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Incoordinate *mas* sentences in European Portuguese

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In this paper, we explore *incoordinate* sentences with *mas* ('but', in English) in European Portuguese (EP). These sentences are characterized by the presence of a conjunction attached to a single sentence, occurring in the position of a second conjunct. We take up on the work of Giorgi (2016, 2018), Kuteva *et al* (2017) and Niclot (2018), and propose a syntactic analysis for incoordinate sentences. Our data shows that, in EP, there are two types of incoordinate sentences, depending on their independence, i.e., incoordination stage. In both cases, *mas* is a conjunction and not a discourse marker, which heads a ConjP. But, to capture its correlation with discourse, it should be connected with a discourse configuration as the one suggested by Cinque (2008) and Giorgi (2016, 2018). Thus, with this investigation we aim at providing a more adequate description of paratactic constructions, the levels of integration that can be associated to coordinate/incoordinate sentences in European Portuguese, and the status of conjunctions that occur in them.

1. Introduction

The present work aims at describing constructions that, inspired by Evans (2007) on insubordination, we will designate *incoordinate*, following Kuteva *et al* (2017). The insubordinate sentences treated by Evans are characterized by having any of the formal features typically associated with subordinate sentences, namely the presence of the subordinating connectors as *se* ('if'), in the example in Portuguese below, corresponding to Evans':

(1)   *Se me pudesses emprestar uma caneta…*
        If you could lend me a pen...

The sentences analyzed in this work are characterized by the occurrence of coordinating conjunction[1] and a sentence that corresponds to the second conjunct:

(2)   Many citizens of the so-called First World are still shocked to discover that we tropical islanders speak English, "But you speak English so well", they say.

<div align="right">Kuteva et al (2017)</div>

(3)   Harry (wrathfully looking at the door): *I might have known no girl could keep a… secret!*
        Bishop Armstrong (hastily): *It's my fault! I wrung it out of her! I kicked her shins! I squeezed her neck! I – twisted her arm!*
        Harry (Disgusted): ***And** now you are making fun of me!*

<div align="right">Kuteva et al (2017)</div>

The examples presented above correspond to what Kuteva *et al* (2017) consider incoordinate sentences. Below, we present examples of incoordination in European Portuguese, to show that they can occur in different contexts: such as (4), in which a previous linguistic context is provided and, therefore, it is possible to linguistically retrieve the content of the first conjunct; or (5), when there is no linguistic antecedent, but the situational context legitimates the occurrence of the incoordinate:[2]

(4)   A: *Não sou muito bom a fazer doces…*
            I'm not very good at baking…
        B: *Mas este bolo está ótimo!*
            But this cake is great!

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[1] In section 3.1., we will discuss the conjunctional status of these constituents. For now, we will assume they are coordinative conjunctions.

[2] One of the reviewers mentioned the difference regarding incoordinate's illocutionary force (exclamative or exclamative/interrogative). As far as European Portuguese is concerned, our data show that incoordinates are always exclamative and sometimes can also act as a request for information. This raises the question of where these sentences should be projected. Although this will have to be developed in future research, we assume these sentences would follow an analysis similar to that proposed by Villalba (2024).

(5)   *Mas a noiva está de calças?!*
       But the bride is wearing pants?!

As far as we know, incoordinate sentences have not yet been subject to a syntactic analysis in European Portuguese (EP). Regarding studies made for other languages, we are aware of the works of Giorgi (2016, 2018) for counterexpectational questions, Kuteva *et al* (2017) for incoordinate sentences and Niclot's (2018) also on incoordination, developing his study on the mirative value of *but*.

Although we assume the possibility of incoordination with *e* ('and', in English) and *ou* ('or'), in this work, considering space limitations, we will only investigate the properties of incoordinate sentences with *mas* ('but'). Regarding *e*, given that its semantic/pragmatic behavior has not been analyzed systematically in incoordination, it would be difficult to account for its occurrence in this construction. To clarify our reasoning, consider the examples below, in which *e* ('and') occurs conveying different values:

(6)   a.   [João promised to call Maria before 18h00. It's 18h45 and he still hasn't called]
             Maria: *E o João que não telefona!*
                   'And John still hasn't called!'   (conveys impatience)

       b.   [During a rainy afternoon, Peter and Ann are talking on the phone]
             Ann: *E   a   Maria   que   foi   para   a   praia?*
                  And   the   Maria   that   went   to   the   beach
                  'What about Mary who went to the beach?'   (conveys surprise)

As these sentences with *e* show, they both may be incoordinate but convey different values: while the pragmatic values of the two sentences may be similar, its structures are different, as, although they are introduced by a conjunction, they present a topicalized constituent followed by the complementizer *que* ('that'). Bearing this in mind, the fact that the study of incoordination is recent and its relevant properties may not yet be completely defined, and also the specificities of this construction, which are beyond the scope of this work, we will leave this topic for future research.

Even though incoordinate *ou* is excluded from this paper as its occurrence is quite restricted and some sentences do not sound completely natural, we present an example below:

(7)   [Peter offers Ana a ticket to a music show. She looks at him in a funny way because she doesn't like the band]
       Pedro: *Ou estavas à espera de outra coisa?*
               Or were you expecting something else?

Additionally, since in European Portuguese, in correlative disjunctive coordination, the conjunction that occurs in both conjuncts is *ou* ('or'), as exemplified in *Ou trabalhas ou descansas*

('either you work or you rest'), these incoordinates raise the question of determining whether, in the syntactic structure, the incoordinate may correspond to the first or second conjunct.

So, bearing this in mind and following Giorgi (2016, 2018) and Niclot (2018), we will focus only on *mas*. As for incoordination with *mas*, we will propose that (i) there are two types of incoordinates, type I and II; (ii) in both cases, *mas* is a conjunction instead of a discourse marker; and (iii), also in both cases, the ConjP should be projected in a discourse configuration inspired by Cinque (2008) and Giorgi (2016, 2018), which allows us to assume the link established between the discourse elements involved.

This paper is structured as follows: in section 2, we will present a brief overview of previous work on this type of sentence (Giorgi, 2016, 2018; Kuteva *et al*, 2017; Niclot, 2018) focusing on the properties of incoordination (cf. subsection 2.1.) and on their pragmatic value (subsection 2.2.); section 3 presents our analysis for incoordination in European Portuguese, considering the status of *mas* and the different types of incoordinates (cf. subsection 3.1), and, in section 3.2., the structural configurations for incoordinates; finally, in section 4, a conclusion is proposed.

2. Incoordination: State of the art

The mention to incoordination is quite recent in literature. In fact, we are only aware of the works of Kuteva *et al* (2017) and Niclot (2018) on this type of construction. Kuteva *et al* (2017), following Evans' (2007) work on insubordination, assume that there are also incoordinate sentences, as in the example below:

(8)   But that is really interesting!

Although Giorgi (2016, 2018) does not define her object of study as *incoordination*, her proposal will also be presented, as she analyses sentences as (9):

(9)   *Ma non era rosso?*
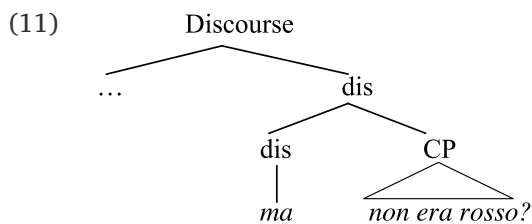   But wasn't it red?   Giorgi (2018: 3–4)

Giorgi designates these sentences as *counter-expectational questions*, establishes a confrontation between the coordinating conjunction *ma* ('but', in Italian) and the discourse marker *ma*, and proposes an analysis of the latter within the framework of Rizzi's (1997) cartography. The author's analysis is quite relevant as it establishes the possibility of syntactically analyzing discursive structures.

Niclot's (2018) work, on the other hand, deals with incoordinate sentences in several languages, focusing on the mirative status of *aber* and *ma* ('but', in German and Italian, respectively). Although the author works with incoordinate sentences, as his work is not developed within the generative framework, he does not propose a syntactic configuration nor presents arguments for the status of but. However, he assumes that it is not a conjunction, thus, suggesting that it is a discourse marker.

In the following subsections, we will show the properties of incoordinate sentences, bearing in mind their structure, the content of what would correspond to the first conjunct in an integrated coordination, and the status of the adversative element that occurs in them. In section 2.2., we will go through the proposals of Kuteva *et al* and Niclot regarding the pragmatic/semantic value of these constructions. Giorgi's analysis does not debate the value of Italian *ma*, as the author assumes that these are *counterexpectational* questions/sentences. However, given their designation, we admit that for Giorgi *ma* maintains its basic value, that is, contrastive and counterexpectational.

2.1. Properties of incoordinate sentences

For Kuteva *et al*, an incoordinate sentence is composed of a sequence of a coordinative connector and a sentence, which would correspond to a second coordinate conjunct:

(10)   .... coordinating connective + Clause 2 [main clause]
                                              But   that is really interesting!

Thus, incoordinate differ from coordinate sentences, as the sentence that would correspond to the first conjunct is missing. Bearing this in mind, Kuteva *et al* (2017) attribute three properties to incoordinate constructions:

   a)   they involve the coordinating connectors *but* and *and*;[3]
   b)   these connectors appear at the beginning of the sentence (*vs.* typical position in coordinate sentences);
   c)   they result in the independent use of formally coordinated sentences.

Kuteva *et al* propose that, in incoordinates, as we do not have a sentence corresponding to the first conjunct, it is possible to pragmatically infer it. The authors state that the discursive-pragmatic context provides the interlocutor with information that is equivalent to the first conjunct, and that is necessary to interpret the content of the incoordinate construction.[4]

On the other hand, Giorgi (2018: 4), in defining the properties of *counterexpectational questions*, as (9), lists the following characteristics, the first two being typical of root sentences in direct discourse:

   - There is a characteristic falling-raising intonation.
   - The sentence is accompanied by gestures of the hands and of the head, plus brow raising.

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[3] As shown, in European Portuguese, it is possible to have incoordinates with *ou* ('or', in English).

[4] Matos & Raposo (2013) also mention that it is possible that, in some coordinate constructions, the first conjunct may correspond to a discursive/pragmatic context.

- Presence of the imperfect form of the indicative mood.[5]

- Presence of the particle *ma.*

- Presence of negation.[6]

For these constructions, Giorgi (2018: 5) suggests an extension of her (2015) analysis for Pending Topic, considering that these sentences also correspond to bi-sentential structures, or *discourses*. In terms of syntactic structure, Giorgi (2018: 8,16) offers an analysis in which *ma* fills the head of the discourse projection (*dis*), the specifier is empty, and the content of the second conjunct occurs in complement position, as below:

(11)

```
            Discourse
          /          \
       ...            dis
                    /     \
                  dis      CP
                   |       / \
                  ma    non era rosso?
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It must be noted that Giorgi does not seem to adopt the idea that these constructions should be characterized as a type of coordination, since there is no reference in this representation to *Conj* or *ConjP*. On the contrary, the idea in this representation is that *ma* is a discourse marker that occupies $Disc^0$ and projects Discourse. In the author's proposal, $Disc^0$ is a head that connects two textual units (which correspond to two CPs, or to a situation and a CP), i.e., $Disc^0$, and *ma* that instantiates it, selects a CP as complement, and the specifier of $Disc^0$ can be either a situation or a CP. This shows, according to the author, that some syntactic representations "must be enriched with information traditionally considered as belonging to other modules of grammar" (Giorgi, 2018: 5), namely to Discourse.

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[5] One of the reviewers, relying on Giorgi (2018), remarks that in Italian only the Imperfect Past is allowed in inco-ordinates. However, regarding European Portuguese, there are fewer restrictions on the Indicative tenses that can occur in incoordinate, as can be seen in the examples below given a felicitous context:

i) *Mas não és vegana?!* ('But aren't you vegan?!') – Present

ii) *Mas foste à praia?!* ('But did you go to the beach?!') – Perfect Past

iii) *Mas não eras alérgica?!* ('But aren't you allergic?!') – Imperfect Past

iv) *Mas não tinhas ido para a China?!* ('But didn't you go to China?!') – Pluperfect Composed Past

Considering the examples above and our analysis regarding how expectations are generated, we believe incoordinate are most felicitous when occurring in relation to a past/current event.

[6] Giorgi (2016: 2) also notes that in some cases, with a specific context, is possible to have these sentences without negation (cf. (i)). The same is true in European Portuguese (see (ii)).

(i) *Ma è rosso!*
But it's red!

(ii) *Mas a noiva está de vermelho?!*
But the bride is wearing red?!

Regarding the reticence marks in specifier position, Giorgi (2018: 16) affirms that it corresponds to the expectation that is denied by the content of the second conjunct.

Kuteva *et al* do not present a syntactic structure for these sentences. However, the authors investigate the status of *but* and *and* in these constructions and state that these elements lose their status as coordinative conjunctions, namely because, unlike the conjunction *but*, which articulates two segments (cf. (12)), *but*, as a sentential particle, resulting from the incoordination process, expresses the speaker's attitude and does not articulate segments, as in (13).

(12)   Mary loves cakes but she is rather slim.

(13)   Many citizens of the so-called First World are still shocked to discover that we tropical islanders speak English, "But you speak English so well", they say.

As for a sentential particle, the authors point out that "it may – but doesn't have to – even relate to a linguistic chunk, i.e., it is not bound to a previous assertion by an interlocutor." In their analysis, Kuteva *et al* (2017) consider that the possibility of a sentential particle not being bound to a previous assertion by an interlocutor is due to speakers having no difficulty in providing, given the previous pragmatic-discursive context, possible equivalents to the absent sentence, as below:

(14)   [Maria told Pedro that she was going on vacation to Spain in August. On August 10th, Pedro sees Maria at the university].
        Pedro: *Mas não ias para Espanha?!*
                But weren't you going to Spain?!

Apart from determining the structure of these sentences, it is important to ascertain its pragmatic value, which, in our analysis, is linked to the value of *mas* and its conjunctional status. Furthermore, by determining the status of *mas*, we can more accurately propose a syntactic configuration.

2.2. Pragmatic value of incoordinate sentences

Regarding the value of incoordinate sentences, Kuteva *et al* suggest that they are associated to the value of mirativity, which was defined by DeLancey (1997, 2001) as a way of conveying information that is new or unexpected to the speaker. Mirativity is often expressed through the use of evidential markers and, for this reason, the work of DeLancey (1997) was pioneering in distinguishing evidentiality from mirativity. Also, Kim & Aleksova (2003) present evidence from Bulgarian to show that these concepts are distinct, since, in this language, they are expressed by using different markers.

Also, according to the work of Aikhenvald (2012), mirativity can express various values in relation to the speaker, the interlocutor, or the main character of a narrative. The values reported

by Aikhenvald (2012: 437) are: sudden discovery, surprise, unprepared mind, counterexpectation, or new information. However, taking into account that Aikhenvald (2012: 457) refers that not all values that make up the mirativity range can be used in all languages, Kuteva *et al* propose *surprise* as the central value of the concept of mirativity.

Niclot's (2018) work assumes the existence of incoordination and also proposes the association of mirativity with the adversative connector, considering that *ma* and *aber* (adversative conjunctions in Italian and German, respectively) can be used to convey surprise.

(15) *Ma   come sei   nervoso, figlioletto   mio, cosa   c'=è   che non va?*
      but   how   you are nervous little child   my   what   is = there that not   goes
      'Oh, how nervous you are, my little son! What is going wrong?'

                                                                        Niclot (2018: 47)

(16) *Aber das ist doch Peter!*
      but that is PTCL Peter
      'But that's Peter! (I can't believe it!)'   cf. Niclot (2018: 52)

The author mentions that this construction is also available in English, providing examples such as "but that's great!" and "but you cook terribly!" and considers that "(…) the availability of both an adversative and a mirative reading of *but* in these two languages legitimizes the hypothesis that polysemy rather than homonymy is involved" (Niclot 2018: 1).

Kuteva *et al* (2017) argue that *but* and *and*, in incoordinate sentences, constitute a group of non-specialized expressions for conveying mirativity. By defining *but* and *and* as mirative particles, the authors distinguish their values from those of coordinating conjunctions, referring to examples (12) and (13), repeated below, for convenience:

(17) Mary loves cakes but she is rather slim.

(18) Many citizens of the so-called First World are still shocked to discover that we tropical islanders speak English, "But you speak English so well", they say.

Regarding the function and value of *but* in these examples, Kuteva *et al* (2017) propose that in (17), as *but* occurs as a conjunction, it has its *source meaning* of counterexpectation. Differently, sentence particle *but*, occurring in (18), conveys mirativity, which is the resulting meaning of the incoordination process.

On the adversative and mirative values of the conjunction, Niclot (2018: 1) assumes in his analysis that mirativity is a value that derives from adversativity: "More generally, on grounds of the attested adversative function of the cross-linguistic equivalents of *but* (henceforth *buts* when relevant), we can assume that this meaning is diachronically primary and that the sense of surprise has arisen from it along a process of grammaticalization."

We understand this proposal, as, in EP, one of the main values of *mas* is also counterexpectation (cf. Canceiro, 2023), and there is also evidence that in some languages there are particles dedicated to conveying mirativity. However, in the case of incoordinate sentences with *mas*, we believe it is difficult to distinguish counterexpectation from mirativity, since both correspond to the value of surprise or unexpectedness. We, thus, propose counterexpectation as the main value conveyed by incoordinate sentences with *mas*.

As mentioned, Kuteva *et al* (2017) consider that, when going through the process of incoordination, *but* loses its conjunctional status and becomes a sentence particle. According to the authors, this change of status is due to the, already mentioned, change of meaning from counterexpectation to mirativity.

Although we agree with the association of incoordination to surprise or unexpectedness, we believe that surprise arises from an expectation that is denied, as below:

(19)   [6 months ago, Maria told Pedro that she was a vegetarian. Today, at dinner, she ordered a steak.]
Pedro: *Mas tu não eras vegetariana?!*
        But weren't you vegetarian?!

Thus, denying an expectation always results in a surprise, even though the opposite is not true. In example (20), the sentence conveys surprise, but it does not necessarily deny an expectation:

(20)   *A Carolina está grávida!*
        Carolina is pregnant!

Also, we propose that in some incoordinate sentences that occur without previous linguistic material the content of the expectation (that is denied by the incoordinate) is generated through R-inferences (related to cultural/social questions, cf. Schwentter, 2000; Niclot, 2018), as below. In (21), the incoordinate must be uttered by a speaker whose cultural background creates the expectation of a bride wearing white. Thus, this example with *mas* conveys that, for this speaker, a bride wearing red goes against their expectations.

(21)   *Mas a noiva está de vermelho?!*
        But the bride is wearing red?!

We believe our proposal is further corroborated as, in languages as Spanish or German, in which there are two adversative conjunctions, *pero/sino* in Spanish and *aber/sondern* in German, it is the one that conveys counterexpectation (*pero* and *aber*, respectively) that occurs in incoordinates.

Niclot (2018: 62) even mentions, regarding the example below, that it could be analyzed as resulting from the ellipsis of the first conjunct, whose content would be similar to "I didn't expect this", which further strengthens our idea.

(22) "Bless it, but this is an agreeable surprise!" exclaimed Aunt Pattie, as Annie entered the little, rock-built cottage on a clear, cool evening.

Thus, although Kuteva *et al* (2017) and Niclot (2018) consider mirativity to be the main value of incoordinate *but*, we believe there are arguments that support an analysis in which it maintains its source meaning of counterexpectation. Kuteva *et al* also admit that DeLancey (*c.p.*) considers that when *but* occurs in an incoordinate sentence it still conveys counterexpectation.

In the next section, we will present our analysis for EP, in which we will argue for a conjunctional status for *mas*, while bearing in mind the maintenance of one of its source meanings, i.e., counterexpectation.

3. Incoordination in European Portuguese

Assuming the existence of incoordinate sentences in European Portuguese, in this section, we will present a proposal for its syntactic configuration, discussing the possibility of an existing first conjunct, and arguing in favor of a conjunctional status for *but*.

Bearing in mind Canceiro's (2016) idea of different degrees of integration among coordinate sentences, we argue that these paratactic types of coordination should be seen as a *continuum* regarding the process of building complex sentences, which includes incoordination.

(23) Integrated coordination
      O João toca piano mas [-] estuda inglês.
      João plays piano but [-] studies English.

(24) Parenthetical coordination
      A Maria, mas não é costume dela, chegou atrasada.
      Maria, but this is not her usual behavior, was late.

(25) Juxtaposed coordination
      O João chegou à escola. Mas, passados 5 minutos, teve de voltar para casa.
      João arrived at school. But, 5 minutes later, he had to go back home.

(26) Incoordinate
      [Maria thinks Pedro is on holiday in France, but she sees him downtown.]
      Maria: *Mas tu estás cá?! Mas não estavas em França?!*
              But you are here?! But weren't you in France?!

The hypothesis of a *continuum* considers the similarities between incoordinate and insubordinate sentences (cf. Evans, 2007), as well as the idea of *Syntactic Gradience*, referred to by authors such as Aarts (2007), to account for examples as (27).

(27)   She is a *working* mother.

Aarts (2007: 214–215) considers that, in (27), *working* has (i) verbal properties, due to the *-ing* ending and the fact that it can be modified by an adverb (*a still working mother*), and (ii) adjectival, because it occurs with an attributive function. However, it is important to note that *working* is neither completely verbal, since, for example, it cannot be negated (**not working mother*), nor is it completely adjectival, since it cannot occur in a comparative context (**more/ most working mother*).

According to the author's theory, the gradience in paratactic structures would be of the *subsective* type as it is "intra-categorial in nature, and allows for prototypes, that is, for members of a class to display the properties of that class to varying degrees" (Aarts, 2007: 241).

Aarts proposal will also be useful to account for the different types of incoordinates we consider for EP, which will be discussed in the next sections.

3.1. The status of *mas* and types of incoordinate sentences

The occurrence of *mas* in incoordinate sentences led us to question its conjunctional status and rethink the possibility of treating it as a Discourse Marker, since the function of a coordinating conjunction is typically to articulate two conjuncts, forming a complex constituent. We will start by defining the status of *mas*, since the properties of the head must be preserved during the derivation of the structure of the sentence.

Colaço (2013: 256), analyzing constructions in which the copulative conjunction seems to cross discursive boundaries, points out that, in certain cases, the particle *e* ('and') seems to present a behavior that is both conjunctional – as a connecting element – and discursive – since it is associated to progression of the narrative.

Similarly, Giorgi (2016, 2018) notes some properties that distance the connector *ma* from the conjunction *ma*, such as the fact that it is a discursive head, which connects textual units.

Bearing in mind that there are different types of incoordinates (cf. (4) *vs.* (5), repeated below as (28) and (29), for convenience), it would be possible to consider that, in some types, the behavior of *mas* is closer to that of a discourse marker.

(28)   A: *Não sou muito bom a fazer doces…*
            I'm not very good at baking…
        B: *Mas este bolo está ótimo!*
            But this cake is great!

(29)   *Mas a noiva está de calças?!*
        But the bride is wearing pants?!

However, we believe Coutinho's (2008: 208) work should be considered as the author states that it is unfortunate to use the expression *discursive markers*, as this might reiterate a dissociated conception between language and discourse. The author also notes that it is problematic to sustain the existence of linguistic units especially designed for discourse, thus implying the existence of others that are not (Coutinho, 2008: 196).

Still, to evaluate the hypothesis that the conjunction is transformed, through incoordination, into a discourse marker (DM), it is relevant to take into account the work of Fielder (2008). Regarding the distinction between coordinating conjunction and discourse marker, Fielder (2008: 80), for Bulgarian, considers that these connectors "can be plotted along a *continuum* of connectivity that operates on multiple levels of linguistic structure: syntactic, semantic, and discourse-pragmatic." Fielder (2008: 82) also questions whether the distinction between coordinating conjunction and discourse marker is valid or useful.

Fielder's work is motivated by the fact that in Bulgarian there are three adversative conjunctions/discourse markers whose conjunctional status is not fully defined. The author analyzes various corpora and concludes that, for example, the medial position of the coordinating conjunction in the sentence is not a sufficiently robust argument to determine the status of the constituent.

Bearing in mind the possibility of *mas* being a discourse marker in incoordinates, let us look at the behavior of adversative connectors, like *porém, contudo,* in EP, classified as DMs by Macário Lopes (2016: 447). In the examples below, we can see, for example, the possibility of DMs co-occurring with coordinating conjunctions. In a construction with *mas* such co-occurrence would cause ungrammaticality (cf. (30c)):[7]

(30)   a.   *Ela está cansada, **e, porém,** não pode ir já para férias.*
             She is tired *and however* she cannot go on holidays yet.
       b.   *Ela está cansada, **mas, contudo,** não vai já para férias.*
             She is tired *but however* she cannot go on holidays yet.
       c.   **Ela está cansada, **e, mas,** não pode ir já para férias.*
             She is tired *and but* she cannot go on holidays yet.

We can also verify the behavior of incoordinate *mas* against some of the prototypical properties of DMs (cf. Jucker & Ziv, 1998), which show that incoordinate *mas* is not a DM.

A DM is prototypically associated with a special intonation, occurs between commas, or followed by a comma, but in opposition to *porém* and *contudo* (cf. (30a)–(30b)), *mas* does not occur in these contexts:

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[7] Examples as (30) occur in Portuguese grammars (see Mateus *et al,* 2003; and Raposo *et al,* 2013) to distinguish conjunctions from discourse markers. However, they are not presented as defining properties of what constitutes a discourse marker.

(31) a. ***Mas** o João não ia viajar?*
          But wasn't João going on a trip?
      b. *****Mas,** o João não ia viajar?*
          But, wasn't João going on a trip?

As the insertion of the comma yields (31b) ungrammatical, *mas* does not seem to be associated with a special intonation nor should it be followed by a comma.

Also, a DM can prototypically move to several positions within a sentence, which is not possible with *mas*, as shown below:

(32) a. ***Mas** isto está ótimo!*
          But this is great!
      b. **Isto está **mas** ótimo!*
          This is but great!
      c. **Isto está ótimo **mas**!*
          This is great but!

This patterns with the typical behavior of conjunctions, and contrasts with prototypical adversative discourse markers, as *porém/todavia/contudo*, which as shown below, present great mobility in the sentence they occur:

(33) a. *Ela está cansada,* porém/todavia/contudo *o trabalho impede-a de ir já para férias.*
          She is tired, *however* the work prevents her from going on holiday.
      b. *Ela está cansada, o trabalho impede-a,* porém/todavia/contudo*, de ir já para férias.*
          She is tired, the work prevents her, *however*, from going on holiday.
      c. *Ela está cansada, o trabalho impede-a de ir já para férias,* porém/todavia/contudo.
          She is tired, the work prevents her from going on holiday, *however*.

If *mas* ('but') is a DM, its alternation with other elements that are unanimously contrastive DMs, such as *porém* (*although*) and *contudo* (*however*) should be possible:

(34) a. ***Mas** não tens teste amanhã?*
          But don't you have an exam tomorrow?
      b. *****Porém/Contudo** tens teste amanhã?*
          Although/However don't you have an exam tomorrow?

This exchange is not possible given the pragmatic/semantic value of incoordinates (counterexpectation), i.e., these DMs, *porém/todavia/contudo,* cannot occur in an incoordinate because they do not convey the same value. Furthermore, we also consider that this alternation is not possible due to different status of these elements: *mas* is a conjunction, and *porém/todavia/contudo* are discourse markers. This different behavior further strengthens our argument for *mas* being a conjunction.

Bearing this in mind, as it will be mentioned below, the assumption that *mas* is a discourse marker would imply considering a new category of DMs.

If *mas* ('but') is a DM, its occurrence should be optional, and its omission should not affect the pragmatic value of the sentence:

(35)   a.   ***Mas** o que é que estás a fazer*?
            But what are you doing?
       b. *#O que é que estás a fazer?*
            What are you doing?

The example (35b), although not ungrammatical, displays a different meaning in relation to (35a). In our analysis, only in (35a) it is possible to infer that a different behavior is expected from the addressee of the speaker. We propose the presence of *mas* is necessary, as the contrast above illustrates, to convey counterexpectation (one of the main values of this conjunction).

However, a property mentioned by Giorgi (2018) allows the approximation of *mas* to a discourse marker. This DM would have as distinctive property, regarding conjunctional *mas*, the impossibility of counterexpectational sentences occurring in subordination contexts, as (36) from Giorgi for Italian, and (37) provided by us for EP:

(36)   **Gianni ha detto che ma non era rosso*
          Gianni said that but it wasn't red

(37)   **O João disse / exclamou que mas não era vermelho!*
          João said / exclaimed that but it wasn't red!

This means that these expressions typically occur in direct speech and that we could have direct speech reported as:

(38)   *O João exclamou: – Mas não era vermelho?!*
          João exclaimed: – But wasn't it red?!

However, DMs as *porém, todavia* or *contudo* are not excluded from subordination domains, as shown in (39), an example from Mateus *et al* (2003: 571), in which we include *mas* to evidence its contrasting behavior:

(39)   *Apesar de reconhecerem a debilidade económica do país, os investigadores acham que*
         o governo lhes devia, √{porém/todavia/contudo}/*mas, oferecer melhores condições
         de trabalho.
         Despite the economic weakness of the country, the researchers think the government
         should, *however/nonetheless /*but,* offer them better working conditions.

So, even if it is assumed that *mas* in these constructions is a DM, it is necessary to specify to which category of DMs it belongs, since *mas*, although it is associated with the adversative value, seems to behave differently from other discourse markers with this value.

When it occurs in incoordinates, *mas* makes it possible to connect two overt discourse units/sentences (cf. Giorgi's analysis of *ma*), or a sentence to a situation. Given this behavior, if we define these elements as DMs, they should belong to the class of coordinative conjunctive DMs. This class would include DMs that occur in incoordinate sentences, and we suggest that, for this reason, a separate class should also be considered to include DMs that occur in insubordinate constructions, as in the following examples:

(40) a. ***Que   o   teste corra bem!***
          (That) The   test   goes   well
          'I wish the test goes well!'

      b. ***Que   ninguém saia!***
          (That) Nobody   leaves
          'Nobody leaves!'   Canceiro & Matos (2023)

In examples (40a) and (40b) *que* seems to act as a complementizer introducing new discourse yet conveying different values (a wish *vs.* an order). This would raise the question of how many DM categories we need to account for all these cases?

Also, given that there is no projection dedicated to DMs in current discourse approaches to languages, unless we accept Giorgi's proposal (2016, 2018), what would be the consequences of assuming *mas* as a DM in terms of syntactic structure?

Assuming incoordinate *mas* is a conjunction, we can observe it shares three properties with the regular conjunction that occurs in adversative coordination:

  i)   *mas* occupies the initial position of the conjunct;
  ii) *mas* cannot be moved within the conjunct;
  iii) *mas* cannot compete for a structural position occupied by another conjunction – the head of the structure.

Regarding the possibility of the conjunction co-occurring with complementizers in coordinating subordinate sentences, we acknowledge, with Giorgi (2016, 2018) that the examples provided mainly involve direct "speech" or dialogue, introducing full sentences, i.e. CPs, thus bringing *mas* closer to a discursive element. The CP nature of the constituent selected by incoordinate *mas* is overtly attested in some examples where *mas* cooccurs with the complementizer *que* ('that') in EP:

(41)   [Ana is explaining to her group of friends the surprise she is preparing for João]
         Ana: *Mas* [_CP_ *que   ninguém   lhe   diga   nada*]!
                But   that nobody him tell   nothing
         'But that nobody tells him anything!"

As for the sensitivity to the finite or non-finite nature of the sentences that *mas* introduces, we assume that this is a consequence of the previous property, since the infinitive typically occurs in subordination contexts.

Regarding the properties of conjunctions/discourse markers, we find interesting the question posed by Aarts (2007: 225) about the properties that define the status of constituents:

> How can we be sure to identify all the relevant properties, and are all the properties equally important?

From what we have shown, we admit, with Fielder (2008), that the distinction between *mas* as a conjunction or a DM in incoordinate sentences is not necessary or useful. By discarding this distinction, we propose that, at the syntactic level, *mas* is a regular conjunction, and, at the discourse level, it apparently acts as a discourse marker.

Regarding the differences between incoordinates, even though Kuteva *et al* (2017) mention that the incoordinate can, but doesn't have to, be linked to a previous assertion, we assume this possibility to be linguistically relevant. Let us look at the examples of incoordinate sentences below:

(42)   Ann: *Estou a aprender português há 8 meses...*
                 I've been learning Portuguese for 8 months...
         Paulo: *Mas falas tão bem!*
                 But you speak so well!

(43)   Ana: *Vou pedir uma mousse de chocolate.*
                 I'll order the chocolate *mousse.*
         João: *Mas não és alérgica?*
                 But aren't you allergic?

(44)   [Pedro sees his daughter lifting a big box]
         Pedro: *Mas que forte que és!*
                 But you are so strong!

Although these incoordinates seem different, as they occur in different contexts, i.e., in response to an addressee (cf. (42) and (43)) or *out of the blue*, as (44), all convey the denial of an expectation the speaker had. To clarify this reasoning, let us analyze each of the examples: (i) in (42), the incoordinate is similar to the second conjunct of integrated coordination, i.e., the expectation

that is denied is obtained from the content of the previous linguistic material and our knowledge of how the world works; (ii) in (43), João's utterance does not occur only as a response to Ana's ordering of a chocolate mousse, but also because he expects that only those who are not allergic to chocolate can enjoy chocolate mousse; (iii) in (44), Pedro's utterance expresses that he didn't expect his daughter to be so strong and being able to lift a big box. Hence, the linguistic context that precedes the incoordinate in (42) is the target of Paulo's utterance, because Ann's sentence creates the expectation that 8 months is not enough time to speak fluently; in (43), Ana's sentence is not the target of João's utterance, since the incoordinate occurs as a reaction to what is in the speakers' *common ground* (shared knowledge), Ana's allergy to chocolate, which, in turn, generates the expectation of her not being able to eat it. On the other hand, in (44), as there is no linguistic context, the expectation has to be inferred from Pedro's utterance. In sum, regardless of their context of occurrence, incoordinates arise as reactions to unexpected events, which are inferred by the speaker and that are contrary to their expectations.

Bearing in mind this behavior, we propose that incoordinates cause inferences that act in a way similar to cataphors, as "comprehenders arguably engage in a type of active linguistic prediction" (Kush & Dillon, 2021: 1). In fact, only when we have access to the content of the incoordinate do we know what expectation is denied:

(45)   a.   A: *Eu não cozinho muito bem...*
                  I don't cook very well...
          B: *Mas isto está otimo!*
                  But this is great!

    b.   A: *Vou pedir um bitoque.*
                  I'll order a steak.
          B: *Mas não eras vegetariana?!*
                  But weren't you a vegetarian?!

(46)   Mas *a noiva está de calças?!*
        But the bride is wearing pants?!

In these examples, the expectation is not overtly realized, and its content can only be established in a backwards process. Thus, in (45a,b), which are Type I incoordinates, only after the incoordinate is uttered do we know that speaker B did not expect the food to be good (45a), or that given past events they expected speaker A to not eat meat (45b). Considering traditional cultural beliefs, we can assume that in (46) the expectation would be for the bride to wear a dress instead of pants. Thus, the incoordinate has the function of establishing the content of the expectation, and also denying it. In these cases, we assume a reconstruction phenomenon happening at LF, similar to what Cyrino (1996) proposes for null object. However, we distance our proposal from Cyrino's regarding the existence of ellipsis, which we consider that preferably

does not occur in incoordinates licensed by situational context. Also, admitting a bottom-up approach to structure derivation, it is plausible that the expectation in these cases can only be obtained after the incoordinate is built.

However, the fact that cases as (42) and (43) appear in a context that has previous linguistic material grants these constructions different properties.

Assuming that *sentence proforms* have linguistic content and can be legitimized by their connection to a previous linguistic context, we consider important to note that only incoordinates as (47) and (48) allow the recovery of the content of the first conjunct with a *proform* such as *Sim* ('Yes'). On the other hand, incoordinates as (49), that occur *out of the blue*, do not legitimize the occurrence of *Sim*:

(47) Ann: *Estou a aprender português há 8 meses…*
              I've been learning Portuguese for 8 months…
      Paulo: *Sim, mas falas tão bem!*
              Yes, but you speak so well!

(48) Ana: *Vou pedir uma mousse de chocolate.*
             I'll order the chocolate *mousse.*
      João: *Sim, mas não és alérgica?!*
             Yes, but aren't you allergic?!

(49) [Pedro sees his daughter lifting a big box]
      Pedro: **Sim, mas que forte que és!*
              Yes, but you are so strong!

Schwenter (2000: 2), analyzing the different behavior of adversative conjunctions in Spanish (*pero* and *sino*), also notes this possibility with the conjunction conveying counterexpectation (*pero*):

(50) [A is trying to convince B to hire Juan for a linguistics position]
      A: *Juan es inteligente.*
          'Juan is intelligent.'
      B: *(Sí,) Pero no sabe nada de lingüística.*
          '(Yes,) But he doesn't know anything about linguistics.'

According to Schwenter (2000: 2), the contrast/opposition value of *pero* ('but') is corroborated by the occurrence of *Sí* ('Yes'), which asserts that both agree on Juan being intelligent. And, as the author states:

The role of *pero* is that of introducing an argument that is stronger than the one put forth by A; more explicitly, then, B's response can be understood as conveying "while it is true that Juan is intelligent, and that this is an argument in favor of hiring him for the position, it is also true that he doesn't know anything about linguistics, and this is a decisive argument for NOT hiring him".

This possibility is also present in Italian, as noted by Giorgi (2018: 12), that shows that *ma* can occur as a conjunction (51) and, if uttered by different speakers (cf. (52)), the conjuncts correspond to *discourses*, and the second conjunct can be preceded by *Sì* ('Yes'), which reports to the previous discourse fragment:

(51)   *Maria ha trenta anni, **ma** ne dimostra venti.*
       Maria is thirty, but she looks twenty.

(52)   A: *Maria ha trenta anni.*
            Maria is thirty.
       B: *(Sì,) **ma** ne dimostra venti.*
            (Yes,) but she looks twenty.

Since we need to obtain contrast in adversative constructions, as it is the basic value of the conjunction, the occurrence of *Não* ('No'), instead of *Sim*, is precluded from sentences as (53), (54) and (55). Also, the expectation that the incoordinate denies is presupposed by the speaker, so *Não* would imply negating the speaker's own psychological process.[8]

(53)   Adam: *Estou a estudar português há 8 meses.*
               I've been studying Portuguese for 8 months.
       Maria: **Não, mas falas tão bem!*
               No, but you speak so well!

(54)   Ana: *Vou pedir uma mousse de chocolate.*
               I'll order the chocolate *mousse*.
       João: **Não, mas não és alérgica?*
               No, but aren't you allergic?

(55)   [Pedro sees his daughter lifting a big box]
       Pedro: **Não, mas que forte que és!*
               No, but you are so strong!

---

[8] However, we assume that for some speakers, it is possible the occurrence of "Não", as an interjection:

i)   *Não!!! Mas falas tão bem!*
     No!!! But you speak so well!

The possibility, or not, of recovering the content of the previous discourse fragment will thus be one of the distinguishing properties between these two types of incoordinates. It is possible to consider, in line with Evans (2007), that both constructions are incoordinate, but that they are at different points in the incoordination process, in which those of the type of (42) and (43), *vs.* (44), are still dependent on the recovery of the linguistic material that legitimizes them. This would also be in line with Aarts (2007: 241) proposal of syntactic gradience, being in this case what the author defines as *subsective gradience*, as it allows " for members of a class to display the properties of that class to varying degrees." Thus, as mentioned, we propose the inclusion of paratactic constructions into a *continuum* of connectivity, which includes integrated coordinate sentences but also incoordinates (Type I and II).

Thus, Type I incoordinates are at an earlier stage of incoordination and still dependent on a previous linguistic context; differently, type II incoordinates correspond to a more independent stage, in which there is an extension of the sentence domain to the pragmatic, motivated/guided by the context. Drawing a parallel with Evans' (2007) analysis of insubordination, we could assume (i) that Type I incoordinates are in the first stage of incoordination; and (ii) Type II incoordinates, are in the last stage of incoordination and can, therefore, occur independently.

Note that in Evans (2007) proposal there are four stages and that we are reducing it in our proposal to two. We chose to eliminate Evans' stage I, as it would correspond to an integrated canonical coordinate sentence, and we combined stages II and III, because stage II is defined by the author as the one in which an ellipsis occurs. In our analysis, however, in Type I incoordinates, the linguistic material is preferably inferred from the previous discourse fragment, or from information shared between the speakers (*common ground*); recovered by a sentential *proform* (*Sim*); or by an elliptical constituent.

In Type I incoordinates, we assume that it is possible to partly recover linguistic material, although not in a strict sense. Regarding example (56), we admit it is possible i) for the incoordinate to occur as a reaction to an expectation of the sort "I expect this to be bad" or ii), alternatively, given that ellipsis can correspond to material recovered from a situational context, it is possible that speaker B reconstructs something as "*És mau a cozinhar, mas isto está ótimo!*" ('You are bad at cooking, but this is great!'). If this second alternative is assumed, then we have elided linguistic material that corresponds to the first conjunct.[9]

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[9] We thank one of the reviewers for a comment about these alternatives. We admit it is more difficult to support an ellipsis analysis because as we propose, and the reviewer agrees, incoordinates act as cataphors, giving us access to the expectation only when the incoordinate is uttered. Considering this, we know the incoordinate *Mas isto está ótimo!* occurs as a way to convey surprise/counterexpectation regarding the expectation "the food is bad". However, if we assumed the possibility of an elided first conjunct, its generation would process in a irregular way, as it should be obtained as follows: 1) the incoordinate *Mas isto está ótimo!* is uttered; 2) cataphorically we access the expectation that is being denied "the food is bad"; 3) the possible first conjunct *És mau a cozinhar* is generated. Even though at this point we cannot exclude the ellipsis account, in future work we intend to develop the proposal in which the first conjunct corresponds to the expectation.

(56) A: *Não sou muito bom a cozinhar…*
         I'm not very good at cooking…

     a. [Expectation: the food is not good]

     B: *(Sim,) Mas isto está ótimo!*
         (Yes,) But this is great!

     b. ~~*És mau a cozinhar*~~*, mas isto está ótimo!*
         ~~You are bad at cooking~~, but this is great!

As for Type II, since they occur *out of the blue* it is impossible to assume that there is ellipsis, i.e., taking into account its classical definition, as the omission of a linguistic expression that may be recovered by the linguistic or situational context that, usually, precedes the elided material. In this case, the expectation is inferred from the content of the incoordinate.

Bearing in mind the different characteristics of Type I and II incoordinates, we will adopt Cristofaro's (2016) proposal for the development of insubordinate sentences as it is the most appropriate to account for incoordinates. The author's work combines several processes, as ellipsis and clausal disengagement (or *extension*, in Mithun (2008)), which can be applied to different types of sentences. The concept of extension was proposed by Mithun (2008), regarding insubordinates, which are legitimized through an extension mechanism that allows them to occur independently in the absence of the matrix clause because there is an extension of the sentence domain into the discursive and pragmatic domains (cf. Mithun, 2008: 69). We assume that, particularly, in Type II incoordinates, as they are related to cultural beliefs, there is an extension of the sentence domain to the pragmatic one, which allows the sentence to be felicitous.

Below, we present **Table 1**, whose aim is to systematize our proposal for incoordination. As mentioned, there are two types of incoordinates, depending on their occurrence in relation to a previous discourse fragment (Type I) or regarding a situation (Type II). As for **Type I**, these sentences can also be divided into two subtypes: i) **Type I – A**: the incoordinate is a reaction to an unexpected situation in relation to the content of the previous discourse fragment; and ii) **Type I – B**: the incoordinate is a reaction to an unexpected situation regarding information that is in the *common ground*, i.e., it entails shared knowledge between speakers. As for **Type II**, these are related to cultural beliefs or preconceived notions of our knowledge of the world.

As we stated, incoordinates occur as reactions to events that are unexpected to the speaker. The speaker's expectations have different origins: in Type I – A, the expectation is created only by the content of the previous discourse fragment; in Type I – B, it arises from the previous discourse fragment but also from information in the common ground; and, in Type II, it is the incoordinate in the situational context that occurs that allows us to infer what was expected.

	Context (discourse/ situation)	Expectation	Incoordinate
Type I – A	**Previous discourse** A: *Estudo português há 8 meses…* A: I've been studying Portuguese for 8 months…	He/She speaks poorly (obtained through previous discourse + world knowledge)	B: *Mas falas tão bem!* But you speak so well!
Type I – B	**Previous discourse** A: *Vou pedir a mousse de chocolate.* A: I'll order the chocolate mousse.	Only those who are not allergic to chocolate, may eat it (obtained through previous discourse + *common ground*)	B: *Mas não és alérgica?!* But aren't you allergic?!
Type II	**Situation** [Someone sees a bride in a red dress]	Brides wear white (obtained through cultural beliefs and preconceptions)	*A: Mas a noiva está de vermelho?!* But the bride is wearing red?!

Table 1: Types of incoordinates.

3.2. The structure of incoordination

The syntactic structures of coordinate sentences have been the subject of several proposals in the literature: tripartite structures that do not consider the conjunction to be the head of the structure (Johnson, 2002; Borsley, 1994, 2005; a.o.); binary structures, which also consider the conjunction not to be the head of the structure (Chaves, 2007); binary structures that obey the Specifier-Head-Complement configuration, each conjunct occurring as a specifier or a complement of *Conj* (Kayne, 1994; Johannessen, 1998; Matos, 1995, 2003; Colaço 1998, 2005); and, finally, binary Adjunction structures (Munn, 1992, 1993, 1999), which assume that the first conjunct is outside of the structure of *ConjP* (in Munn, BP), in Syntax.

Nevertheless, incoordination poses problems for both configurations, since the specifier position, which in integrated coordination attributes to *ConjP* its features, is typically occupied by a non-overt category. As we showed before, the incoordinate, even when there is a previous discourse fragment, does not occur as a response to that sentence, so it is not possible to assume the existence of elided material, corresponding to the first conjunct. Considering this, the issue arises concerning a configuration lacking a specifier position and how *ConjP*'s categorical features will be assigned, as per the widely accepted proposal (cf. Johannessen 1998), they are established through *Agree* between the first conjunct and the conjunction.

In this respect, Matos (1997, 2000) proposes that *ConjP* assumes its categorial features by *Agree* with its specifier, except when the specifier is not overt, in which case *ConjP* receives its features from the complement, a proposal that is further explored in Matos (2009) for parenthetical coordination. In this paper, the author, explores the operation of *Pair Merge* in parentheticals and states that "in an adjunct configuration, the underspecified categorial value of *Conj* is fixed by the head of this complement" (Matos 2009: 167).

Colaço & Matos (2010: 14) also highlight that the proposal incorporating the specifier projection and the one that does not are not inherently incompatible. In other words, for standard binary coordination, the traditional Specifier-Head-Complement configuration, [ConjP [XP] [Conj' [Conj] [YP]] is the unmarked option. On the other hand, for structures with only one conjunct in complement position, Colaço & Matos (2010) propose a configuration as [ConjP [Conj' [Conj] [YP]]. The authors also claim that there is nothing to stop *Agree* from operating in both the [ConjP [Conj' [Conj] [YP]]] and the [ConjP [XP] [Conj' [Conj] [YP]]] configurations.

In our proposal, the sentence that occurs in complement position is a CP, as it bears exclamative/interrogative illocutionary force (cf. Giorgi, 2018). Our proposal bears in mind the gradience associated to paratactic constructions (cf. Matos, 2005, for EP), that include coordination and juxtaposed sentences. In juxtaposed sentences, as (57a), there is no explicit conjunction, even though, in some cases, it can be inferred (57b).

(57)   a.   *As crianças não trabalharam durante toda a manhã. Na verdade, durante a tarde também não.*
           The children didn't work all morning. In fact, they didn't work in the afternoon either.
       b.   *As crianças não trabalharam durante toda a manhã. **E, na verdade, durante a tarde também não.***
           The children didn't work all morning. And, in fact, they didn't work in the afternoon either.

<div align="right">(cf. Matos, 2005: 695)</div>

Bearing in mind that despite the presence of the conjunction, these sentences fit into the paratactic spectrum, we admit that incoordinates can also be included in this group of constructions. In incoordinates, as we showed in the beginning of section 3, the content of the utterance gives us information regarding the expectation that is not overtly realized and the denial of that same expectation. Note that Type II incoordinates, even though they occur in the absence of previous linguistic material, still need an adequate situational context to be felicitous. Consider the example presented before about the bride wearing a red dress, the incoordinate can occur in the context of a wedding, but not in the context of the father watching his daughter lift a big box. So, taking this into account, both in Type I and II, the incoordinate occurs juxtaposed to the previous linguistic fragment (Type I) or to the situational context (Type II).

This idea that some discourses and texts may be governed by the same or similar conditions that govern the combination of constituents is not new. Giorgi's (2016, 2018) work is clearly inspired by Cinque (2008), that analyses examples as (58), assuming Kayne's (1994) *Linear Correspondence Axiom* (LCA) to hold of Discourse Grammar. According to LCA, linear precedence in a discourse must also reflect asymmetric c-command.

(58)   John is no longer here. He left at noon.

<div align="right">Cinque (2008: 118)</div>

Cinque proposes (59) as the syntactic representation for (58), explaining that, in order to account for the LCA, it is needed to "merge the linearly preceding sentence in the specifier of an (empty) head, which takes the following sentence as a complement" (Cinque, 2008: 118).

(59)

```
          HP
        /    \
      CP      HP
             /  \
            H    CP
```
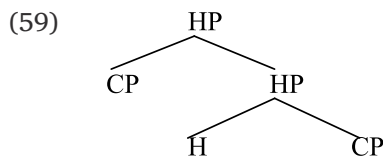
The author mentions that the constituent in specifier position can also be a discourse fragment, corresponding to a DP, in a sentence of the type *A pink shirt? I will never wear any such thing in my life!*, in a configuration as below:

(60)

```
          HP
        /    \
      DP      HP
             /  \
            H    CP
```
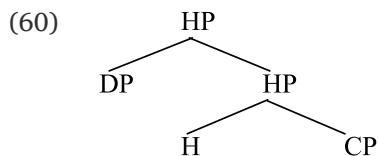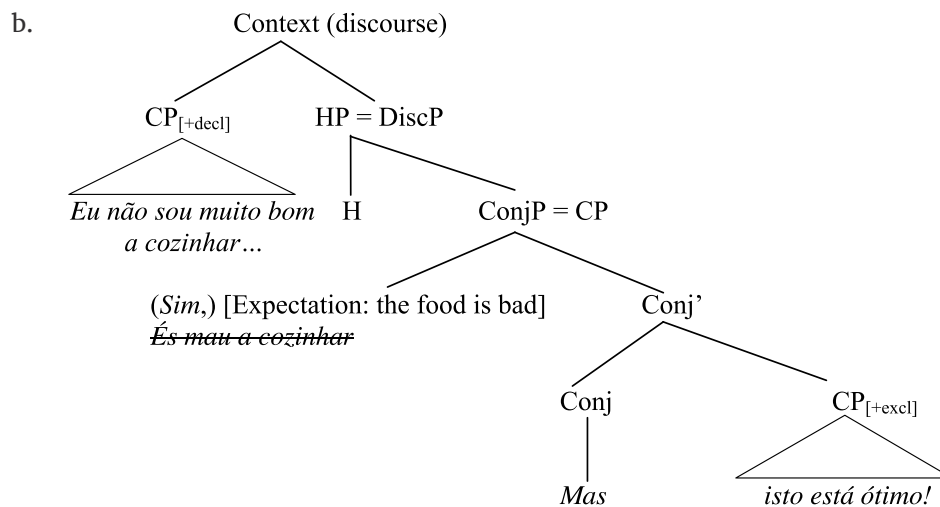
In Cinque's configuration, the H projection is used to signal the blocking of any Sentence Grammar (e.g., c-command) relation between specifier and complement, which is the general rule for sentences in discourse. We will adopt this projection, as between juxtaposed sentences/discourses we also want to block the relations between specifier and complement. As for *mas*, as shown, it maintains its conjunctional status and, thus, in our proposal, we preserve the projection of ConjP.

We present below the syntactic configurations for Type I and II incoordinates:

(61)   <u>Type I incoordinates</u>
   a.   A: Eu não sou muito bom a cozinhar…
             I'm not very good at cooking…
         B: *(Sim,) Mas isto está ótimo!*
             (Yes,) But this is great!
         B': *~~És mau a cozinhar~~, Mas isto está ótimo!*
   ~~You're bad at cooking~~, But this is great!

b.

```
                        Context (discourse)
                        /              \
              CP[+decl]              HP = DiscP
              /      \               /        \
    Eu não sou muito bom   H      ConjP = CP
        a cozinhar…              /          \
                        (Sim,) [Expectation: the food is bad]   Conj'
                         És mau a cozinhar                      /      \
                                                            Conj        CP[+excl]
                                                             |          /      \
                                                            Mas        isto está ótimo!
```

Note that Type I incoordinates are at an initial stage in which previous linguistic material is needed to legitimate their occurrence. In (61.B), the previous linguistic content is not recovered and, thus, is not projected in ConjP. In this analysis, as Giorgi (2018) proposes, the expectation is in specifier position and the incoordinate is contrasted with it. As mentioned, that linguistic content can be recovered through the sentential *proform Sim*. The representation presented above is similar to Giorgi's (2018: 17), as it assumes the possibility of *Sim* occurring in specifier position, which "refers anaphorically to the first conjunct uttered by the other speaker." The derivation proposed in (61.B') considers the possibility of recovering linguistic material, later elided, through the situational context, which in this example we assume to be something along the lines of "you are bad at cooking", that, regarding its content, it is similar to what the sentential *proform Sim* recovers.

In the representation above, we have the syntactic configuration for Type I – A incoordinates, as it occurs as a reaction to the previous discourse fragment. In our analysis, the structure for Type I – B is the same except for the expectation in the specifier position of ConjP, as it would be the information in the *common ground*.

Below, we have the syntactic structure for Type II incoordinates, which is similar, but instead of having two discourses juxtaposed, we have the incoordinate juxtaposed to a situation. We emphasize that the projection of the situation is relevant as not all contexts legitimize the incoordinate.

(62)   Type II incoordinates
    a.   [Maria sees a bride leaving the church]
          Maria: *Mas a noiva está de vermelho?!*
          But the bride is wearing red?!

b.

```
                        Context
                    /            \
              Situation        HP = DiscP
             /    |    \        |      \
   Maria sees a bride   H      ConjP = CP
   leaving the church          /        \
                                          Conj'
      [Expectation: brides wear white]   /    \
                                      Conj     CP
                                       |       /  \
                                      Mas    a noiva está de vermelho?!
```
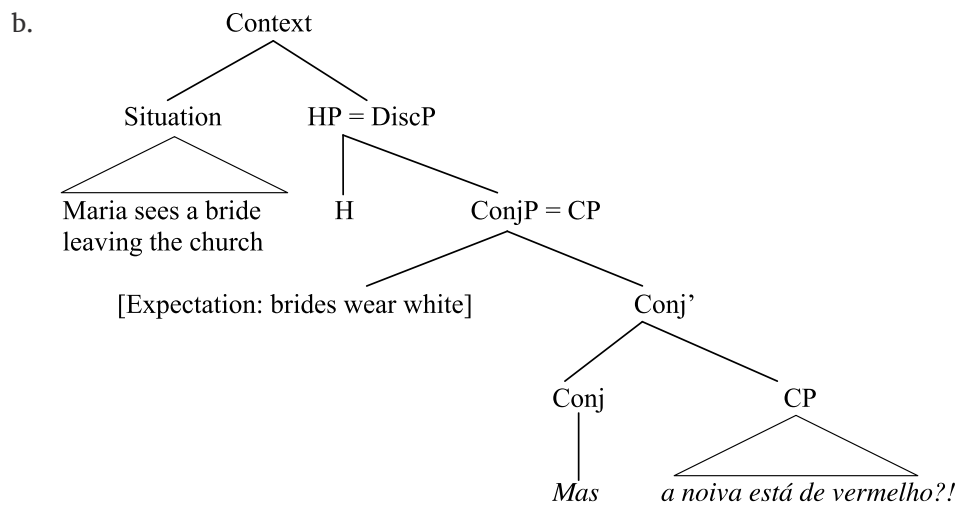
4. Conclusion

The analysis we presented proposes that we consider, in EP, the existence of constructions composed by a conjunction and a sentence, which corresponds to a single conjunct headed by a conjunction.

Data observation allowed us to distinguish between Type I (A/B) and Type II incoordinates: the former are at an earlier stage and still dependent on the occurrence of previous linguistic material; on the other hand, Type II incoordinates are characterized by the fact that they can occur without a previous linguistic context.

In addition, it became relevant to determine the status of the constituent which, in coordination structures, is a coordinative conjunction. The analysis of the properties associated with conjunctions and discourse markers has led us to assume that there are not enough arguments to exclude *mas* from the category of conjunction.

Finally, although Kuteva *et al* (2017) consider that incoordination and insubordination "undo" syntax due to the pragmatic contexts in which they occur, we want, with this work, to refine Giorgi's (2018) proposal, taking further the relationship between syntax and discourse, and to show that these processes extend syntax to discursive structures, which can include constituents that the speaker considers likely to be inferred and shared with the interlocutor in the *common ground*.

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Competing Interests

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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