

Origin and Evolution of a Pragmatic Marker in Catalan: The Case of *Tanmateix**

Caterina Martínez Martínez

Universitat d'Alacant. Departament de Filologia Catalana

caterinamartinez@ua.es



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Abstract

This study offers an analysis of the origin and linguistic evolution of a question-tag in Catalan. We look at the evolution of *tanmateix* according to Cognitive Linguistics and, more in particular, Grammaticalization Theory and Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics. We also review the values and meaning of *tanmateix* according to Intersubjectivization Theory. The evolution of *tanmateix* is a case in point: from its original meaning as a noun phrase [CALCULUS] (13th c.) to its value [CONFIRMATION] as a pragmatic marker. To study this, we pay attention to theatrical plays, some of the best examples that include colloquial Catalan in the Modern Period (16th-18th c.): in these texts, *tanmateix* appears as a marker of a confirmation question and answer. Finally, we link our findings to Martínez's study (2018, in press) on the creation and dissemination of an academic linguistic norm and its standardization as an element of linguistic change, and we analyze the validity of this conversational use of *tanmateix* in some Catalan-speaking regions vs. its main [ADVERSATIVE-CONCESSIVE] value in standard Catalan.

Keywords: confirmation; grammaticalization; intersubjectivity; orality; pragmatic marker; question-tag; standard; *tanmateix*

Resum. *Sorgiment i evolució d'un marcador pragmàtic en català: el cas de tanmateix*

L'estudi que presentem pretén ser una proposta d'anàlisi del procés de gènesi i de canvi lingüístic d'una *question-tag* en llengua catalana. Examinem l'evolució de *tanmateix* segons les propostes

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de Lingüística Cognitiva i, concretament, la Teoria de la Gramaticalització, i les combinem amb els plantejaments de l'Anàlisi del Discurs i de la Pragmàtica. Revisem, així mateix, els valors i els matisos de *tanmateix* d'acord amb la Teoria de la Intersubjectivació. L'evolució de *tanmateix* és un cas paradigmàtic: des del paper originari com a un sintagma nominal de [CÀLCUL] (segle XIII) fins al valor de [CONFIRMACIÓ] com a marcador pragmàtic. Així, ens centrarem, especialment, en els textos teatrals, probablement un dels tipus textuais que millor il·lustren el català col·loquial de l'edat moderna (segles XVI-XVIII): ací observem com aflora *tanmateix* com a marcador de pregunta i de resposta confirmatòria. Finalment, lliguem aquesta anàlisi amb la línia d'estudi iniciada en Martínez (2018, en premsa) sobre l'elaboració i la difusió de la norma lingüística acadèmica i la consegüent estandardització com a factor de canvi lingüístic, resseguint la vigència en algunes regions del català d'aquest ús conversacional de *tanmateix*, davant la prioritització en el català estàndard del valor adversativoconcessiu.

Paraules clau: confirmació; gramaticalització; intersubjectivitat; oralitat; marcador pragmàtic; *question-tag*; estàndard; *tanmateix*

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1. Introduction¹

Question-tags or *tag-questions*, “interjections” (Almela 1982), “tag-markers” (Cuenca 1995) or “conversational metadiscursive connectors” (Briz 2001) are some of the names given to structures that:

Are exclusive of dialogic contexts and:

- Consist syntactically of two components (*anchor-tag* according to Tottie & Hoffman 2009): a sentence, a syntagm or a fixed fragment and a grammaticalized marker (Cuenca 1995) that tends to appear at the end – tag – or also at the beginning, preceding the sentence element;
- Informationally, they are interactive constructions that respond to the pair presupposition-focus or theme-rheme (Cuenca 1995). In this pair, the sentence element includes information shared by the speakers (the presupposition and the theme) and the marker serves as a vehicle to communicate the new information (the focus or rheme), that is, that which wants to be transmitted through the communicative act – the confirmation, appeal, challenge, etc. –; and,
- Pragmatically, they are conditioned by the intonation, by the relationship among the speakers and by the communicative intention of the Speaker/Writer (= S/W)

1. We use the following abbreviations: Speaker/Writer (S/W); Hearer/Reader (H/R); State of Things (SoT); century (c.) and indicate the first part of the century with an a, and the second half with a b; in addition, we include inside square brackets “[X]” meanings and values.

towards the Hearer/Reader (= H/R): to convince, request a confirmation, test the communication, express a doubt, make an offer, surprise or challenge, etc.

Among this typology of discursive functions, the most prototypical are the “confirmation questions” (Cuenca & Castellà 1993, 1995; Cuenca 1996), also known as “proving modalizer appendices” (Ortega 1985; García 2005) or “interrogative tags” (Brumme & Bernal 2010: 109). We will analyze those that require an argumentative answer from the H/R along the lines of the modality expressed by the S/W in the preceding sentence; we will refer to them as [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic markers.

Since the end of the 20th c., following the theories of Discursive Pragmatics, the [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic markers, as connective mechanisms, have been a main object of study according to their prosodic, morphological, syntactical, semantic and functional typology. During the 20th and 21st c., there have been numerous studies on these types of [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic markers. For instance, in English, we have the application of a gender perspective to the use of *tag-questions* by Lakoff (1975), the pre-corpus analysis by Holmes (1982) about *right* and *eh*, and later studies of *i'n'it* by Algeo (1988), Norrick's study (1993, 1995) of *evidentiality* and Hoffmann's analysis (2006) of *polarity*, as well as the latest studies of the conversational use of these markers (Kimps et al. 2018); in German, Abraham (1991) studied *ja*, *doch*, *wohl*, and *etwa*, and Rottet & Sprouse (2008) focused on *nicht wahr*. For the Romance languages, Martín Zorraquino & Portolés (1999), Briz (2001), Cuenca (1996, 2002) and García (2005) have analyzed, among others, the values of *no* and *eh* in Spanish; in Italian, Bazzanella & Fornara (1995) have studied *vero* and *giusto*, Lenarduzzi (1997) has focused on *infatti*, Zamora (2000) on *ecco* and Tomaselli & Gatt (2015) on *a posto*, *chiaro è* and *eh*; in French, Morin (1973) has reviewed the uses of *oui/si*, *non* and *n'est-ce pas* and Hansen (1997) has examined *alors* and *donc*; finally, in Catalan, Solà (1990) has studied *raí*, Cuenca & Castellà (1995, 1996) *eh*, *no*, *oi* and *veritat*, while Rigau & Prieto (2005) and Vanrell, Mascaró, Prieto & Torres-Tamarit (2010) have focused on the dialectal tonal variation of interrogative sentences beginning with *que*.

On the other hand, until now (as confirmed by Cuenca 1997), the [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic markers have always been analyzed from a synchronic perspective focused on the most immediate contemporaneity: the 20th and 21st c.

Our study aims at offering a diachronic analysis of the origin and evolution of a [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic marker that has never been researched from a perspective based on the negotiation of meaning: Catalan *tanmateix*.

2. Methodology and working hypothesis

The theoretical frame used for this study comes from Cognitive Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. In particular, we have chosen the concepts of inference, subjectivization and intersubjectivization developed by Nuyts (2005), Traugott (2010) and Narrog (2012), because they are based on on-line discourse and on the speakers' responsibility in the process of semantic change.

In addition, the application of the new developments of Grammaticalization Theory and the use of textual corpora have allowed us to study the evolution of *tanmateix* as a [CONFIRMATION] pragmatic marker for a concrete period of the history of the Catalan language. I am referring on one hand to the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA)* and the *Corpus Informatitzat per a la Gramàtica del Català Antic (CIGCA)* which have provided us with data on medieval Catalan for the grammaticalization process of *tanmateix* during the 14th-16th c. (Martínez 2018, in press) that we take as the point of departure for our study of the next historical period, the 17th-19th c. On the other hand, the data for the analysis of the evolution of *tanmateix* from the beginning of the modern period (17th-c.-1832) to the beginnings of the 19th c., a moment that marks the normativization and standardization process of Catalan, come from the *Corpus Informatitzat per a la Gramàtica del Català Modern (CIGCMod)* and the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (CTILCI)*, as well as from some texts from the *Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antigues (ARCA)*.

Taking as a point of departure Martínez's analysis (2018, in press) on the first usages of *tanmateix* in medieval Catalan as a calculation noun phrase (syntagm) [CALCULUS] – cf. 3.1. –, we will focus on the grammaticalization process experienced by *tanmateix* as a confirmation marker [CONFIRMATION], either for questions (Confirmation Question Marker or CQM) or for answers (Confirmation Answer Marker or CAM) during the modern and contemporary periods (17th-20th c.) – cf. 3.2. and 3.3. Nowadays, as we will describe it here, this value – cf. 3.3. – is only present in some Catalan-speaking regions.² The evolution of *tanmateix* did not stop at the level of [CONFIRMATION] marker but developed a contrastive value, [CONCESSIVE ADVERSATIVITY], already studied by Martínez (2018, in press); this latter value is the one adopted by the general standard use of the Catalan language since the establishment of the normative model by Pompeu Fabra at the beginning of the 20th c.³

2. We must highlight that this old value (only extant in some regions) had been included in the *Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana* by Pompeu Fabra published in 1932 (*DGLC*: s.v. *tanmateix*, second meaning) and by the *Gramàtica catalana* published in 1956, his posthumous work (*Obres Completes de Pompeu Fabra*: 659), although not by the normative *Gramàtica catalana* published in 1918. The contemporary normative dictionary, the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (*DIEC2*), also includes it as its second meaning indicating that “una cosa ha d'ésser perquè en resulti explicable una altra” (“a thing must be in order for something else to be explained”).
3. In fact, this is the only meaning described in the *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani (GCC)* (Salvador 2002: 3017; Cuenca 2002: 3179 and 3196), in the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (*GIEC*) (2016: 821, 961, 971, 975 and 1155) and in the digital abridged versions *Gramàtica Essencial de la llengua catalana (GEIEC)* (2018: <https://geiec.iec.cat/veure_taula_una.asp?id=101>), and *Gramàtica bàsica i d'ús de la llengua catalana (GBU)* (2019: 365) (in paper). In particular, *tanmateix* appears in these works included among the adverbs, adverbial locutions and main parenthetical connectors with a concessive and adversative meaning.

3. Data analysis

3.1. Tant mateix as a noun phrase with a [CALCULUS] value during the 14th-17th c.

As described by Martínez (2018, in press), *tanmateix* appeared as a result of the grammaticalization of *aitant mateix* (DCVB: s.v. *mateix*): a part of a noun phrase emphatically quantified and followed by an explicit noun – (1) “[the same number] of people”, (2) “[VIII] horses”, and (3) “[measurement] of herbs and substances” –, with a value of calculation, [CALCULUS], applied to [QUANTITY] that was frequently utilized in legal texts and accounting books of the 14th c.

- (1) E axí con desonor en cors humà és reputat que l'un membre de l'offici de l'altre ús axí massa nociu ensemps e molt leig és reputat si *sengles* oficis de les coses en *aytantes mateixes* persones no seran distribuïts. (*Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* [s. xiva], 59)
‘Similarly to how, as regards the human body, it is dishonorable that a body part performs the function of another, it is also harmful and detrimental if *the same positions* are not given to *the same number* of people.’
- (2) Ordenants que per lo servey de nostra persona almenys armes complides de les mellors que trobar ne fer-se poran per diverses maneres almenys per *VIII* cavallers, e *aytants mateixes* cavalls degudament armats per l'armador dessús dit sien tengudes continuament apparellades, [...] (*Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* [s. xiva], 101)
‘We command you to have ready at all times, in what pertains to the service of ourselves, at least some of the best arms that are to be found and to be handled by *eight* knights, and *the same number/quantity* of horses [...].’
- (3) Dels unguents. Unguent és cosa untuosa no decorrent mas ferma stant. E son fets los unguents segons doctrina comuna en una manera sens foch pastant en lo morter. E en aquesta manera se fa lo unguent blanc, [...]. En altra manera son fets al foch fonent en oli, cera e greix [...]. E en la terça manera son fets assungies e ab herbes pastant aquelles e puys ensemps cuytes e colades es unguent, e es hi mes *aytant mateix de les herbes com de les assungies*. (Guido de Cauliac, *Caulhac* [s. xv], 294rb)
‘On unguents. Unguent is something unctuous, not of normal consistency but firm. And according to the most common practice, they are made without fire with mortar and pestle. White ointment is made in this fashion [...]. They are also made with fire by melting wax and grease in oil [...]. The third way consists of making substances, mixing them with herbs, and then boiling them. That way an ointment is made using *the same quantity of herbs as of substances*.’

Later on, towards the 14th c., the noun that accompanied the noun phrase that emphatically quantified *tant mateix* began to act anaphorically and implicitly in the discourse: ‘for [100 years] Metellus and Marcus lived’, in (4); ‘[seven ounces

and a quarter] weighed the little coffer and the relics of Queen Mary’, in (5); and, ‘[six canes] measured the second and first piece of Brabant of the Royal Attorney General of Majorca’, in (6).

- (4) C. I. – Marcho Valerio Corvino compli fins al *centen ayn*, qui, entre XLVI ayns, fon VI vegades Consol. [...] C. II. – *Tant mateyx* se visque Metello; [...] (Antoni Canals, *Valeri Màxim* [s. xivb], 280)

‘C. I. – Marchus Valerius Corvinus reached his *one hundredth year*, who, during the space of forty-six years, was consul six times. [...] C. II. – Metellus lived *the same number of years* [...].’

- (5) 24. Ítem un altre cofret d’argent daurat, cayrat, lo qual pesa *set onzes e un quart*, en que ha diverses reliquies, e pesat per lo dit argenter pesa *tant mateix*. (*Inventarios del Palacio Real de Valencia* [s. xivb], 20-21)

‘24. Item more, another small gold-plated coffer, which weighs *seven ounces and a quarter*, where there are several relics, and the silversmith confirmed that it weighs *the same*.’

- (6) Dues tovalles de tinal noves. /Quatre tovalles squacades usades. /Dues altres tovalles de bri de taula ja usades. /Un mig coffre de àlber ja vell en lo qual atrobí les coses següents: /Una pesa de Brabant. /Dos trossos de Barabant, lo un tros de *sis canes* e l’altre de *tant mateix*. (*Inventari de Gregori Burgues* [s. xvia], 612, 171v-172v)

‘Two new jar napkins. /Four used square napkins. /Another two used table napkins made of fiber. /Half a coffer of poplar wood, already old, in which I found the following: /A piece of Brabant. /Two pieces of Brabant, one measuring *six canas* and another measuring *the same*.’

Under entry number 1535, the *Thesaurus Puerilis* says that “some times the adverb is used by itself, without ‘no’, without the number of sestertii, and means *tanmateix*”, that is to say, in (7), “one thousand sestertii” it means ‘the same’, ‘the same amount’ (*DECat*: s.v. *tant*); in (8), the apostolic letters posted on cathedral doors and those sent personally are ‘the same’, ‘the same thing’; and in (9), Baltasar Oriol is accused of having charged and received ‘the same’, ‘the same amount’ for the provisions he performed as for those he did not.

- (7) Empero, si lo nom numeral, y sestertius, no estan tots en un cas, ço es, que sestertius estiga en genitiu de numero plural que diga sestertium, que vol dir, sestertiorum; o axí, H-S y lo nom numeral en qualsevol altre cas, y nos segueix, millia; sempre se entenen tants mil sestercios, quats significa lo nom numerals y si millia es en la oracio, *tant mateix* vol dir. (Onofre Pou, *Thesaurus Puerilis* [s. xvia], 1148)

‘But if the numeral noun and *sestertius* are not in the same case, that is if *sestertius* is in genitive plural it must say *sestertium*, that is to say *sestertiorum*; and if H-S- and the numeral noun are in any other case, and *millia* does not

follow ‘millia’, it must be always understood so many thousands of sestertii, which means the numeral noun; and if ‘millia’ is in the sentence, it means *the same*.’

- (8) 10. Advertescas, que als transumptos de las prefents lletres Apostolicas sia donada la mateixa fè, ques donaria à las mateixas lletres originals, si fossen particularment presentadas, ò intimadas.

‘11. Advertescas, que ficadas en las portas de las Iglesias Cathedrals, valegan *tant mateix*, y fassan los mateixos effectes, que obrarian si à cada qual fossen personalment intimadas, y notificadas.’ (*Constitutiones synodales Vicenses collectae* [s. xviii], 98)

10. It must be noted that the apostolic letters are worth the same as the original letters that are being given (or read) in person.

‘11. It must be noted that once they are posted on cathedral doors, they have *the same* value and effect as if they were read or delivered individually.’

- (9) Primo, per rahó de cobrar, y haver cobrat [...]; y axi mateix [...] à mes de la meytat de son salari, cobrava tambe, y havia cobrat la meytat de tots los salaris de las Provisions, fetas antes, y despres de aquella; y de las Provisions, que lo Relador no exigia, ni havia exigit salari, *tantmateix* cobrava, y havia cobrat dit Oriol la meytat del salari de las Provisions antecedents à aquella. (*Sentencia ó declaració del illustrissim Tribunal de Contrafaccions* [s. xviii], 15)

‘First, in order to be paid and having been paid [...]; and furthermore [...] in addition to half his salary, he also received and had received half of all the salaries for the provisions made before and after that one; and about the provisions, the Rapporteur did not demand payment, and had never done it, he charged *the same*, and the said Oriol had charged half the salary of the provisions that were performed before that one.’

During the 17th-18th c., we perceive that *tant mateix* experiences an important and progressive evolution. The notions of [CALCULUS] designate now more abstract elements and lose the concrete meaning through the concatenation of the discursive inferences performed by the speakers (called *bleaching* in Traugott 1990). In fact, we observe that from an inference based in the [COMPARISON], *tanmateix* comes later to equate several elements as being the same: first, as we have seen in the previous examples, it equates the number of persons/horses, years, weight and price – objective and concrete elements –, and then the value – more abstract and subjective. *Tanmateix* stopped being used as a noun phrase of [CALCULUS] referred to [QUANTITY] and began to refer to [QUALITY] with the meaning of ‘in the same manner’, ‘similarly’.

3.2. *Tanmateix* [CONFIRMATION] marker

From the first discursive inferences based on the elements that were the object of [COMPARISON], there developed a second inference based on the properties of the

compared elements: tangible elements were being compared before, while now it was the State of Things (= SoTs). The concatenation and conventionalization of these two inferences (Traugott 1990; Heine, Ulrike & Hünemeyer 1991) was responsible for the fact that *tanmateix* went from being a noun phrase of [CALCULUS] referred to [QUALITY] with the meaning of ‘in the same manner’, ‘similarly’, to being a marker of [CONFIRMATION] that, regarding [TRUTH], meant ‘in effect’ (Martínez 2018: 121, in press). Thus, the result is that the fragment introduced by *tanmateix* enjoyed the same condition of being as [TRUE] as the preceding fragment (Pérez Saldanya & Salvador 1995: 94).

Thus, in (10), in an excerpt of an instructional text on architecture from the end of the 16th c. entitled *L’art de picapedrer*, *tanmateix* means that ‘when building a vault on the low wall of a commercial building, in a secluded place devoted to private use, the use of two pieces that join at a right angle, ‘similarly’, ‘in the same manner’ and even ‘in effect will have a good result’. Also, in (11), in a textbook on agriculture from the Balearic Islands entitled *Art de conró*, ‘the grafting between two cuttings will grow similarly, in the same manner, whether the two grommets are in effect facing each other or not’; that is, in both cases *tanmateix* compares the two SoTs and expresses the [CONFIRMATION] of this [COMPARISON].

(10) [40] Asò és una volta a una istànsia o botiga qui té una paret biaxa. Lo que s’ à de advertir en ella és que [...] Si esta volta agués de estar a un lloc haont fos poc vistable, pot fer lo mestra unas pesas puntegudes a un cap per cobrar la escairia y *tanmatex* estaria bé [...] (Josep Gelabert, *L’art de picapedrer* [s. xvib], 418)

‘[40] This is a vault in a room or store with a low wall. What must be noted is that [...] if this vault should be placed in a not very visible place, the master builder can place some pointed pieces at the edges working as squares and this will work in *the same manner* [...].’

(11) Aquí està un abre xepat per posar lo escudet qui està a la altre part a hont se veu xepat per es mitx de un ull que és lo més asertat; advertint que a vegades no pot caurer demunt ull, y *tanmateix* aferran. (Montserrat Fontanet, *Art de conró* [s. xviii], 191)

‘Here is the split tree to make a scuttle on the other side opposite where it splits, through a hole, which is the best way; be cautioned that sometimes the hole does not match, but they come together all *the same*.’

According to a basic principle of family similarity (Geeraerts 1997), we could say that *tanmateix* becomes an “expression that denotes the concomitance of events” (Hilpert 2013: 169). That is why we make use of a scale figure (cf. *Figure 1*) to allow us to represent how *tanmateix* could have undergone a grammaticalization process. As the discourse moves downward (accounting books, litigation records, narratives, etc.), we add weights on both plates because we cannot forget that we are dealing with [CALCULUS] (or [ADDITION] in Martínez 2018, in press), and therefore the SoTs have to be added up. The meaning now still derives from

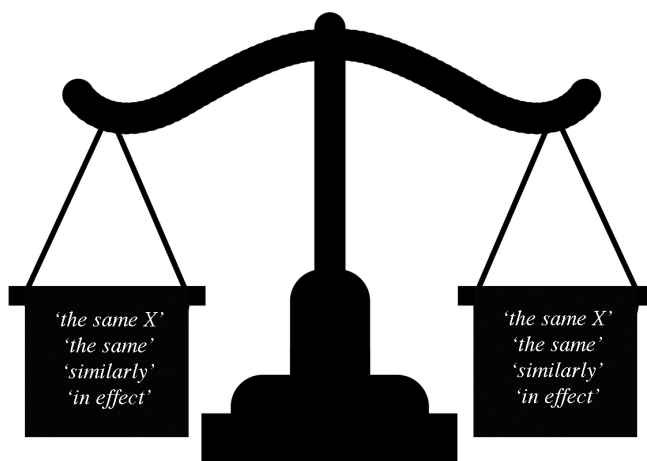


Figure 1. Scale with the original values of [CALCULUS] and [CONFIRMATION] of *tanmateix*

the idea of ‘equating things or causes’ – particularly rhemes to themes –, negotiating meanings: that is, the meaning of addition that is attached to [CONFIRMATION].

It is worth stressing that the semantic evolution of *tanmateix*, in the 17th-18th c., began to experience a bifurcation: the [CONFIRMATION] of the [TRUTH] in texts such as sentences, testimonies or even logbooks, as we can see in (12a); or a [CONCESSIVE ADVERSATIVITY CONTRAST] value in *bridging contexts* like (12b), as we study in Martínez (in press).

- (12) Y en aqueix temps y agué una desgràcia, que volent anar un bassó de casa Catà del Puig ha casa sua, ab una portadora ha sercar vi, topà en casa dos ho tres soldats, avent dexas ells la casa sola y tencada, y los trobà dins la casa. Y portant ell las pistolas al costat, un soldat li arrencà a ell una pistola y li donà foch ab la mateixa pistola sua, y lo nafrà malament al cap, que dins tres dias fou mort. Y ell *tanmateix* se digué que ab l’altre pistola ne matà un de ells. Y a ell lo portaren en casa de n’Alsina, de Torrentbò, ahont morí. (Francesc Gelat, *Dietari* [s. xviiB-xviii], 275)

In (12a), Francesc Gelat tells us that a twin, after having had some skirmishes with some soldiers during the Nine Year War and having received a shot in the head from one of the pistols he was carrying, he (the twin) ‘also’, ‘in the same manner’, ‘in effect’ killed one of the soldiers with the other pistol.

- (12a) At this time a tragedy happened, for as a twin wanted to go from Catà del Puig to his house with a wine carrier, he run into two or three soldiers who were inside the house (the twins had left the house locked and empty). He was carrying two pistols on his sides and a soldier snatched one from him and shot him in the head so badly that he died three days later. And it

was said that, *in effect*, he killed one of them with the other pistol. He was brought to Mrs. Alsina's house in Torrentbò, where he died.

And, in (12b), a twin, after having received a shot in the head from one of the soldiers of the Nine Year War from one of the two pistols he was carrying, he (the twin), 'in spite of being injured', 'in spite of all this', 'however', killed the other soldier with the other pistol he was carrying.⁴

(12b) At this time a tragedy happened, for as a twin wanted to go from Catà del Puig to his house with a wine carrier, he run into two or three soldiers who were inside the house (the twins had left the house locked and empty). He carried two pistols on his sides and a soldier snatched one from him and shot him in the head so badly that he died three days later. And it was said that, *however*, he killed one of them with the other pistol. He was brought to Mrs. Alsina's house in Torrentbò, where he died.

We can hypothesize that this new value of [CONFIRMATION] of *tanmateix*, which was born, as we mentioned, as a result of the negotiation among the several discursive inferences related to the expression of [EQUALITY] between the expected SoT and the real SoT, encapsulated a great encyclopedic knowledge and experience, that is, SoTs shared and exchanged by the speakers (Nuyts 2005). Precisely in (13), Galiana reports the first example of *tanmateix* as a pragmatic marker of [CONFIRMATION] in the literary prose of the modern period; it is a traditional narrative that relates the behavior of 'two policemen that, during a robbery, in effect, as it was to be expected, captured the delinquents, three brothers who were the protagonists, and imprisoned them':

(13) Pero els bergants dels aguacils, conten vostés, com tenen poc que pedre, així que oixgueren aquell tro, no tinguen que pensar sinó que pareixien dimonis encarnats, buscant als bribonots de la pendència, i *tanmateix* me n'engarbaren tres sobre la marxa que, lligant-los ben lligats, los varen fer anar com a borregos a la casa de les creus. (Luís Galiana, *Rondalla de rondalles* [s. XVIIIb], 363)
 'But the rascal bailiffs, you must know, because they had little to lose, when they heard that noise, they thought about nothing else (they looked like red devils) and searched for the scoundrels who were noisy and, *in effect*, they caught three who were fleeing, and bound them and took them like sheep to the house of the crosses.'

Also with this meaning, starting in the 17th c., we find plays that try the use street language. *Entremesos*, *sainets*, comedies and one- or two-act pieces in verse that recreate the colloquial Catalan of the time. These texts afford us the possibility of finding theatrical situations that include arguments and disputes where

4. I owe this detail to one of the reviewers of this paper, 22/05/2020.

tanmateix still functions as a pragmatic marker of [CONFIRMATION], although now in declamatory contexts.

This dialogical (Rossari 2014: 240) or intersubjective character reveals a [CONFIRMATION] meaning in *tanmateix* that, according to Nuyts (2005: 14) and Narrog (2012), is shared and expressed by another speaker (or speakers). Thus the S/W – *speaker-orientation* – and the H/R – *hearer-orientation* – who participate in a concrete communicative situation – *textual/discourse-orientation* – have:

- a) Pragmatic-Cognitive connections such as shared encyclopedic experiences and knowledge in the form of beliefs, proposals, arguments, counter-arguments and reformulations;
- b) And illocutionary and perlocutionary connection such as the intentionality of the S/W when asking, provoking laughter, convincing, informing, or appealing to the feelings or the knowledge of the H/R; and as a consequence, the expression of doubt, surprise, disagreement, or empathy through evidential linguistic strategies; the use of some guidelines about politeness (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Brown & Levinson 1987); the fact that the act of asking-answering is regulated by *verba dicendi*; etc. (*rapport management model* in Spencer 2000: 14).

Thus, in (14), the parish rector promises Roagó that, ‘if he is not able to quit drinking, in effect, he will help him’.

(14) FALDÓ: M’eguéssou tractada bé / y no seria venguda. / Señor Rector, ja pot vèurer / de quin modo s’ha de fe, / que jo emb ell, ja no estaré, / en no fer-li avorri es bèurer.

RECTOR: Roagó, en no abandonar / aqueix mal vici que tens, / jo *tammateix* seré a temps / a fer-te passà la mar. (Tomàs Mut, *Entremés d’en Roagó Florit i na Faldó* [s. XVIII], 150)

‘FALDÓ: Had you treated me properly, / I would not have come / Mr. Rector; you see now / How it must be done, / For I will not be with him / Unless I make him abhor drinking.

PRIEST: Roagó, if you do not quit / Your bad vice, / I, *in effect*, will still have time / To make you go across the sea.’

3.2.1. *Tanmateix* as a Confirmation Question Marker

In this dialogical context, we document the appearance of *tanmateix* as a Confirmation Question Marker (= CQM), a term we borrow from Cuenca & Castellà (*marcador de pregunta confirmatòria*, 1995: 68). In argumentative contexts, these structures placed, from a linguistic and pragmatic standpoint, between [CONFIRMATION] and [INTERROGATION], can serve to point out:

- a) The [INCREdulITY], [DOUBT] or [ASTONISHMENT] of the speakers about the information being offered. This information, that is the encyclopedic knowledge of the S/W and the H/R, can be shared fully or only partially; when the H/R has less knowledge about this information, he is surprised or doubtful and requests

the S/W's confirmation on the equivalency between the inferred and the real information (Norrick 1993, 1995; Nuyts 2005); this statement gives rise to a conversational negotiation (Rodríguez 2008: 110). Thus, in (15) the disbelieving Rector asks Faldó, 'that business of quitting drinking that you promised me' (*presupposition* in Cuenca 1995), 'can I believe it, in effect, really?' (*focus* in Cuenca 1995).

- (15) FALDÓ: Jo li parlaré emb amó, / sí ell es bèurer ha avorrit.
 RECTOR: Idò axí haveu d'està: / vos heu de parlar emb amor. / Veureu com Nostro Señor / sempre vos assistirà. / Axò que voltros heu dit, / *tammateix*, eu podré crèurer?
 ROAGÓ: Ningú m'ha de veure bèurer, / com som Roagó Florit. (Tomàs Mut, *Entremés d'en Roagó Florit i na Faldó* [s. XVIIIb], 151)
 'FALDÓ: I will talk to him with love / Provided he has abhorred drinking.
 PRIEST: Then so it is, / You must talk to each other with love. / You'll see that Our Lord / Will always assist you. / What you just said, / Can I *in effect* believe it?
 ROAGÓ: Nobody must see me drinking, / I swear, or my name is not Roagó Florit.'

In those statements used to break the ice (Norrick 1993: 1), the CQM *tammateix* expresses:

- b) The [SOLIDARITY] or [AGREEMENT] between S/W and H/R who, as they know each other and share previous encyclopedic information, can politely accept or reject the invitation to engage in a conversation. In (16), the "first words" uttered by the priest to strike a conversation with Blay are "is it true that your mother taught you the Holy Father, as you said this morning?"; and in (17), Roca begins the first act of the *sainet* asking Don Juan "is it true that we are leaving?".

- (16) Conversa sobre las primeras paraulas del Pare Nostre

SACERDOT. *Tant mateix*, Blay, la tua Mare te ensenyá de dir bè lo Pare nostre, com deyas en est matí?

BLAY. Jo penso que sí, puitx si nol deya bè sabia fer com lo Senyor Biche quant confirma; y me ensenyá de dirlo de esta manera. (*Pare Nostre explicat* [s. XIXa], 16)

'Conversation on the first words of the Holy Father

PRIEST. *Is it true* that your mother taught you the Holy Father, as you said this morning?

BLAY. I think so, for even if I did not recite it correctly, I knew how to do it as the Bishop does during confirmation; and she taught me to recite it this way.'

- (17) EL TRAPENSE. SAINETE BILINGÜE (Plaza del lugar, con la lápida. Salen Don Juan, Roca, y Perera.)
 ROCA. ¿*Tan mateix* marxem?
 D. JUAN. Sens dupte, / Van á tocar la llamada, / y la tropa que ha arribat / está tambe preparada / per surtir. (Robreño y Tort, “El Trapense” [s. XIX], 29)
 ‘EL TRAPENSE. BILINGUAL SAINETE (Village Square, with a tombstone. Don Juan, Roca, and Perera.)
 ROCA. *Is it true* that we are leaving?
 D. JUAN. Certainly, / The sign is about to be made / And the troops that have come / Are also ready / To depart.’

Therefore, the CQM *tanmateix* can also indicate:

- c) The [SURPRISE] and [ASTONISHMENT] that a client – a peasant – shows his attorney as they argue about the payment for a trial that has not been decided yet: ‘the price is “*una perruca*” (“a wig”, a type of coin with the face of King Philip V on it)?’, ‘really ([CONFIRMATION] request) “a wig”?’ (information shared by the speakers).

We perceive in the following example the semantic persistence (*bridging context* in Traugott 1990) of the medieval value of [CALCULUS] in *tanmateix* (cf. *supra*).

- (18) ADVOCAT. Escolteu, home, escolteu. Ara de prompte, per pujar lo primer grahó del plet, vull dir que, per principiari y comensar á enllestir alguna cosa convenient, mentres tant que á vos vos farán los documents que us he indicat, és precis que adelanteu alguna friolera per primera entrada, que després ja vindrá lo demés.
 PAGÉS. Aa, bé, bé. Com vosté disposará... ¿No te prou ab una pesseta?
 BALDIRI rient ¿Una pesseta? ¡Ah! ¡ah! ¡ah!... ¿Y aixó és volé guanyá un plet?
 ADV. ¿Una pesseta?... no guanyaréu pas. Encara no n’hi há per tinta.
 PAG. ¡Qué se jo, Mare de Deu! Y bé diga: ¿qué haig de dá? [...]
 BALD. ¿Qué us penseu que aixó de guanyá plets és tan barato? ¡Es una font de or!
 PAG. ¡Pero bé! ¿Y de qué las euhan? ¿no’ls dich que digan?
 ADV. Al menos por lo cap mes baix habeu de adelantá una perruca de Felip Quint.
 PAG. ¡Caram!... ¿*tan mateix* una perruca?
 BALD. Home sigueu generós, si voleu guanyá. (*Lo advocat, ó, Lo pagés que preten plet* [s. XIX], 5 i 6)
 ‘LAWYER. Listen to me, my man, listen to me. Now, suddenly, in order to advance to the first step of the lawsuit, I mean, to start preparing something useful, to have the document I told you prepared, you must advance me some payment, the rest will take care of itself.
 FARMER. Ah, good, good, as you say ... *A peseta* is not enough?’

BALDIRI laughing *A peseta?* Ha, ha ha!... And you want to win this lawsuit?
 LAWYER. *A peseta?*... You will not win. That's not enough to buy ink.
 FARMER. What do I know, sweet mother of Jesus! So, tell me, how much should I give you? [...]
 BALD. Do you think winning lawsuits is that cheap? It's a money pit!
 FARMER. Ok, so? How much do you say? I am telling you, tell me?
 LAWYER. At least you must advance me a wig of Philip V.
 FARMER. My God!... *¿really*, a wig?
 BALD. My dear, be generous if you wish to win.'

Following what is a typical grammaticalization process (Traugott & Dasher 2002), *tanmateix* as CQM can appear as an autonomous structure with the meaning of [SURPRISE] in a humorous context. Thus, in (19), the comical characters Felip and Tòfol talk about the behavior of young Antonet: the humor is created by the inconsistency (Ruiz Gurillo & Alvarado 2013: 1) between the knowledge shared by the speakers – about the meaning of “behaving well” –, reality – ‘Antonet has behaved very well’ – and the [HUMOROUS CHALLENGE]⁵ answer by Tòfol prompted by the naughty meaning of the CQM *tanmateix* ‘really?’ – ‘Antonet cannot behave as a woman because he is not a woman and women behave differently’ (!).

- (19) FELIP *¿Tòfol! digas de seguida / cóm s'ha portat l'Antonet. / TÒFOL ¿Cóm s'ha portat? Com un home. / FEL. ¿Qué dius, Tòfol? ¿Tan mateix? / TÒF. Si fos dona's portaria / d'un modo molt diferent. (Marçal Busquets, *Reus, Paris i Londres* [s. XIXb], 6)*
 ‘FELIP Tòfol! Quickly, tell me / How has Antonet behaved. / TÒFOL How has he behaved? Like a man. / FEL. What are you telling me, Tòfol? *Really?* / TÒF. If he were a woman, he would behave very differently.’

In addition, *tanmateix* with a CQM value of [DOUBT] acquires:

- d) A value of [RESOLUTION] with the meaning of ‘finally’ in contexts in which it appears together with structures of the “per fi” (“finally”) type and with verbs that create [SCENES WITH A GOAL] such as “determinarse” (“to decide to”, “to resolve”). In (20), *tanmateix* means ‘*really* (rheme), *finally* you have decided to bring the youngster to the parade?’ (theme).

- (20) —*¿Que tenim de nou? preguntá al veurer lo fusté.*
 —Res per are, respongué est ab lo cap alsat. Venía á dirli, y aixó ho digué ab veu mes baixa, alsat de puntetas y arrimat á la paret de la finestra, que *per fi* ab la Pona *havem determinat* fer aná'l noy á la professó.
 —*¿Tan mateix?*

5. See Ruiz Gurillo & Alvarado (2013) for humor and irony.

- Sí, y ab est motiu com que vosté havia parlat de deixarme aquella soguilla, venia [...] (*La Renaixensa* [s. XIXb], 2, 23, 298b)
 ‘—What’s new?, he asked when he saw the carpenter.
 —Nothing for now, he replied keeping his head up. He was coming to tell him (he said in a low voice, standing on his tiptoes and leaning against the window wall), that *finally* we *have decided* with Pona to make the kid go to the parade.
 —*Really?*
 —Yes, and because you had talked about lending me that rope, I was coming [...]’

3.2.2. *Tanmateix* as a Confirmation Answer Marker

We have also documented *tanmateix* as a Confirmation Answer Marker (= CAM), a term proposed by Martínez (2018: 111) that parallels the name CQM as suggested by Cuenca & Castellà (1995). It is a construction that in conversational contexts is placed between the [CONFIRMATION] and the [EXCLAMATION] and can show:

- a) [SURPRISE];
- b) [AGREEMENT] among the speakers with regard to the information offered. As we mentioned, this information, that is, the encyclopedic knowledge of the S/W and the H/R, can be fully or partially shared; whenever the H/R has less knowledge about the information offered, with surprise and doubt he asks S/W for confirmation about the equivalence between the inferred and the real information (Nuyts 2005), encapsulating in the term *tanmateix* the meaning being negotiated. In this sense, Cuenca & Castellà (1995: 69), following Norrick (1993), term the CQM and CAM *tanmateix* as a “modality indicator”, for it clearly expresses the S/W’s position in the information exchange that is taking place.

In the following examples, CAM *tanmateix* has a double conversational function. In (21), on one hand, it is part of Juan’s [AGREEMENT] response to Andrés; on the other hand, Andrés responds to Silvestre indicating [AGREEMENT] and [SURPRISE] with regard to the price of lobster – in the 19th c. –: ‘lobster, at 20 per kg., is expensive, *in effect*’. And in (22), again, *tanmateix* constitutes Juan’s [AGREEMENT] response to Andrés’s question and, besides, an indication of [SURPRISE], expressed in an aside to the audience about the mental state of Cirilo, for he was offered an invitation to a gargantuan banquet: ‘Cirilo’s folly and the amount of food are, *in effect*, excessive’. In both cases we can observe again, the legitimacy of the value of [CALCULUS] that *tanmateix* had in the Middle Ages (cf. *supra*).

(21) FELIX ¿Qué?

- ANDRÉS Que avuy aquí dinéu. / ¿Y quin peix? (A SILVESTRE.)
 SILVESTRE Llagostas.
 AND. ¿Caras?
 SIL. A vint.
 JUAN Ya es molt, *tant mateix*.

AND. Veus, y antes deyan que'l peix / era car per mor dels freres. / ¿Veyam ara que no hi son / qui'n te la culpa? (*Un barret de riallas* [s. XIXb], 6 i 7)

'FELIX What?

ANDRÉS That you are eating here today. / And what type of fish? (To SILVESTRE.)

SILVESTRE Lobster.

AND. Expensive?

SIL. 20 per kg.

JUAN It is a lot, *in effect*.

AND. You see, and they used to say that fish / was expensive because of the priests. / Let's see now (what they say, considering) / that the culprits are not here anymore?'

(22) ANDRÉS Pero be, ¿qué dus de bo?

CIRILO Ahi lo traen los chicos.

(En aquet moment surten set ó vuit mossos de café tots de etiqueta; 'ls uns portan las llaunas aquellas cobertas de suro ab que's fan'ls sorbets, 'ls altres feixos de plats y dos un bayart plé de platets, candelabros, jeros, culleretas y tot lo necessari per un refresch espléndit. Al veureu'ls tres pagesos fan un salt d'assombrats. Pausa.)

FELIX ¡Mare de Deu!

AND. Donchs que es boig?

JUAN (Ap.) S: que *tant mateix* es massa.

AND. ¡Ya s'ho pot entorná tot! (Furiós.) (*Un barret de riallas* [s. XIXb], 7)

'ANDRÉS Well, what goods are you bringing me?

CIRILO The kids have it with them.

(At this point seven or eight waiters in livery enter the stage carrying those types of trays covered with cork that are used to bring sorbets; others carry piles of plates and a two of them a pallet full of saucers, candelabra, jars, teaspoons and everything necessary for an splendid refreshment. The peasants jump in surprise when they see them. Pause)

FELIX Sweet Mother of Jesus!

AND. So, is he crazy?

JUAN Aside.) What happens is that, *in effect*, it is too much.

AND. Take it all away now! (Furious.)'

Finally, it is particularly interesting the fragment of a comedy in (23) in which *tanmateix*, as an independent structure, appears twice (consecutively) with a double argumentative function: in the first occurrence, it is a CQM of [DOUBT] '*in effect*, are you getting married tomorrow, boy?'; the second time it has the meaning of '*really, in effect*, we are getting married tomorrow', and it functions as a CAM of [AGREEMENT].

(23) GILET Donchs tant si fá sol com lá, / demá passat dém lo sí.

BISMARCK ¿*Tant mateix*, noy?

GIL. *Tant mateix.*

BIS. ¿Es dir que estás ben segú... / de que ella' vol? (Serafi Pitarra, *Los Polítichs de gambeto* [s. XIXb], 20)

'GILET Whether the sound is sol or la, / the day after tomorrow we will sing our yes.

BISMARCK *Really, boy?*

GIL. *Really.*

BIS. I mean, are you sure that she wants to...?'

According to the data gathered from direct interviews with competent speakers,⁶ *tanmateix* as a [CONFIRMATION] marker is nowadays preserved orally in some Catalan-speaking regions. In particular, we have found it in Valencia (in the north, particularly in the Maestrat and the Plana Alta) and in some parts of northern Catalonia such as Pla de l'Estany, and in the Balearic Islands, with the following uses:

- a) With the discursive value of 'effectively', 'certainly' (Rossell, Baix Maestrat);⁷ or in contexts of "Ho va dir i, *tanmateix*, ho va fer" ("He said it and, *in effect*, he did it") (Banyoles, Pla de l'Estany);⁸ or "*Tanmateix* costa, d'arribar-hi" ("*Effectively* it is hard to get there") (Northwest of Catalonia);⁹
- b) With the conversational function of CQM – 'really?' – and CAM – 'really', 'effectively', with the following variants 1) *talmateix* and *tammateix* (Atzeneta del Maestrat, Alcalatén; Albocàsser, Alt Maestrat; Xert, Traiguera and Cervera del Maestrat, Alt Maestrat);¹⁰ 2) *tanmateix* and the variant *tateix* in the Balearic Islands:¹¹ "¿Com-es-ara! ¿*Tateix* n'hi deu havè mes qu'à n'es safareix de Son Lletuga qu'es tan gran?" ("How is it now! *In effect*, there must be more of those, not only in the public wash-house of Son Lletuga that is so large?" Nicolau Penya, *Cuentos* [s. XIXb], 9).

The data in Figure 2 allow us to see the evolution that we have described qualitatively: the value of [CONFIRMATION], starting in the 1950s, was substituted by a contrastive meaning [CONCESSIVE ADVERSATIVITY] – which became the main value, as we have indicated, in the process of normativization and standardization of contemporary Catalan initiated by Pompeu Fabra (Martínez in press). Thus, the [CONFIRMATION] value of *tanmateix* experienced a lower frequency of use and was preserved in more formal registers, and, as we have seen, it is still extant in some regions.

In sum: *tanmateix* began as (*ai*)*tant mateix*, a member of a noun phrase quantified with an explicit noun in the 13th and 14th c. Later it became a noun phrase quantified without an explicit noun, frequently used until the 18th c. in account-

6. We will continue using this survey in later articles. In any event, it is indicative of the preservation, although limited, of these values of *tanmateix*.

7. I owe this information to Miquel Àngel Pradilla, 05/29/2017.

8. I owe this information to Gemma Rigau, 09/17/2017.

9. I owe this information to one of the reviewers of this paper, 11/05/2020.

10. I owe this information to Josep Messeguer, 05/29/2017.

11. I owe this information to Joan Miralles and Nicolau Dols, 05/28/2017.

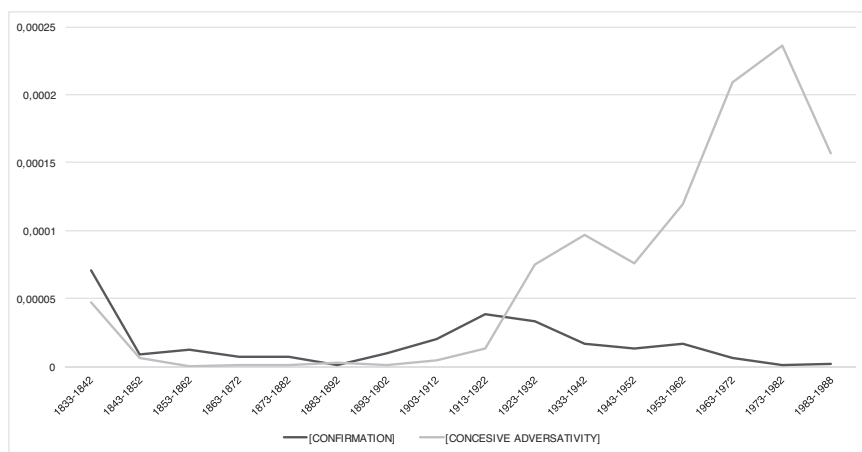


Figure 2. Relative frequency of the total number of cases of *tanmateix* as a [CONFIRMATION] marker and a connector of [CONCESSIVE ADVERSATIVITY] during the 19th-20th c. (using data from the *CTILC1*).

ing books with the value of [CALCULUS] referred to [QUANTITY] and [CALCULUS] referred to [QUALITY]. According to the data from our corpora, this value represents a 21,62% of the total instances of *tanmateix*; we have documented it since the end of the 13th to the end of the 18th c., at which moment its frequency decreased (Martínez in press).

Thus, as a [CONFIRMATION] marker, *tanmateix* shows a tendency to increase during the modern period, starting with a first inference related to the expression of [QUALITY] in terms of [TRUE], that is the expression of [CONFIRMATION]. Therefore, considering its discursive position, the segment introduced by *tanmateix* has the same validity as the preceding segment (Pérez Saldanya & Salvador 1995: 94). This value of [CONFIRMATION], in the 18th-19th c., accounts for 51,35% of the examples of our corpus; it appears mostly in satirical and humorous works where it functions as CQM and CAM of [DOUBT], [SURPRISE], [AGREEMENT] and even in some instances it adds a meaning of [RESOLUTIVE].

4. Conclusions

As we have shown (and it was to be expected) the origin and evolution process of pragmatic markers depends mostly on the communicative context. In this case, the origin and evolution of *tanmateix* were related to communicative situations in which meanings were negotiated: situations in which the S/W and the H/R calculate and compare quantities and qualities, and in documents that record contrastive quantities and qualities, all of which appear in legal and administrative documents and even in literary narratives. Since the 17th c., we find that a privileged context

to observe the evolution of *tanmateix* is the argumentative situations that are part of theatrical dialogues.

Tanmateix began as a quantifier noun phrase in legal and administrative contexts referred to [QUANTITY] in the 14th c. and to [QUALITY] towards the 17th c.; later it expressed [CONFIRMATION] in the 18th c. During the 17th-19th c., it became a pragmatic marker of [CONFIRMATION] within the argumentative context of narratives and plays. Therefore, as CQM and CAM, *tanmateix* must have had a generalized use with several nuances, for instance in theatrical dialogues. In these latter ones, within the context of the arguments in which several speakers engage, *tanmateix* is used to exchange inferences and intersubjective strategies that evince [DOUBT], [SURPRISE], [SOLIDARITY], [IRONY], and [RESOLUTION].

Finally, as we have documented and attested, although it was not fully incorporated into the standard model of the Catalan language in the 20th c., the CQM and CAM functions of *tanmateix* have been preserved. To this day the CQM and CAM *tanmateix* are still alive in the popular language of the central and northern regions of Valencia, the northwest of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands.

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