

# German contrastive connectives beyond *aber*. An analysis of contrast on dimensions

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In my talk, I will focus on two types of non-proto-typical contrastive connectives in German: *dagegen* ('in contrast') and *wiederum* ('in turn') compared to *dennoch* ('however') and *trotzdem* ('nevertheless').

This comparison emanates from three observations: (i), *dagegen* and *wiederum* are limited to contexts with a parallel information structure as in (2a), in contrast to (1) (cf. Scebø 2004, Umbach 2005, Breindl et al. 2014). (ii), *dennoch* and *trotzdem* are eligible in both contexts, but invoke a change in meaning in (2b) that is analyzed as an incausal implicature (cf. König 1991, Malchukov 2004). (iii), when both types of connectives are combined, they keep their original functions and criteria of use, as shown in (3).

- (1) *Das Wetter ist schön. Wir gehen #dagegen/#wiederum/dennoch/trotzdem nicht spazieren.*  
(The weather is fine. We go CONN not for a walk.)
- (2a) *Peter ist groß. Fritz ist dagegen/wiederum klein.*  
(Peter is tall. Fritz is CONN small.)
- (2b) *Peter ist groß. Fritz ist dennoch/trotzdem klein.*
- (3) *Peter ist groß. Fritz dagegen/wiederum ist dennoch/trotzdem klein.*

I will present three experimental studies that address the observations in (1) to (3) and suggest an analysis of contrast on dimensions: a structural dimension of contrast for *dagegen/wiederum* and a propositional dimension for *dennoch/trotzdem*. The first study addresses the structural limitations of *dagegen/wiederum* as shown in (1) and indicates that these connectives rely on a parallel information structure. The second study shows that participants retrieve an implicature of an incausal relation between the conjuncts with the connectives *dennoch/trotzdem*, regardless of the structure in the two conjuncts. The third study investigated the combinability of *dagegen/wiederum* with *dennoch/trotzdem* shown in (3). The results indicate that *dagegen/wiederum* rely on criteria on the structural dimension, while *dennoch/trotzdem* involve criteria licensed by the propositional dimension of contrast.

**References:** • Breindl, E., A. Volodina & U. H. Waßner. 2014. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren 2: Semantik der deutschen Satzverknüpfers*. Berlin: de Gruyter. • König, E. 1991. Concessive relations as the dual of causal relations. In D. Zaefferer (ed.), *Semantic universals and universal semantics*, 190–209. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton • Malchukov, A. L. 2004. Towards a semantic typology of adversative and contrast marking. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 177–198 • Scebø, K. J. 2004. Conversational contrast and conventional parallel: Topic implicatures and additive presuppositions. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 199–217. • Umbach, C. 2005. Contrast and information structure: A focus-based analysis of 'but'. *Linguistics* 43(1). 207–232.