Clause combining: Semantic and pragmatic aspects

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"clause relations", "rhetorical relations", "text relations"

"each linguist or group of linguists labeled and defined it slightlyly differently, but a basic shared element in the definition was that a clause relation was a regularly recurring semantic relationship holding between parts of a text, minimally clauses, that helped account for the organization of the text" Hoey 2006

1. Matching relations

- compatibility: I like Mozart and so does my wife.
- contrast: I like Mozart but my wife does not.
- generalization exemplification: My wife doesn't like classical music. For example, she hates Mozart.
- preview- detail: There are three composers I especially like. I really enjoy Mozart, I love Bach and I adore Sibelius.
- topic maintenance: Mozart is one of my favorite composers. He was born in Salzburg.

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2. Sequence relations

- time sequence: she washed her face and then put her coat on
- cause effect: it was cold, so she put her coat on
- instrument purpose: she put her coat on to protect herself against the cold
- spatial sequence: Her coat hung on a clothesstand in the hall. An old umbrella lay on a table next to it.

Matthiessen & Thompson 1988

- List relations vs. Nucleus-Satellite (elaborating, enhancing, ...) relations
- "We will show that these relations, often not directly signaled, are essential to the functioning of the text as a means for a writer to accomplish certain goals. These relations involve every nonembedded clause in the text and they form a pattern of relations which connects all the clauses together."
- "The perception of texts in terms of hierarchically organized groups of units is a linguistic reflex of a general cognitive tendency."

Examples (from Riga in your pocket)

(28)

- [...] many practicing Latvian Christians belong to Lutheran congregations.
- Latvia's Russian-speaking minorities are largely Orthodox Christians
- while Catholicism is more popular in the Latgale region of eastern Latvia.

- 1. 17th Century.
- 2. In the Polish-Swedish war (1600 1629), Sweden wins northern Latvia,
- 3. while the provinces of Kurzeme and Zemgale are united into a duchy loyal to the Polish-Lithuanian empire.
- 4. Trade is expanded to all corners of the world:
 - Latvian pines become masts for English warships.
- The duchy gains the island of Tobago,
 - later exchanged for Gambia.
- During Swedish occupation schools are opened,
- oppression of the peasants lessened
- and the Bible is translated into Latvian.

- 1. Latvians have had a tough six months.
- 2. Although the rest of the world has also felt the global financial crisis,
- 3. few countries have seen their GDP decrease by 18% or their unemployment rate jump to double digits.
- 4. Typically dark Baltic days were made darker by the economic gloom.
- 5. But the summer sunshine is finally having an effect on Riga's inhabitants.

- 1. Although Latvia was once an involuntary Soviet republic,
- visitors should not come to Riga with high hopes of seeing grand statues of Lenin, Stalin and other objects from that bygone era.
- 3. Most of these monuments, ___ have been removed
- which are viewed as symbols of oppression by the local population, [..].
- A red granite monument, ___ still exists on Strēlnieku laukums ___
 - once dedicated to the Latvian riflemen who protected Lenin after the Revolution of 1917,
 - but now honours all of the riflemen Whites and Reds.
- Another monument, dedicated to the Soviet 'liberation' of Riga, is located on the other side of the Daugava [..].

- 1. Latvia has the dubious honour of holding the record for the world's drunkest person.
- 2. A few years ago an unnamed vagrant was found unconscious by police
- 3. and rushed to hospital
- 4. where his blood test revealed an astounding 7.22 parts per mille of alcohol.
- 5. Before this man was saved by law enforcement,
- 6. the medical community had agreed that 4 parts per mille was a lethal dose for most humans.

Matthiessen & Thompson 1988

Hypothesis:

Clause combining in grammar has evolved as a grammaticalization of the rhetorical units in discourse defined by rhetorical relations.

Hypothesis (narrow):

Enhancing hypotactic clause combining has evolved as a grammaticalization of rhetorical relations in text of the enhancing Nucleus-Satellite kind.

Different "meanings" of connectives / relations on different levels

- She married him, because he is rich.
 (content => why did she marry him?)
- He must be rich, because she married him.
 (epistemic => why do I think he's rich?)
- Do you know whether he's rich? Because I would like to marry him.
 (speech act > why do I ask if he's rich?)

(Cf. Sweetser 1990)

Entity types and their order (Crevel 2000 citing Hengeveld)

	order	type	evaluation
	Zero	property or relation	applicability
	First	individual	existence
a.	Second	state of affairs	reality
b.	Third	propositional content	truth
C.	Fourth	speech act	felicity
d.	Fifth	text unit	thematic continuity

Concessive relations on 4 levels (Crevel 2000)

- (state of affairs) Although it's raining, we're going for a walk.
- (propositional content) He's not at home, although his car is parked in front of the house.
- (speech act) Even though I'm calling a bit late, what are your plans for this evening?
- (text) I speak and write Serbian, Albanian, Turkish and Dutch, but I cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Romani. Although, now that I come to think of it, I have done it may times.

Case study: Functions of the Latvian particle (connective?) neba in Internet discussions

August Bielenstein (1864: 383)

neba

"eine Partikel, deren Gebrauch zu den rechten Feinheiten der lettischen Sprache gehört "

"a particle whose use belongs to the real intricacies of the Latvian language"

Causal reading

(1) netur dusmas, bāleliņ',
neb(a) es tautas aicināju
'don't be angry, my dear brother,
it wasn't me called for the suitors'

'for I didn't invite the suitors'

Adversative reading

(2) adu cimdus, adu zeķes, **neba** duošu brālītim;

'I knit mittens, I knit socks,

not to give them to my brother'

'but I won't give them to my brother'

Empirical investigation: *neba* in the Internet

1. neba at the beginning of a clause	198
- without a connective (129)	
- un neba, bet neba, jo neba, taču neba (67)	
- neba ka (2)	
2. correlative neba S – neba S 'neither S – nor S'	
(or <i>neba</i> VP – <i>neba</i> VP)	5
3. <i>neba</i> before a phrase or word	44
(NP (27), PP (11), VP (3), Adv. (3))	
4. idiomatic constructions	29
- neba velti 'not for nothing, not without reason'	(15)
- neba tāpēc (ka), neba tādēļ etc. 'not for this re	ason'
$(14) \qquad \qquad $	
total	276

Four uses of *neba* (preliminary formulation)

- A. Contradiction: **neba** p = **not** (at all) p
- B. Cause: p neba q = p for [not q]
- C. Contrast: neba q (bet) r
 - = not q but/instead r
- D. Cause & Contrast: p neba q (bet) r
 - = p [not because] q [but because] r
- or: p because [not q but r]

Contradiction: neba in dialogue

Neziņa, 28-05-08 10:49

(3) <u>Bet es mīlu savu vīru</u>. Bijušais ir kā apsēstība, kas negrib mani pamest.

Ekalo, 28-05-08 11:00

- (4) <u>neba nu tu mīli, nekā...</u> ja mīlētu, tad i doma par bijušo prātā neienāktu.
- (3) 'But I love my [current] husband. The ex is like an obsession which doesn't leave me.'
- (4) 'no, you don't love [him], not at all... if you did, there wouldn't be even a thought of the ex in your mind.'

Contradiction: neba in argumentation

(5) [...] Līdz ar ko - **neba nu** visi, kas ir miruši ar sirds, plaušu un asinsvadu slimībām, tās ir ieguvuši no smēķēšanas.

Un **neba nu** visi smēķētāji ir slimi. Un **neba nu** visi saslims.

[...] And what is more – [contrary to the public opinion] not all persons who have died from deseases of the heart, the lungs, or the blood-vessels, had got these from smoking.

And it is not the case that all smokers are sick.

And it is not the case that all of them will fall sick.

Bielenstein 1864

neba "verneint [...] die unausgesprochene Erwartung oder Meinung eines anderen"

neba negates the tacit expectation or opinion of another person

Contradiction of a tacit opinion or expectation

(6) Pēc 9 stundu (**neba** es skaitīju, bet vienkārši gadījās piefiksēt apmēram laikus [...]) ilga perioda [...].

'After a period of 9 hours (**no**, I **didn't** count, it just happened that I fixed the time [of the beginning and the end] approximately [...])'

Cause: giving reason for a statement/opinion

- (7) Manuprāt, ir bik nevietā šis runāšanas aizliegums, **neba** ar likumu var izdresēt sabiedrību
 - 'In my eyes, this ban of talking is a bit out of place, (for) you can't drill society by law.'
- (8) programmējamas pogas gan varēja uzlikt tajā vidus konsolē, **neba nu** cilvēks ikdienā izmanto VISAS idrive funkcijas.
 - 'but the programming buttons had better been put into this middle console, for one doesn't use ALL the i-drive functions every day.'

Cause: giving reasons for a command

- (9) Nedzeniet puiku kaktā, **neba** viņš vainīgs ka tik gudrs.
 - 'Don't corner the boy, it's not his fault that he is so clever.'
- (10) [...] nafig lielo siltumnicu, uztaisi tadu parnesajamu, **neba jau** no stikla buvesi.
 - 'forget about the big glasshouse, make one of these portables, you're not going to build it from glass, are you.'

Cause in folksongs: giving reason for a command

- (1) netur dusmas, bāleliņ',
 neb(a) es tautas aicināju
 'don't be angry, my dear brother,
 it wasn't me called for the suitors'
- (11) atduod, māte, manu tiesu, neba daudz man vajaga!'mother, give me my part, for it's not much I need' (cited in ME)

Causal relation with explicite (redundant) connective

(12) Taču domāju, ka viņi ir to pelnījuši, **jo neba jau** vienā dienā uzdzina sev tādu PR, kādu viņi sasnieguši gadiem strādājot, ar reāliem piemēriem.

'However, I think that they have earned it, for they didn't gain such a PR in just a day, they have gained it working for years with authentic examples.'

Blocking of causal reading by bet

(13) [...] vismaz es nebūšu šī seriāla piekritējs. **Bet neba jau** man tā labākā gaume :D.

'at least I am not going to be a fan of this serial. **But then** I don't have the best taste:D.'

Contrast: semantic opposition (with correlative *bet*)

(14) **Neba** būvniekiem interesē to pili būvēt **bet gan** baņķieriem aizdot naudu tās būvniecībai un 20 gadu laikā nopelnīt 3 reizes lielāku summu nekā aizdeva.

'It is not the constructors' interest to build this castle, but the bankers' to lend the money for the construction and to earn in the course of 20 years 3 times the sum they lent.'

Contrast: semantic opposition (without correlative bet)

(15) Nobeigumā vēlētos teikt, ka neba nu kompānijas ir vainīgas, ka tām nākas patentēt šādas lietas. Vainīga ir likumdošana, kas šādus patentus pieļauj.

'At the end I would like to say that it is not the companies who are to blame that they have to patent such things. The law is to blame which allows such patents.'

Contrast: conversational opposition

- (16) [...] tikai dažas iebildes:
 - 1) **neba** man moralizēt, **bet** pie īstas laimes tā netikt.

- '[...] just some objections:
- 1) **not that** I want to moralize, **but** that's not how to achieve real happiness.'

Contrast: concessive on the text level

- (17) man bija iespēja noskatītites divas lugas. (a) **Neba** gluži manam vecumam piemērotas [..].
 - (b) **Arī** pirmizrādes tās jau piedzīvojušas pagājušajā teātra sezonā.
 - (c) **Tomēr** bija interesanti abus iestudējumus konfrontēt,
 - (d) **jo** [...]
 - 'I had the opportunity to watch two plays.
 - (a) **True**, they weren't really meant for my age group, (b) **Also** they had experienced their opening nights already in the previous season.
 - (c) **Nevertheless** it was interesting to confront the two productions, (d) **for** [...]'

Cause & contrast in argumentation p because [not q but r]

- (18) Zatlers par daudz bildēs. **Neba nu** viņš baigi galvenais.
 Šajā dienā svarīgi, ka katrā ģimenē tiek par to stāstīts bērniem...
 - '(President) Zatlers is too often in the picture. **It's not** him the most important. On this day it is important that in every family people tell their children about it...'

Cause & contrast (2): p [not because] q [but because] r

(19) ... veselu nedēļu nebija neviena raksta šai blogā.

Neba nebūtu par ko rakstīt, **tieši otrādāk** - bija pārāk daudz visa kā cita.

'... there hasn't been any entry in this blog for a whole week.

Not because there was nothing to write about, **just the contrary** – there were to many other things."

Cause & contrast in the dainas

(2') adu cimdus, adu zeķes, **neba** duošu brālītim; došu tautu dēliņam.

'I knit mittens, I knit socks, not to give them to my brother: I'll give them to the one I'll marry.'

neba and other arhaisms just for fashion (and without understanding)

(20) ... šitentā fizmatu fakultātē ir **neba** mazums studentu, abet cik ta no viņiem veic to patstāvīgo darbu **jebšu** cik noslogota ir fakultātes bibliotēka? 'in this here faculty of physics and maths there are not just a few students, but how many of them carry out individual work, in other words, how busy is the faculty's library?'

Thank you for your attention!

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