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***But* and its Translation: the Relationship between Meaning,
Position and Translation.**

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Abstract

This paper presents a study of *but* according to its position, meaning as an adversative coordinator, and its translation into Spanish. Semantic and pragmatic studies have approached *but* in order to study its prototypical use and translation; however, its position as a sentence-initial particle has been barely studied. The aim of this paper is to propose a correlation between position, meaning, and translation. From this point, four lexical categories of *but* are drawn according to its position: conjunction, preposition, adverb and adverbial. On the basis of data from English and Spanish, it is shown that the correlation of meaning and translation is effectively consistent in written contexts. The results have established a complete analysis of *but* as a coordinator conjunction and have postulated two uses for adverbial *but* as a connector particle and as an emphatic element.

1. Introduction

For the past three decades, the study of “opposition relations” (Izutsu, 2008) or adversative coordination in the form of *but* has been a topic of great interest among researchers in both semantic and pragmatic fields. Semantic studies such as Hall’s (2004) and Izutsu’s (2008) have established a framework of unmarked meanings of *but* as a central coordinator. On the other hand, researchers in the pragmatic field have approached *but* as a discourse particle, observing its function within a coordination construction.

The Spanish counterpart of *but* in the form of *pero* and *sino* is also a topic extensively studied. Rudolph’s (1996) study of *contrast* in English, German, Spanish and Portuguese provides plenty of examples of “contrastive constructions” and attests for the relationship between meaning and form. However, the study of the relevance of the position of *but* and of its translation seems to be minimal.

We are taught that it is an error to begin a sentence with a central conjunction such as *and*, *but*, or *so*. However, classical grammarian belief that the use of *but* should be restricted to sentence-medial position seems now untenable. Formal texts have shown plenty of times *but* in sentence-initial position, presenting a seemingly diversion from the function of coordinator conjunction. This diversion will allow us to first classify *but* according to its position, establishing an initial particle *but* that has its own characteristics which are distinct from its medial particle (i.e. coordinator conjunction) counterpart. However, *but* is not only found in initial or medial position. Recent studies about Australian English have attested *but* in final position (Mulder and Thompson, 2008). Therefore, it is not possible for *but* to be considered a coordinator conjunction when it is a final particle.

The present study sets out to explore *but* beyond its function as a coordinator conjunction. The research questions that guided this study and investigation are:

1. Is there a correlation between position, meaning and translation?
2. If so, will this imply that the correlation between meaning and translation is thoroughly consistent?

The main hypothesis is that the position of *but* will affect its meaning and translation, and therefore, the function of *but* will depend upon its position. The second hypothesis is that different meanings of *but* will correspond to different translations in Spanish. Assuming that the translation of *but* cannot be restricted to *pero* and *sino*, this paper will address the possibility of a correlation between the different meanings and uses (i.e. including correlatives and idioms) of *but* and its correspondent translations in Spanish.

The present study is organised in five sections. The first one, section 2 after the introduction, corresponds to the literature review, which presents a theoretical framework of *but* and classifies its study into three subsections: position, semantic classification and translation. The methodology of the study is presented in the section 3. Sections 4 and 5 analyse and discuss in depth the results obtained from the study. Finally, the conclusions that this research has obtained are drawn in section 6.

2. Literature Review

The literature review has been divided in three subsections. The first subsection discusses position regarding its status as unmarked (i.e. central coordinator) or marked (i.e. initial and final particle). The second subsection revises Izutsu's (2008) triadic semantic classification of *but* into *contrast*, *concessive* and *correction* and explores meanings beyond those three according to its marked position. Finally, the third subsection deals with the Spanish translation of *but* as *pero* and *sino* as well as other translations.

2.1 Position

2.1.1 Prototypical coordination

But is said to belong to several categories: it can be a coordinator conjunction, a preposition, an adverb, as well as a noun in the form of *buts*. The focus here regarding *but*-coordinator is on conjunction, preposition and adverb. As a coordinator in a coordination construction (i.e. non-headed construction), *but* acts as the link between two constituents or coordinates of equal syntactic status (Huddleston, 2002:1275).

(1) *The snow, [sparse **but** bright] on the ground. (Healey, 2015: 5)*

As Huddleston points out, *but* expresses a contrast or, in Izutsu's words, an "opposition relation" between coordinates. As a coordinator, *but* fulfills the following list of properties found in the theory of Quirk et al. except for (f):

- a) *Clause coordinators are restricted to clausal-initial position.*
- b) *Coordinated clauses are sequentially fixed.*
- c) *Coordinators are not preceded by a conjunction.*
- d) *Coordinators can link clause constituents.*
- e) *Coordinators can link subordinate clauses.*

f) *Coordinators can link more than two clauses.*

(2) **John played football, but Mary played tennis, but Alice stayed at home.*

But only differs from central coordinators *and* and *or* in that it is restricted to binary structures. Nevertheless, in relation with property (e), *but*-coordinator can only link certain types of subordinate clauses, namely: a) *That*-clauses, b) temporal adverbial clauses, and c) clauses introduced by the same conjunctions such as *in order that*, *so that*, *because* or by the same *wh*-word. (Quirk et al., 1985:925).

(3) *She said **that** John would take them by car **but (that)** they may be late.*

(4) *I spoke to him **after** the conference was over, **but before** he started work.*

(5) *He didn't save **in order to** go to school, **but in order** to buy a car.*

As a preposition, *but* expresses the same meaning as *except*. It is used after *all*, *none*, *every*, *any*, *no*, *everything*, *nothing*, *nobody*, *anywhere*, etc. (Swan, 2002:356).

(6) ***Everybody's** there **but** (=except) me.*

However, according to the properties of coordinators found in both Huddleston and Quirk et al., *but* differs from *except* in that it cannot occur initially. This ultimately serves to justify its categorization as a coordinator.

Finally, *but* also expresses the same meaning as the adverb *only*. It seems to be unusual in Present Day English because it is only used in formal language, but it was common in older English.

(7) *You're **but** (=only) a student.*

The correlative *Not only ... , but* is “a special case of negative plus positive coordination” (Huddleston, 2002:1314).

(8) *Not only* was he incompetent, *but* he was *also* corrupt.

Researchers have argued that the construction *not only...but* does not belong to adversative or contrastive coordination, but rather classifies as an additive coordinator, and thus it expands the usage of *but* beyond its categorization as a coordinator conjunction of “opposite relations”.

The previous categorization of *but*-coordination as conjunction, preposition and adverb fits with the prescriptive belief that *but* can only occupy a central position, as it links two syntactically equal constituents. However, as it will be seen in the next subsection, the position of *but* is, in fact, not restricted to its unmarked sentence-medial position.

2.1.2 Marked initial and final position

Quirk et al. justifies the classification of *but* as a coordinator with a table of coordination-subordination gradients together with the six properties we have mentioned before (see page 4).

		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
coordinators	<i>and, or</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+
	<i>but</i>	+	+	+	+	±	–
conjuncts	<i>yet, so, nor</i>	+	+	×	+	–	–
	<i>however, therefore</i>	–	+	–	–	–	–
subordinators	<i>for, so that</i>	+	+	+	–	–	–
	<i>if, because</i>	+	±	–	–	–	–

Table 1. Coordination-subordination gradients from Quirk et al. (1985)

However, the gradient also suggests that there are instances where the properties of *but* resembles more those of adverbial conjuncts rather than those of central coordinators such as *and* and *or*. This statement is not found in the theory of Quirk et al., however, the importance of such resemblance will serve as a justification of the treatment of *but* as an adverbial which occurs in initial as well as in final position.

Adverbials are more flexible on its position, since they can take initial, medial or final position. In 1985, Quirk et al. identify four types of adverbial clauses:

a) *Adjuncts*: adverbials that are integrated in the sentence and that can be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical.

(9) *He stood waiting patiently.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 506)

b) *Subjunct*: adverbials that are integrated in the sentence and express a condition or a hypothesis.

(10) *The play presents visually a sharp challenge to a discerning audience.* (Quirk et al., 1985:566)

c) *Conjuncts*: adverbials that not integrated in the sentence and indicate logical relationships between sentences or between clauses.

(11) *I'm afraid he doesn't eat much these days – but he looks pretty fit, though.* (Quirk et al., 1985:632)

d) *Disjuncts*: adverbials that are not integrated in the sentence but are used to express an opinion about what is being said.

(12) *Sadly, the storm destroyed the entire tobacco crop.* (Quirk et al., 1985:612)

But in sentence-initial seems to resemble both adjuncts and conjuncts depending on whether it is or not integrated in the sentence. However, as we will see in the next section, the balance seems to shift to conjuncts since in this case, *but* conveys the same meaning as *however*.

Kies (1993) studies this phenomenon and suggests that the shift from medial-position coordinator to initial-position adverbial implies that *but* does not coordinate

subordinate clauses. Moreover, he argues that it does not longer link clauses of equal rank:

(13) *And now the earth, made sludgy and chewable with the melting snow, has spat out a relic. Spat it into my hand. **But** where from?* (Healey, 2015:6)

Another example of *but* as a non-coordinator is found in Australian English. “In contemporary Australian English *but* has progressed through a grammaticization continuum to become a ‘fully developed’ final discourse particle.” (Mulder and Thompson, 2008:179). According to the Oxford online dictionary, *but* is used at the end of a sentence not only in Australian English, but also in New Zealand English as well as in informal Scottish “as a substitute of *though* and *however*”, which are adverbial conjuncts with a concessive function.

(14) *He was a nice block but (=though).*

We will not use Australian English for this research, and therefore, we will not study *but* as a final particle; however, this usage favors the classification of *but* as an adverbial which sometimes carries the meaning of the conjuncts *however* and *though*.

2.2 Semantic Classification

There have been several studies about semantic classification of *but*. Early studies about opposition constructions have focused on separating the meaning of *but* into “contrast” and “denial of expectation” (Blakemore, 1989), which are also classified as “adversative” and “concession” (Rudolph, 1996). These two meanings are favored by the fact than in some languages such as Spanish and German, *but* is usually translated into two words, namely *pero* and *sino* in Spanish and *aber* and *sondern* in German. However,

in later studies the balance is shifted in favor of a triadic semantic classification of ‘opposition relations’, labelled by Izutsu (2008) as “contrast, concessive and corrective”.

a) **Contrast** meaning, also known as “semantic opposition”.

(15) *I am looking at the door, **but** Helen isn't looking at me. (Healey, 2015: 32)*

b) **Concessive** meaning, also known as “denial of expectation”.

(16) *This last bit is said in a hushed voice, **but** hearing isn't one of my problems. (Healey, 2015:7)*

c) **Corrective** meaning, also known as “correction”.

(17) *Its navy-blue enamel is no longer glassy **but** scratched and dull. (Healey, 2015:5)*

The study presents lexical and syntactic evidence for the triadic classification with English data. In table 1, these pieces of evidence have been labelled as “tests”, which will serve the purpose of sorting our data into the three meanings:

n°	Tests	Contrast	Concessive	Corrective
1	Reversing two connected segments	✓	X	X
2	Possibility of paraphrasing with “and”	✓	X	X
3	Omitting a connective	✓	X	X
4	Gapping is felicitous	(✓)	X	X
5	Pronouns are coreferential	(✓)	X	X
6	Affixed negatives are infelicitous	X	X	✓
7	Not to repeat the items of the first conjunct (Subject)	X	X	✓
8	Overtly marked with insertion of <i>instead</i> or <i>rather</i>	X	X	✓
9	Denial of expectation	X	✓	X
10	Possibility of paraphrasing with <i>although</i>	X	✓	X

Table 2. Syntactic and lexical evidence for the triadic classification

The aforementioned three meanings correspond to *but*-coordinator. However, that is not the only category of *but*. As it can be seen in section 2.1.2, *but* seemingly acts as an adverbial when it occupies sentence-initial or sentence-final position, which makes it unlikely to carry the same meanings as *but*-coordinator, with the exception of the concessive meaning. Both *however* and *but* are used as connectors, but example 19 is not a coordinator conjunction since it is placed in sentence-initial.

(18) *He tried hard. However, he failed.*

(19) *He tried hard. But he failed.*

We have seen how coordination works in English and how *but* may grammatically differ according to its position. Now we will review how coordination works in Spanish in order to see in next sections how the translation of *but* into Spanish is related to the label of *but* according to its position.

2.3 Spanish adversative coordinators

Similar to the grammar of English, a coordinator conjunction links words or syntactic groups of equal status. Moreover, in the case of adversative coordination, conjunctions express opposition. The conjunctions that belong to the adversative coordination construction are *pero*, *sino* and *mas*, which are translated as and correspond to the English coordinator *but*. As mentioned before, Rudolph (1996) studies the semantics of *but*-coordinator and its translation into Spanish and classifies *pero* as “adversative”, and *sino* as “concessive”. However, according to the grammar of la Real Academia de Lengua Española (2010), a concessive meaning only applies to the subordinator conjunctions *aunque* and *si bien*,

2.3.1 Pero

The coordinator *pero* is found in both affirmative and negative sentences, and is used to oppose two ideas.

(20) *Estoy muy ocupado, pero lo atenderé. (RAE, 2010:2451)*

In 2010, la RAE argues that *pero* can be used in sentence-initial position as a discursive connector, because it has to refer to a previous context in order to establish its meaning. Moreover, *pero si* in initial position implies that there is an emphatic connotation that is not present in *pero* alone, which can be seen as an apology or surprise.

(21) *¡Pero si no estaba haciendo nada! (RAE, 2010:2454)*

2.3.2 Sino

Likewise, the coordination conjunction *sino* is used in both affirmative and negative sentences, but it forces the first conjoint to carry an implicit or explicit negation. The conjunction *sino* introduces a parallel unit to the focus of negation.

(22) *Ya no eran susurros cortantes en lo que hablaban, sino cuchicheos del todo inaudibles. (RAE, 2010:2456)*

2.3.3 Adverbial *pero*

In 2010, la RAE accounts for an archaic use of *pero* as an adverbial with a similar meaning as *sin embargo*, which mirrors what happens in Present Day English with the use of *but* as *however*, as we mentioned before with Australian English (*see section 2.1*).

(23) *Vienes temprano, pero. (RAE, 2010:2458).*

It seems to be very unusual in present day Castilian Spanish, but it survived in Peruvian Spanish as well as in Italian.

2.3.4 *Aunque*

It is also mentioned by RAE (2010) that adversative and concessive conjunctions express similarly related notions. *Aunque* originally carried an adversative value, and still nowadays there are instances where *aunque* is used in that manner.

(24) *La tienda está abierta, **aunque** (=pero) solo por la tarde. (RAE, 2010:2459)*

Later on the present study, this seemingly gradient of *pero-aunque* as adversative-concessive may shed some light on the translation of *but* as *aunque* in the data analyzed in this paper.

The studies mentioned in this section give us an introductory framework of what coordination constitutes as well as the characteristics of an adversative coordinator such as *but*. Additionally, an optional category for *but* is hinted according to its position in a sentence. Lexical and syntactic evidences have been revisited for the classification of adversative coordination according to its meaning presented by Izutsu. Furthermore, we have then resorted to construct the framework of coordination in Spanish and the possible variants the translation of *but* may take, which will be contrasted in the discussion section.

3. Methodology

The aim of the study is to explore *but* beyond its function as a coordinator conjunction. In order to establish a complete picture of *but* according to its meaning, position and translation, we have resorted to seek the samples from attested data. The study has been carried out by means of qualitative content analysis of written text. The data gathered is extracted from the contemporary literary fiction *Elizabeth is Missing* by Emma Healey and its translated version in Spanish by Antonio-Prometeo Moya. The chosen book depicts ‘real’ language in a narrative context, allowing us to analyze the data in the form of both narration and dialogue.

Electronic versions of both books were used in order to easily collect and analyze the content. The matches of *but* in the English version were collected by using a search engine, which resulted in over 500 matches. From the first 5 chapters 200 sentences containing *but* were selected and analyzed as the attested data. The main criterion was to gather both unmarked and marked positions of *but*, and, when necessary, there was a discrimination of basic forms over non-basic ones. In an excel file, each selected *but* was given its respective page number and its corresponding position in the sentence. The position of *but* in each sample determines whether it is classified as a coordinator or something else. After establishing a functional classification of *but* according to its position, namely initial and medial position, the samples of medial-position *but* were tested by following Izutsu’s tests, and then their meanings were classified accordingly.

After establishing a framework of the correlation of position and meaning, the translation of each sample was added and analyzed by using the page number of the English samples in the excel file. The purpose is to see if there is any established translation for each type of *but*. Afterwards, the correlation of meaning and the different

translations of *but* was analyzed and classified accordingly. Finally, the variety of translations of *but* in Spanish provides a complete picture of the aforementioned correlation of meaning, position and its translation.

4. Results

In this section we will show the results of the analysis according to the position of *but*, its meaning as a medial connector and the translations into Spanish for each type. Pie graphics have been used to show percentages, and tables have been used for quantities and totals. Finally simple graphics have been used to establish a comparison between translations and meanings.

4.1 *But*: position in a sentence

Details on the position of *but* in a sentence are found in figure 1. The percentage reflects the ratio of occurrence of *but* in 5 chapters of the British literary fiction *Elizabeth is Missing*, providing evidence of *but* in the prototypical medial position as well as the marked sentence-initial position.

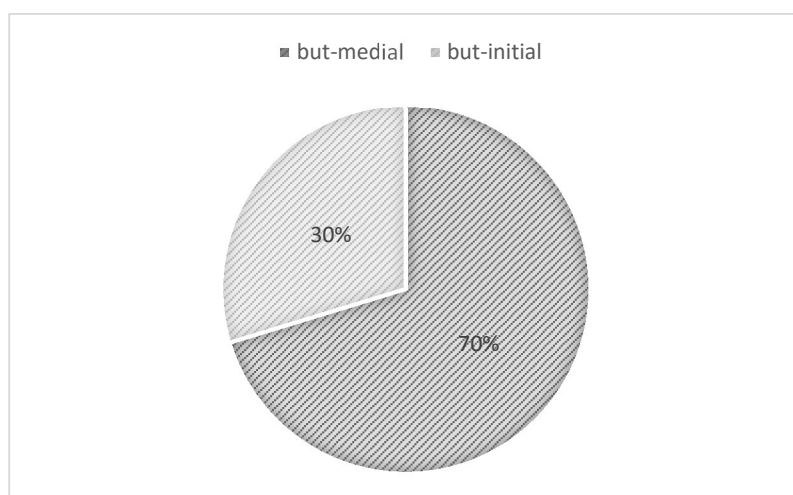


Figure 1. Percentage of occurrence of *but* in initial and medial position

As it can be observed, the use of *but* in sentence-initial is not uncommon, and it does not seem to be ungrammatical either. However, as this study keeps mentioning, and as we will see in the section below, these instances of *but* cannot be classified as coordinators.

4.2 Izutsu’s tests and translations

The table below reflects the results of applying what we have called Izutsu’s tests to the sentences collected (see section 2.2). It is imperative to mention that the tests were not applied to the samples of *but*-initial since they do not work with non-coordinators.

Triadic classification	Total of occurrence/meaning
Contrast	60
Concessive	77
Corrective	3
Total	140

Table 3. *But* according to each of its meaning as an adversative coordinator.

There were also 2 instances of *but* used as an additive coordinator rather than an adversative coordinator, which were also not tested using Izutsu’s tests. This seems to connect with the idea of Huddleston that *but* cannot be constricted to an adversative meaning (see example 6 in section 2.1).

But-coordinator has also been found followed by adverbs such as *then*, *still* and *perhaps*. These idioms (i.e. *but* + *adverb*) are quantified within the total of table 2. As reflected in the table below, they may be consistent with their meaning, although we cannot be certain with such scarce data.

	but then	but still	but perhaps
<i>Contrast</i>	7	0	0
<i>Concessive</i>	0	2	0
<i>Corrective</i>	0	0	1

Table 4. Meanings of *but* in idioms.

The following figure reflects the different translations found in *Elizabeth is Missing* for *but*-coordinator:

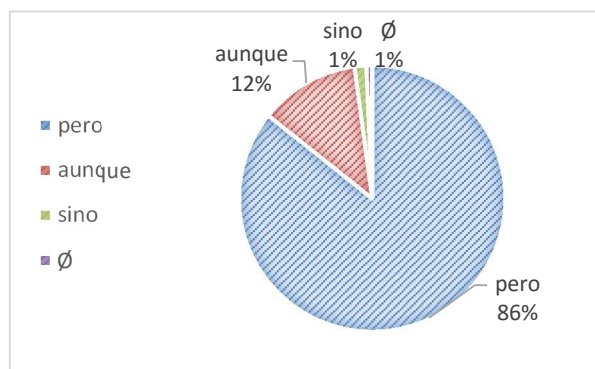


Figure 2. Percentage of each translation for *but* in Spanish

As we can see, there is one word that prevails as the immediate counterpart of *but* in Spanish. The correlation between meaning and translation can be found in figure 3.

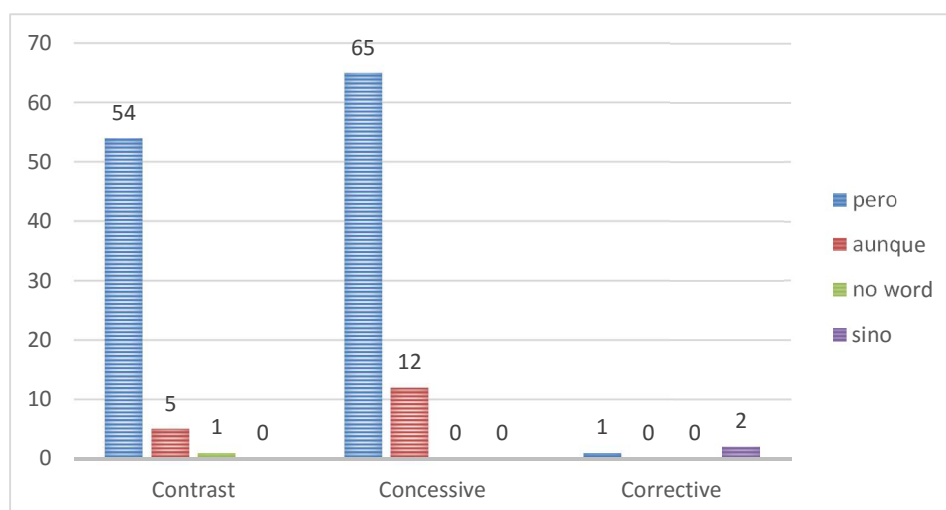


Figure 3. N° of '*but*' according to its meaning and translation

The results show that *but* is translated as *pero* for both contrast and concessive meaning and as *sino* for corrective meaning, which is similar to what Rudolph's (1996) study reflects. In the following discussion section we will examine these results as well as the curious example of a corrective meaning of *but*, which seems to be a rather special usage.

The previous results of *but-initial* in figure 1 attested its presence in a narrative context. Moreover, as seen in figure 5, *but-initial* is also found with conjuncts and temporal adverbs such as *then* and *now*.

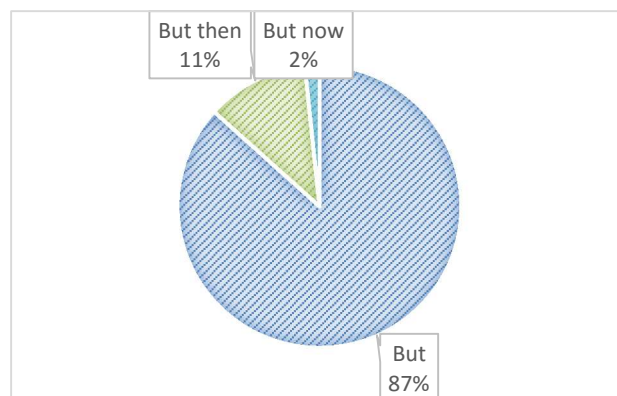


Figure 4. Percentage of *but* and *but-idioms* in initial position

For this study we had to skip the semantic classification step since these samples cannot be tested with the same tests as *but*-coordinators. Instead, we collected the translations of *but*-initial found in *Elizabeth ha desaparecido*, as show in in table 4, in order to shed some light to its possible function as an initial discourse particle with the form of an adverbial.

But	But then	But now
<i>Pero, Aunque, Pero es que, Pues, No word</i>	<i>Pero entonces, Pero luego, Claro que (entonces), Entonces</i>	<i>Pero ahora, Y ahora</i>

Table 5. Translations of *but* and *but-idioms* in sentence-initial position.

In the following section we will explain the previous results in a more detailed manner by including some examples from the text.

5. Discussion

5.1 Categories of *but*

The aforementioned results show that *but* functions as a connector in sentence-medial position (i.e. clause-initial position) as well as a discourse particle in sentence-initial position. As a connector, *but* falls into three categories (see section 2.1), which we have labelled *but*₁ (i.e. conjunction), *but*₂ (i.e. preposition) and *but*₃ (i.e. adverb). However, as a discourse particle in sentence-initial position, *but* does not fall into any of those three categories, thus a fourth category must be postulated, which we have labelled as *but*₄. In the collected data we have found instances of both *but*₁ and *but*₄:

*But*₁: (25) *He won't say it, **but** that's what he thinks (Healey, 2015: 108)*

(26) *She will hold my arm **but** won't catch my eye in any of the mirrored walls
(Healy, 2015: 78)*

*But*₄: (27) ***But**, Mopps, lots of people got to church (Healey, 2015: 130)*

(28) ***But then** it comes to me, and the next moment I hear the woman's voice
(Healey, 2015: 78)*

As observed in 25 and 26, the coordinator conjunction *but* carries an adversative meaning, expressing a seemingly contrast between two conjoints. However, in a correlative construction such as *Not only,...but*, the adversative meaning of the coordinator is replaced by an additive connotation. This meaning can be tested by adding *also*, if not present, in the second conjoint of the sentence.

(29) ***Not only** news about her family, **but** (also) things about the town, about the war.
(Healey, 2015: 95)*

(30) *Not only that, but the banisters are (also) in the wrong place. (Healey, 2015: 409)*

It seems that this type of correlative is a “special case” of additive coordination. Rather than replacing the adversative meaning of *but*, the correlative construction stands on its own as an additive correlative, carrying its own categorization and diverging from its connection with the conjunction coordinator.

In 27 and 28, the position of *but* is that of a sentence-initial particle. In English, the coordinator conjunction *but*₁ must joint two syntactically equal conjoints, and one conjoint has to oppose (i.e. refer to) the other. This means that *but*₄ is a discourse particle which functions as something that does not need to refer back to a previous clause, but rather a previous sentence. If we take a look at the coordination-subordination gradient in Quirk et al. (see appendix), we can spot the similarities between *but* and conjuncts such as *nor*, *so* and *yet*. Conjuncts are one type of adverbials which resembles coordinators “both in being connectives and in having certain syntactic features” (Quirk et al., 1985:442). *But*₄ does not only resembles conjuncts, but also acts as one. There are also instances where *but*₄ is not used as a connector, as in 27. In this case, it is used as a particle which gives emphasis to the sentence, which can be omitted, similar to adjuncts. Taking into account these two arguments, it can be suggested that *but*₄ does not just act as an adverbial, but in fact, is an adverbial.

Back to *but*₁ as an adversative coordinator conjunction, we analyzed the results of applying Izutzu’s tests (see *Table 1*) by classifying the data into contrast, concessive and corrective. The tests work for all samples of *but*₁; however, some observations need to be made. First, let’s take a look at contrast in 31:

(31) *The snow, [sparse] but [bright] on the ground. (Healey, 2015: 5)*

Test 1: The snow, **bright** but **sparse** on the ground

Test 2: The snow, bright **and** sparse on the ground

In simple sentences such as 31, the tests imply no change of assertion. Two independent and equally syntactic units can be reversed without any further implication or problem. However, in complex sentences such as 30, we find that reversing the conjoints make the sentence odd, thus reversing is only possible if some changes are made.

(32) *[I've got a note here telling me not to go out], **but** [I don't see why]. (Healey, 2015:14)*

Test 1: ? I don't see why/ellipsis/ but I've got a note here telling me not to go out.

Alternative: *I don't see why I can't go out, but I've got a note here telling me not to.*

Test 2: I've got a note here telling me not to go out, **and** I don't see why.

On the other hand, there are also instances in which test 1 fails for *but* ₁ with a contrast meaning. As we can observe in 33, reversing is not possible:

(33) *[That's what you said last time], **but** [there's nothing wrong with you]. (Healey, 2015: 56)*

*Test 1: There's nothing wrong with you, but that's what you said last time.

Applying test 1 would imply a change of assertion, which could lead us to treat 33 as a concessive. However, the impossibility of applying test 10 (i.e. paraphrasing with *although*) makes us reformulate the sentence with test 2 and 3.

Test 2: That's what you said last time, and there's nothing wrong with you

Test 3: That's what you said last time; there's nothing wrong with you.

As it can be observed here, 2 out of 3 tests can be applied to this example. One factor I suggest that could explain this would be the presence of a temporal expression, which prevents the reversing process. In other words, two separated and equally syntactic units that are coordinated by an adversative coordinator and which follow a temporal sequence cannot be reversed. As we saw in the results section, *but then* is found only with the contrast meaning, but it is important to mention that it also follows this principle of temporal sequence.

(34) *I sway on my feet, **but then** a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance. (Healey, 2015: 117)*

Test 1: ?? A spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance, but then I sway on my feet.

Test 2: I sway on my feet, and then a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance.

Test 3: I sway on my feet; then a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance.

Test 1 breaks the chain of sequence and would mean a change of assertion too. However, test 2 and 3 are applied without further problems and confirm its meaning as contrast.

Unlike contrast, the tests for the concessive meaning are applied uniformly in all the examples. By extension, we have not found any exception to the two tests, namely denial of expectation and possibility of paraphrasing with *although*, which provides evidence for formulating the concessive meaning as one of the inherent meanings of the adversative coordinator *but* 1.

(35) *I thought she was going to say more, **but** she just nodded at me until I stepped down on to the pavement. (Healey, 2015: 105)*

Test 9: The expectation for the second conjunct is for her to keep talking, but [she just nodded at me...] denies this expectation.

Test 10: **Although** I thought she was going to say more, she just nodded at me until I stepped down on to the pavement.

(36) *She didn't want to break the law, but she couldn't turn down extra food (Healey, 2015: 87)*

Test 9: The expectation for the second conjunct would be to turn down extra food and therefore, not breaking the law, but that is not the case.

Test 10: **Although** she didn't want to break the law, she couldn't turn down extra food.

Similarly to the fact that *but then* always, at least in our data, carries a contrast meaning, there is also an idiom that always has a concessive meaning, namely *but still*. As it can be observed in 37, the temporal adverb must be present in the sentence for test 10.

(37) *She cut things up and made them new, of course, **but still** Ma sued to wonder where she got the money. (Healey, 2015: 65)*

Test 9: Cutting things up and made them new would imply that 'she' is not expected to buy new clothes because of lack of money. However, 'she' does buy other things.

Test 10: **Although** she cut things up and made them new, of course, Ma *still* sued to wonder where she got the money.

Finally, we analyzed samples of *but* ₁ with a corrective meaning. Only 3 out of 140 samples of adversative coordinator *but* carry a corrective meaning (see table 2). However, these three samples correspond to three different types of *but* ₁ with corrective meaning. In 38, we find a prototypical corrective *but*:

(38) [...], *its navy-blue enamel [no longer glassy] **but** [scratched and dull]*. (Healey, 2015:5)

Test 6: Presence of an explicit negative (i.e. not affixed) in the first conjoint.

Test 7: 'its navy blue enamel' is not repeated in the second conjoint

Test 8: [...] its navy-blue enamel no longer glassy **but rather** scratched and dull

As expected from a prototypical sentence, all the tests for corrective meaning are applied successfully. The next example is of the idiom *but perhaps*. 'Perhaps' is an adverb "used to express uncertainty or possibility" (Oxford dictionary). From this definition we would not expect to find it in a corrective construction, but when the adverb is added to *but*, it forms a unit that takes the form of an idiom, which follows the same pattern as *but* in 36 but with a sense of possibility instead of assertion.

(39) *I don't think it's my birthday, **but perhaps** an anniversary*. (Healey, 2015:32)

Test 6: Presence of an explicit negative (i.e. not affixed) in the first conjoint.

Test 7: 'it's' is not repeated in the second conjoint.

Test 8: I don't think it's my birthday, **but rather** an anniversary.

As observed in 39, all three tests can be applied to this idiom of possibility. However, this meaning was attested in one example only, which make one suggests that this phenomenon should be studied in further researches in order to comprehend its occurrence.

In the last example of corrective meaning from the data, we find the correlative *Not..., but*.

(40) *Not because I thought the records would ever play again, but because I wanted to see which ones they were. (Healey, 2015:39)*

Test 6: The explicit negative in the form of the correlative *not* is found in the first conjoint.

**Test 7:* This test cannot be applied because the element that is missing is from a previous sentence.

Test 8: **Not** because I thought the records would ever play again, **but rather** because I wanted to see which ones they were.

In this subsection it has been established four categories of *but* alongside the meanings carried by *but* 1. In the following subsection, the analysis of the Spanish translations will be crucial in order to achieve our aim of establishing a correlation of position, meaning and translation of *but*.

5.2 Spanish translation of *but*

In cross-linguistic English-Spanish grammar books such as Parkinson (1980), it is taught that *but* as an adversative coordinator is translated into two different words, namely *pero* and *sino*. The former would be used to translate *but* when its meaning is contrast or concessive whereas the later would correspond to corrective *but*. That is exactly what it was found in the data from the book; however, there seems to be another translation apart from those two which is consistent and rather prominent in the translation of *but*, and that is the conjunction *aunque*.

a) Contrast:

(41) *La nieve del suelo, escasa pero brillante.*

(The snow, sparse but bright on the ground.) (Healey, 2015:5)

(42) *Ahora están bonitos y brillantes, **aunque** ligeramente agrietados.*

(Nice and bright now, but slightly cracked.) (Healey, 2015:25)

(43) *Que no sea ni demasiado largo [_] ni demasiado corto.*

(It can't be too long, but mustn't be too short.) (Healey, 2015:64)

But ₁ with a contrast meaning is generally translated as *pero* or *aunque*, but, as seen in 41, sometimes it is not even present in the translation. This third option is validated and coincides with one of the syntactic evidence of contrast in English, which is the possibility of omitting a connector (i.e. test 3). Regarding the second option, we have to look back at section 2.3. In RAE (2010) *aunque* is considered to be either a concessive conjunction or an adversative conjunction. This gradient between the two is possible because the latter meaning was the original meaning of *aunque*, and still nowadays it is used that way as a synonym of *pero* with a contrast meaning. In order to distinguish them, we have labelled them as *aunque* ₁ (i.e. concessive *aunque*) and *aunque* ₂ (i.e. adversative *aunque*). Finally, *pero* is an adversative conjunction that is used to oppose two different ideas or concepts, and carries the same meaning as *but* ₁-contrast. It is, by extension, the immediate counterpart of *but* in Spanish.

b) Concessive:

(44) *Esto último lo dice susurrando, **aunque** la sordera no es uno de mis problemas.*

(This last bit is said in a hushed voice, but hearing isn't one of my problems.)

(Healey, 2015:7)

(45) *No sé muy bien en qué estoy de acuerdo, **pero** me gusta la sensación de caer en el vacío.*

(I'm not quite sure what I'm agreeing to, but I like the feel of falling into blankness.) (Healey, 2015:7)

But ₁-concessive is generally translated into Spanish as *aunque* or *pero*. As mentioned above, this *aunque* ₂ is distinct from the adversative *aunque* ₁, in the sense that the two stand at opposite extremes of the gradient. Furthermore, in Spanish dictionaries as well as grammar books, the prominent form is the concessive conjunction *aunque* as a subordinator, which incidentally carries the same meaning as *but* ₁-concessive. As we can see in 42, *aunque* is not only used as a concessive conjunction in subordination, but also in coordination. Regarding *pero*, it seems that a similar gradient takes place. However, the presence of *pero* is already expected as the consolidated coordinator in adversative constructions. *But* ₁ can carry both contrast and concessive meanings, thus *pero* is expected to act likewise.

c) Corrective:

(46) *El esmalte azul marino ya no está reluciente, **sino** arañado y apagado.*

(its navy-blue enamel no longer glassy but scratched and dull)

As established in Rudolph's (1996) and Izutsu's (2008) studies, the corrective meaning of *but* is consistently translated into Spanish as *sino*. In RAE (2010), *sino* is the adversative conjunction which oppose an affirmative clause to a negative one. This ultimately forces the first conjoint to carry an implicit or explicit negation particle, which coincides with the syntactic evidence found in Izutsu's tests for the corrective meaning (i.e. test 6). There is another translation which we mentioned before that seems to be a 'special case':

(47) *No creo que sea mi cumpleaños, **pero quizás** sea algún aniversario.*

(I don't think it's my birthday, but perhaps an anniversary)

This English example was analyzed in the results section (see figure 3). There, it was established that *but perhaps* is a construct, an idiom of possibility that carries the

same meaning as the adversative *but* ₁-corrective. Its translation reinforces this claim since *pero quizás* forces the first conjoint to carry a negative particle, and the second conjoint to be affirmative, just like *sino* does. Given the fact that no further evidence of *but* ₁-corrective being translated as *pero* was found, this example should be considered an isolated phenomenon or a special case.

In the remaining part of this subsection *but* ₄ and its translation will be considered. In Spanish, the adversative conjunction *pero* is also used in sentence-initial to give emphasis to an expression without referring back to a previous sentence or clause (Diccionario de la Lengua Española).

(48) **Pero**, pienso: ¿por qué no ir a la casa, a ver cómo está Elizabeth?

This usage, as we saw on page 25, is not possible in English with coordinator conjunctions, and thus we established *but* ₄, which can occupy sentence-initial position. As an adverbial, *but* ₄ does not link two equally syntactic clauses. *But* ₄ can either refer back to a previous sentence, or, as in 49, give emphasis to the present one as a discourse particle, just like *pero*.

(49) **But**, I think, why not go to the house anyway, check on Elizabeth? (Healey, 2015: 83)

Additionally, the translation of *but* ₄ is not constricted to conjunctions such as *pero* and *aunque*. As observed in the following examples, the Spanish counterpart may take the form of adverbs, adverbial locutions, conjuncts, etc.

(50) **Aunque** no parece lógico, ¿no crees?

(But that doesn't seem to fit, does it?) (Healey, 2015:108)

(51) **Pues** yo tengo un hijo.

(But I do have a son.) (*Healey, 2015:120*)

(52) **Claro que** nunca lo veo, salvo cuando Peter la saca.

(But then I never do, except when Peter takes her out). (*Healey, 2015:86*)

(53) **Entonces** la jardinería le viene de familia, ¿no?

(But then gardening's in the family, isn't it?) (*Healey, 2015:475*)

(54) **Y ahora**, ¿me prometes que no volverás a llamar al consultorio?

(But now will you promise not to phone the surgery again?) (*Healey, 2015:60*)

But ₄ and its idioms (i.e. *but then, but now*) may or may not be integrated in the sentence, and its omission does leave a well-formed sentence. This statement coincides with the characteristics of an adverbial. Furthermore, the same condition applies to their translations, as it can be observed in examples 50 to 54. Once again, this piece of evidence found in its translations reinforces the analysis of *but* ₄ as an adverbial.

In the present section the collected data has been analyzed and discussed in order to gain insight into the study of *but*. The discussion has followed the same order as in section 4, namely categorization, semantics and Spanish translation. Ultimately, this study has served to disclose the similarities between English and Spanish in the use of adversative coordinators as well as to link the wide range of translations in Spanish to the form of *but* as a non-coordinator.

6. Conclusion

The use of *but* as an adversative coordinator is a confirmed and established notion in Grammar, but the possibility of its usage as a sentence adverbial or non-connector is a topic scantily studied. Formal texts have shown countless times *but* in a sentence-initial position, presenting a diversion from the function of coordinator conjunction. In the current study the use of *but*-initial, labelled as *but*₄, has been demonstrated by its presence in a narrative context. The aim of the study was to establish a correlation between position, meaning and translation of *but*₁, *but*₂, *but*₃ and *but*₄, yet only *but*₁ achieves the complete picture. *But*₂ and *but*₃ are similar to *but*₁ in the sense that contrast, concessive and corrective meaning alongside their respective translations should be same for all three, but considering that there was no data in the book, there is nothing to say about them. On the other hand, *but*₄ was postulated based on its position and translation, which then hints towards two or more distinct meanings. However, further research is needed in order to study its classification beyond what could be called as ‘adverbial connector’ and ‘adverbial emphatic element’.

Previous studies about adversative in Spanish classified *pero* as contrast and *sino* as concessive. However, in the light of what Izutsu (2008) establishes, *pero* can be found in both contrast and concessive, and *sino* only in corrective. It was found that the conjunction *aunque* has a similar role as *pero*, in the sense that it is not only used as a concessive conjunction, but also as an adversative coordinator.

As a result of the present study, it is possible to conclude that there is a clear correlation in narrative contexts between meaning and translation for an adversative coordinator such as *but*₁, and probably for all four categories, even though that was not attested in this paper. In view of the complexity of the topic both from a semantic and a

pragmatic point of view, an interesting topic for further research could be a study of the various translations for *but* ₄ considering its position. Another area for further research could be the presence of *but* ₄ in oral productions, which may show a similar result.

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Appendix I: Syntactic and lexical tests based on Izutsu's work

n°	Tests	Contrast	Concessive	Corrective
1	Reversing two connected segments	✓	X	X
2	Possibility of paraphrasing with “and”	✓	X	X
3	Omitting a connective	✓	X	X
4	Gapping is felicitous	(✓)	X	X
5	Pronouns are coreferential	(✓)	X	X
6	Affixed negatives are infelicitous	X	X	✓
7	Not to repeat the items of the first conjunct (Subject)	X	X	✓
8	Overtly marked with insertion of <i>instead</i> or <i>rather</i>	X	X	✓
9	Denial of expectation	X	✓	X
10	Possibility of changing it for <i>although</i>	X	✓	X

Test 1, 2 and 3 are used to test contrast meaning. Test 4 and 5 are optional tests used only when possible.

Test 6, 7, and 8 are used to test the corrective meaning. Test 6 implies that there is an explicit negative particle in the first conjunct, thus affixed negatives are not used.

Test 9 and 10 are used to test the concessive meaning. For test 10, Izutsu (2008) inserts *although* in the first conjunct instead of in the original position of *but*. Therefore, for this study *although* is inserted in the first conjunct when applying test 10.

Appendix II: 60 samples of *but*₁ and *but*₄ and their translation

*But*₁

1. *The snow, sparse but bright on the ground [...]* (Healey, 2015:5) = Contrast

Test 1: The snow, bright but sparse on the ground

Test 2: The snow, bright **and** sparse on the ground

*Test 3: ?? The snow, sparse; bright on the ground

Translation: La nieve del suelo, escasa pero brillante.

2. *Its navy-blue enamel no longer glassy but scratched and dull.* (Healey, 2015:5) =

Corrective

Test 6: Presence of an explicit negative in the first conjoint.

Test 7: 'navy-blue enamel' is not repeated in the second conjoint.

Test 8: its navy-blue enamel no longer glassy but **instead/rather** scratched and dull.

Translation: El esmalte azul marino ya no está reluciente, sino arañado y apagado.

3. *I might not be able to see it, but I can probably manage to trip over it.* (Healey, 2015:6)

= Concessive

Test 9: The fact that she cannot see the object does not mean that she will not find it.

Test 10: **Although** I might not be able to see it, I can probably manage to trip over it.

Translation: Puede que no vea muy bien, pero seguro que acabo pisándolo.

4. *I smile, but I don't move from the grass.* (Healey, 2015:6) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that she is smiling does not mean she is agreeing to move.

Test 10: **Although** I smile, I don't move from the grass.

Translation: Sonrío, pero no me aparto de la hierba.

5. Well, actually it was in Weymouth, but it could have been here. (Healey, 2015: 7) = Contrast (only test 1 can be applied).

Test 1: Well, it could have been here, but actually, it was in Weymouth.

*Test 2: ?? Well, actually it was in Weymouth, **and** it could have been here.

*Test 3: ? Well, actually it was in Weymouth; it could have been here.

Translation: Bueno, en realidad fue en Weymouth, pero podría haber ocurrido aquí.

6. *This last bit is said in a hushed voice, but hearin isn't one of my problems* (Healey, 2015: 7) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that it is said in a hushed voice does not mean she cannot hear what they are saying.

Test 10: **Although** this last bit is said in a hushed voice, hearin isn't one of my problems.

Translation: Esto último lo dice susurrando, aunque la sordera no es uno de mis problemas.

7. *I occasionally read, but the plots of novels don't make sense anymore.* (Healey, 2015: 12) = Concessive

Test 9: She occasionally reads, but that is not something enjoyable for her.

Test 10: **Although** I occasionally read, the plots of novels don't make sense anymore.

Translation: A veces leo, pero los argumentos de las novelas ya no tienen sentido.

8. *I've got a note here telling me not to go out, but I don't see why.* (Healey, 2015: 14) = Contrast

Test 1: I don't see why (I can't go out), but I've got a note here telling me not to.

Test 2: I've got a note here telling me not to go out, **and** I don't see why.

Test 3: I've got a note here telling me not to go out; I don't see why.

Translation: Veo aquí una nota que dice que no salga a la calle, pero no entiendo por qué.

9. *The shop isn't far, but I'm tired by the time I get here.* (Healey, 2015: 14) = Concessive

Test 9: The shop is near thus she should not be tired, but that is not the case.

Test 10: **Although** the shop isn't far, I'm tired by the time I get here.

Translation: La tienda no está lejos, pero estoy cansada cuando llego.

10. *The reply never arrived, but Reg's mother thought I'd been waiting for a love letter.*

(Healey, 2015: 16) = Contrast

Test 1: Reg's mother thought I'd been waiting for a love letter, but the reply never arrived

Test 2: The reply never arrived, **and** Reg's mother thought I'd been waiting for a love letter.

Test 3: The reply never arrived; Reg's mother thought I'd been waiting for a love letter.

Translation: No recibí respuesta, pero la madre de Reg creyó que la carta que esperaba era de amor.

11. *My basket is empty, but I think I've been here for a while.* (Healey, 2015:16) = Concessive

Test 9: The empty basket may imply that she has not been there for a long time.

Test 10: **Although** my basket is empty, I think I've been here for a while.

Translation: Mi cesta aún está vacía, aunque parece que ya llevo un rato aquí.

12. *The sentence has a familiar ring, but I can't think why.* (Healey, 2015: 21) = Contrast

Test 1: I can't think why, but the sentence has a familiar ring.

Test 2: The sentence has a familiar ring, *and* I can't think why.

Test 3: The sentence has a familiar ring; I can't think why.

Translation: La frase me suena, pero no recuerdo de qué.

13. *Nice and bright now, but slightly cracked.* (Healey, 2015: 25) = Contrast

Test 1: Slightly cracked now, but nice and bright.

Test 2: Nice and bright now, **and** slightly cracked.

*Test 3: ? Nice and bright now; slightly cracked.

Translation: Ahora están bonitos y brillantes, aunque ligeramente agrietados.

14. *I am looking at Helen, but she isn't looking at me.* (Healey, 2015: 32) = Contrast

Test 1: She isn't looking at me, but I am looking at Helen.

Test 2: I am looking at Helen, **and** she isn't looking at me.

Test 3: I am looking at Helen; she isn't looking at me.

Translation: Estoy mirando a Helen, pero ella no me mira a mí.

15. *I don't think it's my birthday, but perhaps an anniversary.* (Healey, 2015: 32) =
Corrective

Test 6: Presence of a negative particle in the first conjoint.

Test 7: 'it's' is not repeated in the second conjoint.

Test 8: I don't think it's my birthday, but **rather/instead** an anniversary.

Translation: No creo que sea mi cumpleaños, pero quizá sea algún aniversario.

16. *I don't know why, but I wanted to have a look in that garden.* (Healey, 2015: 33) =
Contrast

Test 1: I wanted to have a look at the garden, but I don't know why.

*Test 2: ?? I don't know why, and I wanted to have a look at the garden.

Test 3: I don't know why; I wanted to have a look at the garden.

Translation: Y yo no sé por qué, pero quise echar un vistazo a aquel jardín.

17. *Not because I thought the records would ever play again, but because I wanted to see which ones were.* (Healey, 2015: 39) = Corrective

Test 6: Presence of a negative particle in the first conjoint.

*Test 7: This test cannot be applied. The subject refers to a previous sentence, and *because* is repeated in the second conjoint.

Test 8: Not because I thought the records would ever play again, but **instead/rather** because I wanted to see which ones were.

Translation: No porque pensara que los discos pudieran ponerse otra vez en el gramófono, sino porque quería saber de qué eran.

18. *She can't see the things properly, of course, only a vague brightness of the colours, but she likes the feel.* (Healey, 2015: 49) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that she is unable to see the things properly does not mean that she does not like the feeling of touching them.

Test 10: **Although** she can't see the things properly, of course, only a vague brightness of colours, she likes the feel.

Translation: No ve las cosas con claridad, sólo percibe el vago efecto de los colores, pero le gusta el tacto.

19. *I wish I could run like that now, but I wouldn't have the breath* (Healey, 2015: 50) = Contrast

Test 1: I wouldn't have the breath to run like that now, but I wish I could.

*Test 2: ?? I wish I could run like that now, **and** I wouldn't have the breath.

Test 3: I wish I could run like that now; I wouldn't have the breath.

Translation: Ojalá pudiera correr así ahora, pero mis pulmones no aguantarían.

20. *Slowly the shock of it recedes and I can blink again, but I'm too tired to get up at once.* (Healey, 2015: 52) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that the shock has passed does not mean that she is ready to get up.

Test 10: **Although** the shock of it recedes slowly and I can blink again, I'm too tired to get up at once.

Translation: Poco a poco me recupero de la conmoción, pero estoy demasiado cansada para levantarme, así que ruedo de costado y descanso un momento.

21. *She doesn't use the words "old people", but I know that's what she means.* (Healey, 2015: 56) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that by not saying "old people" would imply that she does not mean it is denied in the second conjoint.

Test 10: **Although** she doesn't use the words "old people, I know what she means.

Translation: No dice exactamente "viejos", pero sé que es lo que quiere decir.

22. *That's what you said last time, but there's nothing wrong with you.* (Healey, 2015: 56) =

Contrast

*Test 1: There is nothing wrong with you, but that's what you said last time. (Change of assertion)

Test 2: That's what you said last time, **and** there's nothing wrong with you

Test 3: That's what you said last time; there's nothing wrong with you.

Translation: Eso dijiste la última vez, pero no te pasa nada.

23. *They talk in the hall, but I can't catch what they say.* (Healey, 2015: 56) = Concessive

Test 9: The assumption would be that the hall is near so she could hear their conversation, but that is not the case.

Test 10: **Although** they talk in the hall, I can't catch what they say.

Translation: Hablan en el vestíbulo, pero no consigo oír lo que dicen.

24. *I smile at him, but he doesn't smile back.* (Healey, 2015: 57) = Concessive

Test 9: The assumption would be that he would smile back, but he did not.

Test 10: **Although** I smile at him, he doesn't smile back.

Translation: Sonríó, pero no me devuelve la sonrisa.

25. *Warm, but not too thick.* (Healey, 2015: 64) = Contrast

Test 1: Not too thick, but warm.

Test 2: Warm, **and** not too thick.

Test 3: Warm; not too thick.

Translation: Cálido, pero no muy grueso.

26. *It can't be too long, but it can't be too short.* (Healey, 2015: 64) = Contrast

Test 1: It can't be too short, but it can't be too long.

Test 2: It can't be too long, **and** it can't be too short.

Test 3: It can't be too long; it can't be too short.

Translation: Que no sea ni demasiado largo _ ni demasiado corto.

27. *My granddaughter laughs, but Helen puts her hands up to her head, surveying the rails and rails of clothes.* (Healey, 2015: 65) = Contrast

Test 1: Helen puts her hands up to her head, [...], but my granddaughter laughs.

Test 2: My granddaughter laughs, **and** Helen puts her hands up to her head, [...].

Test 3: My granddaughter laughs; Helen puts her hands up to her head, [...].

Translation: Mi nieta se ríe, pero Helen se lleva las manos a la cabeza y revisa perchas y más perchas de ropa.

28. *I hear a shop assistant ask someone if they need help, but I can't see over the stands.* (Healey, 2015: 76) = Contrast

Test 1: I can't see over the stands, but I hear a shop assistant ask someone if they need help.

*Test 2: ?? I hear a shop assistant ask someone if they need help, **and** I can't see over the stands.

Test 3: I hear a shop assistant ask someone if they need help; I can't see over the stands.

Translation: Oigo que una dependienta pregunta a alguien si necesita ayuda, pero no veo por encima de la estantería.

29. *She thinks I'm lying, but I'm not lying.* (Healey, 2015: 76) = Contrast

Test 1: I'm not lying, but she thinks I'm (lying).

*Test 2: ? She thinks I'm lying, **and** I'm not lying.

Test 3: She thinks I'm lying; I'm not lying.

Translation: La mujer cree que estoy mintiendo, pero no estoy mintiendo.

30. *Neither of these scenarios seem very likely, but I write them down anyway.* (Healey, 2015: 82) = Concessive

Test 9: *Anyway* implies that the action of the second conjoint was not necessary. The assumption is that because they are not likely to happen, she does not need to write them down.

Test 10: **Although** neither of these scenarios seem very likely, I write them down anyway.

Translation: Ninguna de las anécdotas me parece verosímil, pero de todas formas las pongo por escrito.

31. *She will hold my arm but won't catch my eyes in any of the mirrored walls.* (Healey, 2015: 78) = Contrast

Test 1: She won't catch my eyes in any of the mirrored walls, but will hold my arm.

Test 2: She will hold my arm **and** won't catch my eyes in any of the mirrored walls.

*Test 3: *She will hold my arm; won't catch my eyes in any of the mirrored walls.

Translation: Me coge del brazo y entramos en el ascensor; me tiene sujeta del brazo, pero no me mira a los ojos ni siquiera a través de los espejos de las paredes.

32. *I tried to get a look through, but of course it was too dark to make something out.* (Healey, 2015: 91) = Concessive

Test 9: The expectation is to see something, but she cannot get a look because it is too dark.

Test 10: **Although** I tried to get a look through, of course it was too dark to make something out.

Translation: Intenté mirar por ellas, pero estaba demasiado oscuro.

33. *Dad had come running at my shout, but drifted away again when he saw I was alright.* (Healey, 2015: 92) = Contrast

*Test 1: This test cannot be applied because the second conjoint is a result of the first one. It follows a sequence.

Test 2: Dad had come running at my shout, **and** drifted away when he saw I was all right.

*Test 3: *Dad had come running at my shout; drifted away when he saw I was all right.

Translation: Papá había echado a correr al oírme gritar, pero dio media vuelta al ver que estaba bien.

34. *Her carers sometimes make a pot, but they never stay long enough for her to drink more than one cup.* (Healey, 2015: 96) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that they make a pot for her does not mean that she drinks all of it.

Test 10: **Although** her carers sometimes make a pot, they never stay long enough for her to drink more than one cup.

Translation: Sus cuidadores a veces le preparan una tetera, pero nunca se quedan el tiempo necesario para que se tome más de una taza.

35. *Ma and Dad barely spoke in front of me, but I overheard bits of their conversation.* (Healey, 2015: 98) = Contrast

Test 1: I overheard bits of Ma and Dad's conversation, but they barely spoke in front of me.

*Test 2: ?? Ma and Dad barely spoke in front of me, **and** I overheard bits of their conversation.

*Test 3: ? Ma and Dad barely spoke in front of me; I overheard bits of their conversation.

Translation: Mamá y papa apenas hablaban delante de mí, pero yo escuchaba partes de su conversación.

36. *He won't say it, but that's what he thinks.* (Healey, 2015: 108) = Concessive

Test 9: the fact that he is not saying that does not mean that he does not think that way.

Test 10: Although he won't say it, that's what he thinks.

Translation: Aunque no lo diga, es lo que piensa.

37. *I sway on my feet, but then a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance.*

(Healey, 2015: 117) = Contrast

*Test 1: This test cannot be applied because *then* implies that the first conjoint has a consequence.

Test 2: I sway on my feet, **and** (then) a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance.

Test 3: I sway on my feet; then a spark of pale gold drops over the trees in the distance.

Translation: Me balanceo sobre los pies, pero entonces una chispa de oro pálido cae sobre los árboles, a lo lejos.

38. *I thought she was going to say more, but she just nodded at me until I stepped down on to the pavement.* (Healey, 2015: 105) = Concessive

Test 9: The use of *though* in the first conjoint hints that there the expectation is denied in the second conjoint.

Test 10: **Although** I thought she was going to say more, she just nodded at me until I stepped down on to the pavement.

Translation: Creí que iba a decir algo más, pero se limitó a asentir con la cabeza hasta que bajé a la acera.

39. *She didn't want to break the law, but she couldn't turn down extra food.* (Healey, 2015: 87) = Concessive

Test 9: The expectation for the second conjoint would be to turn down the extra food that is been offered in order to not break the law, but that is not the case.

Test 10: **Although** she didn't want to break the law, she couldn't turn down extra food.

Translation: No quería infringir la ley, pero tampoco rechazar la comida extra.

40. *She cut things up and made them new, of course, but still Ma sued to wonder where she got the money.* (Healey, 2015: 65) = Concessive

Test 9: Cutting things up and making them new would imply that she is not wasting money buying new clothes. However, she spends money buying other things.

Test 10: **Although** she cut things up and made them new, of course, still Ma sued to wonder where she got the money.

Translation: Cortaba ella misma las telas y confeccionaba las prendas, claro, pero mamá solía preguntar de dónde sacaba el dinero.

41. *I'm not quite sure what I'm agreeing to, but I like the feeling of falling into blankness.*

(Healey, 2015: 29) = Concessive

Test 9: The fact that she does not know what she's agreeing to does not mean that she hates it.

Test 10: **Although** I'm not sure what I'm agreeing to, I like the feeling of falling into blankness.

Translation: No sé muy bien en qué estoy de acuerdo, pero me gusta la sensación de caer en el vacío.

42. *I thought he was going to cry, but as we got to the end of the street I saw he was smiling.*

(Healey, 2015:109) = Concessive

Test 9: The use of *thought* implies that in the second conjoint there is a denial of expectation.

Test 10: **Although** I thought he was going to cry, as we got to the end of the street I saw he was smiling.

Translation: Pensé que se iba a echar a llorar y me sorprendió el poder de las palabras, pero cuando llegamos al final de la calle vi que se estaba riendo.

43. *Not only news about her family – [...] – but things about the town, about the war.* (Healey,

2015: 95) = It is and additive coordination. Adversative tests cannot be applied to additive coordination.

Translation: No sólo detalles relacionados con su familia, [...], sino cosas de la ciudad, sobre los vecinos, sobre la guerra.

44. *Not only that, but the banister are in the wrong place.* (Healey, 2015: 409) = It is an additive coordinator. Adversative tests cannot be applied to additive coordination.

Translation: No solo eso, es que también la barandilla está donde no debe estar.

But 4

45. *But where from?* (Healey, 2015: 6)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pero ¿desde dónde?

46. *But he said they'd ruin my teeth.* (Healey, 2015: 9)

Adversative Tests cannot be applied. It seems to connect two sentences, but it may also be used to give emphasis.

Translation: Pero Patrick decía que me estropeaban los dientes.

47. *But I can hardly hear it once I'm in the kitchen.* (Healey, 2015: 21)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pero apenas lo distingo cuando estoy en la cocina.

48. *But it's not true.* (Healey, 2015: 36)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that gives emphasis to the sentence.

Translation: Pero no es cierto.

49. *But, Helen, I'm ill," I say.* (Healey, 2015: 56)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that gives emphasis to the sentence.

Translation: Pero, Helen, estoy mal.

50. *But I really don't think it can have been me who phone all those times.* (Healey, 2015: 58)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that gives emphasis to the sentence.

Translation: Pero de verdad que no creo haber sido yo la que ha llamado todas esas veces.

51. *But now will you promise not to phone the surgery again?* (Healey, 2015: 60)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. It seems to connect two sentences, but it may also be used to give emphasis.

Translation: Y ahora, ¿me prometes que no volverás a llamar al consultorio?

52. *But it's not much to ask, is it?* (Healey, 2015: 65)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. It seems to connect two sentences, but it may also be used to give emphasis.

Translation: Pero no es mucho pedir, ¿verdad?

53. *But he house was very tidy.* (Healey, 2015: 81)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pero la casa estaba en perfecto orden.

54. *But then it comes to me, and the next moment I hear the woman's voice.* (Healey, 2015: 78)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. It seems to connect two sentences, but it may also be used to give emphasis.

Translation: Pero entonces me viene a la cabeza y al momento siguiente oigo la voz de la muchacha.

55. *But then I never do, except when Peter takes her out.* (Healey, 2015: 86)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Claro que nunca la veo, salvo cuando Peter la saca.

56. *But, look, it's not what you think.* (Healey, 2015: 107)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pero no es lo que piensas.

57. *But I do have a son.* (Healey, 2015: 120)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pues yo tengo un hijo.

58. *But then gardening's in the family, isn't it?* (Healey, 2015:475)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Entonces la jardinería le viene de familia, ¿no?

59. *But that doesn't seem to fit, does it?* (Healey, 2015: 108)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Aunque no parece lógico, ¿no crees?

60. *But, Mopps, there must be hawthorns enough in the park.* (Healey, 2015: 130)

Adversative tests cannot be applied. *But* is used as an adverbial discourse particle that connects two sentences.

Translation: Pero Mopps, debe de haber espinos de sobra en el parque.