ISSN 1407-2157

LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTES
ZINĀTNISKIE RAKSTI

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS LATVIENSIS

640

SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠĶĀ VALODNIECĪBA

CONTRASTIVE AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA
Faculty of Modern Languages
Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Translation and Interpreting

CONTRASTIVE AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS, X

Contrastive studies

Research papers

Volume 640

Riga 2001

L A T V I J A S   U N I V E R S I T Ā T E
Moderno valodu fakultāte
Sastatāmās valodniecības un tulkošanas nodaļa

SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠĶĀ VALODNIECĪBA, X

Kontrastīvie pētījumi

Zinātniskie raksti

640. sējums

Rīga 2001

Sastatāmā un lietišķā valodniecība. Kontrastīvie pētījumi:
Zinātniskie raksti, X / A.Veisberga redakcijā.
- Rīga Latvijas Universitāte, 2001.- 141 lpp.

Contrastive and Applied Linguistics. Contrastive studies:
Research papers, X / Editor A.Veisbergs.
Riga: University of Latvia, 2001. - p. 141.

Krājuma rakstu autori analizē dažādu valodas līmeņu parādības angļu, latviešu, lietuviešu, krievu, norvēģu valodā un tulkojumos. Valodu sastatījums veikts kā strukturālā, tā arī funkcionālā un kultūrvēsturiskā aspektā. Atklātas valodu īpatnības, arī to kopīgās īpašības. Vairāki raksti veltīti pedagoģijas problēmām. Aplūkota arī valodu mijiedarbība gan valodu kontaktu, gan tulkošanas procesā.

Krājums domāts valodniekiem, tulkotājiem, tulkiem, pasniedzējiem, doktorantiem, filoloģisko specialitāšu studentiem.

The authors of the present volume analyse various phenomena of different language levels in English, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Norwegian as well as translations. The languages are contrasted in structural, functional and cultural aspects. Several papers are dedicated to teaching problems. The reciprocal influence of language contacts and translation upon the language change has been viewed.

The edition is aimed at linguists, translators, interpreters, lecturers, postgraduates and students of philology.

Reģ.apl. Nr. 2-0266. Metiens 100 eks.
Datorsalicēja D.Petkeviča
Iespiests Rīgā, SIA JUMI

Saturs	Contents	

Maija Brēde
University of Latvia

Vague Expression in Latvian

The fundamental function of every language system is to link expression to content - to provide verbal expression for thought and feeling. All linguists would agree that human communication must be described in terms of at least three levels meaning, form and substance (Coulthard 1998:1). According to D.Hymes, linguistics ought to concern itself with communicative competence, the speaker's ability to produce appropriate utterances (Hymes 1971).The content cannot always be grasped from the expression alone. The factor that plays an outstanding role for communicating and interpreting meaning is context. The listener therefore has to examine the content in context, and sometimes also guess what the speaker at by his/her utterance. It is only in a particular context that the meaning of an expression conveys the speaker's intended content.

Context refers to the social situation in which the expression is uttered. To various significant situational factors belong the purpose of communication, its topic, social relations. These determine also the degree of preciseness on the part of the speaker. "Constructing a speech event means not only having a choice of grammatical and lexical features, but deciding which to choose from, depending on one's assessment of the whole situation of communication, and on the expectations raised in the speaker and the listener by that situation" (Kramsch 2000:35). Participants of unstructured conversation are likely to form gramatically incomplete sections, have false starts and overlaps. This particular form of communication to a greater extent than others is apt to involve *vague expressions*. Elements of vague expression are typical also for prepared and semi-prepared utterances.

"Vague expressions are not empty fillers, inserted by speakers to give processing time. They are deliberately chosen for their contribution to the communicative message. Nor are vague expressions evidence of linguistic inadequacy on the part of the speaker or writer. They are part of the linguistic repertoire of the competent language user, who uses them to accomplish particular communicative goals" (Channell 1994:3).

Vague language is related to a particular treatment of information and certain emotional aspects. This is a way of giving the right amount of information by deliberately withholding some. Speakers use vague language when they are uncertain about what they want to say. Sometimes vague words appear when speakers do not have at their disposal words with more precise meanings. Vague language also adds to the atmosphere of informality. These factors mark the importance of bringing social context into the study of language. As B.Spolsky points out the study of language "must deal with the "real" texts that make up human communication and the social situations in which they are used" (Spolsky 1998:14).

The present analysis looks at the treatment of vague expression in spoken Latvian. Its purpose is to describe linguistic features in real stretches of discourse as produced in a non-experimental linguistic situation and establish what grammatical categories contribute in creating the effect of vagueness.

An attempt has also been made to interpret reasons for the speaker's choice of using vague language. The study examines a semi-prepared material (radio and TV interviews) in programmes of informational character. The data were collected by audio-recording and note taking. The illustrative material in the paper is presented at the sentence level since in most cases it provides a context sufficient for interpreting the range of vague expressions introduced. The speakers are people of different age groups, both sexes, and they represent different occupational and professional groups.

Since this is spoken language, nearly in every strech of speech there is some element characteristic of colloquial style. It may be the structure of the whole utterance, it may be a word that would not be used in a written form.

There are a number of ways in which speakers can avoid being precise. Classes of words that express vagueness comprise

- *indefinite pronouns* like (dažs, kaut kas, kaut kāds, diezin kas),
- *defining pronouns* (jebkas, jebkurš, viss kas),
- *demonstrative pronouns* (šis, tas, tāds),

- *adverbs of repetition* or *frequency, adverbs of degree, measure* and *quantity* (daudz, maz, daudzmaz, cik necik),
- *adverbs of place* (dažviet) and *time* (kaut kad),
- *adjectives* (vispārīgs, visvisāds),
- *nouns* (daudzums, daļa)
- *verbs* - usually in the Subjunctive and Relative Mood,
- *particles* expressing doubt (diezin, varbūt, nezin).

Here is a set of illustrations with those words that semantically fit the idea of vagueness

Particles

1. **Varbūt** es šeit nebūšu oriģināls un neatklāšu lasītājiem neko jaunu.
   Perhaps *I won't be original and won't discover anything new for the readers.*

Without **varbūt** this is a categoric statement. **Varbūt** concedes a probability of the opposite. At the same time it can be understood as something to create a false impression of modesty or timidity.

2. Ja tā, es **varbūt** gribētu atkārtot iepriekš sacīto.
   If it is so, I ***perhaps*** *would like to repeat the afore-mentioned.*

The choice of the particular form could be ascribed to an individual manner, however it is common knowledge that **varbūt** is favoured by speakers of different social groups.

The speaker as if reduces his/her own importance which is not really true. Interviews are usually taken from either specialists in their own field or knowledgeable people in general.

3. Valsts nav nodrošinājusi normālu tiesu darbu. Tagad **varbūt** par šodienu.
   The state has not ensured normal work of courts. Now ***perhaps*** *about the present situation.*

Here the speaker introduces another issue in a particularly non-emphatic way. That has nothing to do with his lack of confidence or uncertainty.

4. Latvijas Bankas prezidents **droši vien** zina, kādu kandidatūru izvirza.

The President of the Bank of Latvia ***most probably*** *knows what candidate he has nominated.*

This leaves to assume that there is some doubt included but a broader context (not presented here) suggests that the speaker is also being slightly sceptical and even ironic.

5. **Diez vai** kāds darba devējs **būtu** ar to apmierināts.
It's ***highly improbable*** *there were employers who* ***would be*** *content with it.*

This utterance conveys vagueness with the help of the particle expressing doubt, and yet another potential bearer of vague expression - a verb in the Subjunctive Mood form.

6. Es **nedomāju**, ka tas **kaut ko** *atrisinā**tu**.*
I ***don't think*** *it* ***could*** *resolve* ***anything****.*

One can easily see how an Indicative Mood form can change a statement like that into a definite categoric expression:

Es nedomâju, **ka** tas **kaut ko** *atrisinās:*
I don't think it will resolve ***anything****.*

7 No šī apsvēruma, **man liktos**, jāatsakās:
This consideration ***I would think*** *ought to be given up.*

Indefinite pronouns is another grammatical class that bears a strong sense of vagueness.

Indefinite pronouns

8. Ik gadu **nāk** klāt **kaut kas** jauns.
Every year there is ***something*** *new.*

9. Par Rīgas centra apbūvi - šeit ir bijusi **kaut kāda** ieinteresētība.
About the construction of the Riga centre - there has been ***a kind of*** *material incentive*

There are instances when speakers use two or more descriptives, one of them being a word with vague meaning. The ususal effect is emphasis. On the other hand the speaker can also infer a value judgement:

10 Es neesmu **kaut kāda** viena žanra piekritējs.

*I am not a supporter of one genre only (lit. of **some** particular **one** genre).*

11. **kaut kādi** galīgi nepareizi toņi.

... ***some*** *absolutely wrong shades* (as part of a TV advertisement).

Demonstrative pronouns

Among demonstrative pronouns there is one that plays an especially important role **tāds** (such). From the point of view of accurate expression it may be considered redundant:

12. Mēs to nevaram izdarīt tīri **tādu** finansiālu apsvērumu dēļ.

*We cannot do it just because of (lit. **such**) financial considerations.*

This vague expression is a common turn of the phrase, and is especially characteristic of the informal register.

13. Ar **kaut kādām tādām** lietām nenodarbojos.

*I am not dealing with **anything of the sort**.*

Here the combination of two pronouns leads to a considerable emphasis implying that the speaker is keeping aloof.

Quantifiers

There are a number of words representing different grammatical classes that function as quantifiers. Among the registered ones there are some very popular like the ***indefinite pronoun*** **daþs** (*some, a few*):

14. Ir **dažas** lietas, par **kurām** **derētu** parunāt.

*There are **a few** things we ought to talk about.*

The ***indefinite pronoun*** **daudz kas** (*a lot*):

15. **Daudz kas** ir padarīts, bet vēl **daudz kas** jādara.

A lot *has been done, and **a lot** has to be still done.*

The ***adjective*** **liels** (*great, big, large*):

16. Skaidrs, ka interese par Latvijas kultūru ir **liela**.

It's obvious that there is ***great*** *interest about Latvia's culture.*

17. Tagad, ja mēs paņemsim mūsus uzņēmumus, viņi nav **visai lieli**.
Take our businesses, they're not ***very big***.

The ***noun*** **daļa** (*part.*):

18. Ir **daļa** cilvēku, kas apzinās, ko viņi dara; ir viena daļa, kas to nezina.
There are ***some*** *people (lit.* ***part of****) who realize what they're doing; there are those (lit.* ***one part****) who don't know it.*

The ***adverb*** **daļēji** (*partially*):

19. **Druscin** nodarbojamies ar vēžiem. Foreles mēs **daļēji** pārdevām pavasarī zemniekiem.
We are breeding cray fish ***a little***. ***Part of*** *the trout was sold to farmers in spring.*

The utterance contains yet another quantifier the adverb of measure **druscin**(*a little*).

The ***adverb*** **gandrīz** (*nearly, almost*):

20. Latvijā **gandrīz** 4000 bērnu dzīvo bērnu namos.
Nearly *4000 children in Latvia live in children's homes.*

The ***adverb*** **dažviet/vietām** (*somewhere*):

21. **Dažviet** gaidāms lietus.
Occasional *showers expected.*

There are also words whose choice signals of informal register:

22. Tas nes līdzi **lielu lērumu** atlaižu.
That involves ***oodles*** *of reduction.*

There are also ***adjectives*** that owing to their semantic properties express the idea of vagueness:

23. Pilnīgi skaidrs nav. Tikai **vispārīgos** vilcienos.
It's not very clear. Only in ***general*** *lines.*
24. Ir jānodrošina **pienācīgs** finansējums.
We have to secure ***proper*** *financing.*

There are words that can serve the purpose of vague language despite the strong element of definiteness they possess semantically:

25. Žurnālisti ir tikai priekš tam, lai ievērotu **noteiktus** sabiedriskus ideālus.
    Journalists are only for following ***certain*** *public ideals.*
26. To neviens **īpaši** augstu nevērtē.
    Nobody estimates it ***especially*** *highly.*
27. Es nezinu, vai šīs partijas spēj veidot valdību, bet, **gadījumā**, viņas spēj sagraut šo valsti.
    I don't know if these parties are capable of forming the government; in ***any case*** *they can destroy the state.*

The present material comprises also collocations in which two words are habitually used together for the sake of emphasis. A certain rhythmical pattern or even rhyme adds to the effect:

28 Ietekmēt var **to vai citu** lietu.
    We can influence ***one or another*** *(lit.* ***this or that****) matter.*

29.Viņai šī īpašība piemīt **lielākā vai mazākā** mērā.
    She possesses this feature to a ***greater or smaller*** *extent.*

30. **Šādu vai citādu** apstākļu dēļ mēs agrāk par to nevarējām runāt.
    Owing to ***certain*** *(lit.* ***one or another type of****) circumstances we could not speak about it before.*

There are instances when the speaker deliberately combines two words expressing vagueness:

31. **Manuprāt**, šeit, **iespējams**, savijas ekonomiskās un politiskās intereses.
    I think *it's* ***possible*** *the economic and political interests come together.*

Either this is the result of hesitation, or a kind of stepping back, sometimes shrugging off responsibility. The same effect is achieved with the help of such expressions as **ja es pareizi saprotu, ja nemaldos** (*if I'm right, if I'm not mistaken*):

32. **Ja nemaldos**, Valmierā bija tāds periods, kad zāģēja radiatorus nost.
    If I'm not mistaken *there was a period in Valmiera when radiators*

were taken off.

The speaker should in fact know exactly what he is saying as the utterance contains precise information.

Also *discourse markers* apart from their function of structuring discourse, can bring about the idea of vagueness, for instance:
33. Tas arī, **teiksim**, skar privātu sektoru.
*That also, **say**, concerns the private sector.*
The plural Imperative form of the discourse marker very well supports the impression that the speaker sounds quite cautious about his statement. There is even a possibility he is afraid of offending somebody's feelings.

There are instances when vague expression words may be qualified as language errors.
Despite the efforts of linguists we can very often hear something like:
34. Mode **kaut kur** ir filozofija.
*Fashion **in a way** (lit. **somewhere**) is philosophy.*
35. Tas **apmēram** ir **kaut kur** 2,4 santīmi.
*That's **about** (lit. **somewhere**) 2,4 santims.*

Vague expression is very common in phatic communication:
36. - Kā iet?
- Nu tā tā nekas, ne sevišķi, kā ņem, kā kuro reizi
- *How does it go?*
Well, so - quite all right, not particularly well, well, it depends.

Conclusions
Among grammatical categories that express vagueness in Latvian there are *particles, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, verbs, nouns.*
A notable feature is that words with very concrete lexical meanings in a certain context can bring about a sense of indefiniteness. The use of two vague expressions in the same chunk of the utterance tends to create the effect of emphasis.
Speakers seem to resort to vague language if they lack specific information, or they doubt or hesitate. On the other hand, it can be connected with deliberate withholding of information. Turning to vague language seems a

convenient way to avoid responsibility for what one is saying, and also create an impression the speaker is belittling himself/herself. It is apparently related to social roles speakers take up in various situations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Channell, J. (1994) *Vague Language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coulthard, M. (1998) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis.* London and New York: Longman.

Hymes, D. (1971) Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of Speaking. In: *Social Anthropology and Linguistics*: 47-93. Tavistock, London.

Kramsch, C. (2000) *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spolsky, B. (1998) *Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Monta Farneste
University of Latvia

The Text as a Product and a Process in Written Communication

In theoretical books on writing, the text is usually associated with a product, but less often with a process. The text can be the product of either composing or translating process, i.e. monolingual and bilingual communication. Each text carries a certain load of information as it performs several functions in the process of communication with the reader of a definite culture. In order to start the discussion about the process of written communication, it is essential to define a text and describe its basic features.

Definitions of a Text

There are two approaches how to view a text. The first approach focuses on the text as a product which has a certain construction that "can be presented in systematic terms" (Halliday, Hasan 1991: 10) This, quite a static approach to the text, helps to understand its structure for contrastive analysis or educational purposes. The other approach focuses on the text as a process, and it is defined by showing its relationship to its functional character, especially its social context. For example, Christopher Tribble considers that "a text is nothing more than a product of the categories of social interactions that are realized by genres" (Tribble 1996: 57) Jānis Rozenbergs perceives the text as the result of a communication process, the content, form and length of which is determined by a particular information, a communicative situation and the author's attitude to the content and to the recipients (Rozenbergs 1989: 147). Communicators' individual and social experience and the components of a person's intellectual and emotional action cumulate in a text (Колшанский 1984: 152). It is the most informative unit of the language. (32) Michael Halliday defines a text as "an interactive event, a social exchange of meanings", " a product of a continuous process of choices in meaning that we can represent as multiple paths or passes through the networks that constitute the linguistic system" (Halliday, Hasan 1991: 10-11). These definitions reveal a text as a flexible concept. The perception of the text could be influenced by many circumstances: a situation, the writer's and the reader's knowledge, skills and attitude towards the process of communication.

Features of A Written Text

The written text is usually accurately tailored because it should comprise all the necessary information encoded in a predictable form in order to be easily decoded by the receiver. The text as a product of written discourse has different features in comparison with spoken discourse.

- A written text is *persistent and static (atemporal)*, i.e it is organized *spatially* but *not temporally*.
- A written text is made up of *discrete symbols*, i.e. letters and words, which are organized according to various norms.
- As written text lacks an immediate context, it should be relatively *explicit and relatively autonomous or context-free* so that different people can decode it at any place.
- Written language is linked with *abstract knowledge*, *explicit norms* and with *intensive training* (Linell: Chapter 02.html).

Penny Ur distinguishes similar features of written versus oral discourse: permanence and explicitness of the text, its detachment, definite organisation and standard language. Ur also points out some other features, such as the density of content, the slowness of production and the speed of reception, and a sheer amount and importance opposed to the redundancy in spoken language (Ur 1996: 159-161). The main function of a text is to achieve its purpose, i.e. to create a definite effect on the reader. Hans-Georg Gadamer holds the view that a text should reveal itself and therefore it should be released from all the unintentional (Gadamers 1999: 368-374).

Production of a Text in the Process of Communication

According to Ron White, there are four approaches to writing. It is an individual and creative, social, transactional and interactive process (White 1997: 18-19). It could be also said about translation. If you translate just for yourself because you want to train or you want to enjoy the process then it could be closely linked with self-expression. Translation is linked with the decoding-encoding of particular meanings, and this process in most cases is creative and unique. Translation as a social, transactional and interactive process is closely related to the understanding of the expectations and conventions of a definite discourse community of another culture.

The writer and the translator should possess certain knowledge and skills to secure a successful process of communication, i.e. to achieve his or her purpose. White considers that writing involves:

- knowledge of the topic;
- knowledge of the world;
- knowledge of the readership;
- developing and using schemata regarding discoursal conventions;
- developing and using schemata regarding content conventions;
- developing and using a range of writing processes;
- developing criteria for judging effective writing performance.

(White 1997: 17-18)

This knowledge and skills also underlie the process of translation. In fact, the translator should be an expert of the conventions of a particular discourse in two or more languages as one text sometimes contains words from several languages. Nils Erik Enkvist supports the idea that a translator could even find it essential to reorganise text units and even argument patterns into those which are more familiar to the target audience in order to ease the decoding process of the meaning (Enkvist 1999: 80). Thus translators to some extent are also writers. They should know how a text is processed, i.e. which are the basic similarities and differences between the texts of the source and the target language.
Different theoreticians have analysed traditions of composing a text and have come to the conclusion that different cultures view this process in their own way. Although later critised for a simplified approach Robert B.Kaplan has drawn attention to the fact that there exist different traditions how to structure texts. For example, English writers directly develop the main idea, which is already stated in the introduction, while Russians accept digressions in their texts (Kaplan 1966: 15). White holds a similar viewpoint that, according to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, the writer is responsible for a successful process of communication. Writers should be

fully aware of the readers, their "values, attitudes, tolerance, knowledge, expectations and requirements" (White 1997: 20). The information, the organisation and the language of a text are selected depending on the purpose of communication and the needs of the reader.

Michael Clyne has investigated academic writing and has come to the conclusion that in Australia the instruction of writing focuses on linearity even regardless of the content and relevance, but in Germany the main concern is content, lexical and grammatical errors, and register while repetitions and digressions are accepted. In comparison with English-speaking scholars, Germans are less likely to "lead the reader through the text in an introductory section" and "develop the first section from the title" Some German-educated linguists will enumerate their examples at the end of the section, but not incorporate them in the text. Clyne has found freedom of format and "the reiteration of knowledge" instead of the expected discussion and analysis. German academic discourse may seem "heavy, longwinded or even incoherent" for Anglo-Saxon academics. However, Clyne also indicates some "weaknesses" which Germans will notice in the scientific texts written by English-speaking scholars, i.e. lack of "lexical and syntactic markers of a general academic register" (Clyne 1987: 73-81).

At the international advanced writing conference in 1997, Mare-Anne Laane's report on the research, carried out by a non-native and a native (the USA) speaker at Tallinn Technical University, suggested that writing in Estonia is influenced by German and Russian academic traditions and the lack of knowledge about English-speaking readers' expectancies. The major differences, found in students' written reports and academic research articles, were the organisation of the text, lack of textual connectors, an inadequate paragraphing, the use of digressions, hedging and inappropriate theme-rheme development. Speaking about the sentence level, the research revealed a tendency to transfer Estonian sentence patterns to English (Laane 1997: 58-62). It is interesting to point out that Finns also frequently use hedging and that their arguments are revealed unsystematically (Enkvist 1999: 78).

The above mentioned results of researches can seem helpful in explaining differences between the Latvian and the English way of writing. We can also notice similar problems in some students' writing (essays, reports and research papers) at the University of Latvia: lack of linking words, vague development of the main idea and imprecise division of the text into paragraphs, the use of general statements without sufficient amount of supporting ideas. But still this question should be researched in a more detailed way because we cannot claim that it is only the case of cultural differences. We should also take into consideration differences in language proficiency and writing fluency (see also Connor and McCagg 1987) which could be improved by the necessary knowledge and training.

Monolingual Communication versus Bilingual Communication

As it was discussed before, the text can be viewed as a product, but it is essential to understand it as a process too, i.e. as a continuous process of semantic choice. Roger T.Bell has designed a simplified model of the bilingual communication process, which is based on the model of the monolingual communication process. He has added another code system: (1) translator receives signal 1 containing message; (2) recognizes code 1; (3) decodes signal 1; (4) retrieves message; (5) comprehends message; (6) translator selects code 2; (7) encodes message by means of code 2; (8) selects channel; (9) transmits signal 2 containing message. His model shows that translators decode the message into a universal semantic representation with the help of the analysis of the source language and encode the message into the target language with the help of the synthesis of this semantic representation (Bell 1995: 17- 21).

Text-processing can be viewed as a problem-solving process: the discovery of content, purpose and context. (ibid.: 201) Although text-processing is a continuous process, it should be terminated when "the text is adequate to achieve the goal set for it" (ibid.: 213) Both the writing and the translating processes are not linear as a translator can move back to the previous stages, e.g. rereading the source text to check the adequacy of the target text.

According to Bell, during the process of communication the sender and the receiver go through five stages, sequence of which may depend on the direction of processing: (1) plans and goals; (2) main ideas; (3) sequencing; (4) propositions; (5) linear sequences and grammatical structures; (6) surface text. (214) We cannot claim that the process of reading will always go through the same stages. The way how the receiver will process the text depends on the purpose of reading, e.g. scanning or skimming, and several other circumstances, e.g. the type of the text, its length, the level of its difficulty. The receiver can look for the main idea first and then analyse each sentence separately. However, if the text is too complicated, its decoding could start with the sentence level, e.g. clarifying of the unknown words or phrases.

To understand sentences and their relation in a text, it is necessary to know socio-cultural context. One linguistic form may perform several communicative functions while one communicative function may be expressed by different linguistic forms (Widdowson 1987: 119). Timothy W.Crusius considers that hermeneutics is linked with culture and situation which influence decisions (Crusius 1991: xii). Rhetorical hermeneutics analyses how understanding is influenced by pre-understanding. Writers should know rhetoric (the art of composing, style, editing and so on), but readers who are interpreters, should have knowledge about hermeneutics, the semantic code of the text (Crusius 1991). Per Linell compares linguistic expressions with containers which are "filled with content to be transmitted" Meanings are expressed in "many ways in different languages" The main task of the translator is to preserve the content of the message. Linell points out that translations are creative and therefore they are never identical (Linell: Chapter 09). We can distinguish "personal variations" in similar social situations. The variety is due to the different use of the socio-cultural repertoire of knowledge (vanDijk 1997: 17).

In the process of communication people make use of common knowledge about the world. They not only convey experience, but also create experience by linking it with their social identity and culture. Language users have learnt to encode and decode semantic signs and to expect certain behaviours from others. This knowledge is based on some definite frames or schemata of reference, which depend on a socio-cultural context. The text therefore should be viewed as discourse, i.e. a text in a definite context. Claire Kramsch draws attention to the fact that genre cannot be viewed as "a universal type, fixed by literary and other conventions" as it is also closely linked with a definite context of situation and of culture. Kramsch has expressed an essential idea that "the native speaker" is "a monolingual and monocultural abstraction" as language users "partake of various languages and language varieties and live by various cultures and subcultures" (Kramsch 1998: 80). The recent survey about the English language in the 21st century shows that there is no central authority which guards "the purity of the language" Each country has been adding some new aspects to the usage of the language and that can result in "supranational variety that all people would have to learn" (Melvia 2000). This diversity is mainly linked with pronunciation, borrowing of new words from different languages of the world, varieties in the use of vocabulary, spelling and grammar. Up to now, it is not clearly stated whether the existing variety of the language influences also the organization of the text in English and whether we can speak about certain changes in the traditions of composing a text.

In conclusion, monolingual and bilingual processes of communication have much in common. The encoder and the decoder should be aware of these processes to achieve their purpose in a definite situation. Thus we should point out that a written text should be perceived not only as a product, but also as a continuous process that depends on a particular socio-cultural context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bell, R.T. (1995) *Translation and Translating. Theory and Practice.* London and New York: Longman.

Clyne, M. (1987) Discourse structures and discourse expectations: implications for Anglo-German academic communication in English. In: L.E. Smith et al (eds) *Discourse Across Cultures. Strategies in World Englishes.* New York: Prentice Hall, pp.73-83.

Connor, U. and P.McCagg. (1987) "A contrastive study of English expository prose paraphrases." In: U.Connor and R.B.Kaplan (eds) *Writing Across Languages: Analysis of L2 Text.* Reading, Masssachusetts: Adddison-Wesley, pp.73-86.

Crusius, T.W. (1991) *A Teacher's Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics.* Urbana, Illinois: NCTE.

Enkvist, N.R. (1999) "Brief glosses on strategic choices and tactical implementations." In: *The Second Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation.* Riga: Latvijas Universitāte, Johannes Gutenberg – Universitat Mainz/Germersheim, pp.63-86.

Gadamers, H.G. (1999) *Patiesība un metode.* Rīga: Jumava.

Halliday, M.A.K., Hasan R. (1991) *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semantic Perspective.* Oxford: OUP

Kaplan, R.B. (1966) Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. In: *Language Learning,* 16, pp.1-20.

Kramsch, C. (1998) *Language and Culture. Oxford Introductions to Language Study.* Oxford: OUP.

Laane, M.A. (1997) Rhetorical and cultural differences in Academic Writing. An Estonian experience. In: M.A. Laane (ed.) *Proceedings of International Advanced Writing Conference.* Tallinn Technical University: Language Centre, pp. 57-63.

Linell, P. *Written Language Bias in Linguistics.* Error! Bookmark not defined.

Melvia, A. (2000) "The role of English in the 21st century." In: *English Teacher Forum*, 38, 1, January, pp.2-5.

Rozenbergs, J. (1989) Teksts. In: Ceplītis L., Rozenbergs J., Valdmanis J. *Latviešu valodas sintakse.* Rīga: Zvaigzne, 142. - 224.lpp.

Tribble, C. (1996) *Writing.* Oxford: OUP.

Ur, P. (1996) *A Course in Language Teaching. Practice and Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

VanDijk, T.A. (ed.) (1997) *Discourse as Structure and Process,* Vol.1. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

White, R. (1997) A pedagogy of writing. In: Laane M.A. (ed.) *Proceedings of International Advanced Writing Conference.* Tallinn Technical University: Language Centre, pp.17-26.

Widdowson, H.G. (1987) "Teaching of English as communication." In: C.J.Brumfit and K.Johnson (eds) *The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching*, 6th edit. Oxford: OUP, pp. 117-121.

Колшанский Г.В. (1984) *Коммуникативная функция и структура языка,* под ред. Т.В. Булигина, Москва: Наука.

Monta Farneste
University of Latvia

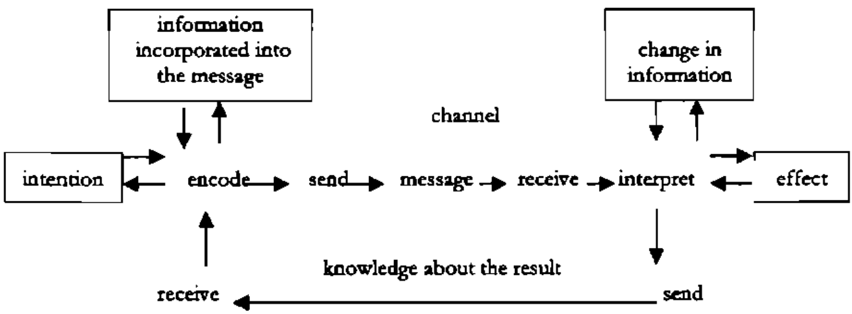
Barriers of Teaching Written Communication in a Foreign Language at the Tertiary Level

Writing is usually viewed as the process of encoding a message in a text. This process comprises several recursive stages (generating ideas, focusing, structuring, drafting, revising and editing) the sequence of which can differ from writer to writer. In fact, this process is oversimplified for teaching purposes, as it does not explain the many-sidedness of communication. There are several factors that can influence not only written discourse, but also the process of developing these skills. Thus the barriers of teaching written communication and the ways how to eliminate them are the focus of this paper.

Process of Communication

One of the functions of language is to promote the transmitting of a message or the exchanging of meanings between the sender and the receiver. Lyle F.Bachman distinguishes three types of language use in relation to its input and response: reciprocal, nonreciprocal and adaptive.

The model of reciprocal language use (see the illustration below) demonstrates the communicative process with feedback from the receiver of the message. In the situation of nonreciprocal and adaptive language use, the sender of the message does not receive direct feedback about the effect of the message on the receiver (Bachman 1990: 149-151).



(Bachman 1990: 149)

Although this language use is analysed in test-taking context, it can also be interpreted in another context, namely teaching written communication. For example, the teacher can read a report written by a student and comment on its relevance to the task (the reciprocal type). Or the reader of an announcement notices some spelling and grammatical mistakes but does not say about it to the writer (the nonreciprocal type). Or after reading the submitted essays, the teacher could give additional exercises to help the students to master some difficult aspect of written discourse (the adaptive type).

Communication is usually reflected as the process of encoding-decoding of some message with the help of a definite semantic code. Marie M.Stewart and Kenneth Zimmer hold the view that the most important circumstance for effective communication is the choice of an appropriate code:

> The first goal of effective communication is to convey a message that the receiver perceives exactly as the sender intends, with no difference in meaning in the minds of the two parties. [...] the interpretation of the message by both the sender and the receiver should be identical (Stewart, Zimmer 1982:4).

Thus the process of communication should be perceived as purposeful decoding of meanings to achieve some definite effect on the receiver of the message. But this process is much more complex. In the process of communication, it is essential to imagine the effect of the message on the target audience. Receivers of a message are representatives of a particular discourse community and accordingly they decode its meanings. Both communicators' individual and social experience can influence the process of communication. Therefore the message becomes meaningful only in some particular context. The sender of the message can guess the adequacy of the text and the probable effect on the receiver only by taking into consideration several circumstances.

Barriers of Written Communication

According to Larry L.Barker, different barriers of communication can affect any stage of communication, even the feedback (Barker 1987: 9). The barriers of communication can lessen the quality and the quantity of the received information. There could be different levels of misunderstanding in written communication: semantic, syntactic and logical (Поршнев 1979: 51-52). The semantic barrier can be observed when communicators cannot decode or encode a message adequately because of the polysemy of words. It is essential to have knowledge about the use of words in a particular socio-cultural context. The syntactic barrier refers to the knowledge and skills of decoding-encoding of a message in the form which is suitable for a definite situation. The barrier of logic can be explained as the lack of knowledge about structuring of the text for the target audience of a particular culture or unwillingness to understand the logic of the sender of the message. Boris Porshnev distinguishes also "the phonetic level" of misunderstanding (ibid.). Although it is linked more with spoken discourse, the phonetic barrier can influence the reader's understanding of the meaning of the message if the writer uses for the reader unknown semantic code to represent mispronounced words in the written text. The amount of digressions from the expected norms or the lack of knowledge about these norms may influence the encoding-decoding process of a message.

One can observe some other factors, which can determine the process and the result of communication while studying a foreign language at the tertiary level:

- inappropriate level of a foreign language and composing/reading skills;
- inability to verbalise ideas, select the necessary amount of information and structure it logically;
- preference to self-expression rather than participation in the process of communication with a particular reader, as this process seems to be more demanding from the writer;
- lack of patience and/or skills to secure effective communication.

Barker links the encoding-decoding process with communicators' field of experience (Barker 1987: 12). This experience can influence the success of communication, i.e. whether the meaning of the text will be encoded or decoded as it was intended or it will be distorted.

Barriers of Learning Written Communication

The process of learning is similar to the process of communication as it can also be influenced by different barriers. John M.Ivancevich and Michael T.Matteson in their book "Organizational Behaviour and Management" explain that the main cause of the problems of communication can be due "to perceptual differences and interpersonal style differences" (Ivancevich, Matteson 1990: 557). The teacher's message or input will be interpreted depending on the students' perception of the sender and of themselves. According to Ivancevich and Matteson, the world is perceived in terms of an individual's "background, experiences, personality, frame of reference and attitude" The interpersonal style is "the way in which an individual prefers to relate to others" Communication can be effective if both the sides share the same frames of reference, because senders can encode and receivers can decode the same meaning only if they share the same experience (ibid.: 557-561).

Ivancevich and Matteson (562-565) distinguish several factors that influence the process of communication. These factors can also determine the success of learning written communication:

- *selective listening* which helps to block out some part of undesirable information, e.g. shortcomings of the submitted piece of writing;
- *value judgements* which, e.g. may be based on the students' evaluation of the importance of the theory or the necessity of particular skills in their future career;
- *source credibility* affects how students will perceive teacher's input;
- *filtering* of information could be used when students who claim that their piece of writing is the final copy although they have submitted only the first draft without proper revising, editing and/or proofreading;
- *status differences* between the teacher and the students can also influence the teaching process of written communication – it could result in students' attempt to hide their problems while writing;
- *time pressure,* e.g. can influence the quality and the quantity of communication;
- *communication overload* may result in partial decoding of the necessary information during a writing session.

There are also some other factors that can influence the process of learning written communication. Student's knowledge about writing as the process of communication with different cultures and knowledge about the language used in it. Another factor could be linked with students' experiences in learning written communication and motivation in doing it. Student's personality and his/her attitude are essential as well. Besides the background of the communicators, Marie M.Stewart and Kenneth Zimmer draw attention to

- the importance of the appearance of the communicator or communication (based on visual and aural impression);
- the communication skills of the sender and the receiver;
- several distractions linked with environmental conditions, ability to concentrate while receiving the message, etc. (1982: 5-6)

The basic factors that determine the student's process of learning written communication (see also Kramsch 1998, Skeham 1991: 4, 32; Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990: 8, Stewart and Zimmer 1982:5-6) can be grouped in subjective and objective. The term "subjective factors" may represent even communication barriers which can be influenced by the student's personal feelings and opinions, existing only in the mind of a particular individual. It means that these factors can vary form person to person although they are put in the same communicative situation. The objective factors can influence subjective factors, but not the other way round.

Objective factors	Commentary
• the status of a foreign language (FL) in personal, public, educational, and occupational domain;	- However, the interpretation of the status is also determined by individual's attitude towards FL.
• historical and socio-cultural influence on the communication process and the teaching traditions of writing in the native language (L1) and FL;	
- student's cognitive abilities (intelligence, language aptitude, the appropriacy of student's cognitive style to the modelled learning situation);	- One should admit that during the communication process student's and teacher's experience change, and the teacher can envisage tasks for different learning styles.

- student's knowledge and skills (knowledge and skills of L1 and FL, of written communication depending on a particular socio-cultural context, and experience in organizing the learning process of written communication);	
- teacher's personality, his/her psychological and physical condition;	- Teacher's psychological and physical condition can also be influenced by students during a writing session.
- teacher's experience in communication in FL, his/her knowledge and skills in organizing the process of learning written communication; - teaching style;	
- environmental factors (temperature in the room, time of the day, the day of the week, length of the classes, noise in the room, etc.)	- The influence of these factors depend on student's psychological and physical condition.
- availability of reference materials (course books, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, etc.) outside and during writing sessions.	on the one hand, it can determine the quality and quantity not only of the input the teacher can give to students but also of students' communication process during writing sessions; on the other hand, a number of students will not feel need for reference materials as they consider that the

	teacher should provide them with the necessary materials and do the correction of mistakes.
Subjective factors	Commentary
- student's personality, his/her psychological and physical condition; - socio-affective factors (values, priorities, needs, motivation, skills of communication and co-operation).	- student's psychological and physical condition as well as socio-affective factors can be influenced by the teacher and peers during a writing session.

The above discussed factors can either foster or hinder the process of learning written communication as their influence may differ from person to person. Thus the teacher should be aware of these factors and flexible in dealing with their negative effects.

Ways of Eliminating the Barriers of Communication

In theoretical literature about communication (see Ivancevich, Matteson 1990: 565-569; Крижанская, Треьяков 1990: 97-127), several ways how to eliminate the communication gap or the barriers of communication are suggested. As the process of teaching is a kind of communication, it would be essential to draw again some parallels between them:

- *encouraging mutual trust* – it could foster student-student and student-teacher or student-some other person co-operation in the learning process;
- *empathy* with student's problems in the learning process;
- *principle of sufficiency* or giving enough information and training to fulfil the given task;
- *repetition* of some particular information could help students understand a difficult theme;
- *giving the necessary metalanguage* could help the students to be aware of their own process of writing, and to be able to analyse and comment a written text;

- *receiving written and/or oral feedback* about the students' process and result of written communication, and the problems they encounter while learning written discourse;
- *giving written and/or oral feedback to students* – it could be done by different readers, e.g. peers, teacher(s), parents;
- *effective pace or timing* could be useful to avoid communication overload during one writing session;
- *ensuring the principle of sequence or step-by-step approach* by diagnosing students' experience of written communication and learning it;
- *giving time* for writing, revising and reflecting on the process and results of learning;
- *giving situational contexts* could help the students imagine the needs of the reader;
- *eliminating distractions,* e.g. airing the room, moving to more silent room, typing the text if the handwriting is illegible.

It is essential to point out that these are only some ways how to eliminate the communication gap but they can be helpful in fostering the learning process.

To sum up, the process of teaching written discourse should be linked with the process of communication. Understanding of the barriers of communication will help not only the teacher to organize their work during writing sessions, but also students to be successful in the process of learning written communication and in the process of writing to achieve a particular effect on the reader.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bachman L.F. (1990) *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing.* Oxford: OUP.

Barker L.L. (1987) *Communication.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Ivancevich J.M., Matteson M.T. (1990) *Organizational Behavior and Management.* Homewood, Il: IRWIN.

Kramsch C. (1998) *Language and Culture. Oxford Introductions to Language Study.* Oxford: OUP.

Skeham P. (1991) *Individual Differences in Second Language Learning*. UK: Edward Arnold.

Sprinthall N.A., Sprinthall R.C. (1990) *Educational Psychology. A Developmental Approach*. New York: Mc Graw-Hill.

Stewart M., Zimmer K. (1982) *College English and Communication*. New York: Gregg Division McGraw-Hill.

Крижанская Ю.С., Третьяков В.П. (1990) *Грамматика общения.* Ленинград: Изд. Ленинградского университета.

Поршнев Б.Ф. (1979) *Социальная психология и история*, 2ое изд. Москва: Наука.

Svetlana Korolyova
University of Latvia

Language Fashion and some Tendencies in the Changes of Russian Lexis

The present article has been inspired by Ludmila Ferm's book "Osobennosti yazyka gazety v noveyshy period" (1993). Written about a decade ago the book gives an insight into the relevant tendencies of Russian lexis, in particular those based on borrowing and creating semantic neologisms.

The author of the present article, being especially sensitive to the problem of introducing neologisms or pseudo-neologisms (by these we mean old words acquiring new meanings) into Russian translations of English source texts, has noticed a peculiar trend of such words used by Russian native speakers in their authentic speech or writing. Thus there is the question of whether such new words enter the language due to negligent translations or there are some other factors responsible. In this respect it is worthwhile referring to V Kostomarov's statement that there exist the language taste and fashion of the epoch. According to Kostomarov (1994) the changes in the psychological state of people using the Russian language, their language taste and awareness underlie the current processes within the language. We agree with the above mentioned taking into account the fact of neologisms introduced not only into professional jargons used by specialists but also into everyday language used by laymen. This could be illustrated by the following examples from LSP and general informative texts, translated as well as original.

The first group includes examples from a translated book of applied psychology by Luisa Hays (2000). Though the book is targeted at general non-specialist readers it abounds in specific "terms" apparently introduced by the translator:

пролонгация эмоции from *emotion prolongation*

позитивная аффирмация from *positive affirmation*

экстернализация эмоций from *externalization of emotions*
рестриктивные стереотипы from *restrictive stereotypes*
макробиотическая диета from *macrobiotic diet.*

These are but a few examples to be mentioned. The cited "Russian words", viz. ***пролонгация, аффирмация, экстернализация, рестриктивные, макробиотическая,*** have their more common Russian synonyms such as – ***продление, установка, выход, ограничительные, овощная (клетчаточная)*** – presumably much more comprehensible in the given context. Moreover, the former words/terms are not even listed in The English-Russian Dictionary of Psychology published in 1998, though, one may come across entries like "drive – ***драйв***", "synergy – ***синергия***", etc. in this dictionary (RUSSO/IP RAS; Moscow).We can only guess about the motives of the translator. However, two possibilities seem to be plausible: the translator was negligent and transcribed the words posing some difficulties for translation, or s/he wanted to anglicize or rather americanize the translation in order to impress the target reader. As Ferm (1993) states it is sometimes difficult to identify the motivation for using foreign words, on the other hand such words often make a text sound serious, scientific even somewhat prestigious. In this connection we would like to quote from L.Krysin:

In the first place, foreign words are associated with bookishness – bookish culture, bookish style and tone. Secondly, a consequence of a foreign linguistic form is that the meaning of an "alien word" often becomes as if encrypted, incomprehensible for many speakers. On the other hand, this incomprehensibility serves as a symbol of an inaccessible sophisticated erudition, therefore the speech using foreign words is frequently assessed as socially prestigious (1989, pp. 87-96).

This can be illustrated by the following examples from authentic Russian sources published both in Latvia and in Russia:

дигитальная техника instead of цифровая
зарезервировать за собой право instead of *сохранить*
институционалная система instead of *институционная*
принцип субсидиарности instead of *принцип подчиненности*
трейдеры instead of *маклеры*

тренд instead of *направление*

These examples taken from ***Бизнес&Балтия*** newspaper and ***Московский журнал международного права*** journal may be traced back to the English sources. However, we can assume that they have been introduced not by the authors. They are used as accepted borrowings, and again the question of language fashion arises. Though, it should be mentioned that this fashion has a strong objective foundation, i.e. the transfer of realia typically associated with the life in English-speaking (Western) countries to Russia; the strengthening of economic and thereby political and etc. influence of the English-speaking countries in the world (this mainly refers to the USA) and, last but not least, the flow of information in English via *Internet* and other sources. The above mentioned causes seem to be interrelated.

Thus, if we had to establish the relationship between borrowing and translation, we would suggest that, apparently, field specialists communicating and receiving information in English transfer it into Russian alongside with the corresponding terminology. This seems to be quite natural in case of non-equivalent vocabulary, though, as has been demostrated by the given examples it is not always the case.

To this end, we would like to return to Ludmila Ferm and her classification of the qualitative changes (semantic and connotative) in the Russian borrowed lexis and the tendencies in using/introducing foreign words. She states that today one can distinguish the following qualitative processes:

(a) change of ideological connotation;

(b) nomination reorientation alongside with connotative shifts;

(c) "terminological" (semantic) extension;

(d) activation of particular lexical layers due to the activation of realia and "passivation" of others;

(e) acquisition of new meanings by old words (semantic neologisms).

We find particularly useful for our discussion to draw attention to points "c" and "e" The terminological extension is described by Ferm as the penetration of terminological lexis into general literary language. This process of extension of the semantic boarders of a special term results from the term acquiring new syntactical links and adapting to new contexts. Thus, terms start to be used in an extended meaning and consequently this new meaning (or sometimes several meanings) becomes regular. As concerns borrowed terms, their loss of a narrow terminological meaning often is due to secondary borrowing, i.e. the non-specific meaning is borrowed from the language where it already exists.

Indeed, if we consider the first group of examples and try to consult *The Dictionary of the Russian Language* by S.Ozhegov & N.Shvedova about the meanings of the terms, in our opinion, used unduly, we can find out that

> ***пролонгация – юр. продление срока действия договора, соглашения, займа, векселя и т.д.***

or

> ***рестрикция** – 1) **ограничение производства, продажи и экспорта, проводимое кап. монополиями с целью взвинчивания цен на товары и получения высокой прибыли;***
>
> *2) **ограничение кредитов, предоставляемых центральным банком страны коммерческим банкам,***

apparently, have nothing to do with psychology (1992). However, the contextual meaning of the collocations can be deduced from the specific meanings of the dictionary entries, hense, ***пролонгация – продление, рестрикция – ограничение***. Thus, one can draw a conclusion that here, according to Ferm, we deal with the phenomena of terminological extension.

Further the second tendency, i.e. the unjustified introducing of foreign words, in the Russian lexical changes is going to be discussed. In the first place, a distinction should be made between borrowed and foreign words. Krysin (1989) describes borrowed words as those having been accepted into the lexical system of the borrower-language, that is to say, registered in the monolingual and foreign words dictionaries. Foreign, in contrast, are words having recently appeared in the language and therefore not yet registered in the dictionaries, e.g. *дигитальная, институциональная,* *тренд, трейдер* and *экстернализация. The problem with these words is that they do not really perform any function of a foreign word introduced into a language, that is nominating new realia, language economy or particularising some nuances of meaning. Moreover, some of them are longer and phonetically* more awkward than native Russian words (cf. *дигитальный – цифровой, институционалный – институционный, экстернализация – выход).* We see no other explanation but language fashion for these words to be introduced into Russian, for their usage can be justified neither by stylistic nor genre peculiarities of the texts nor their subjects.

To conclude with, the examples considered in the present article illustrate some tendencies in the processes of lexical changes in the Russian language, i.e. terminology extension and unjustified introducing foreign words. While the first tendency would appear to be less innocuous, in fact both tendencies seem, in our view, to be inefficient and misleading, and cannot be explained but by the current language fashion which favours (American) English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ferm, L. (1993) *Osobennosti yazyka gazety v noveishy period.* Scando-Slavica, Tomus 39.

Kostomarov, V.G. (1994) *Yazykovoy vkus epohi. Iz nablyudeny nad rechevoy praktikoy mass-media.* Moscow.

Krysin, L.P. (1989) *Leksikograficheskoye opisanie inoyazychnogo slova.* Moscow.

Lehikoinen, E. (1996) *O yazyke skvoz priznu kartiny mira i otsenok.* Joensuu.

Ingrida Kramiņa
University of Latvia

Different Approaches to Language Teaching Materials

Introduction

The article is an attempt to present the author's look at several approaches to language materials design. The author's attitude towards the theoretical concepts discussed has been illustrated by practical examples two sets of teaching materials created at the English Language Department of the Faculty of Modern Languages:

- a booklet of exercises and a tape containing authentic texts aimed at developing students' listening comprehension skills (Kramiņa 1996).
- a set of teaching aids consisting of a CD-ROM and a Students' book aimed at developing all four language skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking (Kramiņa 1998).

Teaching materials are the most effective tools for bridging the gap between the academic goal of each particular academic course and the students' individual study purposes. However, not all teaching aids can be used with equal success for that purpose.

In order to qualify for such a goal teaching materials should be relevantly designed. There are at least five different approaches to teaching materials. They are based on:

- the discourse analysis approach;
- the genre-analysis approach;
- the target-situation needs analysis approach;
- pedagogic needs analysis approach;
- learning- centred approach.

The discourse analysis approach was clearly set out by two of its principal advocates Allen and Widowson as early as 1974.

One might distinguish two kinds of ability which an English course at this level should aim at developing. The first is the ability to recognise how sentences are used in the performance of acts of communication, the ability to understand the rhetorical functioning of language in use. The second is the ability to recognise and manipulate the formal devices which are used to combine sentences to create continuous

passages of prose. We might say that the first has to do with rhetorical coherence of discourse, the second with the grammatical cohesion of text.
(Allen & Widdowson 1974:2)

In practice we (teachers of the Faculty of Modern Languages; University of Latvia) have used the discourse analysis approach to concentrate on `how sentences are used in the performance of acts of communication` and to generate materials based on functions, because, as Widdowson (1977) points it out:

In discourse one has to work out what concepts, or propositions are being expressed ...
(Widdowson 1977: 24)

However, applying this approach we came across the main shortcoming of this approach - fragmentary treatment of the text. The discourse approach identifies the functional units of which discourse is composed at sentence/utterance level but offers limited guidance of how functions and sentences fit together to form a text.

As a development of discourse analysis, the genre analysis approach seeks to see text as a whole rather than as a collection of isolated units.
This was the reason why we decided to use this approach when analysing radio news which are very specific texts and according to Dudley-Evans (1987):
`we need a system of analysis that shows how each type of text differs from other types.

This is achieved by seeking to identify the overall pattern of the text (Johnson 1993:203) trough a series of phases or `moves` The differences between discourse analysis and genre analysis can be seen in the following table based on an analysis of over 100 business telephone calls while discourse analysis identifies the functional components of the calls, genre analysis enables the materials writer to sequence these functions into a series to capture the overall structure of such texts:

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	GENRE ANALYSIS
• agreeing on action/informing of future action • greeting /opening • identifying self/number/company/etc. • leave taking • negotiating • stating purpose/orienting • phatic talking • recapping/summarising	OPENING MOVE • identifying self/company/ number/etc. • greeting/opening • phatic talking • stating purpose/orienting NEGOTIATING MOVE • negotiating CLOSING MOVE • agreeing on action/ informing of future action • recapping/summarising • leavetaking

(Johnson 1993: 203)

Needs analysis was firmly established in the mid 1970s as course designers came to see learners' purposes rather than specialist language as the driving force behind ESP.

Munby (1977) established needs analysis by investigating the target situation for which learners were being prepared.

Munby's model clearly established the place of needs as central to ESP, indeed the necessary starting point in materials or course design.

However, this model has been widely criticised for two apparently conflicting reasons - for its over-fullness in design and for what it fails to take into account. The second is what concerns us here, for in declaring that all except target-situation considerations were 'irrelevant to the specification of what the learner needs the target language for,' Munby (1977: 7) excluded what he called socio-political considerations, administrative considerations, psycho-pedagogic and methodologi-cal considerations.

To counter the shortcomings of target-situation needs analysis, various forms of pedagogic needs have been identified to give more information about the learner and the educational environment. These forms of needs analysis should be seen as complementing target-situation needs analysis and each other, rather than being alternatives:

- deficiency analysis gives the materials' designers information about what the learners' learning needs are,i.e., which of their target situation needs they lack, or they feel they lack:

`The question of priorities is ignored by standard needs analyses. In discussing learners'perceptions of their ``needs`` we shall have to take into account lacks and wants as well as ``objective`` needs.
(Allwright 1982: 24)

- strategy analysis seeks to establish how the learners wish to learn rather than what they need to learn. By investigating learners' preferred learning styles and strategies we `get a picture of the learner's conception of learning` (Allwright 1982: 28)

- means analysis investigates precisely those considerations that Munby excluded. These relate to educational environment in which the course is to take place and the considerations involved have been conveniently summarised by Swales (1990)

The attention to strategy analysis which was discussed above gave rise to new generation of ESP and EFLT materials which was founded as much on conceptions of learning as on conceptions of language or conceptions of need:
Our concern in ESP is not with language use - although this will help to define the course objectives. Our concern is with language learning. We cannot simply assume that describing and exemplifying what people do with language wii=ll enable someone to learn it At truly valid approach to ESP must be based on an understanding of the process of language learning.
(Hutchinson & Waters 1982: 94)

Hutchinson and Waters call their approach the `learning-centred` approach and stress the importance of a lively, interesting and relevant teaching/learning style in ESP materials. A list of items contributing to this style is summarised in the table below (Hutchinson & Waters 1982: 119-122).

gaps	learning demands thinking
variety	the spice of learning
prediction	anticipate what is likely in a novel situation.
enjoyment	if it bores the learner , it is bad lesson
integration	using a range of skills
coherence	it should be clear where the lesson is going
preparation	preparing the teacher to teach; preparing the learner to learn
involvement	don't tell the learners the things they they already know; get them to tell you and the rest of the class
creativity	activities should allow for different possible answers
atmosphere	a cooperative social climate within the class.

We tried to implement all these features in the teaching aid `Open Your Mind` (Kramiņa 1996).

We provided learning gaps and observed a certain distance between what the learner already knows and the new information. Thus, after reading the newspaper article *`Truck collapse threatens 5,500 jobs`* the learners are expected to receive additional information by means of listening to the radio news (Kramiņa 1996:8) This leads us to another feature from Hutchinson and Waters' list - integration. Reading serves as support for listening activities and the result is summed up either by speaking or writing.

The teaching aid offers a variety of topics, styles and moods the infomative style of radio news is followed by a radio talk on family violence and then by a public discussion on passive smoking.

Another radio talk introduces us into the work and daily life of bomb difusers and still another gives an insight into the most popular music hits. The first side of the cassette ends in a series of advertisements. Thus the feature termed `enjoyment` has not been neglected either. Due to their variety the texts should not bore the listener.

We have used all these features also when designing the computer assisted language learning programme on CD-ROM `BALTIC` In this programme, however, the main focus was on the learner as a whole personality and the learner's autonomy.

Teaching materials and the learner's autonomy

The roots of autonomy lie in a number of cultures and, as a consequence, it has been subjected to a number of different interpretations and definitions. It has been both labelled and described through such concepts as independent learning, flexible learning and student-centred learning.

Independent learning derives its force from a need to develop long-term learner strategies which will be of use in current or future learning situations where a teacher may not be available.
(Macaro 1997: 167)

Student-centred learning draws its rationale from theories of individual learner differences and proposes a learning environment which might best cater for those differences.

Behind these concepts is the philosophy which argues that man is as much a producer of a society as a product of it. Therefore the exercise of responsibilities implies a degree of autonomy from educational structures and processes, an autonomy which will enable the adult to undertake a processs of lifelong learning (Council of Europe 1996). In addition, the replacement of behaviourist learning theory by cognitive theory in the sphere of applied linguistics has contributed to a perception of the language learner as an intelligent, discriminating decision- maker (James 1990). The freedom which autonomy brings, therefore, should not be associated only with external organisational considerations but with the relation between the learner, the content and the process of learning (Gathercole 1990).

Autonomy is an ability which is learnt through knowing how to make decisions about the self as well as being allowed to make those decisions. It ia an ability to take charge of one's own language learning and an ability to recognise the value of taking responsibility for one's own objectives, content, progress, method and techniques of learning. It is also an ability to be responsible for the pace and rhythm of learning and the evaluation of the learning process. In this respect `distance learning`, for example through television programmes, only enables autonomy of pace and rhythm, not of objectives or content. Moreover, the presence or absence of the teacher is not the yardstick by which one can judge autonomous learning skills. Indeed, it may be that, paradoxically, a teacher has to be present merely to demonstrate the degree of autonomous distance that the learner is able to interpose between himself/herself and the teacher.
Ironically whereas the traditional teacher might have been replaceable with a machine, the facilitator teacher becomes irreplaceable (Council of Europe 1996).

As we have tried to argue throughout this article, we should always analyse critically theories or principles of second language acquisition that have sprung from studies and practices carried out in very different institutional learning contexts. Having completed any of the analysis described above we should, however, willingly test their applicability to our own language learning context. The above initiatives show that experimentation in practice need not be confined to those geographical areas of the world from which language pedagogy theory principally emanates.

Summary

Adequately designed teaching materials which are based on relevant linguistic, methodological and educational theories are the most effective tools for bridging the gap between the academic goals of the teacher and the students' individual needs and wants.
Teaching materials, created taking into account the presence of multiple intelligences in the classroom, help their authors to avoid the `mass instruction` approach, when a group of individuals are brought together in a classroom or laboratory and are treated as multiple copies of one `average` individual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, P. & Widdowson (1974) *Teaching the Communicative Use of English,* International Review of Applied Linguistics XII/1.

Allwright, R. (1982) Perceiving and Pursuing Learners'Needs in Geddes, M. & Sturtridge (Eds.) *Individualisation.* Oxford: Modern English Publications, pp. 24-31.

Council of Europe (1996) *Modern Languages Learning, Teaching, Assessment. A Common European Framework of Reference.* Strasbourg.

Dudley-Evans, T. (1987) An Outline of the Value of Genre Analysis, in Lauren, C. & Nordmann (Eds.) *Special Language: from Humans Thinking to Thinking Machines*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 72-80.

Gathercole, I. (1990) (Ed.) *Autonomy in Language Learning.* London: CILT

Hutchinson, T. & Waters A. (1982) *Practical Papers in English Language Education,* 5, pp. 99-122.

James, C. (1990) *State of the Art Article: Learner. Language. Language Learning.* Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, C. (1993) *State of the Art Article : Business English, Language Teaching* 26, pp.201-209.

Kramiņa, I. (1996) *Teaching Materials in Listening Comprehension: Open Your Mind*, Riga.

Kramiņa, I. (1998) *BALTIC Basic and Advanced Language Transnational Interactive Course.* Mācību Grāmata , SIA.

Macaro, E. (1997) *Target Language, Collaborative Learning and Autonomy.* Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Munby, J. (1977) Processing Profiles of Communicative Needs, in *English for Specific Purposes*, Bogota: British Council.

Swales, J. (1990) *Genre Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Widdowson, H.G. (1977) *Explorations in Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gunta Ločmele
University of Latvia

Means of Manipulation in Latvian Advertising – Products of Change

Views about advertising have always differed. Advertising has been disliked and criticized as something far from being art, or called the most important of all arts (see Diena 16.02.2001:16). The truth is in the golden mean: advertising lies on the margins of all arts and, whether we like it or not, is a constituent part of our culture and life. It is also a changing, demanding and merciless art, which does not accept yesterday's news or let one be content with yesterday's victories (cf. Diena: 24.02.2001: 15).

Recent focus of public attention towards advertising in Latvia, as revealed in various publications in mass media (cf. Diena, 27.10.2000; Diena, 09.02.2001: 14), is also a proof that the importance of advertising in our lives and culture is constantly growing. Advertising is a metaphor of our time – as unpredictable and mixed as the modern life itself it arouses mixed feelings in its audience. The linguistic means used by copywriters to manipulate the audience are also very mixed. A romantic statement "The world is full of wonders" is a piece of political advert described in "Primary Colors by Anonymous", but, given the Latvian cultural context, a more politically tinged *"Satikās Rietumi un Austrumi"* (The West and the East have met) (Santa 1998: 15) - a fragment of an advert for Rochas fragrance in a Latvian magazine. In fact, advertising, as life itself, is not very original in sentences and phrases it uses: majority of them have been uttered and heard at least once before, yet their meaning changes with the change of time (about repeated utterances in real life situations see Halliday 1996: 92). The change of meanings is caused by global (economic, political, etc.) as well as individual changes: cultures, social and individual values, and psychology change. Changes occur in languages and in the role they play in different societies or at different stages of the development of the same society (Hymes 1983: 13). One can draw parallels between language change and advertising change in Latvia, as well as find peculiarities of change in the Latvian culture by looking into language of advertising. Tradition is one of the elements in the process of change. History of advertising in Latvia reveals lack of tradition for advertising. Some advertising existed during the time of the First Republic (1920-1940), then a gap occurred during the Soviet era (1940-1990), with a few attempts to advertise public institutions, e.g. the Fire Brigade, and with examples of strange Soviet type slogans. Due to the lack of true competition, beginnings of advertising after the national awakening demonstrate lack of the antagonist type – a type, which is regarded as another element of change. This caused many foreignized translations, as for example adverts for *Whirlpool* products were not translated in 1997, but later, in 2000 appeared in Latvian mass media in transferred version. (About foreignized translations of adverts, see Zauberga 1996, and Ločmele 1997). Today we experience a phase of a more or less real advertising: the time of a real competition when working for an advertising agency is considered a lifestyle, not a job.

Real competition should provide a fertile soil for marketable products, i.e. adverts. Yet, for example, political advertising campaigns prove that some adverts are more like semi-finished products, which are far from ready for use. Infantile slogans, as *"Rīcības cilvēki"* (Action men), with even more infantile adverts–replies by political rivals, as *"Sveiks, Rīdziniek! Tu pats esi rīcības cilvēks!"* (Hi, Riga Citizen! You are an action man yourself!), do not reveal maturity of political advertising in Latvia, as the syntactic construction *tu pats esi* ...(you are...yourself) reminds of similar ones used by children as verbal counter attacks against their opponents. Thus a political counter attack was reduced to an infantile quarrelling. And even with no Code of Conduct for advertising in Latvia, lack of fierce competition with no new parties appearing on political stage has resulted not only in weak benefits - little real political advertising, but also in weak harm: there was little political blackmailing during the campaigns, except for mild reproaches as *"Izbeigsim blēdības RĪGAS DOMĒ!... Balsojiet par DARBA PARTIJU!"* (Let's stop cheating in the Riga Council! Vote for the Labour Party!). Another example of rivalry was the advertising case the party *Latvijas Ceļš* (Latvia's Way) tried to stage against the Latvian Social Democrats. The Latvian Social Democrats had based their campaign on the slogan *"Mēs ticam. Mums izdosies"* (We believe. We will make it). On the election day, the Latvian Independent Television, LNT, broadcast a commercial where the Prime Minister, who represented the party Latvijas

Ceļš, insisted that the arguments as "we might make it" could not give one enough assurance to put one's wellbeing at stake and cast one's vote for the people who were going to experiment with the future of the country. Yet, the Social Democrats won leaving the Latvijas Ceļš far behind. Thus, political advertising in Latvia is a proof that competition in the political market has not been a sufficient cause for quality of advertising campaigns. Even without any campaigns people managed to get the necessary number of votes for being elected, on the other hand, staging one's personal campaign did not help some of the candidates to get into the city or town Councils.

However, there seems to be more maturity in commercial advertising in Latvia. There is more collectivism and pluralism in creative writing, and rewriting, there is more thinking behind commercial advertising: cooperation of translators with software designers, and – most importantly – with commissioners. Cooperation, which is based both on similarity and difference: similarity of intended effect in the difference of cultures. Having started by "implantation" of foreign bodies into their culture, presently Latvians try to find similarities of cultures in transferring advertisements. Yet the question holds: is their own culture thus getting influenced by the foreignness? Advertising serves as a media for new word formation giving the Latvian language fresh features. Some of the new features do not add to the beauty of the language face, like *"Jaunais korekcijas* **rollers**" (LNT, 11.03.2001)- for a new correction roller, or *"Uzrādot šo* ***flajeri*** *– ieeja 2 lati!"* Show the flier and pay 2 lats for entrance! – an advert for a night party. Others act as a make-up for the language face. This make-up adds features which can easily be washed away by the waters of time. Thus a *portfolio* in *"...atsūti mums mazu vēstulīti, CV un gatavo* ***portfolio***" (SestDiena, 24.02.2001: 15) - send us a letter, CV and prepare a portfolio – is, probably, a trendy word, which might soon disappear from Latvian, as the language has already assimilated borrowing *portfelis*. Besides, a new word *portfolio* would stick out of the Latvian language system as a non-declinable noun (on the other hand, however, Latvian has borrowed and uses non-declinable *kino, solo, kimono,* etc. – cf. in Veisbergs, 1997: 30-31). Some borrowings may remain in the language as a permanent make-up: e.g. in cosmetics, *aplikators; acu kontūrtuša vai t. s. laineris* (Una Feb. 2001: 53).

On the other hand, numerous adaptations of TV commercials, as *"Anna Liepiņa rūpējas par savas ģimenes veselību"* (Anna Liepiņa takes care of her family's health – for Zentrum vitamins); *"Tas ir Māris"* (This is Māris – in a commercial for Clean&Clear); ***Lienīt**, ir Kolgeita laiks* (Lienīt, it's time for your Colgate) show that transplantation of the elements of foreign culture has been substantially replaced by localization. However, when translating adverts, one should not forget about situational frames in the mental structures of the addressees. They can be absolutely different among different countries in general and between the Western countries and the former Soviet bloc countries in particular. The frames can be gradually learned and activated, and still there are instances when even after all the years of excessive influx of information, products, advertising, etc., they can remain different among different cultures.

There is a cultural frame, which seems to be similar across cultures. Yet it contains a cultural difference of a different type: children's culture against the grown-ups' one. The adverts for teenagers as if say: we, kids are the same all over the world, we fight against grown-up behaviour standards, and by doing this, we drink the same Fanta everywhere – in Nevada and in Latvia. We burp, and our friends do not say that somebody has stepped on the duck. Moreover, the grown-ups are stupid enough to think that the sound has been transmitted by an unknown civilization – "We got hello from outer space!" – they are informing the rest of the grown-ups' world (the commercial for Fanta, LTV: 11.03.2001.). And we burp at their stupidity again.

Dell H.Hymes writes that linguistic processes are less subjected to secondary (conscious) rationalizing. This is why they reflect the essence of the cultural processes more clearly. (Hymes 1983: 24). Even if everything is rational in advertising, specific language features of advertising reflect current language usage, and help to understand cultural processes under way in society.

Latvian advertising has linguistic features or means of manipulating its audience. One of these is a personal pronoun *"tu"* for the second person singular. Latvian has *"tu"* for the second person singular, and *"jūs"* for the second person plural. They are elements of social deixis in Latvian as well: *"jūs"* can be used for the second person singular in a polite or official address. It is only human for a person to wish to be accepted, and it is a common practice to build adverts for deodorants, breath fresheners, and fluoridated mouth-rinsing water on this wish. *"Tu"* is a signal that you are welcome, you are an insider, a pal. It seems that Latvians, both on national and individual level, are increasingly afraid of being abandoned by the rest of the world. Even adverts for expensive cars use *"tu"* - a less polite yet more intimate form of address. *"SAAB – tu nokļūsi kur gribi, kad tev vajag"* (SAAB – you'll get where you want when you want it). The text is accompanied by the picture of an arriving car - a symbol of an arrival and closeness, as opposed to departure and distance. Even if you have to leave, there is a promise that you will not be alone: *"Arī garākos pārbraucienos automašīnā var ērti sasēsties pieci cilvēki"* (for longer distances, there is enough room for five people to feel comfortable). However, if you happen to be all by yourself, you are not alone in the car, as your car is your best friend. You are in the driver's seat, the car takes care of the rest: *"SAAB – tu atrodies vadītāja sēdeklī"* (SAAB – you are in the driver's seat). Only the prices indicate that, in fact, you belong to wealthy people, who would rarely be treated with such familiarity in public. It might be the case that such people really need a personal touch in advertising, introduced in this advert, among other means, by the pronoun *"tu"*

"Tu esi lieliskākais garāmgājējs pasaulē" (you are the best passer-by in the world) is another campaign, this time by the bank "Krājbanka", which was based on the personal pronoun *"tu"* The customer was an apple of the banker's eye: "the customer was the focus of our attention, he was like a plum stone for our campaign", one of the organizers of this campaign confessed in an interview for the program "Reklāmas Āķis" (Latvian TV, Ch. 1, 28.01.2001).

As opposed to manipulator *"tu"*, the pronouns *"jūs"* (you), or *"jūs visi"* (you +everybody), appeal to collective way of thinking exercised so frequently during the Soviet reign. *"Firma Remember Riga: atmiņas attīstīšana un psiholoģiskā noturība. Kursi skolēniem, vadošiem darbiniekiem, pedagogiem, studentiem…VISIEM"* (Karogs 1992: Nr.1: 253). (Company Remember Riga: memory exercises, psychological training. Courses for pupils, administrative staff, teachers, students…EVERYBODY).

Manipulating power of the deictic pronoun *"Jūs"* (you) has not vanished. Written with a capital "J" to increase its appeal, as well as to demonstrate that the advertisers treat their customers with due honor, it is used in a large variety of adverts ranging from banking services to coffee.

The usage of the names of popular politicians seems to make a very personified impression on the audience: every reader would like to act as they do. This is manifested by the use of a lexical manipulator – the first person pronoun "es" (I). *"Aicinām sadarboties ar Karogu! Un neaizmistiet Karogu abonēt, jo, kā redakciju informēja Anatolijs Gorbunovs: 'Nākošajam gadam arī es abonēšu Karogu"* (Karogs 1992: Nr. 1: 251) (We invite you to cooperate with the journal "Karogs"! And don't forget to subscribe for "Karogs", because, as Anatolijs Gorbunovs informed us, "I shall also subscribe for the next year "Karogs"). In 1992, Anatolijs Gorbunovs was a Chairman of the Parliament. The example is in line with the tendency to refer to political figures in advertising back in 1992 – they were a metaphor of time. As Dell H. Hymes puts it, the language is not immune to cultural influences (Hymes 1983: 38), and as Umberto Eco contemplates, a language is a model of power (see in "Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics", 1994: 946). The first person pronoun "I", used by a popular politician, demonstrates that, just after the revival, it was particularly easy to manipulate masses, as the psychology of collectivism was very strong yet. The above example also proves that the Latvian language of advertising just after the National Revival was as confused and listless as the power in Latvia itself.

The pronoun "*mēs*", "we", is another powerful manipulator, as it contains the force one would like to be part of. The Bank Parex slogan *"Mēs zinām, kā"* (We know how), has an atmosphere of assuring confidence. The slogan by a rival bank "Krājbanka" *"Mēs nezinām, kā"* (We don't know how), envisaged as a counter attack, was a failure, and as such was taken out of the market a week after it was launched. "We" – a lexical manipulator used by both banks – does not allow for incompetence, as then, it would not be able to provide shelter for the ignorant.

The recent local government elections revealed another extralinguistic manipulator: the layout of the newspaper has often indicated the political likes or dislikes of the editors. The adverts of the party *"Tēvzemei un*

Brīvībai/ LNNK (For Motherland and Freedom/ the Movement for National Independence of Latvia) had the above slogan *"Rīcības cilvēki"* (*Action men*). It reminded one of popular toys, as was indicated by the journalist Pauls Bankovskis (Bankovskis 2001: 14). These adverts were often "innocently" placed in the newspaper "Diena" next to the information containing words "criminal", "corruption", etc. Thus the advert with a picture of Andris Ārgalis, the former Mayor of Riga who was a candidate from this party, was located next to the advert for a new TV 3 program titled *"Krimināla inormācija. Ekskluzīvs."* (Criminal Information. Exclusive) -printed in big red letters (Diena 2001, Feb.27: 16). If one such case could have been a mere coincidence or an editorial error, a second case, locating a web-site address, "Error! Reference source not found", next to the picture of another "action woman", the same party candidate Inese Vaidere, could not have been interpreted as coincidence any more.

Advertising discourse functions in social contexts, it is motivated, goal oriented and should be effective. Advertising discourse functions in a difficult communicative situation with features as an indirect interaction of a sender and an addressee, mass audience which is non-homogenous socially and as to its age, the audience, which isn't differentiated according to sex, psychology and education. It is difficult to forecast the mood of a person receiving the advertising message, as well as to consider all beliefs and tastes simultaneously. The application of different means of manipulation, as described in the paper, is an effective way of overcoming the said differences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bankovskis, Pauls. *Action man.* Diena, 05.03. 2001. p.14.

Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. (1994) Vol.2. Ed. Asher, R.E. and J.M.Y. Simpson. Oxford a.o.: Pergamon Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1996) Language as Social Semiotic: the Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning. In: *The Communication Theory Reader.* Ed. P.Cobley. London & New York: Routledge. pp.88-99.

Hymes, Dell H. (1983) Notes toward a History of Linguistic Anthropology. In: *Essays in the History of Linguistic Anthropology.* Ed.: Dell H. Hymes. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp.1-57.

Ločmele, Gunta. (1997) Trends in the Development of the Language of TV Advertisements in Latvia: Translation Teaching View. In: *The First Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation.* Ed.: A. Veisbergs, I. Zauberga, B. Pernica. Riga:University of Latvia. pp. 94-102.

Veisbergs, Andrejs. (1997) *English and Latvian Word-Formation. Contrastive Analysis.* Rīga: LU. 158 p.

Zauberga, Ieva. (1996) Translation Norm in Advertisement Transfer. In: *Contrastive and Applied Linguistics. Contrastive studies, V.* Ed. A. Veisbergs. Riga: LU. Volume 603. pp. 50-63.

Gunta Roziņa
Banking IHE

Should British and American English Diversities be Considered When Teaching English for Specific Purposes?

Information technologies applied in the field of English language learning and teaching, courses done overseas as well as mass media originate a number of new concerns for non-native English language users while undergoing this language studies both for academic and professional purposes.

Consequently, this paper is an attempt to reveal some of diversities of English language and their applicability, when teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as the vocabulary of English, especially American English, is expanding at an astonishing rate. Among all the varieties of English around the world, British English including, it is American English that undergoes remarkable changes, adding more and more new words. Even if learners of English have acquired a powerful general vocabulary, they still encounter difficulties with specialist vocabulary, e.g., in the areas of business, economics and law provided that a great number of notions in these fields have different equivalents in British and American English.

The author's experience of teaching English for banking, finance purposes proves that students have to be familiarized with these differences to enable the learners to identify them, to avoid the potential for misunderstanding and to communicate students' thoughts efficiently and with accuracy. In other words, non-native learners of English have to acquire both communicative and linguistic competence when studying this foreign language providing they wish to be able to apply the language proficiency and skills effectively and appropriately and participate in cross – cultural communication.

While delivering a course of banking English at Banking Institute of Higher Education, the author has identified difficulties students experienced with the study material provided, where one notion was presented applying two different terms, e.g., when describing the company organisation, the main managerial titles had their terms with common equivalents in American English.

Thus, British English exploits the terms:	American English uses:
Chairman / Chairperson	*President*
Managing Director	*Senior Vice-President*
Finance Director	*Vice-President Finance*
Sales Manager	*Sales Director*

As can be assessed from the above stated, non-native learners of English share a common concern over the problem of

a) handling semantics of a term, a phrase in British English with its common equivalent in American English,
b) reconciling the differences existing within one language in terms of pronunciation, spelling, punctuation, vocabulary,
c) conveying information precisely, factually and with accuracy and in a multiplicity of ways (as there is no one reliable way of measuring the quality or efficiency of any language).

According to S. Pinker, "Though being extensively characterized, Standard English as a subject does not constitute homogenous identity" The linguist justifies Standard English as a subject to historical change and variation across the world. Meanwhile, it is stated that there is a close relationship between Standard English and its written forms not only in Great Britain, but also internationally. Other countries have a Standard English as well, for example, American Standard English (Pinker 1995:374).

Referring to B.Bryson, "There are countless varieties of English from American to Australian" The linguist examines the ways "how a language treated for centuries as the inadequate and second – hand rate tongue of peasants has now become the undisputed global language – more than 30 million people in the world speak English and the rest, it sometimes seems, try to…" (Bryson 1991:8).

Taking into account the above said, there exist considerable varieties between the two great English speaking areas in terms of British English and American English spelling and usage. Accordingly, the author of this article has explicitly set herself the task of dealing comprehensively with

considering and teaching varieties of English in terms of appropriateness and relevance to banking, finance, enterpreneurship fields, i.e., the matching of language to its social context and function.
This concept is based on the classic statement introduced by the American linguist Dell Hymes: "There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless" (Hymes 1972:278).

When we teach any foreign language and when we use this language, we need both to be able to perceive the social situation in which we are operating and to be able to match the language we use to the particular situation.
One aspect of this task is non-linguistic; however, both of them are so closely related that the language teacher can not afford to neglect either aspect. Cultural gaps pose problems to English language learners, especially where the political, economical, social differences are noticeable.

Therefore, we may consider the extent to which English learning/teaching course-books and study materials ground these important rules of language application, how systematically and competently they do it.

Interaction in a cross–cultural context

American and British English started to diverge in the seventeenth century, and the Americans have been far more flexible than the British to accept innovations in their vocabulary.
Although the Americans and the British encounter little difficulty communicating with each other, each country nevertheless retains a vocabulary of its own.
Words and phrases used specially by the British are referred to as Briticisms, their American counterparts are known as Americanisms. 'In common speech more than 4 000 words are used differently in one country from the other.
Some are well known on both sides of the Atlantic, e.g., *dust bin/garbage can, biscuit/cookie* etc., but many hundreds of others pose problems to travellers (Bryson 1991:171).
America introduced a number of words and expressions that never existed in Britain; among these words and phrases are e.g., nouns *baby-sitter,*

teenager, telephone, typewriter, shop, department store, currency, etc., verbs *to notify, to advocate,* etc. (Bryson 1991:165).

One of the most-wide spread Americanism of all the new words without any doubt is *O.K.* grammatically being most versatile. It can function, e.g., as

1. an adjective (*Was lunch O.K.?)*
2. a noun (*I want your O.K. on this)*
3. an interjection *(O.K., I got your point)*
4. and adverb *(Everything was done O.K.)*

In study programs aimed at developing reading comprehension, presentation, negotiation skills, students often are not precise while expressing themselves in the context when a country or its inhabitants are mentioned.

The author's experience shows that in most contexts it is often admissible to sacrifice preciseness to simplicity and use, for example, Britain rather than Great Britain or United Kingdom, and America rather than the United States of America. However, there are cases when learners have to be exceptionally accurate about contexts being able to recognize that Great Britain consists of England, Scotland and Whales, which together with Northern Ireland make up the United Kingdom.

Although it is usually common to talk about the inhabitants of the United States as Americans, the term also applies to everyone from Canada to Cape Horn. Therefore, it may sometimes be necessary to use United States citizens. Because of this, it is the best in all cases to refer to the specific nationality; thus, Canadians, rather than North Americans.

Meanwhile, what is familiar in one culture may be entirely alien in another. With the reference to the language applied in either part of English speaking world, it is often obvious that American English is more direct and vivid than its British English equivalent. Many American terms and expressions have passed into British English because they are shorter. For example, *lay off* (Am.E.) is preferable *to make redundant* (Br.E.) or *exit* (Am.E.) to *way out* (Br.E.).

A number of subjects within English for banking and English for finance areas demand a highly detailed and specialised guidance. These areas include company finance (types of shares), money and banking (types of

banks), accounting basics (cost accounting), types of business, financial instruments, government spending, etc.
Linguists (Gowers E., Pinker S., Bryson B.) have studied varieties of English within a long period of time, the author of this paper will limit herself to reviewing some characteristic points which could be of importance to a language learner:

a) usage of "and" in numerals in British and American English
For example, when dealing with *hundreds, thousands, millions* in Br.E., you hear *a hundred and twenty three* In Am.E. you hear *a hundred twenty three.* Thus, "and" is used in numbers in Br.E.
175 – a / one hundred and seventy five (Br.E.)
175 – a / one hundred seventy five (Am.E.)
1005 – a / one thousand and five (Br.E.)
1005 – a / one thousand five (Am.E.)
(Brieger 1994:100)

b) dealing with dates
The differences between the written and the spoken forms of British and American English are noticeable:
We opened our new office on 5 April (Br.E. written) or *on the fifth of April, nineteen ninety –three* (Br.E. spoken)
or
On April 5, 1993 (Am.E. written) or *on April the fifth, nineteen ninety – three* (Am. E. spoken)
(Brieger 1994:100)

Differences between formal and informal language forms should be considered for factual and stylistic appropriateness.
Differences between speech and writing are fundamental and far-reaching, therefore they have to be regarded when teaching dates in British and American English.

c) recruitment
Curriculum vitae or CV is used in Br.E., while *Resume* is an exploited term in Am.E. Whereas British companies have *a personnel department,* Americans often use the term *staff department* or *human resources department.* If British

companies require *references*, job seekers applying for a post in American companies present *testimonials*.

d) advertising
In Britain, *media* is a plural noun, thus, e.g. TV is *a medium*. In the US, *media* might sometimes also be used as a singular noun.
Ways of advertising: *a poster on a hoarding* (Br.E.), while *a poster on a billboard* is used in American English.

e) banking; finance area
A considerable number of terms of banking, finance area differ in British and American English, which sometimes might cause problems to understand the concepts properly. Thus, coping with modern banking and finance terms is often a daunting challenge owing to the lack of counterpart terms in the Latvian language.
Further, these terms convey concepts, ideas and operational methods that are new to the language of modern market-based banking and finance in the context of their usage. Outside the context of banking and financial text the same term in Br.E. and Am.E. may convey a different concept. For example, *gearing* (Br.E.) or *leverage* (Am.E.) or "attiecība starp parādsaistībām un pašu kapitālu" is the concept of both terms in the context of banking.

Current account (Br.E.) or *checking account* (Am.E.)
Deposit account (Br.E.) or *time or notice account* (Am.E.)
(MacKenzie 1997:94)

Syntax and sentence structure

American English may use different syntax and sentence construction. Written Am.E. tends to be more declarative than its British counterpart. British English tends to use more compound modifying phrases, while American English prefers to use simpler sentence structure. "In Br.E. we have *a rest at weekends* (*on weekends* – Am.E.), we go *to hospital* Br.E. *(to the hospital* – Am.E.). Br.E. chooses between *one or other thing* , Am.E. chooses *one thing or the other*" (Bryson 1991: 124).

LATE "Newsletter" dated March 1998, has revealed the results of a debate conducted on the Internet by qualified teachers of English as to the usage of the present perfect tense and the past simple tense in the UK and the USA. From this discussion it is evident that there is a tendency for Americans to use the past simple tense in favour of the present perfect tense. A very common use of the present prefect in Am.E. is for repeated actions in the past, and for indeterminate past when the speaker does not know when the action was completed. For example, *I have asked you a thousand of times not to use my razor.*

We have already investigated the cause of the problem (present perfect in Br.E.)

We haven't investigated the cause of the problem yet (present perfect in Br.E.)

We already investigated the cause of the problem (past simple in Am. E.)
We didn't investigate the cause of the problem yet (past simple in Am. E.)
(Brieger 1994: 10)

a) The subjunctive

The subjunctive mainly is used in **formal style**; in informal style we use **should +** infinitive
We suggest that you should all be there at least ten minutes before the interview.
The subjunctive is more widely used in **American English.**
(Brieger 1994: 106)

b) Verb + preposition

Meet
We are to meet a delegation from China (Br.E.).
We are to meet with a delegation from China (Am.E.).
(Brieger 1994: 56)
Meet with in Br.E. is properly used only where what is met is abstract, e.g., *a chairman met with opposition* or *an expedition met with disaster.*
Other Americanisms are, e.g., *consult with* or *visit with.*

Considering the above stated, it is obvious that distinguishing the existing differences in Br.E. and Am.E. could be of an undeniable value. While in general we accept that teaching of technical vocabulary should not be the responsibility of an ESP teacher, checking that students use it as a carrier of a context, is our responsibility.

Different Spelling Conventions

American English is more obviously phonetic than British English
(The Economist Style Guide 1996:86).
While teaching business English, it is vital to highlight the difference in spelling conventions in Am. E. and Br.E. They are as follows:

1. **- eable / -able**: The silent *–e*, created when forming some adjectives with this suffix is more often omitted in Am.E., thus ***likeable*** in Br.E. is spelt ***likable*** in Am.E; ***unshakeable*** is spelt ***unshakable*** in Am.E., etc. However, -e is sometimes retained in Am.E. where it affects the sound of the preceding consonant; thus, ***traceable*** or ***manageable.***
2. **- ll /-l:** In Br.E., when words ending in the consonant *–l*, (a suffix beginning with a vowel is added), this consonant is doubled; thus, ***model*** – ***modelling.*** In Am.E., if the stress does not fall on the proceeding vowel, the - *l* is not doubled, thus ***model – modeling, travel – traveling.***
3. **–our / -or**: Most Br.E. words ending in *–our*, for example, ***behaviour, favour,*** etc. lose the – ***u*** in Am.E., thus ***ardor, candor***, etc., although there are exceptions, e.g. ***glamour.***
4. **– t / -ed** the simple past tense: Br.E. uses *t*, e.g., ***spent, burnt***, whereas Am.E. uses – *ed*, e.g., ***learned, burned,*** etc.
5. **– ise / - ize** : The American convention is to spell many words with – *z* those the British spell with *–s*, e.g. ***organize, characterize, itemize***, etc. Though, some words must end in – ***ise***, whichever spelling convention is being followed, e.g., ***advertise, advise, arise, franchise,*** etc.

Punctuation

Alongside with spotting out differences in spelling conventions, it is reasonable to convey differences in punctuation:

1. Comma in lists.

Americans put a comma before *and*, e.g. *eggs, strawberries, and milk*. The British more often write, e.g. *eggs, strawberries and milk*.

2. Full stops
The American convention is to use full stops (periods) to identify almost all abbreviations, while the British convention is to keep them to a minimum.

3. Abbreviations and numerals
American usage is to follow abbreviations such as *e.g.* or *i.e.* with full stops and a comma. British usage often drops this. So American texts would write: *Don't use vulgar fractions, e.g., write 12.5 rather than 12 ½.* Americans use commas in numbers over 1000, e.g. *1,100* or *5,600,700*.

Hyphenation

American English is more flexible than British English to accept compound words. In particular, many nouns made of two separate nouns are spelt as one word in American English, while in British English they would either remain separate or be joined by a hyphen, e.g., *applesauce* (hyphenated in British English).
"British English also tends, more than American English, to use hyphens as pronunciation aids or to separate identical letters in words such as co-operation, pre-empt, re-examine" (The Economist Style Guide 1996:79).
With reference to the above said and to sum up, the author of this paper is convinced that while teaching English for specific purposes, e.g., English for banking, the learners have to be familiarized with current tendencies and conventions regarding diversities existing within English language.
Small nations, as Latvians are, experience a reasonable need in acquiring an international language competence and proficiency to be competitive and to have good future prospects.
In conclusion and to sum up - learners have to be trained to handle the peculiarities of American and British English in terms of vocabulary, spelling, sentence structure, punctuation to use the language with accuracy and proficiency.

Abbreviations used:

ESP – English for Specific Purposes

Br.E. – British English

Am.E. – American English

LATE – Latvian Association of Teachers of English

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brieger, N. (1994) *The Language of Business English.* Prentice Hall.

Bryson, B. (1991) *Mother tongue. The English Language.* Language teaching publications.

Hymes, D. (1972) *On communicative competence.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gowers, E. (1987) *The complete plain words.* London: Penguin books.

Farugi, S. (1992) *Glossary Banking and finance.* The world Bank, Washington.

Jarvie, G. (1992) *Punctuation guide* . Edinburgh: Chambers.

MacKenzie, G. (1997) *English for business studies.* Cambridge University Press.

MacKenzie, G. (1997) *Management and marketing.* LTP Business.

MacKenzie, G. (1997) *Financial English.* LTP Business.

Nunan, D. (1992) *Research methods in language learning.* Cambridge University Press.

Pinker, S. (1995) *The Language Instinct.* London: Penguin books.

The Economist Style Guide (1996) The Economist Books.

Laimutė Stankevičienė
Šiauliai University, Lithuania

Absolute Lexical Pseudo-Equivalents in English and Lithuanian. A Contrastive Study

Semantic structures of lexical units identical or similar in form (spelling and/or pronunciation) but different in meaning in English and Lithuanian have been investigated and contrasted with an aim of establishing the level of their systemic equivalence in the two languages. Word pairs have been further classified according to the type of semantic similarity/difference into absolute, partial and nuance-differentiated pseudo-equivalents. The paper deals with a contrastive description and analysis of absolute pseudo-equivalents. Implications of the research for language learning/teaching, bilingual lexicography as well as translation practice are discussed.

Comparative analysis of both related and non-related languages presents a large corpus of similar or identical words. According to Veisbergs, even in many non-related languages this phenomenon would reach the proportion of 10 to 20% (1998:12). A considerable share of these lexemes is made up by pseudo-equivalents, a linguistic phenomenon best known as 'interpreter's false friends'. Also under various other names: 'faux amis', 'interlanguage homonyms', 'interlanguage analogues', 'deceptive doubles', 'deceptive cognates', 'misleading words of foreign origin', 'false equivalents', 'unreliables', 'lookalikes', 'tautonyms', etc. These are word pairs in different languages identical or similar in form (spelling and/or pronunciation) but different as to their semantic structure. They can be monosemantic words with different meanings, or it can be one meaning of a polysemantic word that a parallel word in another language misses. They may have different nuances of meaning, such as connotation, style, register, frequency, collocability, etc. Some of them are high-frequency pseudo-internationalisms currently used in many European languages, such as *smoking* for BE *dinner-jacket*/AE *tuxedo*, *autostop* for BE *hitch-hiking*, *dancing* for BE *dance-hall*, *frac* for BE *frock-coat* or *tail-coat*, *golf* for BE *sweater*, *jumper cardigan*, *pocket* for BE *a*

(cheap) paperback - to name the most popular ones (Breitkreuz 1997). Used as equivalents in another language, they lead to false associations, misunderstanding, imprecision, disregard for the right stylistic colouring, even to distortion of the text. E.g. as in recent Lithuanian-English translations:
The reading hall of LSC stores **prospects** *(i.e. prospectuses) of registration of securities and periodically received copies of issuers' annual and semi-annual reports... (Lithuanian Securities Commission, 1999 Annual Report, p.39)(Lith.* **prospektas** *means "a leaflet, a prospectus").*

He applied to a few **instances** *(i.e.organizations, authorities)... (an oral presentation by Rimas Kriukas, 3 Year English major, 1999) (Lith.* **instancija** *means "an offiial body, an institution, organization").*

The main source of lexical pseudo-equivalents is loan words: the more exposed a language has been to language contacts, especially with intermediary languages, the more pseudo-equivalents one can expect. Lithuanian, with its two main intermediary languages – Russian and Polish serves as an excellent example for studies of lexical pseudo-equivalents. The Polish linguist Wilczynska, rightly points out that lexical pseudo-equivalents should not be identified either with the class of internationalisms or with the diachronic concept of borrowings. In her opinion, the category potentially includes lexemes whose form may be individually perceived as foreign. She defines them as subjectively 'xenomorphic' (1992:161). The probability that these words will have the same semantic structure as in another language is unreliable, the degree of unreliability depending on different aspects of their semantic structure and the expected norms of usage.
In this work the term 'lexical pseudo-equivalents'has been chosen to define words in the two languages that are identical or similar in form but differ in meaning irrespective of their origin, i.e. accidental or etymologically unconnected pairs of words. We believe that just as in the case of monolingual homonymy, the language user rarely knows (or cares about) the origin of the word and therefore will +use it because of its form.

The research is based on the principle from separate to general, and though contrastive studies are considered to have limited possibilities for generalization, attempts have been made to draw some general conclusions. Interlingual contrastive lexicographical method was employed since it provides the possibility to reveal similarities and differences, that may slip by in an internal linguistic analysis. English-Lithuanian lexical pseudo-equivalents have been collected from the following one-volume monolingual dictionaries:

1. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (Ninth edition).
2. Dabartinės Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (The Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian).

The Dictionary of International Words (Tarptautinių žodžių žodynas) has been consulted in cases when a Lithuanian word was not included in the Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian. Examples with lexical pseudo-equivalents have been taken from fiction and non-fiction translations, newspapers, television, as well as students' oral and written texts.

The concept of equivalence

One of the most important concepts for the present research is the concept of equivalence. 'Equivalent' is defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary as "equal in value, amount, importance, etc; of words having the same meaning"(1995:457). The Lithuanian linguists Armalyte and Paþûsis maintain that it is "a relation between two units having the same value and sense" (1990:57). 'Equivalence relation' is discussed by the authors of The Linguistics Encyclopedia in the context of the set theory as "a reflexive, symmetrical, and transitive relation" (1996:405). It is obvious that linguistic equivalence is a relation of a certain correspondence between two or more languages. Different authors have described its various aspects. In the Polish linguist's Krzeszowski's opinion, equivalence is the relation that provides justification for why things are chosen for comparison, it is a crucial notion in identifying various kinds of *tertium comparationis* and determining their character. Krzeszowski defines equivalence as "the principle, whereby *tertium* *comparationis* is established inasmuch as only such elements are equivalent for which some tertium comparationis can be found, and the extent to which a *tertium comparationis* can be found for a particular pair of items across languages determines the extent to which these elements are equivalent. Thus, equivalence, and *tertium comparationis* are two sides of the same coin" (1990:21). In our opinion, lexical equivalents could be broadly defined as words in different languages that are closest to each other in their semantic structure and are usually employed for translation from one language into another.

It must be pointed out, and this is important for our research, that equivalence is a gradable concept and its degree may vary. Catford (1965:101) suggests that the probabilistic character of equivalence can be expressed statistically: the more often a word is translated by a certain equivalent, the higher the degree of equivalence. The probability of appearance of a certain equivalent may vary between 0 (total untranslatability or lack of equivalence, non-equivalence) and 1 (when a given word is always translated by the same equivalent). Contrastive analysis often employs the three logically possible equivalence relations full, partial, and zero equivalence (Kromann, Rüber and Rosbach, Zgusta et al. in Jarošova 2000). Other authors (Gudavičius 1985) distinguish between 5 types of equivalence: 1) full equivalence ($X \equiv Y$), 2) the relation of inclusion ($X \supset Y$, i.e. $X=Y+a$), 3) the same relation but in respect of another language ($X \subset Y$, $X+a=Y$), 4) partial correspondence ($X \cap Y$, i.e. $X+a=Y+b$), 5) the absence of equivalence $X \neq Y$.

What has been said about equivalence and equivalents, can be applied to pseudo-equivalents, and because these are words in two or more languages that look are perceived like equivalents but in fact are not (or at least, not in all cases). It is the similarity of form (and sometimes meaning) that makes words with different semantic structures look like equivalents. Again, the degree of pseudo-equivalence may vary just as in the case of equivalents, but in the reverse order.

1. We may start with the total absence of equivalence, in our case - with

absolute pseudo-equivalents, when words in the two languages do not share a common meaning (X ≠Y), e.g. E. ***bullion*** "a metal, esp. of gold and silver, in bulk before coining" ≠ L. ***buljonas*** "broth, clear soup", E. ***bra*** "undergarment worn by women" ≠ L. ***bra*** a wall light", E. ***discrete*** "individually distinct, separate, discontinuous" ≠ L. ***diskretiškas*** "trustworthy, able to keep a secret"

2. Partial pseudo-equivalents:

a) (X ∩Y, i.e. X+a =Y+b) words in two languages that share some common meaning(s) and can be used as equivalents, but also have their own individual meanings, which makes them pseudo-equivalents, e.g. E. ***zephyr*** and Lith. ***zefyras*** share 2 meanings: "a mild gentle wind or breeze" and "a fine cotton fabric", but ***zephyr*** also has the meaning of "an athlete's thin gauzy jersey", while ***zefyras*** has the meaning "marshmallow",
b) (X ⊃Y, i.e. X=Y+a) an English word has all the meanings of the Lithuanian word plus some of its own, e.g. E. ***progress*** and Lith. ***progresas*** share the meaning "advance or development towards completion, betterment, improvement (opposite to ***regress***), but the English word also has the meaning "forward or onward movement towards a destination", which Lithuanian word lacks. E. ***tenor*** and Lith. ***tenoras*** share the meaning "a singing voice, a singer with this voice, a part written for it", but E. ***tenor*** has 3 more meanings: "the general purpot or drift of a document or speech", "a settled or prevailing course of direction esp. the course of a person's life or habits", and "the actual wording of a document, an exact copy (in law)",
c) (X ⊂Y, X+a=Y), a Lithuanian word has all the meanings of the English word plus some of its own, e.g. E. ***salad*** and Lith. ***salota/salotos*** share the meaning "a cold dish of various mixtures of raw or cooked vegetables or herbs", but ***salota(os)*** has the meaning "lettuce" *Gin* and ***džinas*** share the meaning "an alcoholic spirit distilled from grain or malt", but the Lithuanian word also has the meaning "genie"

And, finally, there are cases of full equivalence (X ≡Y) between words similar/identical in form, e.g. *viaduct-viadukas, tobacco-tabakas, cynic-cinikas, tent-tentas*, etc. which is not the subject of our research.

3. There are cases, however, when words have a very similar semantic structure, i.e. the same propositional/denotative meaning, yet they have slight connotative, style/register differences or frequency, collocation or diachronic limitations. These word pairs are usually called nuance-differentiated pseudo-equivalents, e.g. E. *chance*- Lith. *šansas* (coll.), E.*aerosol* (rare)- Lith. *aerozolis*, E.*student* (school and university learner) – Lith. *studentas* (only university). There are words which are terms in one language and general stock words in another, e.g. E.*benzene* – L.*benzinas* (BrE "petrol", AmE "gas"). The English *certificate* has a Lithuanian correspondence *sertifikatas*, however, it is only in some cases that these words can be used interchangeably. Very often a different word is used due to collocability norms to name the same realia, e.g. E. *a savings* ***certificate*** is translated into Lith. as *taupymo* ***lakštas***, E. *birth/death* ***certificate*** is *gimimo/mirties* ***liudijimas***, etc. Wilczynska (1992:166) and Muravyev (1969:5) also add to this group word pairs associated with a different extralinguistic situation. For instance, the Polish word *eksternista, studia eksternistyczne* seems transparent enough, however, it is associated with different realia in Polish and French societies. One can find similar example in English and Lithuanian. E.*diploma*/Lith.*diplomas* cannot be treated as equivalents because of their different associations: for a long time the Lithuanian word 'diplomas' meant the first university degree (similar in value to the present-day Master's degree), while in English 'diploma' is usually a less valuable certificate.

Absolute lexical pseudo-equivalents

These are word pairs in the English and Lithuanian languages that do not share any common meaning (X ≠Y, where X stands for the meaning of an English word and Y-for that of a Lithuanian word). The total number of word pairs under this category is about 320 or 33% of the English-Lithuanian pseudo-equivalents. They can be further subdivided into the following groups:

1. Monosemantic words in both languages (X1≠Y1).
2. A monosemantic word in one language, polysemantic in the other (X1≠Y1,2,3,…or X.1,2,3,… ≠Y1).
3. Polysemantic words in both languages (X 1,2,3…≠Y1,2,3,…):

   a) having more or less the same number of meanings (X n ≠Yn)

   b) an English word has more meanings (X1,2,3,4…≠Y1,2)

   c) a Lithuanian word has more meanings (X1,2 ≠Y1,2,3,4…).

1. Monosemantic absolute pseudo-equivalents

These are words with only one meaning in each language, but the meanings do not coincide, e.g. E.*carton* "a light box"-L.*kartonas* "cardboard", E.*gymnasium* "a sports hall" –L.*gimnazija* "a classical/grammar school", E.*grillage* "a heavy framework of metal beams"–L.*griljažas* "a sort of caramel" However, the meanings differ to various degrees.

Some monosemantic word pairs have no semantic link between them whatsoever, e.g. E. *antic* "absurd or foolish behaviour or silly action" L.*antika* "ancient Greece and Rome and their culture" This group (about 66 word pairs or 20.6% of the total absolute pseudo-equivalents) contains the following word pairs:

advertisement - advertismentas
appellation - apeliacija
arson - arsenas
ball - balas
barrette - beretė
bassoon - basonas
bra - bra
browning - Brauningas
bullion - buljonas
loop - lūpa
Macaroon - makaronai
matrass - matracas
mule - mulas, mula
nephrite - nefritas
occupational - okupacinis
pasta - pasta
perspective - perspektyvus
pistole - pistoletas

calk (AmE), caulk (BrE) - kalkė
census - cenzas
cassation - kasacija
charge-šaržas
compost – komposteris
compositor – kompozitorius
cox- koksas
crap - krapas
cross- krosas
departed (adj), the departed - deportuotas
deportment – deportacija
deserts, desert (n) - desertas
discrete - diskretiškas
etiquette - etiketė
executor - egzekutorius
factious - faktiškas
gallery - galera
genus - džinas
graph - grafa, grafas, grafinas
island - Islandija
Lira - lyra
Lombards - lombardas
premiere - premjeras
prise (AmE prize) - prizasprovisor - provizorius
polka - dot - polka
physician - fizikas
physique - fizika
recourse-rakursas
resin/rosin - razina
sardelle - sardelė
secretaire - sekretorė
semen - sėmenys
smoking, smocking - smokingas
sportive - sportiškas
stationery - stacionaras, stacionarus
synopsist-sinoptikas
tabor- taboras
talk - talkas
tort - tortas
turkey - Turkija
valance/valence - valentingumas
virtuous - virtuoziškas
zonda - zondas

Words in these pairs are almost identical in spelling and/or pronunciation (*tort tortas, crap krapas, tabor- taboras, pasta - pasta, compositor - kompozitorius, nephrite nefritas*). The differences in spelling usually reflect regular English-Lithuanian correspondences, such as c/k, ph/f, g/dþ, etc. However, these differences are important, as choosing a word with a slightly different spelling may mean choosing a pseudo-equivalent (e.g. *stationary stacionaras* are equivalents, however, no one can guarantee that a learner will not choose *stationery* instead). The same holds true in the case of the pairs *valance/valence - valentingumas* "valency", *barrette* - beretė ("beret"), *pistole* - pistoletas ("a pistol"), *deserts, desert* - desertas ("dessert"), *matrass* - matracas ("mattress"), *turkey* -

Turkija (Turkey), *tort- tortas* ("torte"), *resin/rosin - razina* ("raisin").

In this group quite a few words are occasional pseudo-equivalents, i.e. there is no etymological link between them, their formal coincidence is a matter of a pure accident, e.g., E. *bra* (from Fr. *brassiere* "a child's vest") - L.*bra* (from Fr. *bras* "an arm") , E.*Lira* (Italian currency - via Provencal *liura* from Latin *libra* "pound"(weight, etc)- L.*lyra* (from Gr.*lyra*- a string instrument of Ancient Greece), E.*talk* ("a conversation") L.*talkas* (from German *Talk*, Middle Latin *talcus* "a powdery substance, talc"). The same holds true for graph grafa, grafas, grafinas, nephrite nefritas, mule mula, matrass- matracas, loop - lūpa, Polka-dot- polka, crap-krapas, etc.

The following monosemantic word pairs are also absolute pseudo-equivalents, however, some semantic link is preserved between them (63 word pairs or 19.7%), e.g. E.*morale* "the mental attitude or bearing of a person or group"- L.*moralė* "morals", *moralas* "moral", E.*debility* "feebleness, esp.of health" L.*debilumas* "the mildest form of an inherited mental retardation", E.*expertise* "expert skill, knowledge or judgement" -L.*ekspertizė* " a special investigation to establish or witness smth." These words share some common semantic components or semes, however, their existence does not guarantee even partial equivalence of meaning, these words can never be used as equivalents in translation, that is why they can be ascribed to absolute pseudo-equivalents:

adequate - adekvatus
annotation - anotacija
antique - antikinis
antiquary - antikvariatas banquette - banketas
benzene - benzinas
billion - bilijonas
boatman - bocmanas
carbonade - carbonadas
carton - kartonas

commissionaire - komisionierius
communicative-komunikatyvus
communicable-komunikabilus
contuse, kontusion - kontūzyti, kontūzija
conveyor- konvejeris
couplet - kupletai
critique - kritika
curator- kuratorius
decorator - dekoratorius

censure - cenzūruoti
centner - centneris
douche - dušas
exalted - egzaltuota
gastronome –gastronomas
gastronomy – gastronomija
genie- genijus
gymnasium – gimnazija
honorarium – honoraras
hymn - himnas
infarct/infarction
literate, literati - literatas
naphtha - nafta
novel - novelė, novelist - novelistas
officiant - oficiantas
orangery - oranþerėja
pamphlet - pamfletas
paraffin - parafinas
pathetic - patetiškas
pathos - patosas

dictate - diktatas
dispensary, dispenser-dispanseris
periodical - periodika
personal (AmE) - personalas
photograph - fotografas
pincers - pincetas
pipette - pipetė
physique - fizinis
preservative - prezervatyvas
puncture - punkcija
purple - purpurinis
recension - recenzija
reviser - revizorius
satin - satinas
spinning - spiningas
trampoline - tramplinas
triumphal - triumfuojantis
velvet - velvetas
vine - vynas
wagonette - vagonetė

All these word pairs are also characterized by a high degree of formal closeness – they are almost identical in the compared languages in both spelling and pronunciation. But the degree of semantic closeness slightly differs: between some of them the difference of meaning is very subtle, e.g. satin/satinas, velvet/velvetas – all four mean a kind of material, infarct/infarction/infarktas –both mean "a localized area of dead tissue", but in Lithuanian the same word is more often used to define a disease caused by it "a heart attack", recension/recenzija both deal with text revision, but the Lithuanian word has an additional semantic component of "criticizing", honorarium/honoraras both have the semantic component of "a fee" which is rendered for slightly different services. Other words in this group are semantically less close, e.g. E. *personal* (Am.E)"an advertisement or notice" and L.*personalas* "the faculty, staff, personnel", E. *decorator* "a person who paints houses" and L. *dekoratorius* "scenery maker", E. *exalted* "lofty, noble"- L. egzaltuotas "full of admiration" These words are all cognates, we found no accidental pseudo-equivalents among them.

A separate group (14 word pairs or 4.4%) of monosemantic absolute pseudo-equivalents can be distinguished where words, besides having a different meaning, belong to a different part of speech: e.g. E.*alimentary* (adj.) "of, relating to or providing nourishment or sustenance" –L.*alimentai* (n) "alimony, child support money". This is not problematic in semantics but may cause a problem in usage.

active (adj.) - aktyvas (n)
aspirant (n, adj)-aspirantas (n)
austere (adj.) - austrė (n)
autogenous (adj.) - autogenas (n)
cursive (of writing) adj.- kursyvas (n)
choral (adj)- choralas(n)
doze (v) - dozė (n)
de jure (adj.,adv) - dežuruoti (v)
invalid (adj) - invalidas (n)
literate (adj) - literatas (n)
placate (v) - plakatas (n)
tick (n) - tik (particle)
young (adj, n) - junga (n)

2a. A polysemantic absolute pseudo-equivalent in English - a monosemantic word in Lithuanian.

This is probably the most numerous group of absolute pseudo-equivalents, about 130 word pairs or 40.6%, reflecting the general pattern of borrowing: only one of the meanings of a polysemantic lexeme has been borrowed into Lithuanian and has not developed any additional meanings since. For instance, E.*replica* 1"a duplicate of a work made by the original artist", 2"a facsimile, an exact copy", 3"a copy or model, esp. on a smaller scale", Lith. *replika*- "a reply usually to a speaker from the audence'; E.*affair* –1"a concern, a business, a matter tio be attended to", 2"a celebrated or notorious happening or sequence of events", 3"a love affair", 4 pl – ordinary pursuits of life, business dealings, public matters" – Lith. *afera* "fraud on a large scale, a swindle, etc.", E.*convent* –1"a religious community, esp. of nuns", 2"the premises occupied by this, 3"a school attached to this" – Lith. *konventas* – "a meeting of representatives of a nation", etc. As there are so many absolute equivalents of this type, we shall give only the ones that are more frequently used:

actual-aktualus
academic -akademikas
ambulance-ambulatorija
application-aplikacija
ass-asas
attestation-atestacija, atestatas
attraction-atrakcija
aaptism-baptizmas
climax-klimaksas
codex-kodeksas
comma-koma
concurrent-konkurentas
complexion-kompleksija
denomination-denominavimas,
denominacija
extravagant-ekstravagantiškas
fan-fenas
fatal-fatališkas
filial-filialas
flannel-flanelė
gallant-galantiškas
genial-genialus
gracious-gracingas
ignorant-ignoruojantis
instance-instancija
insult-insultas
intelligent-inteligentas
jest-žestas, gestas
lunatic-lunatikas
momentum-momentas
obligation-obligacija
occupant-okupantas
paragraph-paragrafas
passive-pasyvas
polity-politika
procurator-prokuroras
profane-profanas
prophesy-profesija
public-publika
ramp-rampa
reactive-reaktyvinis
repetition-repeticija
sentence-sentencija
sophisticated-sofistiškas
speciality-specialybė
tactical-taktiškas
translate-transliuoti
trivial-trivialus
vacate-vakuoti

Probably the most misused word by Lithuanian speakers is *actual* for *aktualus,* meaning "urgent, pressing" Its rival could be *intelligent* for *inteligentas, inteligentiškas* "cultured, educated" and *repetition* for *repeticija* "rehearsal" Other often misused words are *academician* for a university teacher, *codex* for *code* and *lunatic* for *a sleep-walker* because of the high degree of formal similarity. *Extravagant* is used by Lithuanian learners/translators for strange unusual behaviour, *gallant* is used instead of 'very polite, tidy', *trivial*- instead of 'banal, comonplace, shallow', *and baptism* – to define a religious denomination. These mistakes are caused by a certain semantic similarity between the words. There are some accidental pseudo-equivalents among these word pairs (e.g. comma-koma, vacate-vakuoti), but the majority are cognates, having preserved some semantic closeness, e.g. E.*paragaraph* 1"a distinct section of a piece of writing, beginning on a new line", 2"a short item in a newspaper" – Lith. *paragrafas* – "a portion of the text devoted to one topic/theme"; E.*fan* 1"an apparatus with rotating blades", 2"a device for agitating the air to cool oneself", etc.- Lith.*fenas* "a hair dryer". Sometimes it is the stress/pronunciation that makes all the difference: *invalid/invalidas* are equivalents meaning a disabled person in both languages, but if we stress the English word on the second syllable ("not valid, having no legal force"), then the words become absolute pseudo-equivalents.

2b.There are only 16 word pairs (5%) of the model when an English word is monosemantic, and a Lithuanian word is polysemantic, and this is easily explainable. Most lexical pseudo-equivalents are loan words, that entered Lithuanian much later than English so they had fewer chances to develop numerous meanings. However, some of them did, eg., E.*academia* means "the academic world, scholastic life", while *akademija* in Lith. can mean both "Academy, the highest scientific institution of the country", and "a special institution of higher education, e.g. Veterinary, Art Academy"; English *requisite* means "a thing needed for some purpose, required by circumstances, necessary to success", while in Lith. it is either "references on headed paper" or "various objects used by actors on the stage during the play" Other word pairs of this group iclude:
amour-Amūras
cannon-kanonas
capot-kapotas
compensation(AME)-kompensacija

corral-koralas
flagman-flagmanas
internat. (abbreviation of international) – internatas
magistral, magistrate – magistras
marsh –maršas
multiplication- multiplikacija
philtre-filtras
phone –fonas
polygon, Polygonum-poligonas
referent – referentas
riff-rifas

The better half of them are occasional pseudo-equivalents, which is also reflected in the degree of the difference of their semantic structure, e.g. E.*multiplication* "an arithmetical process of multiplying"- Lith. *multiplikacija* "making copies, cartoons"- the common semantic feature of making/becoming more; in the case of occasional pseudo-equivalents, e.g. E.*capot* "the winning of all the tricks by one player"-Lith.*kapotas* 'the hood/bonnet of the car"- no semantic link whatsoever.

3.a Polysemantic words that have approximetely the same number of meanings in both languages.

This is a relatively small group – 17 word pairs (5.3%). We realize that the number of meanings in dictionaries may vary substantially no two dictionaries divide the semantic space of the word in exactly the same way. Besides, there is always a problem between polysemy and homonymy. But if we look upon the meaning of the word as representing a certain prototype, it is possible to compare words in different languages. With all that in mind, we may say that the words have 'more or less the same number of meanings' The most typical examples of this group would be the following word pairs:

E.*decade* 1"a period of 10 years', 2"a set, series, group of 10"-L.*dekada* 1"a period of 10 days", 2"a cultural event lasting 10 days";

E.*billet* 1"a place where troops are lodged, usu with civilians",2"a situation, a job", 3"a thick piece of firewood", 4"a small metal bar"-L. *bilietas* 1"a ticket", 2"a membership card", 3"a bank note", 4"an examination card";

E. *vinaigrette* 1."a salad dressing of oil, wine vinegar and seasoning", 2"a small ornametal bottle for holding smelling salts"-L. *vinegretas* 1"a mixed salad", 2"a mixture of diff.things, concepts, etc."

Other polysemantic absolute pseudo-equivalents include the following word pairs:

assignation-asignacija	mimic-mimika
benefice-benefisas	persona-persona
chancellery-kanceliarija	receipt-receptas
colon-kolona, kolonėlė	revision-revizija
collector- kolektorius	sanitary-sanitaras
critic-kritiškas	strategem-strategija
mat-matas	

Some of them have an identical root morpheme and almost identical spelling (*mat-matas, persona-persona*), others differ only by a few letters *(chancellery-kanceliarija, billet-bilietas*), still others reflect the usual English-Lithuanian correspondences (*assignation-asignacija, collector-kolektorius, revision-revizija*). The word *mimic* in English is a verb, a noun, and an adj., in Lith. it is only a noun, nevertheless, the prototypical meaning of the English word is "imitation", while in Lith. it is "facial expression" Next to the Lithuanian word *kolona* "a column, a row of people, soldiers" there is a diminutive form *kolonėlė*, meaning "a gas, petrol, water supply etc. station", which is also an absolute pseudo-equivalent to the English *colon*.

3.b Polysemantic words that in English have more meanings than in Lithuanian.

Altogether 13 words (4%) were registered. The most misused word in this group would be *sympathy/simpatija*. In Lith. it has mainly two meanings: "liking smb." and colloquial "a boyfriend, a girlfriend, a beloved". In English the meanings are more numerous and mainly deal with compassion, commiseration, approval, agreement with a person in opinion or desire, support of a cause. Another dangerous word in this group is *extra/ekstra*: in

Lith. it means either smth. urgent, unusual, or of the highest quality. None of these are at present among the meanings of the English word *extra*: it means additional, a person engaged temporarily in a film, a special issue of a newspaper, etc. In Lith.*kontribucija* is associated with the war – either goods or money that the loser has to pay to the winner state, while in English *contribution* is a very 'peaceful' word, meaning anything contributed, and usually voluntarily. Other words of the group include:

Graphic-grafikas, grafika
Radius- radijas
Cadence-kadencija
Principal-principas
Privacy-privatus
Roman-romanas
Transparent-transparantas
Decoration, decor-dekoracija
Refer-referuoti

3.c Polysemantic words that in Lithuanian have more meanings than in English.

We found only 2 word pairs (0.6%): E.*dame* ("the title given to a woman or a woman holding this title", AmE slang"a woman") -Lith. *dama* (1"histor. A middle-class woman, a married woman", 2"a woman dancer in a pair with man", 3"a playing card", 4"a draft having reached the last line of the competitor") and E.*ton, tonne* 1"a unit of weight –a long or short ton", 2"a metric ton"– Lith.*tonas* 1"a sound, the frequency of sound vibration", 2"the quality of the colour of the painting, 3"the manner, bearing"
Quantitative results of the research into English-Lithuanian absolute lexical pseudo-equivalents (ALPEs) are presented in Table1:

Table 1

Monosemantic ALPEs (no semantic link)	66 word pairs	20.6%
Monosemantic ALPEs (some semantic link)	63 word pairs	19.7%
Monosemantic ALPEs (different parts of speech)	14 word pairs	4.4%
Total monosemantic ALPEs	**143 word pairs**	**44.7%**
Polysemantic ALPEs in E, monosemantic in Lith.	130 word pairs	40.6%
Polysemantic ALPEs in Lith., monosemantic in E.	16 word pairs	5%
Total polysemantic ALPEs in one lang.,	**146 word pairs**	**45.6%**

monosemantic in another		
Polysemantic ALPEs with a similar number of meanings	17 word pairs	5.3%
Polysemantic ALPEs with more meanings in English	13 word pairs	4%
Polysemantic ALPEs with more meanings in Lithuanian	2 word pairs	0.6%
Total polysemantic ALPEs	**32 word pairs**	**9.9%**

Conclusions

As can be seen from the table above, almost half (44.7%) of English-Lithuanian ALPEs are monosemantic words in both languages. Added to these, which are monosemantic in at least one language, they make the absolute majority of 90.3%. The number of polysemantic ALPEs in English and Lithuanian is relatively insignificant and amounts to 10%. There is almost the same amount of monosemantic ALPEs with no semantic link between the word pairs and some semantic link (20.6%)(19.7%), while the share of monosemantic ALPEs belonging to different parts of speech is insignificant (4.4%). Almost half of English-Lithuanian ALPEs (40.6%) are polysemantic in English and monosemantic in Lithuanian, while the reverse holds true only for a very small number of ALPEs (5%). Among polysemantic ALPEs, there is an almost equal distribution between word pairs with a similar number of meanings and with a English word having more meanings (5.3 and 4%), while there are only 2 ALPEs with a Lithuanian word, having more meanings.

4. Suggestions

Foreign language teachers very well know that learners tend to transfer the semantic structure of words from their native language to the foreign language lexemes. In the case of lexical pseudo equivalents this is even more likely to happen due to a formal similarity of words. With partial pseudo-equivalents, students may sometimes get by with such assumptions because partial pseudo-equivalents share some common meanings and the mistake may either pass by unnoticed or cause only a minor distortion of the context.

With absolute pseudo-equivalents this is not the case: these words can never be used as translation equivalents without causing a major misunderstanding. That is why foreign language teachers should draw their learners' attention to the possible cases of the native language interference by emphasizing the fact that formal similarity/identity in languages very rarely guarantees semantic similarity/identity. Words, even if they sound familiar, should be studied/learnt as all other foreign language lexical items. Learners should be encouraged to consult a dictionary every time they meet a word, which is pronounced/spelt the same way as the Lithuanian word, if they are not absolutely sure about its meaning. It is unrealistic to expect learners to memorize absolute pseudo-equivalents in lists. Teachers should probably first give a few funny examples (like the famous word pairs *bra/bra* "a wall-lamp", *preservative/prezervatyvas* "a condom", *ass/asas* "an expert, the best", *affair/afera* "a swindle", *climax/klimaksas* "a menopause", etc.) to introduce the linguistic phenomenon to students, and later offer some translation exercises to consolidate the knowledge and acquire skills especially in using such popular ALPEs as *gastronomy, genie, hymn, novel, occupant, photograph, purple, speciality, tactical, triumphal, velvet*, etc. Very much depends on the age and the level of the language knowledge of students, but in the specialist literature (Veisbergs 1998, Gottlieb 1972, Baker 1999, Karaliūnas 1997, etc.) it has been pointed out that lexical pseudo-equivalents are a cause of mistakes not only for the beginners, but also for bilingual speakers and experienced translators/interpreters. We have noticed the same, e.g. *pathetic* is translated into Lithuanian as *patetiška*, meaning "enthusiastic, full of passion and feeling, solemn" which of course has nothing to do with the English meaning "miserable, pitiful" strongly implied by the context (E.Würzel's novel "Prosac Generation", Vilnius, Tyto Alba, 2000,translated by Aušra Simanavičiūtė). *Humanitarų dienos* (the Days of the Humanities) are translated as *the Humanistic days* in Vytautas the Great University research paper collection (*Darbai ir Dienos* 1996. 3(12), Kaunas, p.5). More examples could be given to demonstrate that even translators/interpreters and editors have a problem with these words. That is why the results of the present research can be used to improve the quality of the existing bilingual dictionaries; Comparative analysis of the semantic structure of words in different languages is of utmost importance in lexicography, so the existing Lithuanian-English and English-Lithuanian dictionaries could probably be further improved. We also believe that research materials could be useful for compiling an English-Lithuanian and Lithuanian-English False Friends' dictionary: most European languages have such dictionaries, Lithuanian has none. A dictionary of interpreter's false friends' would help English language learners, teachers and translators to avoid mistakes and other difficulties caused by lexical pseudo-equivalents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Armalytė O., Pažūsis L. (1990) *Vertimo teorijos pradmenys*. Vilnius: VU leidykla.

Baker M. (1999) *In Other Words*. London and New York: Routledge.

Breitkreuz H. (1997) review of "Italian False Friends" (1994) by Ronnie Ferguson, Toronto, U-ty of Toronto Press. In: *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, August, Vol.35, Issue 3, p.226-227.

Catford J.C. (1965) *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. London: Oxford University Press.

Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas (1993) Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla.

Гудавичюс, А. (1985) *Сопоставительная семасиология литовского и русского языков*. Вильнюс: Мокслас.

Gottlieb K. (1972) *Deutsch-Russisches und Russisch-Deutsches Worterbuch der «falschen Freunde des Übersetzers»*. Moskau: Verlag Sowjetskaja Enziklopedija.

Jarošová A. (2000) "Problems of Semantic Subdivisions in Bilingual Dictionary Entries". In: *International Journal of Lexicography*, Vol.13, No.1.

Karaliūnas S. (1997). *Kalba ir visuomenė*. Vilnius.

Krzeszowski T.P. (1990) "Contrasting languages: the scope of contrastive linguistics" In: *Trends in linguistics: Studies and monographs*, 51. Mouton de Gruyter.

Муравьев, В.Л. (1969) *Faux amis, или ложные друзья переводчика.* Москва: Просвещение.

Tarptautinių žodžių žodynas (1969) Vilnius: Mintis.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1995) Ninth edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

The Linguistics Encyclopedia ed. by Malmkjær K. (1996), London and New York: Routledge.

Veisbergs A. (1998) "False Friends in Latvian, Dictionaries, Current problems". In: *Linguistica Lettica.* Vol.3, pp. 12-25. Rīga: Latviešu valodas institūts.

Wilczynska W. (1992) "Faux amis" czy "amis infidèles"- definicja a praktyka". In: *Język a kultura*, Vol.7, Wrocław.

Arvils Šalme
Latvijas Universitāte

Saskarsmes stils un komunikācijas morāle

Pēdējos gadu desmitos strauji pieaug sabiedrības interese par saskarsmes jautājumiem un saziņas kultūru. Zinātnieki cenšas izprast ne tikai esošās cilvēku savstarpējo attiecību izpausmes, bet rast risinājumus mūslaiku individuālās un sabiedriskās saziņas krīzes anomālijām. Jauna pieeja šiem jautājumiem tiek meklēta arī Latvijā, jo politiskās sistēmas, sabiedriskās apziņas, savstarpējo attiecību un dzīvesveida izmaiņu rezultātā veidojas pilnīgi jauni sabiedrības uzvedības un attiecību paraugi.

Saskarsmes un komunikācijas jautājumi ir kļuvuši par daudzu zinātņu (psiholoģijas, sociālo zinātņu, pedagoģijas, ekonomikas, lingvistikas u.c.) izpētes objektu un arvien biežāk tiek aprakstīti daudzdimensionālā skatījumā. Lai iegūtu dziļāku izpratni par saskarsmes daudzpusīgo dabu, arī valodniecībā būtu jāpaplašina šo jautājumu izpētes zinātniskā paradigma, saistot to ar interesantākajām citu zinātņu idejām.

Šajā rakstā ir mēģinājums saskarsmes un saziņas kultūras jautājuma interpretācijā apvienot vairāku zinātņu – valodniecības, psiholoģijas, socioloģijas un ētikas atziņas.

Saskarsme ir jebkura personu mijiedarbība, kurā atklājas cilvēku garīgās un fiziskās attiecības, tiek apmierinātas viņu bioloģiskās, psihiskās un sociālās vajadzības. Tā ir dabiska cilvēka sociālās uzvedības izpausme, pasaules izzināšanas paņēmiens un personības izaugsmi veicinošs līdzeklis.

Saskarsmes procesā tiek īstenota sadarbība, kurā atklājas tās dalībnieku afektīvās un kognitīvās prasmes. Cilvēki ne tikai apmainās ar informāciju, bet arī abpusēji saskaņo uzvedību, emocijas un dispozīcijas (nostādnes, attieksmes, aktivitātes un darbību). Pētot saskarsmes procesu kopveselumā, jāaplūko vairāki savstarpēji saistīti elementi — komunikācija, sociālā percepcija un interakcija.

Saskarsmi, kas aplūko runas dalībnieku rīcību un attieksmes informācijas apmaiņas laikā var nosaukt par **komunikatīvo uzvedību jeb komunikāciju.**

Komunikācija ir viens no svarīgākajiem saskarsmes aspektiem; tā ir informācijas apmaiņa mijiedarbības procesā, kur saziņai izmanto valodu vai citas zīmes. Komunikācija ir "kolektīva vai dalīta aktivitāte" (Edeirs 1999:33). Komunikatīvais saskarsmes aspekts ietver informācijas veidu, apjomu, kvalitāti un interpretāciju. Saziņas gaitā notiek apmaiņa ar dažāda rakstura informāciju – idejām, faktiem, uzskatiem, priekšstatiem, interesēm, jūtām, noskaņojumu u.c. Valodas likumi, kurus izmanto informācijas apmaiņai, tiek pasniegti noteiktu kodu veidā. Ziņojums ir saprotams, ja sūtītāja un uztvērēja iekodēšanas un dekodēšanas sistēma saskan, t.i., pastāv tezaura atbilsmes. Procesā, kurā ar vispārēju simbolu starpniecību notiek ideju apmaiņa, vienlīdz aktīvi piedalās abas puses — gan "devēji", gan "ņēmēji" Pirmajiem informāciju jāmācās pasniegt partnerim piemērotā, skaidrā un saprotamā formā; otrajiem – prast klausīties, atbilstoši uztvert un veicināt saziņas atgriezenisko saiti, t.i., būt uzmanīgiem un atsaucīgiem sarunu partneriem.

Viens no saziņas svarīgākajiem uzdevumiem ir kopēja darbība noteiktu nolūku sasniegšanai. Komunikācija veicina sadarbību, sadarbība — komunikāciju (Edeirs 1999:37). Domu apmaiņā veidojas vispārīgi priekšstati par objektu, attīstās sadarbības un rīcības stratēģija. Saskarsmes kvalitāti nosaka saziņas dalībnieku sociālās prasmes, sabiedriskais stāvoklis, personības sociālpsiholoģiskās īpatnības, laika un telpas organizācija u.c. nosacījumi. Sociāli psiholoģiskās kvalitātes savukārt veidojas socializācijas un personības pašattīstības procesā. Saskarsmes kvalitāti raksturo starppersonu sapratnes līmenis, uzticēšanās pakāpe, spēja cienīt sevi un apkārtējos, prasme izprast un vadīt saziņas situācijas (iedvesmot, pārliecināt, ieinteresēt, ietekmēt, uzklausīt, saprast), būt "atvērtam", dabiskam un godīgam katrā situācijā pret jebkuru cilvēku, prasme radīt mikrovidi un sarunai labvēlīgu atmosfēru.

Kā visas cilvēku savstarpējās attiecības, arī saziņu var novērtēt no labā un ļaunā, pieņemamā — nepieņemamā, atzīstamā — noraidāmā u.tml., t. i., **morālo normu viedokļa**. Runātāja izturēšanās, runas veids un saturs var ietekmēt klausītāju ne tikai informatīvi un psiholoģiski, bet skart arī viņa vērtīborientāciju un morāli. Runātājam jāapzinās savu atbildību par to, lai saziņas partneri viņu saprastu pareizi; izteiktā informācija būtu patiesa, tā būtu klausītājam vajadzīga, tiktu respektēta percipienta (klausītāja) personība, dzimums, vecums, izglītība, etniskā piederība un citi nosacījumi. (Šalme 2000:51) Mūsdienu informācijas lavīnas apstākļos ir nepieciešama tāda komunikācija, "kas nerada nevajadzīgu piepūli informācijas uztvērējam". Grūti saprotama vai pārprotama teksta autors "šķiež sabiedrības locekļu laiku un garīgo enerģiju, apgrūtina viņus, nodara tiem ļaunumu, tātad – rīkojas amorāli" (Ceplītis 1980:5). Nepiemērota, nepatiesa, virspusēja vai grūti uztverama informācija rada pasīvu klausītāju vai pat izraisa negatīvu pretdarbību.

Saskaņā ar L.Ceplīša atzinumiem, komunikācijas morāle ietver tādas prasības kā
nepieciešamību, lai informācija būtu vajadzīga,
Informācija būtu atbilstoša situācijai un sazināšanās paražām,
stils un forma būtu skaidri uztverama, nav pieļaujama informācijas nenoteiktība,
informācija nedrīkst būt nepatiesa — aplami apgalvojumi, melīgi un nepārbaudīti fakti, virspusēja parādību interpretācija; "pārāk bieži nostāja atspoguļo nevis apkārtējo realitāti, bet gan to kā cilvēks uztver situāciju" (Pikeringa 2000: 61),
nerēķināšanās ar adresāta interesēm, spējām un vajadzībām (teksts ir pārāk sarežģīts, klausītājam grūti uztverams vai arī vienkāršots un virspusējs),
informācijas atbilstība situācijai, skaidrs sarunas mērķis un nolūki: ja komunikators ir iesaistījis citus cilvēkus komunikācijas aktā, tam jāzina atbilde uz jautājumiem – *ko, kāpēc, kam un kā runāt* (Ceplītis 1980: 5 – 13).

Saskarsmes stils ir funkcionāli nosacīts verbālās un neverbālās izturēšanās, rīcības un attieksmju summārs kopums, noteiktā situācijā izpildot atbilstošu komunikatīvo uzdevumu. To nosaka personīgā dzīves pieredze, zināšanas; attieksmes pret partneri, saskarsmes situācijas, vide un citi nosacījumi. Kaut arī saskarsmes stils galvenokārt raksturo saziņas procesuālo pusi, bet komunikācijas morāle – saturisko, starp šiem aspektiem var atklāt noteiktas sakarības. Dažādās saskarsmes situācijās tās dalībnieki izvēlas noteiktu rīcību, kuru var novērtēt arī no komunikācijas morāles viedokļa. Psiholoģijas un sociālajā zinātnēs pastāv dažādas saskarsmes stilu klasifikācijas (skat., piemēram, *Кан-Калик* 1995: 29-50; *Saskarsme* 1999: 30-34); šī apraksta pamatā izmantota V.Veica monogrāfijā "Uzvedības kultūra saskarsmē" izstrādātā saskarsmes stilu klasifikācija (Veics 1998: 29-30). Šajos stilos ir mēģinājums atklāt informācijas apmaiņas īpatnības morālajā aspektā.

1. *Īslaicīgo saskarsmes stilu* raksturo nejauša (gadījuma) mijiedarbība, kad "partneris tiek uzskatīts par vajadzīgu tikai uz neilgu laiku"(Veics 1998: 29). To visbiežāk novēro ikdienā, steigas un virspusēju attiecību situācijās. Tāds stils ietver standartizātu uzvedību, rutinētu diskursa risinājumu. Runas dalībnieki cenšas izpildīt obligāto saskarsmes pienākumu vai nepieciešamo pieklājības rituālu. Dažreiz īslaicīgās saskarsmes situācijas izrādās abām pusēm traucējošas, jo ir grūti "notēlot obligātās prasības", kad saziņā kāds no partneriem nemaz nav ieinteresēts. Īslaicīgās saskarsmes informācijas saturs ir konvencionāli nosacīts, tajā ir maz radoši interpretētu izteikumu – parasti tie ir vienkāršoti un trafareti valodas izteiksmes līdzekļi. Taču steigā vai nevērībā izteikts vārds dažkārt var dziļāk aizskart sarunu partneri nekā garāka izskaidrošanās. Par pieklājīgu izteikumu saturu un formu jādomā katrā ikdienas situācijā – pat tad, ja saziņa ar nejaušu partneri ir nevēlama.
2. *Standartizētais saskarsmes stils* atklājas piespiedu vai obligātās, parasti īslaicīgas saskarsmes situācijās atbilstoši tipveida priekšstatiem, formālajām attiecībām un apkārtējiem stereotipiem. Tā ir zema līmeņa komunikācija, ko nosaka nevis reālās saziņas vajadzības, bet gan pienākums to veikt. Parasti sarunu partnerus nodarbina procesuāls jautājums – vai es "pareizi" pratīšu jautāt un atbildēt, kā es vērsīšos pie sarunu partnera, ko citi (netiešie klausītāji) domās, kā un cik plaši man jāizsaka savi spriedumi, kad jābeidz saruna u.c. Šādas saskarsmes gadījumos visbiežāk tiek izraudzīti neitrāli un ļoti formāli saziņas līdzekļi, kas padara sarunu mākslotu un neinteresantu. Tajās gandrīz nekad nevar iegūt pilnvērtīgu informāciju, neatklājas sarunas partneru attieksmes un patiesie nolūki.
3. *Manipulatīvais saskarsmes stilā* partneris tiek uztverts kā sāncensis, konkurents vai pat līdzeklis noteiktu mērķu sasniegšanai. Amerikāņu psihologs D.Maijers šādu saziņu raksturo kā attieksmi: "es uzvarēju – tu zaudēji" (Майерс 2000: 663-664). Tāds stils nereti piemīt cilvēkiem, "kas iekšēji jūtas nedroši, neapzinās savu pašvērtību, nav stingri pārliecināti par savas rīcības pareizību un apkārtējo attieksmi" (Pikeringa 2000:67). Saruna tiek veidota uz sava pārākuma un viszinības demonstrēšanu vai partnera viedokļu noniecināšanu. Viņi jūtas apmierināti, ja partneri nav guvuši gandarījumu par sarunu (Майерс 2000:664). Lai iegūtu "informatīvo pārsvaru", komunikants var sniegt nepatiesu informāciju, sagrozīt faktus, noklusēt "neērto" informāciju, apzināti sarežģīt izteikumu saturu, apgrūtināt runas partneri ar neloģiskiem argumentiem un apzināti nostādīt viņu

nelīdzvērtīgu attiecību situācijā. Tāda saskarsme nav morāli atzīstama un neizraisa atbalstu apkārtējos, kaut arī dažkārt norisinās pieklājīgā, pat oficiālā tonī.

Šāds stils samērā bieži ir vērojams politisko vai ekonomisko spēku cīņā, kad svarīgi ir nevis noskaidrot patiesību, bet gan morāli vai idejiski pazemot un sakaut savu sāncensi. Pozīcija, ko dēvē "visu vai neko" – vēlēšanās iegūt pārākumu uz cita rēķina vai aizskarot cita intereses nav perspektīva (Kincāns 2000: 94). Te gan jāpiezīmē, ka sociālās apmaiņas teorijas autora amerikāņu sociologs Dž. Houmanss uzskata, ka savstarpējo attiecību sistēmā "cilvēki cenšas pēc iespējas samazināt ieguldījumus un pēc iespējas palielināt ieguvumus", jo tas "izriet no cilvēka egoistiskās dabas" (Cilvēks 1996: 30-31). No tā var secināt, ka daudzos gadījumos manipulatīvais, distancētais un autoritatīvais stils (skat. tālāk) parāda visai tipisku konkurences laikmeta izturēšanos un sabiedriskās attiecībās.

4. *Konvencionālā saskarsmes stilā* attiecības veidojas atbilstoši labajam tonim, etiķetei, kultūras normām un saskarsmes protokolam. Šādās saskarsmes situācijās runas partneri apzinās un respektē situācijas nozīmību, cenšas ievērot vispārpieņemtās sabiedrības pieklājības un valodas kultūras normas. Kaut arī sarunas dalībnieku starpā valda laipnība, sarunām var būt virspusējs un formāls raksturs. Oficiālā atmosfērā reti kad veidojas radošas domas un informācijas saturu pilnvērtīgi spēj/vēlas uztvert klausītājs. Oficiālas runas bieži ir demonstratīvas, mazsaturīgas un garlaicīgas. Tās pasniedz un klausās, lai izpildītu noteiktu sociālu rituālu vai ceremonijas.
5. *Distancētā saskarsmes stilā* partneri ietur vēsas, atturīgas un formālas attiecības. Tāds saziņas stils parasti veidojas saistībā ar darba vai lietišķajām attiecībām. Saskarsmes dalībnieki cenšas ievērot noteiktas lomas un iepriekš pieņemtu dialoga scenāriju. Distancētas saskarsmes stila gadījumos var izpausties arī manipulatīvā vai autoritatīvā saskarsmes stila iezīmes un dialoga diskursā dominē augstāk stāvošais vai ambiciozākais runas dalībnieks. Tādas attiecības uztur arī aizspriedumaini, egocentriski vai patmīlīgi cilvēki, kurus interesē tikai viņu personiskais viedoklis un problēmas. Ļoti bieži distancētas saskarsmes pazīmes novērojamas dažāda vecuma cilvēku, sociālās hierarhijas un atšķirīgu sociālo lomu izpildītāju starpā. Atturīgas attiecības padara kopdarbību formālu, mazina emocionālo un radošo mijiedarbību. Saruna, kas veidojas distancētā atmosfērā, bieži ir samākslota, liekulīga, dažkārt pat nepatiesa.

6. *Autoritārais saskarsmes stils* balstās uz spēka un pārākuma izrādīšanu gan savstarpējās attiecībās, gan komunikācijā. Šāds stils parasti ir ļoti formāls, distancēts, bieži pat konfliktējošs. Komunikators cenšas uzspiest klausītājiem savus uzskatus. Viss, ko viņš saka, jāuztver kā negrozāma un absolūta patiesība. Šāda stila pārstāvjus aizvaino vai sadusmo situācijas, kad klausītāji izrādās gudrāki, zina vairāk vai arī nepakļaujas runātāja spriedumiem. Parasti šāda saziņa nav produktīva, jo rada antipātijas sarunas dalībnieku starpā. Kaut arī runātāja informācija var izrādīties vērtīga un noderīga, klausītāji bieži to nepieņems negatīvā personības novērtējuma vai aizspriedumu dēļ.
7. *Sadarbības stils* balstās uz abu pušu ieinteresētību kopīgu jautājumu risināšanai. Attiecībās raksturīgs radošums, lietišķa sadarbība, savstarpēja uzticēšanās. Sadarbības atmosfēra vislabvēlīgāk ietekmē informācijas apmaiņu. Partneriem nav slēptu nodomu vai interešu, noteiktu mērķu labā viņi ir gatavi atzīt savas kļūdas, iet uz saprātīgu kompromisu. Visbiežāk tā ir vēlēšanās sniegt un iegūt pilnvērtīgu informāciju. Nesaprašanās gadījumā iespējams regulēt saziņas attiecības, atklāti noskaidrot pārpratumus un radoši izmantot valodu kā instrumentu noteiktu mērķu sasniegšanai.
8. *Lietišķo saskarsmes stilu* izmanto praktiskai sadarbībai un lietišķu uzdevumu veikšanai. Tā īpatnības ir līdzīgas sadarbības stilam. Lietišķa saskarsme balstās uz savstarpēju cieņu, uzticēšanos un uzskatu atklātumu. Sadarbīgā saziņā tās dalībnieki cenšas būt precīzi, skaidri izteikt savas domas, noskaidrot pārpratumus, atvieglot klausītājam informācijas uztveri.

Interesantas sakarības starp saskarsmes stiliem un komunikācija morāli var atklāt, izmantojot Dž. Ivanceviča un M. Matesona tā saukto "Džohari logu" teoriju. "Džohari logs" ir amerikāņu psihologu Džozefa Lusta un Harija Inghema izveidotais "Es" — koncepcijas modelis (Reņģe 1999:68-69).

Katram indivīdam ir zināms daudzums darbā vajadzīgās informācijas, citu cilvēku rīcībā arī ir kāda daļa no šīs informācijas, bet neviens nepārzina šo informāciju pilnībā. Saziņas dalībnieku rīcību saziņas laikā var uzskatīt par "savtīgu izvēli" Runātājam ir iespējas izraudzīties, kā viņš zināmo informāciju pasniegs – ko atklās, ko noklusēs, kuros gadījumos atklās tikai objektīvus faktus, kuros – subjektīvo spriedumu. Atsevišķos gadījumos viņš var sniegt arī nepatiesu informāciju vai to izteikt sev izdevīgā veidā. Savukārt arī klausītājs var sniegto informāciju uztvert selektīvi: "sadzirdēt" tikai to, kas viņam vajadzīgs vai kā tas viņam ir izdevīgi un tālāk interpretēt sev vēlamā formā. Tādai izvēlei ir arī morāls raksturs: izveidojoties dažādām attieksmēm pret informācijas saturu un runas partneriem, ievērojami var ciest pati saziņas kultūra un ziņojuma kvalitāte. Savukārt attieksme pret informāciju var ietekmēt arī saziņas stilu: atsevišķos gadījumos nepilnīga informācija tiek kompensēta ar noteiktu izturēšanos (piemēram, sadarbību), attieksmi, partnera un ziņojuma novērtējumu. "Džohari logu" teorijas četri tipi – "Arēna", "Baltais laukums", "Fasāde" un "Nezināmais", nosaka dažādus informācijas pārzināšanas līmeņus un to var aplūkot arī saistībā ar runas dalībnieku saskarsmes stilu un komunikācijas morāli.

1. *"Arēna"*. Visa efektīvai komunikācijai nepieciešamā informācija ir zināma gan indivīdam (komunikatoram), gan citiem (adresātam). Šādā saziņas situācijā runātājs var izjust zināmu diskomfortu (piemēram, lasot lekciju kompetentai auditorijai): viņš apzinās, ka informācija klausītājiem ir pazīstama vai pat labi zināma, tāpēc atkārtojoties vai izsakot visiem zināmus atzinumus, komunikators var mazināt klausītāju uzmanību un interesi. Lai komunikācija tomēr būtu pietiekami saistoša abām pusēm, tās dalībniekiem ir jādalās savās zināšanās, iemaņas, jūtās un uzskatos, tātad, jācenšas ieturēt sadarbīgas saziņas stilu. Jo plašāks šis lauks un vairāk izteiktu viedokļu, jo efektīvāka un saistošāka kļūst komunikācija. Lai paplašinātu "arēnu", indivīdam ir jābūt atvērtam un godīgam. Zinošai auditorijai vai atsevišķam klausītājam ir interesants tikai tāds runātājs, kurš prot pasniegt svaigu, nezināmu informāciju vai arī atklāt visiem zināmos jautājumus neparastā, radošā interpretācijā. Kaut arī godīga atzīšanās zināšanu un pieredzes trūkumā nostāda indivīdu viegli ievainojamā pozīcijā, tomēr tā ir vienīgā iespēja, kā saglabāt atgriezenisko saiti ar runas partneriem. Ja adresāts atklās vai jutīs nepatiesību vai virspusēju spriedelēšanu par tēmu, visdrīzāk runātāju starpā izveidosies distancētas vai standartizētas attiecības un turpmāk pilnvērtīga informācijas apmaiņa būs apgrūtināta.
2. *"Baltais laukums"*. Runātājs nezina to, ko zina citi (vai zina mazāk kā citi). Nezinot informācijas lauku un apjomu, kas ir citu rīcībā, ir grūti izprast sarunas partneru uzvedību, spriedumus un attieksmi. Tas var apgrūtināt indivīda komunikāciju. Runātājam jārēķinās ar padziļinātu reakciju no klausītāju puses, viņš baidās par nepietiekamu kompetenci, virspusējiem

spriedumiem u.tml. Šajos gadījumos klausītāji parasti distancējas no sarunu partneriem (distancētais saskarsmes stils), izmanto standartizētas frāzes un trafaretu komunikatīvo uzvedību (standartizēto saskarsmes stilu). Vislabākais ceļš ir ieklausīties partneru viedokļos, neizteikt priekšlaicīgus spriedumus un secinājumus, nemēģināt ar vispārējām frāzēm "tēlot viszinību" vai arī norobežoties no komunikācijas.

3. *"Fasāde"*. Indivīds zina to, kas citiem nav zināms. Tādā situācijā komunikatoram ir visas iespējas gan izvēlēties informāciju, gan ieturēt stilu, kā to izteikt. Tas dod neierobežotu varu pār auditoriju vai adresātu, bet vienlaicīgi kalpo par samērā labu pašaizsardzības līdzekli (daudzi runātāji jūtas drošāki un pārliecinātāki tādu sarunas biedru vidū, kas zina mazāk vai nejūtas līdzvērtīgi sarunu partneri). Komunikators var samērā brīvi manipulēt ar informāciju, faktiem, viedokļiem un noklusēt to, kas subjektīvi viņam šķiet neērts (bet adresātam varbūt vajadzīgs). "Fasāde" kalpo indivīdam par sava veida drošību, jo nepietiekami spēcīga atgriezeniskā saite ar klausītāju, noved pie pilnīgas informācijas patvaļas un manipulācijām ar cilvēku nezināšanu vai neinformētību, tātad – pie autoritatīvā stila.

4. *"Nezināmais"*. Pilnvērtīgas informācijas nav nevienam, tāpēc komunikācija ir stipri apgrūtināta. Tā ir jāiegūst pārrunu veidā, saskaņojot idejas, papildus ievācot informāciju u.tml., tātad, informācijas apmaiņā izmantot lietišķo vai sadarbības stilu. Ja grupai nav mērķracionālas rīcības, saruna par maz zināmiem vai iepriekš nesagatavotiem jautājumiem var pārvērsties tukšā spriedelēšanā, kur kompetence trūkumu atsevišķas personas aizstāj ar autoritāriem vai manipulatīviem spriedumiem. Īslaicīgi izveidojusies sarunas dalībnieku grupā var valdīt arī īslaicīgas, distancētas vai konvencionāla rakstura saziņas stila iezīmes, kas arī neveicina radošas domas un dziļāku atziņu veidošanos. Ir nepieņemami, ja tādu pārrunu secinājumus dalībnieki uztver kā "objektīvu patiesību" vai arī tāda veida "prātošanu" darba attiecībās padara par sistēmu. Ir novērots, ka tādi informācijas apmaiņas recidīvi parādās arī dažādās sabiedriskās darbības norisēs (nozīmīgu politisku un ekonomisku lēmumu pieņemšanā, likumu izstrādē, administrācijas sēdēs u.c.). Piemēram, pedagoģijā, sociālajās, vadības u.c. zinātnēs un praksē tiek ieviestas rietumos pazīstamas interaktīvās grupas darba metodes – smadzeņu ofensīva, darbseminārs, plenāra diskusija, "bišu strops" u.c. Diemžēl, ne vienmēr, tos organizējot, pareizi ir saprasti sarunu uzdevumi un mērķi:

diskusiju dalībnieki bez iepriekšējās sagatavošanās un zināšanām improvizēti apspriež dažādus nopietnus jautājumus, nonāk pie virspusējiem secinājumiem un saglabā priekšstatu par improvizēti pieņemtajiem atzinumiem kā absolūto patiesību arī pēc šo pārrunu beigām. Tāda attieksme var būt bīstama svarīgu organizatorisku lēmumu pieņemšanā, piemēram, izstrādājot un akceptējot nozīmīgus valsts likumus.

Saskarsmi vērtība atklājas tās neatkārtojamībā, neprognozējamā attīstībā un daudzveidīgās radošās izpausmēs. Cilvēka darba efektivitāte balstās ne tikai uz intelektuālo, bet arī emocionālo gudrību. Tas, kā viņš veido attiecības ar apkārtējiem, atklāj viņa emocionālo inteliģenci un radošumu. Pozitīvs paštēls un uz sadarbību vērsta rīcība nodrošina pašizjūta paaugstināšanos, bet atteikšanās no pilnvērtīgas saskarsmes pašvērtējumu mazina. Emocionāla un intelektuāla saskarsme ir ne tikai nozīmīgs informācijas ieguves veids, bet arī pilnvērtīgas sociālas personības attīstības galvenais līdzeklis. Kopdarbībā nepārtraukti bagātinās dažādas nozīmīgas sociālpsiholoģiskās kvalitātes — sociālās jūtas, vērtību orientācija, sociālā uzvedība, sociālās gaidas, pasaules uzskats, attieksmju stereotips u.c. Saziņas praksē vislabāk veidojas izpratne par valodas lomu un nozīmi cilvēku savstarpējās attiecībās, attītās valodas kultūras un stila izjūta.

Reizē ar sabiedriskās pieredzes un attīstības tendencēm būtu jāpēta arī valodas kultūras un stila jautājumi. Šis raksts pavisam īsi iezīmēja dažas jaunas pieejas valodnieciskās paradigmas attīstībā, kurā dažkārt vērojamas no dzīves un reālām sabiedrības vajadzībām atrautas idejas. Zināšanas par sociālo uzvedību, saziņas īpatnībām un valodas līdzekļu izvēli informācijas apmaiņā ir nozīmīgas, pētot dažādus komunikatīvās valodniecības jautājumus, valodas funkcionālos stilus (īpaši sarunvalodas stilu) un moderno valodu mācīšanas komunikatīvās pieejas jautājumus.

Summary

Interaction Style and Communication Ethics

In recent years there is a growing interest in issues related to human interaction and communication culture. Human interaction and communication issues have become a concern of research in many spheres (e.g. psychology, social sciences, pedagogy, economy, linguistics etc.) and are often studied in an interdisciplinary mode. To develop a deeper understanding of

the many facets of the communication process also linguists should broaden their research paradigm.

This article is an attempt to incorporate within the framework of human interaction and communication culture ideas which have emerged in such spheres of scholarly activity as linguistics, psychology, sociology and ethics. Issues of the language culture and style should be discussed in closer relation with tendencies of social experience and development. The knowledge of social behavior, communication features and choice of language means during the exchange of information is of great importance in the study of issues of communicative linguistics, functional styles of the language (especially the colloquial style) and the communicative approach in modern language teaching.

As any human relations, also communication can be assessed from the point of view of the good and the evil, the acceptable and unacceptable or other moral norms. Authors of hard--to--understand texts or texts that can easily be misunderstood, in fact act immorally – they waste the time and mental energy of recipients, disregarding their needs and interests. Observations show that in different communication styles a different degree of information quality and interpretation can be found. It is determined by the character of the given interaction, the needs of communication partners, the motivation of communication, the degree of importance of the given information and other aspects.

On the basis of "Johari Windows" developed by American psychologists J.Lust and H.Inghem, this article seeks to find a correlation between the acquisition of information, communication style and communication ethics.

LITERATŪRA

Ceplītis, L.(1980) *Valodas kultūra un komunikācijas morāle.* LVKJ, 16.laid., 5-13.

Ceplītis, L. (1984) *Publiskās runas kultūra.* LVKJ, 19. laid., 5-13.

Cilvēks un dzīve socioloģijas skatījumā. (1996) LU, Rīga.

Edeirs, Dž. (1999) *Efektīva komunikācija. Vissvarīgākā vadības mākslas metode.* Rīga.

Garleja, R. (1997) *Sociālā uzvedība.* LU, Rīga.

Garleja, R., Vidnere, M. (2000) *Psiholoģijas un sociālās uzvedības aspekti ekonomikā.* Rīga.

Гарнер, А., Пиз А. (2000) *Язык разговора.* Москва.

Кан-Калик, В.А. (1995) *Граматика общения,* Москва.

V.Kincāns,V. (2000) *Etiķete sadzīvē, lietišķajos kontaktos, starptautiskajās attiecībās.* Rīga.

Kundziņš, P. (1993) *Saskarsmes kultūra.* Rīga.

Майерс, Д. (2000) *Социальная психология.* Санкт-Петербург, Москва.

Omarova, S. (1994) *Cilvēks runā ar cilvēku.* Rīga.

Pikeringa, P. (2000) *Strīdi, nesaskaņas, konflikti. Kā izvairīties no kļūdām to risināšanā un sekmīgi pārvarēt domstarpības.* Rīga.

Reņģe, V. (1999) *Organizāciju psiholoģija.* Rīga.

Saskarsme audzēkņiem (1999) Rīga.

Šalme, A. (1999) *Valodas komunikatīvās funkcijas un to eksponenti latviešu valodas mācību kursā iesācējiem.* LU Zinātniskie raksti. Kontrastīvie pētījumi VIII. LU, 74.-80.lpp. Rīga.

Šalme, A. (2000)*"Komunikācijas morāles" jautājumi sarunvalodas mācīšanas praksē.* LU Zinātniskie raksti. Kontrastīvie pētījumi IX. LU, 51.-58.lpp. Rīga.

Veics, V. (1998) *Uzvedības kultūra saskarsmē.* Rīga.

Andrejs Veisbergs
University of Latvia

Occasional Transformations of Idioms, Wordplay in Interpreting

This paper will try to link together three issues – occasional transformation of idioms, its result – wordplay, and how this can be / is dealt with in interpreting. The conclusions may be of interest for researchers of all three fields as well as for the interpreter trainers.

1. Idioms.

By an idiom in this paper we mean a stable multi-component unit with at least partially transferred meaning. This rather broad (Moon 1996) understanding of an idiom is handy as transformations with similar stylistic effect and interpretation problems affect also those multi-componential units which strictly cannot be considered idioms in the narrow meaning. Idioms can be used in speech in their usual form and meaning, yet they can also be deliberately changed in order to achieve certain semantic and/or stylistic goals. This semantic and often also structural change of the stable and traditional semantics (and structure) we call occasional transformations. The other terms often used in linguistic literature to describe this phenomenon (which like idioms themselves is universal (Veisbergs 1986)) are nonce use (Cowie et al 1984), creative adaptations (Mc. Arthur 1992), modifications (Glucksberg 1983: 15; Burger 1989), destruction of idioms (Vlahov 1980), contextual change (Veisbergs 1994: 2), etc. All the terms actually stress the deliberate stylistically motivated change of the usual form for idioms. The contrast between the old and new creates the effect of defeated expectancy (in all the cases) and the singular and unique meaning clash reflecting the particular idiom change in the particular context, e.g.

> *We should remember that Brezhnev spent his last years falling asleep, Chernenko arrived with one foot already in the Kremlin wall.*

As idioms are perceived as whole and stable monosemantic units, a change is always contrasted in the receivers mind with the original form. The text flows in a seemingly predictable current and suddenly two scripts (Raskin

1985) -- segments of semantic information -- are evoked, where one script is the idiom in its usual form and meaning, the other script -- the changed form and meaning. The simultaneous stylistic and semantic conflict creates a meaning clash and leads to the so called hypersemantized text, in the translation/interpretation of which "the problem is very easily detected and rarely solved in a satisfactory way" (Schogt 1988: 109).

2. Wordplay.

Though the term is used widely, wordplay is a rather vague term and there is little agreement on what wordplay is. Thus "The Oxford Companion to the English Language" even prefers to use the phrase *playing with words* instead of the briefer term WORDPLAY: "Any adaptation or use of words to achieve a humorous, ironic, satirical, dramatic, critical, or other effect" (Mc Arthur 1992: 787). We find this definition too broad as it seems to include practically all rhetorical devices. Wordplay is also commonly described as being "based somehow on a confrontation or clash of two meanings" (Alexieva 1997: 138). This definition suggests a linguistic phenomenon close to paradox. Pun, which is another often used word (sometimes used interchangeably with wordplay), actually is only one subtype of wordplay. Puns are created by conflating homonyms or near homonyms to produce a humorous effect. In phraseology the same process is called dual actualisation.

What is characteristic of all types of wordplay is in fact the effect (humorous, stylistic, semantic); wordplay functions as "attention grabber" (Redfern 1986) -- attracting the attention of the reader/listener to a specific point in the text. On top of this comes the added pleasure of solving the puzzle -- decoding it. For in cases of wordplay "language is not just means of communication but also the subject of communication" (Koller 1977: 199). The effect comes as a result of a change of the usual, predictable monosemantic flow of the language units (so necessary for normal understanding process). The contrast breaks the expectancy norm. The expressiveness born out of breaking the usual forms of language has been pointed out already by Ch. Bally (1921). Such breech opens great possibilities for meaning variation and manipulation based on defeated expectancy effect (Riffaterre 1960: 336).

3. Types of Idiom-based Wordplay

There exists a multitude of classifications, types and subtypes of wordplay that researchers have identified and classified (Hausmann 1974; Petrotta 1991:20; Fill 1992:552). These classifications, however, usually tend to reflect the specific aspect that is researched, rather than systematize such a broad and variable phenomenon. As W. Redfern has pointed out (1986: 82) "Classifications... produced more confusion than enlightenment" Most frequently wordplay, based on idiom transformations, comes as a result of:

Substitution (synonymic, antonymic, paronymic, etc.)

- *At the end of my speech I would just like to say* ***"Do your teeth a <u>flavour</u>"*** (do somebody a favour)
- *I think we must* ***let these sleeping <u>friendships</u> lie.*** (let sleeping dogs lie)

Ellipsis

- ***There is no smoke without...*** *(there is no smoke without fire)*

Allusion

- *I suppose though two weeks have passed they are still looking for* ***those birds in the bush.*** *(a bird in hand is worth two in the bush)*

Insertion/addition

- *I think he* ***killed two birds with one <u>diplomatic, not to say ingenious</u> stone.***

Sustained metaphor

- *Couldn't we say this* ***soap opera*** *<u>brainwashes whitest.</u>*

Idiomatic zeugma

- *That was the only time when* ***he lost*** *<u>both his money and</u>* ***his heart***

Dual actualization -- the literal and figurative meaning of the idiom is evoked

- *Some doctors* ***take life*** *very easily*
- ***As you make your bed, so you must lie on it.*** *But fortunately I never make my bed, my wife does it.....*

Ambiguity on who is the doer, agent, patient

- *I do not usually draw pictures* ***in the nude,*** *I usually wear a jacket.* etc.

Idiom transformations account for a large number of wordplay cases. Some scholars even consider the absolute majority of wordplay as based on idiom use (Vlahov 1980: 293). There are quite a large number of types of idiom transformations (Veisbergs 1997). Idiom based wordplay has some peculiarities -- it often envelops larger chunks of text than the rather compact lexical pun. There is also a smaller chance (in comparison with puns) of ambiguous cases when the translator/interpreter cannot decide when the wordplay is intentional and when it is non-functional. At least structural idiom transformation points at a deliberate intention. On the other hand some types of contextual transformations (leaving little original material) do present the hazard of being bypassed unnoticed. This generally refers to allusion, ellipsis and substitution.

4. Interpreting

Occasional transformations and wordplay in interpretation create grave and sometimes insurmountable difficulties. Occurrence of wordplay by way of over-focussing may lead to serious spill-over problems and possible failure in the following interpretation.

There are several situations in which an interpreter might have to grapple with this problem that would make a difference for the performance:

- Having the text of the speech long before the actual interpretation -- so the interpreter can elaborate – act, in fact, like a translator;
- Getting the text shortly before the speech and having little time to think -- the time constraints grow, but one can still devote some time to the issue, even consult somebody who might suggest an idea and make a decision on how to treat the particular case;
- Meeting the transformations in consecutive means having a small time margin for decision-making at least about whether to tackle the wordplay or omit it. It allows seeing the idiom/metaphor in a wider context;
- Meeting transformations in simultaneous interpreting without prior knowledge, without knowing how they might expand and develop while under extreme time constraints.

This paper will focus on the last situation as it is the simplest, most interesting and most characteristic of what we call the "interpreting situation"

Success in good rendering (and we proceed from the basic assumption that one should try to preserve idiom and wordplay or its elements in the target language (TL)) depends on: textual situation, broad background knowledge and experience, knowledge of strategies, specific language pair peculiarities, the concrete language situation, the "right turn of mind" for wordplay interpretation (natural punsters, jokers).
One should, of course, take into account the overall interpreting situation and the above-mentioned factors might be rated differently as to their importance in each separate case.

The interpreting process consists of several stages and a number of choices with regard to our central problem.

In the recognition stage the interpreter can overlook the idiom (its elements) and wordplay (underread it) all of it or its beginning and accordingly the moment when something could be done is missed. Usually this happens in cases of homonymy e.g. *the prose (pros) without the cons...; I think the world has entered a new war - a cold (code) war...*, which goes unnoticed as the interpreter takes up the most suitable corresponding meaning to the occasion, and in cases of allusions, ellipsis, multi-componential substitutions of idioms where few original elements (that might point at the underlying idiom) are left. It can also happen when the interpreter is lulled by anticipation and fails to notice the change. (Chernov 1973). It is also possible that the interpreter may miss the wordplay but feel that something is missed (logic of the speech, reaction of a part of audience).

Finally one must mention the problem of overreading -- seeing wordplay when it is not there. One could even hypothesise that for example too much attention on wordplay training for interpreters might lead to "perversely ingenious punhunting" (Delabastita 1996: 132), e.g. *It was this skeleton staff that messed everything up* (heard as *skeleton stuff* and interpreted as allusion to **the skeleton in the cupboard**).

In case transformed idiom has been recognized/registered there may be problems in the **production stage**:

- as problem solving demands time, speed of processing may be too slow,
- there may be naturally gaps in background knowledge,
- the transformations can go on and take a turn which could not be anticipated at the beginning,
- there may be language-pair-specific problems which could render reproduction impossible,
- the interpreter should weigh discourse styles which might be different in SL and TL, etc.

The speed of processing seems to be the single most important factor which differentiates translation of transformed idioms from interpretation. While a translator can often brood for weeks and months on the best way of rendering wordplay the interpreter has just a second in which a huge number of decisions has to be made:

- is it deliberately ambiguous or not (fruit of interpreter's fancy),
- can it be easily interpreted,
- is it important or can wordplay be discarded altogether,
- how much time and effort can be given to the problem,
- choosing between alternative variants (if one's brain generates them, i.e. if they are available),
- how much of what might come later can be anticipated (e.g. wordplay could roll on and by making an early and limiting choice, further possibilities can be eliminated -- in sequential development you cannot know where it leads).

The processing capacity of the audience could also be considered. A sophisticated rendition of wordplay in interpreting (in difference from translation) may cause confusion (listener's perception abilities) as well as loss of other information, especially with fast speech. This is to be viewed in the choice situation as well.

5. Interpreting Strategies/Techniques

Strategies have been defined in various ways. Krings (1986) considers strategies to be potentially conscious plans for solving a problem. Lorscher (1991) calls these plans procedures. In interpreting we look at basic knowledge of what transformations and wordplay is and then planning strategies (Moser-Mercer 1997: 258) for the production stage, combined with workload management strategies to utilize processing optimally.

We can proceed from the basic assumptions that

1) wordplay based of occasional transformations is a universal phenomenon in languages,
2) wordplay is stylistically and semantically relevant,
3) that its translatability exists, and
4) there is a range of possible techniques.

Interpretation of wordplay can be generally characterized as an artistic and singular activity that could be best described as the transfer of source language stylistic effect and/or meaning. Quite often the source and target language speech containing wordplay will be beyond formal similarity. Both those scholars dealing with puns in general (as shown by Delabastita (1994)) and those particularly interested in idiom wordplay seem to take two extreme positions about interpretation of wordplay -- one group tries to prescribe ways how wordplay should be translated, putting it in a relatively rigid framework, while the other dwells at length on the untranslatable character of the phenomenon: "being practically untranslatable puns effectively scotch the myth of universality" (Egan 1994:2). Puns are viewed as untranslatable at least when compared with other forms of wit and rhetoric (Jones 1998:124). Agreeing to the statement that "no formulae nor systems can be of any help, as translation of wordplay is a birth of a new wordplay in the other language. Everything depends on sudden inspiration" (translated by A.V.) (Florin 1983: 176) would actually nullify the sense of any research. On the other hand it is hard to believe a statement concerning wordplay interpretation that "what may sometimes seem uncanny virtuosity or obsessive hair-splitting at the moment will have to become commonplace practice with all interpreters, young and old..." (Viaggio 1996:195). I suppose the truth is somewhere in the middle. However different and idiosyncratic the individual translation may be, one can elucidate the main techniques or strategies that the translators/interpreters have followed and accordingly can follow in the future. The main divide, of course, lies in the basic approach -- whether transformed idiom is translated by transformed idiom or by something else, or lost completely.

First thing to be mentioned is that interpreting strategies are not directly related to the type of occasional transformation that the idiom has undergone. If anything at all, one can generally state that there is a tendency in interpretation of contextually transformed idioms to provide fuller, lengthier forms (see further).

Here we offer a sample of an interpretation situation. It contains an allusion to an idiom with further extension of the underlying metaphor. An early (inevitable) choice of the TL substitute idiom creates problems as the text develops.

People who live in glass houses should not throw stones.
Possible Latvian translations:

- *Spļaut akā, no kuras jādzer (to spit in a well from which you will drink)*
- *Zāģēt zaru, uz kura pats sēž (to saw the branch on which you sit)*
- Calque, as the idiom is logical and rather transparent

Let us be careful, we are all here people who live in glass houses
Uzmanīsimies, nespļausim savā akā,
(Gloss) *Let us be careful, let us not spit in our own well,*

Especially because the walls are so thin
jo akā ūdens jau tāpat nav labs
for the water in the well is not too good anyway

and there are so many people from outside who are waiting before throwing their first stone, maybe we will do it ourselves.
Un ārā vēl ir daudz spļāvēju, kas gaida, lai mēs paši to piekēzītu
And there are many spitters who just wait for us to pollute it

And when they throw, it will not be arguments like ours, it will be serious accusations that we might find difficult to refute.
Un kad viņi spļaus, tad ūdens būs nedzerams. Tie būs nopietni apvainojumi.
And when they spit, the water will be unpotable. Those will be serious accusations.

Here the interpretation manages more or less to carry the original meaning, but the further the speech goes the more difficult it is to keep to the track taken. On second thought calque might have worked better.

Further follow the basic techniques that can be applied to wordplay interpretation. However, it should be pointed out that even theoretically some of the techniques may partially interface. The order the techniques are enumerated is not meant to suggest or even illustrate a strict hierarchy from best to worst. Though the techniques viewed first are closer to the source text original and generally preferable to the last, sometimes a technique situated "lower" in this hierarchy can yield a better overall effect.

The theoretical ideal in rendering wordplay is a precise literal interpretation which would carry over all the nuances of the SL into TL. It is an ideal possibility, of course, only rarely seen in practice. Thus, interpreters use a variety of transfers to cope with the problems which will be enumerated as interpretation techniques further.

5.1. Equivalent and close analogue

If a speaker uses wordplay and interpreter sees a possible equivalent translation he/she should not bypass the case. Yet, the more complicated the wordplay the more insurmountable problems appear for this most straightforward approach. This strategy can usually be successfully applied only to those cases when the target language has semantic, formal and stylistic equivalents to the source text
1. word, phrase, idiom,
2. its components, and
3. the transformed elements.

This is rare and usually occurs only in closely related languages or in the rather considerable stock of international units (many of which are based on classical elements common to most of European languages).

In many cases there is no equivalent in the TL, but close analogue linguistic units can be found (formally different but semantically and stylistically close to the SL units). As wordplay is usually of primary importance, if an analogue can yield to contextual transformation and transfer wordplay well, it can serve as good means of interpretation, e.g.

- *Remember, old doctors never die, they just* ***lose their patience*** *(nts).*
- *Atcerieties, ārsti nenoveco, tie tikai zaudē* ***prakst.***
- *Remember, doctors don't age, they just lose their* ***practice*** *(2 meanings).*

5.2. Calque

Calques (loan translations) can be as handy and effective as equivalents (which they actually are formally and often semantically and stylistically, while often lacking the wordplay effect as the recipient does not see the clash of the two forms. Yet in case of the idiom and its transformation being generally logical its comprehension is assured. Unfortunately not all idioms are logical, still rarer are they and their transformations transparent. The wordplay connected with a strange loan interpretation (a fresh metaphor in the target language that is on top modified) will always be rather sophisticated and slightly artificial and it will often be evident to the reader that the interpreter has painstakingly preserved the SL structures.

One cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs.

- *I suppose you are aware that* ***broken*** *eggs alone will not ensure having* ***the omelette.***
- *Es ceru, ka jūs saprotat, ka ar to, ka olas tiks sasistas, nepietiks, lai būtu gatavs kultenis*
- *I suppose you understand that the fact that the eggs are broken will not be enough to have an omelette.*

If possible this is one of the easiest techniques for interpreting – close to word-for-word translation. Yet it can also be used in conjunction with editorial comment and even giving both forms of the idiom.

5.3. Extension

A strategy rarely mentioned that often allows achieving good results is the extension of the wordplay by introducing additional information -- in a way it is a blend of unobtrusive editorial comment coupled with a rather exact rendering of the context (very often loan interpretation). Also when reduction type transformations are used, fuller forms might be desirable in interpreting.

- *Well, though we might see certain grounds for worry if this idea became a dominant one, I suppose we could agree if our partners say it is the usual practice here. You know,* ***when in Rome...***
- *Lai arī mums būtu zināmi iemesli uztraukties, ja šī ideja sāktu dominēt, domāju, mēs tomēr varētu piekrist. Sevišķi, ja mūsu partneri uzstāj, ka tā ir pieņemts darīt.* ***Kā saka angļi, kad esi Romā, tad uzvedies kā romietis.***
- *Well, though we might see certain grounds for worry if this idea became a dominant one, I suppose we could agree if our partners say it is the usual practice here.* ***As the English say, when in Rome, do as the Romans do.***

This technique improves the degree of perception by the audience and the short chunks of wording added normally does not cause time-related problems.

5.4. Substitution of the image

The interpretation strategies viewed so far tend to retain both wordplay and to a large extent also the source language contents. However, often interpreters have to go further. Substitution (replacement (Chiaro 1992:86) of the unit by a different one that lends itself to change can be practiced. Substitution as different from use of an analogue involves a change of semantics and image in order to preserve the wordplay effect.

- *I am not so optimistic as my colleague. We are now* ***out of the frying pan...****, but maybe it is better to move this point to tomorrow.*
- *Es neesu tik optimistiski noskaņots kā mana kolēģe.* ***No vilka tā kā būtu aizbēguši...*** *bet varbūt labāk pārcelsim šo jautājumu uz rītu.*
- *I am not so optimistic as my colleague. We* ***have run away from the wolf...*** *but maybe it is better to move this point to tomorrow.*

(Latvian **no vilka bēdz uz lāci krīt – fly from the wolf, fall on the bear**)

Restitution of the full form here is not necessary as the Latvian audience would recognize the elliptic form.

5.5. Recreation

Recreation or compensation is possible in longer speeches with the wordplay inserted in a more suitable place in order to preserve the overall tonality and meaning of the speaker's message. This actually means that in order to preserve the form and effect, contents is changed freely (which is generally rare in interpretation). Freedom from constraints helps retain the effect of the stylistic device while formally the interpretation would deviate strongly from the original. This strategy puts great emphasis on memory, on feeling what can be manipulated, on empathy. This could be done in longer consecutive speeches where the unit of interpretation is not a comment or replica containing wordplay but the whole speech, yet under pressure this can hardly be considered viable for simultaneous interpreting.

5.6. Omission/ignoring

Omission of idiom and wordplay (loss, zero interpretation) can take several forms the text is omitted altogether or the primary or the surface meaning remains – thus the original idiom can be translated in its usual form or the sense of the change somehow delivered. This certainly leaves some room for manouvre, yet in any case the wordplay effect is lost, e.g.

- *I think we should always remember, permit me a small joke, that* ***where there is a will there is a fraud.***
- *Vienmēr atcerēsimies – tur, kur darīšana ar mantojumiem, vienmēr iespējama krāpšana.*
- *Let's always remember where one deals with wills, there can always be fraud.*

In a conference situation this of course may cause some problems as SL listeners might be laughing. This technique can be applied if the wordplay element is not very important (which is not usual) or if there is an overabundance of wordplay, successful retention of which is nearly impossible and might create slightly artificial and strained effect. And, of course, this technique is resorted to when the interpreter has nothing to offer. Yet there is no allusion to the idiom which has no equivalent in Latvian and no attempt of recreating wordplay.

5.7. Metalinguistic comment/ additions – presumes the interpreter's comment on the linguistic peculiarities, e.g. *this was a pun;* with possibler explanation of the linguistic tricks, mentioning of both meanings, etc. This generally takes more time, but this technique can also be coupled with calques and others.

- *They too have their masters, the ones...* **under the bed.**
- *Arī viņiem ir saimnieki –* **sarkanie, komunisti**, *runātājs to pateica aplinkus.*
- *They too have their masters –* **the reds, the communists,** *the speaker said it in a roundabout way.*

4.8. Stylistic compensation presumes moving away from the transformed idiom to some other related rhetorical device irony, paradox, vagueness, rhyme, alliteration, intonation, etc. that might preserve something of the effect of the ST.

6. Constraints

It is worth pointing out that the techniques viewed above are used in various languages, thus they bear a general character. As wordplay in most of the cases can be seen as a purposeful means of conveying some semantic or pragmatic goal, not just stylistic frills, its retention is usually more important than the retention of the exact wording or even the use of the idiom. The use of playful language often makes the interpreter "subordinate semantic resemblance to other kinds of resemblance" (Gutt 1991:130) i.e. resemblance of stylistic effect.

On the other hand it seems practically impossible to evaluate the adequacy of the techniques in general, as each individual case of wordplay presents us with a particular linguistic case and its transfer solution has its own semantic and structural justification, its limits and constraints. While techniques 4.1. to 4.5. aim at retaining the wordplay effect of idiom transformations, 4.6. omits it, 4.7. informs the recipient about its presence in the source language, 4.8 offers something else, it does not follow that the latter are necessarily to be considered an admission of failure or to imply a "wrong" assessment of the priorities. The use of a different type of wordplay in the target language is fully acceptable if it allows achieving similar semantic and stylistic effect. Also the use of other creative forms, stylistic and rhetorical figures can compensate for the losses on the macro-structural level. Returning to the full/unchanged forms of idioms in interpreting is quite normal when dealing with reduction-type transformations as the stylistic effect here is not that important and the message is of more importance.

Apart from purely linguistic differences between languages (language specificity) the interpreter also has to take into account the difference of language codes and the absence of reference in those cases when the SL wordplay contains information unknown to the target recipient. Target orientation in interpretation also presupposes taking into account the sociolinguistic aspects of the language   the relative character of the wordplay   its great popularity in some languages and its less usual character (acceptability) in others. This may be to a considerable extent determined by language type (flective or analytical), lexical and morphological peculiarities -- spread of homonymy, polysemy. These can leave an impact on the production stage. One can also consider interpretation conventions of the particular language.

Cultural replacement takes place in the text system and the system of culture and the ignoring of these extratextual as well as pragmatic considerations may lead to a break in the perception expectancy norm which in case of wordplay has already been broken. Thus an interpretation reducing the overabundant use of wordplay or substituting them by other stylistic means cannot always be considered as a bad interpretation. And an interpretation oversaturated with wordplay that has been painstakingly retained, but making the utterance unnatural, too complicated and dense, is not a good interpretation. The interpreter recreates the original balancing between the old-fashioned literariness, fidelity or modern loyalty principle on the one hand, and the language, cultural, textual and situational possibilities on the other. The enumerated techniques and the constraints behind them discussed in this paper are not meant to prescribe ways wordplay should be interpreted, but to show that apart from sudden inspiration (Florin 1983: 176) (which can also be extremely useful), there are strategies that interpreters can use in order to tackle the challenging task of interpretation of wordplay based on idiom transformation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexieva, Bistra (1997) There Must be Some System in this Madness, in *Traductio, Essays on Punning and Translation*. Ed. D. Delabastita. St Jerome Publishing. pp. 137-154.

Bally, Charles (1921) *Traite de stylistique francaise*. Heidelberg: Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Burger, Harald (1989) Phraseologismen in allgemeinen einsprachigen Wörterbuch, in *Wörterbucher. Dictionaries. Dictionnaires.* Vol.1. Berlin. New York: Walter Gruyter, S. 593-599.

Chernov, Ghelly (1973) Towards a Psycholinguistic Model of Simultaneous Interpretation, in *Linguistische Arbeitsberichte*. Leipzig. Nr.7. 225-260.

Chiaro, Delia (1992) *The Language of Jokes*. London: Routledge.

Cowie, A.P.; Mackin, R.; McCaig, I.R. (1984) *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. Vol. 1-2, Oxford: OUP.

Delabastita, Dirk (1987) Translating Puns. Possibilities and restraints, in *New Comparison* 3, pp. 143-159.

Delabastita, Dirk (1994) Focus on the Pun: Wordplay as a Special Problem in Interpretation Studies, in *Target* 6:2, pp. 223-243.

Egan, Gary (1994) Wordplay, in *Verbatim* vol. 20. No. 4. pp. 1--3.

Fill, Alwin (1992) "Visions and Revisions": A type of Pun Based on Idiomatized Complex Words, in C. Blank et al eds. *Language and Civilization: A Concerted Profusion of Essays and Studies in Honour of Otto Hietsch.* Vol.2, Frankfurt-on-Main, etc.: Peter Lang. pp. 551-563.

Florin, Sider (1983) *Muki perevodcheskiye.* [Interpreters' Sufferings], Moskva: Visshaya shkola.

Glucksberg, S. (1983) Idiom Meanings and Allusional Context, in C. Cacciari, P. Tabossi (ed) *Idioms: Processing, Structure, and Interpretation.* Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. pp. 3--26.

Gutt, Ernst-August (1991) *Interpretation and Relevance, Cognition and Context.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hausmann, Franz Josef (1974) *Studien zu einer Linguistik des Wortspiels.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Jones, Roderick (1998) *Conference Interpreting Explained.* Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.

Koller, Werner (1977) *Redensarten. Linguistische Aspekte, Vorkommensanalysen, Sprachspiel.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Krings, H.P. (1986) *Was in den Kopfen von Übersetzer vorgeht. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Struktur des Übersetzungsprozesses an fortgeschrittenenen Französisch-lernen.* Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag

Lorscher, W.(1991) *Translation performance, translation process, and translation strategies: A psycholinguistic investigation.* Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

McArthur, Tom (1992) *The Oxford Companion to the English Language.* Oxford: OUP.

Moon.R. (1996) Data, Description, and Idioms in Corpus Lexicography, in *Euralex'96 Proceedings.* Goteborg University. pp. 245-256.

Moser-Mercer, Barbara (1997) The expert-novice paradigm in interpreting research, in *Translationsdidaktik. Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft.* Heraugegeben von E. Fleischmann, et al. Günter Narr Verlag Tübingen. pp. 255-261.

Petrotta, Anthony J. (1991) *Lexis Ludens. Wordplay and the Book of Micah.* New York: Peter Lang.

Raskin, Victor (1985) *Semantic Mechanisms of Humour.* Dordrecht and Boston: Reidel.

Redfern, Walter (1986) *Puns.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Riffaterre, M. (1960) Stylistic Context, in *Word*: 15. pp. 154-174.

Schogt, Henry G. (1988) *Linguistics, Literary Analysis, and Literary Interpretation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Veisbergs, Andrejs (1986) Okkazionalnoye ispolzovaniye frazeologicheskih edinits kak semantiko-stilisticheskaya universaliya indoyevropeiskih yazikov [Occasional use of phraseological units as a semantico-stylistic universal of Indoeuropean languages], in *Izvestiya AN LSSR* 10. pp. 121-128.

Veisbergs, Andrejs (1994) Idiom Transformations. A Multilanguage View, in *Cambridge Language Reference News* 2. p. 2.

Veisbergs, Andrejs (1997) The Contextual Use of Idioms, Wordplay, and Translation. In: *Traductio. Essays on Punning and Translation.* Ed. D. Delabastita. St Jerome Publishing. pp. 155-176.

Viaggio, Sergio (1996) The Pitfalls of Metalingual Use in Simultaneous Interpreting. In *The Translator* Vol. 2. No.2. pp. 179-198.

Vlahov, Sergei; Florin, Sider (1980) *Neperevodimoye v perevode* [The untranslatable in translation/interpretation]. Moskva: Mezdunarodniye otnosheniya.

Ieva Zauberga
University of Latvia

Ideological Dimension in Translation

Introduction

In this article I will discuss the dependence of the meaning of the target text on its ideological context. In the case of a restricted interpretation, ideology is related to power and domination and seen as a set of political beliefs on which people and countries base their action. In translation studies ideology is, as a rule, treated as a broader concept – as a manner or content of thinking characteristic of an individual, group or culture, which often is, but should not necessarily be restricted to a political agenda. The study of translation goes hand in hand with the exploration of power relationship between the source and target texts which reflect power structures within a wider cultural context. Contextualization or location of the text in a concrete socio--cultural context in a real time and place is indispensable to be able to explain how and why the original text is reinterpreted, manipulated and even subverted before it is incorporated into the target culture. As pointed out by Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, translation, like all (re)writing is never innocent; there is always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed (1990:11). The translator is always part of a culture, part of a generation, part of an ideology. The ideological dimension of the translator is always present. Translation tells us about the power of images and the way images are made, the ways authorities manipulate images and employ experts to sanction that manipulation and to justify the trust of the audience. Susan Bassnett argues that translation is one of the most obvious ways of image making (Bassnett 1991:21).

Translation as manipulation

Today most scholars would agree that there is no such thing as equivalence conceived of as sameness across languages and cultures. The translated text will never be the same as the source text. This applies to any translation irrespective of its source or target text/culture bias. All rewriting involves manipulation, whether conscious or unconscious, of the original, insists Andre Lefevere (1992: 1-10). The image of the original created by translations for the target reader may be rather different from the reality, not necessarily because translators maliciously set out to distort the reality, but because they produce their translations under certain constraints. Translators are constrained in many ways by what the dominant institutions and ideology expect of them, by their own ideology, by the prevailing poetical rules at that time, by the public for whom the translation is intended, by their feeling of superiority or inferiority towards the target language and, last but not least, economic preconditions.

My contention is that a line should be drawn between deliberate and unconscious manipulation. On the one hand, the translator may come out with a clearly defined political message, in which case the translator acts visibly and the text qualifies as a politicized translation. On the other hand, translation strategies resulting in a somewhat modified image of the original may evolve naturally from the cultural context of the target text, in which case the translator tends to act in a way that can be described as systematic rather than idiosyncratic. In both cases the original meaning of the source text may be transformed. The degree of transformation seems noticably larger in case of open manipulation, but it has to be taken into account that such ideological handling of the text usually takes place in a politicized context where the readership is well--aware of transformation procedures. Consequently the recipient tends not to take the text at face value and seeks for a deeper meaning. Whereas unconscious manipulation is kind of "innocent" and transformations introduced in the process of translation can easily pass unnoticed.

Translations done in the Soviet Union in the past and feminist translation practice today may serve as examples of open manipulation. Susanne de Lotbiniere--Harwood, for example, claims: "My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making the language speak for women" (quoted from Simon 1996:150). Feminist translators in fact go far beyond the language issues, setting themselves the task of exposing "phallocentrism of all Western institutions including the Church" (Simon 1996:17). But there may also be transformations that are not necessarily openly political. For example, the 18th century French translators reshaped translations according to the aesthetics of French classicism and had an integrated theory which served as a basis to their practice of "improved translations" In a satirical dialogue from 1798, A.W.Schlegel makes explicit the national ideology at work:

Frenchman: The Germans translate every literary Tom, Dick and Harry. We either do not translate at all, or else we translate according to our own taste.

German: Which is to say, you paraphrase and you disguise.

Frenchman: We look on a foreign author as a stranger in our company, who has to dress and behave according to our customs, if he desires to please.
(quoted from Lefevere 1977: 50)

The approach revealed in this dialogue, depending on the receiving culture and ideology, can evolve as hidden or open manipulation. Today in Lawrence Venuti's (1995) terminology this opposite has been developed into domestication and foreignization. Venuti identifies domestication with a policy of assimilation common in dominant cultures. An approach based on domestication involves such steps as a careful selection of texts which lend themselves to being translated in an assimilative manner, the conscious adoption of a fluent style, the adaptation of the target text to conform to target discourse types. Foreignizing translation breaks the target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original this way promoting the understanding of cultural difference. Venuti argues that translation is not so much communication across cultural barriers as inscribed with domestic intelligibilities which are conditioned by a political agenda: the domestic terms of the inscription become the focus of rewriting in the translation, discursive strategies where the hierarchies that rank the values in the domestic culture are disarranged to set going processes of defamiliarization, canon reformation, ideological critique and institutional change (2000: 469).

In the Soviet Union open ideological manipulation prevailed. Further in this article I will analyze its causes and effects on the basis of translation policy implemented in the Latvian translations of the Soviet period.

Constraints

The translator's work is complex. On the one hand, the translator is objectively conditioned by the cultural context is which s/he works. Under

the Soviet system translators could be regarded as tools in the hands of Soviet ideologists. Translators were under the strict control of publishers, editors, proofreaders, directors, party officials and other initiators. On the other hand, since translation is a creative activity, there is always the subjective element at work. Many writers of the time who were censored for their own work, turned to translation in order to say something else that could not be articulated within the dominant literary system at that time. Gentzler (1996: 125) even argues that more creative work was going on through translation than through original writing. Much was said between the lines. However, translators first and foremost had to reckon with the expectations of the dominant institutions and ideology. Soviet publishing policies are well described by A.Nazarov in his book "Book on the Soviet Society" (1964, quoted from Fridbergs: 32 -- my translation):
"Soviet publishing houses first and foremost emerge as ideological institutions which base their work on imperturbable, profound party affiliation, nationalism, research and planning. In their everyday activities publishing houses follow the guidelines of the Communist Party. Their ideological banner is the invincible Marxist Leninism which unerringly points to the only way transforming the world. There is no need for the Soviet publishing houses to hide their political credo, there is no need for them to disguise their ideological bias under the shabby rags of "impartiality" which are so often flaunted by bourgeois publishing houses to cover their true class character. [..] Any Soviet publisher, before he accepts and starts the publishing of a manuscript, must consider its importance in the common Communist construction work and the degree to which it will help people carry out their task."

The implementation of this sort of publishing policy was controlled by the joint efforts of various local organizations, such as Writers' Unions and party institutions. What was translated, how it was translated and presented to the general public could play a major role in forming the world view of a nation. Therefore all translations were subject to censorship. Censorship was involved both in careful selection of works for translation as well as "corrective measures" to ensure the compliance of translations with Communist ideology.

Strategies

- Selection of works for translation

The basic rule for selection of works for translation was "playing it safe" As a rule, conventional, uncontroversial works were translated. In Latvian there was a requirement that only those works which had already been translated in Russian could be translated into Latvian. For example, in the 1982 Latvian translation of the story collection "The Ebony Tower" by John Fowles only four out of five original stories were included. The translator had translated also the story "The Cloud" but publishers turned it down on the grounds that the story was, for some reason, excluded from the Russian translation. As regards the choice of authors, Jack London, John Galsworthy, Charles Dickens, Archibald Cronin, Theodore Dreiser, for example, were seen as straightforward and "reliable". Soviet censorship was cautious not only with regard to the content but also with regard to the form. A more sophisticated style of writing was seen as equally dangerous as it gave more adventurous translators an opportunity for undesirable ambiguities between the lines. Contemporary writers were generally treated with caution as their further writing as well as public statements were difficult to predict and impossible to control. This does not mean that they were not translated at all. Gerome David Salinger, John Fowles, Kurt Vonnegut were the authors that stirred the minds of both the readers and censors. The main methods used by censors to ensure full compliance with the Communist ideology were deletion, attenuation and external guidance.

- Deletion

Deletion of politically uncomplying statements or implications was a widely used method to ensure acceptance. As an example the generally liberalized 1987 Latvian translation of Kurt Vonnegut's "Slaughterhouse Nr.5" could be mentioned where Russian soldiers' behaviour in a Soviet--occupied German town is ¿improved¿ in comparison with the original. In the original they loot a clock factory whereas in the translation they just come across it while the looting fact is omitted:

I remember two Russian soldiers who had looted *a clock factory. They had a horse--drawn wagon full of clocks. They were happy and drunk.* (1983:17)

Es atcerējos divus krievu karavīrus, kuri bija ***uzgājuši*** *pulkstenu fabriku. Viņi bija piekrāvuši pilnus ratus ar pulksteniem un brauca iedzēruši un laimīgi.* (1987:18) [I remembered two Russian soldiers who found a clock factory. They had a horse--drawn wagon full of clocks and they were happy and drunk.]

In one of the episodes of the 1980 Latvian translation of Arthur Hailey's "The Airport" omissions have been made both on political and sexual grounds:

She had come to the United States, not from Hungary as D.O. Guerrero had supposed, but from Glauchau in the Southern portion of East Germany, via the Berlin Wall. Bunnie (who was then Gretchen Vorobioff, the homely ***flat--chested daughter of a minor Communist official and a Young Communist herself)*** *crossed the wall at night with two male companions.* (1968: 270).

Savienotajās Valstīs viņa bija ieradusies nevis no Ungārijas, kā domāja D.O. Gerero, bet no kādas pilsētiņas Austrumvācijas dienvidos pāri Berlīnes mūrim. Bannija (kas toreiz bija Grēthena Vorobjova, neizskatīga, ***sīka*** *meitene) pārlīda pāri Berlīnes mūrim naktī kopā ar diviem vīriešiem.* (1980: 246) [She had come to the United States, not from Hungary as D.O. Guerrero had supposed, but from Glauchau in the Southern part of East Germany, via the Berlin Wall. Bunnie (who was then Gretchen Vorobioff, a homely, slim girl) crossed the wall at night with two male companions.]

Sex--related episodes were weeded with puritanical consistency. A small episode from Graham Greene's "The Comedians":

There was a great yellow moon and a girl was making love in the pool. ***She had her breasts pressed against the side and I could not see the man behind her.*** (1966:49)

Spīdēja liels, dzeltens mēness, un baseinā kāda no meitenēm nodevās mīlai. ***Viņa bija*** piekļāvusies ***vīrietim,*** *un es nevarēju šo vīrieti saskatīt.* (1985:47) [There was a great yellow moon and a girl was making love in the pool. She was pressing herself against the man and I could not see the man.]

References to homosexuality, which was a criminally liable practice in the Soviet Union, were also eliminated from translations. In Kurt Vonnegut's "Slaughterhouse Nr.5" *homosexuals* have been substituted by *tramps*:

The British had no way of knowing it, but the candles and the soap were made from the fat of rendered Jews and gypsies and ***fairies*** *and communists, and other enemies of the state.* (1983:67)

Briti jau nevarēja zināt, ka sveces un ziepes izgatavotas no beigtu ebreju, čigānu, klaidoņu, komunistu un citu fašistiskās valsts ienaidnieku taukiem. (1987:73) [The British had no way of knowing that the candles and the soap were made from the fat of rendered Jews and gypsies and tramps and communists, and other enemies of the state.]

• Attenuation was another widely used strategy. It means the replacement, on ideological grounds, of something "too strong" or in some way unacceptable, by something "softer", more adequate to target pole written tradition or to what could, in theory, be expected by readers -- was another widely used strategy. This strategy affected taboo words and other substandard utterances. Substandard language has been fought consistently in Latvian translations. The 1973 Latvian translation of Ernest Hemingway's "Across the River and into the Trees" could serve as a typical example of this method. The original abounds in four--letter words which have been consistently neutralized in the translation:

Death is a lot of shit. (1970:219)

Nāve ir riebīga. (1973:159) [Death is disgusting.]

There are only three places in the translation, compared to dozens in the original, where direct transfers have been used, which was enough to label the translation as challenging and controversial.

It would be simplistic to say that attenuation was applied only in response to the requirements of the Soviet censorship. In the Latvian language there has always been a gap between written and spoken language. Since National Awakening Movement in the middle of the 19th century, the written language has been cultivated like a greenhouse plant as it had to serve as a vehicle of national self--assertion. Purity of the literary language to this very day is one of the key issues in the Latvian language research, a considerable part of which is still in its essence prescriptive. It has consolidated a situation where the live language is meandering in arbitrary ways which are often unacceptable to scholars who would like to see it tame and complying with what is "correct" The long--standing difference between written and spoken Latvian has affected the connotational distribution of literary and colloquial layers in Latvian: in Latvian writing slang and taboos have a much stronger substandard connotation than in languages like English, where the gap is not so pronounced. So to attain the similarity of effect they must be softened and neutralized. Fewer substandard elements are needed to reach the same effect. In this case it can be seen how two different ideologies supplement each other leading towards a common goal.

• External guidance -- prefaces and commentaries -- was often used in Soviet translations. Soviet ideologists considered that due to "inevitable procapitalist and anti-Soviet prejudices" translations of western authors hide serious danger. Therefore translations should be accompanied by prefaces and commentaries to help readers "understand correctly what is valuable in the given book and what is tendentious and wrong" (Nazarov 1964; quoted from Fridbergs: 32 my translation). A typical example is the end--note written by Vladimir Skorodenko to the 1977 Latvian translation of Muriel Spark's novels and stories. The end-note consists of two parts. Part I offers a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the concept of "middle class": *Those who have power and those who do not, the landlords and deprived plodders -- these are just two extremes. The wide gap between the two is filled by the enormous mass of people which in British ideology is named as middle class.. The middle class consists of small owners, servants, clerks – a motley crowd which Lenin describes as "primordial forces of petty owners and unrestrained egotism".* Lenin is quoted repeatedly: "*Petty bourgeoisie saturates the atmosphere with tendencies of petty ownership". This observation characterizes postwar England* -- concludes the author of the end-note. Finally Mayakovskiy is referred to: "*In the works of these authors we can see clearly what Mayakovskiy called the ugly mug of the philistine".* In part II the stories and novels are analyzed. The analysis includes statements such as the following: *Although the religious aspects to be traced in works by such authors as Faulkner, Waugh, T.S.Eliot and others are not acceptable to us, the Soviet reader holds in high regard their talent, humanism, social criticism their works contain* (Spārka 1977: 283 -- my translation).

On the surface level, such ideological guidelines have been provided for adequate reading of the work in question, but in point of fact they made the publication of these translations possible. Prefaces and commentaries are invaluable to discover not what the translators thought about translation but what the whole culture thought about it or were supposed to think.

Conclusion

Translation always involves recontextualization of meaning. It is the receiving culture which decides in each historical period to what extent the source text should be inscribed with domestic values. In translations which are not dominated by a clear--cut ideological agenda the terms of domestic inscription evolve naturally from the receiving language and culture enabling the foreign to be received there. In such a case the target text appears not to be a translation but an original, and is accepted by the target system without questioning the authenticity of the offered "otherness" In case of an openly pronounced ideological agenda on the target side, receivers are alert to ideological manipulations the translation is subjected to. They know the mechanism of ideological "corrections" and therefore are able to read between the lines. Gentzler (1996: 136) is right saying that in the former Soviet Union "many translations may have enjoyed a double life -- consumed by party supporters in one fashion but read by others in a distinctly different fashion" In fact, a didactic preface attached to a translation was seen as an invitation for close and often highly rewarding reading. Therefore my conclusion is that in case of deliberate ideological manipulation, the target text, in the hands of a perceptive reader, may preserve more of its original meaning than in case of unconscious domestic inscription. Ideological corrections tell much about power relations in the receiving culture but often they touch only the surface of the source text, inviting the reader to delve beyond the apparent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Works cited

Bassnett, S. (1991) Translation and Ideology. *Koine 1:2,* p. 7 -- 32.

Bassnett, S. & Lefevere, A. (1990) *Translation, History and Culture.* London: Pinter Publishers.

Fridbergs, M. (1991) Sarkanais zīmulis. In: *Avots IX--X,* p. 32 -- 42.

Gentzler, E. (1996) Translation, Counter--Culture, and the Fifties in the USA. In: *Translation, Power, Subversion,* Alvarez, R. & Vidal, C. (eds.), Clevedon. Philadelphia. Adelaide: Multilingual Matters. p. 116 -- 138.

Lefevere, A. (1977) *Translating Literature: the German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*, Assen: VAN Gorcum.

Lefevere, A. (1992) *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, London: Routledge.

Simon, S. (1996) *Gender in Translation*, London: Routledge.

Venuti, L. (1995) *The Translator's Invisibility*. London: Routledge.

Venuti, L. (2000) Translation, Community, Utopia. In: *The Translation Studies Reader*, Venuti, L. (ed.) London: Routledge, p. 468 – 489.

2. Fiction

Graham Greene. The Commedians. N.Y., 1966.

Greiems Grīns. Komedianti. Rīga, 1985.

Arthur Hailey. The Airport. N.Y., 1968.

Artūrs Heilijs. Lidosta. Rīga, 1980.

Ernest Hemingway. Across the River and into the Trees. N.Y., 1970

Ernests Hemingvejs. Pāri upei koku paēnā. Rīga, 1973.

Mjuriela Spārka. Šķitums un īstenība. Rīga, 1977.

Kurt Vonnegut. Slaughterhouse Nr. 5. N. Y., 1983.

Kurts Vonneguts. Lopkautuve Nr.5. Rīga, 1987.

Veneta Žīgure
University of Latvia

Increase of English Loanwords in Norwegian under Globalization

Every language constitutes a unique way of interpreting and relating to the world. However, the increasing pace of globalization has lead to an increase in the awareness of the local context so the problem of survival capacity of minor languages has become a burning issue. Although major Nordic languages, Norwegian among them, are in no immediate danger, there is a risk that due to the great impact of English they could suffer a decline in some particular areas.

The present analysis looks at the history of introduction of loan words in Norwegian, methods of assimilating English loanwords into Norwegian and their dissemination.

The enrichment of the wordstock of one language with words from other languages is a common consequence of political, economic and cultural relations among different nations. The Norwegian language, being one of the Scandinavian languages, belonging to the Germanic language branch, in the course of history has assimilated a great number of loanwords. About 30-40% of the Norwegian vocabulary is borrowed wordstock. Some typical examples:

jern (iron) – from Celtic "iarn, iarann"; *kyrkje* (church) – from Greek "kyrikon, kyriakón"; *plante* (plant) – from Latin "planta"; *snakke* (to speak) – from German "snacken, schnacken"; *moderne* (modern) – from French "moderne";

konto (account) – from Italian "conto"; *trålar* (trawler) – from English; *kjendis*

(celebrity) from Swedish "kändis"; *sofa* (sofa) from Arab "suffah", e.t.c.

In history, German and Dutch have had the greatest impact on Norwegian. The period from the Middle ages till 1700 was particularly intensive. According to linguist Gustav Indreb`s research in 1932, Norwegian Riksmålwordbook was comprised of 40%

loanwords, 30% of which were German and Dutch (Sandøy 1997: 43).
French borrowings came into Norwegian in the period between 1600-1700 and are considered to have a longer historical tradition compared to Anglo-american borrowings. It is interesting to mention some typical peculiarities of "Norwegianizing" French words, changing both their pronunciation and spelling, e.g,:
paraplule (Fr.) – *paraply* (Norw.) /umbrella/; *fondue – fondy* ; *chauffeur – sjåfør* ; *queue – kø* ; *pavillon – paviljong* ; *jargon – sjargong* and others.
Beginning with 1700, the language of seamen became one of the most extensive channels of importing English wordstock in Norwegian. However, most of those words were easily assimilated and fit into the structure of Norwegian language, e.g.,:
fender – fender (Norw.); *brig – brigg* (Norw.); *cutter – kutter* (Norw.), *etc.*

Many terms, connected with sports terminology, e.g., "golf", were introduced into Norwegian around 1800. More English loanwords appeared in Norwegian around the turn of the century, however, they gained a stable position after the World War II. In the period between 1945-1975, 80-90% of new loans of foreign origin had come from English (Leira 1982:48). The following table depicts a list of widespread loanwords which entered Norwegian language in the period between 1960-1990.

Popular borrowings of the after-war period (1960-1990)

1959	**1970**	panty
bridge	bøffel (buffalo)	tips
match		triks
soya	**1971**	
	skåre (score)	**1975**
1966		cereal
teip	**1973**	frilans
	slippover	
1969	**1974**	**1976**
design	overall	skuter (scooter)

lasagne
maskara
mysli
nugat (nougat)
popkorn
pumpernikkel
script
handikap
lisens
sponsor

1978
essay
sleid (sleide)

1979
jus (juice)
ålreit (all right)

1980
brotsj (broach)

1981
chips
taksameter (taxi)

1982
drawback
fastback
comeback

1983
feedback
weekend
western

1984
avokado
bidé
bleser (blazer)
slapstick
slide
smash
spagetti
stand-in
squash
tusjere

1985
manikyre
cocker spaniel

deadline
facts
hotpants
jogurt
jojo (yo-yo)
kabriolet
kardigan
kolesterol
kollasj (college)
shorts

1986
popp (pop)

1987
punkar (punk)

1989
skannar (scanner)

1991
fan

Extensive discussions regarding the influence of English as a threat to national identity and development of Norwegian language have been raised for many years.

English has become the dominant language in information technology and in popular culture, and is rapidly gaining ground in industry and commerce, in advertising, in some sectors of science and international relations.

As professor Kenneth Hyltenstam acknowledged in the Conference on "The Impact of Globalization on Nordic Culture", Oslo, March 1997,

"The dominance of a language is inextricably linked to political and economic power. In the case of the Nordic languages the key factor is the power relationship vis-à-vis the English-speaking world".
The aim of combating the national lingual inferiority complex and snobbery, which are the preconditions of letting English sweep into the Nordic language community more insistantly and uncontrollably, has become one of the recurring topics.
Morover, the pressure from English undoubtedly posseses a threat to the kinship between the Nordic languages, creating the risk that people could abandon their efforts to communicate in the Nordic languages, switching to an exclusive use of English.
However, the major problem is not that of borrowing English words and expressions but that of abandoning the use of Norwegian in specific areas, e.g. in the field of higher education. Therefore, it is important to ensure that e.g. word processing programs are adapted to the requirements of Norwegian, and that Norwegian can be used to its full extent in new IT products.
Another step of keeping this expansion within reasonable limits is issueing annual lists of Norwegianized borrowings accepted by the Norwegian Department of Culture. Most of them are recognized international words widely accepted by the language community.

Norwegianized borrowings accepted by the Norwegian Department of Culture (year 1996)

Norwegianized loanwords	*Original spelling of the loanwords*	*Possibly used Norwegian substitution*
fait	fight	kamp, kjempe
finisj	finish	
gaide	guide	vise om
innputt	input	inndata
innsidar	insider	
kaps	caps	skyggelue

ketsjup	ketchup	
kikk	kick	anfall
konteinar	container	
overhedd	overhead	kriftkastar
pins	pin	jakkemerke
polisj	polish	poleringsmiddel
pønk	punk	
rafte	raft	
rapp	rap	
seif	safe	pengeskap
seif	safe	sikker
sjampanje	champagne	
sjarter	charter	
skript	script	
skvåsj	squash	
streit	straight	
sørvis	service	teneste
taime	time	
utputt	outputt	utdata
utsidar	outsider	

Norwegianized borrowings which have not been accepted by the Norwegian Department of Culture (year 1996)

fansy (fancy), kampus (campus), matsj (match), rusj (rush), sjabby (shabby), snakkbar (snackbar), snaks (snacks), taksi (taxi), sprei (spray), displei (display).

<u>Assimilation of loanwords</u>

According to statistics, the so called *open word classes* are nouns (83%), adjectives (8%) and verbs (6%) which draw in borrowings from other languages.

There exist three basic methods of assimilating English loanwords into Norwegian:

- The loanwords are constantly used in their original form in English, e.g.: baby, team, brain-drain, sporty, etc. even if an object or phenomenon has an original counterpart in Norwegian, e.g,.:„brain-drain" – "ide-myldring"(Norw.), "jeans" – "olabukser", "guts" – "tæl", etc.
- Since compounding is an extremely popular way of word formation in Norwegian, foreign compounds are widely turned into loan translations and considered neologisms, e.g.,:
  key word – ***nøkkelord***; *black box* – ***svartboks***; *snowboard* – ***snøbrett***; *offroad-bike* – ***terrengsykkel***; *home-page* – ***hjemmeside***
- A new word or compound is introduced into Norwegian, expressing the adequate semantic meaning, e.g., computer – data maskin, designer – formgiver, etc.

Concerning the spelling of the loanwords in Norwegian, there are two alternative strategies:

the loanwords reflect the original spelling when written in Norwegian, e.g., ***boring*** – boring;

English loanwords are transliterated, i.e. during the process of assimilation some letters and letter combinations not existing in English are substituted by those existing in Norwegian, e.g.,:

crash ***/kræsj/***; *lunch* ***/lunsj/***; *country* ***/køntri/***

Many English loanwords are easily integrated into Norwegian since their spelling is similar, and they fit the morphological and ortographic forms of Norwegian grammar, e.g.: ***additiv, astronaut, audiovisuell, basal.***

Other loanwords are adapted to the Norwegian word building patterns by adding suffixes -ere, -sjon, -isk, -or, -tiv, e.g.: ***advokere, automasjon, akvatisk, aggressor, attraktiv.***

There are about 20% English loanwords which do not fit into Norwegian system of ortography (Leira 1982:156), e.g.: *action, air conditioning, art director, babydoll, backlash.*

The choice of the particular version of spelling depends on the degree of dissemination of words, as well as the situation of the usage of certain words.

Though mostly spelled in their original form, many loanwords, including popular slang words, have more than one version of spelling, transliterated with Norwegian letters, e.g.,:

party – partey, parti, pærti; nerd – nørd, nærd, neård; crazy – kreisi, crasy, krazy, cræizi, kræisi; happy – hæppi, hæppy, happi, heppy; cash – kasj, kæsj, kash, kæsh, casj; babe – beib, bæib; ugly – øgly, øgli, uggly; boring – båring, boaring.

According to the public opinion questionnaire in 1992, which covered respondents of different age groups, sex and place of residence as to the choice of the two strategies of loanword spelling, the following results were obtained:

	Supporters of English spelling	**Supporters of Norwegian spelling**
Common selection	50,2	49,8
Teenagers	46,4	53,6
Adults	52,7	47,3
Men	51,5	48,5
Women	49,4	50,6
Students from Farsund	41,2	58,8
Students from Oslo	52,9	47,1

The corresponding results of the questionnaire show that about one half of the common selection respondents voted for the Norwegian spelling version while the other half voted for the English version of loanword spelling. It is worthwile to point out that the teenagers and students from Farsund voted for the Norwegian version of loanword spelling.

Common stylistic functions of the borrowings in Norwegian are the following (Graedler 1995:143)

anglicisms impart international trait to the texts in Norwegian, create associations about English-speaking countries, their culture and society;

English loanwords attach an impression of certain exclusiveness and prestige, when used in spoken or written Norwegian;

non-translated English words or remarks imply the sense of intimacy, e.g. when interviewing an English speaking person;

most technical terms, if preserved in the text in English, impart a certain degree of objectivity and authority.

The following graph depicts the functional significance of applying English loanwords in various social spheres:

Functional meaning

	Referencial	*Metalinguistic*	*Poetically- emotional*	*Conotative*
newspapers	91%	0,3%	4%	5%
advertizing	82%		3%	15%
popmusic	93%	0,5%	4%	2%
fashion	92,5%	0,7%	6,5%	0,3%

The dissemination of English loanwords is particularly extensive in slang and colloquial speech among children and youngsters. From the recently introduced English borrowings 15 % "contribute" to the Norwegian slang wordstock.according to the questionnaire carried out in secondary schools in 1979/98 the most popular slang words in Norwegian are: ***party*** (fest); ***nerd*** (uinteressant person); ***crazy*** (Gal, rar); ***happy*** (lykkelig, glad); ***gay*** (homoseksuell mann); ***cash, money*** (penger); ***babe*** (jente); ***ugly*** (stygg); ***hip*** (moderne); ***sure*** (sykkert).

The attitude of the linguistic community towards the adoption of the new loanwords in certain spheres of live is a question of major importance.

To control an excessive intervention of borrowings and to keep it within reasonable limits, it is necessary to include the area of linguistic awareness in the framework of cultural policy. This has been done in Norway, recently paying a particular attention to projects developing suitable equivalents for the English terms used in such spheres as IT and mass media.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berulfsen, B. (1989) *Englesk-Norsk blå ordbok.* Oslo: Kummskopsforlaget.
Friborg, Sharlotta (1997) Coming to terms with Cultural Globalization. *Essay on Nordic Cultural Policy.* Oslo: Nordic Council.

Levia, Viglein (1982) *Nyord I Norsk.* Oslo: Kunnskopsforlaget.

Norbon, A.S. (1990) *Norsk-Egelsk blå ordbok.* Oslo: Gjøvik.

Sandøy, Helge (1997) Låhte fjører eller bunad. On Norske skrivemate av importord. *Agriing for Kulturdepartamente og Norsk Språkråd.* Bergen.

Sommerfelt, A (1967) *Norwegian.* New York: Hadder and Sloughton.

Veisbergs, Andrejs (2001) *English and Latvian Word - Formation. Contrastive Analysis.* Rīga.

Sirkku Aaltonen. Time--Sharing on Stage. Drama Translation in Theater and Society. Multilingual Matters LTD, Clevedon. Buffalo.Toronto.Sydney, 2000. 121 pp., ISBN 1–85359--470--9

Sirkku Aaltonen's book is a timely reminder that in the modern world translation is not restricted to legal contracts, advertisements and various informative texts only. Most of books on translation today focus on different aspects of transfer of non--literary texts as, indeed, these texts constitute the overwhelming majority of professional translation. However, also expressive texts have a noticeable share in translation market. Drama translation has so far received fragmentary attention and has not before been dealt with in such a comprehensive way.

It is the societal dimension that contributes to the importance of this study for a broader readership. The book is aimed not only at people involved in theatrical production. Drama translation is set against the background of modern translation theories -- functionalist, polysystem, postcolonial theories of translation -- thus providing valuable insights for any translator, translator trainer and students of translation. It could be of interest for all who still love the theater, as apart from specific professional aspects, it discusses also reception--related issues like ideological and historical context, relations between the original text and its stage version, causes for digressions from the original, translator's accountability, copyright issues. The analysis of creation and reception of concrete stage productions, mainly in the Finnish theater, invites for a comparison with other cultural backgrounds thus helping sort out ideas about our own theater.

In Chapter 1, sustaining the idea that translations first and foremost reflect expectations of the receiving system, the author underscores the necessity to develop a clear idea of the target cultural context before any theatrical production can be understood and analyzed. She uses the term ***intercultural theater*** to emphasize the movement of foreign dramatic texts between different cultures. Much more than any other text theater translations are conceived for a particular time and place of reception which from the translator requires a more creative attitude to the original.

In Chapter 2 the author juxtaposes translation strategies in literary and theatrical systems which could be summarized as *page* versus *stage* translations, i.e. loyalty to details of the source text versus loyalty to expectations of the receiving stage. Speakability, playability and performability are discussed as terminologically confusing yet indispensable concepts for analysis of drama translation.

Chapter 3 seems to me the central point of discussion where Aaltonen studies the ways in which the discourse of foreign source texts is integrated in translation into the discourse of the target society. She views translation as a form of egotism as translation process starts with the Self and the Foreign is only of secondary importance. The choice of a foreign text for translation is always determined by the needs of the indigenous system. Aaltonen shares Venuti's perception of translation as assimilation. The conclusion is drawn that "translations provide mirrors in which we can see ourselves rather than windows through which we see the rest of the world".

Integrating Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Aaltonen admits that there may be circumstances under which *reverence* is shown for the Foreign also in theatre translation. The originals may be treated with great respect as the target theatrical system hopes to increase its cultural capital through translation. Similarly to other expressive texts drama translations may also be seen as a vehicle for innovation and occupy a central position in the literary polysystem. But in the majority of cases translation of theatrical texts can be considered as *subversion* of the original. The Foreign is not seen as hierarchically higher than one's own culture. Texts are rewritten for each production and each audience and it adds to their attraction if they can be used to serve new causes and masters who may be historically and culturally far apart. Sometimes political reasons are involved. Among others, the author provides examples where foreign classics have been brought into the service of a patriotic cause and subverted to solve local issues.

In Chapter 4 the author voices her concern about the unfair treatment of translators under copyright legislation. She argues that theater translation is a cooperative activity where each party -- a foreign writer, translator(s), possibly a dramaturge who prepares the text for the stage, stage director, actors, dress and light designers, even prompters contribute creatively to the final product like tenants who share an apartment house may make comparable changes to their living quarters. But they are not all recognized as authors and treated equally in law. She comes forward with a concept of collective authorship and ends the book on an optimistic note observing that translators are gradually becoming accepted as creators whose work deserves the same recognition as the foreign author.

Having researched drama translation for many years and obviously being devoted to the theater, the author is well familiar with all aspects of the theatrical system. In this book she has managed to combine universals of theatrical performance with several case studies, basically from the Finnish theater. Thus the book offers a methodological framework within which theater translation can be studied. This framework is one of the greatest assets of this work as it offers a tool that can be used also in different cultural contexts.

In conclusion it should be added that this work itself is a happy blend of research and art. The design, allusions, carefully chosen and creatively extended metaphors, such as *mirror, window* and *perruque* among others, serve as a link between Theater and Translation Studies. By this book Aaltonen has certainly managed to move drama translation from its somewhat isolated position to an integrated system where it can be viewed against the background of related theories and practices thus acquiring a new and broader scope.

Ieva Zauberga
Riga, The University of Latvia

Newsletter January - December 2000 of the Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Interpreting and Translation

Visitors

Harald Freudenstein
from the SCIC Brussels, training MA students in Interpreting of the Faculty of Modern Languages, March 1-5.

Klauss Bischoff
from the SCIC Brussels, training MA students in Interpreting of the Faculty of Modern Languages, March 20.

Frank Austermühl
from the University of Mainz, lectured on Terminography to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages, March 27- April 6.

Klauss Bischoff
from the SCIC Brussels, training MA students in Interpreting of the Faculty of Modern Languages, May 18.

Renate von Bardeleben
professor from the University of Mainz, a course of 3 lectures on American English Lexikology to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages, September 25-27.

Andreas Kelletat
from the University of Mainz, lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages, September 25-27.

Else Ruen
from the University of Oslo, Institute of Linguistics, lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages October 2-4.

Baar Sandvei
from the University of Oslo, Institute of Linguistics, lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages, October 23-25.

Bergljot Bērens Tulaš
from University of Oslo, Institute of Linguistics, lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages October 23-25.

Harald Freudenstein
from the SCIC Brussels, training MA students in Interpreting of the Faculty of Modern Languages, November 5-12.

Sesilia Wadensjõ
from the University of Linscheping (Sweden), lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Modern Languages, December 4-7.

Staff Activities

Andreja Veisbergs, Ieva Zauberga
Participated in "Training the Trainers" diploma course at University of Geneva, January 3-15.

Maija Brēde
Participated with a report "Function Words in English Discourse: Stress Factor." in Daugavpils Pedagogical University Conference, January 27.

Dina Sīle
"Teaching retour and relay"- workshop organized in the framework of EuroMastersin University Charles Prag January 28-30.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Meaning and its Types" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Maija Brēde
Participated with a report "Phatic Communication" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Ieva Zauberga
Participated with a report "The Relative Character of Quality in Interpretation" in the University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Gunta Ločmele
Participated with a report "Discourse in Interpreter Training" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Arvils Šalme
Participated with a report "Issues of Comunication Morals in Teaching Latvian" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Veneta Žīgure
Participated with a report "A few Problems of Translation in New Dentisty Terminology" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Ilga Brigzna
Participated with a report "Traits of Science Language in German and Latvian" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Lāsma Vaivode
Participated with a report "Besonderheiten der Wissenschaftsprache im Deutschen und Lettischen" in University of Latvia research Conference February 3.

Ilze Zariņa
Participated with a report "German Swearword Translation Problems" in University of Latvia research Conference, February 3.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Read a lecture course on English Lexicology in Joensuu University, February 8-13.

Gunta Ločmele
Participated with a report "Language in Education. Reference Literature for Children" in Jānis Endzelīns Conference "Valoda zinātnē un izglītībā" Riga, February 22.

Arvils Šalme
Trained German students in Intensive Latvian Course, University of Bonn, February 25-April 1.

Maija Brēde
Participated with a report "Attempts of Cultivating cross-cultural Awareness - An English-Latvian Experience" in "Sietar Europe 2000" Congress, Brussels, March15-18.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Interpreting Scene in Latvia" in the Baltic Awareness seminar for National Decision Makers on Matters of Conference Interpretation in the European Union Context. Riga, March 21.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participared in SCIC Universities meeting, Brussels, March 27.

Andrejs Veisbergs, Ieva Zauberga
Participated in the meeting of Baltic Associations of Interpreters/Translators Vilnius, Lithuania, March 29-30.

Ieva Zauberga, Dina Sīle
Participated in the EU workshop on Euromaster programme in Budapest, March.

Andrejs Veisbergs, Ieva Zauberga
Lectured, passed 3 examinations in Geneva University, April 4-10.

Svetlana Koroļova
Exchange programme with Joensuu University, April 3-9.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Euphemisms in Bilingual Dictionaries" in Maastricht session of the Conference "Translation and Meaning" Maastricht, April 28.

Ieva Zauberga
Participated in the International Conference "Research Models in Translation". Manchester, April 28-30.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Euphemisms in monolingual Dictionaries" in the Tenth International Symposium on Lexicography. Copenhagen, May 4-6.

Lāsma Vaivode
Participated with a report "Lehrbücher fur DaF in Schulen Lettlands" in Conference "The Old and the New in the System of Education". Riga, May 9-12.

Gunta Ločmele
Participated with a report "Interpreting Discourse in Latvia: a Lingua Franca Case" in Conference "10 let JTP" Budmerice, Slovakia 2000, May 26-27.

Veneta Žīgure
Participated in the Seminar "Interaction for Better Teaching Skills" in Västra Nylands Folkhögskola, Karis, Finland, May 26-31.

Ilga Brigzna
Lectured in the University of Mainz, June 6-10.

Gunta Ločmele
Paricipated with a report "Translating Reference Literature for Latvian Children and Their Neigbors: Baltic Countries and Their Baltic Neighbors: Rederfining Relationships" 17th Conference on Baltic studies. Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., June 15-17.

Dina Sīle
Participated in an advanced interpreting course at the University of Bradford June 18-July 15.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Euphemisms in General (Monolingual and Bilingual) Dictionaries" in EURALEX International Conference. Stuttgart, August 8-12.

Kersti Boiko
Participated with a report "Liiv, Estonian and Latvian Language Contacts" in the International Linguists workshop in Cīrulīši (Latvia), July 24.

Kersti Boiko
Participated with a report "About a few Estonian and Liiv loans in Latvian" in the International Finougristic Congress. Tartu, August 8.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated as an examiner in EC SCIC exam in Riga, August 28-30.

Dina Sīle
Passed the EC SCIC exam in Riga (French-Latvian), August 28-30.

Ilga Brigzna
Participated with a report "Die Besonderheiten der Wissenschaftsprache von Alten Stender" in research Conference "Historische Sociolinguistik" in the University of Rostock, September 24-29.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Shaping Legal Latvian - Results by Year 2000" in International BALTISTICA Congress. Riga, October 3-6.

Maija Brēde
Participated with a report "Vague Expression in Latvian" in International BALTISTICA Congress. Riga, October 3-6.

Ieva Zauberga
Participated with a report "Latvian in the Context of EU Standartization" in International BALTISTICA Congress. Riga, October 3-6.

Gunta Ločmele
Participated with a report "Interpreting norms: Latvian Conference Discourse." in International BALTISTICA Congress. Riga, October 3-6.

Ilga Brigzna
Participated with a report "Terminologieprobleme bei der Überzetzung der Fachtexte vom Deutschen ins Lettische" in International BALTISTICA Congress. Riga, October 3-6.

Andrejs Veisbergs
Participated with a report "Media Translation in Latvia" in the 3rd International Conference "Languages and the Media" Berlin, October 11-14.

Ilze Zariņa
Exchange programme with University of Mainz, October 22 - November 19.

Maija Brēde
Participated with a report "Why do Latvians say "no" when they mean "yes"? Teaching Latvian as a Foreign Language in IALIC Conference Leeds Metropolitan University, UK December 2-3.

Dina Sīle, Anna Baškevica
Participated in Seminar for interpreter trainers from EU applicant states. Organized by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French-speaking community of Belgium in Brussel December 5-12.