

CORRELATIVE CONJUNCTIONS IN SPOKEN TEXTS

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POUKAROVÁ, Petra: Correlative Conjunctions in Spoken Texts. *Journal of Linguistics*, 2017, Vol. 68, No 2, pp. 305 – 315.

Abstract: Correlative conjunctions (such as *bud' – anebo* (either – or), *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) etc.) represent one means of textual cohesion. The occurrence of one component of the pair implies the use of the other, which contributes to the cohesiveness of a text. Using data provided by the corpus of informal spoken Czech ORAL2013, I will try to demonstrate their use in a prototypical spoken language, that is commonly considered less coherent and more fragmentary compared to written language.

Keywords: correlative conjunctions, spoken Czech, ORAL2013, corpus

1 INTRODUCTION

There are several ways of expressing textual cohesion in Czech. Lexical means are most frequently represented by deictic expressions, synonyms, hyperonyms, word repetition, etc. In spoken language, paralinguistic means such as gestures, facial expressions, or direct pointing can also be used. Grammatical means of textual cohesion include various connectors, that in the broadest sense fulfil a conjoining function, express mutual relations between words or signal continuity [12, p. 912]. A large group of connectors is represented by conjunctions (as the name of the word class already suggests), that can be both simple or multi-word. Conjunctions connect parts of a text with what immediately precedes or follows so that the resulting text reads as cohesive. Apart from the connective function, they also express semantic relations, that can be either objective (for instance signalling a temporal sequence) or subjective.

In this article, we are going to deal with the so-called correlative conjunctions expressing textual cohesion, i.e. sets of two expressions that most frequently occur at the beginning of clauses or before clause elements that are being conjoined [1, p. 343]. The examples are *bud' – nebo* (either – or), *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) etc. The occurrence of one of the conjunctions implies the use of the other; the speaker often opts for these pairs of words to explicitly express mutual relations at both clausal and textual level and at the same time creates a compact, cohesive text. The listener expects the use of the other component of the correlative pair of conjunctions as it contributes towards his or her understanding and relating of the information. This understanding enables the speaker to fulfil his or her communicative goal.

In the case of a prototypical spoken language¹, cohesion or complexity of a text can be hindered because it is being produced “here and now”. Spoken texts are presented in contrast with written texts and are being characterised as less cohesive [2, p. 121]. The speaker does not have any time in advance to prepare his or her speech, which consequently excludes the use of complex syntactic constructions etc. The production of a spoken language is also influenced by short-term memory – the speaker might not be able to remember his or her previous words and might continue differently from what has been originally intended. In the case of correlative conjunctions, this might lead to the situation when the other item of a pair is not used although its occurrence is expected due to the use of the first conjunction. In the next few pages, the Czech correlative conjunctions *bud’ – nebo* (either – or), *sice – ale* (although) and *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) and the instances of a main clause introduced by the word *tak* (so) are going to be analysed in greater detail.

Using examples from the corpus of informal spoken Czech ORAL2013, I will try to demonstrate the real use of correlative conjunctions; whether speakers do express them both and therefore make the text more coherent and cohesive, or not.

2 CONJUNCTIONS

2.1 Conjunctions in General

Conjunctions are generally defined as an inflectional synsemantic word class (with the exception of *kdyby* (if) and *aby* (so as)) that is closed (there are no more than 2 000 simple conjunctions in a language) but thanks to their function, they are used very frequently [1, p. 342]. This is confirmed by the lemma frequency statistics in SYN2015 and ORAL2013² corpora. The basic functions of conjunctions are also generally agreed on: they conjoin syntactic clauses and/or parts of clauses, both at the same syntactic level (the relation of coordination) and at different levels (the relation of subordination) [6, p. 36], and semantically specify the nature of syntactic relations they express [12, p. 524]. They also provide the semantic motivation of various conjoined elements.

2.2 Conjunctions as Text Organisers

Conjunctions are usually introduced together with the concepts of a main and a subordinate clause, that are used to define complex and compound sentences. Due to the fact that coordinative conjunctions join (and signal) clauses at the same syntactic level and are not a part of their syntactic structure, their distribution in a text is freer. “Their function is to express semantic relation and the same syntactic level of the conjoined elements and thus join them into a higher syntactic and

¹ The term *prototypical language* here represents commonly spoken, spontaneous unprepared Czech [4, p. 118].

² The conjunction *a* (and) is the third most frequent conjunction in the SYN2015 corpus. It can also be found on the third position in the spoken corpus ORAL2013. Among the first ten words, there is also the conjunction *že* (that). This conjunction can, however, also fulfil different functions – it can be found in collocations such as *že jo/že ano* (right), in which case it is a particle. Its other function can be that of a question tag.

semantic unit” [7, p. 139]. Unlike coordinative conjunctions, subordinative conjunctions form a part of the subordinate clause they introduce and are related to the verb in the main clause. To demonstrate this, the conjunction *A* (and) at the beginning of a clause suggests connection with the previous context (and semantically signals, for instance, a summary of information that precedes) but the conjunction *Jestli* (whether) at the beginning of a clause always refers to the previous clause (it expresses parcellation).

Correlative conjunctions in a way follow both the principles at the same time. The first item of the pair connects the text with its context and expresses their mutual semantic relations. Its word class categorisation is relativised, and because it occurs at the beginning of a clause, it functions as a connective particle [9, p. 693]. The second constituent of the pair does not, unlike subordinative conjunctions, express the relation of dependency between the conjoined units, but it refers to the preceding clause because the use of the first element of the pair requires its presence (as same as a verb requires complementation in the form of a subordinate clause).

2.3 Conjunctions from the Phraseological Point of View

A phraseme is defined as a “unique expression consisting of minimally two elements in which at least one of them cannot occur in a different word combination in the same way, i.e. it occurs only in one such combination, or possibly very few of them” [10, p. 140]. Such definition relate to correlative conjunctions too. They can be described as fixed and therefore systemic combinations of expressions, that can be combined with other elements in a limited way [5, p. 449]. We can support this claim by looking at the description of *bud'* (either) in [11] where it is defined as *a coordinative conjunction used in the correlative pair bud'(to) – (a)nebo* (either – or). Speakers' own experience of the use of the language also confirms the definition – the use of the first expression of the pair implies the use of the other; or, choosing the other perspective, the occurrence of the second item of the pair “justifies” the use of the first.

3 METHOD

The correlative conjunctions were looked up in the corpus of spontaneous spoken Czech ORAL2013, that includes recordings of dialogues between speakers older than 18 that know each other well. The corpus maps all regions of the Czech Republic. It is a part of the fifth version of a series of united corpora ORAL2006, 2008, and 2013 that were experimentally lemmatized and tagged.

Thanks to that, I could look up expressions using categories such as word class, lemma etc. In the case of correlative conjunctions *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or), *sice – ale* (although) and *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly), I used the interface KonText and entered the first component of the pair with its possible pronunciation variants, as the recordings had been transcribed in accordance with the rule “write what you hear”. That is why there is the option *bud'to* (the informal variant of the conjunction either) occurring along the more standard *bud'* (either) in the corpus.

Searching for instances of a main clause introduced by the expression *tak* (so) proved more difficult. I needed to look up examples in which the subordinate clause

precedes the main clause. First I tried to find such sequences using the query <sp> [tag="J,*"], in which <sp> stands for the "search for the expressions at the beginning of the speaker's utterance", tag J, marks subordinative conjunctions. I expected that by looking up subordinative conjunctions at the beginning of the speaker's turn, I would get relevant results, but there was a problem with the segmentation of the transcripts. The transcribers were instructed to arbitrarily divide long utterances of one speaker into parts no longer than 15 words, creating the boundary where there was a pause. The beginning of a communication unit thus does not have to correspond to the beginning of a new syntactic unit (the main clause could have occurred in the previous segment) or to the beginning of a new semantic unit.

That is why I modified the query and searched only for the expressions *a když* (and when) and *že když* (that when). The conjunctions *a* (and) and *že* (that) ensure that the main clause follows the subordinate one³ (with the exception of the cases where the unit *a když* (and when) expresses a multiple relation; there were, however, only few such examples). I was interested in how many times the main clause would be introduced by expression *tak* (so). In the case of *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or) and *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly), I worked with all the occurrences, and in the case of all other expressions, I manually analysed a random sample of 250 occurrences (see Results).

4 RESULTS

BUD' – NEBO (either – or)

There were 703 occurrences of the word *bud'* (or *bud'to*) (either) in the corpus ORAL2013. I had to look at all the instances because some cases of the word *bud'* (either) could represent the imperative of the verb *být* (to be) and thus be homonymous with the conjunction, and I wanted to get as many instances of *bud'* (either) as a conjunction as possible. There were 601 cases of *bud'* (either) used as a conjunction (the other cases were either homonymous, or they represented repetition of the expression *bud'* (either)); in 445 (74%) out of these, the speakers also provided the other part of the correlative pair, i.e. *nebo* (or). In this respect, we could see that they are supporting the cohesion of the text, although their compactness can be influenced by many other factors. *Nebo* (or) was not used in 156 of the cases.

Informal spoken language enables the two components of a correlative pair to occur at a various distance from each other. The distance is, on the other hand, limited by short-term memory (see above), i.e. the bigger the distance between the two items, the lower the probability of occurrence of the second element of the pair. In the data I analysed, there were both extremes; the two components were used one immediately after the other (example 1), and also in the distance that was greater

³ I do realise that using the terms *main* and *subordinate clause* appears problematic. When we use the conjunction *že když* (that when), both of the clauses are actually subordinate. Compare: *řekl mi, že když přijde, uleví se mu* (he told me that if he came, he would feel better) a *řekl mi* (he told me) -> *že se mu uleví* (that he would feel better) -> *když přijde* (when he came), in which *kdy přijde* (when he came) is subordinate of the clause *že se mu uleví* (that he would feel better), which is also a subordinate clause.

than 54 words (plus there is the second speaker's utterance in between) (example 2). The average distance between the two is four words.

1. S1: *za to může .. můžou ptáci no* . (we should blame... the birds are to blame for it)
S2: *bud' . anebo počasí* (either . or weather)

In this case, S2 reacts to S1's utterance and by using a multi-word unit specifies an alternative causer of the discussed condition (birds or weather).

2. S1: *a teď bud' . eee .. pro . jakože . eee pěší turistiku . to by se šlo . to by se určila trasa* (and now either . eee .. for . like . eee hiking . we should follow . a trail would be fixed)
S2: *no* (yeah)
S1: *a . šlo by se z kempu do kempu . a dycky v tom kempu by čekala stage .. a nějaký program . jo a ty lidi by tam museli dojít . něk .. se dopravit . jo ? . a to by byla takle celá akce . anebo že by to bylo podél nějaký řeky pro vodáky .. jo ?* (and . we could go from a camp to another one . and there a stage would wait in the camp .. and some programme . yeah and the people would have to get there . somehow .. to get . yeah ? . and it would be the whole event like this . or it would be along some river for watermen .. yeah ?)

Example 2 is interesting because even the second item of the pair could be seen as a particle structuring the text. Among conjunctions, Hrbáček distinguishes connectors (where he places structuring conjunctions) and junctives. "Conjoining devices (junctives) and connective devices (connectors) can be distinguished roughly in the sense that conjoining devices express semantic relations of the utterances inside of one unit, whereas connective devices express semantic relations between semantic units across utterance/sentence boundaries" [8, p. 56]. That is why they often occur at the beginning of clauses. In the case of spoken language, we cannot talk about a sentence or its beginning and end. The instances that were found correspond to connectors due to the placement of the first item of the pair at the beginning of the turn, after a pause etc. *Anebo* (or) in example 2 can also be characterised as a connector rather than a junctive (a conjoining device) as it, first, occurs at the beginning of a part of an utterance after a pause, and second, as it appears at quite of a distance from the first component of the unit (in that way it looks more like a connective device).

Among the correlative conjunctions with both components of the pair used, there are also phrasemes *bud' tak nebo tak* (either in this way or that way); *bud' ta pravá strana je těžší nebo co já vím* (either the right side is heavier or what do I know); *bud' byla sjetá nebo co* (either she was high or something like that).

There are two reasons why the second element of a pair of correlative conjunctions is not expressed. First, it is the speaker him- or herself who decides not

to continue with the original utterance (example 3), and second, it could be his or her communication partner who interrupts and chooses a different topic (example 4).

3. S1: *a eee říkám no tak . tak **bud'** sou v Kamenickým Šenově . protože von zas nějakou horolezeckou knihu nějaký . z Děčína něco prže byl . deset let předseda horolezeckýho oddílu ve Varnsdorfu . ve Slovanu a to takže chtěj nějakou knihu a nějaký materiály . a že musí jet za nějakým klukem ve Chřibské a . a s tím zas kamarádi Franta NP tak sem říkala třeba jeli tam a to* (and eee I say yeah so . so either they are in Kamenický Šenov . because he again some mountaineering book some . from Děčín something because he has been . a chair of the mountaineering group in Varnsdorf for ten years . in Slovan and so so they want some book and some materials . and that they have to go to see some boy to Chřibská and . and Franta NP is friends with him so I said they had gone there maybe and so)

The speaker linearly develops and specifies her utterance and follows the topics that emerge. It seems that the speaker moves forwards with her narrative rather than coming back to her original idea and providing the other element of the correlative pair. Nevertheless, based on the occurrence of the first item, we are able to determine in which context the second part, *nebo* (or), should appear. In this case, we can consider the goal of providing the other part as fulfilled – the people the speaker is talking about are either in Kamenický Šenov, or in Chřibská.

4. S1: *chcu udělat posezení a támhle to nějak zastinit . mmm buďto nějakou roletu* (I want to make seating and there to shade it somehow . mmm either with some blind)
 S2: *dyť *s míval roletu nebo co *s tam míval ?* (you used to have a blind, didn't you or what did you use to have there ?)
 S1: *míval* (I used to have)
 S2: *ale víš co chcu udělat ?* (but you know what I want to do ?)
 S1: *hadr* (a tatter)

The use of both of the elements is therefore considerably influenced by the communicative situation. The communication partner can always interrupt the first speaker in a dialogue, as in example 4 where the communication partner reacts to the information about the roller blind (*roleta* “blind”) and thematises it in the next utterance to confirm his understanding. The speaker reacts to it and the conversation moves on to another topic.

SICE – ALE (although)

After searching for the expression *sice* (although) in the corpus, I obtained 506 instances and I analysed a random sample of 250 of them. Out of these, both of the elements *sice – ale* (although) were formulated 169 times (68%), in remaining 81 cases, the second element did not appear. This situation is therefore similar to the use of the conjunctions *bud' – nebo* (either – or). Again, it was either the speaker who

linearly developed his or her topic, not referring back to the first element (example 5), or the communication partner interrupting the speaker's utterance (example 6). Other possible interpretation is the use of the conjunction *a* (and) instead of *ale* (but).

5. S1: *je tam sice asi . zima že jako . že Rost'a mi říká všichni chodí v mikinách že jako . Šimona oblíkne . a Šimon byl hlavně spokojený že má balónek sem nesla balónek a už odešel . a mi říká balónek . a vrátil se za mnou* (it might be . cold there . that Rost'a tells me everybody wears a sweatshirt . he will give Šimon some warm clothes . and Šimon was happy primarily because he had a balloon I took the balloon and he left . and he tells me the balloon . and he came back to me)
S2: *no jo už je z něho velký prd'ola* (yeah, he is a big guy)
6. S1: *takže ty tam můžeš přijet autem sice vybíraj [padesát]* (so you can go t here by car although they take [fifty])
S2: *[nasadiš] lyže* (you will put the skis on)
S1: *padesát* (fifty)
S2: *hmm* (hmm)
S1: *korun @ za tři hodiny anebo sedumdesát korun za celý den* (crowns @ for three hours or seventy for all day)
S3: *ježíšmarja* (Jesus!!!)
S1: *necháš tam a celý den můžeš jezdit po celejch . po celý Šumavě* (you will leave it there and you can ski through the whole Šumava)

In the case of *sice* – *ale* (although), there were examples where the second component of the pair was replaced by a different expression with the same or similar meaning (expressing adversative relation between the connected parts). The question therefore arises as to how obligatory the second element is and how fixed these expressions are. The potential of conjunctions to combine is influenced by their logico-semantic functions [5, p. 450]. That is why we can hardly find incompatible cases of conjunctions such as *a ale* (and but), *aby že* (so as that) etc. occurring together.

The same is true for correlative conjunctions, as can be illustrated in the following examples: *ale já sem tam jako elév jo sice mě jako řaděj mezi vědecký pracovníky což si myslím že je úžasně nadsazený . a na druhou stranu se tam bavíš s téma ženskéjma* (but I am there as a beginner yeah although they think of me as of a scientific worker which I think is amazingly exaggerated . and on the other hand you speak there with the women); *bylo to sice . jako zaručeně nejlevnější ve srovnání se všema ostatníma chtěli tam jen vosum set na den zálohu jen deset tisíc asi . což teda bylo jakoby stejný jako všude . akorát nák sem s tím brousil asi dvě hodiny a najednou z toho začly lítat jiskry* (it was . like definitely the cheapest in comparison with all others they wanted only eight hundred per day like an advance only ten thousand maybe . which was really the same as everywhere . but I used it for sharpening for about two hours and suddenly sparks started to fly from it); *to sice jo jenomže jako ty kulatiny podle mě stojí za to nák hezky oslavit* (yes I think so but it is worth to celebrate this birthday well). The formulations *na druhou stranu* (on the

other hand), *akorát, jenomže* (but) express a contradiction between the content of the clause they introduce and the preceding context. The semantic relation is therefore fulfilled although it is not realised by the “prototypical” conjunction *ale* (but).

Example 7 does not come from the corpus ORAL2013 but from the newspaper Lidové noviny. I am using it to further illustrate a phenomenon that also occurred with the conjunctions *bud’ – nebo* (either – or). It shows that the second element of the pair does not have to fulfil the connective function and thus express semantic relations, but it can also structure the text.

7. *Během příštích šesti měsíců, které ještě zbývají do německých celostátních voleb, se sice může ještě leccos přihodit. // V každém případě ale začíná s trana, která byla založena před 153 lety, přicházet zjevně opět do módy.* (So much can happen during the next six months, which are left until the German statewide elections. // But anyway the party, which was established 153 years ago, is obviously trendy again.)

Here, not only do the two parts of the pair occur in two independent sentences, but the sentences are also parts of two different paragraphs (the boundary is marked by //). The word *ale* (but) is a part of a structuring chain, in which the expression *v každém případě* (but anyway) summarises the information from the preceding context and the “particle – conjunction” *ale* (but) provides the adversative connotation.

JEDNAK – JEDNAK (firstly – secondly)

I found 159 occurrences of the word *jednak* (firstly) in the ORAL2013 corpus. Unlike the previous correlative conjunctions, the instances where the second item was not expressed were dominant here (in 58 cases, i.e. 36.5%). The second *jednak* (secondly) was used in 31 cases (19.5%). The third, and more interesting, variant were the cases where the semantic relation was expressed but by the use of a different expression. There were 36 such cases, i.e. 22.6% (the other instances are of the kind where *jednak* (firstly) is immediately repeated and the resulting concordance was counted twice).

The question arises as to why the realisation of the last pair of conjunctions differs from the previously discussed ones. One possibility is that while the correlative conjunctions *bud’ – nebo* (either – or) and *sice – ale* (although) express alternative relation, or possibly an adversative relation between two situations in which the first element requires the presence of the second so that the utterance is complete, the conjunctions *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) signal an interrelating relationship and the utterances that are being connected are at the same level, as is often the case with various listings. (A comparison could be provided by syntactic hypo- and paratactic relations.)

In the cases where a different conjunction was used instead of *jednak* (secondly), it is again possible to determine the combinatorial potential of the expression. The second position in the pair could be taken by: **jako** (*jednak vypadá dobře a jako je hodnej* “he looks good and he’s also kind”); **pak/potom** (*máme to napsaný jednak*

na seznamu literatury a potom sme to no dělali v dějepise “firstly, it is written on the list of the books and we also did it in the history classes); the pair *jednak – a pak* (firstly – also) even occurs on the list of phrasemes in [3]; *druhak / za druhé* (*jednak výjezdni z Maroka . a druhak příjezdni do Čech* “firstly exit from Morocco . and secondly arrival to Czechia); *zároveň* (at the same time), *a taky* (and also).

Some other conjunctions, actually creating an illogical pair, were also used: *jednak na všechny dohromady . ale je to i na každé zvlášť* (it is applicable for all together but also for each of them separately) or a connection with a subordinate clause: *že tam je to hodně .. nahnutý že jednak toho maj moc a že asi nebudou až tak čistý* (that it is very .. tilted and so they are really busy and also „the things“ might not be that clean). In this case, repetition of the conjunction *že* (that/so) expresses a multiple relation and signalizes that these two sentences are at the same syntactic level (it corresponds to the description of *jednak* (firstly), see above).

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE – TAK (SO) MAIN CLAUSE

In this case it is not a typically multi-word conjunction but the frequency of occurrence is very high, which is why I decided to include it. We can say that the occurrence of a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause calls for the need to use the expression *tak* in the main clause in postposition. From all the 500 instances of the pairs *a když* (and when) + *main clause* and *že když* (that when) + *main clause* that were analysed, there were 365 (71% of the cases) in which the main clause was introduced by the word *tak* (so). This phenomenon is connected with spoken texts and is being avoided in, for instance, journalistic texts (mainly from dialogues) and it is considered a sign of inarticulacy, something that should not be used in written texts.

In spoken discourse that is being created linearly at the present moment, the speaker uses the expression *tak* (so) to structure his or her utterance and create a more cohesive text. The word *tak* (so) basically refers to the previous utterance and connects with it, and at the same time signals that the speaker is still talking about the same topic. The listener can thus more easily recognise pieces of information as connected and will understand better. *Tak* (so) is interpreted more as a particle as it does not function as an obligatory element of the clause and the utterance will not change when it is not used. Neither does it express any syntactic relation or carry meaning, its function is limited to a text-structuring device only: *a dyž už to bylo skoro na konci Teplic a voni začli houkat . tak sem zastavila* (and so it was at the end of Teplice and they started to hoot . so I stopped).

The connecting expression *že* (that) was used in 23 instances instead of *tak* (so): *možná čekal že když ti je pochválí že ty se ohneš aby sis je narovnal . víš ?* (maybe he expected that when he praised them, you would bend down to straighten them . you know ?). In this construction, the complexity and cohesiveness of the clauses is strengthened by the word *že* (that). We could also imagine the utterance being formulated as: *možná čekal, že ty se ohneš, když ti je pochválí* (maybe he expected, that you would bend down when he had praised them). The speaker thus structures his or her utterance and therefore expresses the relations between its parts and their mutual connection more explicitly.

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to analyse correlative conjunctions *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or), *sice – ale* (although), *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) and a special combination *subordinate clause + tak (so) + main clause* in the corpus of informal Czech and to determine whether and how they contribute to cohesion of spoken texts. Specialised literature often describes spoken language as less coherent based on the fact that it is being produced “online” without preparation. Using both elements of the pair of correlative conjunctions, the speaker creates a text that is more compact, as he or she relates its parts one to another, and by using the second item of the pair, the speaker points back to the first one, which results in a structure that is connected. If we consider the use of the two conjunctions as fixed, we could describe correlative conjunctions as phrasemes.

In the case of the pairs *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or) and *sice – ale* (although), the speakers mostly opted for the formulation of the second element of the pair (in 74% and in 68% respectively). The first component of the pair, when used at the beginning of the utterance or the speaker's turn, functions as a particle structuring the text and at the same time connecting the preceding context with what follows. This element has to be always realised by a coordinative conjunction. According to the data analysed, the second constituent of the pair could also be classified as a particle – it does not immediately follow the utterance that is introduced by the first item but there could be more words inserted in between (in the case of *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or), the number of words in between the two expressions can be even 54). By using both parts of the pair, the speaker stabilises the theme and signals that he or she is continuing talking about the same topic. If the second constituent did not appear, it either meant that the speaker digressed from the main topic, or it was his or her communication partner who interrupted and changed the perspective of the following utterance.

The situation with the pair *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) was opposite – both elements were expressed only in 19.5% of the cases, in 22.6% of the instances was the second item replaced by another with the same meaning (*pak/potom* “and then”, *druhak* “secondly”, *a taky* “and also”). We could explain this by analysing the meaning of the expressions – while the pairs *bud' – (a)nebo* (either – or) and *sice – ale* (although) signal adversative or alternative relation and both elements must be used (so that it is clear what alternates and what contradicts what), the additive relation, or listing, expressed by *jednak – jednak* (firstly – secondly) can be signalled by mere juxtaposition, the conjunction *a* (and) etc. As for word combinations, *jednak* (firstly) seems to have the highest potential to be combined with other expressions, as the examples clearly demonstrated. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the resulting text was less compact because its cohesiveness could have been realised by various other devices.

The last group consisting of a *subordinate clause + tak (so) + main clause* occurs both in spoken language and in journalistic texts (most frequently in dialogues where it represents features of oral communication and is usually avoided). *Tak* (so) introducing a main clause appeared in 71% of the cases of the 500 instances analysed. The alternative to it proved to be the conjunction *že* (that). By using these elements,

the speaker highlights connection with the previous utterance, stabilises the theme, and signals that he or she is still talking about the same topic. We can see a clear attempt to create a cohesive text that consequently facilitates the listener's understanding.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present article was written under the auspices of grant project No. 15-011165 (Syntax mluvené češtiny) [Syntax of spoken Czech]), supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic.

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