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SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠKĀ  
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CONTRASTIVE AND APPLIED  
LINGUISTICS

III

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Krājuma rakstu autori analizē dažādu valodas līmeņu parādības angļu, senangļu, latviešu valodā, aizguvumos no dažādām kontaktvalodām, tulkojumos. Valodu sastatījums veikts kā strukturālā, tā arī funkcionālā un kultūrvēsturiskā aspektā. Atklātas valodu īpatnības, arī to kopīgās īpašības. Aplūkota arī valodu vienību mijiedarbība gan valodu kontaktu, gan tulkošanas procesā.

Krājums domāts valodniekiem tulkotājiem, pasniedzējiem, aspirantiem, filoloģisko specialitāšu studentiem.

The authors of the present volume analyse various phenomena of different language levels in English, Old English, Latvian, borrowings from various contact-languages, translations. The languages are contrasted in structural, functional and cultural aspects. The reciprocal influence of language contacts and translation upon the language change has been viewed.

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

REDAKCIJAS KOLEĢIJA

A.Veisbergs (atb.red.), V.Zīgure, V.Broka.

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Maija Brēde

#### PRAGMATIC EXPRESSIONS IN DISCOURSE

In recent years discourse analysts have studied various markers used in spoken language such as discourse markers, discourse particles, discourse connectives, pragmatic markers, pragmatic expressions, punctors and others. This has been part of a more general analysis of discourse - " how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meanings and actions to make overall sense of what is said." ( Schiffrin 1987:49)

Although discourse markers have a meaning of their own they show how the utterance is connected with the prior discourse. Their pragmatic meaning indicates the particular message the speaker intends to convey by a definite linguistic expression ( Frazer 1988 )

Phrases like "well, you know, I mean" have been treated in different ways depending on the context they occur in. From the point of view of language precision these phrases have been criticized as markers of unclear thinking, inadequate social skills etc.( Crystal 1988 )

However in many cases their use may be justified if they perform the function of e.g. clarifying or emphasizing some part of the utterance: "They give the speaker an opportunity to check back, to plan ahead, and to obtain the listener's reaction. They give the listener an opportunity to keep up and to react." ( Crystal 1988:49 )

According to M.Halliday (1973) pragmatic expressions function in the structuring of the text, i.e. their occurrence at certain points is significant for the understanding and interpreting of the text. Pragmatic expressions may also appear whenever the speaker has a need for them. Thus pragmatic expressions function on two levels: the textual and the interactional level.

B. Erman (1992) distinguishes several functions of pragmatic expressions on both the levels. On the textual level they serve for a) decoding of information, b) orientation in the discourse, c) regulation of turns;

at the interactional level pragmatic expressions function as  
a) hesitation markers, b) repair markers, c) markers of appeal.

In the present analysis for marking the phrases with "say" and "sort of" we use the term "pragmatic expression (PE)".

In the classification of English discourse markers by B. Frazer (1988) "say" is described as a topic marker that functions for re-focussing on the current topic, whereas "sort" does not fit any of the subclasses. To discourse markers belong various grammatical categories, however there is a restriction as to interjections, vocatives, pause markers, also "y' know" since they do not signal a comment on the current utterance. ( Frazer 1988 )

The analysis of PE is based on the data from a recorded material of one of the London City Walks: " The London of Shakespeare and Dickens". The speaker is a professional woman guide. Her "story" may be generally described as a semi-prepared material, i.e. prepared but not read out. It may be considered as a sample of spoken narrative which can be defined as " the representation of real or fictive events and situations in a time sequence." ( Prince 1986)

The guide's story is presented in the manner of a friendly talk and there are a number of PEs the speaker uses, such as "sort of", "in fact", "say", "you know". We chose the PEs with "say" and "sort of" as the ones that the speaker seems to need more than the others.

The aim of this study is to investigate the use of PEs in discourse at the textual and interactional level with regard to intonational means in determining the PE functions.

Presenting a review of the descriptions of intonation M. Coulthard (1992) concludes that a systemic relationship between intonation choices and lexical meanings has not been discovered so far, although phoneticians have attempted to explain the intonation choices in connection with the significance attached to them. Besides, in various genres intonation has a stylistic potential that relates to the degree of preparedness, to the audience, and to the degree of formality. ( Tench 1988 )

The material for the analysis was transcribed orthographically. Each group of the PEs are presented in the order of its occurrence in the recording with regard to their role in forming the tone unit

( the pre-head, the head, the nucleus, the tail).

We follow the grouping of the simple kinetic tones according to their beginning point into relatively high, medium and relatively low (Crystal 1972, Brazil 1975). In the present analysis of a single speaker's "story" it is quite possible to make a distinction between them; moreover, the rare use of a high fall makes it stand out against the more recurrent low and medium falls.

In deciding whether to treat stressed level pitched syllables as nuclear level tones or as part of the head we determined on the latter since in the stretches of utterance that contain PEs there are no instances of a lengthened syllable or any noticeable meanings conveyed by the stressed level-pitched syllable before the tone unit boundary except one case with the PE "say".

In case of a split fall-rise it is considered a compound tone with the fall element and the rise element marked separately.

The following signs are used for the tones:

˘ high falling, ˘ medium falling, ˘ low falling;  
˘ low rising (no instances of high or medium rising tones have been registered).

The ' sign before a syllable indicates stress with no pitch contrast between high and medium; the ˘ sign before a syllable indicates stress on a low level. \*marks a semi-accented syllable.

The { sign marks a brief pause, | - a medium pause, || - a long pause, ||| - a very long pause.

The number of utterances with the respective PEs in the present material is 47, the number of PEs - 64 : 15 with "say"/"said" and 49 with "sort of".

The PE material with "say"/"said" comprises the following PEs: "say" ( 1 ), "I say" ( 1 ), "so say" ( 1 ), "as I say" ( 10 ), "I would say" ( 1 ), "as I've said" ( 1 ).

PEs with "say"/"said"

(2) So { as I ,say } the { 'actual 'bridge that we 'cross ,over er }  
the 'top 'bit that you ,see } is 'fairly ,modern |

Together with "so" the PE is used here as a separate tone unit at

the beginning of the utterance to draw the listeners' attention to an important comment on "the present state of the bridge".

(4) 'And | 'young \children { 'all over the \world I ,say { today {  
'learn about 'London \Bridge { ...

Concluding the tone unit it underlines the meaning of "all over the world", at the same time slowing down the tempo before the introduction of the time notion. It also links two pieces of information.

(5) ...it \was { \torn \down { or \burned \down | ... and 'often rebuilt  
of { ,very \different ma\terials | over the \years || ,So ,say  
originally 'built 'out of \wood |

Forming the initial tone unit it summarizes the item by introducing a concluding explanation of the "building history of the bridge".

(6) And 'as a re\_sult { a 'Norse \poet { ,wrote { ,say { the original  
'London 'Bridge \poem { that \went |...

Here the PE follows two successive low rises linking the notion of the action ("wrote") with its object, simultaneously pointing to slight hesitation.

(11) 'So er | the \Thames was as I ,say er | 'very 'very 'poor to  
'early \Londoners ||

The PE occurs in a concluding statement on the previously discussed topic; phonetically it links the high emphatic fall with the high-pitched stressed syllable of the following tone unit thus making the whole statement sound significant. However, in combination with "er" and a medium pause it also points to some degree of hesitation.

(14) 'And { as I ,say | you 'don't have a | 'later the 'stone 'bridge  
was 'sold to Ari\_zona | 'and we 'have 'this one to \day ||

The PE precedes a point the speaker is explaining in the following tone unit; although she changes to a different syntactic structure due to self-correction it does not impede the initial intention of summarizing on "the bridge".

(15) Not particularly im\_pressive in it,self | but as I ,say | the  
'history { I ,think ,makes it ,pretty im\_pressive |...;

As a medial tone unit marked by medium pauses it introduces that part of the utterance that carries the key message. Phonetically it is supported by a high fall in the following tone unit.

- (22) 'Very 'much \Christian societies to begin | fundam<sup>1</sup>entally  
Christian | 'and as I ,say } 'very ,wealthy | they're 'still  
'very ,wealthy|...

Since the PE occurs in a separate tone unit the tempo is deliberately reduced before introducing the descriptives of "the societies"; the speaker is clearly focussing on "wealthy" which is repeated twice.

- (23) And trad<sup>1</sup>itionally the 'Lord'Mayor and the \Aldermen | who  
'ruled on then | were 'chosen from the ,Guilds | and as I ,say |  
the 'Guilds were ,powerful } but very con\servative ||

Here the PE links two syntactically quite independent parts of the utterance, and as a separate tone unit makes the additional information on "the Guilds" sound weighty.

- (26) So 'they 'basically est<sup>1</sup>ablished \Southwark } as I ,say } the  
,medi<sup>1</sup>eval ,entertainment ,district | and ,red-\light ,district||

The PE forms a medial tone unit in the concluding statement on "Southwark" and serves as a link between two carefully formed rhythmic patterns which add to the definiteness of the whole utterance.

- (28) So 'I would ,say } 'this is } 'really 'where we } discover his  
,soul||

Constituting a separate initial tone unit the PE gives the finalizing effect to the statement which concludes "the story of Shakespeare".

- (29) As I ,say } you could 'do a 'Dickens' 'London \anywhere in  
,London ||

The PE apparently refers to the previously given information and prepares the emphasis of "anywhere" which is realized in the form of a high fall.

- (32) And 'that was 'purely 'for the offenders } ,here 'in ,Southwark||  
,because they im\posed as I've ,said the ,law they im\posed the  
,order | ,so to ,speak } the 'punishment as ,well ||

Here the phrase splits a compound tone and in such a way underlines

the importance of the message in "imposed the law".

(40) 'When we 'go \_in } as I\_say | 'take er } 'have about 'five  
minutes ||

The PE slows down the tempo and together with "er" in the following tone unit indicates slight hesitation before mentioning the actual time.

(45) But er 'Shakespeare 'also as I say | 'know these 'inns well ||

The PE helps slightly reduce the tempo. This and the following deliberate medium pause serve to emphasize the certainty of the whole statement. In addition it may also be taken as a signal of hesitation before formulating the rest of the utterance.

As was anticipated in almost all the cases ( 14 out of 15 ) the PEs with "say" are used with the intention to single out some information usually following the PEs. Thus here they function mainly on the textual level. Simultaneously the PEs indicate that the speaker is summarizing the whole event. In this way they serve not only for emphasis but also as a link between two stretches of the utterance.

In the present list of PEs we find it possible to distinguish from the general emphatic use of PEs three specific uses where the effect of emphasis combines with some other effect. In 6 utterances with the PEs occurring prevalingly in the initial tone unit (5) we clearly detect the finalizing effect; in several cases it is emphasized by the preceding "so". In 3 cases the PEs occurring in medial tone units apparently serve as the linking element. 2 of them are preceded by "and".

In 3 other cases ( here they also occur in medial tone units) the PEs point to the speaker's hesitation. So apart from their role on the textual level they have an additional function as hesitation markers.

In 14 instances " say"/" said " is stressed constituting a low rise (9), a low fall (1), part of the stepping head (1), part of the low head (2), the stressed part of a low tail (2).

In one case (" say " in the form of a low level tone in a separate tone unit) hesitation seems to be the major effect.

PE " sort of "

- (1) The 'one that was 'built er | in er the 'nineteenth  
\_century | through between the 'eighteenth and the 'nine-  
teenth | it was 'sort of 'strengthened | er | and 'then sort  
of | 'taken a-part ||

In the first occurrence the PE helps to build up the contrast between the notions of "strengthened" and "taken apart"; the second use of the PE with the following medium pause is to suggest merely hesitation.

- (3) ...and { be'fore | that 'London Bridge 'was a'few { maybe  
about a'hundred ,yards { 'sort of { er | 'eastwards|...

Here together with "er" the PE functions as a pause marker.

- (7) There were 'only about 'two 'main ,streets { in ,London |  
that were ,sort of ,main ,tained ||

Occurring in an attributive clause in the form of a low head the PE apparently reduces the tempo and emphasizes the following "maintained" which carries important information about "the streets". The effect of emphasis here is further facilitated by a double stress of the last word.

- (8) ...but the 'rest of the 'little 'winding ,streets { and  
,alleys { which you can ,see { sort of ,remnants of { 'even this  
'city to'day|...

The PE introduces further details on the main subject matter; at the same time it seems to provide a certain rhythmical pattern: without the PE there apparently would have been two successive low falls.

- (9) 'After a 'rain ,fall { they would be just 'churned up ,mud |  
there was 'no er | 'proper sort of ,sewage ,system ||

The presence of the PE might be associated with the hesitation marker "er" in the previous tone unit or else in the form of the pre-head it is suitable for rhythmical purposes.

- (10) ...the 'streets of ,London | ,particularly after a 'heavy ,rain  
not 'only were they { 'sort of ,muddy ,all the ,way ,through ||

Bearing a relatively high-pitched stress and being linked with the following "muddy" the PE brings out with great clarity the intended description. Thus it continues the emphatic beginning of the whole statement in the preceding tone unit "not only were they".

- (12) Er | the 'houses | 'ended on the \other ,side | and 'then you had a 'large ,gate-way | which was a 'sudden a sort of ,fortifi ,cation | and then 'again er { the ,fortifi ,cation { sort of 'gate { 'out of the 'city of ,London ||

In both cases the PE seem to fill in a gap for seeking the right word.

- (13) And 'apparently 'not so 'much dis ,played er { as 'more of a \punishment | but to 'show that the { sort of ,exe'cutioner was ,sort of er { ,earning his \pay |...

The double use of the PE in the same tone unit can be interpreted as a hesitation factor since the speaker is obviously considering her choice of words.

- (16) ,London ..| it was 'also ,reproduced the \borough | because it ,was | the \first { in about { 'sort of a 'kind of { the \only sort of | ,suburbs of | this was referred to 'as { well ,borough |

In the first case the PE combines with "kind of" in the same tone unit which is immediately followed by another use of "sort of" that apparently indicates hesitation. The relatively high-pitched stress of the first PE continues the speaker's initial intention, however a moment later she feels uncertain which results in searching for the right words.

- (17) 'And er { it 'basically er { 'other than 'sort of | 'people sort of er | 'living sort of { 'round about sort of { 'scattered about | sort of 'small ,villages er { by 'South of the ,river |...

The recurrence of five "sort ofs" in successive tone units testify to the fact that the speaker is reluctant to formulate her message. On the other hand the use of the PE in the final tone units seems to indicate that "sort of" belongs to habitual phrases of the speaker.

- (18) The 'City of 'London has \always been all a sort of a ,law to it ,self ||



Here the PE points to slight hesitation; the tempo does not seem to be noticeably reduced even with five unstressed syllables being introduced to fill in the gap.

(19) 'So it's 'still sort of au,tonomous ||

The PE seems to provide a rhythmical pattern which in its turn adds to the certainties of the stressed syllables in the stepping head.

(20) And 'still to,day { 'it's a { 'very'much sort of 'ruled ,by {  
its 'very con,servative | and 'ruled by sort of ,businessmen ||

(21) ...and the 'City be'came 'only for { the commercial } and  
in,dustrial sort of | be'came a commercial and industrial ,centre |

In both the instances the PE evidently points to some hesitation; this is supported by the repetition of "ruled by" and "commercial and industrial".

(24) In a 'sense it was er | the `feudal ,system | 'so it would be  
the 'outlanded ,gentry | sort of 'which would er 'actually  
'rule | sort of 'area of ,land { of the 'city of the ,gentry |  
sort of im`posed { 'law and ,order ||

In the first two cases the phrase seems to be introduced as an unstressed entity between two stressed syllables to provide a convenient rhythmical pattern. The third occurrence before a high fall is obviously linked with the concluding remark on "the activities of the gentry".

(25) 'And it was the 'bishops of `Winchest | who 'built their  
'palace in { ,Southwark | and ,took ,over sort of `running of  
,Southwark ||

Occurring before a mid fall which is realized in the key word "running" the PE apparently serves to single it out from the rest of the words.

(27) 'People to,day { 'searching for a sort of the `spirit of  
,Shakespeare | and 'going on a ,pilgrimage 'often 'end 'up  
in ,Stratford |

This might be a sample of the speaker's need of the phrase for no

apparent reason except maybe her habit. Although it is used before a medium fall the number of the unstressed syllables would be sufficient to provide the necessary emphasis effect or else the rhythmical pattern.

(30) 'This 'area is a re'sult of er | `being { sort of ,entertainment  
      , district et , cetera |...

Occurring after a high fall in the key word "being" it serves as a link with the rest of the information; at the same time it is another signal of slight hesitation revealed already by "er" before "being".

(31) ...but they had a 'lot of { `crime | as a result || , People er {  
      sort of , drunkards | , people || disturbing the , peace sort of  
      et , cetera ||

In both cases the PE functions as a hesitation indicator; in the first instance it is in fact continuing the function of "er", in the second instance it expresses some indecision. This conclusion is supported also by the use of medium and long pauses.

(33) ...there were 'prisons 'all , round { sort of the 'Southwark  
      , area ||

(34) So it be'came a 'fa-mous 'place as , well for a | sort of  
      ` punishment ||

On the one hand the phrase seems to be chosen by the speaker deliberately, out of habit rather than with the intention of singling out the final part of the statement. On the other hand, forming the unstressed part between stressed syllables it provides a rhythmical pattern which brings out the final stressed syllables distinctly.

(35) `Said she would 'be , here { sort of as 'long as she , lived |  
      'night after , night |...

The PE presumably is used for rhythmical purposes since the fall-rise in the preceding tone unit already captures the listeners' attention, and there seems to be no need for any extra emphasis.

(36) ...but he 'held er { sort of 'grudge against 'Oliver , Twist |...

After "er" in the preceding tone unit the PE evidently indicates hesitation while searching for the next word.

- (37) ..'and er | the 'monasteries { 'used to \dominate | sort of the  
landscape { within and around the city ||

The PE occurs as the linking element between the emphatic verb ("dominate") and its object. "Landscape" containing a low-pitched stress remains unemphasized; so it might suggest the habitual or rhythmical use of the phrase.

- (38) ..'and { they were the 'sort of 'public \buildings | in the  
'early days ||

As the stressed part of the head the PE adds to the certainties of the utterance which is expressed in the first place by a high fall at the end of the tone unit.

- (39) Er { that there were regular | outbreaks of the plague |  
Er | not just sort of the \major ones | that have sort of  
gone down in history | in 'mid 'fourteenth \century { and  
'sixteen 'sixty \five { with the two sort of \major ones |  
but 'every sort of 'twenty 'thirty \years |

In the first case the speaker seems to be concentrating on the descriptive of "the plague", whereas in the following tone unit the PE is used perhaps because it has already been used before, or it might also be the result of hesitation. In the second two successive occurrences the phrase helps single out the information that is conveyed by the following words.

- (41) ...and originally they 'all were \gateways || sort of 'like  
a 'little \passage | 'then 'leading 'into a \yard ||

The PE seems to be used here for merely rhythmical purposes.

- (42) Because the 'old 'London Bridge { as I explained | with the  
'houses 'going \over it | it was 'very narrow | sort of  
\passage { through the centre | 'mainly 'people walked  
a cross it { they 'rode on horseback | individual 'sort of  
\horses ||

In the first tone unit the PE introduces an important detail of

the description; the second occurrence of the phrase as part of the head in the final tone unit adds to the significance of the concluding remark.

(43) ...and 'these were 'gallery \\_coaching \\_inns | the \\_lovely  
ones } that at 'least have sort of 'three \\_sides and er |  
sort of \\_balconies |

The first use of the PE may be explained only by the speaker's habit since the tempo seems unchanged, and considering the rhythmical basis there is an unstressed syllable already before the following stressed one. In the last tone unit the phrase apparently indicates hesitation since it follows "er" and a medium pause.

(44) And they 'go 'out on adventures } for the \\_Pickwick \\_Club | 'but  
a | it 'also results in a 'rather | 'big mis\\_takes | er sort of  
di\\_lemma resulting } 'for \\_Pickwick ||

Combined in the same tone unit with "er" the PE fills in the actual pause for finding the right word; the speaker is paraphrasing her words ("results" - "resulting") trying to achieve greater precision.

(46) ...it was 'mainly re\\_ligious | \\_mystery \\_plays | 'and er | 'acting  
'out sort of er } re\\_ligious \\_habits || er

Here the PE combined with one of several "ers" in the utterance obviously serves as a signal of hesitation.

(47) We 'don't 'have a ré\\_vival sort of the \\_Greek \\_tragedies | 'and  
the 'theatre be\\_came } 'much more \\_varied | and 'often \\_sometimes  
er } sort of 'Greek } 'comedies and tragedies had to | \\_paganistic |  
\\_sides } sort of 'influences and \\_roots ||

In the first tone unit the PE seems to be used as the speaker's favourite phrase. It is interesting to note that "of" in this context overlaps: it provides the necessary grammatical structure "a revival of the Greek tragedies" and it also constitutes part of "sort of". In the two other cases the PE functions as a hesitation indicator.

The results of the analysis of "sort of" can be summed up in the following table:

Low pre-head		stepping head		low head		nucleus	low tail		total
		str.	unstr.	str.	unstr.		str.	unstr.	
emphasis	4	3	1	1	2	-	-	1	12
hesitation	10	3	8	-	-	-	1	2	24
rhythm	5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	7
habit	2	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	6
total	21	6	13	2	3	-	1	3	49

In most cases the PEs are used to signal hesitation, i.e. they have been fixed as hesitation markers functioning on the interactional level. As has been pointed out "sort of" often combines with the pause filler "er". As an unstressed entity the PE also serves the purpose of providing a characteristic rhythmical pattern which in several cases leads to the singling out of the following word thus contributing to the effect of emphasis.

Out of 12 uses for emphasis of the PE only 4 have the PE in a stressed position. Not a single case has been registered with the PE as the nucleus of the tone unit.

The emphatic uses of "sort of" suggest that a regular hesitation marker can also function on the textual level.

Although in a number of instances it is a stressed syllable of the PE with the help of which some degree of emphasis is ex-

pressed the stress and pitch factors alone cannot be considered the only ones that determine the PE functions.

Another important factor that helps convey the meanings of the PEs is the temporal factor. For the concrete speaker the tempo may be characterized as relatively fast, but one can clearly distinguish pauses of various lengths. They contribute to the perception of the PEs as hesitation signals and they also produce some paralinguistic effects.

Although there are certain preferences in terms of the stress and rhythmical patterns used by the concrete speaker we assume that the features of the PEs revealed in the analysis are characteristic of the genre.

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V. BROKA

INTERFERENCE : A LINGUISTIC LOOK AT A PRACTICAL  
PROBLEM (Causes of Phonological Difficulties for  
a Latvian Learner of English)

A linguistic community, due to different internal and external factors, can not be homogeneous in the present-day world - a fully monolingual society is hardly conceivable in modern civilisation. Thus, in our daily oral and aural communication we get inevitably exposed to bilingual situations, be it in the direct intercourse or indirectly - when we receive information in a foreign language through mass media or in some other way. In the situation of widely spreading and ever-increasing language contacts the necessity to freely use more than one language becomes pressingly obvious and the need to learn other languages - painfully acute.

A bilingual speaker having a free command of two languages one of which is not his mothertongue can easily switch over from one to the other. What actually happens is that he switches out one linguistic system and switches on the other - at least this should happen in an ideal case. However, very often this switching out is not complete and some elements, features, peculiarities or patterns of the native language are carried over to the foreign language and become responsible for the native accent in the foreign speech. The result is instances of deviation from the norms of the foreign language which may occur in any of the structural levels of it. These deviations are termed interference phenomena. The term interference implies "the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary." †

The subsequent analysis will deal with interference on the phonological level. It will be an attempt to give a con-

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† Weinreich, U. Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems. London - The Hague-Paris. 1966.

trastive analysis of the peculiarities in the articulation bases in English and Latvian. Such analysis will make it possible to determine the types of interference in the articulation of the English sounds by the Latvian learners. On the basis of it the prognostication of the possible mistakes and concrete difficulties for a would-be learner can be made, methodological hints of how to prevent or correct them can be suggested and a logical set of practical drills and exercises aimed at conscious prevention or elimination of the native interference in the articulation of the sounds of the foreign language can be worked out.

The articulation habits of a speech community make up the articulation basis of its language. Each language has its own articulation basis - the differences from language to language may be largely individual. This factor is often sadly overlooked when groups for learning a foreign language are made up of learners with different native language backgrounds. In such groups the teaching of the sound system of the new language may not be equally successful with every learner if the teacher is not aware of the native language background in every individual case and cannot use adequate explanations in directing each learner into acquiring the articulation basis of the foreign language drawing parallels with the articulation peculiarities of the corresponding sounds in both - the native and the foreign language. In the opposite case the teacher has to rely solely on his skills in describing the articulation process and on his learners' power of imitation.

In the subsequent analysis the main differences in the articulation of the English and Latvian vowels and consonants will be pointed out, that is to say, such differences which, when ignored by the Latvian speakers of English, betray a non-native speaker even to a layman in phonetics, to say nothing of a phonetically trained person.

The possible consequences of the workings of the native interference will be pointed out for each type of sounds separately.



## VOWELS

1. In both-English and Latvian there are long and short vowels. The difference lies in the fact that in Latvian it is the same phoneme differing only in quantity (length): [e:]-[e],[i:]-[i],[a:]-[a],etc.while in English it is always two separate phonemes differing both in quantity and in quality:[i:],[ɪ],[a:],[ʌ],[u:] [ʊ] etc. The Latvian learner if not brought to the awareness of this difference is likely to make no other but length distinction in articulating the English vowels [i:], [ɪ], [a:],[ʌ], etc.

2. The English long [i:] is a front vowel, but the short [ɪ] is front-retracted. The result of the native interference is the replacement of the English [i:] and [ɪ] by the Latvian long or short [i] which is more front and closer than its English counterparts.

Thus, the English word tin will sound like the Latvian tin (dziju), city - like siti (bungas), pealer - like pīle, etc.

3. There are no central (mixed) vowels [ɜ:], [ə] in Latvian. Therefore the deviations from the standard articulation are caused by the interference based on the erroneous analogy - the Latvian learner is apt to replace the English [ɜ:] and [ə] by the long and short Latvian [e] in its broad or narrow variation.

Thus, the English wordy will sound like the Latvian vēdi, turvy- like tēvi, letter - like lete.

4. The English back open vowels [ɑ:], [ʌ] have their Latvian counterpart - the long and short [ā] which is a central open vowel. The result of the native interference will be the replacement of both [ɑ:] and [ʌ] by the respective but not identical Latvian [ā] in its long or short form.

As a result, the English word carts will sound like the Latvian kāts or kāds, start - like stāt, crusts - like krasts.

5. The English back close vowels [u:], [ʊ] have their Latvian counterpart - the long and short [u] which is more front and is articulated with rounded and protruded lips. This manner of articulation if used with the English sounds will make the English shoot sound like the Latvian šūt, the English put - like the Latvian put (putekji)

A similar observation can be made about the English back open vowels [ɔ:] and [ɒ]. Under the native influence the Latvian learner is apt to pronounce them with rounded and protruded lips and make more front, e.g.,

the English scots will sound like skots in Latvian, Austin - like Ostina in Latvian. In the latter case, owing to the absence of the long variant of [o] in Latvian, a half-long [o] may appear in some positions instead of the English [ɔ:], e.g.,

in the English volley-ball the [ɔ:] may sound half-long on the analogy with the [o] in the Latvian word volejbols.

6. The English diphthongs [aɪ], [aʊ], [eɪ], [ɔɪ], [əʊ], [jə] have their Latvian counterparts. The basic difference in their articulation is the strongly articulated first element and a weak, lax and gliding second element while in Latvian both elements are equally strong. The latter tendency in the articulation of the English diphthongs by the Latvian learner will also be a result of the native interference.

Thus, the English lie will sound like the Latvian lai,

row - like rau

lay - like lej

boy - like the first syllable in boikots

shows - like šovs

pier - like pie

As there are no diphthongs [ɛə] and [ʊə] in Latvian the learners are likely to replace them (on the closest analogy!) by the Latvian vowel clusters [ea] and [ue] and pronounce both elements equally strong.

Apart from the above differences and the resulting interference phenomena the learners are likely to articulate the

constituent elements of the English diphthongs in the Latvian way (items 2 - 5 above!).

7. In English the strong forms of vowels appear - with a few exceptions - only in stressed syllables while in unstressed syllables the weak forms are used, i.e., the vowel reduction is observed. This is not the case in Latvian, therefore the workings of the interference phenomenon will result in the strong articulation of the unstressed vowels by the Latvian learners, e.g.,

the English word medicine is likely to be pronounced as [ 'm e d i s i n ], England as [ i ŋ g l æ n d ], cinema as [ 's i n e m a ], literature as [ 'L i t e r e tʃ e ] etc.

#### CONSONANTS

1. One of the most characteristic features of the English consonants is the apical articulation of 12 fore-lingual consonants, i.e., 50% of all the consonants have an apical articulation: they are articulated with the tip of the tongue against the teethridge: [t], [d], [tʃ], [dʒ], [s], [z], [ʃ], [ʒ], [n], [l] or against the teeth [θ], [ð].

The corresponding Latvian consonants are articulated with the blade of the tongue against the teeth (dorsal articulation) while the tip of the tongue is lowered, but the interdentalals [θ], [ð] do not exist in Latvian at all.

The result of the interference is the tendency of the Latvian learners to apply dental dorsal articulation to the English apical alveolar consonants, and to replace the English [θ], [ð] sounds by their closest Latvian approximations: [s], [t] or [ʃ] instead of [θ] and [z], [d] or [v] instead of [ð]. The latter mistake is phonemic and not only jars on the ear as a foreign accent in the English speech but may be the cause for serious misinterpretation. Thus, the word thin may sound like sin or tin, the word three - like free, they - like day, thing - like vine.

2. The English voiceless consonants [p], [t], [k] are aspirated in a stressed syllable before a vowel.

There is no aspiration in Latvian and this Latvian manner of the articulation of [ p ], [ t ], [ k ] is likely to be applied by the Latvian learner to the corresponding English consonants.

3. In English the voiced consonants, though weak and partly devoiced, never become voiceless in final positions. In Latvian they may become voiceless in some positions. The interference will cause the final devoicing of the English voiced consonants by the Latvian learner. The mistake may be phonemic, too, and the English word bed may sound like bet, bad - like bat, mad - like mat, league - like leak.

4. The English bilabial [ w ] does not exist in Latvian and the Latvian learner is apt to replace it by the Latvian labio-dental [ v ]. The mistake may be phonemic, e.g.,

wine - vine, whale - veil, wheel - veal

5. The English constrictive sonorant [ r ] is articulated with the tongue coming in no contact with the teeth or the roof of the mouth, while in the articulation of the Latvian [ r ] the tip of the tongue makes repeated taps against the base of the upper teeth or the teeth-ridge. This manner of articulation may be applied by the Latvian learner in the articulation of the English [ r ], making it a vibrant.

6. The English nasal sonorants [ m ], [ n ], [ ŋ ], [ l ] are more sonorous, especially in final positions before a short vowel and between a short vowel and a voiced consonant where they become practically long, e.g., bells [ b e l: z ], songs [ s ɔ ŋ : z ], sums [ s ^ m: z ].

This is not typical of Latvian. The Latvian learner, therefore, is likely to pronounce the above words with a short sonorant and a voiceless final [ s ], e.g., [ b e l s ], [ s o ŋ k s ], [ s a m s ].

7. Following the Latvian tradition the Latvian learner may use half- or fully-palatalized [ k ] and [ g ] in the positions preceding [ e ] or [ i ], e.g.,

give, get, cake, keep

These were in short the main instances and ways in which native interference may cause deviations from the norm or standard articulation of the English speech sounds in the

articulation of the Latvian learner. These deviations may be strongly expressed at the initial stage of the English language acquisition and may (under proper guidance) gradually either partly or fully disappear from the learner's speech. To facilitate the process the teacher should be aware of the differences in the articulation bases of the two languages, be able to foresee the nature of the possible difficulties and be ready to offer the learner carefully worked out theoretical explanations, practical tips and sets of contrastive drills aimed at bringing out the articulatory differences of every separate sound in both languages.

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A. Načisčione

### English Phraseological Units in Speech: Continuity and Change

Linguists have always been interested in language change. When we enter into the domain of historical phraseology we study the chronological changes, we consider the origins and the developments of phraseological units (PUs), their structure and meanings. A diachronic study of the gradual alteration of PUs from Old English to the modern times reveals the evolution of phraseology through time as a continuity. When we have a closer look at historical phraseological dictionaries [1;2;3;4] and study the initial form of the registered units we discover that diachronic stability is an inherent characteristic of PUs versus all the changes.

However, when we study a large number of texts and analyse the particular manifestations of PUs in speech we see dynamic changes, as each actual, concrete speech act depends on the context and the originality of the author to say things in a more meaningful or novel way by creating occasional changes of PUs that are stylistically and semantically relevant. One of the objectives of phraseological stylistics is to study and understand the general principles and procedures upon which occasional changes are built and provide an account of the mechanisms underlying of PUs in speech.

When considering innumerable cases of the occasional use of a PU in speech we establish relations between the variables through a systematic approach that presents an organized view of the functioning of PUs in speech. We discern a regularity and see that the potentially infinite variation of PUs in speech can be explained by a set of structural and semantic principles that belong to the system of language. In place of isolated changes or examples we see a set of

patterns, a whole system of the occasional changes of PUs in speech which underlies the concrete acts of speech and may serve to generate new fresh occasional forms of PUs in future applications.

Thus, constancy and change are two facets of the functioning of PUs in speech. Constancy refers to the intrinsic stability \* of the form and meaning of PUs, while the occasional changes produce a novel, unique manifestation of the PU with an inimitable stylistic effect.

Let us have a look at some cases of the use of the PU "When Adam delved and Eve span who was then the gentleman?" recorded in English since the Middle English period :

1) Whan adam delffid and eve span

Who was than gentilman ?

(Balliol, 1381)

2) When Adam dolve and Eve span

Who was in those golden daies, a gentleman ?

(Heywood, Spider, 1556)

3) Clown: ... Come, my spade. There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers, and grave-makers; they hold up Adam's profession.

Other: Was he a gentleman ?

Clown: He was the first that ever bore arme.

Other: Why, he had none.

Clown: What, art a heathen? How dost thou understand the Scripture? The Scripture says, Adam digged. Could he dig without arms?

(W. Shakespeare. Hamlet, 1603)

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\* In the understanding of the stability of PUs at the synchronic level we keep to the theory of A. Kunin [5, p. 1247].

When we compare the actual speech formations we see that the given PU functions in a different form in each case depending on the stylistic and semantic needs of the context. The first example is prescriptive use that practically coincides with the initial form without any additional stylistic charge in speech. In the second case one element is changed by substitution resulting in an occasional effect. The third is a striking case of occasional use based on phraseological allusion. Let us turn to some other illustrations of phraseological allusion to trace the way the shift from language to speech occurs:

the cat would eat fish, but would not wet its feet

Lady Macbeth: Wouldst thou have that which thou  
esteem'st the ornament of life,  
And live a coward in thine own esteem,  
Letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"  
Like the poor cat in the adage † ?  
(W. Shakespeare. Macbeth)

every cloud has a silver lining

But these things are mere side issues.  
I don't say they aren't silver linings in their  
limited way, but take a look at the clouds  
that lower elsewhere ...  
(P.G. Wodehouse. The Mating season)

The use of the image bearing element or elements of the PU evokes the whole PU in the reader's mind by means of several explicit components preserving the semantic invariant without the preservation of the language structure and the componential make-up of the PU. The contextual link with the initial form of the PU helps promote the revelation of the implicit components of the PU and the semantic and stylistic information of the text. The use of phraseological allusion has resulted in the creation of a new occasional form in each case.

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† An adage - an old wise phrase; a proverb [6, p. 10].



A careful consideration of the similarities and the differences between the occasionally changed PU and its initial language form brings out not only the semantic and stylistic enrichment of the PU, but also the changes in its speech form, both the outer and the inner form of the PU †. The transformation of the language form of the PU into a speech formation proceeds according to certain regularities and principles of functioning that amount to certain basic typified devices of the occasional use of PUs in speech that are not directly observable. They can be discerned only by detailed and systematic analogies constructed in order to help ascertain some aspect of the functioning of PUs that is not apparent in speech.

The use of analogy is fundamental to language research. J. Aitchison calls it "the ability to reason from parallel cases [8, p. 155]. D. Crystal points out the importance of setting up a working analogue of the phenomenon in order to visualize the structure or function of language and attain clarity and concreteness of the relationships the analogue proposes [9, p. 114-115].

By means of systematic analogies the basic range of occasional stylistic devices is disclosed. A certain ordered set of rules defines each device as a model that accounts for all conceivable cases. In the light of a particular model we obtain insight into speech functioning that was previously concealed from us. The value of the understanding of the model of occasional use lies in its specific applicability to the classification of the diverse devices of the occasional use of PUs in speech with an aim of demonstrating the underlying integrated finite system of change and its techniques. These devices are informative elements of the system of language. The stylistic effect of their application depends on the linguistic nature of the device as a typified language means. In speech the device becomes part

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† The semantic structure of the inner forms of PUs has been worked out by A. Melerovich [7].

of the semantic structure of the occasionally changed PU. With each device the semantic structure of the PU acquires its own distinctive characteristics. Let us resort to examples of dual actualization:

blood is thicker than water

Gentleman. We are of the same stock, you and I.

Blood is thicker than water, we are cousins

Woman. I am afraid I am as much in the dark as before. You said that blood is thicker than water. No doubt it is; but what of it?

Gentleman. The meaning is quite obvious.

Woman. Perfectly. But I assure you that I am quite aware that blood is thicker than water.

Gentleman. (Sniffing: almost in tears again).

We will leave it at that, madam.

(B. Shaw. Back to Methuselah)

a scarlet woman

"No gentleman who cares for his good name can be seen with the scarlet woman of Lyme."

And that too was a step; for there was a bitterness in her voice. He smiled at her averted face.

"I think the only truly scarlet things about you are your cheeks."

(J. Fowles. The French Lieutenant's Woman)

The perception of two meanings - the phraseological meaning and the literal meaning of the components of the PU - is an invariant of the semantic structure of dual actualization as a language device. Thus the device functions as a semantic element of the inner form of the occasionally changed PU.

In the system of occasional changes of PUs each device is characterized by a number of formal and semantic features that are compulsory for the new occasional formations designed on the basis of the device. As typified techniques

these devices are reproduceable elements of the language system. Hence the occasional character of the speech form is created by language means: new inimitable occasional speech forms of PUs are constantly generated in accordance with the existing language patterns.

Thus, the potentiality for occasional change is a factor that is part of the language system. The diverse occasional changes PUs experience in speech do not interfere with the constancy of their form and meaning, as their identity and semantic invariant have been preserved in speech which indicates their intrinsic stability as language units, while occasional change has been a form of their existence in unbounded realizations throughout centuries.

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A. VEISBERGS

BĪBELES IZCELSMES FRAZEOLĒGIJA  
LATVIEŠU VALODĀ (17.-20.gs.)

Latviešu valodas frazeoloģijā ievērojamu vietu ieņem Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismi. Tāpat kā daudzās citās Eiropas tautu valodās (Харазиньска, 1987), arī latviešu valodā neviens cits literārais avots nav devis tik daudz frazeoloģismu kā Vecā un Jaunā Derība. Šo frazeoloģismu skaitu noteikt precīzi ir ļoti grūti, jo, kā tālāk būs redzams, eksistē daudz frazeoloģismu variantu, daudzu vienību statuss svārstās starp alūziju uz Bībeles tekstu un valodā nostiprinājušos frazeoloģismu. Vēl vairāk - daudzi frazeoloģismu varianti ir tā attālinājušies no Bībeles prototipa, ka to izcelsme grūti nosakāma.

Tomēr lielākā daļa šo ar Bībeli saistīto frazeoloģismu ir valodā pilnīgi asimilēti un to saikne ar Bībeles prototipu ir nosakāma.

Tādu frazeoloģismu ir ap 250.

Daudzi Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismi, pateicoties ilgstošai lietošanai valodā, ir tik ļoti nostiprinājušies, ka mūsdienu lietotājam vairumā gadījumu nemaz neasociējas ar to izcelsmes avotu.

Tā kā Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģija latviešu valodā līdz šim maz pētīta, šai rakstā kaut daļēji mēģināts aizpildīt šo robu valodniecībā gan sinhronā, gan arī diahroniskā aspektā.

Latviešu lasītājam Bībele ilgus gadu desmitus bija gandrīz vai vienīgā lasāmviela dzimtajā valodā, arī cita reliģiskā literatūra bija lielā mērā balstīta uz Bībeles tekstiem un Bībeles valodu. Tātad paralēli folklorai Bībeles

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Atsevišķos gadījumos, kad varētu rasties šaubas par to, vai frazeoloģismam ir Bībeles izcelsme, var palīdzēt citvalodu leksikogrāfiskie izdevumi - ja vairākās valodās frazeoloģisms tiek traktēts kā bībelisms, šķiet, nav iemeslu uzskatīt, ka latviešu valodā tam ir bijusi cita izcelsme.

teksts un valoda bija latviešu zemniekam viens no galvenajiem valodas paraugiem, turklāt, atšķirībā no mutiskās folkloras, rakstītā formā. Tieši tāpēc Bībeles stāsti, pasakas motīvi, valodas īpatnības ir dziļi ievijušās kultūrā, literatūrā. Šī parādība nav raksturīga tikai latviešu valodai, bet praktiski visām Eiropas valodām. Kā raksta T. Zeiferts, "Un kad vēlāk radās rakstnieki no pašas tautas vidus, kas attēloja tautas dzīvi (Neikens, Kaudziši, Apsīšu Jēkabs, Poruks), tad tiem bija priekšā gara pasaule, kas stāvēja uz Bībeles pamatiem. Tas starptautiskais, kas bija izplatījies pa vairāk pasaules daļām, bija zināmā mērā ticis par tautisku. Stāsti, tipi, zīmoli, kas bija tikuši pa visu Eiropas kultūrtautu kopiederumu, ar Bībeles pārtulkošanu tika pilnā mērā pazīstami arī latviešiem" (Zeiferts). Piemēram varētu minēt kaut vai neskaitāmus literāros darbus par "pazudušā dēla" tēmu.

Tāpat no literatūrzinātniskā viedokļa Bībelei ir milzīga nozīme literāro priekšstatu un tēlu attīstībā.

Kā daudzām tautām, arī latviešiem Bībeles pilnais tulkojums (1685-1694) uzskatāms par latviešu rakstu valodas pirmo plašāko pieminekli. Tulkojuma laiks visai līdzīgs mūsu kaimiņtautām (igauņiem, lietuviešiem, somiem), vēlāks kā krieviem, vāciešiem un zviedriem.

Bībele ir arī vecās latviešu rakstniecības stūrakmens. Jāatzīmē angļu lingvīsta Vordhafa (Wardhaugh) uzskats, ka Bībeles tulkojums var noteikt valodas likteni - tās izdzīvošanu vai bojāeju.

Frazeoloģija, būdama viens no valodas augstākajiem līmeņiem, atspoguļo sevī kā valodas zemāko līmeni (morfoloģija, leksika) īpatnības, tā arī veido saikni ar literatūru, folkloru. Tādējādi frazeoloģijā apvienojas valodas un kultūras elementi.

No Bībeles aizgūtā frazeoloģija ir arī pirmā aizgūtās frazeoloģijas grupa, kuru iespējams tieši apskatīt; agrākās somugru un daļēji arī vācu valodas ietekmes frazeoloģijā, (Rūķe-Draviņa) šķiet, tā arī paliks hipotētiskas, par kurām

var spriest tikai uz līdzības pamata, jo trūkst rakstu pieminekļu.

Izsekojot astoņiem izdevumiem un daudzajām Bībeles teksta revīzijām (Šaurums), var secināt, ka, neskatoties uz dažādām izmaiņām laika gaitā, frazeoloģismi Bībeles izdevumos ir mainījušies minimāli. Šie paši frazeoloģismi ir pārsteidzoši noturīgi un stabili arī valodā.

Plašākais Bībeles daļu visagrākais tulkojums (Evanģēliju daļas, apustuļu vēstules), ko veica Elgers (Evangelien), dabiski satur mazāk frazeoloģiskā materiāla nekā Glika tulkojums. Taču, salīdzinot šos tulkojumus, redzams, ka topošo frazeoloģismu aizmetni galvenokārt tulkoti identiski:

AR AKMENIEM NOMĒTĀT, PAZUDUSĀ AVS, SKIRT AVIS NO ĀZIEM,  
KVĒLA INAS OGLES UZ GALVAS KRĀT, LIKT SVECI APAKŠ PŪRĀ

Ir arī atšķirības:

PAKŠAKMENS (Elgers) - STŪRAKMENS (Gliks), VILTĪGI  
PROPHETES - VILTĪGI PRAVIEŠI, TRĪSDESMIT SUDRABA  
GRĀSI - TRĪSDESMIT SUDRABA GĀBALI, KALFOT MAMONAM -  
KALPOT MANTAI.

Gandrīz identiski Glika tulkojumam ir frazeoloģismi Bībeles fragmentos J.Reitera tulkojumā, 1675.g. (Karulis).

Glika veiktais tulkojums no frazeoloģijas viedokļa ir bijis ļoti veiksmīgs - tas ir izveidojis latviešu frazeoloģijas Bībelišo fondu, kas līdz mūsdienām saglabājies ar minimālām izmaiņām (formālā ziņā). Šeit jāpiezīmē, ka tā ir frazeoloģijai raksturīga īpatnība - daudz lielākā mērā nekā leksikai - saglabāt senas un pat arhaiskas formas un elementus.

Tomēr laika gaitā mainījušies arī frazeoloģismu tulkojumi, turklāt dažādos aspektos, taču gramatiskās izmaiņas (gan sintaktiskās, gan morfoloģiskās) lielā mērā atbilst vispārējām valodas attīstības izmaiņām. Leksiskajā līmenī diahroniskās izmaiņas vērojamas reti un skar atsevišķus frazeoloģismus, piemēram:

SAUCĒJA BALSS TUKSNĒSĪ.

Bībeles pirmajā tulkojumā šī vieta skan šādi: Viena BALSS tāda SLUDINĀTĀJA ir TUKSNESĪ (Jesaja, 40,3);

Tur ir BALSS viena SLUDINĀTĀJA TUKSNESĪ (Mat., 30,3)

Izmaiņas notikušas jau nākošajā izdevumā (1739):

Viena BALSS tāda SAUCĒJA ir TUKSNESĪ; Tur ir BALSS viena SAUCĒJA TUKSNESĪ. Tālākās vārdkopas izmaiņas Bībelē skar gramatisko konstrukciju, bet ne tās leksisko atveidi.

Līdzīgas izmaiņas notikušas arī frazeoloģismā MAZGĀT ROKAS NEVAINĪBĀ. Mateja evaņģēlijā atklājas šī frazeoloģisma izcelsme. Kad Pontijs Pilāts atdeva Jēzu sodīšanai, viņš "ņēma ūdeni un MAZGĀJA ROKAS ļaužu priekšā, sacīdams: "Es esmu NEVAINĪGS pie šī taisnā asinim." (Mat., 27,24. 1938.gada izdevums).

Taču frazeoloģisks šī izteiciena noformējums sastopams arī Psalmos (26,6; 73,13), kur, sākot ar pirmo izdevumu līdz pat šim gadsimtam, frāzē ir sekojoši leksiskie komponenti:

Es MAZGĀJU savas ROKAS iekš MENOZIEDZĪBAS (Ps. 26,6).

Līdzīgas izmaiņas notikušas arī frazeoloģismos NĀVES GRĒKS, ĻAUNUMA SAKNE.

Vērtējot frazeoloģismus no aizgūšanas viedokļa, atklājas šāda aina. Ne pašā Bībeles tulkojumā, ne arī Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģijā nav netulkoto frazeoloģismu un transkriptīvo frazeoloģisko aizguvumu. Samērā plaši Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģijā pārstāvēti frazeoloģiskie puskalki, taču pašā Bībeles tulkojumā to nav – visi frazeoloģiskie puskalki ir nostabilizējušās alūzijas – no Bībeles ņemti personāžu vārdi vai vietvārdi, kas kopā ar latviešu cilmes vārdu veido frazeoloģismu, piemēram, ĪJABA VĒSTS, KAINA ZĪMOGS, NOASA ŠĶIRSTS, METUZĀLA VECUMS, ZĀLAMANA LĒMUMS, JĒRIKAS STABULES, ĒDENES DĀRZS. Kā izņēmumu varētu minēt DEBESU MANNU un PARADĪZES DĀRZU/VĀRTUS (par to tālāk).

Visplašāk ir pārstāvēti frazeoloģiskie kalki – visi pārējie frazeoloģismi gan Bībeles tulkojumā, gan Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģijas fondā latviešu valodā.

Kā materiāls šim pētījumam izmantoti pagājušā un šī gadsimta periodiskie izdevumi, kur Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģija plaši lietota, kā arī literārie avoti (arī daži tulkojumi). Atsevišķi piemēri ņemti arī no vārdnīcām. Autors centies izvairīties no reliģiska satura kontekstiem, jo tajos grūti nosakāms, vai frāze funkcionē kā frazeoloģisms vai kā Bībeles citāts, vai pārstāstījums.

Kopējā aina Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismu lietojumā ir tāda, ka tikai 19.gs. šie veidojumi iegūst ar Bībeles kontekstu nesaistītu, neatkarīgu frazeoloģismu statusu.

Salīdzinot latviešu valodā pastāvošos frazeoloģismus, kuru izcelsme saistīta ar Bībeli, redzams, ka šis saistījums var būt ļoti dažāds – no tieša līdz tālai alūzijai.

Ar Bībeli saistītie frazeoloģismi latviešu valodā veido trīs grupas:

1. Pirmo grupu veido frazeoloģismi, kam ir tieši frazeoloģiski prototipi Bībelē, t.i., jau Bībeles tekstā šīm vārdkopām ir metaforiskais pārnēsums.

REDZĒT SKABARGU CITA ACĪ, BET NEREDZĒT BAĻĶI SAVĀ.

Bet ko tu REDZI SKABARGU sava brāļa ACĪ, bet BAĻĶI SAVĀ PAŠA ACĪ NEIERAUGI? (Mat., 7,3 u.c.).

Tāpēc, mīlie brācēji, ņemiet to mācību vērā: Papriekš izvelc BAĻĶI NO SAVAS ACS un tad raugi SKABARGU NO SAVA BRĀĻA ACS IZVILKT. (Sēta, daba, pasaule. III.-Tērbata, 1860.-79.lpp.)

Nemeklēsim GRUZI sava kaimiņa ACĪ, izvilksim labāk BAĻĶI NO SAVAS ACS. (Latviešu Avīzes.-1915.-75)

Ir tāds gudrs sakāmvārds:Otra ACĪ REDZ SKABARGU, bet pats SAVĀ NEREDZ BAĻĶI. (Jaunākās Ziņas.-1938.-90)

Tā,raugi, iznāk: otra ACĪ S SKABARGAS skatītājs bieži pats savā BAĻĶI sajūst NESPEJ. (Pad.Jaunatne.-1986.-21.01.)

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Aiz frazeoloģisma seko citāts no Bībeles (parasti 1938. gada izdevums) ar norādi (grāmata, nodaļa, pants), kā arī dažādu laika posmu piemēri.



## ZEMES SĀLS

Jūs esat ZEMES SĀLS, bet ja sāls nederīgs, ar ko tad sālis?  
(Mat., 5.13)

Kādi ir šie mūsu Amerikas latviešu gaismas organi, šī mūsu  
"ZEMES SĀLS" ? Ko šī "sāls" mums sniedz? (Kanadietis.-1913.-  
10.-80.lpp.)

Mēs, proletārieši, esam tā ZEMES SĀLS. (Ausekļa kalendārs  
1915.-R., 1914.-15.lpp.)

Un tomēr, lielā daļa mūsu "ZEMES SĀLS" izšķīst un aizplūst  
jūru bezgalībā, un apkaunotā tauta paliek skumstam vergu  
jūgā. (Latvijas Universitātes Studējošo Atturības Biedri-  
bas Raksti. 1.-Rīga, 1931.-70.lpp.)

... Istā ZEMES SĀLS ir viņi, Pegasa jājēji, ... (Cīņa.-  
17.01.-1946.)

"Liekulīgi pasludinādams inteliģenci par "ZEMES SĀLI",  
rakstīja Raskoļņikovs, "Jūs atņēmt iekšējās brīvības  
minimumu rakstnieka, zinātnieka, gleznotāja darbam".

(Literatūra un Māksla.-1987.-14.09.)

## VILKS AVS DRĒBĒS / DRĀNĀS

Sargaities no viltus praviešiem, kas pie jums nāk AVJU  
DRĒBĒS, bet no iekšpuses tie ir plēsīgi VILKI. (Mat., 7,15)

Kristus tādus ļaudis sauca par VILKIEM AVJU DRĒBĒS un par  
nobaltētiem kapiem. (R.Kaudzītes, M.Kaudzītes. Mērnieku  
laiki.-R., 1964.-65.lpp.) [ 1879 ]

Bet tie, kas runā citādi - ir VILKI AVJU DRĒBĒS. (Latviešu  
Avīzes.-1915.-9)

Viņš runāja par kaut kādiem ienaidniekiem un par kādiem  
citiem, kuri kā VILKI AVJU DRĒBĒS staigājot tepat visiem  
pa vidu. (V.Lācis. Putni bez spārniem.-R., 1949.-10.lpp.)  
[ 1933 ]

Vai tie nebija visīstākie padomju varas ienaidnieki,  
VILKI AVJU ĀDĀS, kas tur rīkojās? (I.Sokolova. No tau-  
tas tautai.-R.,1977.-93.lpp.)

2. Bībeles tekstā ir daudz vārdkopu, kas lietotas tiešā  
nozīmē, bet ar laiku valodā ieguvušas metaforisko pārnesumu  
un stabilitāti, tādējādi kļūdamas par frazeoloģismiem:

#### MEST (PIRMO) AKMENI/AKMEŅUS UZ KĀDU

Kas no jums ir bez grēka, tas lai pirmais met akmeni uz  
viņu. (Jāņa, 8,7)

Tādēļ viņi arī tik ātri maina savus uzskatus, tik ātri  
ceļ debesīs un MĒTĀ AKMEŅIEM ... (Baltijas Vēstnesis.-  
1900.-85)

Ak, NEMETĪSIM AKMEŅUS uz citiem! (Latviešu Avīzes.-1915.-75)  
Es jūs nosodīt nevaru un arī neticu, ka kāds iedrošinā-  
sies MEST uz jūsu AKMENI. (Sieviete.-1987.-4.-16.lpp.)

#### AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒĻIEM / ZĪMOGIEM

Tad es redzēju labajā rokā tam, kas sēd uz goda krēsla,  
grāmatu, aprakstītu iekš- un ārpusē, aizzīmogotu  
SEPTIŅIEM ZĪMOGIEM. (Jāņa parād. 5,1)

Tādēļ (tādēļ?) viņam diženā pūra bagātais pārļu un  
zitarra, zelta un dimantu saturs, kas sirdi iepriecina un  
prātus pacilā, palicis SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒĻIEM  
AIZZIEĢĒĻĒTAIS noslēpums. (Pārstrauta Jānis un viņa  
"Domas par tautiskās dzejas nodibināšanu" no Kalninieka.  
-R.,1882.-6.lpp.)

"Gudrinieki" Līnās bija iegēmuši īpašu istabiņu, kur tie  
turpināja savas debates par sauli, mākoņiem un par  
"SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒĻIEM". (J.Poruks. Kopoti Raksti. 2.-R.,  
1924.-297.lpp.) [ 1900 ]

Kurš arbitrs tiesās kārtējo spēli - tas ir noslēpums  
AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZĪMOGIEM. (Sports, 25.01.-1987)

Jo darbs un līdz ar to dzīves vērtības un jēgas apzi-  
nāšanās Vikai ir palikusi slēgta AIZ SEPTIŅIEM  
ZIEĢĒĻIEM. (Sieviete.-1987.-7.-17.lpp)

### KAULS NO KAULA (MIESA NO MIESAS)

Un tas dievs sacīja: šī nu ir KAULS NO MANIEM KAULIEM,  
UN MIESA NO MANAS MIESAS.... (1.Mozus, 2,23)

Šādas biedrības nu būs īsti tautiskas.Še jāskandina jo  
uzticīgi savas tēvu-tēvu dziesmas, no kā Latviets var  
teikt: "Šis ir KAULS NO MANIEM KAULIEM UN MIESA NO  
MANAS MIESAS . (Baltijas Zemkopis.-1879.-33)

Še gan mēs sastopam vecus mīļus pazīnas,varbūt pat  
pārāk vecus,bet tie nav KAULS NO MŪSU KAULA UN MIESA  
NO MŪSU MIESAS. (Pēterburgas Avīzes.-1901.-4)

Vienīgā vieta, kas cik necik varētu būt KAULS NO MŪSU  
KAULA, ir 75.lappusē pie vārdiem: "Līksmas līgo  
līgaviņas". (Balss.-1906.-249.)

Viņš,spēka pilns zemes rūķis,KAULS no zemnieka KAULA,  
alka vērienīgāka darbalauka, plašāku apvārķēņu.  
(V.Pūce. Nelaikā piebaidīts.-R., 1982.-28.lpp.)

3. Trešo grupu veido frazeoloģismi, kam Bībelē nav tiešu  
prototipu (var būt atsevišķi vārdi, kas ietilpst tagadējā  
frazeoloģisma sastāvā). Frazeoloģisms ir izveidojies uz  
Bībelē aprakstīto notikumu, parādību, mītu bāzes - tas ir  
sava veida alūzija, kas ieguvusi stabilitāti valodā. Šīs  
grupas robežas ir samērā izplūdušas, un ir gadījumi, kad  
praktiski nav iespējams noteikt,vai frazeoloģismam ir sakars  
ar Bībeles tekstu.Tā sekojošiem frazeoloģismiem nav nefraze-  
oloģisku vai frazeoloģisku vārdkopu prototipu Bībeles tekstā:

### BĀBELES TORNIS (1.Mozus, 11, 1-9)

Bībeles mīts stāsta par mēģinājumu uzcelt Bābelē torni,  
kas iesniegtos debesīs.Negribēdams to pieļaut,Dievs sajauca  
cilvēku valodas,kā rezultātā, nesaprazdami viens otru, tie  
nevarēja turpināt celtniecību. Vārdkopas BĀBELES TORNIS  
tekstā nav.

...tagad jautā arī pēc tā, kā gan tās daždažādās  
valodas patiesi un pēc mūžīgiem likumiem cēlušās  
(nav mana vaina,ka augstais BĀBELES TORNIS jau par  
zemu priekš filoloģijas stāvokļa) un kā kopā sader  
un t.pr. (A.Kronvalds.Runā.(1871.g.) - Kronvalda

Rakstu izlase.-R.,1937.-333.-334.lpp.)

Bet lasi viņu visādas avīzes, klausies viņu dažādas valodas: tev izliksies kā pie BĀBELES TORŅA.

(Austrums.-1885.-5.-271.lpp.)

"Kādu tad jūs, Gravas jaunkundz, šodien BĀBELES TORŅI cēlāt; man visa jūsmīgā runa par Puškinu sajuka" ...

(P.Rozītis.-Valmieras puikas.-R., 1936.-53.lpp.)

"... visādos paveidos" daudzkrāsainajā" izdevniecībā, sava veida Eiropas latviešu BĀBELES TORŅI vieniem viņš bija par vieglu sverams, citiem problemātisks ...

(Dziatenes Balss.-1987.-12.03.)

#### NOASA ŠĶIRSTS

Bībeles mīts vēsta par ūdens plūdiem. Noass ar savu ģimeni un dzīvniekiem izglābās plostā (šķirstā), ko viņam bija iemācījis uzbūvēt Dievs. Vārdkopas Bībelē nav.

Ātri šķūnis pildījās ļaudīm, it kā kad ūdens plūdi būtu uznākuši un šķūnis būtu bijis glābjošais NOASA ŠĶIRSTS.(Balss.-1880.-4)

Un tāpat katra kārta ir kā NOASA ŠĶIRSTS, pilns ar tīriem un netīriem radījumiem.(Latvija.-1913.-241.lpp.)

Kā satriekts NOASA ŠĶIRSTS aizpeldēja kādas liellaivas atliekas.(Ē.Ādamsons.Smalkās kaites.-R.,1937.-134.lpp.)

Otra NOASA ŠĶIRSTA nebūs.

Otrais NOASA ŠĶIRSTS neizklūs sveikā no kodolplūdiem.

(Dziatenes Balss.-1987.-26.02.)

#### NETICĪGAIS TOMS (Jāņa, 20, 24-29)

Jāņa evaņģēlijā viens no divpadsmit apustuļiem Toms, kad viņam stāsta par Kristus augšāmcelšanos,paziņo, ka neticēs tam,līdz neredzēs uz viņa rokām rētas. Pašas vārdkopas Bībelē nav.

Se man būtu vārdu vietā jāuzraksta tikai punkti,

tūkstošiem punktu,kur tev, daiļā lasītāja un

NETICĪGAIS TOM - lasītāj,būtu pašiem jādomā un jāsaņū,

cik neizsērojami dziļš, salds un brīnišķīgs bija šis spārnotās līgavas skūpstis. (J.Poruks. Kopoti Raksti.

1.-R., 1924.-170.lpp.) [ 1895 ]

Kur nu šis jūrā dabūs lakatiņu, - kāds NETICĪGAIS TOMS piezīmēja. (Z.Grīva. Zem albatrosa spārniem.- R., 1956.-50.lpp.)

Tad Veltā pamodās spīts: "Es tiem NETICĪGAJIEM TOMIEM parādīšu." (Karogs.-1979.-11.-130.lpp.)

Taču šis trīs lielās grupas tikai virspusēji parāda Bībeles teksta tulkojumu un valodas frazeoloģismu attiecības. Daudz lielākas pārmaiņas novērojamas pašos frazeoloģismos. Tās galvenokārt vērstas uz frazeoloģiskā fonda paplašināšanu - jaunu nozīmju un frazeoloģismu veidošanu. Visbiežāk sastopamas šādas izmaiņas:

### 1. VARIANTISMS

Runājot par Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismu variantiem, jāatzīmē, ka tiem ir dažāda veida izcelsme un funkcijas. Vispirms apskatīsim variantus, kas ir valodas diahroniskās attīstības rezultāts - tātad frazeoloģismus ar leksiskiem arhaiskiem.

Kā jau tika pasvītrots, frazeoloģijā ilgi saglabājas arhaiski elementi (latviešu valodā šī tendence galvenokārt skar leksiku, reizēm arī gramatiku, piemēram, 'VAIGA SVIEDROS', bet piemēram, krievu, angļu valodā parasti arī gramatiku).

Sai sakarā jāpievēršas frazeoloģisma un tā komponentu attiecībām. Tieši variantu esamība, arhaisku komponentu (daļēja) nomaiņa ar modernākiem vārdiem vēlreiz parāda, ka, lai gan frazeoloģismu sastāvā leksiskās vienības autonomitāte ir ierobežota, tā nekādā ziņā netiek zaudēta, kā izsakās daži lingvisti.

Frazeoloģismu komponentiem saglabājas to pamatnozīme brīvā saistījumā, tie saglabā saikni ar valodas leksisko un gramatisko sistēmu. (Мороз). Tikai tā var izskaidrot to, ka frazeoloģismu sastāvā notiek izmaiņas, tie "modernizējas" leksiskās sistēmas izmaiņu spiediena rezultātā. Jo mazāk idiomātisks ir frazeoloģisms, jo spēcīgāk tas izjūt leksikas attīstību. Valodas normalizējošā ietekme agrāk vai vēlāk izpaužas arī frazeoloģijā, taču tas nenozīmē veco formu automātisku izzušanu. Piemēram, skatīt jau minēto frazeolo-

ģismu "AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒLIEM/ZĪMOGIEM. Leksiskās sistēmas attīstība ir tāda, ka 'zīmogs' pilnīgi izspiedis 'zieģeli', padarīdams to par arhaismu.

Taču frazeoloģijā šis arhaisms ir saglabājies, un, pretēji dažu valodnieku vēlmēm un jau gataviem secinājumiem (Orlovska), tas joprojām ir daudz aktīvāk lietots nekā jaunais modernizētais variants, piemēram,

...gudrību, ko līdz tam vācu meistari slēpa no latviešiem AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒLIEM ... (Dzimtenes Balss.-1986.-18.12.)

Vecais variants šķiet tik pievilcīgs, ka tiek lietots, pat īsti nezinot pareizo formu, piemēram:

...šī slepenā arhīva vākos atrada tādus medicīniskus dokumentus, kurus pat hitleriskajā Vācijā glabāja, kā saka, AIZ SEPTIŅĀM ZIEĢĒLĒM. (B.Polevojs. Beigu beigās.-R., 1971.-109.lpp.)

Jo tā otrā - sociālistiskā pasaule, kuru tā nīst Federatīvās republikas varasvīri, tev ir absolūti sveša. Īstenībā grāmata AIZ SEPTIŅĀM ZIEĢĒLĒM. (M.fon Brauhičs. Bez ciņas nav uzvaras.-R., 1976.-240.lpp.)

Mazliet savādāka ir frazeoloģisma "PĒC (KĀDA) ĢĪMJA UN LĪDŽĪBAS" pakāpeniska transformēšanās. Vārds 'ĢĪMIS' ir nosacīti arhaizējies tikai savā agrākajā literārās valodas nozīmē - "SEJA", taču valodā eksistē kā sarunvalodas vai vienkāršrunas vārds. Un, lai gan mūsdienās frazeoloģismā to nereti aizstāj vārds 'SEJA', piemēram:

Viņi pamatos pārvērta visu inteliģences seju PĒC SAVAS SEJAS UN LĪDŽĪBAS. (Cīņa.-1945.-21.3.)

Ja palautos inercei, tad šī masu produkcija sāktu jauno cilvēku modulēt PĒC SAVAS SEJAS UN LĪDŽĪBAS ... (Literatūra un Māksla.-1986.-16.05.),

tomēr joprojām valodā dominē vecā frazeoloģisma forma: Gandrīz ikviens izglītības ministrs gribējis mūsu skolu dzīvi pārveidot PĒC "SAVA ĢĪMJA" un PĒC "SAVAS LĪDŽĪBAS". (Domas.-1927.-3.-236.lpp.)

Nevaru ciest, ka vecākā paaudze dažreiz mūs mēģina 'taisīt' PĒC SAVA ĢĪMJA UN LĪDŽĪBAS. (Padomju Jaunatne.-1986.-30.12.)

Viņi ir šī laikmeta bērni un zina, ka laikmets ir viņus radījis PĒC SAVA ĢĪMJA UN LĪDZĪBAS. (Karogs.-1987.-10.-143.lpp.)

To zināmā mērā, protams, nosaka tāds apstāklis, kā 'ģīmja' atrašanās Bībeles tulkojumos līdz pat 1970.gada izdevumam (1.Moz.,1,26), kurš tagad skan šādi: Darīsim cilvēku PĒC MŪSU TĒLA UN LĪDZĪBAS... (1970.)

Šķiet, arī šis tulkojums nespēs ietekmēt frazeoloģisma nākotni.

Bet, galvenais, gan minētie, gan arī citi frazeoloģismu piemēri liecina, ka arhaiska elementa atrašanās frazeoloģismā nenorāda uz to, ka pats frazeoloģisms ir arhaisks, novecojis.

Valodā ir un turpina pastāvēt frazeoloģismu ierastie un modernie varianti, no kuriem daudzi ir līdzsvarā. Taču ir gadījumi, kad vecie varianti izzūd pilnīgi:

#### APRAKT SAVU TALANTU (PODU)

Evanģēlijā (Mat.,25,15-30) stāstīts par kungu, kas aiz- aizceļodams iedeva vienam savam vergam 5 talantus (talants (Gr.talanton) sākumā nozīmēja svaru,tad naudas vienību,monētu šī svara apmēros,visbeidzot izcilas spējas),otram-divus,trešam-vienu. Pirmie divi vergi laida naudu apgrozībā un ātri sapelnīja divreiz vairāk, bet trešais vergs ieraka savu monētu zemē.Kad kungs atgriezās,divi vergi sniedza tam sapelnīto naudu, bet trešais paziņoja,ka viņš to apracis.Šī vieta dažādi tulkota dažādos Bībeles izdevumos.(Mat.,25,25):  
...un es bīdāties nogāju/ un APSLĒPU TAVU PODU ZEMĒ. (1689., arī 1825.)

Es baidījies,un aizgāju un APRAKU TAVU TALANTU ZEMĒ.(1938., arī 1970.)

Tātad ilgu laiku latviešu valodā 'talanta' vietā ir bijis 'pods'.Tas atspoguļojas arī jau minētajos vēlākajos tulkojumos, piemēram, (Mat.,25,15):

Un vienam viņš deva PIECUS TALANTUS (PODUS).(1938.,1970.)  
... talantus (piecus centnerus sudraba) (1988).

Pirmais Bībeles vārdkopas variants iemūžināts arī frazeoloģisma formā, piemēram:

...tā šai momentā es sajūtu sevi aicinātu stāties ar saviem gara ieročiem jūsu vidū, dārgie tautieši un centīgie Slātavas jaunekļi, jūsu vidū un par jums, jo savu PODU es APRAKT NEDRĪKSTU ! (R.Kaudzītes, M.Kaudzītes. Mērnieku laiki.-R.,1964.-340.lpp.) [ 1879 ]

Kad nu es negribu nebūt Jūsu rupjības un nepatiesības "PODU" "RAKT ZEMĒ", nedz likt "uz augļiem", tad piesūtu Jums tās visas atpakaļ ... (Pārstrauta Jānis un viņa "Domas par tautiskās dzejas nodibināšanu". no Kalnenieka.-R., 1882. - 21.lpp.).

Jums ir mākslinieka dāvanas, lielas dāvanas, tikai nu nepalikl pusceļā, bet tās glītrot un kopt kā dārgu mantu. NEAPROCIET SAVU PODU ZEMĒ, ko dievs jums uzticējis ! (Zeiboltu Jēkabs. Ūdens burbuļi.-R.,1985.-166.lpp.) [1900]

Divdesmitā gadsimtā jaunais komponents 'TALANTS' izspiedis veco komponentu 'PODS' no frazeoloģisma, un tikai specializētās vārdnīcās atrodama arī šī vārda bijusī nozīme:

... man liekas, ka man būs jāpāriet uz kādu citu, labāku komandu, citādi es te SAVU TALANTU pavisam APRAKŠU.

(Ē.Vilks. Cilvēki ar vienu patiesību.-R.,1949.-137.lpp)

Tev arī nav tiesību SAVU TALANTU APRAKT nepiemērotā darbā. (M.Bendrupe. Upe izkāpj no krastiem.-R., 1957.-65.lpp.)

Šādu variantu ar arhaiskiem elementiem nav daudz, bet tie nebūt neizsmēl visas variantisma iespējas.

Daudz vairāk ir vienkārši uzuālu variantu, kas dažos gadījumos izceļ vienu vai otru frazeoloģisma niansi vai arī kalpo frazeoloģisma iesaistīšanai dažādos kontekstos, piemēram: CELT/DIBINĀT/BŪVĒT KAUT KO UZ SMILTĪM (Bībelē-UZTAISĪT/CELT UZ SMILTĪM)

Teodora kungam nav nekāda pasaules uzskata, nekāda nešaubīga pamata, tā tad viss, ko viņš būvējis, ir kā kāršu namiņš, ir UZ SMILTĪM BŪVĒTS, ir laicīgs ...

(Austrums.-1888.-7.-847.lpp.)



Tik ilgi, kamēr Vācijai neizdošoties sagraut Lielbritānijas spēku, Hitlera impērija būšot DIBINĀTA UZ SMILTĪM. (Cīņa.- 1940.-36)

Savelkot galus kopā, negribētos secinājumus un cerīgas ainas attēlot UZ SMILTĪS BŪVĒTA optimisma. (Sports.- 1986.-05.02.)

Mēs zinām, ka šie aprēķini bija CELTI UZ irdenām SMILTĪM, bet tie bija Hitlera priekšlikumu pamatā. (Dzimtenes Balss.-1987.-20.08.).

Daudzos gadījumos, kad Bībeles prototips funkcionē mūsdienu latviešu valodā, tam iespējami varianti, kas uzskatāmi par alūzijām uz Bībeles tekstu. Šie varianti ir tikpat dziļi nostiprinājušies kā izejas prototips. Piemēram, vārdkopa 'TRĪSDESMIT SUDRABA GABALI' ir nemainīga visos Bībeles tulkojumos, taču, lai gan lietots, šis frazeoloģisms tomēr nav pats populārākais latviešu valodā; daudz populārāki frazeoloģismi ir 'JŪDASA GRAŠI' un '(TRĪSDESMIT) (SUDRABA) GRAŠI', kā arī JŪDASA ALGA / NAUDA utt.:

Drīz aplenca tevi daudzums spiegu....Skan Jūdasa  
JŪDASA GRAŠI cimdā. (A.Brūklenājs.Izlase.-R.,1955.-61.lpp.)  
Taču JŪDASU GRAŠU strauņīte beigu beigās izsīks.  
(Rīgas Balss.-1987.-29.01.)

... TRĪSDESMIT GRAŠU ordenis ir cilvēces kraupis ...  
(A.Bels.Saucēja balss.-R., 1975. -93.lpp)

Vai tie nebija apsolītie TRĪSDESMIT SUDRABA GRAŠI  
Jūdām - falsificētājam. (Dzimtenes Balss.-1986.-27.02.)

... kas par SUDRABA GRAŠIEM pārdevuši savu dzimteni.  
(Dzimtenes Balss.-1985.-15.08.)

Piemini tu manus vārdus: tā nauda ir JŪDASA NAUDA,  
viņai nāk sodība pakaj. (R.Kaudzītes,M.Kaudzītes.  
Mērnieku laiki.-R.,1964.-209.lpp) [ 1879 ]

Vēlāk es, pārdomādams dažus faktus, nācu pie pārliecības,  
ka starp teroristiem ir bijis viens, kas visu zināja un  
saņēma savu JŪDASA ALGU. (J.Akurāters. Dienu atspīdumi.-  
R.,1924.-94.lpp.)

Tāpat daudz variantu ir frazeoloģismam "AIZLIEGTAIS AUGLIS" (Mozus 2,16-17), pie tam variantisms skar abus komponentus - AIZLIEGTS AUGLIS, AIZLIEGTAIS AUGLIS, GRĒKA AUGLIS, SALDAIS AUGLIS, AIZLIEGTAIS ĀBOLS, BĪSTAMAIS ĀBOLS, PAZĪŠANAS ĀBOLS, ATZĪŠANAS ĀBOLS; turklāt šīs vārdkopas bieži tiek kombinētas ar komponentiem 'kost', 'nobaudīt', 'nogaršot', tā veidojot tēlu, kas eksistē Bībelē:

Bet Zina nelikās mierā, kamēr dabūja AIZLIEGTO AUGLI.

(A. Birkerts. Pedagogi. - Rīga, 1908. - 98. lpp.)

Lai kristu grēkā, ir vajadzīgs SALDAIS AUGLIS. (Skola un Ģimene. - 1987. - 1. - 29. lpp.)

Vai kāds brīnums, ka tīni grib IZGARŠOT šo vēl nesen it kā "AIZLIEGTO AUGLI". (Rīgas Balss. - 1987. - 26.08.)

... pieradums ir tikpat lipīgs kā GRĒKA AUGLA vilinājums. (Literatūra un Māksla. - 1987. - 30.01.)

.. nākamgad "Straume" būs to pagaidām nedaudzo kolektīvu skaitā, kas KODĪS saimnieciskā aprēķina ATZĪŠANAS ĀBOLĀ - tik cerīgi vilinošā un riskanti biedējošā (Cīņa. - 1987. - 17.12.)

Visas cīnīšanās algu,

Mērķi visu centienu

Turēja viņš tagad rokā -

ATZĪŠANAS ĀBOLU.

(Aspazija. Kopoti Raksti. 2.-R., 1931. - 190. lpp.) [ 1894 ]

Bija vien jākož BĪSTAMAJĀ ĀBOLĀ. (A. Grigulis. Kad lietus un vēji sitas loģā. - R., 1965. - 485. lpp.)

Šāds variantu daudzums katrā ziņā koplina valodas izteiksmes iespējas, bet to attainojums vārdnīcās ir bezgala nabadzīgs - labākajā gadījumā divi varianti.

Vēl savdabīgāka ir frazeoloģisma KLUPSANAS AKMENS/PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENS vēsture un pašreizējais statuss. Bībelē vairākās vietās ir runa par šiem jēdzieniem (Isaja, 8, 14, Pāv. vēst. rom., 9, 32-33).

Taču, pieturoties pie pēdējās, novērojama šāda attīstība:

Raugi es lieku iekš Cionas VIENU AKMINI TĀS PIEDAUZĪŠANAS un AKMINI tās apgrēcības. (1689, 1739, 1794.)

Raugi es lieku iekš Cionas VIENU AKMINI TĀS PIEDAUZĪ-  
ŠANAS, un VIENU AKMIŅA KALŅU tās APGRĒCĪBAS ... (1825)  
Redzi, es lieku Ciānā PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENI, KLINTI, PĀR  
KURU JĀKLŪP ... (1938, 1970, 1988.)

Tātad abi frazeoloģismi nāk no Bībeles, un to nozīme ir  
bijusi saistīta. Par to liecina arī latviešu literatūras un  
periodikas piemēri no pagājušā gadsimta un šī gadsimta sā-  
kuma posma - frazeoloģismu nozīmes ir gandrīz identas:

Bet šoreiz šis akmens viņam, jeb, pareizāk sakot, viņa  
vāgiem tapa par PIEDAUZĪŠANAS AKMENI. (Austruma  
kalendārs. - Rīga, 1894. - 34. lpp.)

... Cipfelbrinks ... palika par to PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENI,  
pār kuru Pēteris KLUFĀ un savu vietu zaudēja.

(A. Deglavs. Rīga. 1. - Rīga, 1951. - 89. lpp.) [ 1910 ]  
Mūsu tautas nākotne atrodas sievietes - mātes rokās,  
tādēļ te nedrīkst būt laipošana, nedrīkst būt pat sā-  
tība, jo tā ir KRĪŠANAS resp. PIEDAUZĪŠANAS AKMENS  
katram nespēcīgam raksturam ... (Auseļa kalendārs  
1915. - Rīga, 1914. - 18. lpp.)

Taču laika gaitā abu frazeoloģismu nozīmes ir aizvien  
vairāk attālinājušās. Dienēļ daudzās divvalodu vārdnīcās  
tas netiek atainots. Vēl vairāk - arī Latviešu literārās  
valodas vārdnīcā šie frazeoloģismi doti kā identī:

PIEDAUZĪBAS (arī KLUPŠANAS) AKMENS - traucēklis, šķērslis,  
kas parasti rada sarežģījumus, nepatīkšanas. Tātad "PIEDAUZĪ-  
BAS AKMENS" nozīme reducēta uz "KLUPŠANAS AKMENS" nozīmi.

Taču valodas materiāls jau samērā sen liecina par to, ka  
frazeoloģismam "PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENS" nozīme ir krietni citā-  
dāka - fakts, kura dēļ kādam pastāvīgi tiek uzbrukts.

Kā tu domā sadzīvot ar viņu? Kā PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENS  
viņa tev būs tavā amatā. (A. Upīts. Kopoti raksti. 8. -  
Rīga, 1922. - 303. lpp.) [ 1922 ]

... miegs bija un palika Viļa Vēdzeles PIEDAUZĪBAS  
AKMENS, kas sagādāja tam ne visai pamatotu slinkā un  
miegamīces slavu. (J. Vanags. Stāsti par Daugavu un  
Lielupi. - Rīga, 1954. - 136. lpp.)

Kas tad īsti ir šis PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENS, kas iestrēdzis starp abām kaimiņnienēm ... (Rīgas Balss.-1985.-17.4.)  
Godīgi sakot, "Jauju" arhitektūra kļūst par PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENI. (Padomju Jaunatne.-1986.-25.3.)

Savukārt "KLUPŠANAS AKMENS" nozīmē nepārvaramu šķērslī, grūtību cēloni.

Kur slēpjas "KLUPŠANAS AKMENS", ja sportists apstājies meistarības izaugsmē? (Rīgas Balss.-1987.-31.01.)

Ja G.Priede ir aizskāris šo tematu, acīmredzot arī mūsu sabiedrībā ir izveidojies kāds KLUPŠANAS AKMENS, pret kuru daudzi atdurās, bet pāri tiek retais.

(Padomju Jaunatne.-1987.30.01.)

Tikai visjaunākajā Latviešu valodas vārdnīcā (1987) atrodama zināma diferenciacija šo frazeoloģismu nozīmē.

## 2. ARHAIZĀCIJA.

Mēs jau aizskārām arhaizācijas problēmu, runājot par variantismu, kur leksiski arhaiski elementi frazeoloģismos uzskatāmi par pilnīgi pieņemamiem mūsdienās. Taču valodā ir frazeoloģiski, kas tiešām noveco, pie tam parasti tas nav saistīts ar arhaiskiem to sastāvā - noveco pats frazeoloģisms, tā nozīme, metaforiskais tēls, simbolisms, piemēram, mūsdienās no valodas praktiski izzudis frazeoloģisms APJOT (SAVUS) GURNUS (Luka, 12.35)

Celies un pasteidzies

GURNUS SEV JOT,

Visu veco dzīvi

Sev nokrati nost!

(J.Rainis.Kopotī Raksti.1.-R.,1947.-114.lpp.) [ 1903 ]

Tu esi Eduards, es Eduards - vai tas neskan simboliski?

Tad, lūk, APJOT SAVUS GURNUS, ņem zobenu un ej cīņā.

(E.Salienieks.Tā viņi strādāja.-R., 1967. - 355.lpp.)

Liekas, šī frazeoloģisma funkcijas pārņēmis cits frazeoloģisms AUT KĀJAS, kas labāk atbilst mūsdienu īstenībai.

Vēl vairāk novecojis ir arī frazeoloģisms ĀRSTE, DZIEDINI PATS SEVI (Lūka, 4.23).

... piesūtu Jums tās visas atpakaļ līdz ar tām parakstītām dziedināšanas receptēm, un turklāt visas tāpat, kā tās no Jums sarakstītas, vai latviski, vai vāciski, vai franciski, vai latīniski, pielikdams tik to vārdu: "ĀRSTĒ, DZIEDINI PATS SEVI!"

(Pārstrautu Jānis un viņa "Domas par tautiskās dzejas nodibināšanu" no Kalnenieka.-R., 1882. - 21.lpp.)

### 3. ELIPSE.

Elipse jeb frazeoloģisma redukcija ir ļoti izplatīta parādība frazeoloģijā. Izšķirama uzuālā un okazionālā elipse (Козьмцева). Ļoti daudziem Bībeles frazeoloģismiem ir eliptiskas formas, bet tai pašā laikā turpina eksistēt arī pilnās formas. Tātad pastāv divi vai vairāki frazeoloģisma kvantitatīvie varianti, parasti ar vienu un to pašu nozīmi, piemēram:

((VIEGLĀK) KAMIELIM) IZLĪST) CAUR ADATAS ACI

(Mat., 19,24; Lūka, 18,25; Marks, 10,25)

Uzvarēt Madrides "Real" pieredzes bagātos basketbolistus viņu mājās ir tas pats, kas KAMIELIM IZLĪST CAUR ADATAS ACI. (Sports.-1986.-15.03.)

Vēsture, uz kuru cerēja "Celtnieks" līdzjutēji, ticot, ka arī šoreiz komanda kā pirms pieciem gadiem pēdējās trijās kārtās IZLĪDĪS CAUR ADATAS ACI, protams, neatkārtojās. (Sports.-1987.-14.02.)

CAUR ADATAS ACI - līderos. (Padomju Jaunatne.-1984.-19.10.)

Uz augstāko līgu - vairs ADATAS ACS. (Sports.-1985.-07.12.)

Ja pēdējo piemēru varētu uzskatīt par alūziju, tad visi citi ir valodā bieži sastopami un nostabilizējušies.

Līdzīgi eliptiski lietots arī sekojošais frazeoloģisms, turklāt elipse zināmā mērā ietekmē arī šī frazeoloģisma semantiku: SAUCĒJA BALSS (TUKSNESĪ) (Jesaja, 40,3; Mat., 3,3 u.c.)

Taču visi šie aicinājumi izskanēja kā SAUCĒJA BALSS  
TUKSNESĪ. (Padomju Latvijas Komunisti.-1986.-11.-63.lpp.)  
... un atkal no uguns izauga seno cīņu ainas, un atska-  
nēja SAUCĒJA BALSS - vārdi nemirst. (A.Bels. Saucēja  
balss.-R.,1973.-186.lpp.)

Līdzīgi varētu minēt tādus frazeoloģismus kā  
FĀRDOT (SAVU PIRMDZIMTĪBU) / (PAR LĒCU VIRUMU), (GRĀMATA)  
AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢEĻIEM, MAZGĀT ROKAS (NEVAINĪBĀ), FĒDĒJAIS  
PILIENS (KAUSĀ / BĪKĒRĪ), KAULS NO KAULA (MIESA NO MIESAS)  
u.c. (Skat. jau minētos piemērus).

Tomēr, šķiet, visinteresantākās un nozīmīgākās pārmaiņas  
notikušas frazeoloģismu semantikā. Šeit pirmām kārtām jāaplū-  
ko jaunu nozīmju veidošanās.

### 3. POLISEMIJA

Daudziem frazeoloģismiem ar laiku parādījušās jaunas no-  
zīmes, tie kļuvuši polisemantiski. Nozīmju veidošanās parasti  
notiek vispārināšanās rezultātā - frazeoloģisma semantika it  
kā izplešas un sadalās dažādās apakšnozīmēs, kas ar laiku  
nostiprinās kā autonomas. Šis process vislielākā mērā skar  
tās vārdkopas, kuras Bībelē ir lietotas vairāk vai mazāk tie-  
šā nozīmē - tām valodā ir plašas iespējas izvērst dažādas  
frazeoloģiskas nozīmes. Tā, piemēram, frazeoloģisms 'APSOLĪTĀ  
ZEME' Bībelē nozīmē Palestīnu, uz kurieni Dievs atveda ebrej-  
us no Eģiptes gūsta. 2. Mozus grāmatā (3,8 - 17.).

Mozus tiek apsollīts, ka ebrejus aizvedīs uz zemi, kur tek  
piens un medus. Pati vārdkopa parādās Jaunās Derības Pāvila  
vēstulē ebrejiem (11,9):

Ticības spēkā viņš apmetās APSOLĪTAJĀ ZEMĒ kā sveši-  
nieks (1938).

Mūsdienās šim frazeoloģismam ir sekojošas nozīmes:

#### 1. Palestīna vai Izraēla:

Kopš 1920.gada, kad noorganizēja židu ieceļošanu  
Palestīnā plašākos apmēros, "APSOLĪTAJĀ ZEMĒ" varēju-  
šas nomesties uz dzīvi pavisam 300000 personas - tā  
tad tieši tik, cik tagad paredzēts izraidīt no

Austrijas. (Jaunākās Ziņas.-1938.-88.)

Un vienu dienu, rau, Elga vīra vadībā izceļoja uz  
APSOLĪTO ZEMI - Izraēlu. (Dzimtenes Balss.-1987.-29.01.)  
(Šī nozīme nav dota LLVV 1.sēj.271.lpp.)

2. Vieta, kurā cenšas nokļūt, par ko sapņo:

Vēl raksturīgs gabaliņš par laimes meklētājiem  
"APSOLĪTĀ ZEME", Maskavas guberņā, iz jaunākiem laikiem.  
(Zemkopis.-1914.-02.07.)

Kā oāze tuksnesī, kā APSOLĪTĀ ZEME" Kurzeme atkal paces-  
ļas iedomā. (A.Upīts.Kopotī Raksti.VIII.R.,1950.-91.lpp.)

Lūk, ģenplāna "APSOLĪTĀ ZEME" sanatoriju celtniecībai  
Jaunķemeros. (Māksla.-1987.-Nr.3.-18.lpp.)

3. Vieta, kur valda pārpilnība, laime, ideāli apstākļi:

Tomēr nēģerus netraucē Bustamentes pagātne; tagad tie  
viņu godina un pielūdz kā pusdievu, kā savu Mozu, kas vi-  
ņus ievēdīs "APSOLĪTAJĀ ZEME". (Jaunākās Ziņas.-1938.-125.)  
Tikai nepilnu gadu viņš bija dabūjis nodzīvot Jaunajā  
Pasaulē. Savu APSOLĪTO ZEMI Valdis Vītols joprojām nebija  
atradis. (V.Lācis. Putni bez spārniem.-R.,1949.-375.lpp.)  
... Kuba un Nikaragva bija īstas "APSOLĪTĀS ZEMES" orga-  
nizētajai noziedzībai, arī narkotisko vielu ražošanai,  
apstrādei un kontrabandai. (Cīņa.-03.03.-1987.)

Līdzīgi attīstījušās vairākas nozīmes frazeoloģiskām

'DIENIŠKĀ MAIZE':

1. Iztikas līdzekļi, ēdiens, nepieciešamais uzturs:

Tikai tad, kad latviešu mākslinieka darbiem radīsies  
noņēmēja publika, kurai pateicoties viņš būs atsvabi-  
nāts no rūpēm par DIENIŠKO MAIZI, varēs būt runa par  
īstu mākslas uzcelšanu. (Pēterburgas Avīzes.-1902.-06.10.  
Nr.80.)

Stāvu negarā rindā pie kases, groziņā pusklaips DIENIŠKĀS  
MAIZES un piekodus, kādas nu ir. (Cīņa.-1987.-01.04.)

2. Galvenais dzīvē, (dzīvei) nepieciešamais pamats:

(Šī nozīme nav dota LLVV).

Tie ir tie nedaudzie, kam māksla nav vis modes lieta, sports vai laika kavēklis, bet kas to saprot, dziļi izjūt, tajā dzīvo, kam māksla ir DIENIŠKĀ MAIZE. (Zalktis.-1907.-2.)

...tas norāda uz ārkārtīgu cienu, ko grāmata pie mums ieguvusi. Tā kļuvusi par tautas otru DIENIŠKO MAIZI. (Jaunākās Ziņas.-1938.-21.)

Papīrs, kā zināms, taču ir visas poligrāfijas DIENIŠKĀ MAIZE. (Rīgas Balss.-1971.-73.)

Taču arī daudziem otrās grupas frazeoloģismiem ir valodā nostiprinājušās vairākas nozīmes, piemēram:

KAULS NO KAULA UN MIESA NO MIESAS (L.Mozus, 2,23):

1) bērns, tuvs radnieks:

- Bet es taču esmu KAULS NO VIŅU KAULA - to tu zini!

- Tu biji kauls no viņu kaula, bet turpmāk ..., jau tagad tu esi mūsējais. (V.Lācis. Akmeņainais ceļš.-R., 1964. - 321.lpp.) [ 1938 ]

Lai arī pašu bērni, KAULS NO VIŅU KAULA UN MIESA NO VIŅU MIESAS, tomēr jaunajā pasaulē par daudz kustējušies ... (M.Kalnadrūva. Tīrumā.-R., 1963. - 214.lpp.)

2) Ideja, kaut kas tāds, kas radīts, tuvs, idejiskā pēctecība: "viņš sasniedzis to augstumu, kādu viņam jāva sasniegt tā bagātais talants, radīdams mākslas darbus, kuri ir KAULS NO MŪSU KAULIEM UN MIESA NO MŪSU MIESAS. (Dzimtenes Vēstnesis.-1909.- 42.)

... reakcionārās aprindas sāka apzināties, ka nacisms ir KAULS NO VIŅU KAULA. (Dzimtenes Balss.-1985.-05.12.)

#### 4. Semantiskās izmaiņas frazeoloģismos.

Dažiem frazeoloģismiem notikusi konotatīvās nozīmes izmaiņa - tā Bibēlē vārdkopa LAI TAVA KREISĀ ROKA NEZINA, KO LABĀ DARA lietota visnotaļ pozitīvā gaismā (Mat.,6,3.):

Bet kad tu tos nabagus apdāvēini, tad LAI TAVA KREISĀ ROKA NEZINA, KO TAVA LABĀ DARA. (1689, 1794.).

Mūsdienās šis frazeoloģisms parasti lietots negatīvā nozīmē:



Tas atslābina atbildības sajūtu vēl vairāk. Ķēdes reakcija sākas un attīstās, jo "LABĀ ROKA NEZIN, KO DARA KREISĀ". (Avots.-1987.-9. - 76.lpp.)

Notiek arī dažu Bībeles izteicienu semantikas pārīdeoloģizācija atkarībā no valdošā pasaules uzskata. Tā frazeoloģisms KAS NESTRĀDĀ, TAM NEBŪS ĒST! (2.vēst.tesal.,3,10) sastopams jau Bībelē: JA TAS NEGRIB STRĀDĀT, TAM ARĪ NEBŪS ĒST. (1689)

JA KAS NEGRIB STRĀDĀT, TAM ARĪ NEBŪS ĒST. (1970)

Pats mūsu Pestītājs saka: "KAS NEGRIB STRĀDĀT, TAM ARĪ NEBŪS ĒST." (R.Kaudzītes, M.Kaudzītes. Mērnieku laiki.-R., 1964.- 91.lpp.) [ 1879 ]

Par katru godīgu darbu-godīgu algu. Tas ir princips, pie kā turas padomju darba ļaudis. "KAS NESTRĀDĀ, TAM NEBŪS ĒST"-tā rakstījis Staļina konstitūcijā. (Cīņa.-1940.-39.)

Notikušas arī sarežģītākas semantiskas izmaiņas, piem., šādā frazeoloģismā: MANNA NO DEBESĪM / DEBESU MANNA Bībelē, tad, kad Dievs tuksnesī liek debesu maizei krist no debesīm, Izraēla bērni iesaucās "Man hu?" (kas tas ir?). Dažādos Bībeles tulkojumos šī vieta ir dažādi interpretēta (2.Mozus, 16,15):

Kad to tie Izraēļa bērni redzēja, tad sacīja tie viens uz otru:

TAS IR MANN, jo tie nezināja, kas tas bija. (1689.)

Kad to tie Izraēļa bērni redzēja, tad sacīja tie viens uz otru: KAS TAS IR? (1825)

... tad tie sacīja cits uz citu: KAS TAS IR? (1937.)

Kad Israēļa bērni to ieraudzīja, tie sacīja cits citam: "MAN HU?, KAS TAS IR?", jo tie nezināja, kas tas bija. (1970.)

Tātad šis frazeoloģisms pašā Bībelē nav atrodamš - tā ir alūzija uz aprakstīto notikumu, turklāt jau Bībelē notikusi vārdu nozīmes maiņa. Minētais frazeoloģisms latviešu valodā parasti tiek lietots formā NOKRIST KĀ / ILGOTIES PĒC / GRIBĒT / CERĒT UZ DEBESU MANNU:

... ne jau DEBESU MANNA, bet tīri laicīga nauda tam vajadzīga. (Rīgas Balss.-1962.-20.)

Kolhozs "Sarkanais stars" ir no tām saimniecībām, kas negaida MANNU BIRSTAM NO DEBESĪM. (Dadzis.-1979.-16.-3.1pp.)  
Cerēt, kā mēdz teikt, uz MANNU NO DEBESĪM, mēs nevaram.  
(Padomju Jaunatne.-1985.-12.04.)

Sakarā ar šo piemēru jāatzīmē, ka uzskatīt, ka visi Bībeles satura frazeoloģismi ir ienākuši tieši ar Bībeles palīdzību, šķiet, būtu pārsteidzīgi. Tā kā praktiski ap 90% no šiem frazeoloģismiem ir internacionāli (katrā valodā ir arī grupa Bībeles frazeoloģismu, kas specifiski attiecīgajai tautai), tad ļoti iespējams, ka daļa šo frazeoloģismu ieplūduši ar citu valodu starpniecību. Tā, piemēram, frazeoloģisms 'ALFA UN OMEGA' (visa sākums un beigas), kas atspoguļo grieķu alfabēta pirmo un pēdējo burtu (salīdzinājumam):

'NO A LĪDZ Z / NO A LĪDZ CET') nevienā Bībeles tulkojumā nav dots kā ALFA UN OMEGA vai  $\alpha$  un  $\omega$ , bet gan kā A UN O (Jāna atkl., 1,8 u.c.):

Es esmu tas A UN O. (1689, 1794.)

Es esmu A UN O. (1938.)

Bet literāros tekstos frazeoloģisms parasti sastopams transkripcijas veidā:

... "aukstais karš" bija Rietumu diplomātijas ALFA UN OMEGA. (Literatūra un Māksla.-1959.-Nr.52.-4.1pp.)

Šis tēls Zariņa un Ezeras romānos koncentrē sevī to, ko es varētu nosaukt par literatūras ALFU UN OMEGU.

(Literatūra un Māksla.-1985.-32.),

kas liecina par to, ka, acīmredzot, šis frazeoloģisms, lai arī Bībeles izcelsmes, tomēr nav nācis no latviešu tulkojuma. Jāatzīmē, ka 1988.gada izdevumā parādās frāze ALFA UN OMEGA, kas liecina par valodas ietekmi uz tulkojumu.

Arī frazeoloģisma "SŪTĪT NO PONTIJA PIE PILĀTA" izcelsme ir savdabīga. Frazeoloģisms balstās uz Bībeles mītu par to, ka Jēzu atveda pie Romas prokurora Palestīnā Pontija Pilāta, tas savukārt nosūtīja Jēzu pie Galilejas pārvaldnieka Eroda. Jēzus atteicās atbildēt Erodam un tika sūtīts atpakaļ pie Pontija Pilāta (Lūka, 23,1-12). Tādējādi frazeoloģisms faktiski balstās uz mīta personāža vārda un uzvārda kļūdainu interpretāciju.

Jāatzīmē, ka šāds frazeoloģisms eksistē arī abās latviešu valodas galvenajās kontakt- un starpniekvalodās - vācu (jemanden von Pontius zu Pilatus schicken) un krievu (послать от Понтия к Пилату). Maz ticams, vai šāda specifiska transformācija varētu būt notikusi valodās neatkarīgi citai no citas. Šis apstākļi vedina domāt, ka frazeoloģisms latviešu valodā nav ienācis caur Bībeles tulkojumu.

Tāpat arī jau sen sastopamais frazeoloģisms "KALPOT MAMMONAM", piemēram:

... šāda "MAMMONA" KALPOŠANA visas dievīgas jūtas un svētas saites saraustījuma top par nāvīgu liesmu.

(Latviešu Avīzes, -1873.-51.),

kam ir Bībeles izcelsme, latviešu tulkojumos bija bez svešvārda: Jūs nevarat Dievam KALPOT un MANTAI. (Mat., 6, 24.)

Tikai 1988.gadā parādās abi varianti.

Skīet, frazeoloģisms būs ienācis no vācu valodas:

Ihr könnt nicht Gott DIENEN und DEM MAMMON.

## 5. Leksikalizācija

Frazeoloģija un leksika, būdami dažādi valodas līmeņi, tomēr neattīstās autonomi, atrauti viens no otra. Tāpēc valodā notiek dažādu vienību pāreja no viena līmeņa otrā. Vispārīgā tendence ir frazeoloģismu pārvēršana saliktenos, kas attaisno tieksmi pēc ekonomiskākiem izteiksmes līdzekļiem. Taču iespējams arī pretējais process. Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismos praktiski nav novērojama leksisku vienību (salikteno) pārvēršanās frazeoloģismos, pretējā tendence ir samērā bieža parādība. Dažāda jēdziena interpretācija sastopama arī viena izdevuma ietvaros, tā, piemēram, pirmajos Bībeles tulkojumos mūsdienu STŪRAKMEŅS sastopams kā saliktenis - TAS IR PAR STŪRA=AKMINI TAPPIS (Mat., 21, 42). Bet, piemēram, 1938.gada izdevumā šī pati vieta ir sekojoša - IR KĻUVIS PAR STŪRA AKMENI. Šī paša izdevuma citā grāmatā (Efez. 2.20) sastopam STŪRAKMEŅI kā salikteni.

Taču valodā jau kopš gadsimta sākuma saliktenis ir praktiski vienīgā lietotā formā:

Gimene ir STŪRAKMEŅS visā mūsu valsts dzīvē ... (Jaunākās Ziņas, -1938.-102)

Bībeles dogma un tautas dziesmu tradīcijas tad arī ir tie divi STĪRAKMEŅI, uz kuriem balstās Apsīšu Jēkaba māksla.

(A. Lūpīts. Latviešu literatūra. 1.-Rīga, 1951.-50. lpp.)

A. Kīses dzīves pamatu veido divi galvenie STĪRAKMEŅI - Latvijas sporta vēsture un ātrslidošana.

(Sports.-1981.-150)

Frazeoloģismam "GRĒKA ĀZIS" Bībelē nav sastopams prototips, runa ir par āzi, kuram uzkrauj grēkus, tātad formālā ziņā no izcelsmes viedokļa tas noteikti ir frazeoloģisms.

Mūsdienās, liekas, dominē tā leksikalizētais variants - 'GRĒKA ĀZIS', kas atrodams vairumā vārdnīcu un arī valodā:

Puiši pēc "karstām pārrunām" nolēma ievietot sienas avīzē karikatūras par abiem GRĒKĀZIEM. (Liesma.-1964.-3.-30. lpp.) Bet tagad milīcijai esot cita versija, tā viņiem spēkiem meklējot GRĒKĀZI, kurš it kā būtu varējis Biksanu sasist jau pirms aizturēšanas. (Padomju Jaunatne.-1987.-24.07.)

Tiesa, paralēli leksiskajam variantam saglabājies arī frazeoloģisms:

Pēc angļu preses novērtējuma spāņu nacionālistu valdība galveno GRĒKA ĀZI, kas vainojams Teruelas galīgā krišanās republikāņu rokās, atradusi pilsētas militārā gubernatora personā. (Jaunākās Ziņas.-1938.-9)

... kad masās sāk briest nemiers, tad šie "nacionālisti" mēģina atrast kādu "GRĒKA ĀZI", kam uzvelt vainu par saviem darbiem. (Cīņa.-1940.-15.)

Tas uzzinājis, kas to GRĒKA ĀZI nospiež ... (Zvaigzne.-1957.-11.-8. lpp.)

Dažreiz parādās arī citu divkomponentu frazeoloģismu okacionāli leksikalizētie varianti, piemēram, valodā ir nostiprinājies frazeoloģisms 'VĪĢES LAPA':

Būtība nav jaunās fasādēs, jaunās izkārtnēs un jaunās VĪĢES LAPĀS. (Literatūra un Māksla.-1987.-24.07.)

Taču nereti sastopams arī vienkāršs saliktenis:

Tādējādi programma 03 sāka kalpot par VĪĢESLAPU republikas atbildīgu amatpersonu neizdarības piesegšanai. (Literatūra un Māksla.-1987.-28.08.)

### Frazeoloģijas stilistiskais lietojums

Lielākā daļa Bībeles izcelsmes frazeoloģismu ir tik ļoti asimilēti valodā, to nozīme tādā mērā vispārinājusies, ka latviešu valodā nevar runāt par bībelismiem kā īpašu grupu no funkcionāli stilistiskā viedokļa, kā tas ir, teiksim, krievu valodā, kur bībelismi izceļas ar arhaisku elementu bagātību. Tiesa, atsevišķi frazeoloģismi, kas satur īpašvārdus vai kam ir īpaša veida struktūra vai saturs, daļēji saglabājuši reliģisko nokrāsu, piemēram:

#### ZĀLAMĀNA SPRIEDUMS

Vismaz nākamo vasaru lai staigā vecajos paltrakos. Patiesi tas ir ZĀLAMĀNA SPRIEDUMS. (E. Salenieks. Tā viņi strādāja. - R., 1967. - 246. lpp.)

#### SODOMA UN GOMORA

Vai puika būtu sācis staigāt šādus ceļus? Ak, pilsētas! SODOMA UN GOMORA! Uz katra stūra kārības, katrā namā negantības. (J. Lācis. Mūža meža maldi. - Rīga, 1972. 405. lpp.)  
[ 1937 ]

#### KAINA ZĪME / ZĪMOGS

Vispirms Raņķis no tā traipekļa izbijās, tad gribēja viņu nopurināt un noslaucīt, sacīdams: "Nost, nost, tu jaunā KAINA ZĪME! Vai gribi mani nodot?" (R. Kaudzītes, M. Kaudzītes. Mērnieku laiki. - R., 1964. - 396. lpp.) [ 1879 ]

#### CILVĒKS NEDZĪVO NO MAIZES VIEN

Patiesi, to, ka "CILVĒKS NEDZĪVO NO MAIZES VIEN", to saprot daudzi Lāča varoņi. (I. Sokolova. No tautas tautai. - R., 1977. - 128. lpp.)

Tomēr vairākumam bībelismu šādas nokrāsas vairs nav, vēl vairāk, parasta latviešu valodas pratēja uztverē šie frazeoloģismi nemaz nesaistās ar Bībeli. Par to liecina vienību atrašanās. Frazeoloģismi sasnieguši augstu vispārinātības pakāpi, tie dziļi iesakņojušies valodā, par ko liecina arī mūsdienās tik raksturīga Bībeles frazeoloģismu "latviskošana", piemēram:

atrašanās senos tautas ticējumos - SODOMA UN GOMORA (347), BĀBELES TORNIS (116) (Smits)

Jā, arī latviešiem ir sakāmvārds: CITA ACĪ REDZ SKABARGU,  
BET SAVĀ BAĻĶI NE ... (Padomju Jaunatne.-1986.-25.12.)

Tā kā bieža frazeoloģismu lietošana (un daudziem bībelis-  
miem ir augsta lietojuma frekvence) noved pie frazeoloģismu  
metaforiskā tēla nolietošanās un ekspresivitātes zuduma, tad  
frazeoloģismi tiek bieži lietoti okazionāli - tas ir, ar ap-  
zināti mainītu nozīmi vai struktūru un nozīmi (Veisbergs).  
Šāds lietojums arī liecina par frazeoloģisma stabilitāti va-  
lodas sistēmā, jo frazeoloģismus, kas valodā nav iesakņojušies,  
okazionāli var lietot tikai retos gadījumos.

Bībeles frazeoloģismi dažādos tekstos pakļauti visdažā-  
dākajām okazionālajām izmaiņām, piemēram, iesprausšanai:

ATSIJĀT / ATŠKIRT GRAUDUS NO SĒNALĀM / PELAVĀM

J. Grigulevičam piemīt vēsturniekam nepieciešamais kri-  
ticisms avotu - dažkārt ļoti pretrunīgu - izvērtējumā,  
prasme ATŠKIRT P A T I E S Ī B A S GRAUDUS NO  
P U S P A T I E S Ī B A S SĒNALĀM, atsegt attīstības  
tendenci. (Cīņa.-1987.-24.01.)

Iesprausšana bieži sastopama kopā ar aizstāšanu:

DRUPATAS NO KLINGU GALDA

...sēdēt drošībā partizāņu vienības aizvējā un, rokas  
salikušiem, baroties no tās informācijas nejaušām DRU-  
PATĀM, K A S N O B I R S T N O P A R T I Z Ā Ņ U  
I Z L Ū K U I Z Z I Ņ A S B A G Ā T Ā GALDA.

(V. Samsons. Kurzemes katlā.-R., 1967.-260.lpp.)

Izplatīta ir arī literalizācija:

...jo konstruktors nebija kaut kāds diletants, kam  
galvā sviļpo tikai ideju vēji, bet profesionālis, kam  
tā ir DIENIŠKĀ MAIZE, S V I E S T S U N D E S A .

(A. Kolbergs. Cilvēks, kas skrēja pāri ielai.-R., 1978. 216.lpp.)

Nereti sastopama arī aizstāšana:

REDZĒT SKABARGU CITA ACĪ, SAVĀ BAĻĶI NEREDZĒT

Un pirms Tu, Nora, rādi SKABARGU I K Š K I L E S ACĪ,  
paskaties, vai R Ī G A S S E J Ā N A V R E D Z A M I  
L I E L Ā K I BAĻĶĒNĪ. (Padomju Jaunatne.- 1987. -  
20.08.)

Ļoti dažāda var būt okazionālā frazeoloģisma atvasināšana - daudzskaitļa lietojums pierastā un normatīvā vienskaitļa vietā, piemēram:

Sāksim ar to, ka ļausim NETICĪGAJIEM TOMIEM šaubīties par vecām patiesībām. (Avots.-1987.-8.-49.lpp.), vai arī latviešu valodai tik raksturīgais deminutīva okazionālais lietojums:

Vieni gribēja palikt dzīvi, pūlējās pasargāt sevi un bērņus, saglabāt savu iedzīvīti un nopelnīt DIENISKO MAIZĪTI. (Avots.-1987.-7.-65.lpp.)

Tomēr visbiežāk sastopama frazeoloģiskā alūzija, šis fakts pats par sevi liecina, ka šie frazeoloģismi ir ļoti izplatīti, jo alūzija iespējama tikai uz labi zināmu frazeoloģismu.

"Ko jūs te runājat, kā iet citur, SKABARGU REDZAT, bet BAĻĶI NEREDZAT." (A.Dribe. No piesardzīga optimista pozīcijas.-R., 1984. - 155.lpp.)

SKABARGAS degvielā meklējot.

Secinājums ir viens: automobilistiem jāsakārto pašiem sava saimniecība nevis jāmeklē SKABARGAS CITU ACĪS. (Cīņa.-1987.-07.03.)

Jāatzīmē, ka pastāv frazeoloģismi, kam ir nosliece uz okazionālām izmaiņām. Taču šajos gadījumos varētu drīzāk runāt par latentu (slēptu) jeb iekodētu variantismu, piemēram, frazeoloģismā "IZDZERT/IZTUKŠOT (...) KAUSU/BIĶERI (LĪDZ GALAM / DIBENAM)". Lai gan daudzpunktes vietā bieži rodams komponents "rūgts", tas nebūt neizsmeļ visas iespējas, piemēram:

Un bieži vien pēc šādām publikācijām bijis jādzird: šis RŪGTAIS KAUSIS taču nav pagājis garām arī mūsu zemei ... (Rīgas Balss.-1987.-08.08.)

Kad mani "ielika" par vadītāju, - dienas divas maize līgā negaršoja: nu kāpēc man JĀDZER šis RŪGTAIS BIĶERIS? (B.Salienieks. Tā viņi strādāja.-R., 1967.-21.lpp.)

Zukovs nav vienīgais no karavadoņiem, kam nācies  
IZTUKSOT PĀRESTĪBU RŪGTO KAUSU. (Zvaigzne.-1987.-4.-  
4.lpp.)

Tai nevar būt beigu, jo dzīve jau tā ir kļuvusi par  
īsu, lai viņi abi spētu IZDZERT PĀRPILNO MĪLESTĪBAS  
KAUSU. (L.Dzene. Kārlis Sebris.-R., 1967.-117.lpp.)

Okazionālā frazeoloģismu lietošana nav jauna parādība,  
tā latviešu valodā eksistējusi jau sen, tai skaitā arī  
Bībeles frazeoloģismos: KO SĒSI, TO PĻAUSI:

Žēl tikai, ka šī nākotne nav domājama kā tuvu esošā -  
bez upuriem un viņu gādnieku sevišķām pūlēm, bet ka  
arī SE JĀSĒJ, LAI VARĒTU PĻAUT, jāsēj tiem, kam ir  
spēja. (Kr.Valdemārs. Par latviešu un igauņu  
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## S U M M A R Y

### Biblical Idiom in Latvian (17 - 20 centuries)

Like in many European languages biblical idioms are part and parcel of the idiom stock of Latvian. No other literary source in Latvian has given so many (about 250) units to the language as the Old and New Testaments. Biblical idioms constitute the first large group of borrowed phraseology that can be viewed directly while other early influences are hypothetical.

Many idioms have developed variants, others can be placed somewhere between an idiom proper and an allusion to the Bible. Due to their long usage most of the biblical units have lost their biblical connotation. Yet, from the point of view of biblical idiom the first translation of the Bible (1685 - 1689) is remarkable as there have been few changes concerning the idioms in the following editions. The grammatical differences in the units fully correspond to the general drift of the language change; only some units have altered lexically: BALSS TĀDA SLUDINĀTĀJA IR TUKSNESĪ (Isa. 40, 3) - SAUCĒJA BALSS TUKSNESĪ; MAZGĀT ROKAS IEKŠ NE-NOZIEDZĪBAS (Ps. 26, 6) - MAZGĀT ROKAS NEVAINĪBĀ.

The greatest change has affected the sphere of semantics. The idioms bear a different degree of connection with the original. There are units that are used in a figurative meaning already in the Bible: REDZĒT SKABARGU CITA ACĪ BET NEREDZĒT BAĻKI SAVĀ (Matt. 7, 3). There are units that do not possess the figurative sense in the Bible, but have acquired it later: KAULS NO KAULA, MIESA NO MIESAS (Gen. 2, 23). And there are units that have no prototypes in the Bible at all, but have originated as allusions to biblical legends and myths: BĀBELES TORŅIS (Gen. 11, 1-9), NETICĪGAIS TOMS (John, 20, 24-29).

The 300 years since the first translation have led to a great variety of variants of many units, some components have turned archaic and have been substituted by modern words: AIZ SEPTIŅIEM ZIEĢĒJIEM / ZĪMOGIEM (Rev.5,1-3), APRAKT SAVU PODU / TALANTU (Matt.25,15). Yet in most cases archaic elements coexist with the new ones, as phraseology tends to preserve older forms. Many units have developed stylistic variants: JŪDASA ALGA/GRASI/NAUDA (Matt. 26,15). Some having one prototype have developed two variants and two totally different meanings: KLUPŠANAS AKMENS/PIEDAUZĪBAS AKMENS (Isa.8,14), Rom.9,32-33). Some units have grown obsolete and become archaic: APJŪZT GURNUS (Luke, 12,35), ĀRSTE, DZIEDĒ SEVI PATS (Luke,4,23). Many units have undergone ellipsis: ((VIEGLĀK) KAMIELIM) IZĻĪST) CAUR ADATAS ACI (Matt,19,24).

The most widespread semantic change is growth of polysemy. Many units have developed several meanings: APSOLĪTĀ ZEME (Ex.,3,8-17), DIENIŠKĀ MAIZE (Matt.6,11) etc. Some units have undergone change of connotation: LABĀ ROKA NEZIN, KO KREISĀ DARA (Matt.6,3) from positive to derogatory. Some units have undergone lexicalization: STŪRA AKMENS - STŪRAKMENTS (Isa.28,16), GRĒKA ĀZIS - GRĒKĀZIS (Levit.16,21).

The latest edition (1988) has shown a remarkable trait - the units of the spoken language (mostly borrowed from German) which differ from the translation variants out of the traditional ones in the Bible text (KALPOT MAMONAM :: KALPOT MANTAI; ALFA UN OMEGA :: A UN O).

Thus we observe the link between the phraseological language system and the Bible text, the gradual and tenuous transformations mainly in the sphere of semantics. Biblical phraseology presents also great interest in the aspect of internationalization of phraseology, revealing the specific national characteristics in the process of diachronic assimilation and language change.

IEVA ZAUBERGA  
UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

*CONVENTION SHIFTS IN CONTEMPORARY LATVIAN  
TRANSLATIONS*

Culturally oriented translation studies regard translation as intercultural communication. For any communicative act to be efficient expectations of the recipient are to be met. Thus today the target text recipient is considered to be the crucial factor of translation process. The reception of the text depends on the individual expectations of the recipient, which are determined by the situation in which he reads the text. Accordingly it can be said that translations are made to respond to the demands of a culture. As the cultural context in which translation takes place is subject to historical change, so are translations. In the present paper I will discuss to what extent and how cultural trans-orientation affects translation process. My analysis focusses on translation convention shifts followed up in Latvian translations of the last five years. Within this period Latvian society and culture have undergone transformations that under different circumstances might have taken decades. Considering that conventions are relatively stable, convention studies are usually based on multilingual comparison, i.e., inquiry is carried out as to how certain translation problems have been tackled in different translations of the same original into various languages and cultures. The accelerated speed of all kinds of change in Latvian case allows monolingual research. I will base my investigation on Latvian translations only, pursuing closely the differences in translations of similar source texts since five years ago. In the beginning a brief characteristics of historical background seems relevant.

**Historical background**

In its sad history the Latvian nation has been independent only for twenty years (1918-1940) and has been exposed to dominance from different invaders, their language and culture. Neither the nation itself, nor its language and culture have ever been taken for granted and self-assertion has been one of the main concerns of the people. Since 1940

Latvia was a closed country, well hidden behind the iron curtain. Uncertainty and restrictions of various kinds can be pointed out as indispensable features of cultural scene which can generally be qualified as defective. The Gorbachov era triggered off radical changes in all spheres of life leading to liberalization of social and cultural processes and removal of authoritarian restrictions. These processes are reflected also by translations. The speed at which translation conventions have changed is surprising.

### **Theoretical framework**

In the present discussion I will draw on Christiane Nord's translation convention theory (1991). Conventions can be defined as a generally accepted practice. Remembering satisfactory solutions of previous problems we try to solve a similar problem in a similar way. Conventions are arbitrary in the sense that there is always alternative regularity that could become the convention instead. Conventions are not explicitly formulated, nor are they binding. Culture specific conventions govern our decision wherever we consider a translation problem. Nord distinguishes between regulative and constitutive translation conventions. Regulative conventions refer to the generally accepted forms of handling certain translation problems, whereas constitutive conventions determine what translation is commonly expected to be like. I will start out from those concrete translation problems whose solutions tend to be determined by regulative conventions and follow up how they relate to constitutive conventions.

### **Shifts of Regulative Conventions**

The fact that the Latvian language has regularly been exposed to danger of becoming extinct under the influence of the so-called major languages, compels language conscious speakers to cultivate the literary language in order to prevent its dissolving in the stream of foreign elements. Safeguarding the national language has always been an important function to be fulfilled also by Latvian translators. It has sustained and consolidated purist tendencies in approaches to literary language, especially with regard to foreign and substandard elements. Naturally the language of translations shares this bias. In the last years, however, with national confidence and sense of security concerning the future of

national identity and language growing, and impatience with restrictions of any kind spreading, liberalization of verbal environment is under way. Translations reflect this change promptly.

### **I. Expansion of Substandard Layers in Language of Translations**

Until of late the gap between spoken and written colloquial language in Latvian seemed unsurmountable. There used to exist two Latvian languages as it were: Latvian cultivated by linguists and Latvian spoken by people who find the rigid linguistic norm restrictive and authoritarian and tend to resist them. There was a marked tendency for spoken language to become more and more relaxed and unruly as opposed to the relatively rigid written language. It has affected the connotational distribution of colloquial and literary layers in Latvian. In Latvian writing slang and especially four-letter words have a much stronger substandard connotation than in languages where the gap is not so pronounced or even non-existent, for example English, where they are used with such monotonous regularity that most have lost their disturbing undercurrents. Accordingly, to attain similar response they used to be softened or neutralized. It has to be mentioned that Nida's dynamic equivalence model seems to reflect for Latvian translators the idea of what a good translation should be like. Today the attitude to slang and taboos in the language of literature has become much more liberal and the swing has taken place overnight, as it were. Translators seem to be taking special delight in breaking the old convention of translating in a tame and literary target language. Some examples to make the point.

In 1973 Ernest Hemingway's "Across the River and into the Trees" was translated. It was quite an event in Latvian culture as it was one of the first translations of literature written in highly colloquial language abounding in slang and taboos (the very first was 1969 translation of Jerome Salinger's "Catcher in the Rye"). Basically the translator has applied fictitious spoken variant as the actual spoken Latvian would be too rough for written language. In the translation there are only four instances where taboos have been directly transferred, besides in two out of the four cases the taboo word is replaced by three dots. Due to the novelty of the particular text type in the Latvian literary polysystem and specific behaviour of taboos in the Latvian language the function of the source text has in fact not been changed in the translation. The 1989 translations of Kurt Vonnegut's

novels are another landmark: a new approach to translation of substandard language has emerged. Up to then the function, not words were transferred, now more effort is being put to retain the taboo word at all cost which has led to revival of a strange type of literalism.

The translation of "dirtiest" of Vonnegut's stories "The Big Space Fuck" in which all taboos have been directly transferred bears an apologetic foot-note saying that the word "fuck" cannot be literally transferred as it has no Latvian counterpart and asking the reader to consult an American slang dictionary. As shattering the reader is an intended function of Vonnegut's writing translations, though strange, have just enhanced the source function. In 1993 Erick Segal's famous "Love Story" was translated into Latvian and the same method in translation of four-letter words has been applied. If Vonnegut's translation had been applauded, this translation certainly has distorted the function of the original and the Latvian reader, though may be amused by the bold language of the translation, can only wonder about the assets of the famous bestseller. The gap between the spoken and written colloquial language is certainly decreasing, to a large extent because of the access of Latvian language users to Western mass culture, its novelty and accordingly the wish to imitate. But the change in translation convention has overtaken the development of the language which may lead to distortion of function of the source text. However, convention shift is a fact and from now on translations will serve as promulgators of taboo words which are already gradually changing their connotational meaning.

## II. Spread of Foreign Elements in Language of Translations

Concern about the survival of the national language has determined the negative attitude to foreign words. In the so-far most substantial historical dictionary of the Latvian Language (1923-1932), for example, there are no entries with "f", "h", "o" as only foreign words contain these letters (FORMA, ODEKOLONS, FRIZŪRA etc.) and they were not considered part of the Latvian language. Today liberalization tendencies have touched also foreign elements. The redeployment of the Latvian culture with respect to the West has taken place, it has become more open. The high status of Western culture entails an increased tolerance for its interference in translations. Besides, the background

knowledge of the Latvian readership has broadened considerably over the last years. The consequence in translation is that transcription is being used with increasing frequency to transfer foreign cultural words ousting descriptive and explanatory translation. Thus in 1976 translation of "The Forsyte Saga" "sherry-coloured eyes" (He had SHERRY-COLOURED EYES, disconcertingly inattentive at times /1974:34/) has been rendered as "brown eyes" (Vina BRŪNO ACU skatiens lāgiem bija aprnulsis un izklaidīgs /1976:20/). If the novel were retranslated today I tend to think transcription would be used instead as sherry has become generally available and allowances are given to foreign elements. Salinger's "Nine Stories" have been retranslated and there are several cases that confirm the previously made assumption:

There, in an un tidy pile on M.Yoshoto's broad desk, lay some dozen or more unopened, enormous, bulging, MANILLA ENVELOPES. (1982:131)

In 1969 translation descriptive translation is offered - "envelopes of thick paper":

Šeit nekārtīgā kaudzē uz Jošoto platā galda bija nolikts kāds ducis lielu, neatvērtu, cieši piebāztu APLOKŠNU NO BIEZA PAPIĀRA. (304)

In 1991 transcription has been used instead:

Šeit uz M.Jošoto lielā galda nekārtīgā kaudzē gulēja kāds ducis vai vairāk milzīgu, uzpūtušos MANILAS APLOKŠNU. (122)

The title of the story "UNCLE WIGGILY IN CONNECTICUT" in 1969 was translated by a Latvian nonce word "KĒPAUSIS" while in 1991 both the proper names have been transcribed - "TĒVOCIS VIGILIJS KONEKTIKUTĀ".

The title of the story "DOWN AT THE DINGHY" has also been transcribed in 1991 - "LEJĀ, DINGJĀ" which, in my opinion, is not acceptable as the semantic meaning is not revealed and the adapted form of the transcribed word looks distinctly alien.

The spread of foreign elements in the Latvian language in the last years has been qualified as invasion (Hausmanis 1993:201) and is metaphorically compared to the spread of AIDS. The Latvian daily "Diena" (January 29, 1994) has published an article whose author declares that the Latvian language suffers from immunity deficit and is heading for the same end as Aids patient. The article analyzes the speech of president of Republic of Latvia delivered in New York. When it was published in the American Latvian paper "Laiks", the speech was supplemented by explanation of 80 foreign words the president



has used: AGROSERVISS, AUTOPARKS, DEGRADĒT, FORSĒT, INVĀZĪJA, INVESTĪCIJA, STIMULĒT, TRANZĪTS, ORIENTĀCIJA, AKTUĀLS, AKCENTS, MODIFICĒT etc. The dilemma for Latvian translators under such circumstances is whether to follow the current trend of development and break the old convention of avoiding foreign elements in the language of translations or to revive the old purist concern.

### III. Convention shift in Rendition of Forms of Address

Forms of address as "Mr", Mrs", "Monsieur", "Signor" used to be transcribed in Latvian translations (MISTERS un MISIS BRAUNA, MSJE PUARO, SENJORA LEONORA). Now there is a tendency to substitute them by the native forms "kungs" and "kundze". To a large extent this shift bears a political explanation. In the Soviet times the native forms were scorned as bourgeois since they were widely used in the independent Republic of Latvia. Native forms were substituted by "biedrs" (comrade). Since "comrade" could not be used in any other context but Soviet, foreign forms of address were mostly transcribed and used as transmitters of national colouring. At present the reinstated native forms coexist with transcribed forms in expressive texts while in appellative and informative texts as well as oral communication only native forms are used.

The present period can be described as transition stage in which the old and new conventions coexist. The previously mentioned examples point to the arbitrary nature of conventions, i.e., there is always an alternative regularity that could have become the convention instead. Following up why German forms of address are always translated, French mostly translated but sometimes also transcribed while English mostly transcribed but of late tend to be translated provides a separate field of research. The conclusion can be drawn that conventions are not necessarily fully motivated.

### Convention Vacuum in Advertising

The advertisement, which is a strongly conventionalized text type, in Latvia meanders without any convention guidance. Advertising is invading Latvian cultural scene by leaps and bounds. Command economy with its shortages rendered advertising useless.

Now when transition to market economy is in full swing mass media and shop windows are full of advertisements. Most of them are direct transfers of Western ads as even when handling appellative texts with a strong phatic function, Latvian translators cling to equivalence. Though no obvious linguistic interference can be traced in the target text, it seems alien as a result of "discourse interference". According to Gideon Toury, discourse interference manifests itself in the formal equivalence of the translated text to the original: linguistic and textual means which are similar to them in their form, sound, number or the way they are organized rather than in their function, ad hoc (textual) or even habitual (linguistic) (quoted from Weissbrod 1990:168). Skopos rule requires the deviation from formal equivalence in this text type perhaps more than in any other, especially considering the prominent cultural distance between the source and target recipient.

Latvian advertisements compared to Western are more modest and have a different set-up. There is a longstanding tradition to point out the surrounding deficiencies in an apologetic way as if to cushion the responsibility. Thus in a tourist brochure "Riga This Week" (1993) written with the view of persuading Western tourists to explore the charms of a famous health resort Jūrmala one can read:

*Jūrmala is famous for its clean air, moderate climate, unique pine forests and medicinal mud. Unfortunately, the sea is too cold to make you wish to have a swim too often: water temperature seldom exceeds 20 degrees centigrade.*

Or another ad about old Riga which is a charming Hanseatic town indeed dating back to the 12th century:

*A walk in the streets of the old town could be quite pleasant at night but you should better have a reliable companion or postpone all the romantic impressions until daytime.*

The consequence is breached expectancy norm and change of the source text function. The same applies to originally foreign advertisements rendered into Latvian. In comparison the direct transfers of Western ads with their cheerful superlatives are perceived as distinctly related to a different life standard and world where the Latvian recipient feels out of place. Instead of just dealing with texts translators should handle texts-in-situation, because the situational factors usually determine, to a large extent, what the texts look like. Being a communicative activity intermediating between two culture

communities, translation always involves two sets of conventions. The author has to comply with the convention if he wants to succeed in realizing his communicative intentions. Translation skopos and source and target conventions provide the main criteria for the decision as to which elements of the source text-in-situation can be preserved and which need to be adapted. The failure to employ advertisements as means of intercultural communication in Latvian case, to my mind, is determined by several factors. Firstly, the Latvian advertisement, as a specific text type, has not yet developed distinct conventions to be observed in translation. Secondly, following a hypothesis suggested by Ivir (1981:58), the initial and spontaneous translation tends to be characterized by strong formal equivalence and advertisement translation in Latvian case is, indeed, in an initial stage. And last but not least, Latvian translation tradition is based on faithfulness as the principal concept and Latvian translators find it hard to retreat from it even if it made their translations more effective.

### **Constitutive Conventions in Latvian Translations**

Approaches to handling of several translation problems have changed considerably over the last five years whereas the understanding of what a good translation should be like seems very stable. According to Nord "the conventional concept of translation, consisting of the sum total of constitutive conventions, determines the regulative conventions the translator may have to observe on lower ranks, thus providing him with a framework for his decisions concerning specific translation problems" (1991:100). The Latvian case, however, does not comply with the statement. It seems to me that in transition period the fundamental change may come as a result of numerous small alterations on the surface level. Arguing Christiane Nord's point, I propose a reverse process: in transition stages changes in regulative conventions may lead to constitutive convention shifts. Whether they necessarily do is a question that requires time to answer.

Adherence of Latvian translators to faithful translation is historically conditioned:

1) Latvian translations on a larger scale emerged only in the second half of the 19th century and they were affected by the German tradition. It can be explained by the fact that Latvia has been under Germans for seven hundred years and it was German clergymen who translated the first texts, including the Bible (1689) into Latvian. Besides,

the first professional Latvian translators drew on German theoretical sources. Latvian translations from their starting point up to the present moment serve the same function German translations had to fulfill in the 17th century when Luther translated the Bible: exercise, expand, improve the target language and literary polysystem. Since Latvian has always been pointed to as an inferior language, the first translators set themselves the task of proving that in Latvian all the same things and notions could be expressed as in the so-called major languages (German, Russian, English). Statements of German scholars were found supportive, e.g. Humbolt's idea that everything "the highest and the deepest, the strongest and the most tender can be expressed in every language. It is just that these tones slumber as in an instrument that is not played until the nation knows how to elicit them" (quoted from Lefevere 1977:41). After breaking away from the inevitable beginner's literalism, Latvian translations seem reluctant to move away from source-orientation.

2) From the polysystem angle the theoretical framework for equivalence - based translations is provided by Even-Zohar (1985:117-127). According to his theory under certain circumstances translated literature can take a primary position in literary polysystem. In that case through foreign work features which did not exist before are introduced into the home literature. It happens when literature is "young", in the process of being established or when literature is "weak" and there are crises or literary vacuums in a literature. Under such circumstances a translation will often be more close to the original in terms of adequacy than would otherwise be the case.

Latvian literature (to a large extent for historical reasons again) has not had the possibility to develop into a confident polysystem. Translation are often regarded as "messengers" of the outside world. "Strangeness" of the translated text does not break the expectancy norm as the target recipient is conscious of "observing" a communicative situation of which he is not a part (Nord calls this kind of translation "documentary", 1991:72). Under the circumstances when the switch to target orientation in many Western translations has taken place and many scholars deride faithfulness as utopian, futile and oldfashioned. Latvian translations keep up the old tradition. This seems a feature characteristic of small cultures which fear the loss of national identity and dissolving in the so-called "major cultures". Faithful translations seem to be serving as a tool for

carving the national boundaries. As Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere write: "translation is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which the text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (1990:11).

John Fowles' novel "The French Lieutenant's Woman" was translated into Latvian at the end of 1993. The translation was noticed, the novel was reviewed. Remarkably the review even had a sentence on translation quality: "A good, CAREFUL translation of the novel into Latvian was done by Ainis Ulmanis" (my translation, "Diena", January 28, 1994). The fact that any translation assessment was given is outstanding as, like in many other cultures, in Latvia translations are normally reviewed as if they were original texts. "Careful" in this case means faithful and acceptable which in Latvian interpretation are not terms that should necessarily exclude each other. Together they stand for a good translation and have had this meaning already for a century. Like *Belles Infidèles* never disappeared from French translations (according to Clem Robyns 1990:24), faithfulness may remain the Latvian convention. Constitutive conventions are rooted in national mentality and are far less subject to change in periods of cultural transorientation than regulative conventions which respond to new developments promptly.

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REVIEWS

RECENZIĀS

Andrejs Veisbergs. LATVIAN - ENGLISH, ENGLISH -  
LATVIAN DICTIONARY OF FALSE FRIENDS.  
Riga, SI, 1993. 53p.

Before opening this dictionary two questions arise: what are "false friends" and whether the words included are the ones we expect to see in a dictionary of this type.

The dictionary contains more than 750 false friends pairs - seemingly identical words, mainly borrowings and internationalisms rooted in the classical languages.

Being similar in spelling and pronunciation (as they usually have common origin) but different in meaning (the difference usually arising with the passage of time) they are often confused in usage.

The author of the dictionary has extracted them from the speech of students, pupils, specialists and even from the existing dictionaries.

First of all there are words that have only one meaning in Latvian and that differs from the respective English counterpart, e.g.,

aspirants - post graduate	aspirant - pretendents, tīkotājs
centners - 100 kg	centner - 50 kg
kartons - cardboard	carton - tetrapaka, paka

Secondly, it is words that have more meanings in Latvian than in English and while being identical in one or several meanings, they are different in others, e.g.,

gamma - 1. scale	gamma - grieķu alfabēta trešais burts
2. gamut	
3. range	
4. gamma	

izolators - 1.insulator	isolator - izolātors,
2.isolation hospital/ward	slēdžu mehānisms (tehn.)
3.isolator	
kokteilis - 1.milkshake	cocktail - alkoholiskais
2.cocktail	kokteilis

These are the word pairs that create the biggest difficulties even to speakers who speak the language well and thus, make the dictionary especially important and necessary. The material has been laid out in 4 columns: Latvian word; the correct English counterpart; English word (false friend); the main meanings of the English word.

Both the correct translations and the "false" translations are usually words, rarely collocations. This is the usual way of explanation in this type of dictionary and it seems quite adequate. Longer explanations and definitions would make the differences in meaning difficult to perceive and apprehend, though sometimes it seems that the one-word explanation is somewhat relative, clear enough only to an expert, e.g.,

cask - muca; carcass - sprāgonis, kauli.

I would view very positively the fact that despite the laconic explanation, the dictionary contains remarks about the functional sphere, stylistic register, e.g.,  
dame - 2.sieviete (sl.US); spoks - spook (hum.); terrace - terase (novec). There are 37 types of the remarks.

Lexicographically correct use of comments still contains, in my opinion, too rigid use of Latvian nominative in so different cases as describing the sphere of



usage and the subject the thing or phenomenon is related to.

In some cases Locative designating the sphere of usage is preferable (saha), in others prepositional denotation is better (par aviaciju, par slimību). Yet, the author's reasoning might have been affected by respecting needs of an English speaker.

The actual print of the dictionary, so important for a book meant for regular reference, in contrast to the contents, has to be viewed critically. First of all, the glossy paper meant for art books is not the best paper for dictionaries as it makes reading difficult.

Secondly, if use of small bold type capitals for headwords is still acceptable, then extra-small letters for explanations is unacceptable, as reading and even seeing is difficult while this part of dictionary is its most essential part. I would certainly prefer headwords printed in bold condensed type letters, while the meanings in small light face type letters. Hopefully the second edition now under way will do away with these shortcomings which mar the quality of this dictionary.

And finally, I congratulate Latvian language students who at last have a dictionary that the English, French, Russian and German students have had for years. It is a really good manual, which will be of great value for many Latvian and English users, both specialists and non-specialists, translators and students.

J. Valdmanis, Ph.D.,  
Latvian Language Institute  
Academy of Sciences of the Republic of  
Latvia

Christiane Nord. TEXT ANALYSIS IN TRANSLATION.  
Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA 1991.250 p.  
(Translated from German)

"Text Analysis in Translation" is Christiane Nord's latest book which summarizes and develops ideas the author has pursued over the last years. It is a comprehensive multilingual study of theory, methodology and didactic application of a model for translation-oriented text analysis. The book is aimed at students and teachers in training programmes for future professional translators and interpreters but it may be of great interest also for fully-fledged translators interested in raising the efficiency of their translations. The book offers an extended analysis of communicative, culture-oriented translation theory, complemented by sample texts and their analysis which may serve translation teachers as elaborate models for translator training.

As a translation teacher myself I would qualify the book as practical in the sense that it is easy to use for setting up lectures and seminars; promoted concepts acquire historical perspective as the author shows where they have developed from and which extratextual as well as intratextual factors have affected the particular line of development. The key concept analysed by Christiane Nord is functionality (translation meeting the requirements of the target situation). Accordingly the target text recipient and target culture situation are promoted as crucial

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Christiane Nord is professor at Heidelberg University, Germany

factors in setting translation skopos. By accentuating the importance of the recipient as the concluding element in the communicative act, Nord argues that the text can have as many functions as it has recipients. This way the author challenges the traditional equivalence theory and emphasizes the sameness fallacy - sameness is impossible because readers are different. To oppose arbitrary functionality as well as rigid equivalency Nord promotes the concept of loyalty. The author argues that since the recipient does not normally compare the translation to the original, the translator should not falsify the author's intention, i.e., the translator is responsible to both the source text initiator and the target text recipient. She calls this responsibility "loyalty" which is regarded as a moral category and is opposed to "fidelity" which Nord sees as a rather technical relationship between two texts.

Considerable part of discussion is dedicated to translation as social action. If formerly translation was regarded as a three-stage communicative act involving the source text author, translator and recipient, Nord introduces such social elements as source text sender and target text initiator without who modern translation seldom takes place because translation as production is exposed to market forces. Such extra-textual factors as translation and publishing costs and possibilities are as important for translation skopos as the recipient. Thus Nord presents a complex translation model which reflects the developments of the modern world.

Unfortunately in Latvia Western theoretical thought so far is scantily represented. In the field of translation only two books are generally available: Theodor Savory's "The Art of Translation" (1957) and Susan Bassnett's "Translation Studies" (1980). The extended research of mideighties which has led to skopos rule and poly-system theory is not familiar. Christiane Nord's "Text Analysis in Translation", in my opinion, would be an excellent book to bridge the gap as it offers both concise, comprehensive summary of the latest ideas developed in translation theory and original research. The author strikes the right balance between theoretical discussion and practical guidelines for selecting texts for translation exercises, systematizing translation problems, monitoring the learning process or evaluating the quality of translation.

It can be expected that the book is received with certain resistance by the Latvian readership who have never doubted the relevance of equivalence model. There prevails the traditional viewpoint that in any process of translation the source text is the point of departure and expectations of the target readership have to be met but not set prior to retention of source text peculiarities. However, Christiane Nord's book is definitely reader-friendly and encourages the interest in translation studies. This is certainly a book to read and return to and I can only wish it becomes available to translation students and scholars in Latvia.

Ieva Zauberga, Ph.D.  
Dpt. of Contrastive Linguistics,  
University of Latvia

DICTIONARY OF LEGAL SYNONYMS LATVIAN - ENGLISH -  
LATVIAN. Riga, 1993. 374 p.

This dictionary has appeared in a time of general confusion in legal matters. It seems no other sphere of vocabulary has undergone greater changes since the collapse of the communist system. Even more, there has been a full shift of point of reference for legal wordstock - away from Russian and into English. The inevitable transition period mess affects both concrete private business and Parliamentary laws - a trouble very evident in time of a legal crisis (like the 400 million dollar promissory bill deal).

To remedy the situation a number of legal scholars and translators from Latvia overseen by Stacie and William Condrell from CEELI of the American Bar Association have banded together and having combed and plucked the relevant texts produced this dictionary. It follows the traditional Latvian focus on bilingual lexicography (bilingual studies always precede monolingual ones).

The first question I ask myself about any new subject dictionary is whether it specifies its subject. However blurred the field of legal wordstock, the compilers have managed to keep within reasonable boundaries.

The treatment of words in both parts of the dictionary (Latvian-English, English-Latvian) is concise yet adequate for a synonym book of this type. Often more than one equivalent has been listed thus indicating the semantic range of the respective headwords which in case of legal vocabulary is absolutely essential, especially taking into

account the words for which no suitable counterpart exists (at least at present). Brief definitions for these terms are in fact a must, which the authors dutifully observe. One could wish, perhaps, more detailed explanations of the terminological synonyms, some of which are pre-war terms, others soviet collocations and still others newly introduced items which have established themselves in the local variant of legal English (UZŅĒMĒJS = BUSINESSMAN = ? ENTREPRENEUR; STATŪTI = CHARTER = ? STATUTES).

Pointing out of nuances in these variants would be of great benefit. This would refer to items like PILNVARA - LETTER OF ATTORNEY, MANDATE, PROXY, WARRANT, etc.

By way of drawbacks one could mention absence of some terms that can be occasionally traced - BARGAIN (n), ENFORCEMENT, Latvian SUBJEKTS, OBJEKTS.

Also if WARDEN is given, perhaps, WARDER should also be included.

There can be also minor objections to imprecisions of the type: nodoklis - RATE (UK), TAX (US) while British English in fact has both TAXES and RATES. English-Latvian part of the dictionary does not give RATE in the meaning of NODOKLIS at all, confining itself to the more common RATES.

Treatment of collocations, though generally well thought over sometimes is still not fully coordinated. Thus in difference from most of other collocations REAL ESTATE is found only in the entry REAL while NEKUSTĀMAIS ĪPAŠUMS on both constituents. Yet only one of the Latvian entries gives REAL ESTATE as an English synonym together with 3 others while the other proposes two synonyms FIXED

PROPERTY-REALTY, which in their turn were not there in the other entry.

Some more adequate translations for the next edition have already been suggested:

LIQUIDATED DAMAGES - IEPRIEKŠĀ IZVĒRTĒTI ZAUDĒJUMI  
COMMERCIAL LAW - DARĪJUMU TIESĪBAS.

To sum up. This dictionary is several things in one. It is an indispensable reference book, a source of up-to-date concepts in English and Latvian legal terminology. It is also the best bilingual legal synonym book for the translator so far produced in Latvia. Among the merits one should also mention its computer data base which ensures relatively painless improvement for the next editions.

As such it deserves much praise. It can be just added that by making it the authors have also highlighted benefits of international cooperation of scholars in Lexicography.

A. Veisbergs, Dr. Habil.  
Department of Contrastive Linguistics  
University of Latvia

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NEWSLETTER  
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

VISITORS AND OUTSIDE LECTURERS

AIIC SECO group headed by Ms. GISELA SIEBURG from Bonn visited the department August 28-29,1993 and gave two seminars for the staff and other interpreters on general policies of AIIC, professional ethics and interpreter training.

Dr.MARK DYACHKOV, Institute of National Problems of Education Moscow, delivered a course of lectures September 5-11,1993 on language contacts and distribution in the world.

Dr.WOLFGANG VIERECK, Otto Friedrich University of Bamberg, Germany delivered two lectures September 4-9,1993 on English element in German and English dialects.

Dr. ANDREW CHESTERMAN, Dpt.of English, University of Helsinki visited the department November 4-7,1993 and delivered two lectures on translation assessment and translator training to BA and MA students of the English Department. He also conducted a seminar on translation trends to MA students and a methodological seminar for the staff.

Dr.CHRISTIANE NORD from Heidelberg University visited the department in March 21-30 and gave a course of lectures on Communication Models of Translation to BA and MA students of the English department as well as conducted several seminars on translators training for the staff.



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STAFF GOINGS

Dr, Habil. Andrejs Velsbergs stayed for a month in February 1993 in Exeter University, Dictionary centre on a Tempus project ending his stay with a lecture on Contrastive Idiomatology 28.2.1993. for the postgraduate students and staff.

Dr.Phil.Ieva Zauberga attended a Technical and Specialized Translation course at Westminster University, London, from November 23, 1992 to February 15, 1993. During the visit Dr.Zauberga gave a lecture on functions of literary translation in the British and Comparative cultural studies at Warwick University.

Arvils Šalme stayed for three months in the spring of 1993 in Stockholm University studying methods of teaching foreign languages.

Andrejs Veisbergs visited Oxford University on Verbatim award June 10-16, 1993 to study false friends dictionaries.

Dr.Phil.Valija Broka visited Denmark in August 4-19, 1993 to get acquainted with the Educational System of Denmark - more specifically: Higher Education, Secondary Education and Adult Education.

Dr.Phil.Valentīna Gurtaja returned for the third year to Helsinki University as a lecturer on the Latvian language.

Dr.Phil.Maija Brede started a year of teaching Latvian at

London University, School of Slavonic Studies.

Dr. Phil. Beate Pernica attended Council of Europe seminar on Bilingual Education in School, September 28-October 2, 1993 held in Soest, Germany.

Ieva Zauberga gave five lectures on translation theory in the seminar held in Daugavpils Intercollege in September, 6-7, 1993.

In the same seminar Andrejs Veisbergs gave five lectures on dictionary types and structure.

Ieva Zauberga and Andrejs Veisbergs attended a CECD seminar in Bratislava, November 13-14 dedicated to professional ethics and team composition.

Andrejs Veisbergs participated in YFU seminar on interethnic and language conflicts in Europe, Bern, Switzerland, February 4-6, 1994.

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REPORTS IN CONFERENCES

Ieva Zauberga presented a paper "Pragmatics of translation of slang and four-letter words " in the Second "Language International "Conference at Elsinore, Denmark 4 June - 6 June 1993.

Andrejs Veisbergs presented a paper "Translation of idiom transformations: functional approach" and Ieva Zauberga presented a paper "Convention Shifts in contemporary Latvian translations" in the First International Congress on Translation and Interpreting: Present Trend held in Las Palmas, Gran Canaria February 24-26 1994.

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