. It follows that Conc- and Adver-clauses involve a richer semantic structure than just a proposition but do not necessarily need to have illocutionary force. The richer semantic structure corresponds to a richer syntactic structure. Following Krifka (2017), it is argued that the act of a judgement is syntactically represented by a J(udge)P(hrase) above TP. PACs contain a JP-projection, while CACs do not. A PAC's J^0 is locally licensed and valued by the source which also licenses J^0 of the PAC's host. It follows that a PAC has to be attached high in its host. Further characteristics of Conc- and Adver-clauses follow from the presence of J^0, one example being the admission of (weak) root phenomena like modal particles or epistemic adverbs.

The Conc- and the Adver-relation can also be realised as NonICs, which can be verb-final. NonICs represent independent speech acts; above JP they also contain an A(ct)P(hrase). Because of their status as APs, NonICs cannot appear embedded. It is demonstrated that Conc- and Adver-NonICs in addition to weak may also host so called strong root phenomena like question tags or interjections, which require the presence of an ActP. It will be shown that syntactically and semantically Conc-NonICs must be sharply distinguished from the infamous paratactic *obwohl-*structures.

References: • Brauße, U. 1998. Was ist Adversativität? *Aber* oder *und*?. *Deutsche Sprache* 26. 138–159. • Freywald, U. 2018. *Parataktische Konjunktionen*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Haegeman, L. 2012. *Adverbial clauses, main clause phenomena, and the composition of the left periphery*. Oxford, New York: OUP. • Kortmann, B. 1997. *Adverbial subordination: A typology and history of adverbial subordinators based on European languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. • Krifka, M. 2017. Assertions and judgments, epistemics and evidentials. HO. Workshop on speech acts. Leibniz-ZAS, Berlin, May 2017.