

»Pa«, the reverser of argumentative expectation¹

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The conjunction *pa*² (usually translated in English as plain *and* or *but* or not at all) is one of the formally (e.i. contextually) most diversified and most widely used lexemes of the Slovene language and for this reason probably also among the most self-evident and therefore least researched. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*³ (=Dictionary of the Slovene Literary Language) (hereinafter SSKJ) distinguishes the following four uses of the conjunction *pa*:

- I. in adversative clauses, with a comma;
- II. between lexical units in a sentence, without a comma;
- III. in conjunctive clauses, without a comma, usually with omission of auxiliary words in the second clause;
- IV. after a period or semi colon;

In order to present the formal diversity of the usage of the conjunction *pa* to a non-Slovene speaker, we shall translate this schematic classification into the language of examples.

Ad I

In adversative clauses, *pa* is used for

– expressing opposition to what has been said previously⁴

(1) Obljubil je bil, *pa* ni držal besede.

He promised, *pa* did not keep his word.

(2) Nihče ni mislil nanjo, *pa* je stopila v hišo.

No one was thinking about her, *pa* she entered the house.

– for expressing moderate opposition

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1. The article attempts to articulate the results of a research project *Konstrukcija topičnega polja slovenskega jezika: veznik »pa«*, (=Construction of the topos field of the Slovene language: the conjunction »pa«) which in 1989/90 was conducted at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Ljubljana.
 2. That it is in fact (only) a question of a conjunction is not self-evident. This paper attempts to explain why this is so.
 3. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, vol. III, SAZU/DZS, Ljubljana 1986, pp. 502-503.
 4. All definitions are taken directly from SSKJ. We do not wish to question the definitions, but only want to show, for the purposes of the paper, the different ways of grammatical and lexical definitions of the uses of the conjunction *pa*, in order that we may in the most contrastive way present the role of the argumentative *pa*.

- (3) Po travi so pajčevine, na njih *pa* se blešči rosa.
There are cobwebs on the grass, *pa* dew sparkles on them.
– for enlargement, explanation of what has been said previously
- (4) Potrebno nam je znanje, *pa* resnično znanje.
What we need is knowledge, *pa* real knowledge.
– for reinforcement of the adverb which introduces the last lexical unit of a sequence
- (5) Dela v tovarni, hodi na lov, *pa* še kmetuje pomalem.
He works in the factory, hunts, *pa* also farms a little.
– for gradation
- (6) Pozdrav vsem, posebno *pa* očetu.
Greetings to everyone, particularly *pa* to Father.
– for expressing a causative-consecutive relation
- (7) Ni plačal davkov, *pa* so ga rubili.
He did not pay his debts, *pa* they seized his property.
– for expressing a causative-conclusive relation
- (8) To je zanimiv primer, *pa* je prav, da si ga ogledamo.
This is an interesting case, *pa* it is proper that we examine it.
– for expressing a conditional-consecutive relation
- (9) Njo bi vzel, *pa* bi bilo drugače.
He should have taken her, *pa* it would be different.
– for expressing a fact despite which the action of the previous clause is performed.
- (10) Jože je odličnjak, *pa* nima inštruktorja kakor ti.
Jože is an A student, *pa* he has no private tutor like you do.
– for emphasising opposition
- (11) Moja bo obveljala, *pa* če se na glavo postaviš.
I am right, *pa* if you stand on your head.

Ad II

- for linking two equivalent lexical units
- (12) Pospravi krožnike *pa* kar je še na mizi.
Put away the plates *pa* what else is on the table.
– for linking one before last to the last lexical unit
- (13) Šumenje macesnov, borovcev *pa* smrek.
The rustling of larch trees, pine trees *pa* spruce trees.
– for stepped emphasis of lexical units.
- (14) Fant je še mlad *pa* norčav *pa* zaljubljen.
The boy is still young *pa* clownish *pa* in love.

- for combining two similar notions into a single semantic unit.
- (15) Ves vik *pa* krik je zaman.
All this howling *pa* yowling is of no use.
- for expressing large quantity or high degree.
- (16) Tam je sam pesek, *pa* spet pesek.
There is nothing but sand, *pa* more sand.
- for adding, counting
- (17) Star je pet let *pa* tri mesece.
He is five *pa* three months.
- for addition
- (18) Povedala je samo materi, *pa* (še) teti.
She told it only to Mother, *pa* (also) to the aunt.
- in set expressions ta *pa* ta (so and so), tak *pa* tak (such and such) referring to a known person or thing which can not be revealed
- (19) To *pa* to bi še bilo treba urediti.
This *pa* this would still have to be arranged.

Ad III

- for linking two clauses, expressing simultaneity or sequentiality.
- (20) Pili so, peli *pa* šale zbijali.
They drank, sang *pa* told jokes.
- for stepped emphasis of sentences.
- (22) Fant hodi samo v kino *pa* gleda televizijo *pa* bere stripe.
All the boy does is go to the cinema *pa* watch TV *pa* read comic books.
- for combining two similar verbs into a meaningful unit.
- (23) Ves dan vpije *pa* razgraja.
He screams *pa* carouses all day.
- for expressing intensity of action
- (24) Ne dam *pa* ne dam.
I will not *pa* will not give it to you.
- for expressing intention.
- (25) Pojdi *pa* zapri vrata.
Go *pa* close the door.

Ad IV

- for expressing the same meanings as in I (particularity (7) to (10)) and III
- expressively
- (26) Bodite mirni. *Pa* nobenega šepetanja.
Be quiet. *Pa* no whispering.

– for referring to what has been said previously.

(27) Jaz sem končal. *Pa* ti?

I'm finished. *Pa* you?

– for calling attention to a transition to another thought.

(28) *Pa* še to. Včeraj mi je pisal Janez.

Pa one more thing. Yesterday I got a letter from Janez.

– for expressing wonder, astonishment, reluctance.

(29) *Pa* da mi nikdar več ne greš tja.

Pa don't you ever go there again.

A total of 29 distinctions. Our thesis is that all of the 29 definitions can be reduced to only two: first, *pa* is used for expressing opposition to what has been said before (example (11)) and second, *pa* is used for expressing the unexpected (example (2)). These two definitions can be further reduced to a single definition of the reverser of argumentative expectation.⁵

The condition for the implementation of such a radical application of Occam's razor is, of course, the adoption of a different perspective based on the following two conditions:

a) *pa* must be treated discursively (i.e., argumentatively) and not (only) grammatically;

b) *pa* must be treated as a(n argumentative) conjunction and not only as an (argumentative) operator.

By »adopting a different perspective«, we of course immediately encounter the problem of the so-called internal and external hypotheses.

The external hypotheses are those hypotheses which regard a given (empirical) attribute as an object of study, as an object of some science.

In the case of the conjunction *pa*, the external hypothesis, in terms of grammar, lies in the fact that *pa* (as well as all other conjunctions and grammatical parts of speech) is investigated in terms of its grammaticality, or a-grammaticality, i.e., in terms of whether (and under what conditions) it is capable of forming a grammatically correct string of words, sentences.

Jože Toporišič, a leading Slovene grammarian, argues for example⁶ that a »conjunctive word is an auxiliary, syntactic part of speech, which points to the relation between two messages.« Regarding the fact that the conjunction (which is the most typical connective word) is, grammatically speaking, primarily a syntactic part of speech, it is important to distinguish it from other parts of speech in view of generating grammatically correct strings of words. According to Toporišič, the conjunction, for example, distinguishes itself from

5. The term was coined by Oswald Ducrot, for which I owe him my gratitude.

6. Jože Toporišič, *Slovenska slovnica*, založba Obzorja, Maribor 1976, p. 362.

the preposition in that »it does not influence the flexional form of words or word sets which it connects,« while for a grammatically correctly formed sentence, one of the most significant (if not the most significant) condition is precisely the flecional correlation of its parts.

Our external hypothesis, on the contrary, is founded on studying the conjunction *pa* argumentatively (and therefore discursively), i.e., in its ability to link not only two parts of a sentence, as an abstract structure, which belongs to the domain of language, but also two segments of a discourse (which is a particular performance of specific sentence structures and therefore belongs to the domain of speech) so that (rejecting a given conclusion) it provides an argument for another.

Specific external hypotheses, of course, correspond to specific internal hypotheses, i.e., conceptual apparatus, mechanism, which is supposed to explain these external hypotheses. One of the significant internal hypotheses which distinguishes our external hypothesis from the grammatical one is, for example, the distinction between the operator and conjunction. While the operator coordinates the propositional elements of a given sentence (see examples (6), (13) to (18)), we will argue that the conjunction links two (different) speech acts (see examples (26) to (29)).

Elsewhere⁷ it has been demonstrated that the argumentative variables have not only an exceptional directional power but also that the link (»buffering«) of several argumentative variables helps us crystallize its argumentative orientation. Let us, as an introduction to the analysis of the conjunction *pa*, consider the variables *ker* (because) and *sicer* (otherwise, or else).⁸ Let us compare the utterances

(30) *Ker* si razbil šipo, ne boš šel v kino.

Because you broke the window, you can not go to the cinema.

(31) Pridi sem, *sicer* pridem pote.

Come here, otherwise I'll come for you.

with the utterances into which *pa* has been inserted.

(30') *Ker pa* si razbil šipo, ne boš šel v kino.

Because *pa* you broke the window, you can not go to the cinema.

(31') Pridi sem, *sicer pa* pridem pote.

Come here, otherwise *pa* I'll come for you.

As we can see, example (30) contains a kind of causal-consecutive *ker* (because), which in an argumentatively logical way connects two speech acts:

7. Igor Ž. Žagar, »Argumentacija v jeziku proti argumentaciji z jezikom«, *Anthropos* vols. III-IV, 1991, Ljubljana 1991 (in print).

8. Selection of variables *ker* and *sicer* is in no way arbitrary. At several occasions (see the continuation of the article), it was noticed that *pa* provides emphatic »stress« in the company of these two variables.

the assertion that the person spoken to, X, has broken the window (argument) and the interdiction of his (X's) departure to the cinema (conclusion). *Ker* as an argumentative conjunction thus links the two speech acts so firmly that (30) as a segment of discourse comes across as relatively autonomous i.e., coherent (selection of each of the components of the given discourse segments is conditioned by the selection of the whole, or in other words: each of the components of the given discursive segment is a part of that discourse segment due to the entire discursive segment and not (merely) due to itself) and independent (so that it reflects to a sufficient degree the enunciating position and does not have to engage additional, co(n)textual information for its interpretation; in other words: a given discursive segment is independent if for its understanding we do not have to engage some (still) greater discursive segment of which it is a part.)

And what happens if *pa* is inserted into utterance (30)?

The first thing that we notice is the loss of discursive (and thereby interpretative) independence: *ker pa* obviously alludes to some previous argument or discursive segment (which could provide an argument for the opposite conclusion of »You can not go to the cinema,« which is »Yes, you can go to the cinema.«) which is in fact («materially«, literally) absent from the directly provided argumentative connection; however, it is implicitly rejected precisely by the given argumentative connection as insufficient for the conclusion for which it could provide an argument («You can go to the cinema») and draws its own conclusion («You can not go to the cinema»).

Utterance (30') is therefore discursively and argumentatively not independent. In order to obtain a relatively integrated and independent segment of the discourse, we must engage or reconstruct that part of the discourse to which the *pa* of a given explicit part of the discourse refers. For example:

(30'') A: Res si bil priden: pomil si posodo in pobrisal prah. *Ker pa* si razbil šipo, ne boš šel v kino.

You were really a good boy: you washed the dishes, wiped the dust. Because *pa* you broke the window, you can not go to the cinema.

The situation is completely different in example (31). *Sicer* of utterance (31) can be (quite easily) paraphrased as exclusive either, or: »Ali prideš sem, ali pridem pote.« »Either you come here, or I'll come for you.« The introduction of *pa* into the paraphrase of example (31) does not cause interpretative problems: »Either you come here, or *pa* I'll come for you.« This is in fact a classical *pa* of opposition, which can not be said about the *pa* in utterance (31'):

(31') Pridi sem, *sicer pa* pridem pote.

Come here, otherwise *pa* I'll come for you.

At first glance, the utterance makes no sense since the speaker (the enunciator or various enunciating positions within the given utterance will be ignored for the time being) first orders the realization of a given propositional content and then says that it will grant it its true value with its own action. Let us consider several similar utterances:

- (32) Ugasni luč, *sicer* (*pa*) jo bom sam.
Turn off the light, otherwise (*pa*) I will do it.
- (33) Povrni mi povzročeno škodo, *sicer* (*pa*) te bom prisilil, da mi jo povrneš.
Pay for the damage you caused, otherwise (*pa*) I will force you to pay it back.
- (34) Zapri vrata, *sicer* (*pa*) jih bom sam.
Close the door, otherwise (*pa*) I will do it.

All three utterances without *pa* can be interpreted as exclusive either – or, but if we introduce the *pa*, the second part of the utterance, which is introduced by the expression *sicer pa*, cancels the illocutionary power of the first part of the utterance (in our case the power of command) and endow the entire utterance with an ambivalent, even nonsensical status.

Therefore, utterance (31') is obviously not discursively independent, for this is the only way to justify its enunciatory nonsensical (at least not completely sensical) status. Similarly, it is difficult to construct (on the analogy with example (30')) the preceding discursive segment to which *pa* is supposed to refer, without at the same time fundamentally changing utterance (31') itself. What can in fact be done?

All examples with *sicer* which have been discussed so far could be paraphrased with exclusive either – or and all of them were illocutionary commands. Of course, this is not the only use of *sicer* known to the Slovene language. Let us consider the following examples:

- (35) Petra jih je vzela. *Sicer pa* to ni prvič.
Petra has taken them. *Sicer pa* this is not the first time.
- (36) Avto je fuč. *Sicer pa* tako ni bil vreden piškavega oreha.
The car has had it. *Sicer pa* it wasn't worth a dime.
- (37') Prešeren je bil velik pijanec. *Sicer pa* je to znano.
Prešeren was a big drunk. *Sicer pa* this is a well known fact.

Now let us subject them to the opposite procedure than that in examples (30) to (31) and drop *pa*:

- (35') Petra jih je vzela. *Sicer* to ni prvič.
Petra took them. *Sicer* this was not the first time.
- (36') Avto je fuč. *Sicer* tako ni bil vreden piškavega oreha.
The car has had it. *Sicer* it wasn't worth a dime.
- (37') Prešeren je bil velik pijanec. *Sicer* je to znano.
Prešeren was a big drunk. *Sicer* this is a well known fact.

Immediately we notice that examples (35') to (37') are somehow unfinished, that they »hand in the air.« In order to endow them with discursive interpretative cohesion and independence, we would have to complement them somehow: ((35') = ... she could nevertheless tell us about it beforehand; (36') = ... it was nevertheless useful; (37') = ... still, this is not significant for the appraisal of his poetic greatness), where it is not unimportant that additional information can be introduced only with an adversative conjunction (clause).

On the other hand, examples (35) to (37), where *pa* intervenes, are discursively and interpretatively completely coherent and independent. Here, we could not say that *pa* (or *sicer pa*) round off the given discursive segment into an independent one (only) by referring to some preceding discursive segment. On the contrary, *sicer pa* explains, attenuates, or more precisely, rejects the first part of the utterance, which introduces a given (empirical) fact, as non-new, precisely by making explicit and wording some general, unuttered knowledge. In this case, *pa* not only does not reach back into the discourse of which it is a part or a continuation, in order to clarify a given discursive segment preceding *pa*, but in fact reaches literally outside of the given discursive formation – in the area of fragmented general knowledge – in order the discourse can, if at all, be based on something.

It seems that in critical cases (31') and (32) to (34), this reference to general knowledge is also a reference to general places or *topoi*.⁹ All four critical examples are in fact given discursive independence already by referring to one sole *topos* such as »The more we want something, the harder we have to work for it.«

In examples (35) to (37) it seems that it is not a question of direct reference to a given general knowledge, but rather, to some preceding knowledge, a knowledge whose generality is limited to some community, class, nation, etc.

The above two hypotheses have been tested on a large computer-processed body of newspaper articles, which allegedly represented (according to the Yugoslav Armed Forces spokesman) 'attacks on the Yugoslav Armed Forces'¹⁰. The results of this major project can be found in two articles¹¹, therefore we will not discuss the methodological aspects of data processing in

9. Cf. The works by Oswald Ducrot and Jean-Claude Anscombre on polyphony and the theory of *topoi*, particularly Ducrot 1980, 1988 and Anscombre, Ducrot 1983. See also Igor Ž. Žagar, »Argumentacija v jeziku proti argumentaciji z jezikom«, *Anthropos* vols. III-IV, 1991, Ljubljana 1991 (in print).
10. The mentioned and discussed text belongs to the glorious period of the »democratization« of the Slovene society, a period before democracy which was introduced following the elections of spring 1990. Even though the diction of some of the texts (articles) today comes across as somewhat archaic, if not grotesque, this is a body of texts whose volume and criteria of selection ensure the greatest possible accuracy and credibility of obtained results.
11. Igor Ž. Žagar and Peter Tancig, »Računalniška analiza 'napadov na JLA'«, *Časopis za kritiko*

this paper. Our analysis, which included 355 articles, of which 169 by known authors and 111 by unknown or anonymous authors, published in 20 different Slovene periodicals and 12 undisclosed sources in the first half of 1988 (from the beginning of January to the beginning of July 1988) yielded the following results:

Of the 2534 occurrences of the conjunction *pa*, only 7 occur in the combination *ker pa*, and 10 in the combination *sicer pa* (this leads us to conclude that either this complex argumentative variable possesses great argumentative power, or that this is a particularly rare method of argumentation). However, the analysis of concrete »empirical« examples does not completely confirm the justification of our differentiation between *ker pa* and *sicer pa*, a distinction which is based on the following two hypotheses: a) in the expression *ker pa*, *pa* refers to some preceding segment of the discourse, and only this reference enables the completion of the discourse segment, containing *pa* as a discursively coherent and independent element; b) that in the expression *sicer pa*, *pa* refers not to the preceding segment of the discourse, but rather, to a kind of common, general or at least preceding knowledge.

On the contrary, it turned out that not only *sicer pa*, but also *ker pa* may, in order to refute the said or written argument, reach outside the realm of discourse in progress, and tap from some common, general, or at least preceding knowledge.

Let us consider this affirmation on the example of one of the computer-processed articles by Dragan Đurić titled *Slovenia and Democracy*, first published by *Vijesnik* and reprinted by *Delo* on June 11, 1988. It was selected because it features *sicer pa* as well as *ker pa* (the latter occurring twice).

Slovenia and democracy

In the past thirty days, the Slovene public has experienced two new shocks. After the May rumours that our northernmost republic was getting ready for a »military coup,« June began with the detention of Janez Janša, Ivan Borštner and David Tasić, a journalist, a second lieutenant in the Yugoslav Armed Forces and an editor of *Mladina*. All three have been arrested on suspicion of having divulged a military secret. According to the official statement, parts of top-secret military documents were discovered in their homes or places of work. Accompanied by increasingly vociferous statements by different associations, alliances and forums, Janša, Borštner and Tasić were handed over by the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs to the military prosecutor. A military secret is at stake here. Even though in the first case it was only a rumour, and in the second, the epilogue of the story is still not known, the fact

remains that both cases were skilfully combined, so that in some quarters this was viewed as the autumn of the »Slovene spring,« or the beginning of the end of democracy. Is it possible that such assessments may nevertheless be somewhat premature?

As far as Janša's case is concerned – with it in fact began the arrests and searches of the places of work and residences of the accused – *Mladina*, *Tribuna*, *Katedra* and *Radio Študent* issued »public statements« to the effect that this was »inadmissible meddling in the electoral procedure and blatant pressure on the public.« It is obvious that the detention of Janša on the basis of suspicion for having divulged a military secret carried severe political implications. *Ker pa*₁ he is one of the candidates for the president of ZSMS (Slovene youth organization), this certainly should not come as a surprise. The current president of the Slovene youth organization Tone Anderlič also made a statement and on behalf of his organization demanded from Tomaž Ertl, Republican Minister of Internal Affairs, an official explanation of Janša's arrest, about which, so he said, he learned from the newspapers.

This request could be in fact interpreted as an undemocratic act. Why should the Secretariat of Internal affairs, proceeding in compliance with its lawful competencies, inform the youth organization differently than the rest of the public? Does this mean that Janša should receive preferential treatment? *Ker pa*₂ the pre-electoral procedure for the youth organization elections is drawing to a close – and due to this, it is becoming a prime political event – Anderlič's demand is, despite everything, justified. This could certainly not be said of the joint statement of youth periodicals which in a biased way disqualified the legal authorities, and that even before their task was completed.

After that, the mass media have conveyed, according to a well established Slovene ritual, a series of statements and bulletins for the public. Eighty-eight eminent Slovene personalities from cultural and artistic circles signed a statement which called for an explanation as to who initiated the investigation against Janša. The same is demanded by the Slovene Writers Association, also calling for an immediate release of Janša, Borštnar and Tasić. In this context, the writers emphasize that they are indignant »with these investigations, which are creating an atmosphere of a state of emergency in Slovenia.« They are also concerned for constitutional order and freedom of the press.

The administrative board of the Journalist Association of Slovenia pointed out in its declaration that the »majority of journalists of the Journalist Association of Slovenia have expressed their concern regarding respect of the constitution, lawfulness, human rights and democratization of our society.«

Why such a great mistrust of lawful authorities? Why all those questions addressed to the Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs, social and political organizations and authorities of Slovenia protesting against the »restriction of

information?» Tomaž Ertl said, in a long interview published in the June 1st issue of *Delo* (editor's comment: the interview published in *Delo* on June 8 is probably meant here), that the public is being informed on a regular basis about the proceedings. The public was informed on how the procedure is progressing, what has been discovered, and why the Secretariat of Internal Affairs opted for detention. But one thing is clear: Until it has been proven that the suspicions are well founded – competent legal authorities will have something to say about that as well – no one should be declared a criminal. The competent authorities must be allowed to establish the facts.

Regarding the comment that information is incomplete, one can say only that it simply can not be more detailed and precise until the investigation is completed.

In the same vein, the criticism that this was an unlawful act is probably not justified. Public protests stand on shaky ground, particularly because it is the public who is advocating democracy. If someone is in favor of democracy, then he would have to acknowledge a law-based state, recognized by its constitution and laws, as a civilisational achievement of democracy. In addition to the freedom of expression and thought, positive regulations would have to be recognized. Even if these regulations are incomplete, they must be respected until they are changed. And the authority to do this rests with the Republican Assembly.

The most outspoken defenders of democracy, however, fell into the trap against which they were fighting on the public stage: they force their opinion on others as the supreme yardstick of right and wrong. Just as we are not ready to accept a dogmatist who has no ear for diversity and richness of opinions, so a »democrat,« who is prepared to do away with all those who do not share his views with methods which are not defined by the constitution and law, can not broaden the horizons of democracy. A democratic society indeed does not suggest that it has no dogmatists, just as no social or political system is black and white.

The Presidency of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Slovenia declared in a press release that it »does not wish to influence the course of investigation.« According to the statement, competent authorities, which have initiated and are leading the investigation, are responsible for everything. The lawful authorities should therefore independently – and of course ethically – perform their task and bring it to its completion. In any event, the outpouring of »liberal demands« with which individuals in fact attempt to exert a kind of pressure on the judiciary, can not be characterized merely as pressure on the lawcourts and investigating authorities. Many among them demand the observance of constitutional and legal principles as well as accurate and detailed information.

The fact remains that in the future the judiciary will have to take into consideration public opinion and public itself, which increasingly hungers for complete, accurate information. *Sicer pa* this is the usual price to pay when the doors of democracy are opened. We have achieved, despite everything, a higher level of democracy and this is borne out by the fact that this case is debated every day in public. If times were different, the entire incident would warrant no more than a brief report, or perhaps not even that much says Vijesnik's Dragan Đurić.

As we can see, *ker pa*₁ as well as *ker pa*₂ do not refer to some preceding discursive segment: The fact that Janez Janša was at the time a presidential candidate for RK ZSMS and that the electoral procedure for the president of RK ZSMS was drawing to a close is never explicitly mentioned in the text. Both items of information were only a matter of preceding, common knowledge. *Ker pa*₁ and *ker pa*₂ thus introduce into the given text new voices, new standpoints (informations), which are not directly, materially embraced by the given text. In order that we may bestow the required cohesion and independence on the text studied, we must therefore presume that the positions of the speaker (in our case the author of the article) are in fact the result of the confrontation of several enunciators or enunciating positions (which the article only reflects and which are not directly, materially caught in it). This is therefore a polyphonous structurality of the text, which in other words means that we must analyze *ker pa*₁ with the aid of (one) speaker and (at least) two enunciators (enunciating positions):

E(enunciator)₁ presents a fact F_1 (detention of a citizen), which has unusual quality Q_1 (severe political consequences);

E(enunciator)₂ contradicts him by presenting some (new) fact F_2 (this is a citizen involved in politics), where he obviously supports his arguments by referring to topos T_1 , »The more we ideal in politics, the more politically our actions are interpreted«, and this is acknowledged also by S(speaker), in our case the author of the article.

Even more interesting is the interpretation, or more precisely the possibility of interpretation of *ker pa*₂. The interpretation can be considered not only as a conflict between two enunciators, but also as a conflict between two topoi: E_1 represents a fact F_3 (democratic treatment) with quality Q_3 (the same for everyone), where it applies a given topos T_2 , »The more the laws are democratic, the more we must abide by them.«

E_2 concurs with him in this respect, except that instead of T_2 , he applies topos T_3 (which only intensifies T_2), »The more the conditions are aggravated, the more democratically we must act,« and S(speaker) concurs with his argumentation.

Of particular interest (particularly for the clarification of the nature of topoi and argumentation based on them) is the possibility of interpreting *sicer pa*. It suggests that different argumentative conclusions can be based on the same topos, which on the other hand again means that several different enunciating positions can be grafted on the same topos. *Sicer pa* could in fact be explained with the aid of the speaker and two enunciators (enunciating positions):

E_1 declares a given fact F_1 . (which is completely the same as in the case *ker pa*₁, i.e., detention of a citizen) only that another unusual quality Q_1 . is ascribed to it, as in E_1 in the case of *ker pa*₁ (greatly alarming the public).

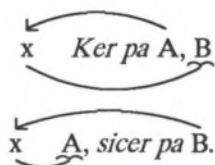
E_2 contradicts him with fact F_3 . (which is equal to the fact used by I_1 in the case of *ker pa*₂, (democratic treatment), only that it ascribes a different quality Q_3 . to it than E_1 in the case of *ker pa*₂ (freedom of information), thereby applying topos T_3 . (»The more conditions are aggravated, the more democratically we must act.«), with which E_2 in the example of *ker pa*₂ with gradation refutes the argumentation of E_1 .

The matter is more complex than it is evident at first glance from the three different analyses. E_1 of example *sicer pa*, by presenting its fact F_1 , also polemizes with E_1 of example *ker pa*₁, since it attributes to it a different quality than E_1 of example *ker pa*₁.

E_2 of example *sicer pa*, in addition to refuting the argument of E_1 of example *sicer pa*, also polemizes with E_1 of example *ker pa*₂, since it ascribes to fact D_3 . (which is equal to the fact used by E_1 in example *ker pa*₂) a different quality.

It can be concluded that the conjunction *pa*, at least in connection with conjunctions *ker* (*ker pa*) and *sicer* (*sicer pa*) represents an enunciatory anaphoric element, which by referring to some common general (or at least preceding) knowledge, external to the discourse in progress, delimits the discursive segment, whose part it is, as an interpretatively and argumentatively relatively autonomous unit.

Since the conjunction *pa* introduces a (complex) argumentative variable, which 1) discursively calls for a selection of argument, whose (argumentative) orientation opposes the argument preceding *pa*, 2) the argument preceding *pa* is not opposed by introducing a new discursive argument, but, with referring to an extra-discursive (extra-discursive in relation to the discourse in progress), common general knowledge, *pa* could also be viewed as the reverser of argumentative expectation, and its role could be graphically represented in the following manner:



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