When conjunctions are employed to link sentences, they become discourse relational devices. The purpose of this study is to analyse if the semantic meaning of Lithuanian contrastive conjunctions (but/when/whereas/while) and bet (but) coincides with the pragmatic meaning and to draw some parallels with their English counterparts. A corpus-based approach is employed to make generalizations on the use of Lithuanian conjunctions and their English counterparts, whereas discourse analysis provides a theoretical framework to analyse the conjunctions in spoken language and distinguish their peculiarities typical of this social context. The research reveals that Lithuanian conjunction bet and its English counterpart but demonstrate similar pragmatic behavior. On pragmatic level both conjunctions bet and but serve to object indirectly, to deny interlocutor’s ideas by first agreeing to them and then contradicting. Lithuanian conjunction o does not have a direct English counterpart. Lithuanian conjunction o, mainly contrastive in its semantic meaning, has manifold pragmatic meanings, therefore, it can be translated to English not only by but and and but also by any other English utterance introducer depending on the context. The focus of the research is spoken discourse which naturally implies certain limitations as it is not so much organized and more open to the recipient’s intervention. Knowledge of semantic meaning and pragmatic functions provides easily identifiable advice on how conjunctions could be used and translated. The object of the research is comparatively new in Lithuania and adds to the research field related to discourse relations studies.

Keywords: discourse relational devices, conjunctions, corpus-based analysis, semantic function, pragmatic function, spoken discourse.

Introduction

The field of discourse analysis is really diverse, thus, the term discourse is often perceived with some confusion. In this paper a discourse refers to any “unit of language longer than a single sentence”, as the online Glossary of Grammatical and Rhetorical Terms (2015) indicates. Consequently, discourse relational devices (DRDs) mean the words and expressions that join one sentence with another sentence.
or one paragraph to another paragraph or even one idea to another. If discourse relational devices are used incorrectly, the interlocutor may not establish a coherent interpretation of a discourse since it does not make sense or the reader may find it difficult to follow and understand it (Halliday, Hasan 1992) and as a result the communication may be hindered. When conjunctions are employed to link sentences, they can be considered discourse relational devices. The aim of this study is to analyse if the semantic meaning of Lithuanian contrastive conjunctions o (but/when/whereas/while) and bet (but) coincides with the pragmatic meaning and to draw some parallels with their English counterparts. Bielinskienė (2010: 64), basing her considerations on the data extracted from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language, claims that the most frequently used adversative conjunctions which express contrast in Lithuanian are o (4,500) and bet (3,700). In this article conjunctions were considered to function as discourse relational devices, when they are used after a full stop, so they link two sentences and are positioned at the beginning of a new sentence.

Previous research of DRDs

The term discourse relational devices is the most general term for all the other words which are used by various researchers. Due to their multifunctionality, differences in correlation between propositional and contextual meanings as well as other factors, DRDs are named in different ways in linguistic literature and different functions are attributed to them. Researchers label them as discourse markers, discourse operators, discourse connectors, connectives, linking words, pragmatic markers, pragmatic expressions, pragmatic particles, cohesion ties, interactional signals, small words, etc.

The variety of terminology to name DRDs indicates that they are of big interest to scholars. Various aspects of discourse markers have been studied by a variety of scholars or linguistic schools through different approaches and theories. The beginning of discourse analysis is associated with Haris in the early 1960s. Over the last several decades not only Schiffrin (2001), Blakemore (1987, 2002) and Halliday and Hasan (1992) but also some other linguists (Redeker 1990, 1991; Andersen 2001; Aijmer 2002) have contributed to a better understanding of the phenomenon. Lithuanian scholars tend to analyse coordinative conjunctions more than subordinative ones. Concerning the history of Lithuanian conjunctions we refer to Drovinas (1958), Alaunienė (1978), and more recent contributions by Judžentis and Pajedienė (2001), Bitinienė (2009). Akelaitis (1992) published a thesis on parenthetic units in the Lithuanian language. Bielinskienė (2010) in her doctoral thesis provides comprehensive frequency data of Lithuanian conjunctions and analyses their lexico-gramatical patterns. Česnulienė (2012) in her dissertation focuses her attention on grammatical and lexico-grammatical cohesion in scientific and publicistic texts. Lithuanian scholars mainly study English discourse relational devices focusing on their distribution across genres or registers (Čenulienė 2012; Murinienė 2005; Verikaitė 2005). Poškienė and Vrubliauskienė (2012) examined logic-semantic relations in English and Lithuanian scientific discourse. The authors also provide a taxonomy of English and Lithuanian DRDs based on Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Carter and McCarthy’s (2006) classification. Still few attempts have been made to investigate by what equivalents English discourse markers are translated into the Lithuanian language, except for Masaitienė’s (2003) contrastive study Discourse Markers in English and Lithuanian, where she presents a contrastive analysis of the following discourse markers: you know, well, I mean, so, ok, see, er, now, and um. In addition, university students (VU, VPU, VDU and SU) compare different registers or discourses in their master theses contrasting English and Lithuanian variants of the same book or employing corpus-based approaches. The choice of this topic as an object
of investigation was motivated by the fact that there is no comprehensive comparative study of Lithuanian and English contrastive conjunctions which function as discourse relational devices.

Along with a great number of labels for DRDs, there is a range of definitions and under each of them a different group of discourse markers is subsumed. For the present, there is no complete consensus on all their functions, properties and classification. The most common way is to classify DRDs according to the functions they perform in the text, however, each scholar groups these words into certain categories according to the research goal they decide to pursue. For example, Fraser (1996: 23) categorised discourse markers, as he calls them, into two main types depending on whether they refer to a textual segment between sentences or a discourse segment: 1) discourse markers which relate messages, e.g. but, also, thus, because etc. and 2) discourse markers which relate topics, e.g. back to my original point, before I forget, by the way etc. It should be noted that a thorough classification of DRDs is even impossible due to their multifunctionality.

The classification of Lithuanian conjunctions into coordinating and subordinating according to their semantic functions in the sentences is provided in The Computerised Lithuanian Language Manual (full title in Lithuanian – Kompiuterinis lietuvių kalbos žinynas. Nuo morfologijos iki reikalų raštu), which was compiled by Petras Kniūkšta (2004).

The first group of coordinating conjunctions connect independent units by 1) additive (ir, bei, ir...ir, čia...čia, nei...nei, tai...tai, tiek...tieck (and, either...or, neither...nor)), 2) adversative (contrastive) (bet(gi), o(gi), tačiau, tik(tai), vis dėlto, o betgi, o tačiau, o vis dėlto, bet vis dėlto, bet užtat (but, however, still, but therefore), 3) alternative (ar, arba, ar...ar, arba...arba (or, either...or), and 4) explanatory (supportive) (tai, taigi, tad (thus, therefore, so)) relation. The second group of subordinating conjunctions is used in complex sentences to connect a subordinate clause to the main clause. Kad and jog (that) can be used interchangeably, while the rest conjunctions belong to a certain type of clauses, such as 1) time (kai, kol, iki, ligi, vos etc. (when, while, as long as, hardly ever etc.), 2) causal (nes, kadangi (because, as, since)), 3) conditional (jei, jeigi (if, wheather)), 4) concession (nors (ir), nors...bet, nors...tačiau, kad ir...bet (though, though...but, though...however)), and 5) comparative (kaip, lyg, negu, tarsi, tarytum, juo...juo (as, like, than, sort of, quasi, the...the)). It is characteristic of Lithuanian conjunctions to be used as single words (like jei, kad (if, that)), whereas the others are correlative, i.e. they can be repeated twice, for instance ar...ar, ir...ir, nei...nei (either...or, neither...nor). Paired (double) conjunctions have one part of the conjunction in one part of the sentence and another part of the conjunction in another, as in ne tik...bet ir (not only...but also).

Spoken discourse differs from written discourse in sentence structure and vocabulary used as it is not so much organized and more open to the recipient’s intervention. The listener is not remote from the speaker in time and space, thus, the context assists them to interpret the utterances. The closer the interlocutors are the less is needed to be said as they may have common knowledge and common experience. That is why the speaker assumes what the listener already knows and chooses the response as the listener will understand the subject without any additional explanation. The main function of DRDs in spoken language is to show the listener how to interpret what the speaker is saying, to guide the collocutor towards the intended interpretation of an utterance. Many scholars (Blakemore, Fraser, Schiffrin) agree that the essential function of DRDs is to express the relation of an utterance to the preceding utterance or to the broader context. DRDs delicately tell about the inner state of the interactors, contribute to the description of emotional nuances associated with a particular situation. Therefore, DRDs cannot be translated according to their lexical meaning, i.e. their translation should be based on pragmatic rather than semantic analysis.
Methodology and theoretical framework

The material for the present study was drawn from the following corpora: *The Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language* (2015) compiled by Vytautas Magnus University and *The British National Corpus* (BNC) (2015) by Brigham Young University. There are two main corpora of the Lithuanian language, however, the corpus of academic language (*Corpus Academicum Lithuanicum* – CorALit: http://coralit.lt/, consisting of about 9 million words (2015)) compiled by Vilnius University contains, as its title indicates, academic language from the fields of biomedical sciences, humanities, physical sciences, social sciences, and technological sciences. The online *Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language* (2015), comprising of 102 million words, is of general character, therefore, it has been selected for the present analysis. It comprises publicistic texts (63.8%), fiction (11.6%), non-fiction (14.2%), administrative literature (10%) and spoken language (0.3%). The percentage of the spoken language is quite small, so the part of the Lithuanian language analysis was carried out on the basis of around 600,000 words which cannot be sufficient to claim the results to be universal. The search methods of the corpus allow to find a word or a collocation and to present the results in the form of a concordance and/or statistical information on the frequency of usage.

*The British National Corpus* covers the same historic period – the late twentieth century (The Lithuanian corpus consists of printed material since 1990) and contains approximately the same number of words (a 100 million word collection). The spoken language part of *The British National Corpus* is bigger than the Lithuanian corpus and makes up 10% of the total corpus while the written part accounts for 90%. It is possible to conclude that spoken discourse is under-represented in both corpora. Though Lithuanian language corpus is by 7% smaller than BNC, the uneven size of the corpora in this paper is compensated by calculating relative frequencies (per 1 million words).

However, there are some pitfalls of corpus linguistics. The frequency lists from any corpora are just ancillary means to examine the usage of words because word relations are not reflected in them and even words totally unrelated to the word under investigation can appear among the results (Marcinkevičienė 2000: 35). Word relations are best noticed by specialists because there is no such software which can be used instead of a scholar’s intuition to analyse concordance. As Marcinkevičienė (2000: 33) puts it, each scholar should create a model to analyse a corpus and here insight, intuition and genius to see simple, but invisible things are needed. That is why corpus linguistics has to embrace not only the analysis of the data provided by corpora but also a researcher’s introspection.

Discourse relational devices of contrast in Lithuanian and English

The Lithuanian conjunctions *o* (*but/when/whereas/while*) and *bet* (*but*) and their tentative English counterparts are studied within the framework of corpus linguistics and conversational analysis which is a part of discourse analysis. A corpus-based approach contributes to making generalizations of the usage of Lithuanian conjunctions and their English counterparts, whereas discourse analysis provides a theoretical framework to analyse the conjunctions in spoken language and distinguish their peculiarities typical of this social context. Conversational analysis approach places special emphasis on a detailed examination of individual examples of real spoken language. The aim of the approach is to make generalizations on how the language is organized and to explain its recurring patterns. This empirical inductive type of discourse analysis was first employed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) (cited from Masaitienė 2004: 3).
Lithuanian conjunction o

According to the above mentioned classification of Lithuanian conjunctions, conjunction o belongs to the group of coordinative adversative (contrastive) conjunctions. Its semantic meaning does not have one direct counterpart in English because it either implies contrast and can be translated by but or functions as an additive linker and is translated by and (Piesarskas 2005). The following example (1) illustrates the semantic meaning of o as a conjunction to express contrast.

(1) – Nu taip. – Tai va, tai vaikystę praėjo Ketybatuose, o paauglystę jau prasidėjo Ałytuose. – Nu tai gerai, … [Well yes. – anyway, so I spent my childhood in Ketybatai but my teen years have already started in Ałytuose. – Well ok, …]

In some sentences the connotation of addition, continuation of the thought is stronger than contrast, so the conjunction o can be translated as and like in the following example (2):

(2) … pinigų trūksta, vienu žodžiu. Maži atlyginimai, o, o pirkt reikia maistą … [… in short, we lack money. Wages are small and and we need to buy food …]

The pragmatic meaning of conjunction o is sometimes very similar to the semantic meaning of contrast and they are difficult to differentiate. Bielinskienė (2010: 119) claims that the pragmatic meaning of conjunction o includes adding a similar thought, continuing the same idea illustrated in (3) or strengthening and justifying what had been said before as in (4).

(3) …roja tos senos visokios, žinai, itališkos, žinai. O antram didžiajavo iš studentų kažkas tai, irgi ka … [… play those old various, you know, Italian, you know. And the second one was dyped by someone from students, so also …]

(4) …aš, iš tikrųjų, taip tikėjausi, kad, bus lengva. O iš tikrųjų lengva nėra niekur… Jeigu nori mokyt <…> [… to tell you the truth, I expected it to be easy. But in reality nowhere is easy… if you want to study …]

However, at the discourse level and, especially in spoken language, this conjunction gains additional pragmatic functions, i.e. to determine relations among the sentences or parts of a text. Thus, in Lithuanian there are a lot of cases in which the pragmatic meaning of the conjunction o is to signal turn taking and indicate that the speaker wants to initiate a new topic. It is very common to start Lithuanian special questions by O. The interlocutor’s attention is attracted; they are given some time to concentrate their attention on what is going to be said. At the same time the speaker has some additional seconds to think how to put the thought into words. In the example below (5) the topic about the workplace was changed to the topic about wages. As the ideas of work and payment are interconnected, o might be considered as an additive conjunction.

(5) – Statybose? – Statybose, jo. Nu gavosi taip. – O kiek Jūs uždirbdavote tuo metu? – Tuo metu aš užd… [In construction? – Yeah, construction. It happened so. – And how much did you use to earn at that time? – At that time I used to earn …]

At the same time next to the expansion and addition of the meaning, contrastive aspect may be felt in questions, as in example (6):

(6) O vyrais nenorėtumėt apsikeisti? – Taigi keitėmės. – O ilgesniam laikui? – Cha cha cha norėčiau. [And would you like to exchange husbands? – So, we exchanged. – And/But for a longer time? – Hahaha I’d love to.]

The topics can be even unrelated like in (7), in which the same speaker is praising her purchase and suddenly notices that his/her interlocutor is not drinking the tea. So here the conjunction o is used to initiate a new topic.

(7) Bet jau kaip aš kremu rankų džiaugiuosi savo. O tu negeri arbatos? – Ai tai kad aš visiškai palie… [I’m so happy with my hand cream. But you aren’t drinking the tea?/ Why aren’t you drinking the tea? – Well, I always leave …]

Alongside with the above-mentioned pragmatic meanings of contrast, continuation of an idea and change of the topic, conjunction o functions as a means of indirect negation. However, it is not as polite as it would be with English but. In such situations the interlocutor does not object directly, just as if asks a question
so the first speaker has to realize themselves that they were not right with their initial idea. In English such situations would be replied by “why not”. Consider examples (8) and (9) in which conjunction o is followed by question words kas and ką (what):


Expressions like o kač, o kas, o kodėl, like in the above examples, indicate that the interlocutor is emotional and that they are strongly sure of their idea and are even ready to fight to prove it to be right.

The online Lithuanian language dictionary (2015) specifies that there are some cases where the word o functions as a different part of speech, for instance, as an interjection. However, at the discourse level it serves as a DRD by expressing various feelings, like surprise, fear, sadness, joy, therefore, it has to be translated depending on the context. Bielinskienė (2010: 154) has counted that in the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language conjunction o functions as a conjunction in 93.2% of the cases, while its function as a particle makes up 6.1% and as an interjection – 0.6% (see Fig. 1).

In example (10) the repeated O, o, o is not a conjunction but an interjection which shows that the speaker was surprised by Jonas’ arrival. It could correspond to English ooh as Online Macmillan dictionary (2015) states.

(10) Ir man ją dabar groja pastoviai. – Tegul groja. O, o, o, bičas atvažiavo. Jonas. – Koks dar Jonas? [So they play it to me all the time. – Let them play. Ooh, a dude came. Jonas. – Who is Jonas?]

In collocations like O Viešpatie, O Dieve, O Jezau, O jetau, o jetus particle o also serves as an interjection which makes the exclamation stronger. In English we have established phrases like Oh my God, Oh my goodness, Oh my Lord, Oh my gosh. Compare (11) below:

(11) …an bakalauras keturi, paskui dar du magistras. – O, Dieve. Eik tu, mūsų tokios speci – alybės, tai mes v… […] bachelor’s four years, then master’s two more. – Oh my God. Blimey, such our specialities are, so we…]

The online Lithuanian language dictionary also indicates that conjunction o according to its semantic meaning can be used as a linker which indicates cause. To illustrate this case (12) the below provided example is taken from this dictionary because the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language does not contain such examples as they must either be

Fig. 1. Functional use of word o in morphologically-annotated corpus (Bielinskienė 2010: 64)
obsolete or used in just particular dialects which had not been covered in the corpus.

(12) Atsitrauk, o gausi. [Get away because you may get hurt.]

To sum up, Lithuanian conjunction o, mainly contrastive in its semantic meaning, has manifold pragmatic meanings, therefore, translators could be advised to render it to English either by contrastive (but) or additive conjunctions (and). Its semantic and pragmatic meaning of contrast and addition are tightly interrelated and in some cases cannot be differentiated. Even when the word o functions as a particle or interjection it can be substituted by some English DRDs, like ooh, oh or any other English utterance introducer depending on the context.

**Lithuanian Conjunction bet and English Conjunction but**

British National Corpus indicates that conjunction but is most often used in spoken discourse with the frequency of 6,622.06 per million. In comparison its Lithuanian counterpart bet is also the most frequent word in the spoken language making up 11,182.4 occurrences per one million words. The results demonstrate that in Lithuanian this word is used at almost double frequency. This can be explained by the fact that Lithuanian bet performs the functions of a particle and is a component of various pronouns and adverbs, like in bet kada which is translated to English by any time, i.e. by not using but. The higher Lithuanian frequency might be also explained by the fact that in some of the cases where Lithuanians use bet, English speakers take however.

The semantic meaning of contrast carried by bet/but conjunctions is closely related to the same pragmatic meaning of not strict objection (Bielinskienė 2010: 121) both in Lithuanian (13) and in English (14).

(13) Kursiniam nereikia ju. – Aišku. – Kursiniam ne. Bet bakalaurinim reikėtų dar papildyt grafikais. Nu ... [They are not needed for course papers. – I see. – No for course papers.

But bachelor thesis needs to be illustrated by diagrams. Well ...]

(14) Erm a light bulb is not using much electricity in a given time. But if you leave a light bulb on for a year, it’ll cost you ...

Indirect mild objection is expressed by Lithuanian bet in (15) and English but in (16), the listener encourages the speaker to make a conclusion about an inappropriate proposition and to refuse of it by themselves. In such a way, a direct negative answer is avoided and politeness principle is maintained.

(15) ...tai ten būna įvairiausių, su įvairiais priedais. – Bet ten labai brangu. – Taip, o aš mačiau karolius, ku ... [...] there are various, with different accessories. – But they are expensive there. – Yes, but I saw a necklace which ...]

(16) It doesn’t have to be done before the exam. But it’s preparation, preparation work before exams.

In some situations politeness is maintained by first of all agreeing to the interlocutor’s ideas, and only then disagreeing to them (see (17) and (18)). Such cases are peculiar to public speaking when some idea is criticised or a new argument is provided.

(17) ...a daugiau matomi? Nežinau... – Matomi iš tikrųjų. Bet o pasakykit man, kuris dabar iš tų visuomenės la... [... visible more? I don’t know... – Indeed visible. But could you tell me who from society now ...]

(18) That’s a function. Right. But just stated like that it’s not a function because...

Lithuanian bet serves to start a new discourse segment. In the following example (18) teenagers are discussing that they are bored at home and suddenly one interlocutor decides to introduce a new aspect to their talk, i.e. their parents’ attitude:

(19) ...kiek žinai. – Tai žinai namuose ką ten. – Nu tai va. Bet tai kaip tėvai aš nesuprantu ne nesuvokia šito. – [...] know. – So you know there’s nothing to do at home. – Sure. But I can’t understand why parents don’t realise this. –]

But in English serves the same function of starting a new discourse segment. In example (20) the change of topic is strengthened by
anyway which might indicate that the speaker is returning to his earlier explored idea:

(20) …and he held his own with (-----) which was saying something, saying something. But anyway, he died in his forties of er diabetes, he said sugar diabetes…

In English the phrase but I mean, as in (21), is quite often but in Lithuanian it is not popular to try to paraphrase what the speaker meant in other words or to say bet aš turiu mintyje. Even without the conjunction bet this phrase as Masaitienė rightly observes “does not have a colloquial marker that could be comparable with English I mean” (2003: 69).

(21) …pages. Well I don’t know. I just don’t know. But I mean he was very interested and when I said that we’d actually done…

Conclusions

The research reveals that Lithuanian conjunction bet and its English counterpart but demonstrate similar pragmatic behavior. In many cases, the pragmatic function coincides with the semantic meaning of contrast. Also there are cases when the conjunctions in both languages demonstrate indirect, not strict objections or in some cases politeness is maintained by first agreeing to the interlocutor’s ideas and only then disagreeing with them. In addition, the conjunctions are used to start a new discourse segment in both languages.

Speaking about Lithuanian conjunction o it should be stressed that it does not have a direct English counterpart. It may imply contrast and can be translated by but or it may function as an additive conjunction and can be translated by and. Also, at discourse level o performs the pragmatic function of initiating a new topic. To sum up, Lithuanian conjunction o, mainly contrastive in its semantic meaning, has manifold pragmatic meanings, therefore, it can be translated to English not only by but and and but also by any other English utterance introducer depending on the context. Its semantic and pragmatic meaning of contrast and addition are tightly interrelated and in some cases cannot be separated.

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PRIEŠPRIEŠINIAI DISKURSO JUNGTUKAI LIETUVIŲ IR ANGLŲ KALBOSE

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Šio tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti, ar semantinė priešpriešinių lietuvių kalbos jungtukų o ir bet reikšmė sutampa su jų pragmatine reikšme, kai jie naudojami diskurso lygmeniu ir tampa diskurso jungtukais, tuo pačiu metu lyginant su jų atitikmenimis anglų kalboje. Tekstynų lingvistika naudojama ieškant bendrų lietuvių kalbos jungtukų ir jų anglšiškių atitikmenų vartojimo dėsnių. Diskurso analizė suteikia teorinį pagrindą analizuoti jungtukų vartojimą sakytiniame diskurse ir išskiriant jų ypatumus, būdingus šiam diskursui. Tyrimas atskleidžia, kad lietuviškas jungtukas bet ir jo angliškas atitikmuo but demonstruoja panašią pragmatinę raišką. Pragmatinių lygmenų abu Jungtukai bet ir but naudojami netiesioginiam prieštaravimui, paneigiant pašnekovo idejas, iš pradžių sutinkant su jomis, o paskui prieštaraujant. Lietuviškas jungtukas o neturi tiesioginio angliško atitikmens. Lietuviškas jungtukas o, semantiškai išreiškiantis prieštaravimą, atlieka įvairias pragmatines funkcijas, todėl gali būti verčiamas į anglų kalbą ne tik prieštaravimą išreiškiančiu but arba patvirtinimą ar pratęsimą išreiškiančiu and, bet priklausomai nuo konteksto ir kitais anglškais diskurso Jungtukais ar jungiamaisiais Žodžiais. Tyrimo analizuoja sakytinio diskursas, kuriam būdingas mažesnis organizuotumas ir didesnis atvirumas pašnekovo interpretacijai. Žinios apie semantiškøs reikšmës ir pragmatinës funkcijës sąsajas yra naudingos verëtant jungtukus iš vienos kalbos į kitą. Diskurso Jungtukų tyrimas prisideda prie palyginti naujus šios sritys tyrimų Lietuvoje.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: diskurso Jungtukai, tekstynų lingvistika, semantinë funkcija, pragmatinë funkcija, sakytinis diskursas.