

Defective connective constructions: Some cases in Catalan and Spanish¹

Abstract

Connectives typically relate two content units. However, corpus analysis shows several variants of the general connective construction (i.e., “S1 Cn S2”), in which one of either segment 1 (S1) or segment 2 (S2) is optional or missing. The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the description of some variants of the connective construction where the connective is not followed by any explicit S2 or S2 is optional. These constructions are complete utterances but they can be considered defective constructions, since one of the slots of the prototypical construction does not include any linguistic material.

The analysis focuses on corpus examples including a refutation marker where S2 is implicit, a case that is especially productive and varied in Catalan and in Spanish. Three defective constructions are identified, namely, (i) truncated constructions, (ii) embedded uses of a connective and (iii) reactive constructions. The data show that these defective connective constructions differ as for syntax, prosody, semantics and pragmatics. In monologic contexts, when the second segment is missing in the syntactic and prosodic unit considered, the connective is syntactically and prosodically related to S1. The connective can be located at the right-periphery of S1 (truncated construction) or at S1 middle field (embedded use of a connective). In dialogic contexts, the connective can act as a response to a previous turn and S2 can be either present or absent (reactive constructions). The different configurations match different intonation contours and pause patterns. In all cases, the connective weakens its connective function and adds a modal load, related to (inter)subjectification and intensification. This can be represented as a cline from discourse marking to modal marking.

Key-words: connectives, defective connective constructions, refutation markers, right periphery, Catalan, Spanish

1. Introduction

Connectives typically link two segments (clauses, sentences or more complex utterances such as turns in dialogue). The prototypical connective construction, including two segments and a discourse marker (“S1 Cn S2”), has become the centre of interest in the abundant literature on connection and discourse marking. Only recently variants of this configuration have received specific attention in the literature (see Section 2).

Corpus analysis shows several variants of the “S1 Cn S2” construction, in which one of the segments is optional or missing and the connective seems to occupy positions other than S2 left periphery. This study focuses on examples where S2 is implicit in Catalan

¹ I want to thank the two anonymous reviewers and several colleagues for their contribution to the improvement of this paper: Adrián Cabedo, Paula Cruselles, Maria Estellés, Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, Jesús Jiménez, Eugenia Sainz and Jacqueline Visconti.

and in Spanish, a case that is especially productive and varied in the case of refutation markers.

Let us first consider two corpus examples including a general use of a connective, that is, linking two explicit content units (1).

- (1) a. Ara bé, el camí cap a aquest tresor no és un camí de roses, *ans al contrari*, és un camí ben ple de paranys. (CTILC, *Setze*, 1988)
‘However, the way to that treasure is not an easy way, *on the contrary*, is a path full of pitfalls’
b. Julia no mostró ninguna reticencia, *más bien al contrario*, le hizo gracia. (CREA, Leguina, Joaquín: *Tu nombre envenena mis sueños*, 1992)
‘Julia did not seem reluctant, *quite the contrary*, she was amused by it’

In (1), each example corresponds to a compound sentence including two content units linked by a refutation connective (‘S1 *on/quite the contrary* S2’). In cases as the previous ones, it is possible to omit S2 and leave the connective in final position of the syntactic unit (2) or even to embed the connective in S1 (3).

- (2) a. Ara bé, el camí cap a aquest tresor no és un camí de roses, *ans al contrari*.
‘However, the way to that treasure is not an easy way, *on the contrary*’
b. Julia no mostró ninguna reticencia, *más bien al contrario*.
‘Julia did not seem reluctant, *quite the contrary*’
(3) a. Ara bé, el camí cap a aquest tresor no és –*ans al contrari*– un camí de roses.
‘However, the way to that treasure is not –*on the contrary*– an easy way’
b. Julia no mostró –*más bien al contrario*– ninguna reticencia.
‘Julia did not seem – *quite the contrary*– reluctant’

In both cases, the second segment remains as a hanging implication that the addressee can reconstruct. Thus S2 is not needed to complete the structure. The connective does not occur at S2 left periphery, as in the examples in (1), but at S1 final position.

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the description of the variants of the construction “S1 Cn S2” by: (i) identifying and describing uses where a connective is not followed by an explicit S2, (ii) differentiating them from other non-prototypical constructions including a connective, and (iii) analyzing the pragmatic effects attached to the constructions identified. While the resulting utterances are complete from a communicative and even a syntactic point of view, they can be considered ‘defective’, since they lack a component of the prototypical connective construction (“S1 Cn S2”).

The analysis is based on corpus examples including a refutation connective (Cat. *al contrari* and variants and Sp. *al contrario* and variants). Concordances of the examples including these connectives were retrieved from the reference corpora in Catalan, *Corpus textual informatitzat de la llengua catalana* (CTILC, <http://ctilc.iec.cat>, period 1978-1998, ca. 20 million words), and in Spanish, *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA, <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>, period 1975-2004, area: Spain, 85 million words). The examples were manually annotated and those corresponding to the general configuration, as in (1) above, or to non-connective uses² were excluded from

² Other occurrences of *al contrari* (and similarly Spanish *al contrario*) not used as a connective but as prepositional phrase or a complex preposition were also excluded.

(i) a. Però de vegades passa *al contrari*. (CTILC, *Vicens*, 1998).
‘But sometimes it is the opposite’

the analysis. The remaining examples, which correspond to defective constructions lacking S2, were classified according to their distinctive features.³

The paper is organized as follows. I will first review some studies focusing on DM constructions lacking either S1 or S2 (Section 2). I will then describe and exemplify three defective constructions, namely, truncated constructions (Section 3), constructions with an embedded connective (Section 4) and reactive uses of a connective (Section 5). The discussion section (Section 6) argues to what extent these configurations differ from other constructions with a DM at the right periphery, and concludes by exploring the relationship between the constructions described here and the increase of the modal load of markers in such contexts (Section 7).

The data show that the three configurations identified differ as for syntax and prosody, since they exhibit different intonation contours and pause patterns. In all cases, the connective weakens its connective function and adds a modal load, related to (inter)subjectification and intensification. The differences observed can be represented as a cline from discourse marking to modal marking.

2. Previous contributions: Connectives in non-prototypical constructions

A connective typically occurs in a three-slot construction linking two segments (“S1 Cn S2”). Corpus analysis, especially dealing with conversational texts but not only, shows defective variants where either S1 or S2 is missing, as the example in (4):

- (4) —Me’n vaig. —*Si ningú t’ha dit que te’n vages.*
‘—I am leaving. —No one is asking you to leave’ (lit. ‘If no one is asking you to leave’)

The construction in (4) falls under the concept of insubordination, that is, the process by which a formally subordinate clause (the conditional ‘*Si ningú t’ha dit que te’n vages*’ in (4)) is conventionally used as an independent clause (see, among others, Evans 2007, Gras 2011, Traugott 2017a, and especially the volume edited by Evans and Watanabe 2016).

Another variant of the general connective construction is that of absolute initial discourse markers, as in example (5), from Estellés & Pons (2014):

- (5) (At the beginning of a plenary session)
Bueno. Por cierto, ante todo quisiera expresar mi agradecimiento a los presentes por estar aquí y quisiera darles la bienvenida a este simposio.
Well. By the way, first of all I would like to express my gratitude to the attendants and to welcome you to this Symposium’

b. *Al contrari del que passa en d’altres disciplines en què els professionals tendeixen inexorablement a l’aïllament i a l’especialització, els dissenyadors tendeixen a recórrer els camps de coneixement en sentit horitzontal.* (CTILC, Campi i Valls, 1992).
‘Contrary to what happens in other disciplines in which professionals inevitably tend to isolation and specialization, designers tend to go through knowledge areas horizontally’

³ The analysis shows that the uses are the same in Catalan and Spanish. The phenomena described here seem to be found in other languages and other connectives, as briefly indicated in Section 7.

As Estellés and Pons (2014) point out, *bueno* ('well') and *por cierto* ('by the way') can be considered as absolute initial because there is no previous linguistic context.⁴

The constructions in (4) and (5) both illustrate the lack of S1. In neither of the cases, there is any need to resort to ellipsis to account for them, that is, they are complete utterances. In fact, to assume that there is some elliptic S1 in insubordinates or in absolute uses would be misleading (Evans 2007). They are different from those examples in which there is an elliptic segment, which are often characterized by a suspended intonation that indicates that the utterance is not complete.

Recent studies have highlighted the existence of constructions including a connective where S2 is missing (e.g., Mulder & Thompson 2008; Mulder, Thompson and Williams 2009; Drake 2013; Izutsu, and Izutsu, 2014; Hancil 2014, 2015; Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva 2015; Koivisto 2012, 2015; Hofmockel 2017, among others). These papers identify uses in which conjunctions (mainly, *but* and also *or*) are not followed by the second segment and act as final particles. Let us briefly review some of these contributions.

Mulder and Thompson (2008) identify three main uses of *but* in English conversation: initial *but*, final *but* and Janus-faced *but*.

- (i) Initial *but* “involves *but* being used to introduce talk which provides a contrast with what precedes it” (2008: 194). It initiates a continuation of a turn, both prosodically and sequentially.
- (ii) Final *but* “involves *but* being used to complete a turn, regularly displaying the prosodic characteristics found at turn ends”. In this case, “participants routinely orient to this *but* by beginning new turns in which they ratify the implication left ‘hanging’ by the final *but*, or they simply go on with a turn that assumes that implication” (2008: 194).
- (iii) ‘Janus-faced’ *but* also involves the conjunction occurring in final position of a unit, but “the speaker goes on, sometimes providing the semantically contrastive material in the same turn (Janus 1), but at other times leaving the contrastive material implied and going on with a new social action (Janus 2)” (2008: 194).

Initial *but*, as in (6), can be considered a dialogic variant of the general connective construction, where *but* introduces S2 and S1 occurs in a different turn by the same speaker.

(6) SBC0006 (“Cuz”) 55.43-59.23

1 ALINA: So he got another radi[o this] summer,

2 LENORE: [H)=]

3 ALINA: **but** of course that got ripped off also.

4 <VOX **But** never mind VOX>. (Mulder and Thompson 2008: 181-182, example 4)

In contrast, final *but* is not followed by any S2, since it ends an intonation unit and a turn. One of the examples of final *but* included in Mulder and Thompson (2008) is (7):

⁴ See also Fraser (2001) on what he calls ‘empty S1 constructions’.

(7) Game Night 16

Talking about whether Abbie is Norwegian or not.

1 Abbie: It's a complica[ted story.]

2 Terry: [totally.]

3 Maureen: R(h)eally.

4 Abbie: And the NA:ME is MY NA:ME is Norwegian **but**,

5 Maureen: What a- what is his [nationality?]

6 Terry: [Sola.]

7 Abbie: Hungarian,

8 (1.0) (Mulder and Thompson 2008: 1986, example 13)

Mulder and Thompson (2008: 186) explain this use as follows: “(...) Abbie concedes that her name is Norwegian, leaving open the implication, confirmed by the conversational context, that she herself is not Norwegian. As we will see just below, there is strong evidence in the data that participants orient to this ‘hanging’ implication.”

Janus-faced *but* can be considered a variant of *final but*. The conjunction also ends an intonation unit, but the speaker goes on with her turn, either providing “further contrasting material in the same turn” or initiating a new action in the unit following *but* (8). The new segment is not intonationally linked to *but* and yet it represents what can be interpreted as S2 in a prototypical connective construction.

(8) SBC0013 (“Appease the Monster”) 1544.68-1548.63

1 MARCI: I don't know what the real story is,

2 **but**,

3 ... (1.1) it sounded kinda neat. (Mulder and Thompson 2008: 182, example 5)

In the case of Janus-faced *but*, the speaker could have finished her turn but there is no prosodic or sequential sign to confirm it. So this *but* is final with respect to the previous unit, but it can also be considered initial with respect to the subsequent material. Crucially, even if the turn seems to continue, the speaker starts a new action.⁵

Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva (2015) further elaborate the analysis of final *but* and other conjunctions as final particles. They propose a three-stage grammaticalization path by which an adversative, concessive, alternative or additive conjunction linking two propositional contents (S1 and S2) becomes a final particle:

- (i) a conjunction is transferred to what they call the plane of thetical grammar, “where the content of S2 is implied but not expressed” and turns into “an independent prosodic unit, separated from S1 by a pause”,
- (ii) the conjunction gradually loses its semantic content, prosodic independence and pause,
- (iii) the conjunction becomes semantically empty serving text-structuring functions and is prosodically appended to S1. (Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva 2015: 122)

Final conjunctions are then considered final particles (FP) that have experienced a process of semantic bleaching and syntactic and prosodic appendage to the first

⁵ Izutsu and Izutsu (2014) describe a similar behaviour in the case of Australian *but* and some final particles in Japanese. Similarly, Hancil (2015) analyzes final *but* in British English and Hofmöckel (2017) describes Glaswegian final *but*. Koivisto (2012, 2015) observes a similar behaviour in the case of final *mutta* (‘but’) in Finnish.

segment: “What grammaticalization achieves in this case is gradual boundary lows, namely erosion of the prosodic and syntactic boundaries between S1 and the FP”. (Heine, Kaltenböck and Kuteva 2015: 136).

Izutsu and Izutsu (2014) convincingly argue that the examples analyzed in Mulder and Thompson (2008) and also in Mulder, Thompson and Williams (2009) correspond to two different configurations, namely truncation and backshifting. Although truncation and backshifting look alike because in both cases the conjunction is a final particle, they differ syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically.

- a) Truncation-type coordinating conjunctions instantiate a “S1 *but* (S2)” structure, where S2 has been cut off and only remains as a hanging implication. As a consequence, the conjunction “(i) cannot be fronted without a significant change in meaning, (ii) can end with a rising intonation with a prosodic break before it, (iii) is compatible with a filler, and (iv) does not acquire discourse-pragmatic meanings such as emphasis or emotion/affect” (Izutsu and Izutsu 2014: 63).
- b) Backshifted coordinating conjunctions instantiate a “S1, S2 *but*” structure, where the conjunction has moved from S2 left periphery to S2 right periphery. As a consequence, the final conjunction “(i) can be fronted with no logical/semantic change, (ii) has a final contour with no prosodic break before it, (iii) does not tolerate the attachment of a filler to it, and (iv) is acquiring or has acquired new discourse pragmatic meanings such as emphasis or emotion/affect” (Izutsu and Izutsu 2014: 63).⁶

The characterization of the three types is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Syntactic and prosodic differences between the two types of sentence-final coordinating conjunctions (from Izutsu and Izutsu 2014: 80, table 1)

	fronting	rising intonation	prosodic break before conjunction	interjectory particle/filler
truncation-type	-	+	±	+
backshift-type	+	-	-	-
backshift-type (grammaticalised into final particles)	-	-	-	-

Although *but* is the most frequently studied final conjunction, it is not the only one. Drake (2013) presents an exhaustive analysis of ‘turn final-*or*’ in English conversation. It is a case like “Did his oxygen get low *or*”, which, according to the author, has an epistemic value of uncertainty by which the preference for a confirming response is relaxed: “the producer of an *or*-turn claims to have less knowledge about what he/she is asking and simultaneously constructs the recipient as knowing more. It is in this environment of knowledge differentials that participants produce an *or*-turn” (2013: 157). As in the case of ‘final-*but*’, the turn ends with the conjunction and, although a second segment could follow, it remains un verbalized.

⁶ On connectives in S2 final position, see, e.g., Degand & Fagard (2011), Degand (2014), Haselow (2011, 2012, 2013, 2015), some of the papers included in Hancil et al. (2015b) or Beeching (2016). On clause final pragmatic markers, including connectives, see also Traugott (2016, 2017).

But not only conjunctions can develop such behaviour. Some other connectives can also occur without any explicit S2, as shown in Section 1 and illustrated in previous research on refutation DMs. Three defective constructions can be identified, namely, (i) truncated constructions, (ii) constructions with an embedded connective and (iii) reactive constructions.

In truncated constructions (9), S2 remains implicit (“S1 Cn (S2)”) or even disappears as a necessary slot (“S1 Cn”).

- (9) a. Respecte a la candidatura de la ciutat de València, no puc dir-ne res de negatiu, *al contrari*. (CITLC, *El temps*, 349, 1991)
 ‘Regarding the candidacy of the city of Valencia, I cannot say anything negative, *on the contrary*’
- b. Su madrina nunca se quejó, porque nunca llegó a sentirse abandonada, *al contrario*. (CREA, Grandes, 2002)
 ‘Her godmother never complained because she never really felt abandoned, *on the contrary*’

In (9) the reconstruction of S2 is possible (‘I can only say positive things’, ‘She felt accompanied’), but the explicit presence of S2 is neither obligatory nor necessary. In other cases with no explicit S2, the connective breaks the linearity of its host utterance (S1).

- (10) a. Les epidèmies i les lluites partidistes i armades del segle XIX no afavoriren, *ans al contrari*, la ciutat. (CITLC, Vila, 1998).
 ‘Epidemics and partisan armed fights in the 19th century did not favour, *on the contrary*, the city’
- b. Es muy difícil cerrar por entero, sin gran sutura, el cauce de una vena importante. Se le aseguró que no se buscaba *—antes al contrario—* ese cerrar por entero. (CREA, De Villena, 2003)
 ‘It is very difficult to completely close, without great suture, the channel of an important vein. He was assured that the intention was not *—rather on the contrary—* that entire closing’

A third configuration has been found in the corpora in dialogic contexts. Some connectives can be a reaction to a previous turn (11) so that the relationship is established between two turns and thus implies two speakers.

- (11) a. —Us faria res, monsieur Vidal? —*Al contrari*. (CTILC, Cabré, 1991)
 ‘— Would you mind, monsieur Vidal? — *On the contrary*.’
- b. BERNARDO. [...] Pero si esto os hace cambiar de idea, me dais la pasta y...
 PALOMA (*Rápidamente*) ¡No, no! ¡A mí no me importa!
 ROSA ¡*Al contrario!* ¡*Todo lo contrario!* (CREA, Sierra, 1993)
 ‘—But if this makes you change your mind, you give me the money and...
 —No, no! I don’t mind!
 —*On the contrary! On the contrary!*’

In (11), the connective is a response to a previous intervention, which can semantically correspond to S1, and S2 is not present, so that the marker occurs in isolation.

Examples as the previous ones can also be found in other languages. Some of these structures have been commented on for *au contraire* in French (Danjou-Flaux 1983), for

on the contrary in English (Fraser 2009) and for *anzi* in Italian (see Sainz 2014; Visconti 2015, 2018; Cuenca & Visconti 2017), which indicates that they are productive constructions, at least in the case of contrastive connectives, and not restricted to what could be considered as idiomatic or irregular.

The different constructions identified so far are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Constructions including a connective

Constructions	First segment	Connective	Second segment	Connective position ⁷
prototype back-shifted connective	S1	conjunction others	S2	S2: LP S2: MF, RP
insubordinate	—	conjunction	S2	S2: LP
absolute initial DM use	—	conjunction others	S2	S2: LP
truncated	S1	conjunction others	—	S1: RP
embedded connective	[S1 ... (Cn) ...]	others	—	S1: MF
reactive	—S1 //	others	(S2)	Is; S2: LP

Constructions containing a connective typically include two content segments. In languages such as Romance languages or English, the connective is located at the left periphery (LP) of one of the segments—the second one when the connective is contrastive—. As a variant of this general or prototypical configuration, some connectives can also exhibit mobility within S2 (middle position) and can even occur in final position (backshifted use). On the other hand, there are constructions where there is no S1 (insubordination and absolute initial DM uses) and constructions where there is no S2. When there is no S2, the connective occurs in the right periphery of its host unit (RP) or in isolation (Is), and can also occur in S1 middle field.

While conjunctions as final particles and backshifted connectives have received a lot of attention (see, e.g., the volumes edited by Beeching and Detges 2014 and by Hancil, Haselow and Post 2015b), the configurations identified here (namely, truncated constructions, embedded connective and isolated connectives in reactive turns) have not been explored in detail in the literature. No comprehensive account of the three configurations has been given and their relationship with final particles remains open to discussion.

In the following sections, the properties of S2 defective constructions will be further explored and exemplified with corpus examples in Catalan and Spanish including a number of refutation connectives based on Cat. *al contrari* / Sp. *al contrario* ('on the

⁷ The positions refer either to S1 or S2. LP = left periphery, MF = middle field, RP = right periphery, IS = Isolated.

contrary’). Specifically, the constructions have been identified in the case of the Catalan connective *al contrari* and its reinforced variants *més aviat al contrari*, *ans al contrari*, *ben al contrari*, *tot al contrari*. Similarly, Spanish *al contrario* and its reinforced variants *más bien al contrario*, *antes al contrario*, *antes bien (lo contrario)*, *muy al contrario*, *bien al contrario* and *todo lo contrario* can also occur in S2 defective constructions.⁸

After analyzing the data, their status will be discussed in relation to the previous studies on final particles reviewed in this Section and in relation to the modal-discourse marking continuum.

3. Truncated constructions

In a truncated construction, S2 disappears as a necessary component (“S1 Cn”).

(12) a. A mi, la companyia no em molesta, *al contrari*. I entre dones ens entenem.
(CTILC, Belbel, 1992)

‘Company does not bother me, *on the contrary*. And we women get along well’

b. Yo no quiero que estés peor, *al contrario*. Lo único es que... No sé. Yo tampoco sé. (CREA, Grandes, 2002)

‘I don’t want you to feel worse, *on the contrary*. It is just that... I don’t know. I don’t know either’

The examples in (12) can be paraphrased by a prototypical connective construction (e.g. *A mi, la companyia no em molesta, al contrari, m’agrada* ‘Company does not bother me, on the contrary, I like it’), but the second segment does not need to be explicit because it is easily derivable from the context. In refutation examples, S1 is a negative clause, generally including the adverb *no* and seldom other negative triggers (*sense/sin* ‘without’ or a pragmatic negation, as in the case of rhetorical questions). The negation is polemic, in the sense defined by Ducrot (1984) in relation to the concept of polyphony. In fact, refutation connectives are associated with polyphony.

The pitch contour is that of final segments, with falling intonation, as shown in Figure 1.⁹

⁸ This research further develops general observations included in previous research on refutation connectives carried out in collaboration with Jacqueline Visconti and Maria Estellés (see Cuenca & Visconti, 2017, Estellés & Cuenca 2017, Cuenca & Estellés, in press).

⁹ I will illustrate the prototypical intonation of all the configurations with a variant of the same example, in order to compare them more easily. I want to thank Jesús Jiménez and Paula Cruselles for their help in the realization of these contours. They have been made using Praat and [create_pictures v.4.5](#), a script that creates and saves pictures (PNG, PDF, wmf, eps, PraatPic) of all the sound files found in a folder. The pictures contain a waveform, a spectrogram, an optional F0 track and optionally the content of the tiers of the TextGrid associated to the sound file.

Cfr. <http://stel.ub.edu/labfon/en/praat-scripts>.

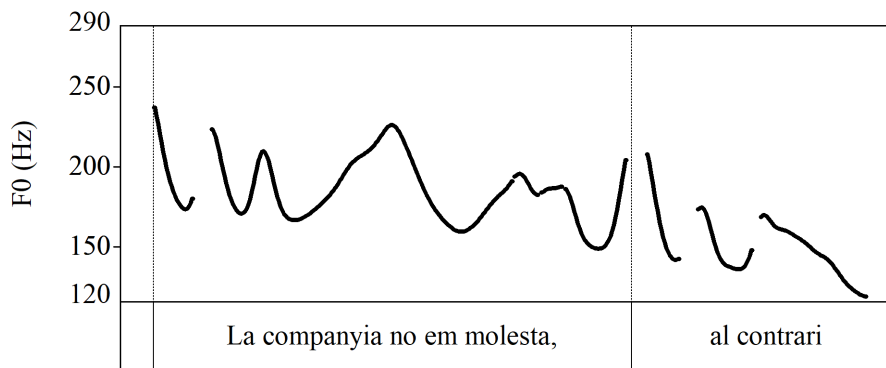


Figure 1. Intonation contour of truncated constructions

The connective is preceded and followed by a pause, so it does not integrate in S1. The falling intonation indicates that the speaker ends a unit and no second segment is to be expected.

The intonation contour in Figure 1 clearly contrasts with the intonation of a prototypical use of the connective in a similar utterance, such as *No soc solitària. Al contrari, m'agrada la companyia* 'I am not lonely. On the contrary, I enjoy company' (Figure 2).

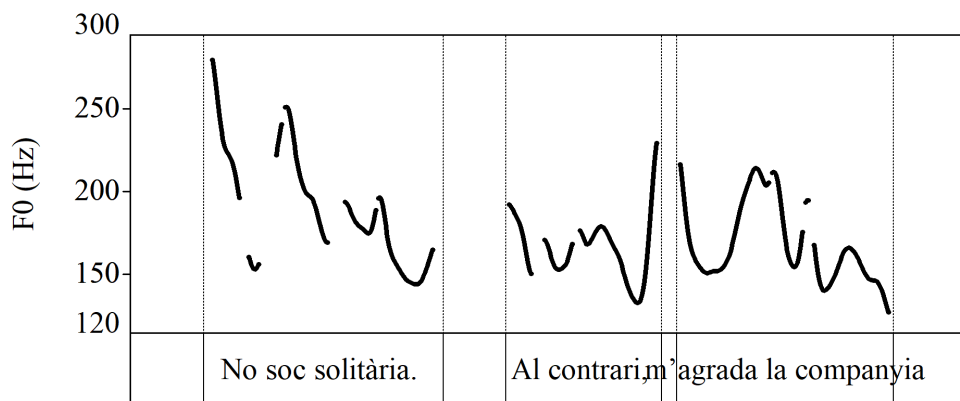


Figure 2. Intonation contour of prototypical connective uses

In prototypical uses, the connective is also parenthetical but its contour ends with rising intonation that falls down in S2 after a short break.

In truncated constructions, there is no candidate for a second segment in the following discourse, which is especially obvious when the paragraph ends (13a) or what follows is a coordinate or a subordinate clause (13b).

- (13)a. Jamás fue esclavo de los productos, de los materiales o de las cámaras, nunca en sus manos la cámara fue un mero duplicador de la realidad, *al contrario*. (CREA, Susperregui, 2000)

'He was never a slave of products, materials or cameras, in his hands the camera was never a pure duplicator of reality, *on the contrary*'

- b. No deseaba la muerte, *antes al contrario, pero* no le desagradó [...] (CREA, Guelbenzu, 1981)
 ‘He did not want death, *on the contrary*, but he didn’t dislike it’

In the previous examples, the discourse unit ends (13a) or is followed by a marker that clearly indicates a new discourse action, as in the case of the conjunction *pero* ‘but’ in (13b). A similar case is that of (14), where *quant a* ‘regarding’ introduces a new topic.

- (14) L’estabilitat del govern no correrà cap risc, sinó *al contrari*. Quant al ministeri solidàriament responsable, s’haurà acabat, certament; però aquesta eventualitat no serà cap desgràcia sinó salvarà el govern parlamentari. (CTILC, Galí i Herrera, 1997)
 ‘The government’s stability will not be at risk, but *on the contrary*. As for the department responsible, it will come to an end, obviously; but this will not be a disgrace but will save the parliamentary government’

Thus in truncated constructions as the previous ones there is no continuity either on syntactic or on semantic grounds.

However, the corpus shows some Janus-faced uses—as in the cases of final *but* described by Mulder and Thompson (2008) (see Section 2)—, that is, cases in which the following discourse unit, constituting a different syntactic structure and discourse action, includes what semantically corresponds to S2 or to an extension of the meaning or inferences derived from S1, as in (15).

- (15) a. Però si no m’és cap molèstia, *al contrari*. És un gust per mi. (CTILC, Roure, 1949)
 ‘But it is not a nuisance *on the contrary*. It is my pleasure’
 b. Para lograrlo, no reduciremos los ataques, *al contrario*. Intensificaremos nuestras acciones [...] (CREA, *El Mundo*, 1999)
 ‘To achieve it, we will not reduce the attacks, *on the contrary*. We will intensify our actions’

The whole structure can be paraphrased as a “*not X but Y*” sentential construction: *No m’és cap molèstia, sinó que (al contrari) és un gust per a mi*. ‘it is not a nuisance, but (instead), it is my pleasure’; *no reduciremos los ataques sino que intensificaremos nuestras acciones* ‘we will not reduce the attacks but intensify our actions’.

In Janus-faced uses, the connective occurs in final position of a content unit (S1) but the next utterance includes additional material semantically and pragmatically related to S1. In fact, the whole structure can be paraphrased as “S1 Cn S2” without major changes. However, the speaker marks the utterance to which the connective is attached (S1) as ended both prosodically and sequentially, and (s)he starts a new discourse action semantically related to the previous one but syntactically independent.

In other contexts, what follows the connective is semantically related to the implicit S2 in an indirect way, and the paraphrase “*not X but Y*” does not apply.

- (16)a. Si em preguntes com va, el taller, et diria que no em queixo, *al contrari*. Ja començo d’entendre’m amb els clients. (CTILC, Benguerel, 1983)
 ‘If you ask me how the workshop goes, I would say that I have no complaints, *on the contrary*. I am starting to get along with the customers’

- b. Yo no soy machista, *al contrario*. Yo lo único que pretendo es no hacerte daño, protegerte de mí mismo. (CREA, Grandes, 2002)
 ‘I am not sexist, *on the contrary*. All I want is not to hurt you, to protect you from myself’

In (16a) the sentence following *al contrari* is the cause why the speaker does not complain: he is happy with how the workshop is going. Similarly, in (16b), the sentence *Yo lo único que pretendo es no hacerte daño, protegerte de mí mismo* (‘All I want is not to hurt you, to protect you from myself’) can be interpreted as the justification why the character asserts that he is not sexist.

In summary, some connectives can occur without any explicit second segment in their host syntactic and intonation unit. A segment semantically equivalent to S2 or related to S1 can follow in a different syntactic unit, but this is not always the case. In truncated constructions, the connective acts as a right periphery marker, as opposed to its behaviour in prototypical uses, where the connective is typically located at the left periphery of S2. This syntactic change and the prosodic features attached to it also imply an increase of the modal load of the marker as a negative intensifier.

4. Embedded connective construction

Refutation connectives can occur in S1 middle field, thus breaking the linearity of the syntax of its host clause (17).

- (17) a. Aquests congostos han estat, evidentment, molt positius per a la construcció dels embassaments destinats a les centrals elèctriques; en canvi, poc han servit, *ben al contrari*, per al traçat de vies de comunicació... (CTILC, Vila, 1998)
 ‘These canyons have been, obviously, very positive for the construction of reservoirs for power stations; however, they have been of little use, *on the contrary*, for the layout of communication ways...’
- b. Parte de un hecho evidente, como es la ausencia de vello corporal, otra de esas características humanas que poco favoreció *–más bien al contrario–* a los hombres de las cavernas, que sin pelo quedaban desprotegidos contra el frío, las heridas y otros contratiempos. (CREA, Cardeñosa, 2011)
 ‘It stems from an obvious fact, such as the absence of body hair, another of those human characteristics that did not favor much *–rather on the contrary–* cavemen, who without hair remained unprotected against the cold, wounds and other setbacks’

When embedded, the connective does not link two explicit segments, since only S1 is explicit and S2 only exists as an inference and cannot be retrieved unless some syntactic changes occur which deeply modify the construction, as the parallel versions in (17’) show.

- (17’) a. Aquests congostos [...], poc han servit per al traçat de vies de comunicació. *Ben al contrari*, l’han dificultat.
 ‘These canyons have been of little use for the layout of communication way. *On the contrary*, they have been a difficulty’
- b. La ausencia de vello corporal poco favoreció a los hombres de las cavernas.

Más bien al contrario, fue un obstáculo.

‘The absence of body hair did not favor much cavemen. *Rather on the contrary*, it was a handicap’

The intonation of the embedded connective construction shows two short pauses before and after the marker and a falling-rising contour (Figure 3).

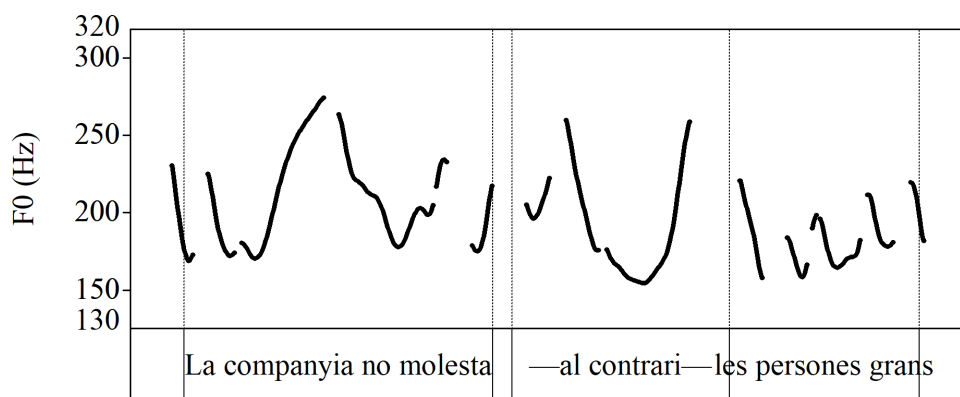


Figure 3. Intonation contour of an embedded connective construction

The embedded connective is generally located after the verb or predicate (18).

- (18)a. La TV local haurà de tenir la professionalitat suficient per assegurar uns cànons de qualitat raonable. Per això no podrà excloure, *sinó al contrari*, la participació, en les seves tasques, de ciutadans no professionalitzats [...]. (CTILC, Costa i Badia, et al.,1992)

‘Local TV must have sufficient professionalism to ensure reasonable quality standards. For that reason, it will not be possible to exclude, *on the contrary*, the participation in its tasks of non-professional citizens’

- b. Tampoco podemos estar seguros, *antes al contrario*, de que ese entendimiento no sea componente sustancial de la cultura actual. (CREA, Ortega Valcárcel, 2000)

‘We cannot be sure either, *on the contrary*, that that understanding is not a substantial component of nowadays culture’

The connective triggers a reversed interpretation of the constituents located to its left (underlined in (18)), whereas the constituents to the right are kept as common ground.

Since S2 is only active at the interpretive level, embedded connectives lose connective force. Although a construction with an embedded connective is semantically equivalent to a general connective construction (“S1 Cn S2”), the behaviour of the embedded connective resembles that of a modal particle in that it becomes a one position operator, as opposed to connectives in general constructions, which imply two content positions to be linked. But in contrast with modal particles, refutation connectives are parenthetical and thus do not integrate prosodically in their host clause.

4. Reactive uses

Refutation connectives are found in dialogic contexts as a response to a question or a request in a previous turn, as noted by several authors for similar markers in different languages (see Danjou-Flaux 2003; Fraser 2009; Sainz 2014).

- (19) AMO. — ¡No saps pas què és, la passió! ¡Sí, t’ho demano! ¿És exigir massa?
SAINT-OUEN. — *Al contrari*. És massa poc. (CTILC, Lloveras, 1996)
‘—You don’t know what passion is! I do ask it! Is that too much to ask?
—*On the contrary*. It is too little.’

- (20) — ¿Por qué nunca me toma en serio?
— ¡*Al contrario!* –dijo mientras entrábamos en un bar–. Lo que usted dice siempre me hace cavilar. ¿Recuerda la teoría del aprovechamiento integral vital? Lo miré de través. (CREA, Giménez Bartlett, 2002)
‘—Why do you never take me seriously?
—*On the contrary*. [...] What you say always makes me think.’

In examples such as (19) and (20), the marker acts as a negative response to a previous negative intervention, specifically to the presupposition of the question (‘It is not asking too much’ in (19) and ‘You never take me seriously’ in (20)) rather than to the questions itself.¹⁰ The final result is, as Danjou-Flaux (1983: 279) suggests for *au contraire* in French, a kind of emphatic positive rejection (‘It is not asking too much at all’ in (19) and ‘I always take you seriously’ in (20)). This interpretation is reinforced by the following utterances, that semantically correspond to the second segment of a contrastive construction: *És massa poc* (‘It is too little’); *Lo que usted dice siempre me hace cavilar* (‘What you say always makes me think’).

These uses of Cat. *al contrari* and Sp. *al contrario* are especially frequent in turn initial position following a question (or equivalent) in the previous turn, as in the examples above. Yet they can also be found in other polyphonic contexts.

- (21) Li va preguntar si no li feia res que li tallessin el dit. ¿Com li havia de fer res?
Al contrari, no sols no hi veia cap problema sinó que se sorprenia de la pregunta de l’Armand. (CTILC, Monzó, 1996)
‘He asked if he minded have his finger cut. How could he mind? *On the contrary*, he did not only see no problema but he was surprised by Armand’s question’

In all cases, the context of use is typically dialogic.¹¹ The marker usually introduces a turn—or occurs immediately after a turn initial interactive marker—and the intonation is frequently exclamatory (Figure 4), although this is not always the case.

¹⁰ On argumentative uses of negative markers, see Waltereit and Schwenter (2010), especially Section 3.3, on dialogic uses of *tampoco* in Spanish.

¹¹ Fraser (2009) identifies this configuration in English conversation. He labels it as ‘two-speaker examples’, as opposed to ‘one-speaker cases’, which account for prototypical uses. Similarly, Danjou-Flaux (1983) clearly distinguishes *au contraire* in dialogue and in monologue. The uses included in Danjou-Flaux for French are parallel to those identified here for Catalan and for Spanish.

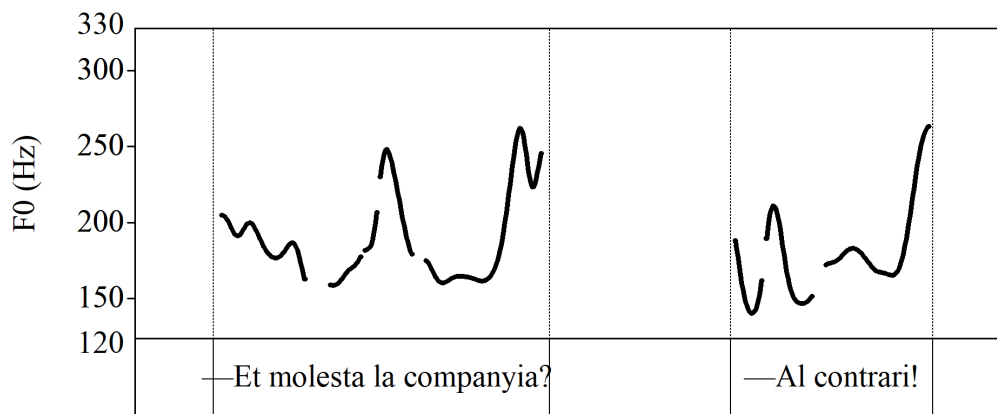


Figure 4. Intonation contour of an exclamatory reactive marker

The markers Cat. *al contrari* and Sp. *al contrario* occur in different dialogic contexts.

- a) The marker can follow a previous negative item (*no* or equivalent).

(22) SENYORA EYNSFORD HILL.— Si fem nosa...

SENYORA HIGGINS.—I ara! *Al contrari*. No podien haver arribat en millor moment: els volem presentar una amiga nostra. (CTILC, Bru de Sala (trans.) *Pigmalió*, 1997)

‘—Are we in the way?’

—Not at all! *On the contrary*. You couldn’t have come more fortunately: we want you to meet a friend of ours.’

(23) “Tal vez te estoy aburriendo ya con esto...” “¡Qué va, *al contrario*, lo estás contando con muchísima gracia!” (CREA, Pombo, 1990)

‘Maybe I am boring you with this / Not at all, *on the contrary*, you are explaining it in a very funny way’

The overall construction can be considered a variant of the prototypical construction where S1 corresponds to a negation that anaphorically retrieves a content related to the previous turn. For instance, in (22), Mrs Higgins’ intervention can be paraphrased as “No, you are not in the way (S1), *on the contrary*, you couldn’t have come more fortunately (S2)”.

- b) In some cases, there is no previous negative marker and *al contrari/al contrario* introduces a turn that directly reacts to a previous intervention, which is semantically interpreted as S1.

(24) MARE: No és que fos mesquí, estret.

DONA: *Al contrari*, era massa generós amb els empleats! (CTILC, López i Crespí, 1998)

‘—He wasn’t really mean, penurious.

—*On the contrary*, he was too generous with his employees.’

- (25) —Oiga, si le parece una tontería me callo.
 —*Al contrario*. Hablar es de necios; callar es de cobardes (CREA, Ruiz Zafón, 2001)
 ‘—Listen, if you think that is non-sense I shut up.
 —*On the contrary*. Talking is stupid; shutting up is cowardly.’

c) The marker can be used in isolation, that is, with no S2 following.

- (26) NOIA: Et molesta que l’hagi vista?
 MARIA: *Al contrari!* (CTILC, Benet i Jornet, 1994)
 ‘—Does it bother you that I have met her?
 —*On the contrary*’
- (27) — ¿Por qué nunca me toma en serio?
 — ¡*Al contrario!* – dijo mientras entrábamos en un bar—. Lo que usted dice siempre me hace cavilar. (CREA, Giménez Bartlett, 2002)
 ‘—Why don’t you take me seriously?
 —*On the contrary*. — he said while we were entering a bar—. What you say always makes me think’

As in the case of truncated constructions, the second segment can be completely implicit or can be associated with the next discourse unit.

Thus in dialogic contexts, as the previous ones, the connective function of the marker weakens, especially when it becomes turn initial or occurs in isolation. The marker behaves like a response word (*no*) but it is more emphatic.¹² The previous intervention acts as S1 (or is directly related to it), and S2 can be either explicit, following the marker, or implicit. When it is implicit, the structure resembles a truncated construction. The function of the marker is progressively becoming less connective and more modal as S2 becomes dispensable.

All the cases identified in the corpora (and also those included in Danjou-Flaux (1983) for French) are related to politeness and have a positive illocutionary force, as shown in (24) repeated below as (28).

- (28) —Oiga, si le parece una tontería me callo.
 —*Al contrario*. Hablar es de necios; callar es de cobardes (CREA, Ruiz Zafón, 2001)
 ‘—Listen, if you think that this is non-sense I shut up.
 —*On the contrary*. Talking is what fools do; shutting up is what cowards do.’

The marker reacts to the (negative) presupposition derived from the previous intervention (‘I am talking non-sense’) not to the intervention itself, and reverses it (‘You are not talking non-sense’). As already pointed out, the marker expresses a constructive opposition and then the construction is interpreted as a kind of positive rejection (‘You may continue talking’) (Danjou-Flaux 1983: 279).¹³

¹² It is somehow similar to the use of *si* as an alternative to *non* in French, as both imply not only negation but also polarity reversal. This similarity explains the possibility of combining *si* and *au contraire* as a response to a negative question in the previous turn, as Danjou-Flaux (1983: 278-279) explains.

¹³ In other contexts, mainly when the marker reacts to a declarative, the interpretation can be clearly negative (see Fraser 2009) but no such examples have been identified in the corpora.

It is worth noticing that the isolated uses illustrated above are different from written uses in which the connective is preceded and followed by full stops.

- (29) No era cap oasi, precisament, aquella plaça. *Ben al contrari*. Era quasi migdia i el sol queia com un volcà invisible, d'una lluentor blanca. (CTILC, Piera, 1993)
 ‘It wasn’t an oasis, that square. Quite the contrary. It was almost noon and the sun fell like an invisible volcano, shining white’

The previous example can be interpreted as a prototypical or a truncated Janus-use, but the author has used full stops before and after the connective. A solution with a comma before the connective (prototypical construction) or after the connective (truncated construction) would also work in these cases.

- (29’) a. No era cap oasi, precisament, aquella plaça. *Ben al contrari*, era quasi migdia i el sol queia com un volcà invisible, d'una lluentor blanca.
 b. No era cap oasi, precisament, aquella plaça, *ben al contrari*. Era quasi migdia i el sol queia com un volcà invisible, d'una lluentor blanca.

Cases such as (29) can be thus considered as ‘apparent’ isolated markers, a stylistic written variant of the prototypical “S1 Cn S2” construction.

6 Discussion

The analysis presented in this paper has shown the distinctive features of a number of connective constructions and has focused on those in which S2 is missing. Table 4 shows the configurations analyzed and exemplified. The square brackets indicate the boundaries of the syntactic unit.

Table 4. Constructions including a refutation connective

Construction	First segment		Second segment	Example of configuration
(i) prototype	S1	Cn	S2	[S1, Cn, S2] (intra-sentential) S1. [Cn, S2] (inter-sentential)
(ii) truncated Janus use	S1	Cn	—	[S1, Cn.]
	S1	Cn	(S2)	[S1, Cn.] S _{S2}
(iii) embedded connective	[s1 ...Cn...]		—	[s1 ...(Cn)...]
(iv) reactive	—S1 //	Cn	(S2)	— S1? — [(xx) Cn (S2)]

To sum up:

- (i) In prototypical constructions, the refutation connective occurs at the left periphery of a clause in a compound sentence (intra-sentential connection) or of an independent sentence (inter-sentential connection).
- (ii) In truncated constructions, S2 is not explicit and remains active only as a hanging implication. In the case of Janus use its meaning is retrieved or suggested in the next independent syntactic unit.

- (iii) The connective can also occur in S1 middle field, in which case the meaning of S2 is implicit (embedded connective).
- (iv) In dialogic contexts, the connective can react to a previous intervention (generally a question in the preceding turn) and S2 can be either explicit or implicit; in the latter case, the marker occurs in isolation and is equivalent to an emphatic negative response indicating positive rejection.

The defective constructions under analysis differ from other non-prototypical constructions reviewed in Section 2. As S2 defective constructions, they can be related to insubordinates and absolute initial uses of a DM, which are also defective but in this case S1 is missing.

On the other hand, truncated constructions, embedded and reactive connectives are similar to other S2 defective constructions, but, despite apparent formal similarities, they exhibit relevant differences.

(i) Connectives in truncated constructions can be thought of as final particles, like *final-but* as characterized in Mulder and Thompson (2008: 183). In fact, they seem to match the characterization of conjunction type final particles proposed in Hancil, Haselow and Post (2015a: 11):

[A] final particle is a discourse marker that occurs at the end of an interactional unit, whether a turn, a turn unit, or a prosodic unit, and indexes certain pragmatic stances [. . .]

... final conjunctions are analyzed as FPs when they do not establish a propositional relation between two units on the sentential or textual level, but rather link the utterance they accompany to an implied proposition, or when they modify an utterance in terms of illocutionary force [...].

However, the cases illustrated here do not match the main defining features of final *but* as described in Mulder and Thompson (2008), Izutsu and Izutsu (2014) or Heine et al. (2015), since the connective is not a conjunction, it does not tend to integrate either prosodically or syntactically in S1 and its meaning is not eroded or lost. Similarly, these connectives do not match the behaviour of final particles (FP) as described in Hancil, Haselow and Post (2015a: 5). Unlike FPs, which “are prosodically integrated into a host unit and cannot occur in isolation”, “are unaccented, have no propositional content and do not affect the truth conditions of the unit they accompany”, in truncated constructions the connective is parenthetical, there is no semantic change going on and the prosodic and syntactic boundaries of the connective with respect to the first segment are not eroded. Rather, they seem to be strengthened. The uses analyzed here make the marker more prominent prosodically and also more charged semantically and pragmatically to the point that in some contexts it tends to assume the autonomy that interjections or response words, such as *no*, exhibit, and its subjective pragmatic value is highlighted. In addition, whereas FPs “occur predominantly in unplanned, interactive speech (conversation)” (Hancil, Haselow & Post 2015a: 8), the connectives illustrated here are not typical of conversation or unplanned discourse, except for reactive uses, which need a dialogic context.

Connectives in truncated constructions are also candidates for reanalysis as right periphery pragmatic markers (RPPM), in the sense described in Traugott (2016) for retrospective contrastive final connectors (e.g., *then*, *though*, *anyway*, *after all* and

actually).¹⁴ Like RPPM, the connectives analyzed here refer to the previous text, can occur initially (i.e. in S2 LP) and also in other positions inside S2 when their meaning is contrastive but not refutative. Many of the RPPM analyzed by Traugott are also parenthetical. However, in contrast with RPPM, refutation connectives in defective constructions keep their meaning and do not seem to be metatextual or interactive/intersubjective. They are markers of *dialogic* orientation, since they present alternative points, but they are not markers of *dialogual* orientation since their main function is not facilitating turn-taking (cfr. Traugott 2012: 13).¹⁵

(ii) Embedded connectives occur in middle field and at first glance may appear similar to backshifted connectives or, more generally, connectives that have moved inside their host unit (see Altenberg 2006). However, they differ from backshifted or middle field connectives (30).

- (30)a. En segon lloc, un nen que badalla no és necessàriament un nen que no posa atenció. Pot ser, *al contrari*, un nen que lluita més bé o més malament contra la manca d'atenció que l'assetja! (CTILC, González-Agápito, 1991)
 'Secondly, a child who complains is not necessarily a child who does not pay attention. It can be, *on the contrary*, a child who fights better or worse against the lack of attention harassing him!'
- b. El hecho de que con toda probabilidad se encontraría más solo en cualquier parte que en Madrid [...], no le parecía, paradójicamente, comprobado. Gonzalo había comprobado, *más bien al contrario*, que la sensación de soledad era más intensa rodeado de familiares y de conocidos que entre extraños (CREA, Pombo, 1990)
 'The fact that most probably he would feel lonelier anywhere than in Madrid, [...] paradoxically did not seem proved to him. Gonzalo have proved, *quite the contrary*, that the feeling of loneliness was more intense among his relatives and acquaintances than among strangers'

In cases like (30), which are similar to backshifted connectives as described in Izutsu and Izutsu (2014), the connective occurs in S2 middle field and can be fronted to S2 left periphery, as shown in the following versions of the previous examples:

- (30') a. En segon lloc, un nen que badalla no és necessàriament un nen que no posa atenció. *Al contrari*, pot ser un nen que lluita més bé o més malament contra la manca d'atenció que l'assetja!
 'Secondly, a child who complains is not necessarily a child who does not pay attention. *On the contrary*, it can be a child who fights better or worse against the lack of attention harassing him!'

¹⁴ This is also the case of final particles of the conjunct/adverbial connective type, as described in Hancil et al. (2015a: 11-12) and analyzed in several of the contributions to that edited volume.

¹⁵ I follow here Traugott's distinction between *dialogic* and *dialogual* orientation: "Markers of dialogic orientation signal the extent to which Speakers contest, refute, or build an argument toward alternative or different conclusions [...]. I take them to be oriented toward the Speaker's perspective [...]. Markers of dialogual orientation, on the other hand, signal the extent to which turn-taking is facilitated. [...] They are oriented toward the Addressee's stance and participation in the communicative situation" (Traugott 2012: 13). This distinction was previously proposed in Schwenter (2000), who took it from Argumentation Theory (Ducrot 1984 and Roulet 1984).

- b. *Más bien al contrario*, Gonzalo había comprobado que la sensación de soledad era más intensa rodeado de familiares y de conocidos que entre extraños.
 ‘...*Quite the contrary*, Gonzalo have proved that the feeling of loneliness was more intense among his relatives and acquaintances than among strangers’

In contrast, embedded connectives occur in S1, no S2 is present and thus the marker cannot be fronted. Thus embedded markers are not ‘truly’ connective: they only relate two contents at the interpretive level, not syntactically.

(iii) Reactive markers are responses to a previous intervention attributed to a different speaker. They are similar to absolute initial discourse markers when they introduce a new turn but they need the presence of a previous utterance that is the pivotal point for the rejection operation. From a syntactic point of view, reactive markers can occur in isolation, S2 being a hanging implication. In dialogue, the marker can be preceded by a negation or followed by what semantically corresponds to S2. Both cases can be best considered dialogic variants of the prototypical construction. When isolated, the absence of S2 implies that the marker is not connective, since there are not two segments to be linked. In fact, it is a negative response word (equivalent to an emphatic *no*) whose pragmatic effect is affirmative as the result of polarity reversal with respect to a previous negative utterance (or rather a negative presupposition derived from the preceding turn).

7. Conclusions

In this paper three connective constructions lacking S2 have been discussed and exemplified with corpus examples in Catalan and Spanish including refutation markers. These constructions are not odd or ungrammatical. On the contrary, they are complete and follow regular patterns of formation and interpretation, which contributes to the idea, already pointed out in the case of insubordination (see Section 2), that a sentence cannot (only) be identified with ‘complete’ syntactic units (see Bergs 2017). Even if the constructions described in this paper are defective, they are complete utterances.

I have tried to show that connective constructions lacking an explicit S2 correspond to different configurations as for syntax, prosody and other features. However, all these constructions involve a dialogic point of view, that is, they activate a polyphonic interpretation “since they juxtapose states of affairs, whether introduced by another interlocutor or by the Speaker (treating her- or himself as another interlocutor, as in working an argument through, or in free indirect speech)” (Traugott 2012: 12).

The fact that S2 is a hanging implication has a common effect on all the constructions: An increase of the pragmatic meaning related to subjective values, which adds to the basic connective function of the markers (refutation) and can eventually replace it. Specifically, in truncated constructions the syntactic and prosodic features of the construction imply an increase of the modal load of the marker as a negative intensifier. In embedded uses, the marker linking capacity is lowered and the modal charge attached to the polarity reversal meaning of its nucleus, *contrari/contrario* (‘contrary’) is highlighted. In reactive contexts, the marker expresses emphatic positive rejection, i.e. it is an intensified rejection of a negative presupposition derived from the previous linguistic context. The increase of modal charge in all cases is related to the possibility

of adding an exclamatory intonation to the connective in contrast with prototypical constructions, in which only assertive intonation is possible.

In other words, all the defective constructions analyzed here and elsewhere (see Section 2) show the presence or increase of modal values as the result of the absence of one of the members of the connective construction. This is a logical outcome if, as proposed by several authors (see Cuenca 2013 and the references cited there), connectives link two segments in a three-slot construction whereas modal markers are one position operators (generating a two-slot construction). The lack of one of the two content units in a construction including a connective turns a three-slot construction into a two-slot one and thus the connective into a modal operator.

We can then identify different behaviours of one single marker depending on the construction ranging from connective categories (conjuncts, adverbial connectives or parenthetical connectives)¹⁶ to (more) modal categories, namely, final discourse particles, interjections and modal particles. These behaviours have to do with the distribution and the position of the marker regarding its host unit. These parameters are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Characterization of the constructions including a refutation marker (prototypical and S2 defective)

Prototypical	Truncated	Embedded connective	Reactive
parenthetical connective	final discourse particle	modal particle	interjection/response word
left periphery	right periphery	middle field	isolated

A refutation marker activates an instruction implying a preceding segment (S1) and a following segment (S2) to which the marker is syntactically related. When S2 is lacking, the connective occurs in S1 periphery if the construction is truncated and it acts as a final discourse particle. The connective can occur in S1 middle field, which makes it similar to a modal particle, although it is not prosodically integrated. In dialogic contexts where the marker is reactive, it can occur in isolation like interjections or response words such as *no*. Prosody reflects this variety of uses, as for pauses, intonation and contour. The possibility of exclamatory intonation being restricted to defective uses further reinforces the distinction.

If we consider the modal marker – discourse marker space as a continuum, as proposed in Cuenca (2013: 208), it is possible to locate the constructions described in different points of the continuum.

¹⁶ Parenthetical connectives are discourse markers such as *however, nevertheless, on the contrary, thus, as a consequence* or *in addition* that can act on their own or following a conjunction (e.g. *but* or *and*) linking two segments of discourse (either sentence constituents or independent utterances).

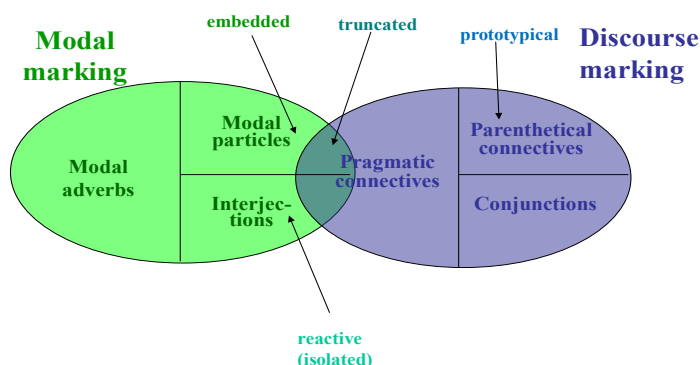


Figure 5. S2 defective constructions in the modal marking – discourse marking continuum (adapted from Cuenca 2013: 208)

Some of the uses exemplified here have also been documented for similar markers in neighbouring languages: English *on the contrary* (Fraser 2009), French *au contraire* (Danjou-Flaux 1983), Portuguese *pelo contrário* (Lopes and Sousa 2014) and Italian *anzi* (Sainz 2014; Visconti 2015; 2018; Cuenca & Visconti 2017). As an extension of the research, corpus examples in those and other languages could be analyzed in order to find cross-linguistic differences, if any.¹⁷

The constructions described in this paper seem typical of refutation connectives, because their meaning allows for the semantic-pragmatic reconstruction of S2 on the basis of S1. However, other markers may occur in some of the constructions. S2 can be implicit at least with *anyway* in English, *pero bueno/bien* in Spanish, *però bueno/bé* in Catalan (literally, ‘but good/well’). Some isolated uses of a DM are documented in English for *so* (see Raymond 2004), *well* or *and* as interrogatives seeking for a continuation on the part of the interlocutor (*so?*, *well?*, *and?*).

In conclusion, defective connective constructions are an interesting field of analysis that deserves further research. They correspond to a great variety of configurations not only tied to conversation and informal speech but also to other registers and communicative situations. The analysis of defective connective constructions also contributes to the modal-discourse marking debate and offers relevant information on the right periphery – left periphery dynamics (see Pons 2018; Traugott 2017b).

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¹⁷ Lewis (2006) compares *on the contrary* with *au contraire* and finds some differences. The examples correspond to prototypical uses.

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