



**CONTRASTIVE AND APPLIED
LINGUISTICS**

**SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠKĀ
VALODNIECĪBĀ**

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LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTE
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**SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠKĀ
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Kontrastīvie pētījumi

VII

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Department of Contrastive Linguistics

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Krājuma rakstu autori analizē dažādu valodas līmeņu parādības angļu, latviešu, skandināvu valodās, tulkojumos. Valodu sastatījums veikts kā strukturālā, tā arī funkcionālā un kultūrvēsturiskā aspektā. Atklātas valodu īpatnības, arī to kopīgās īpašības. Aplūkota arī valodu 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 the English, Latvian and Scandinavian languages as well as 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.

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Pragmatic Meanings of Discourse Markers in Spoken Latvian

Discourse analysis is concerned with the organization of language (naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse) above the sentence level with reference to social contexts. "speaking is strongly governed by rules that dictate not only what we say but also how we say it" (Chaika, 1982: 2).

Discourse analysis reveals language properties that contribute to understanding of the speech situation, the speakers' background, their personal identities, etc.

Of particular interest is interaction between speakers in dialogue. Research has proved the role of social factors in determining the choice of linguistic means.

Linguistic elements that help to interpret units of speech and establish them as part of discourse are discourse markers (DMs). DMs pertain to various aspects of discourse. Such markers both reflect and create the interpretive and interactive contexts. The study of DMs is important not only for our understanding of communicative competence, but also for our

understanding of meaning and of conversational organization (Malmkjaer, 1991: 294).

DMs have their lexical meanings (occasionally rather neutral and vague) and pragmatic meanings. Their pragmatic meanings express relations between speech acts. T.A. van Dijk qualifying the pragmatic use of connectives underlines the fact that they may be accompanied by different phonological and syntactic constraints (Van Dijk, 1981: 166). The same applies to various markers. Certain DMs are used at the beginning of the sentence, singled out from the utterance by a pause and expressed with a specific intonation contour.

The data for the analysis of DMs in spoken Latvian were collected by observation and note-taking and by audio-recording. The material that comprises *question-answer pairs* from radio and TV interviews was transcribed orthographically with regard to the role of DMs in forming a tone unit. The speakers are journalists and in most cases people who are used to speak in public.

The objective of the present study is to analyse the use of the markers **jā** (yes) and **nē** (no) that have a clear indication as to their semantic meaning.

Jā has a definite positive meaning, whereas **nē** a negative meaning. They both fall into the category of modal particles

whose function is to express different modal attitudes of the speaker towards reality. In addition to its basic function, i.e. the rejection of a previously made statement **nē** is described as a particle that can be used to make the previous part of the utterance more precise and emphatic (MLLVG, I., 1959: 794).

The DM **jā** was fixed only in the response part to wh-questions:

- 1) - Kur tad Rīgā dzīvoja šie zvaniķi?

Where did the sextons live in Riga?

- \Jā | , nu šajā te ielā ir bijuši kalēji un lējēji.

Yes, well, in this street there were smiths and founders.

Jā is pronounced with a medium fall and forms a tone unit of its own. **Nu** after a pause introduces the concrete information. So **jā** seems to signal that the speaker understands the question, or has already anticipated it, or recognizes the importance of the message.

- 2) - Cik daudz jūs būtu ar mieru maksāt par dzīvokli?

How much would you be ready to pay for the flat?

- Ne vairāk kā ceturto daļu algas. \Jā.

Not more than one fourth of my salary. Yes.

The final **jā** appears to confirm the already expressed opinion and also suggests the importance of the problem. The latter is supported by the use of a medium fall of a rather wide range.

3) - Kāpēc vēl nedarbojas šīs ierīces?

Why doesn't this equipment work yet?

- Jā||. Mums neiet viegli. Nākošnedēļ gaidām detaļas.

Yes. It's not easy. We are expecting some parts next week.

Jā with a fall-rise is quite expressive to signal some hesitation, reluctance before giving a straightforward answer to a question that carries *negative* information.

4) - Kā jums izdevās to atklāt?

How did you manage to discover it?

- Jā, | jautājums ir ļoti labs.

Yes, that's a good question.

The use of jā gives the impression that the question is not so easy to answer. Together with the succeeding phrase jā helps the speaker to gain some time to formulate the answer

Also the following sample shows that the speaker chooses the marker for a similar purpose. Apart from forming a deliberate pause the first jā realized with a low fall suggests both recognition and the importance of the problem:

5) - Vai vajadzēja atņemt raidlaiku "Brīvajai Eiropai" ?

Was it necessary to deprive "Brīvā Eiropa" of its broadcasting time?

- Jā, } jā, protams.

Yes, yes, certainly.

6) - Žēl, tev laikam jāatgriežas darbā?

What a pity, so you've got to get back to work?

- Jā, paļ'dies. Es pieņemu tavu līdzjūtību.

Yes, thank you. I accept your sympathy.

Jā functions both for expressing agreement and building up the intended joke.

A common way of checking how the discourse is progressing and attracting the listeners' attention anticipating their agreement to the expressed idea is the use of **ja** (right) as a tag after the informative part of the utterance. It may also appeal to shared knowledge. In all cases **ja** has been fixed in a separate tone unit pronounced with a rise forming the second part of the falling-rising tone:

7) - Vai nācās daudz piestrādāt?

Did you have to work a lot?

- Es uzskatu, ka katram cilvēkam jebkurā profesijā būtu jānācās, |,ja?

I think everybody working in whatever profession should study, right?

Ja is excessively used in Latvian; it seems to serve mostly for revealing the speaker's individual qualities and feelings such as uncertainty, appeal for understanding, or an altogether different attitude like insisting on one's personal opinion.

8) - Viņam bija dota iespēja uzdrīkstēties, | ,ja?

He was given an opportunity to venture this, right?

9) - Jūs redzat, ,ja, | ko te vispār varēja iesākt, | ,ja?

You see, well, what could one do with it anyway?

The marker **nē** appears as part of the response to both yes/no questions (in most cases) and also to wh-questions. Its *pragmatic* meaning considerably differs from its *semantic* meaning.

10) - Vai jūs tam piekrītat?

Do you agree to it?

- Nē, nu jā ||. Tas ir gluži pieņemami.

No, well, yes. It's quite acceptable.

Jā being pronounced with a high fall intonationally assimilates the initial **nē**. The high fall confirms the speaker's intended positive answer. This particular use of **nē, nu jā** has been quite often observed in cases when the speaker is sure. **Nē** may actually stand for the *negative* expression "bez šaubām" (of course).

11) - Bija vērts strādāt atvaļinājuma laikā?

Did it pay working in your leave?

- Nē, protams.

No, certainly.

12) - Vasarā laikam jau koncertējat vairāk?

In summer, most probably, you perform more?

Nē, nu \protams ||. Ir iespēja uzstāties brīvdabas estrādēs.

No, certainly. There's an opportunity to perform on open stages.

In these issues **nē** being unstressed joins the following "protams" (certainly), and the meaning of the response actually is "certainly yes"

13) - Jums bija kāds konflikts ar holandiešiem?

Did you have a conflict with the Dutch?

- \Nē, } nu bija viens.

No, well, there was one.

Nē pronounced with a level tone and followed by a short pause suggests a kind of hesitation, reluctant admittance of the fact. It may be interpreted as also reducing the effect of the very unpleasant fact mentioned.

14) - Vai šodien ar Latvijas kuģniecību rēķinās?

Is the shipping of Latvia reckoned with today?

- \Nē || Noteikti rēķinās.

No, it certainly is.

The following *positive* statement suggests that **nē** actually rejects the doubt expressed in the question.

15) - Vai preseī ir vara šodien?

Has the press got power nowadays?

- Nē, nu¹preseī \gribas |, lai to sauc par varu. Bet tā varētu teikt.

No, well, the press wishes to be called a power.

But we could say so.

Nē is unstressed and together with **nu** forms the pre-head of the first tone unit. From the following explanation we learn that the speaker does admit the very fact. Thus the initial **nē** stands for both **nē** and **jā** suggesting uncertainty before the speaker formulates his opinion.

16) - Kādās valodās tev visvieglāk kontaktēties?

What languages is it easier for you to speak?

- \Nē, } 'nu } ,teiksim, | zināmās situācijās tā varētu būt angļu valoda.

No, well, in certain situations it might be English.

Nē appears to be a kind of answer to the speaker's personal thoughts rather than part of response to the question asked. Both markers due to the pauses used create the impression of hesitation.

17) Ko jūs gribat teikt tiem latviešiem, kuru situācija ir, teiksim, tiešām smaga?

What would you like to say to those Latvians whose situation is, say, really difficult?

- Nē, nu \protams \|. Daudziem nav viegli.

No, of course. Many people experience difficulties.

Since the question carries *negative* information it may be a signal of admitting the negative fact mentioned.

18) Kāpēc uzņēma tieši šos māksliniekus Mākslinieku Savienībā?

Why were exactly these artists admitted to the Artists' Union?

- Nē, nu¹ uzņēma tos, kurus uzskatīja par vajadzīgu.

No, well, those were admitted who were considered appropriate.

Nē signals of a rather cautious way of expressing oneself. The speaker seems to be declining all responsibility, at the same time avoiding to cause any antipathy towards himself/herself.

19) Tavs smaids tiekot vērtēts visaugstāk. Kā tad nu ir?

They appreciate your smile most of all. Well, what can you say about it?

- Nē, nu[\] smaids ir kaut kas, kas neko nemaksā.

No, well, a smile is something you don't have to pay for

Nē together with the following **nu** is unstressed and clings to the first stressed word of the actual part of the answer. It appears to diminish the effect of praise as expressed in the question. This

use demonstrates more some personal quality of the speaker (like bashfulness and modesty) than direct communication with the interlocuter.

Another sample of a diffident attitude on a speaker's part is the following:

20) Ko jūs sakāt, kas jūs īsti esat? (after the interviewee has mentioned several occupations)

What are you saying, what are you in fact?

- Nē, nu tās ir manas darbvietas.

No, well, these are my working places.

21) - Aija, vai jūs pati nerakstāt?

Aija, don't you write yourself?

√Nē, } es esmu mazliet darbojusies šajā jomā.

No, I have worked a little in this field.

Nē seems to echo with the negative form of the verb in the yes/no question. In Latvian this type of question suggests the person is anticipating a positive answer. A pause after the marker and an emphatic high fall at the beginning of the actual answer make one consider that here **nē** serves just to fill the pause.

The following seems to be a most difficult case of **jā** and **nē** to interpret:

22) - Jūs jau strādājat ar pieaugušiem?

You already work with the adults?

- ¹Jā, \nē. Es darbojos kultūras centrā ar grupu.

Yes, no. I work in the culture centre with a group.

The yes/no question has been put in a form that does not leave doubt as to a positive answer. In the run of the interview it is approved. So whether **nē** points to some personal debate or just unclear thinking is left to be guessed.

Jā retains its affirmative character irrespectively of the concrete context. This logically explains why **jā** has almost exclusively been fixed in a separate tone unit. In comparison the intonation patterns of **nē** vary to a much greater extent. Occasionally **nē** is attached to the following part of the utterance in which case it is unstressed. In a single tone unit it carries one of the falling tones, usually the low one. Pragmatic meanings of **nē** considerably differ from its lexical meaning. These range from doubt and uncertainty to a distinctly expressed positive meaning. The meaning of uncertainty is also supported by **nē** as a verbal pause filler

As to the position of **jā** and **nē** in the utterance there are no special restrictions although in most cases they occur sentence initially as the first reaction to the question asked. Among the collected samples there are no issues with **jā** and **nē** in the middle of the utterance.

The present material does not leave doubt that the list of pragmatic meanings of the markers discussed remains open and needs further investigation.

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Why Learning is not enough: Second Language Acquisition and Translator Education

The initial impetus for this article came from an introductory course in Latvian that was held at the School of Applied Linguistics and Cultural Studies of the University of Mainz, in Germersheim, Germany, during the summer semester of 1996. This course, which was ostensibly designed to follow the principles of the 'Natural Approach' created by Tracy Terrell, was a controversial undertaking, leading to a considerable amount of discussion among students and instructors concerning the relative merits of different types of foreign language instruction. This article, which is an expanded version of a paper presented at the 3rd Conference on Translation Competence, held in Germersheim in May, 1997 presents a case for using naturalistic, experience-based methods for introductory foreign language instruction in translator training programs.

Foreign language learning is indisputably an important aspect of the training of professional translators. Ideally, claim some scholars, students should enter university-level translator training programs already having a solid grasp of the foreign languages they will translate into and out of. In reality, of course, this is not

always practical. In Germany, for example, most students enter translator training programs directly after completing secondary school, where they have typically studied one or two of the major *Schulsprachen*, i.e. English or French, for between seven and nine years, and some may have had a few years of Spanish or Russian. If, however, they choose to study Dutch, Arabic, Portuguese, Chinese, modern Greek, or Polish, for example, all of which are offered as major or minor languages for translation studies at the FASK, students have little choice but to begin learning the language upon entering the translator training program itself. These students will be expected to become 'competent' users of the foreign language as well as 'competent' translators out of (and possibly into) that foreign language. Before reporting on our recent Natural Approach experiences at the FASK, I would like to set the stage by taking a closer look at some types of 'competence' students will need to acquire as they progress from being novice language learners to translation students and finally language mediation professionals.

Competence and competencies

Traditionally, translation studies has seen the 'translation competence' that graduate translators must have as being a sum of partial competencies comprising mother tongue competence; foreign language competence; specialized subject matter

competence and some sort of transfer competence – or skill for using the source and target language competencies to transfer meaning from one language or text to another. (Neubert, 1994)

In Pym's view, this traditional conception of translation competence is too broad to be of much use as a goal for translator training programs as it includes a variety of aspects that are not specifically translation related. Instead, Pym proposes the term 'translational competence' as a specific translation-related competency, comprising two essential features:

- The ability to generate a target-text series of more than one viable term (TT1, TT2 ... TTn) for a pertinent source text (ST).
- The ability to select only one definitive TT from the series, quickly and with justified confidence. (1991:541)

As Pym explains:

Together, these two skills form a specifically translational competence to the extent that their union concerns translation and nothing but translation. There can be no doubt that translators need to know a fair amount of grammar, rhetoric, terminology, general knowledge and strategies for getting paid correctly but the specifically translational part of their practice is strictly neither

linguistic nor commercial. It is a process of generation and selection, a decision process that should take place almost automatically.

Regardless of how we cut up the 'competence' pie, it seems to be an inescapable fact that some sort of monolingual language competence in each of two respective languages must underlie translational competence. This understanding is reflected, for example, in the memorandum on 'Professional training and the profession', put together as desiderata for graduates of translator education programs by the German national association of interpreters and translators (BDÜ):

The first-language skills required include the ability to master and correctly use that first language in a manner appropriate to the style, subject-matter and addressee and in the appropriate cultural register, as well as the ability to discuss language (metalinguistic competence).
(BDÜ: 4)

With respect to foreign language competence, the memorandum goes on to stipulate that:

"The foreign language skills of graduate translators and interpreters must match the first-language skills described in Section 3.2.1, whether or not the foreign languages in question are offered as school subjects." (1986: 4)

From the BDÜ perspective, it is clearly the correct and appropriate use of both the mother tongue and the foreign languages that are of primary importance, with metalinguistic competence being included as an additional competency. One might, in fact, go a step further and ask when translators really need metalinguistic competence – the ability to "discuss language" – in the course of their professional activities. Such an ability might prove useful in defending one's translation solutions vis à vis a critical client, but it is doubtful whether it is involved very much at all during the actual translation process. As think-aloud protocol studies of mental translation processes have started to demonstrate, much of what goes on in the translator's mind is intuitive in nature (Király, 1990). This suggests that the generation and selection processes Pym describes as being at the heart of the translator's activity are based not on the application of memorized and stored rules, but on the heuristic application of intuitions about grammatical accuracy, translational viability, stylistic appropriateness, etc.

As Robinson states:

It seems undeniable that translation is largely an intuitive process. Good translators choose words and phrases by reference not to some abstract system of intellectualized rules, which most of us have never internalized in the first place, but rather to "messages" or impulses sent by the body:

a given word or phrase *feels* right. Intuitively, not just for the translator but for all language users, sense is not cognition but sensation. (1991. xii)

If translators only needed a comparative knowledge of language forms, perhaps a traditional, grammar-rule-and-vocabulary-list approach to foreign language instruction would be sufficient. However, if we adhere to the contemporary consensus view that professional translation is an act of communication, then it is clearly appropriate to consider the applicability of teaching methods and approaches that are geared toward the development of communicative competence, and not toward primarily metalinguistic competence. In fact, it can be argued that translators need the full spectrum of communicative competence if they are to achieve deep and efficient comprehension of source language texts and if they are to break away from surface structures to interpret and express text-based messages confidently and efficiently through the medium of a different language.

Communicative competence and communicative language teaching

The period between 1970 and 1980 was a watershed for language teaching approaches that focused on naturalistic, experience-based, classroom-centered second language

acquisition. In particular, the advent of the notion of 'communicative competence' in the U.S. marked a modern theoretical breakthrough in the age-old debate between language teaching methods that focus on the rule-based learning of language structures, and those that attempt to involve the whole learner in the student-centered creation of a personal second language competence.

In 1980, Canale and Swain published their landmark article on the nature of communicative competence and its implications for second language classroom acquisition. They discerned three basic components of communicative competence: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence. In Canale and Swain's terms:

...we understand communication to be based in sociocultural, interpersonal interaction, to involve unpredictability and creativity, to take place in a discourse and sociocultural context, to be purposive behaviour, to be carried out under performance constraints and to be judged as successful or not on the basis of behavioural outcomes." (1980:29)

If we see this depiction of communication as being clearly in line with contemporary views of professional translation as a communicative process, then the implications that Canale and

Swain draw from it for foreign language instruction can be seen as particularly appropriate for the teaching of foreign languages to future professional translators. In Canale and Swain's words:

exposure to realistic communication situations is crucial if communicative competence is to lead to communicative confidence" (1980: 28)

In Savignon's view, on the other hand,

...it may be that communicative confidence leads to communicative competence...Communicative confidence in language learning may be like learning how to relax with your face under water, to let the water support you. Having once known the sensation of remaining afloat, it is but a matter of time until you learn the strokes that will take you where you want to go. (1983: 45)

A synthesis of these viewpoints suggests that communicative competence and communicative confidence are intricately interrelated supporting each other as the learner gradually becomes a member of the speech community of the second language.

The wealth of articles, monographs and conferences on translation studies over the past two decades is marked by a virtual absence of contributions dealing with the role of second language learning and teaching in translator education. This lack

of research may suggest that there is basic agreement that translator education institutions are doing an adequate job of teaching foreign languages to their students. I contend, however, that it is rather the still pervasive view of translation as an interlingual transcoding process that has perpetuated the stranglehold of traditional teaching approaches in translator education, and that has inhibited a fruitful debate on the applicability of communicative teaching methods to translator education.

At the FASK, an informal survey of students has revealed that non-communicative methods are used for the teaching of virtually all introductory-level language skills courses in those languages that can be chosen as major or minor subjects for a degree. These courses involve the direct, contrastive teaching of vocabulary and grammar rules, extensive rote learning, and early translation practice, ostensibly to provide students with the basic linguistic tools they will need in order to translate professionally between this foreign language and their native language. If the outcome is to be competent, self-confident language users, however, this type of approach is at odds with the overwhelming body of second language teaching research generated during the last two decades which points to an urgent need for truly communicative student-centered foreign language instruction. Ever since the advent of the concept of

'communicative competence' as the primary goal of foreign language learning, the affective and social features of learners and learning environments have played a prominent role in the planning and implementation of foreign language instruction.

The tidal wave of research, classroom approaches and published methods involving 'communicative' language learning that has swept the language teaching profession since at least the early 1980s seems indeed to have left the FASK –and perhaps many other translator education institutions – untouched. During the 1995-1996 academic year, an opportunity presented itself to finally raise the question at our institution: does the communicative foreign language classroom have a place in translator education?

Latvian and the Natural Approach in Germersheim

An exchange program between the University of Latvia and the FASK of the University of Mainz was initiated in 1995 with the aim of assisting the former in setting up a translator education program. It was planned for a number of instructors from Riga to come to Germersheim for a semester each to see how translators are educated in Germany, and also to offer some courses of their own. FASK instructors would in turn travel to Riga for several weeks at a time to teach intensive courses and to discuss instructional and curricular matters with their Riga

counterparts. When it was decided that Instructor A was to be the first exchange instructor to visit Germersheim for a longer stay during the summer semester of 1996, I was involved in proposing courses she might teach. I felt that a good way to build a bridge between our two universities was to get students interested in the Latvian language and culture, so I suggested an introductory course in the Latvian language. However, given that students already have the choice of a wide range of languages in Germersheim, I was concerned that not many would be interested in a language of such limited diffusion as Latvian.

Having decided to offer an undergraduate seminar in second language acquisition studies during that semester, I thought it would be a good opportunity for the participants in that course to be required to attend classes in a language that would be completely new to all of them. This would not only provide them with a laboratory within which to study second language acquisition, but it would also be a way to ensure that a fair number of students would find their way into the Latvian language course. As I had had some experience and success teaching Spanish with the 'Natural Approach' at an American University, and because this approach is related to Krashen's controversial theory of language acquisition, which would lend itself to study in my seminar, I proposed that Instructor A teach an introductory course in the Latvian language using the Natural

Approach over the course of the semester. She informed me that she had no experience using the approach and that she was, in fact, a rather traditional teacher who believed in the drilling of grammar rules and who basically liked to be in control in the classroom – two features that do not bode well for a Natural Approach class. Nevertheless, she expressed her willingness to give it a try.

It turned out that Instructor A would only be able to remain in GERMERSHEIM for the first six weeks of the semester – clearly not long enough for the students to get an idea of how the Natural Approach works or to acquire very much Latvian. I therefore found myself twisting the arms of her successors to take up where Instructor A left off and continue with the Natural Approach course until the end of the semester. Neither Instructor B nor C had had any experience using the Natural Approach and neither believed it was an appropriate way to introduce translation students to Latvian, particularly given the fact that we would have only one and a half hours of class per week. For all practical purposes then, our semester-long course in Latvian using the Natural Approach class in Latvian lasted for only nine contact hours, until Instructor A returned to Latvia. As the two other teachers clearly felt extremely uncomfortable with the approach from the time they took over the course, we agreed after two classes that they would switch to what they termed the

"eclectic" approach they used for Latvian and German courses at their home university. They did not specify at the outset what this approach would entail, but rather than have the course collapse completely, I gave them free reign to teach the course as they saw fit.

The key features of the course as planned with Instructor A, based on Natural Approach principles, were to be the following:

- Teacher talk was to be solely in Latvian and would be geared toward providing the students with comprehensible input (i and $i+1$) continuously adapted to their level of comprehension as they progressed.
- The teacher would assume the role of an initiator and supporter of communicative experiences rather than that of a traditional 'transmission-type' teacher. Her main tasks would be to provide the students with a) opportunities for acquisition by creating real communicative situations in the classroom, and b) comprehensible input and feedback for the students to work with.
- The students' affective filter would be kept low by having the teacher provide non-judgmental support throughout the class, by avoiding metalinguistic explanations, and through the creation of a collaborative learning environment in the classroom.

- Acquisition of the phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic systems of Latvian would be fostered by avoiding contrastive linguistic explanations and by creating a desire and a need to communicate spontaneously on the part of the learners with their emerging Latvian skills.
- Reading and writing would be delayed until the learners had acquired a grasp of the aural/oral language through listening and speaking.
- Learners would be allowed to delay speech production until they were ready to speak.
- A variety of modes of interaction would be incorporated into the class to keep students focused on the input and to help them make experiential associations with Latvian lexico-semantic elements. Students would be encouraged to interact actively with each other and with the teacher, to be involved in role-playing activities, language games, and pair work as well as small and large group work.
- Elements of Latvian culture would be presented in context to foster the students' interest in the language, culture and people of Latvia.

The very diverse impressions reported by two of the teachers of the introductory course in Latvian illustrates the difficulties inherent in using a non-traditional method that challenges the teacher's most fundamental assumptions about language learning. In the July 1996 issue of Pulvertornis, the newsletter for

the Germersheim-Riga exchange program, the teachers reported on their experiences in Germersheim, including their reactions to the Natural Approach class:

Instructor A:

"I was teaching Latvian with the Natural Approach something I had never done before and, moreover, that I did not believe in. But it works!"

Instructor B:

"It was difficult and strenuous for me as the teacher because the "writing" mode of perception was absent. It took some time before the students understood their own learning capabilities. Some of them became frustrated with learning. It was difficult for me to deal with the students as if they were little children. As not all of the available modes of perception were used, knowledge was not permanently stored.... Of course, it is debatable whether one should devote so much time to an old method in a university-level translator and interpreter training program."

Diaries kept by the students throughout the course revealed an almost unanimously positive response to the learning situation while Instructor A was teaching, and an almost universally negative response to the remainder of the course, taught by

instructors B and C using their 'eclectic approach' The brief explanations in the diaries do not permit an in-depth analysis of the reasons for this difference in attitudes towards the two parts of the course, but they do suggest that the primary attributes of the Natural Approach – the development of a collaborative community in the classroom, an affectively propitious environment for acquisition, an emphasis on students' needs and interests, and the absence of form-focused activities devoid of personal meaning for the students, were the key elements that made virtually all of the students feel that they were starting to acquire Latvian during the initial part of the course. The change in the students' attitudes toward Latvian and the class was radical following Instructor A's departure. Their diary comments revealed that this change was clearly due to the elimination of the supportive community, the abrupt raising of the affective filter through impersonal, form-focused teaching, the intrusion of the written form, and the boring, impersonal nature of classroom activities. The 'eclectic approach' used during the second part of the course turned out to be traditional, form-focused instruction in sheep's clothing. The students were regularly divided up into groups, not to allow them to exchange personal information or to explore means of Latvian expression while doing inherently interesting collaborative activities, but to drill grammatical structures and memorize vocabulary items.

Games were played, not as an integrated part of the instructional approach, to provide opportunities to experiment with the language in a positive affective environment, but as a simple diversion from the form-focused, impersonal stress of the 'real' instructional activities.

The Latvian course ended that semester with most students feeling as if they had gotten nowhere with Latvian. Unfortunately, only three students returned to the Latvian course that fall semester, out of the 22 who had participated in the spring. Having studied various teaching approaches during their seminar, all of the students realized, however, that their Latvian class had not been an example of the Natural Approach, even though Instructor A came close to providing the essential characteristics of a classroom acquisition environment during her six-week segment of the course. The frustration that came out of the 'eclectic' classroom and the unquenched curiosity about the kind of language learning experience that the Natural Approach might offer led to the next FASK experiment with acquisition in the classroom.

A Natural Approach course in Spanish

When a student at the FASK (Gelies, 1997) decided to write her master's thesis on the effects of the Natural Approach on student's attitudes, three of the original participants in the

Natural Approach class for Latvian who had also participated in the undergraduate seminar on the Natural Approach agreed to offer a course in Spanish, their mother tongue, to students at Germersheim for a nine-day intensive session between the winter semester 1996-97 and the summer semester 1997. The prospective participants were informed of the nature of the course before signing up: they would be 'living' Spanish for those nine days. The research questions for the master's thesis involved the students' attitudes toward the Natural Approach itself as a language teaching method, and their attitudes toward the Spanish language and culture. Sixteen students signed up and attended the course for the 50 hours of instruction.

The level of the participants' communicative competence in Spanish at the outset varied considerably. Some had begun studying Spanish at Germersheim, some had just completed their third semester and had never been to Spain, while others had already spent up to nine months in Spain. The course itself was an integrated program of communicative language activities involving a variety of situational and functional topics, including games, role playing activities, sketches, reading and whole-group discussions, all carefully adapted to the interests of college-age students. Most afternoons ended with a dance session, during which the participants learned and practiced the traditional Sevillanas. On one day, the students were divided into

groups, with each group being responsible for teaching the rest of the class for one hour.

The most important goals of the course were: making the students feel comfortable speaking Spanish; helping the students develop their capacity for self-correction; and encouraging the students to assume responsibility for their own progress. The main tool for accomplishing these goals was the development of a true community in the classroom, with each student feeling supported by the group and linguistically uninhibited in front of the teachers or other students.

Reactions of some of the students to an anonymous questionnaire following the course provide some insight into the value they saw in the approach taken in the course:

Q: How did the course affect your attitude toward the Spanish language?

A: I think I am much more motivated than I was before and I no longer have as many inhibitions about speaking Spanish. I now feel the desire to learn more so that I can express myself better and more quickly.

A: I find it easier to speak Spanish now, and my reading and writing skills are better, too. In particular, my listening comprehension and my grammatical knowledge

improved. (I just can't remember boring, dehydrated theory.)

Q: What is your impression of how the course affected your relationship to other course participants?

A: We formed a community; we worked with each other and never against each other. And we got to know each other much better over the course of the two week period.

Q: How was the relationship between the teachers and students?

A: At the beginning, there was some distance between the teachers and students. This soon turned into a warm, friendly relationship. The atmosphere was very pleasant.

A. Excellent! The teachers were more like partners; real friendship evolved among us. With their lively manner and perpetual good mood, they were always able to motivate us very much. By the end of the course, I had no more inhibitions about speaking with them in Spanish.

Q: How do you feel about the classroom activities you experienced during the course?

A: At the beginning I wasn't very enthusiastic about playing games, but since the group worked so well together, I changed

my mind about games. They addressed all of our senses.

A: The class was a lot of fun and was also multi-faceted. Everything was fun, particularly the games in which we had to use the language quickly and spontaneously. We learned a great deal by actually using the language.

These comments are indicative of the overall response to the course. Gelies found that all of the participants were pleased with the progress they made in Spanish over those nine days. She found, in fact, that the course itself, and the communicative, student-oriented approach underlying it, was directly responsible for a dramatic increase in the students' motivational intensity. During those nine days, these students, who had previously been subjected to semesters of depersonalized, form focused instruction, found themselves drawn into the community of Spanish speakers and acquirers.

Implications for translator education – Why learning is not enough

A foreign language course that is based primarily on the overt teaching of language structures and that does not provide students with extensive opportunities for authentic communication in the classroom neglects the students' natural acquisitional abilities, and also ignores the fundamental nature of translation as a communicative activity.

By relegating real communicative experience with foreign languages to summer courses and stays abroad, we erroneously attempt to bypass the visceral, experiential stage of language acquisition that is the fertile ground for the development of the native speaker intuitions we identify as native language competence. No amount of grammar instruction or rote memorization of vocabulary can make up for the deep affective bond to and feel for a language that come through communication by means of that language. By helping our students approach the foreign language in a more natural manner, we are sure to help them become more competent and more self-confident foreign language users. There is every reason to believe that they will have a better feel for the language and a deeper appreciation for the culture and its people, having themselves been actively drawn into the speech community.

Moving towards communicative foreign language instruction in translator education programs would be an excellent first step towards turning training into a practice-oriented enterprise. It would encourage students to begin taking responsibility for their own learning; it would help them understand from the beginning that translation is a communicative, interpretive process much more than it is a recoding process. It would help create a spirit of community within the institution and break the mold of the

traditional effete model of teaching, which treat students like empty vessels that need to be filled with knowledge.

It is time for a fundamental change throughout the institution, and the fundamental features of the Natural Approach suggest a way. We must set aside our traditional role of "sage on a stage" (King, 1993) and assume instead roles of guide, assistant and advisor to help our students move toward their own goals as language professionals. We must acknowledge that each person is a language acquisition expert, that each student's personality, previous experiences, interests and talents are powerful tools that form the true basis for professional competence. We are only here to help. This change in attitude can and must begin with second language acquisition. If we were to allow our students and ourselves as teachers to become three-dimensional human beings in the classroom, it would be very hard for the institution as a whole not to change – for the better

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Teaching Interpreting to B.A. Students of the University of Latvia

Over the last few years, there has been a dramatic increase in demand for translators' as well as interpreters' services. One might assume that because of this situation, according to the market laws, there should be an increase in supply of such services and consequently an increase in production (training) of specialists who can provide them.

It is quite obvious that the statement proves to be true as concerns translators: the University of Latvia has introduced a B.A. programme on translation, students can get a thoroughly organised, extensive training which includes both theoretical and practical courses, at the end of their studies they have an opportunity to obtain a translator's certificate to justify the acquired qualifications. Several educational establishments, e.g. Valodas Centrs in Riga, and presumably not only in this city, offer translator's training courses. It might be difficult to assess the quality of such training as trainees in most cases have only practice classes, take no tests or get no evaluation at the end of their course, and the theoretical part is completely ignored in

such courses. Still the very fact of these courses existence is very optimistic as it shows that society has started treating translation as an occupation which needs formal training.

However, the situation with interpreters does not fully correspond to the logical prognosis. Despite an enormous increase in the service demand and supply, so far, no special training programmes in interpretation have been offered, the only exception being an M.A. programme in translation and interpretation at the University of Latvia. In my opinion, there are several possible explanations of this fact.

To begin with, there is a widespread belief that any bilingual person is in a position to become a self-proclaimed interpreter. The consequences of this public fallacy we can commonly observe when one has to listen to a simultaneous interpretation from Latvian into Russian, e.g. the sittings of Saeima broadcasts on LTV-2. To the best of my knowledge, there are no teaching centres which offer formal training programmes for Latvian-Russian-Latvian interpreters or translators, as a result of this the quality of Latvian-Russian-Latvian interpretation is quite often pretty low. Unfortunately, it should be stressed that quality is not the major factor that counts for commissioners who tend to opt for lower prices. Therefore most interpreters would probably agree to Pinchuk's view that an 'adequate translation will always be one that has been produced

with just enough expenditure of time and energy to meet the needs of the customers. It should not be of a higher quality than he requires if this will introduce a higher cost'(1977: 206) can be referred also to interpretation. Another reason which explains the absence of interpretation courses is of practical character; the shortage of teachers able to take up the job as well as the lack of necessary facilities, etc. All these factors play against those who could be interested in acquiring certain interpreting skills through formal training.

Some efforts to change the situation can and must be taken. In the present article I am going to describe my first awkward experience in teaching interpreting to second year University students. The basic motive for my decision to introduce or rather try out interpreting was the wish to satisfy the students' curiosity. It happened so that all of my second year students were keen on trying themselves as interpreters, but were afraid of doing it in a real life situation. On the other hand, being quite aware of the fact that our interpreting classes would be more process than result oriented, I still believed that they would serve some pedagogical goals, e. g. activating special vocabulary, developing comprehension and presentation skills. I did not doubt to start with community interpreting since this kind of job is commonly offered to our students and is considered to be the simplest one among different kinds of interpreting. It does

not depend so much on natural talents and intellectual abilities, so it could be introduced even to weaker students, who might have failed to be selected as interpreter trainees in other circumstances. Besides that, I had at my disposal the teaching aid 'Improve Interpreting Skills' worked out at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations by G.Yudina. The book is arranged in the form of bilingual dialogues on certain topics, supplied with vocabulary lists, possible versions of interpretation and interpreting exercises. Although, on the whole, the book is morally outdated there are separate dialogues that could be used in my particular situation. Due to their conversational character exercises can be easily transformed into role plays, and the fact that students are supposed to work both into and from their mother tongue not only helps them memorise and activate special vocabulary, but also adds much to simulating an authentic atmosphere of community interpreting.

The classes were organised the following way: after having given a brief introduction into the nature and purpose of interpreting, making references to my personal experience, I asked the students to choose two speakers, an English and a Russian one, for acting out a dialogue and two interpreters, an English-Russian and a Russian- English one, to serve the former two. The interpreters had an option whether to take notes or not, but no special instructions concerning note-taking were given.

The interpreters were also allowed to put questions to the speakers in case they had failed to catch or understand some information, though they hardly ever used that opportunity either because the speakers were comprehensible enough or, perhaps, the interpreter students were afraid of looking not very intelligent in front of their groupmates. After having a dialogue supplied with an interpreting performed, first the speakers and then the interpreters themselves and the observers (the rest of the group) were asked to give their comments on the interpreters' performance. Students were expected to assess not only the adequacy or faithfulness of interpretation but also the way interpreters presented themselves, their behaviour. Besides that, interpreters were requested to specify the difficulties and describe the emotions they experienced while interpreting. All those procedures aimed at students' sensitizing the specific features of interpreting as a type of communication. It should be noted that despite the fact that the students were quite satisfied with the activity and considered it to be useful, all of them, with no exception(!), felt embarrassed when acting 'in public' as interpreters and even as speakers. The psychological distress my students suffered made me search for some other ways of organizing classes where interpreting would not imply public performance resulting in a psychological discomfort of students.

Thus, I decided that an acceptable option would be voicing-over. Although voicing-over does not belong to either community or court, or consecutive, or simultaneous, i.e. any kind of interpreting, it involves the activity characteristic of interpreting in general, and namely, an oral target version presentation of an oral source speech. Voicing-over made it possible to solve two major tasks: to overcome students' psychological discomfort, as our interpreters become as if impersonal, 'just the mouths', and cease to feel speaking in public; and to make students work against time limits. As opposed to community interpreting where timing was not particularly specified, the voicing-over activity envisaged strictly set time limits, since the duration of the target speech was not expected to exceed that of the source speech. Therefore students had no choice but be fluent, make no pauses caused by hesitation, and be as laconic or as little redundant as possible. There was another positive factor in the activity; when performing voicing-over students had no problems speaking in the first person, i.e. they fully associated themselves with the speaker, while in community interpreting this objective was hard to reach. For some psychological reasons, e.g. because the speakers were sitting next to them and everybody could see who the true 'I' was, the interpreters could not distance themselves from their personalities without being confused about receivers'

reaction, so, the student interpreters found it extremely difficult to speak in the first person.

The voicing-over classes were organised the following way: students had an opportunity to watch a video tape (I chose a video guide to Britain which also included authentic dialogues) and were requested to take notes during the first playback. After having watched an episode about 3 5 minutes long, students were asked to give the gist of an episode, single out key words and specify most important details which should be preserved in the target version. This time more attention was paid to the lexical contents. Separate terms and set phrases had been interpreted in group before an actual voicing-over began. Then students were offered to watch the episode for the second time to check on their own whether they had managed to grasp all the important pieces of information and the speaker's mode, and to verbalise in mind at least some of the target sentences. Finally, two or three students were asked to volunteer for the interpreting, and the real voicing-over began. Students insisted on having a turned-down original sound preserved, so that they were able to match their voicing-over with not just mute picture but, to a certain extent, with the original speaker and background sounds. Then the analysis and assessment stage followed. The students' feedback proved that most successfully performed the task those who did not use their notes during the interpreting but

tried to provide a relatively spontaneous simultaneous interpretation. That particular condition allows me to state that the kind of voicing-over could be used as a preparatory step for initial simultaneous interpreters' training.

One more type of interpreting activity I took up with my students was consecutive interpreting. The major pedagogical aim of that activity was to activate students' special vocabulary. However, in the process of teaching I acknowledged that there were some other aims of equal pedagogical importance. Classes were arranged in such a way that students did not only have to act as interpreters they were also expected to prepare and deliver their own speeches. Here I would like to refer to Daniel Gile's statement that "interpreters and translators must have good command of their active working languages. In top-level interpretation and translation, in particular, this requirement is set at a very demanding level. Technical translators are required to be able to write publishable texts, that is, to have professional writing skills besides being able to perform the translation from one language to the other... Likewise, conference interpreters are required to be able to make speeches at a linguistic level commensurate with that of the personalities they interpret, be they diplomats, scientists, politicians, artists, or intellectuals" (1995:5). The important component of consecutive interpreting classes was speaker's presentation. All students were supposed

to deliver speeches, either in their mother tongue or in their first language, on a certain topic but particular subjects being chosen by students themselves. That assignment aimed at the development of both language and presentation skills.

As concerns interpretation, more attention was given to note-taking techniques, students were informed about different approaches to note-taking. Their possible advantages and disadvantages were discussed by students. Later on, two or three consecutive interpreters were chosen for each speaker. Having listened to a speaker's presentation, the first interpreter was asked to start his/her job while other students appointed for interpreting the same speaker were requested to wait outside the classroom. As soon as the interpretation versions had been listened to, all the students had an opportunity to discuss interpreters' performance and compare the notes both interpreters and mere observers had taken. In the end students tried to define the strategies that helped them perform interpreting more adequately.

In conclusion, I would specially point out that the last type of interpreting classes was not welcomed by every student. Some students were particularly reluctant about delivering speeches not to mention providing interpretation itself. Obviously, this fact has not only psychological but also pragmatic reasons as some students do not see any practical

application for consecutive interpreting as one of their skills. Thus, in my opinion, there should be a special selection of students for consecutive interpreting which would essentially increase training efficiency.

Summary

There has been a dramatic increase in translator and interpreter service supply and demand in Latvia over the last few years. However, there is almost no opportunity for those who would like to get formal interpreter training. The situation should and must be changed. Several ways of introducing interpreting can be applied at the University. They are community interpreting, voicing-over and consecutive interpreting.

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Compression of Information in Advertising Headlines

In the environment of state-of-the-art technologies that have dramatically influenced the speed of life, issues of language economy are viewed by linguists as a matter of considerable interest (Leech, 1973; Arnold, 1986). Language economy via compression of information refers to the coding side of the communication process: a sender codes a message selecting only the essential and eliminating the incidental (Arnold, 1973:58).

Advertising, given its extremely pragmatic nature, demonstrates its own specifics of compression. The compression of information in the headlines of English magazine advertisements is the subject of interest of this paper. Over 1000 advertisements from English, American and Australian magazines over the period from 1979 to 1997 were examined to reveal the techniques of compression of information in the advertising headline (AH).

Compression of information in advertising headlines has an extralinguistic aspect. First, extra-textual information is needed -- compression is possible only if the addressee already possesses background knowledge.

Second, compression is caused by the necessity of eliminating noise¹ in the communication channel, since noise increases the reluctance of the addressee to perceive the message.

Third, compression of information in the headline (especially in the headlines of mini-ads) is due to financial constraints -- the necessity of paying for an advertising space in magazines.

The above features, specific to the extralinguistic context of the functioning of advertising headlines, have their impact on the character of language economy in the latter. M.Sizov (Sizov, 1981: 7) suggests two ways of understanding language economy:

In its broad sense language economy refers to the efficiency of communication and does not necessarily imply usage of brief language forms;

In its narrow sense language economy is directly linked to the physical brevity of language forms.

In advertising language we mainly deal with the concept of economy of language in its broad sense: brevity here is not a stylistic factor. Economy of language is gained by the

¹ The term "noise" is borrowed by linguists from communication science. Two types of noise -- linguistic and extralinguistic -- are recognized (Kiselyova, 1978). Advertising has to handle extralinguistic noise: skepticism about advertising in general and a new product in particular, competitive information -- advertisements of competitors, etc.

compression of information, which shows both in short and in long AHs. The advertisement for a tele-tracer has a headline: *"Hello. I'm not home right now. But my Sony Tele-Tracer knows exactly where I am. I've programmed it to automatically call me and play back every message I get as soon as I get it. So leave your name and number. I'll get back to you sooner than later. Bye"* (Newsweek, 1986, Oct.. 9). Although we have a coupling of several types of compression here: phonetic -- reduction of the linking verb (the form *I'm*) and of the auxiliary verbs (*I've*, *I'll*), and syntactical -- omission of the preposition *at* ("*I'm not home*"), the main manifestation of the compression is a targeted, precise choice of words and constructions which are aimed at achieving maximum pragmatic effect.

Language economy in its narrow sense can be found in the headlines of mini-ads.

Due to the tendency to compress information and to the graphic and compositional peculiarities of the AH, as well as the interplay between the AH and the illustration, AH is recognised as a form of block language (Straumann, 1935: 21; Leech, 1972: 90). The functioning of block language is preconditioned to some extent by savings both in time (a need to transmit and

receive the information quickly) and in space. The language blocks are instantly visually perceived.

AHs demonstrate compression on all levels: phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic. The largest share in the field of the AH compression is taken by phonetic compression. The material analyzed showed a lot of reductions of verbal forms, both auxiliary and linking.

A reduced negative word *not* is used very often, adding to compression in the AHs like *"If you weren't born with a silver spoon in your mouth, it's time you experienced the feeling"* (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 241) an advertisement for silver tableware. Two types of the phonetic compression of the negative forms in combination with the linking verb occur in the AH: a phonetic reduction of the negative word *not* on the one hand: *"Miniskirts aren't the only way to feel young. Eat a tuna melt"* (Better Homes and Gardens, 1995. Oct.:117) an advertisement for a fat-free cheese and a more emphatic usage of a phonetically reduced linking verb *to be* and a full form of the negative verb *not* on the other: *"We found the real Alaska. It's not a place you just happen to stumble across."* (Smithsonian, 1995 Oct.. 43) an advertisement for the holidays in Alaska.

The cases of phonetic reduction of the conjunction *and* in the AH are of interest here:

1) "*There's not a surface in your home that can't be Brite n'clean*" (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 258) an advertisement for a furniture polish;

2) "*Does your diet look as good as this?...it can do with Sweet'N Low*" (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 277) an advertisement for a sweetener;

3) "*Set for a cool'n'fresh picnic*" (Woman's Own, 1984, June: 50-51) -- an advertisement for a picnic set.

By means of the phonetic reduction of the conjunction *and* in the model **adj. + and + adj.**, occasional formations are produced enhancing a relaxed unofficial atmosphere typical of colloquial style. The occasional nature of the forms is verified by the unsecured position of the apostrophe in written language: the apostrophe is used after the element *n* (*Brite n'clean*), before the element *n* (*Sweet'N Low*) and on both sides of the element *n* (*cool'n'fresh*), which is the most precise way to indicate the reduction.

The headline "*Waddayaneed?*" (The Australian Women's Weekly, 1983, March: 241) is the most pronounced example of

¹ A fancy spelling of the word *bright* is made to serve the function of attracting the interest of a potential customer.

the phonetic compression among the AHs examined. This AH is given to the advertisement for an insecticide.

We conclude from the analysis of the AH that the phonetic compression is widely used in the AH. It serves the purpose of making the AH colloquial. Geoffrey N. Leech states that advertising style makes use of the elements of both colloquial and formal styles (Leech, 1972: 74). This can be explained by the fact that in general advertising should reach out to a heterogeneous mass audience. The elements of colloquial style help to create intimacy, a relaxed atmosphere of a friendly talk; the elements of the formal style are used in the advertisements aimed to reach more conservative customers. The latter may be exemplified by the advertisement for bags of classic design where the target audience is a conservative customer who knows the value of classic goods. If the usage of the full form of the auxiliary verb *will* in the headline "*Send for the free Coach Catalogue. You will discover an American Classic*" (Smithsonian, 1995, Oct., 18) can be explained not only by a "conservative taste" but also by an emphasis it adds to the statement, the text leaves no ground for further doubt: it does not contain even a single phonetically reduced structure. Headlines with unreduced auxiliary verbs are by no means widespread in commercial advertising: the reduced forms outweigh

the full ones considerably, thus proving the populist nature of the commercial advertising.

Syntactic compression is obtained by means of a compressed positional structure of the sentence or ellipsis. Due to the ellipsis, i.e. a purposeful omission of the subject and the linking verb in the AH "*Not just a pretty face*" (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 27) (the advertisement for stockings) the AH gains both a flavor of mystery and a relaxing atmosphere which is the objective the copywriter tries to accomplish.

A particularly high degree of the compression of information is reached in the AHs where ellipsis is combined with aposiopesis (break-in-the-narrative). Thus intimacy is added to the AH "*Heard the one about...?*" by the omission of the subject and auxiliary verb (ellipsis) (Woman's Realm, 1985, Aug.:25) (the advertisement for a consultancy company) -- the copywriter creates an atmosphere of a friendly talk. Aposiopesis applied to the part of the headline generally left for the name of an advertised article, serves the function of inciting curiosity and adds mystery to the headline. Due to the coupling of the figures of speech this headline serves the function of information compression – it contains a larger amount of implied information than it explicitly conveys.

Besides traditional types of compression there is a type of compression in the AH which we'll arbitrarily name a semantic

compression. The informative satiation of an AH increases in cases when one some of the lexical meaning of a word is activated in an AH, and at the same time, another immaterialized seme is implied and activated when the reader goes through all constituent parts of the advertisement. E.g. the advertisement of 'Gourmet' plates and dishes has a headline "*Gourmet' smoked glass. Its beauty is its strength.*" (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 45) where the seme "power" which is present in the intensional meaning (Nikitin, 1983: 24) of the word *strength*, is activated. Further in the text another implicitly present seme of the intensional of the lexical meaning of the word *strength*, "ability to resist" is activated: the plates and dishes are made of fireproof glass.

Semantic compression in the AH is closely related to lexical compression. Shortening is the most widely used type of lexical compression in the AH. All types of shortening are used in the AH: clipping, ellipsis and blending, as well as initial abbreviation and acronyms.

Clipped words are widespread in the AH. There are clipped words already existent in the language as *ad*, *veg*, *fax* (results of the back-clipping), or *phone* (the result of the front-clipping) and *fridge* (the result of the combined clipping: apheresis + back-clipping). The above clipped words are not a novelty, however, the usage of such colloquial forms helps

compress the information in the AH and adds to its expressiveness.

Besides conventional curtailed words nonce-words such as, e.g. *knit* (the result of the final clipping from the noun *knitting*) in the headline of the advertisement of knittings "*Dashing new knits for autumn.*" (The Australian Women's Weekly, 1983, March: 150), are used in the AH.

There are instances of already existent clipped structures providing a basis for the nonce-words. Thus the nonce-word, the phrasal verb *tux in* in the AH of the dinner-jackets and evening dresses advertisement "*Tux in*" (Woman, 1984, Apr: 35), is formed by conversion from the noun *tux* (tuxedo). Due to the usage of the nonce-word -- the verb, economical from the point of view of the usage of the language resources (clipping), the AH gains more dynamism (the verb has a seme "movement") and the mysteriousness of the headline is enhanced.

AHs have abundant shortenings by means of ellipsis. Again there are two types of elliptical abbreviation or clipping: those already existent in the language (e.g. *electric*s from the word combination *electrical equipment*) and nonce-words. The latter demonstrate a greater capacity to compress the information.

The substantivized elliptical shortening *weekly* (from the word-combination *weekly paper*) takes part in nonce-word

formation in the AH "*If you aren't reading Newsweek, you aren't reading America's fastest growing newsweekly*" (United, 1986, Oct.. 82). The nonce-word *newsweekly* demonstrates capacity for information compression: it transmits the information about the title of the advertised magazine: "Newsweek" conveys the information that it is published once a week, and implies a positive judgement that the published news to him is by no means outdated.

Blends demonstrate a special capacity for the compression of information in the AH. Blending is one of the means of creating nonce-words in advertising. The bulk of the blends in the AH are transformable into attributive phrases (restrictive type). The blend *Fruitea* in the AH "*Get Fruitea!*" (Woman's Realm, 1985: 37) is coined on the pattern *N + N* (*fruit + tea*). The headline contains compressed information about the taste of the tea advertised: it has a fruit flavor.

The brand name *Femfresh* is coined on another pattern: *Adj. + Adj.* (additive type) *feminine + fresh*. The advertisement of the beauty care product *Femfresh* has a headline "*Femfreshness*" (Woman's Own, 1984, May: 7). The nonce-word *Femfreshness* is formed from the brand name *Femfresh* by adding the suffix *-ness*. A high degree of compression is obtained by blending and suffixation: the headline contains the information not only about the product's name, but also about

femininity and freshness, the qualities obtained by a woman who buys the product.

There are blends coined on the pattern *Part.I + Adv.* in AHs, e.g. the text of the furniture advertisement has a headline "Lookingood" (Ideal Home, 1983, June: 20-21) which emphasizes the beauty of the furniture advertised.

The analysis reveals a high frequency of usage of attributive chains – nonce attributive combinations, in the AH. The information transmitted is compressed by means of attributive chains -- a large amount of information is conveyed by minimum language means. The attributive chains make the AH compact and easily perceived visually. "Lay-Flat, Stay-Flat Floorings" (Good Housekeeping, 1979, May: 36) -- the attributive combinations in the headline of the advertisement promoting a linoleum convey compressed information about the advertised product and make the headline easily memorable. The extensive usage of the attributive chains in the AH is inspired by the necessity to compress information and to find new efficient ways of persuading potential customers. It is also explained by the fact that they are easily understood by a linguistically untrained recipient (Shamelashvilli, 1982: 17).

The analysis of all types of the compression of information in the AHs reveals the tendency of the different types to converge, i.e. it is by interacting that the types of information

compression produce the desired outcome - the impact upon the recipient.

Compression of information in the AH serves the purpose of eliminating incidental pragmatic noise in the communication channel. Besides the economy of space, compression of information performs an expressive function. The analysis revealed the typical forms of information compression in the AH: phonetic, syntactic, semantic and lexical. In addition convergence of the different types of compression can be pointed out. The tendency to compress the information interacts with a tendency to plenitude. Compression in the AH is not necessarily equivalent to brevity. Brevity is not a stylistic factor of the language of advertising.

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Skandināvu valodu politika attiecībā pret svešvārdiem un valodas ietekmes sfēru zudumu

Šajā rakstā sniegts tikai Skandināvijas ziemeļģermāņu, proti, indoeiropiešu valodu situācijas apraksts, nepievēršoties grenlandiešu, sāmu un somu valodai. Šādas izvēles pamatā ir divi apsvērumi. Pirmkārt, ziemeļģermāņu valodām ir sevišķas iespējas integrēt citvalodu vārdus, jo īpaši no citām ģermāņu valodām, kā angļu un vācu valodas, pielāgojot aizgūto vārdu un morfēmu izrunu un rakstību savai valodai (sk. *Par un pret norvēģiskošanu*). Otrkārt, kopš 18. gadsimta pastāv valodas politikas tradīcija abas salu valodas (islandiešu un fēriešu valodu) tuvināt senskandināvu valodai un tādā veidā arī vienu otrai, un kopš 19. gadsimta saskatīt lielās līdzības visu trīs austrumskandināvu valodu starpā, uztverot tās kā pamatu kultūras, politikas un komunikācijas vienotībai, pamatu, ko nepieciešams stiprināt (sk. *Skandināviskais arguments*).

Skandināvu valodu politika pret svešvārdiem un valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumu skatāma visnotaļ plašā spektrā, sākot ar mazākajām valodām, kā fēriešu (apm. 50 000 runātāju) un

islandiešu (apm. 250 000), un beidzot ar lielākajām - dāņu (apm. 5 miljoni), zviedru (apm. 8 miljoni) un norvēģu valodu (apm. 4 miljoni).

Politiskās situācijas sakarā minams tas, ka Dānija un Zviedrija ir Eiropas Savienības dalībvalstis, savukārt Fēru salas, Islande un Norvēģija nav iesaistījušās šajā valstu savienībā. Tas, ka Fēru salas nevienu brīdi nav vēlējušās iekļauties ES vai tās priekšteces Eiropas Kopienas sastāvā, liecina par relatīvi izteiktu Fēru salu pašpārvaldes pakāpi Dānijas karalistes ietvaros. Eiropas Savienībā visu dalībvalstu valsts valodām joprojām ir oficiālo valodu statuss, un visu šo valodu starpā notiek tulkošana, turpretī liela daļa svarīgā sagatavošanas darba, kas notiek pirms gala lēmumu pieņemšanas, norisinās ievērojami mazākā valodu skaitā.

Valodas plānošana un politika

Jēdziens *valodas politika* jeb *valodas kopšana*, kuram pozitīvāka pieskaņa, Skandināvijā dažādos laikos ir definēts ļoti atšķirīgi, no dāņu valodas skaidrojošā vārdnīcā *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* minētās definīcijas - "centieni sekmēt vai sargāt valodas tīrību, daiļumu, izteiksmību u.c." (ODS, 546. sleja) līdz lielā skandināvu valodu vēsturnieka Pētera Skautrupa skaidrojumam - "tieša iejaukšanās valodas formās un lietojumā vai ieteikumi to

izmaiņai" (Skautrup: 58. lpp.) Pirmā definīcija ir no zinātniskā viedokļa apšaubāma, jo tajā lietota virkne lingvistikas jomā neskaidru vārdu, kuri visi ir ar pozitīvu nokrāsu, un vārds "tīrība" kas kā vēlamu parādību raksturo centienus neieļaut valodā svešvārdus.

Dāņu valodas komisijas (Dansk Sprognævn) pašreizējais priekšsēdētājs Eriks Hansens valodas politiku definējis kā "programmu, kas attiecas uz valodas labklājību, nosauc līdzekļus vēlamā rezultāta sasniegšanai un ir saistīta ar praksi" Viņš gan uzskata, ka šī prakse var izpausties arī nekā nedarīšanā. (Hansen, 1991: 31).

Valodas plānošana var būt **ekstraverta** un nodarboties ar statusa plānošanu, proti, nosacīt valodas funkcionālās sfēras, piemēram, kādā mērā tā izmantojama kā mācību valoda. Tā var arī tikt formulēta kā prasība, lai valsts iegādātas datorsistēmas nodrošinātu iespēju elektroniskā pasta vēstulēs lietot valsts valodas alfabētu. Ekstravertā valodas plānošana bieži vien regulē attiecības starp divām vai vairākām valodām kādas teritorijas ietvaros, kurā zināmos aspektos darbojas pašpārvalde, piemēram, Eiropas Savienības, valsts vai pavalstu / novadu ietvaros.

Valodas plānošana var būt arī **intraverta** un nodarboties ar valodiskā veseluma plānošanu, proti, ar valodas struktūrām, piemēram, ortogrāfiju, leksiku, vai ar standartizāciju un modernizāciju.

Valodas politika ir tas valodas plānošanas veids, kuru īsteno ar politisku līdzekļu starpniecību sākot no likumdošanas un oficiālās iestādēs un skolās ievērojamiem normatīviem līdz finansiāliem publikāciju vai pētnieciskā darba pabalstiem

Valodas politika var būt **pilnīga**, aptverot visas valodas sfēras, vai **daļēja**, proti, vērsta uz atsevišķām jomām, piemēram, uz citvalodu īpašvārdu pareizrakstību vai vārdu krājuma attīstīšanu.

Turklāt tā var būt **tieša**, piemēram, formulēta pareizrakstības likumu veidā, vai **netieša**, piemēram, kā tāda likuma neesamība, kurš aizliegtu firmām un veikaliem nosaukumos lietot citvalodu vārdus un rakstību.

Visbeidzot, valodas politiku iespējams īstenot vai nu **priekšrakstu**, vai **ieteikumu** formā. Šī īstenošana var notikt, izmantojot veselu virkni konkrētu līdzekļu, sākot no sankcijām pārkāpumu gadījumos, tādām kā soda naudas vai nenolikti eksāmeni, turpinot ar obligātu apmācību un rokasgrāmatu

izstrādāšanu un beidzot ar iedzīvotāju iniciatīvu finansiālu atbalstu un valsts iestāžu pieņemtiem norādījumiem valodas jomā.

Ekstravertās un intravertās valodas plānošanas starpā ir dialektiskas attiecības. Ja kādā valodā atsevišķām parādībām trūkst apzīmējumu (vai arī tie ir relatīvi mazzināmi, vai citādā ziņā grūti lietojami), valodas lietotāji, runā pieskaroties attiecīgajām tēmām, sliecas izmantot citu valodu. Līdz ar to notiek valodas lietojuma sfēras zudums. Savukārt tas, ka valoda kādā noteiktā jomā tiek mazāk lietota, nes līdzī šīs valodas attīstības aizkavējumu šajā pašā jomā.

Valodas lietojuma sfēru zudums

Šajā rakstā ar valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumu apzīmēta parādība, kad kādu valodu vai valodas formu pilnīgi vai daļēji izspiež kāda cita, piemēram, samazinot Eiropas Savienības pārrunu valodu skaitu, kādai valodai izspiežot citu vienā vai vairākās izglītības sistēmas jomās vai valodai netiekot lietotai kādā noteiktā zinātnes nozarē.

Rakstu valodas lietojuma sfēras sarukšanu veicināja telefona izplatība. Telefons ļāva pasta iznēsāšanu samazināt no vairākām reizēm dienā līdz vienai, kas savukārt samazināja

rakstiskās komunikācijas formas izmantojamību. Līdz ar jaunajām iespējām, ko sniedz Internets un elektroniskais pasts, šķiet, ka rakstu valoda atkal tiek lietota vairāk, tomēr tikai tajās valodās, kurās iespējams rakstīt ar jaunajiem komunikācijas līdzekļiem. Tāpat tehnoloģiskā attīstība var nest sev līdzī aizvien lielāku kādas valodas lietojuma sfēras samazināšanos.

Fēriešu (Fēru salu) valoda

Kā rakstu un līdz ar to arī kā normēta valoda fēriešu valoda ir visjaunākā no skandināvu valodām. Fēriešu filoloģijas pamatlicējs V. U. Hammershaibs savus pirmos fēriešu rakstu valodas paraugus iesniedza publicēšanai 1846. gadā. Tās rakstība būtiski atšķiras no izrunas, jo ir pietuvināta islandiešu valodai, kas tika uzskatīta par mazākā mērā vienkāršotu nekā fēriešu valoda un par sāgu kultūrvalodai tuvāk stāvošu. 1854. gadā Hammershaibs publicēja fēriešu valodas gramatiku, 1886. gadā pirmo fēriešu literatūras antoloģiju. Leksikas ziņā Hammershaibs bija pūrists viņš centās izvairīties no sarunvalodā bieži sastopamiem citvalodu cilmes vārdiem (Larsen: 53).

19. gadsimta beigās fēriešu studenti Kopenhāgenā nodibināja tautisku apvienību, kuras svarīgākais uzdevums bija no jauna "celt godā fēriešu valodu" Tika izdots pirmais laikraksts fēriešu

valodā, daudziem tā bija pirmā iespēja ieraudzīt savu valodu rakstos, gandrīz visiem autoriem pirmā iespēja rakstiski izteikties savā dzimtajā valodā. Daudzi rakstītāji lietoja aizguvumus no dažādām valodām, tomēr daži meklēja tiem aizstājējus no tautasdziesmām vai islandiešu valodas. Arī vēlāk fēriešu pūristi, rodoties nepieciešamībai pēc jauna vārda, kā avotam priekšroku devuši sāgu valodai vai mūsdienu islandiešu valodai (Larsen; Poulsen, 1985).

Fēriešu valoda kļuvusi par oficiālu valodu salīdzinoši nesen. Baznīcas rituālu teksti tika pārtulkoti tikai pirms 2. pasaules kara, un pirmais pilnīgais Bībeles tulkojums iznāca 1961. gadā (Larsen). Mūsdienās fēriešu valoda ir ar likumu atzīta par Fēru salu pamatvalodu. Fēriešu parlamenta, Lagtinga, pieņemtos likumus publicē gan fēriešu, gan dāņu valodā, bez tam atsevišķus normatīvos aktus, kuri attiecas vienīgi uz Fēru salu iedzīvotājiem, izziņo tikai fēriešu valodā, un daudzi uzņēmumi un iestādes uzskata par dabisku un pašsaprotamu lietu, ka viņu rakstveida ziņojumi ir fēriešu valodā (Poulsen, 1986).

Pamatskolā fēriešu valoda tagad ir kļuvusi par mācību valodu, taču jau ģimnāzijas līmenī liela daļa mācību grāmatu satopamas tikai dāņu valodā. Līdz ar to daudziem fēriešiem vēl aizvien par tehniskām lietām ir vieglāk izteikties dāņu, nevis fēriešu valodā,

tāpēc ka fēriešu tehnisko terminoloģiju viņi zina sliktāk vai nezina vispār, vai tā vienkāršā iemesla dēļ, ka šāda terminoloģija nav izveidota (Poulsen, 1986)

Aptuveni 60% no Fēriešu valodas komisijai telefoniski uzdotajiem jautājumiem ir par to, kādu fēriešu vārdu vai vārdu savienojumu lietot attiecīga dāņu analoga vietā. Tas nozīmē, ka pastāv stipra vēlēšanās attīstīt un lietot fēriešu valodu (Poulsen, 1986: 62). Par šo vēlēšanos liecina arī tas, ka jaunvārdi izplatās ļoti strauji, pat vairākus gadus pēc tam, kad valodā ieviesies attiecīgs svešvārds. Tā, 1985. gadā datorus apzīmējošo svešvārdu vietā tika ieteikts jaunvārds *telda*, un jau pēc gada lietoja gandrīz tikai šo jaunvārdu. Līdzīgi helikopteru apzīmē ar *tyrla*, un ar *bingja* cenšas aizstāt fēriskoto *konteynari* (kontainers), kurā citvalodu sufikss *-er* tāpat kā citos aizguvumos aizstāts ar fēriešu *-ari*. *Bingja* ir mantots vārds ar nozīmi “kaste graudu glabāšanai” paralēlforma vārdam *bing* ar tādu pašu nozīmi, savukārt *bing* jau ilgi lieto kā jaunvārdu aizguvuma *silo* (elevators) vietā (Poulsen, 1989: 55).

Lietojuma sfēru zudums

Līdzās citu valodu ietekmei izglītības sistēmā mūsdienās ir parādījies jauns ietekmes līdzeklis televīzijas veidolā. Tikai nelielu daļu no raidlaika aizņem vietējie raidījumi vai tādi, kam ir

fēriešu subtitri. Liela daļa pārraižu ir dāņu valodā, ar dāņu subtitriem vai tikai angļu valodā (Poulsen, 1989).

Piecu gadu ilgā angļu okupācija 2. pasaules kara laikā fēriešu valodā atstāja ļoti maz pēdu. Tomēr nav ne mazāko šaubu, ka kopš sešdesmitajiem gadiem Fēru salās angļu valoda ieguvusi augstu prestižu. Ir diskžokeji, kas piešķir savai valodai amerikānisku akcentu, vairākums jauno firmu un kuģu iegūst angļiskus nosaukumus. Jaundibinātā Fēru salu aviosabiedrība pēc tam, kad tika sarīkots atvērts konkurss par labāko nosaukumu fēriešu un angļu valodā, ir ieguvusi nosaukumu *Atlantic Airways*. Daudzi bērni sāk runāt angļu valodā, vēl nesākuši apgūt to skolā, un tam cēlonis ir tikai un vienīgi televīzija. Tomēr vairākums angļu cilmes aizguvumu (it īpaši tehniskas dabas) fēriešu valodā ienāk ar dāņu valodas starpniecību, tā sacīt, tiek "pasniegti uz paplātes" (Poulsen, 1989: 52).

Fērieši ne pa jokam baidās no tās attīstības, kas piemeklēja Orkneju un Šetlendā salās, kuras 1469. gadā karalis Kristians I ieņēma Skotijai. Orkneju salās runātā skandināvu valoda izzuda 18. gadsimta vidū, Šetlendā salās tā pastāvēja līdz 19. gadsimta sākumam, kad to nomainīja angļu valoda. Tādēļ fērieši

vēlas padarīt savu valodu laikmetam atbilstošu un saglabāt tās lietojumu (Poulsen, 1989: 49).

Islandiešu valoda

Fēriešu valodas politikas sastāvdaļa ir bijusi tuvināt savu valodu islandiešu valodai, turpretī islandiešu valodas politikas sastāvdaļa ir saglabāt Islandes valodisko viendabību: sinhroniski - tikpat kā visiem iedzīvotājiem islandiešu valoda ir viņu dzimtā valoda un nepastāv īsti dialekti un sociolekti; diahroniski islandiešu valoda gadsimtu gaitā ir mainījusies tik maz, ka Islandes jaunatne joprojām spēj lasīt un saprast savu kultūras mantojumu, islandiešu sāgas (tās ir vecākā pierakstītā literatūra Skandināvijā un tiek uzskatītas par sava laikmeta bagātāko literatūru Eiropā) (Árnason; Kristinsson, 1997; Ragnarsdóttir: 224; Vikør: 55-58).

Pirmais Bībeles tulkojums islandiešu valodā tika iespiests 1584. gadā, un, atšķirībā no Norvēģijas un Fēru salām, dāņu valoda Islandē tā arī netika ieviesta kā baznīcas valoda (Vikør). 18. gadsimtā aizsākto spēcīgo pūrisma tendenču rezultātā islandiešu valodā ir pavisam nedaudz aizguvumu. Gandrīz visi jaunvārdi tiek darināti no pastāvošā valodas materiāla (Jónsson). Tautas interese par savu valodu ir tik liela, ka šai interesei ir pat komerciālas izpausmes - pienotavas nu jau pāris gadu uz piena

pakām iespiež Islandiešu valodas komisijas (Íslensk málnafnd) valodas ieteikumu sēriju. Acīmredzot mārketinga speciālisti uzskata, ka islandiešu valoda vairo preces vērtību islandiešu acīs (Kristinsson, 1997).

Kaut arī islandiešu valodā ir notikušas zināmas izmaiņas (gandrīz visas pirms reformācijas), nešķiet, ka tām par pamatu varētu būt ārējas ietekmes (Vikør: 55-57). Taču islandiešu attieksme pret cittautu personvārdiem ir mainījusies. Agrāk par normu uzskatīja lietot attiecīgā vārda islandiešu variantu. Vēlāk tos transkribēja, rakstību iespējami tuvinot oriģinālvalodas izrunai. Tagad tie visbiežāk tiek lietoti oriģinālrakstībā, turklāt novērojama pieaugoša tendence tos vairs nedeklinēt saskaņā ar islandiešu valodas locījumiem. Tomēr karaļnama pārstāvju un pāvestu vārdus vēl aizvien lieto to islandiskajā formā (Ragnarsdóttir: 239). Citās skandināvu valodās šī attīstība ir gājusi vēl tālāk - tajās cenšas cittautu personvārdus izrunāt ar attiecīgās svešvalodas fonēmām. Piemēram, dāņu valodā cittautu personvārdu formas lieto pat attiecībā uz karaļnamu pārstāvjiem - *kong Carlos af Spanien* (Karloss, Spānijas karalis) un *prins Charles* (princis Čārlzs). Tomēr uz senāka laika citvalstu karaļiem joprojām attiecina tradicionāli dāniskos apzīmējumus, piemēram, *Karl den Store* (Kārlis Lielais).

Lietojuma sfēru zudums

Islandiešu valodas lietojuma sfērai pašlaik, jaunajiem medijiem vērstoties plašumā, draud sašaurināšanās. Visietekmīgākais ir Kultūras un izglītības ministrijas 1993. gada lēmums par to, ka ministrijas rīcībā esošie datorsistēmu programmatūrai atvēlētie līdzekļi investējami tādas programmatūras izstrādāšanai, ko iespējams lietot ar *IBM* saderīgos datoros. Tomēr tajos lietotā operētājsistēma nav tulkota islandiešu valodā, tāpat kā nav tulkota teksta apstrādes programma *Word for Windows* (Vikør: 46-47).

Jauns Kultūras un izglītības ministrijas ziņojums norāda uz faktu, ka pamatskolu datorvide ir angļu valodā. Tas var bremsēt islandiešu valodas lietošanu veselā nozarē, līdz ar to kavējot valodas attīstību šajā nozarē, un visbeidzot novest pie tā, ka bērnu acīs dzimtajā valoda zaudēs prestižu un viņiem zudīs ticība tās izmantojamībai, un tas savukārt var ierobežot iespēju izteikties dzimtajā valodā vispār (Vikør: 50. lpp.)

Pretpasākumi valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumam

Gan skolā, gan mājās aizvien biežāk lieto *CD ROM* gan mācību mērķiem, gan spēlēm, taču tie pieejami gandrīz tikai angļu valodā. Tāpēc Valodas komisija iesaka investēt līdzekļus *CD ROM* un Interneta materiālu izstrādei islandiešu valodā.

Islandes datorapvienības terminoloģijas komisija gatavoja 1998. gadā laist klajā datorterminoloģijas krājuma 2. izdevumu. Islandiešu valodas komisija paredzējusi 1997. gadā pabeigt valodas vārdu banku, un tad būs iespējams ar Interneta starpniecību uzšķirt komisijas izsrādātos vārdu sarakstus, to starpā arī specifisku terminoloģiju (Kristinsson, 1992).

Valsts savukārt ir aizliegusi pārraidīt radio un televīzijas programmas, kurām nav tulkojuma, tas notika pēc tam, kad 1991. gadā tika translētas CNN un SKY tiešās pārraides par Persijas līča un ar Padomju Savienības sabrukumu saistītajiem notikumiem. (Daži īpaši iesaka izmantot subtitrus, kas ļautu labāk iepazīt jaundarinātos vārdus un demonstrētu to, ka islandiešu valodā var izteikt visu.) Tāpat ir aizliegtas reklāmas sliktā islandiešu valodā un svešvalodās, tomēr atļaujot raidīt džinglus svešvalodās (Árnason; Kristinsson: 1992).

Lūzums valodas viendabībā

Pirmās plaisas islandiešu valodiskajā veselumā izpaužas, valodas lietotājiem izmantojot atšķirīgus stilistiskos un formālos līmeņus atkarībā no runas situācijas. Tā, svešvārdus lieto neformālās sarunās, savukārt mantotas cilmes vārdu materiālu izmanto oficiālās situācijās. Izrādās, ka Islandes radio darbinieki savā starpā lieto tādus vārdus kā *feida* (pakāpeniski pavājināties

(par skaņu) - no angļu darbības vārda *fade*) islandiešu *skyggja* (aizēnot) vietā un *stúðlío* islandiešu *hjúðstofa* (skaņu telpa) vai *myndver* (attēla telpa) vietā, kaut arī pie mikroфона viņi dod priekšroku islandiskajiem variantiem. Diez vai kāds pie ieslēgta mikroфона lietos klaji aplamo *tíví* pareizā *sjónvarp* (televizors) vai *cédé geislaspilari* (kompaktdisku atskaņotājs) vietā, tomēr privātās sarunās tas tiek darīts.

Filologi brīdina, ka pastāv dubultvalodas attīstības draudi, kur formālā rakstu valoda, kam jānodrošina islandiešu saikne ar pagātni, kļūst sastingusi un svešatna, nebūs lietojama atbilstoši modernas sabiedrības vajadzībām un vairs nebūs izmantojama jūtu izteikšanai (Kristinsson: 1997).

Norvēģu valoda

Vairāku gadu desmitu neapstrīdami lielākās valodnieciskās domstarpības Norvēģijas sabiedrībā izraisījās 1996. gadā, un tās bija saistītas ar atsevišķu aizguvumu pareizrakstības tuvināšanu norvēģu valodas ortogrāfijas principiem. 1996. gada janvārī Norvēģu valodas padome (Norsk sprákråd) pieņēma lēmumu ļaut norvēģiskot nepilnus piecdesmit aizguvumus, kuru lielākā daļa bija angļu cilmes vārdi. Tas nozīmēja atļauju tos rakstīt atbilstoši norvēģu rakstības principiem (Sandøy: 23).

Tautiskošana un norvēģiskošana

Jēdzienu **norvēģiskošana** (*norvegisering*) attiecina uz svešvārdu pareizrakstības tuvināšanu vispārējiem norvēģu valodas rakstības principiem. Ar vārdu **tautiskošana** (*fornorskning*) apzīmē to pūrisma paveidu, kas nodarbojas ar esošo valodas vārdu materiālu. Mūsdienu norvēģu valodā gan vairs nav iespējams iedvest jaunu elpu senos norvēģu vārdos, piešķirot tiem citu lietojuma nozīmi, kā tas, piemēram, notiek islandiešu valodā, kurā telefonu sauc *sími* vārda "aukla" izmirušā variantā. Tomēr izdevies ieviest norvēģiskus aizstājējvārdus, kuri ir vai nu kalki, vai arī skaidrojoši jēdzieni, piemēram, *kollisjonspute* ("avārijas spilvens") aizstājis vārdu *airbag* (drošības spilvens), *ferdskriver* ("ceļojuma rakstītājs") *flightrecorder* (melnā kaste (lidmašīnā)), un paredzams, ka svešvārdu *handout* (izdales materiāls) būs iespējams aizstāt ar *støtteark* ("palīglapa") un *overhead* (kodoskops) ar *skriftkaster* ("teksta metējs").

Šāda attieksme pret iespējamiem aizstājējvārdiem, pēc Helges Sandei domām, norāda uz to, ka vērsšanās pie vēsturiskā / tautiskā mantojuma nerod atsauksmi, savukārt sinhroni viegli izprotami aprakstošie jēdzieni acīmredzot apelē pie pedagoģiski demokrātiskiem uzskatiem (Sandøy).

Par un pret norvēģiskošanu

Norvēģiskošanai ir ļoti senas tradīcijas. Par pirmo pareizrakstības reformu, kas veda uz attālināšanos no iepriekš izmantotās dāņu rakstu valodas par labu norvēģu rakstu valodas izveidei, patiesībā uzskatāms 1862. gada lēmums ieviest norvēģisku, proti, izrunai atbilstošu, svešvārdu pareizrakstību (Sandøy: 27).

1996. gadā Norvēģu valodas padome pieņēma lēmumu ieteikt nepilnas piecdesmit aizgūtu vārdu paralēlformas (tika ieteikti arī gandrīz divdesmit iespējami aizstājējvārdi). Kultūras departaments noraidīja piecpadsmit ieteiktās jaunās pareizrakstības formas, taču pārējās apstiprināja. Medijos parādījās spēcīga pretreakcija, vairāki simti avīžrakstu un lasītāju vēstuļu, tikpat kā visi vērsti pret izmaiņām, kuras nereti tika apzīmētas ar vārdiem "komiskas" un "smieklīgas"

Pūristam Gustavam Indrebē laikā starp abiem pasaules kariem bija citi argumenti pret norvēģiskošanu. Viņaprāt, aizguvumi būtu "jāapzīmogo ar kauna zīmi" proti, ar savu svešatno rakstību, lai tos varētu atšķirt līdz brīdim, kad tos, pamazām aizvietojo ar norvēģismiem, pilnībā izskaustu no valodas. Tas sasaucas ar jau 19. gadsimta beigās minēto argumentu, ka šiem vārdiem nebūtu jāpiešķir norvēģiska pareizrakstība, lai tos būtu grūtāk lietot (Sandøy, 23).

Šos abus ar norvēģiskošanu saistītos argumentus mūsdienās liek lietā pretējā nometne. Šobrīd tiek uzskatīts, ka oriģinālvalodas rakstība norāda uz starptautisko kopību un veicina sapratni, kas iet pāri valstu robežām. Turklāt vārdus, kuri ir zināmi no svešvalodām, esot vieglāk uzrakstīt pareizi, ja tos tāpat raksta norvēģu valodā. Norvēģiskotas pareizrakstības piekritēji savukārt iebilst, ka vieglāk iemācīties vārdu pareizrakstību ir tādā gadījumā, ja tos raksta regulāri kā norvēģu vārdus, un ka bērni skolā vispirms iemācās rakstīt šos vārdus kā norvēģu teksta daļu un tikai vēlāk tos sastop angļu tekstos (Sandøy: 33-34).

Kā sociālingvistisks arguments tiek uzsvērts tas, ka norvēģiskojot zudīs daļa no prestiža, kas saistīts ar spēju uzrakstīt *yoghurt* (jogurts) (ar paralēlformu *jogurt*) pareizi, un valoda kļūs demokrātiskāka, ja rakstība atbildīs izrunai (Sandøy: 33).

Ģermāņu valodu kopības dēļ vairākumu angļu cilmes svešvārdu iespējams pilnīgi integrēt valodā, izdarot izmaiņas pareizrakstībā, kas norvēģisko vienu vai vairākas vārda daļas, piemēram, *inn-sid-ar* (savs cilvēks), kur šobrīd izmanto norvēģisko darītāja sufiksu *-ar*, tos tāpat iespējams integrēt tajos gadījumos, kad viss vārds ir atpazīstams ar jau pastāvoša vārda starpniecību, piemēram, lietvārds *bok* (grāmata) daļēji izskaidro

jauno norvēģu darbības vārdu *boke* (rezervēt), kas ir angļu *book* kalks (Sandøy: 38).

Izrunas pretestība

Svešvārdu aizgūšanas rezultātā norvēģu valodā ir parādījušās pavisam nedaudzas jaunas struktūras, piemēram, divskanis /ai/ darbības vārdā *faite* (cīnīties), kam pamatā angļu *fight* (Sandøy: 39-40). Grūtāk akceptējama šķiet rakstība, kurā izpaužas vārda izrunas norvēģiskojošs, jo īpaši attiecībā uz patskaņiem. Apstiprināto formu starpā bija *pønkar* (panks) no angļu *punk*, *sjåk* (šoks) no *chock* un *sørvis* (serviss) no *service*. Pie izteikti negatīvās reakcijas, ar kādu tikta uztvertas šīs jaunās paralēlformas, varētu būt vainojams arī tas, ka tās izskatās pēc kapitulācijas aplamas, neizglītotas izrunas priekšā, pēc atteikšanās izrunāt vārdu "pareizi" proti, angļiski.

Valodas lietojuma sfēru zudums

Pirms uzvirvoja viesulis ap aptuveni piecdesmit vārdu pareizrakstības norvēģiskošanu, astoņdesmitajos gados sev uzmanību pievērta angļu valodas dominance Norvēģijas naftas rūpniecībā. Nav nekā neparasta tajā, ka naftas rūpniecības uzņēmumos iekšējā sarakste norvēģu starpā notiek angļu valodā (Venås, 1991: 38). Šīs attīstības kulminācija pienāca 1989. gadā, kad tiesas procesā, kas izskatīja darba attiecības,

atsevišķas daļas noritēja angļu valodā, jo darba ņēmēja advokātu birojs nespēja sagādāt nepieciešamo dokumentu tulkojumu norvēģu valodā. Lietas iznākums bija tāds, ka Tieslietu ministrs atbildē uz Norvēģijas parlamenta, Stortinga, pieprasījumu pauda domu, ka biznesā zināmā mērā ir nepieciešams veikt dokumentāciju angļu valodā, ka tiks pārskatīti noteikumi, kas paredz dotācijas tulkojumu veikšanai, un ka tiks arī apsvērta nepieciešamība apmaksāt svešvalodas apmācību tiesnešiem (Venås, 1993: 25-26).

Šo valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumu, kā arī angliskas cilmes aizguvumu popularitātes rezultātā Norvēģijas valodas padome 1989. gadā saņēma subsīdiju tam, lai rīkotu *Aksjon for språklig miljøvern*, kampaņu, kura norisinājās galvenokārt medijos un kuras mērķis bija celt valodas apziņu norvēģu vārdu lietojamības aspektā. Akcijai bija ļoti liela atsaucība, tomēr bija dzirdams arī pa kritiskai balsij, to starpā vispārīgās valodniecības profesors Evens Hovdhaugens vērsa uzmanību uz to, ka neviena valoda nemirst tāpēc, ka uzņēmusi sevī svešvārdus (tādā gadījumā angļu valodai būtu jābūt mirušākai par mirušu, nevis dominējošai valodai starptautiskajā saziņā), turpretī nopietns drauds valodas pastāvēšanai var būt valodas lietojuma sfēru zudums (Venås, 1991).

Dāņu valoda

Arī dāņu zemē pareizrakstības normēšana ir izraisījusi visasākās jaunāko laiku debates par valodas pareizību. Kad Dānijas valodas komisija (Dansk Sprognævn) 1985. gadā gatavoja izdošanai jaunu pareizrakstības vārdnīcu, izraisījās tā sauktais "majonēzes karš" Valodas komisija bija vārdnīcā ieviesusi vienpadsmit franču cilmes svešvārdu paralēlformas, to starpā iesakot formu *majonæse* (majonēze) blakus līdzšinējai *mayonnaise*. Pret to asi reaģēja plaši iedzīvotāju slāņi, to starpā toreizējais izglītības ministrs un citi, kas savulaik bija skolā iemācījušies francisko rakstības formu (Hansen & Lund: 107-112).

Priekšvēsture

Dāņu valodas tīrīšanas tendences sastopamas jau 17 gadsimtā, kad renesanse deva impulsu centieniem padarīt dāņu valodu par pilntiesīgu literatūras un kultūras valodu, kurai bija jābūt spējīgai funkcionēt neatkarīgi no latīņu valodas. 18. gadsimtā pūrismu veicināja apgaismības laikmeta ideāli, kas vēstīja, ka zinībām jābūt formulētām valodā, kuru saprot izglītots pilsonis; šajā fāzē pūrisms lielā mērā smēlās iedvesmu no vācu domātājiem, tādēļ sākotnēji bija vērsts galvenokārt pret relatīvi nedaudzajiem aizguvumiem no franču valodas. Līdz ar 19. gadsimta

romantismu aktuāls kļuva skandināviskums, kas sniedza jaunu motivāciju valodas tīrītājiem, un to pamatīgi pastiprināja Šlēsvigas-Holšteinas kari gadsimta vidū dāņu un vāciešu starpā, kuru rezultātā valodas tīrītāji vērsās pret aizguvumiem jo sevišķi no vācu valodas (Lund).

Jau kopš 18. gadsimta pūristi ir tikuši arī kritizēti, un lielākā daļa viņu ierosināto jaunvārdu valodā tā arī nav iedzīvojušies. Fizikis H. K. Erstedts (1777.-1871.) pirmais formulēja skaidrus nosacījumus, kuri jāievēro, darinot jaunvārdus, lai tiem būtu izredzes izkonkurēt svešas cilmes vārdus. Cita starpā, tie nedrīkst būt (relatīvi) gari vai grūti izrunājami. Turklāt tiem attiecīgais priekšmets vai parādība jāapzīmē, nevis jādefinē vai jāapraksta. Šādu iemeslu dēļ viņš radīja jaunvārdu *brint* (ūdeņradis), kas atvasināts no darbības vārda *brænde* (degt), nevis *vandstof* ("ūdensviela"). Kā vēl vienu pamatojumu jaunvārdu konkurētspējai viņš minēja to, ka tie nedrīkst būt maldinoši, tāpēc viņš izvēlējās lietot *ilt* (skābeklis), kas atvasināts no lietvārda *ild* (uguns), nevis *surstof* ("skābviela"). Tā kā šie vārdi ir īsi, tie viegli iekļaujas saliktenos un tos izmanto arī tālākai vārddarināšanai atvasinot, piemēram, darbības vārdu *ilte* (piesātināt ar skābekli) (Jacobsen, 1973: 19-35).

Pieredze rāda arī to, ka neieviešas vārdi, kuru sastāvā ir arhaiski elementi. Tas attiecas, piemēram, uz *kuldvarp* vārda *revolutionær* (revolucionārs) vietā un *adbyrd gestus* (žests) vietā. Izskaidrojums var būt tāds, ka šie vārdi valodas lietotājam ir sveši un grūti, savukārt tādi jaunvārdi kā *energipolitik* (enerģētikas politika) un *magtpyramide* (varas piramīda) tiek uztverti kā izprotami un viegli lietojami vārdi, jo elementu nozīme valodas lietotājiem ir iepriekš zināma (Hansen, 1985: 70).

Valodas politika

Dāņu valodas komisija ir vienīgā oficiālā Dānijas iestāde, kuras galvenais uzdevums ir īstenot un popularizēt praktisko valodas politiku. Šīs komisijas svarīgākais uzdevums ir reģistrēt un analizēt valodas izmaiņas. Galvenā vērība tiek pievērsta informatīvajam darbam, konsultācijām un instruēšanai. Valodas komisija gadā atbild uz apmēram desmit tūkstošiem jautājumu. Vienā vienīgā jomā tomēr tiek veikta preskriptīva darbība komisija izstrādā pareizrakstības vārdnīcas, un tajās fiksētās normas jāievēro valsts un pašvaldību iestādēs, kā arī skolās, kurām ir eksaminācijas tiesības. Attiecībā uz izmaiņām pareizrakstībā valodas komisija novērtē izrunas un rakstības attīstības tendences, sastata tās ar galvenajiem pareizrakstības principiem un pavisam nedaudzas izmaiņas apstiprina kā pareizas lietošanai rakstu valodā (Hansen, 1991).

Lielākā atšķirība starp norvēģu valodas politiku no vienas puses un dāņu un zviedru valodas politiku no otras puses ir tā, ka Norvēģu valodas padome uzskata, ka izmaiņām oficiālos normatīvos ir iespējams un dažkārt pat nepieciešams iet pa priekšu rakstu valodas attīstībai sabiedrībā, un tāpēc tā, piemēram, izsaka vairākus priekšlikumus svešvārda rakstībai, pirms vēl cilvēki sākuši šo vārdu rakstīt dažādos variantos, turklāt tā uz savu iniciatīvu piedāvā aizstājējvārdus (Sandøy: 35).

Dāņu jaunvārdi

Dānijā ir veikta precīza jauno vārdu reģistrācija un izstrādāta statistika:

Pias Rīberas Petersenas grāmata *Nye Ord i Dansk 1955-75* reģistrē vārdu krājuma pieaugumu divdesmit gadu periodā, un tajā iekļauti aptuveni 4 500 šī perioda svarīgāko jaunvārdu, neaptverot specifisku profesionālo terminoloģiju.

No šī vārdu klāsta tikai 450 ir tādi, kuros ietilpst viens vai vairāki elementi, kas valodā iepriekš nav bijuši sastopami. Aptuveni 90% ir darināti vai nu kā kalki, vai arī kā atvasinājumi vai salikteni, kam par pamatu ņemts dāņu valodā eksistējošs valodas materiāls. Pārcēlumos no citām valodām pārsvarā izmanto tulkojumus, piemēram, *dåselatter* ("konservu smieklī")

atbilst angļu *canned laughter* (smieklu fonogramma, "iekonservēti smieklī") (Hansen, 1985).

Aizguvumos no norvēģu un zviedru valodas parasti ir minimālas izmaiņas izrunā, ortogrāfijā un locīšanā. Tā, no norvēģu valodas aizgūti *trækprocent* (ienākumu nodokļa likme) un *markedsføring* (marketings), savukārt no zviedru valodas *tilvalgsfag* (fakultatīvs priekšmets). Nav tikpat kā nevienas skandināvu morfēmas, kura būtu ienākusi dāņu valodā no jauna, izņēmums šeit ir piemēram, sufikss *-is* aizguvumā no zviedru valodas *kendis* (plaši pazīstama persona) (Hansen, 1985).

Lielākā daļa mūsdienu dāņu valodas jaunvārdu, kuriem ir sveša cilme, nākuši no angļu valodas. Vairāk nekā puse aizguvumu no angļu valodas ir kalki. Tas attiecas pat uz 18% no 315 angļu cilmes primārajiem vārdiem (proti, vārdiem, kas sinhronā skatījumā nav salikteņi), piemēram, *afskrækkelsesvåben* ("iebiedēšanas ierocis"), kas cēlies no *deterrent* (iebiedēšanas līdzeklis), un *langtidsleje* ("ilglaicīga īre") - no *lease* (noma). No aptuveni 390 aizguvumos izmantotajiem angļu valodas salikteņiem 72% ir tulkoti, piemēram, *tebrev* ("tējas aploksne") - no *tea bag* (tējas maisiņš). Šo tendenci, iespējams, var skaidrot ar to, ka angļu salikteņi pārsvarā ir diezgan gari un to oriģinālformas - neparocīgas lietošanai dāņu valodā, kā arī ar to,

ka tos vieglāk tulkot, proti, kalkot, nekā nesaliktnus vārdus, piemēram, *lobby* (lobijs), *rock* (roks), *squash* (ķirbis) u.c.

Aizguvumiem no angļu valodas, atšķirībā no citu valodu aizguvumiem, raksturīgs tas, ka liels vairums vārdu tiek pārņemti tieši, nepielāgojot ne izrunu, ne rakstību. Daži īpašības vārdi pat netiek locīti saskaņā ar dāņu valodas likumībām, piemēram, *fair* (godīgs), *cool* (*sar.* kolosāls), un dažiem lietvārdiem netiek mainītas angļiskās daudzskaitļa galotnes: *check-s* (čeki), *chip-s* (čipsi), *slogan-s* (saukļi) (Hansen & Lund: 116-117).

Par vēsturiskajām tendencēm profesors Hansens raksta šādi: "Dāņu valodas vēsturei, šķiet, cauri vijas izteikta tendence - tās valodas vārdus, kura dominē aizguvumu avotu starpā, var pārņemt nepārveidotus. Viduslaikos šādi bez tulkojuma tika pārņemti vācu valodas vārdi; 17 un 18. gadsimtā tādā pašā veidā tika pārņemti liels skaits franču valodas vārdu, un šajā gadsimtā tā nu ir angļu valoda, kas sniedz ievērojamu skaitu netulkotu vārdu. (Hansen, 1985: 69-70)

Dānijā aizvien vairāk izplatītā angļu valodas prasme, iespējams, ir izskaidrojams tam, ka atsevišķi aizguvumi no angļu valodas pēdējos gadu desmitos ievērojami biežāk tiek izrunāti ar fonēmām, kuras dāņu literārajā valodā nepastāv. Tas attiecas uz

sākumfonēmu /w/ vārdā *weekend* (nedēļas nogale) un apikālo /r/ vārdu savienojumā *all right* (labi).

Valodas politika attiecībā pret jaunvārdiem

Gadījumos, kad Dāņu valodas komisijai tiek lūgta konsultācija attiecībā uz kādu apzīmējumu, kā svarīgs arguments par labu ieteiktajam vārdam tiek uzlūkots tas, ja vārdu veido dāņu valodā iepriekš zināmi elementi. Tā radies, piemēram, *bredlærred* (platekrāns) angļu *widescreen* vietā un *havanlæg* ("jūras iekārta") - *off-shore installation* (ārzonas iekārta) vietā. Tomēr jāpiezīmē, ka neviens no valodas komisijas ieteiktajiem vārdiem nav ieguvis tādu izplatību, lai būtu iekļauts grāmatā *Nye Ord i Dansk 1955-75*. Saskaņā ar profesora Erika Hansena vērtējumu, dāņu valodā vārddarināšana notiek diezgan nepārdomāti vietās, kur rodas nepieciešamība pēc jauniem vārdiem, kā laikrakstu redakcijās, parlamentā, radio un televīzijas darbinieku vidū, kā arī jebkuru citu profesionāļu vidū (Hansen, 1985).

Personiskāku attieksmi pret dāņu valodā ienākošajiem svešvārdiem Dāņu valodas komisijas priekšsēdētājs ir sniedzis grāmatā *Kulturens Gesandter. Fremmedordene i dansk* (Kultūras sūtņi. Dāņu valodas svešvārdi). Tajā, kā izriet no grāmatas nosaukuma, tiek apgalvots, ka lielākā daļa svešvārdu

līdz ar tehnikas un kultūras attīstību ir nākusi no citām Eiropas valstīm, lielākajā vēsturiskā laika daļā no Vācijas.

Tiek minēts arī, ka pat tad, ja labā tiesā gadījumu svešvārdi ienākuši valodā kā sinonīmi jau pastāvošiem vārdiem, parasti izveidojas "darba dalīšana" tajā nozīmē, ka rodas nozīmes nianšes vai stilistiskas iezīmes, kas tos atšķir, un tādā veidā valoda kļūst gan niansētāka, gan daudzveidīgāka. Savukārt ārkārtīgi reti ir gadījumi, kad svešvārds izspiež no valodas senu dāņu cilmes vārdu. Piemēram, vārds *populær* (populārs) norāda, ka kaut kas bauda vispārēju atzīšanu, bet *folkeligt* (tautisks) nozīmē, ka kaut kas ir pievilcīgs plašām tautas masām. *Trofast* (uzticīgs) ir viennozīmīgi pozitīvs tikumības apzīmējums, savukārt *loyal* (lojāls) ir neitrāls apzīmējums, kas attiecināms vienīgi uz uzvedību. *Indpakning* (iepakojums) apzīmē plānus, mīkstus materiālus, kā papīru, audumu vai plēvi, bet *emballage* (iepakojums) attiecas arī uz pudelēm, metāla un plastmasas skārdenēm, utt. (Hansen & Lund: 15).

Valda uzskats, ka dāņu valoda neattīstās vai nepastāv norobežoti no apkārtējās pasaules, tieši tāpat kā dāņu kultūra veidojusies nevis atšķirti no ārpasaules, bet gan mijiedarbībā ar lielāku Eiropas mēroga veselumu, un tajā atsevišķi elementi, piemēram, kristietība, ienākuši kā aizguvums no citiem

kontinentiem. Tāpat tiek uzsvērts, ka dāņu valodai raksturīga tieši tāda svešvārdu izvēle, kāda tā ir, un arī šo svešvārdu saspēle ar pašmāju vārdu krājumu ir tikai dāņu valodai raksturīga (Hansen & Lund: 28).

Valodas lietojuma sfēru zudums

Dānijā reakcija uz valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumu ir līdzīga kā Zviedrijā, lai gan Dānijā tā ir mazāk izteikta un attiecībā uz Eiropas Savienību senāka un līdz ar to nepiesaista vairs tik daudz uzmanības (Hansen, 1992).

Zviedru valoda

Zviedrijas varas iestāžu politika attiecībā pret svešvārdiem vai arī šādas aktīvas politikas neesamība - atbilst Dānijas situācijai. Tomēr Zviedrijas iestāšanās Eiropas Savienībā notikusi nesēn, un ar to saistītā nacionālās valsts pārveide ir novedusi pie nepieciešamības formulēt valodas politiku.

Jaunā situācija nozīmē, ka aizvien lielāku skaitu svarīgu politisku lēmumu pieņem ne vien ģeogrāfiski tālāk no katra atsevišķā pilsoņa, vairākām valstīm iesaistoties necaurredzamā spēlē, bet tas turklāt notiek svešvalodā. Profesori Ulfs Telemans un Margareta Vestmana brīdina no tā, ka zviedriem nāksies pieredzēt, ka viņi nav pietiekami zinīgi, radoši un atjautīgi šajā svešvalodā, kas tomēr būs viņu vienīgā balss arēnās, kurās tiek

pieņemti tie ekonomiskie un politiskie lēmumi, kas savulaik tika pieņemti zviedru valodā Zviedrijā (Teleman & Westman: 11).

Politikas un saziņas eiropeizācijas un globalizācijas procesā zviedru valodas sfēru zudumam par labu angļu valodai ir ne tikai politiski iemesli; vairāku lielu zviedru firmu internacionalizācija nozīmē, ka uzņēmuma vadīšana lielākoties norisinās angļu valodā (lai nerastos nepieciešamība pēc tulkojumiem saziņā ar ārzemju nodaļām); savukārt zinātnes internacionalizācija nozīmē, ka krietna tiesa zinātniskās pētniecības darba, piemēram, tehnoloģiju, dabaszinātņu, mediju un sabiedrības zinātņu jomā tagad norit angļu valodā. Lai sagatavotu nākamās zinātnieku paaudzes starptautiskai sadarbībai, daļa mācību ģimnāzijas līmenī jau patlaban notiek angļu valodā (Hägerfelth). Paredzams, ka tas novedīs pie fēriešu situācijas, proti, ka ģimnāzijai domātās mācību grāmatas atsevišķos priekšmetos vairs netiks izdotas dzimtajā valodā (Teleman & Westman, 1997: 9). Iespējams, ka skolēni mācību procesā kļūs pasīvāki, jo viņiem būs gūtāk formulēt savu domu. Ļoti bieži, runājot ar skolasbiedriem, piemēram, par fiziku, viņi vislabprātāk sarunas risina angļu valodā, tāpēc ka nav pārliecināti par zviedru valodas terminoloģiju (Hägerfelth: 43).

Ir pilnīgi droši angļu valoda kā mācību valoda ģimnāzijās novedīs pie tā, ka nākamām paaudzēm būs grūtāk izteikties par

sabiedrību (par ekonomiku, vēsturi, politiku, dabu un vidi utt.) zviedru valodā, ja vien viņi nerasniegs dzimtās valodas līmeni angļu valodā, kas tomēr joprojām būs mazāk niansēta un nedrošāka kā iepriekš bijusi viņu dzimtā valoda. Mainīsies arī vietējā kultūra, jo notiks demokrātisko procesu un darbību vājināšanās (Teleman & Westman).

Reakcija uz valodas lietojuma sfēru zudumu

Debates par skandināvu valodu lietojuma sfēru zudumu jaunajā Eiropā ir vēl tik svaigas, ka ir izvirzīti pavisam nedaudzi priekšlikumi, ko būtu iespējams veikt, lai radītu drošību valodām un līdz ar to arī cilvēkiem, kuriem tā ir dzimtā valoda. Telemans un Vestmana uzsver nepieciešamību attīstīt terminoloģiju dzimtajā valodā un nodrošināt tās apguvi, lai zviedri arī turpmāk spētu dzimtajā valodā runāt par visām tēmām, to starpā par dabaszinātnēm, nebanalizējot sakāmo (Teleman & Westman: 18).

Abi zinātnieki uzskata arī, ka mazajām valstīm jāpastiprina tulku un tulkotāju izglītošana - gan tādēļ, lai joprojām būtu iespējams ar dzimtās valodas starpniecību piedalīties starptautiskos forumos, gan tādēļ, lai pašmāju konferencēs utml. kuras notiek svešvalodās, varētu piedalīties ikviens, un, visbeidzot, tādēļ, lai būtu iespējams kvalificēti popularizēt kultūras veikumus.

Atsevišķi zviedru un dāņu politiķi cenšas jau sākumstadijā ietekmēt lēmumu par Eiropas Savienības mazo valodu funkcijas mazināšanu, piedāvājot tādu oficiālo valodu skaita reducēšanas veidu, kurā, viņuprāt, vislabāk būtu ņemtas vērā skandināvu valodu intereses - viņi piedāvā Eiropas Savienībai pāriet nevis uz četrām pamatvalodām (angļu, franču, vācu un spāņu), bet gan uzreiz uz vienu kopīgu valodu, proti, angļu valodu. Šādam ieteikumam pamatā ir divi apsvērumi. Pirmkārt, skandināvi relatīvi labāk prot angļu valodu (un neviena cita valoda nespētu darboties kā vienīgais starpvalstu komunikācijas līdzeklis). Otrkārt, tad, ja debates risinātos vienā valodā, kurai visi spējīgi izsekot, nevis četrās, notiktu lēmumu pieņemšanas procesa demokratizācija (Teleman & Westman: 12).

Profesors Eriks Hansens, attieksmē pret svešvārdiem visliberālākais skandināvu valodu komisiju priekšsēdētājs, uzskata, ka jaunais spiediens no ārpuses ietekmēs zviedru un dāņu attieksmi pret savu valodu un ka tas laika gaitā novedīs pie uzskatāmas un aktīvas valodas politikas. Viņš arī domā, ka šis ārējais spiediens var kļūt par katalizatoru skandināviskās kopības izjūtai (Hansen, 1992).

Skandināviskais arguments

Kopš pagājušā gadsimta sākuma, kad Skandināviju sasniedza romantisma interese par nacionāli vēsturiskajām saknēm, skandināviskums ir bijis valodas politikas debašu sastāvdaļa. Kad šis arguments tiek celts gaismā, mēdz uzsvērt, ka skandināviskajai kopībai ir liela vērtība gan kultūras, gan politikas un ekonomikas aspektā (Sandøy: 34). Mūsdienās tā tiek akcentēta kā komunikācijas kopība - dāņu, norvēģu un zviedru valodā runājošie var ar lielākām vai mazākām grūtībām saprast cits citu (dažkārt grūtāk iet ar mutvārdu komunikāciju zviedru un dāņu starpā, Telemann: 70-72). Ja skatāmies no gaišās puses, tad tam var pievienot faktu, ka visi fērieši un islandieši jau skolā ir mācījušies dāņu valodu un ka visiem somiem skolā bijusi zviedru valoda (Bunkus: 98-99). Šeit gan piebilstams, ka fērieši, islandieši un somi principā vienlīdz labi varētu savā starpā sazināties kādā citā svešvalodā un tādā veidā būt līdztiesīgi ar saviem sarunu partneriem. Tomēr nav ne mazāko šaubu, ka austrumskandināvu valodu kopība tiek uztverta kā tiklab ekonomiska, tā cilvēciska vērtība, kuru šīs tautas nekādā ziņā negribētu skatīt mazināties.

Aizvien pieaugot nepieciešamībai paplašināt vārdu krājumu, būtībā pastāv divas iespējas: vai nu kopīgie jaunvārdi spēs satuvināt šīs piecas valodas, vai arī, iekļaujot valodā dažādus

vai, iespējams, vienādus jaunvārdus ar stipri atšķirīgām rakstībām, valodas vēl vairāk attālināsies cita no citas (Westerberg).

Skandināvu valodu komisiju attieksme pret skandināvismu, izvirzoties jautājumiem par jaunvārdiem un par svešvārdu un citvalodu īpašvārdu pareizrakstību, ir divējāda. No vienas puses tās min koordinācijas vēlamību skandināvu valodu starpā, un gadījumos, kad tas pastiprina ieteikuma spēku atbildēs uz tām adresētajiem jautājumiem, tās nereti atsaucas uz attiecīgā vārda lietojumu citās skandināvu valodās (Bunkus). No otras puses tās apgalvo, ka nacionālās tradīcijas un principi ir jāliek pirmajā vietā, jaunos vārdus galvenokārt pielāgojot ikvienas atsevišķās valodas galvenajām likumībām, kuras katrā valstī ir citādas. Tas attiecas gan uz tādiem svešvārdiem kā *interview* (intervija), ko, piemēram, dāņu valodā raksta *interview*, bet norvēģu valodā tagad var rakstīt arī kā *intervju* (Sandøy: 34-35), gan arī uz vietvārdiem, kā *Moldova*, kas pēc Padomju Savienības sabrukuma dāņu un norvēģu valodā ir ienākusi kā endonīms *Moldova*, turpretī zviedru valodā paturēts eksonīms *Moldavien*, par pamatojumu minot iemeslu, ka šī forma joprojām dominē medijos (Schack, 1993: 86). Atsevišķi cilvēki ironizē par faktu, ka jaunie angļu cilmes svešvārdi nu būtu tie, kas stiprinātu skandināvu kopību (Sandøy: 35).

Pūrisma spēks

Ja cilvēks ir gatavs nodoties prātojumiem par faktoriem, kas nosaka to apjomu un veidu, kādā valodu ietekmē citas valodas, šķiet, ka skandināvu valodu gadījumā ir divi faktori, kuriem ir būtiska loma. Viens ir attiecīgajā valodā runājošo skaits, jo fēriešu un islandiešu valodā, kā minēts ievadā, runā salīdzinoši nedaudz, turpretī dāņu un zviedru valodā - relatīvi vairāk cilvēku. Otrs faktors varētu būt jautājums par attiecīgā valodā runājošās tautas neatkarības ilgumu vai pakāpi, jo Dānija un Zviedrija ir bijušas neatkarīgas valstis praktiski visā vēsturiskā laika ritumā, turpretī Norvēģija pilnīgu neatkarību ieguva tikai 1905. gadā, Islande - 1944. gadā, un Fēru salas šī raksta sacerēšanas brīdī aizvien vēl nav pilnīgi neatkarīgas. Atbilstoši Fēru salās un Islandē novērojami vislielākie centieni izvairīties no svešvārdiem, daudz mazāki tie ir Norvēģijā, savukārt Zviedrijā un Dānijā netiek īstenota uz svešvārdu izskaušanu vērsta valodas politika.

Pienēmums par saiknes pastāvēšanu starp valodas pakļaušanos citu valodu ietekmei un tautas neatkarības ilgumu vai pakāpi kļūst vēl ticamāks, ja aplūkojam izmaiņas, kādas notikušas dāņu valodas kultūrā, - jau nodaļā par dāņu valodas tīrīšanas vēsturi minēts vācu cilmes svešvārdu aizvietošanas vilnis dāņu valodā laikā, kad norisinājās abi Šlēsvigas-Holšteinas kari dāņu un

vāciešu starpā. Abi iepriekš minētie faktori ir apvienojami vienā - jautājumā par to, cik lielā mērā valodas lietotāji izjūt, ka viņu identitāte un kolektīvā izdzīvošana ir apdraudēta no ārpuses.

Vairāk nekā sešdesmit gadu garumā Dānijas filologi un pedagoģijas speciālisti centās atcelt likumu, kas noteica lietvārdu rakstīšanu ar lielo sākumburtu. Atceļot šo likumu (kuram nav tikpat kā nekādas nozīmes attiecībā uz teksta izpratni), vienas dienas laikā tika izskausta, rupji rēķinot, trešdaļa kļūdu, kuras dāņi pieļāva rakstos. Tomēr šo reformu, kas nozīmēja attālināšanos no vācu pareizrakstības un tuvināšanos citu skandināvu valodu pareizrakstībai, bija iespējams īstenot tikai 1948. gadā, pēc piecus gadus ilgas vācu okupācijas Dānijā (Lund: 82). Spēcīgo antidānisko jūtu rezultātā, kuras pavādīja cīņu par nacionālo neatkarību 15. un 16. gadsimta mijā, zviedru valodā šobrīd ir daudz sarežģītāka locījumu sistēma nekā dāņu valodā, jo zviedru rakstu valodā konsekventi ieviesa tās nereducēto patskaņu galotnes, kuras jau bija izzudušas dāņu valodā un daudzos zviedru valodas dialektos un pamazām izgaisa arī no zviedru rakstu valodas (Vikør: 49).

Vēl vienu faktoru, kuram, iespējams, ir nozīme pūrisma sakarā, min Ari Pauls Kristinssons, prātodams, kāpēc islandiešu vidū tik izplatītā vēlme pēc pūrisma vairs neliekas esam harmonijā ar

viņu pašu valodas praksi: "Iespējams, tieši visas pārmaiņas [sabiedrībā] ir tās, kas prasīt prasa pēc kāda stingra pieturas punkta esamībā, piemēram, pēc valodas politikas." (Kristinsson, 1997: 54). Tādēļ var domāt, ka pie pieaugošās plaisas starp valodas politiku, kuru iedzīvotāji vēlas, un iedzīvotāju personīgo praksi ir vainojams tas, ka valodas politikai tiek uzticēts uzdevums garantēt esības kontinuitāti, uzdevums, kas varbūt pārsniedz valodas iespējas un kas brīdī, kad valodas lietotāji paši lieto valodu, netiek uztverts kā sevišķi aktuāls.

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Summary

A wide variety of policies towards foreign words is applied to the Scandinavian languages, ranging from the total rejection of words of foreign origin which is characteristic of Icelandic to the acceptance of an ever increasing number of loans which is common to the three continental languages. On the Scandinavian language councils policies part of the five vary from mere registration and analysis of new material found in the language to systematic evolvement of new words based on old material and initiatives to penalize the use of foreign words. A corresponding divergence is seen in public response to linguistic changes, ranging from widespread Feroese and Icelandic enthusiasm in the generation and acquisition of new local words to the continental general indifference, which is interrupted only by occasional protest at the normalization of the spelling of loanwords. As one of several countermeasures against foreign words, obsolete words and suffixes are given new leases of life in Feroese and Icelandic as they are employed to cover new concepts. This approach has proved unworkable on the continent where in recent years the focus of attention has been on the adaptation of the spelling of a few French loanwords in Danish and some English loanwords in Norwegian to local principles.

Also attitudes and policies towards the loss of domain varies greatly. At one end of the spectre are recent Icelandic prohibitions of advertisements in foreign languages and transmission of foreign television broadcasts without translation. Icelandic language is, however, under increasing pressure in the field of information technology as few educational programmes and games on CD-Rom are offered in Icelandic, and as most computer programmes are in English (even those used in primary-school computer-classes). On the continent no move has yet been made to counteract loss of domain. In Norway this has been felt most acutely in the oil sector where English is increasingly used as the vehicle of communication between Norwegians, even legal proceedings have been hampered by the fact that the documents in case were in English. In Sweden some high schools have started teaching certain subjects in English, and research and the publication of research especially in the natural and social sciences are already dominated by English. This may lead to a situation where people find it difficult to express themselves adequately on certain topics in their mother tongue. Sweden's recent admission to the EU, where part of the democratic process takes place in languages other than Swedish, has raised the questions how or whether it is possible to ensure continued participation by Swedish specialists and the population at large in democratic debates and decision-making without sacrificing Swedish as a language of education and specialization.

Phraseological Puns in Discourse: How do they Come About?

This paper will consider phraseological pun as part of the process of change and development of phraseological units (PUs) in discourse.

In general stylistics a pun or word-play is broadly characterized as an ambiguity. It involves the use of a polysemous word to suggest two or more meanings or the use of homonyms (Wales, 1995: 384-5). Leech (1969: 209) calls pun a foregrounded lexical ambiguity. A lot of interest has been focused on lexical puns (see Nowotny, 1962: Ch. VII; Redfern, 1984; Alexander, 1997: Ch.4). Fill (1992) deals with pun in compound words with a figurative meaning which he calls "idiomatized complex words"

In phraseology pun has received much attention and is well-known. Punning on PUs is a specific case of wordplay. Its stylistic effect does not lie in the presence of the PU, but in the relation between the PU and the corresponding free combination of words with their literal meanings. This use emerges as another type of cohesion as it can be explained only by the relevant interrelationship. For instance:

to take one's leave of somebody

Polonius: My lord, I will take my leave from you.

Hamlet: You cannot, sir, take anything from me that I will more willingly part withal - except my life, except my life, except my life.

W. Shakespeare. Hamlet

This is a classical example of phraseological pun where the PU is followed by an abrupt return to the direct meaning of the component(s). Naturally there are different theoretical approaches and terms used. In phraseological research this stylistic pattern has been called in a number of ways: pun, dual actualization¹ wordplay² literalization, and others. The term "dual actualization" seems to be appropriate from the semantic point of view, as it is the duality, the two-dimensional quality of the narrative that characterizes this instantial use.

My interest lies in the involvement of phraseological pun in discourse as a particular case of stylistic instantial use where two interpretations can be assigned to it: direct and figurative. The salient feature of this pattern is the juxtaposition and contradistinction of the figurative meaning of the PU and the

literal meaning of a component or components. As PUs are figurative, stable combinations of words they easily lend themselves to word-play, for every figurative component invariably has a literal meaning at the same time. This is a technique of *double exposure*, to use a photography term, which seems to convey the essence of this pattern where two pictures appear on top of one another without coinciding. Thus figurative items contrast with literal, non-figurative language. The dual perception results in a dual reading of the lines.

The pattern of phraseological pun may take on varied forms in discourse. It may be only one phraseological component which is used in its direct meaning and repeated in the subsequent or the preceding sentence(s) at least once. The literalized component assumes dual significance and is loaded with meaning.

birds in their little nests agree

"Birds in their little nests agree, she said, smiling
She knew nothing at all about birds.

L.I.Wilder. Little Town on Prairie

Or the whole PU may undergo literalization, creating an analogue, a parallel construction which is an identical non-

figurative structure reminding of the PU in form but having no figurative meaning.

a skeleton in the cupboard

Bernard: What guilty secret?

Jack: Some **skeleton in the cupboard.**

Jenny: (handling him back his glass): No, no,

a body in the garden.

G. Cooper. Everything in the Garden

Phraseological pun offers a cognitive insight into the process of the creation of a phraseological image, and the secret of *literal use vs literal use* lays bare the semantic structure of the PU, it uncovers the image. The identification of dual actualization is the perceptual process of *demetaphorization*. It is a linguistic procedure that is reverse to image creation which PUs undergo in their formation stage. The process of demetaphorization reveals the mechanism of figurative language. The PU is turned into an image-free combination of words which entails an abrupt shift in topic. In the following example the use of *cuffs* brings out the direct meaning of *sleeve* which is in a logically contiguous relationship with cuffs:

to have something up one's sleeve

Again that indefinable mockery, as if he **had something up his sleeve**. Soames looked mechanically at **the fellow's cuffs - beautifully laundered, with a blue stripe**, at his holland waistcoat, and his bird's-eye tie - a regular dandy.

Galsworthy. The White Monkey

It is of both practical and theoretical interest to distinguish between phraseological pun and extended metaphor. Redfern argues that wordplay incites us to think, see and hear on more than one level, or at least with only a slight time-lag, the time needed to see the connection (see Redfern, 1984: 97). In case of extended metaphor the figurative meaning is sustained and it stays figurative by acquiring new sub-images which all pertain to the main image upon which the PU is based while in case of pun there is a sudden return to direct meaning in one or several components of the base form. In discourse these semantic shifts may be meandering and wavering in between the two semantic levels. The previous example is a clear-cut case of pun while the following one illustrates the use of both the techniques extended metaphor and phraseological pun in one instantial application:

to kill two birds one stone

Beryl: Oh, good, I **can kill two birds with one stone**
and you're one of them, Jenny.

Bill: **Jenny a bird?**

Cooper Everything in the Garden

It is essential to explore dual actualization in dialogue. For one thing this pattern is typical of all dialogues, including prose and drama dialogue, as well as oral discourse. The study of dialogue is also of considerable value as it enables us to follow the access³ and perception of dual actualization over turn boundaries and longer stretches of text. In dialogical discourse the remark containing a pun may be a witticism (see the first example) which shows the ability of the interlocutor to perceive the two levels of meaning and create a pun or, on the contrary, a failure to access which means a failure to recognize and see beyond the literal meaning of a string of words. Recall failure may also mean that the right phraseological item cannot be identified as it does not exist in the mental dictionary⁴ of the character

on the rocks

Lanny: **On the rocks?** Or as it comes?

Ruth: Rocks? What do you know about rocks?

Lanny: We've got rocks. *But they are frozen stiff in the fridge.*

H.Pinter. The Homecoming

The traditional pattern of taking turns in dialogue lends itself to dual actualization very well. In the next dialogue the interjectional PU "hear, hear!" is an unattended verbal stimulus and the recall failure emerges as the leading element. When asked to say it again, Bilbo himself gets confused and flustered trying to save the situation. He echoes the word "hear" as a transitive verb in its direct meaning. *Flustered* acts like a cue signalling a shift in the semantic level:

hear, hear!

"Hear, hear!" said Bilbo, and accidentally said it aloud.

"H e a r w h a t?" they asked turning suddenly towards him and *he was so flustered* that he answered,

"H e a r what I have got to say!"

J.R.R.Tolkien. The Hobbit or there and
Back Again

In longer dialogues the context infrequently wavers between the literal and figurative levels of meaning, shifting focus and creating a pervasive parallelism of metaphoric and direct meanings. In the next example the interactive dimension of the dialogue is based on a clash, an ambiguity arising from using the same combination of words in a way that is pregnant with meaning:

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 also 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 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

The dialogue also includes the cue: *The meaning is quite obvious*, as well as the author's disambiguating comment in the stage directions *sniffing: almost in tears* which give instructions to the actor to enact the pun. These prop-words help to bring out the dual function to the reader or the audience. The absence of recollection obviously indicates the absence of the PU in the long-term memory⁵ of the character. The words "we will leave it at that" signal a painful dismissal of hope to get the thought across.

In dialogue dual actualization may not only provide a cohesive link across turn boundaries, but also encompass some of the author's narrative. The duality of the semantic structure of the text is extended:

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 true scarlet things about you are your cheeks**".

Fowles. *The French Lieutenant's Woman*

The identification of a pun calls for an insight into both the semantic levels and their interrelationship. The meaning of a phraseological component is identified as some unambiguous words are rendered salient in the context. In this case it is the word *cheeks* which has a metonymic link with the second non-figurative component *woman*.

A continual implication of the figurative and direct meanings creates a phraseological web which sustains the parallel levels of meaning and reinforces the overall dual perception:

to go West

Desert said slowly:

"The moment I believe that I shall go East."

"East?"

"Not so stale as going West, but much the same - you don't come back."

Galsworthy. *The White Monkey*, Ch II

In the next chapter the pun is picked up again nine pages later, continuing the web of alternating phraseological and non-phraseological meanings. The same semantic pattern persists:

A voice behind her said:

Well, Fleur, am I going East?" ...

"You're very silly, Wilfrid!"

"Anything you like, a m I g o i n g E a s t?"

"No, Sunday morning - eleven o'clock at the Tate.
We'll talk it out."

If she were going to keep Wilfrid, she must be
nice to Michael

Yes, he (Wilfred) was dear! But would she break
her heart if he went E a s t o r W e s t
tomorrow?

J.Galsworthy. The White Monkey, Ch. III

The discorsal properties of phraseology secure an environment in which a pun may be based not only on the figurative and literal meanings, but also on the polysemy of one PU⁶ Polysemy in phraseology is a comparatively rare phenomenon, but when it is exploited in discourse it may achieve a striking effect. Let me have a closer look at the use of the PU "Good morning!" which is a very common PU (too common to achieve notice in core use). In this context it is highlighted and carried to stylistic lengths, including instancial conversion which is infrequent in the discorsal use of phraseology.

good morning!

"Good morning!" said Bilbo, and he m e a n t i t.
The sun was shining, and the grass was green ...

"What do you mean?" he (Gandalf) said. "Do you wish me **a good morning** or mean that it is a good morning whether I want it or not, or that you feel good this morning, or that it is a good morning to be good on?"

Bilbo got quite uncomfortable and even a little cross.

"Good morning!" he said at last. "We don't want any adventures here, thank you! "By this *he meant that the conversation was at end.* "What a lot of things do you use '**good morning!**' for" said Gandalf. "Now you mean that you want to get rid of me, and that it won't be good till I move off to think that I should have lived to be good-morninged by Belladonna Took's son as if I was selling buttons at the door!"

J.R.R.Tolkien.The Hobbit or There and Back Again

The term *dual actualization* seems to be particularly appropriate when we come up against cases of simultaneous dual-purpose realization of both phraseological and literal meaning in

discourse where the PU is not reiterated, nor are its components. The semantic cohesion of text is attained by a dual vision backed by a network of prop-words as in the following example from Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*.

to blere somebody's yē⁷

With this chanoun I dwelt have seven yeer,
And of his science am I never the neer
Al that I hadde, I have y-lost ther-by;
And got wot, so hath many mo than I.
Ther I was wont to be right fresh and gay
Of clothing and of other good array,
Now may I were an hose upon myn heed;
And wher *my colour was both fresh and reed,*
Now is it wan and of a leden hewe,
Who-so it useth, sore shal he rewe.
And of my swink yet **blered is myn yē,**
Lo! which avantage is to multiplie!
That *slyding science hath maad me so bare,*
That I *have no good,* wher that ever I fare;
And yet I am *endotted* so ther-by
Of *gold* that I have borwed, trewely,
That whyl I live, I shal it quyte never.
Lat every man be war by me for ever!

What maner man that casteth him ther-to,
If he continue, I hodle his thrift y-do.
So helpe me god, ther-by shal he nat winne,
But *empte his purs, and make his wittes thinne.*

G. Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*, G, 720-41

The PU *to blere somebodys yē* is recurrent in Chaucer's works, it occurs four times, presenting both core use and instantial use⁸. This example is from *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. Here we see two meanings packed into one PU: a simultaneous actualization of both the figurative meaning of the PU and the direct meaning of its literal counterpart. The cohesive relationship between the two meanings is secured by the proximity of words which sustain both the semantic levels:

(1) the direct meaning of the phrase, set off by the contrast of *my colour was bothe fresh and reed* and *now is it wan and of a leden hewe*, and the description of the trade of alchemists in the preceding *Prologue* to the Tale in which we find out that blowing into fire has discoloured his face (CT, G, 664-7);

(2) the figurative meaning of deceit, set off by *slyding science hath maad me so bare, have no good, endetted of gold, empte his purs, and make his wittes thinne*, as well as the insinuations of delusion and failure in the *Prologue* to this Tale (*we fayle of our desyr, yet it is fals* and others). The dual

perception is clearly signalled by all these prop-words which make access possible. The burden of disambiguation, however, rests with the reader.

The following example is notable not only for its discursual features but also because it reveals the cognitive complexity of some of the processes of thought and reason. As Count Dionys is a non-native speaker Lady Daphne tries to give him a verbatim interpretation of the PU⁹ by commenting on its meaning. His facial expression, acting like a cue, clearly shows that this PU is not part of his mental lexicon. Comprehension is also encumbered by the fact the PU first does not appear in core use but in a zeugmatic construction. However, after her literalized explanation he is capable of taking up the thread and extending the word-play by replacing “bee’ by” ladybird” the insect of his family crest:

to have a bee in one’s bonnet

“I suppose” she mused, “it is as bad **to have your bee in your shirt as in your bonnet**”.

He looked at her with round eyes.

“Don’t you know what it is **to have a bee in your bonnet?**” she said.

“No”.

"To have a bee buzzing among your hair! To be out of your wits," she smiled at him.

"So!" he said. "Ah, the Psaneks have had a ladybird in their bonnets for many hundred years.

"Quite, quite mad" she said.

...But with my wife I was quite *sane* for ten years. Now give me the *madness of the ladybird*. The world I was *sane about* has gone *raving*. The ladybird I was *mad with* is wise still

"But surely you are funny, with your family insect."

"My family insect? Now you want to be rude to me"

D.H.Lawrence. The Ladybird

It is revealing to follow how the lady reacts in an attempt to explain the base meaning of the metaphoric PU by comparing the stinging effect of such an idea on one's mind with that of a bee trapped under one's hat. This instantiation is cognitively insightful as it uncovers the anatomy of phraseological pun and discloses its semantic make-up. It, as it were, dissects to allow us to gain a close-up of the process of demetaphorization and enables us to understand and interpret change of PUs in

discourse. Interestingly, the pun is picked up again some 50 pages later towards the end of the story in an explanation of the silly obsession with the family crest. Moreover, the extension of the pun goes hand in hand with the metaphoric umbrella use of “the ladybird” in the title of the story, thus acquiring a discourse dimension.

*Intradiscoursal*¹⁰ preference of an instancial pattern is an interesting phenomenon and cognitively a challenging area for discourse stylistics. Its interpretation calls for a thorough consideration of the discoursal aspects of the whole of the work. A good example is a story from the collection *The Thurber Carnival* featuring the world of Thurber's childhood.

to cry out one's heart

I came into the house one rainy dusk and asked where Frances was. “She is, said our cook, “up in the front room crying her heart out.” The fact that a person could cry so hard that his heart would come out of his body, as perfectly shaped and glossy as a red velvet pincushion, was news to me. For some reason I *had never heard the expression*, so common in American families whose hopes and dreams run so often counter to attainment. I went upstairs and ...

My search for her heart took some fifteen minutes. I tore the bed apart and kicked up the rugs and even looked in the bureau drawers...

J.Thurber. *The Secret Life of James Thurber*

Punning on the common image of a heart shaped as a red pincushion offers a glimpse of the enchanted world of idiom of Thurber's early boyhood. The reiteration of this pattern creates a surrealistic landscape of his secret vision and comprehension of the world. There are many wonderful and grotesque figures brought to life by his imagination: one lady who was all ears, another one was always up in the air, a man who lost his head during a fire, but was still able to run out of the house yelling and a man who left town under a cloud all wrapped in it and invisible and many others. The imaginative world of his childhood is conjured up through a sustained literal perception of phraseological images building up a surrealistic realm of their own.

Phraseological pun permeates not only *The Secret Life of James Thurber*, but also Thurber's other works, especially his fables contributing to their coherence and cohesion, and linking them transtextually through instantial use. The recurrence of phraseological pun and the continual return to it throughout Thurber's writing acquire a *transdiscoursal* quality by reaching

beyond the level of one discourse. The pervasive presence of a PU-based pun as the dominant stylistic pattern is a striking feature of his works, also appearing in his own illustrations. Both intradiscoursal and transdiscoursal realization of an instantial pattern clearly shows the role of phraseology in the web of discourse. The sum it up, in this article pun is viewed as one of the means of verbal creation through phraseology, as a way to explore experience beyond the possibilities offered by a PU in core use. Discourse analysis sheds light on the double exposure and the cohesive links effected by the instantial use of phraseological pun.

Notes

¹ The term "dual actualization" was first introduced by Boldireva (1967). See also Dubinsky (1985).

² The translation of pun as a particular type of wordplay on idioms is explored in Veisbergs (1986; 1996) and in greater detail in Veisbergs (1997).

³ Psycholinguistic research on lexical ambiguity is uncertain whether in word recognition the more common meaning is accessed first and discarded in case it is inappropriate (see Kess 1992: 224 - 225). Hirst argues that all meanings of the ambiguous lexical item are accessed during the first 200 milliseconds of the search, after which the appropriate meaning is chosen, and the other meanings are discarded (Hirst 1987: 93).

⁴ On the mental lexicon see Kess (1992: Ch.4).

⁵ On storage in long-term and short-term memory see Eysenck ([1993] 1995: Ch.4).

⁶ This pun is addressed in Straume's paper on the stylistic use of PUs in English children's nonsense literature. She suggests the term "multiactualization" to denote punning on a polysemous PU (1987: Ch.11)

⁷ The PU to *blear somebody's eyes* is obsolete in Modern English. The Middle English form is *to bliere somebodys ye*, meaning "to deceive somebody" See the glossary to Skeat's edition of Chaucer's Complete Works (1973: 15). The earliest registered example of this PU in Whiting (1968: 167) goes back to a1300.

⁸ Core use -CT, H, 252; CT, A 4049; instantial use -CT, A 3865; CT, 720-41

⁹ See Strässler (1982: 122-5) on the avoidance of obscurity in core use.

¹⁰ I use the term "intradiscoursal" to denote the reiteration of a pattern within the framework of one text and "transdiscoursal" to mean pattern connections across a number of works by one author. Cf. "intertextuality" "intratextuality" and "transtextuality" in Orr (1997: 97).

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Borrowing in English and Latvian

All languages borrow words from other languages usually by absorbing the lexical material or translating it (translation loans). English (if viewed as a purely Germanic language) vocabulary is of about 70-75% borrowed stock. There are few borrowings in Icelandic, Finnish, Hungarian and Estonian (despite having undergone a stronger German impact) but there are languages with a very high percentage of borrowings: in Armenian only 23% of the words are of native origin and in Albanian just 8%. Of neologisms in Modern English borrowing contributes 7.5% of new word formation (Cannon, 1987: 279).

Borrowing comes as a result of language contacts. Both English and Latvian have had extensive direct contacts with different languages at different periods of history. Apart from these there have been indirect contacts through intermediary languages as well as cultural contacts.

English has borrowed massively from French, Latin and Greek, significantly from Italian, Spanish, Danish and Dutch and less from the numerous other languages it has come into contact

with. Borrowing continues steadily. Thus 1029 words from 84 languages entered English between 1987 and 1989. Of these French accounted for 25%, Spanish and Japanese each 8%, Italian 6.3%, Latin 6.1%, Greek 6%, German 5.5% and 77 other languages contributed 1-39 items each (Cannon, 1987: 90-91)

Words undergoing borrowing can be assimilated fully or partially or can for a long period retain their original alien character. This can be reflected in both spelling and/or pronunciation, as well as in morphological differences from the native patterns. The speed of assimilation and its degree depends on the length of period during which the word has been used in the language, its importance in communication and its frequency.

Borrowings in English, unless fully assimilated, may show some formal signs of their non-native origin:

- Phonetically they can retain their stress on the final or second to last syllable: **police**, **machine**, **bourgeois**, **soprano**, **macaroni**, **raison d'être**, **élite**. One can also see transition forms like **garage** with its various pronunciation and stress variants. Graphically unassimilated elements would retain diachritic marks not characteristic to English: **café**, **cliché**, **blasé**, **soirée**, etc.

- Loans may exhibit strange letter combinations, e.g. Italian **viola**, **addio**, **ciao**, Greek **psychiatry**, **pneumatic** (both phonetically adapted), German **waltz**. There are some letters and letter combinations which point to the source languages of the loans:
- initial **v** -- Latin **vertebra** or French **vase**,
- **j** -- Hindi **jungle**,
- **x** -- Greek **xylophone**, Latin **existence**,
- **g** -- if pronounced **dz** Latin **gesture**,
- **z** -- Latin **zero**, German **zinc**,
- **kh** -- Turkish **khan**, Urdu **khaki**,
- **pn** -- Greek **pneumo-**,
- **ps** -- Greek **psychology**,
- **ph** -- Greek **philology**,
- **eau** -- French **beau**,
- **ch** French **chef**, Greek **architect** but can be also Anglo-Saxon **child**, etc.

Morphologically unassimilated words sometimes retain their original grammatical forms, e.g. plural: Latin **formula - formulae**, **genius - genii**, **appendix - appendices**, **vertebra - vertebrae**, Greek **crisis - crises**, **thesis - theses**, **criterion criteria**, **phenomenon phenomena**, **bacterium bacteria**,

German **delicatessen** (sg and pl) (from French **delicatesse**),
Italian **graffito - graffiti**.

Loans may retain variants of spelling for a considerable time:
mujahidin :: mujahedin, leitmotif :: leitmotiv, fiord :: fjord.

Full assimilation can be seen in many of the early borrowings that are not perceived as such, e.g. loans from French **brush, forest, push, pork**; Latin **mile, chalk, street** or various fully disguised adaptations as **cockroach** from Spanish **cucaracha**. Folk (popular) etymology -- the thoughts of the ordinary people about the origins, forms and meanings of the words -- often results in changes: **penthouse** in Middle English was **pentice** from Old French **apentis**, **crayfish** comes from Old French **crevice** and **rhyme** coming from Middle English **rime** would have remained such, but was affected by analogy with borrowing from Greek **rhythm**.

Yet the largest morphological impact on English has been left by borrowed affixes, mainly from French, Latin or Greek, which replaced the original Germanic ones. Large terminological layers of English are enriched by words made from Latin and Greek morphemes: **meta- metabolism, meta-language, meta-culture, meta-program, metalinguistic; tele-, video-** , etc.

These cannot be regarded as true borrowings as the compounds/derivatives have never existed in the classical languages. The influence of affixes from other languages has been rather minimal and rare, e.g. Russian or Jewish **-nik**: **kolhoznik, kibbutznik, beatnik, peacenik**. English derivational affixes are also added to borrowings thus grammatically assimilating them: **bolshevik, bolshevism, bolshevist**. Numerous hybrids come about.

And finally borrowings undergo also semantic assimilation. Most Latin borrowings have changed their meaning in English. Polysemantic words are normally borrowed only with one meaning and further meanings developing in the receptor language already may be different, e.g. **move** borrowed from French **mouvoir**, has developed a whole range of meanings non-existent in French. It should be mentioned that during the borrowing stage loans normally come with just one meaning. Sometimes the newly borrowed word is very close to an existing word or a meaning of a different word, however the additional specific shade of meaning may dictate the necessity of borrowing. Thus **apparat** and **apparatshik** were borrowed by English from Russian while there was a word of the same stem already in the language **apparatus**, and **bureaucracy** and **bureaucrat** covered the general meanings of the two words.

The list of borrowed words as well as donor languages in English is endless. We look only at the more important ones and the loans mentioned in no way point towards the proportion of loans from the respective language. Nouns make up the highest proportion of transfers. English does not seem to follow the apparently logical notion that words from related languages are more easily borrowed and assimilated, that the Roman alphabet facilitates borrowing. Thus one could expect a strong German element in English, but it does not exceed a hundred words in the basic stock, while much more distant and different languages like Arabic, Chinese and even Russian have yielded larger numbers of words to the basic English stock.

- Latin is one of the most significant sources of loans in English. Borrowing has taken place in three periods. The first was the time when Anglo-Saxon tribes were still on the continent and came into contact with Roman civilization. These are mainly words of commerce borrowed through oral communication. As a result the words are short and simple:

wine – vinum

cheese -- caseus

pound -- pondo

butter butyrum < Gr. bouturon

cup -- cuppa, cupa

pepper -- piper < Gr. peperī

dish -- discus

onion -- unio -onis

When the Germanic tribes arrived in Britain the Celtic tribes had also been in contact with Romans and some words (mainly place names) were reborrowed from them:

street **strata via** (paved way); **port** **portus**; **minster** **monasterium**; **fountain** -- **fontana, fons, -tis; -cester** (like in **Chester, Gloucester, Leicester, Worcester**) -- **castra** (camp).

The second period is connected with introduction of Christianity (6-7th centuries) when many words (around 500 by year 1066) connected with religion were borrowed:

candle **candela**; **monk** **monachus**; **priest** **presbiter**; **saint** -- **sanctus**,

but also many everyday words were borrowed:

lake -- **lacus**; **muscle** -- **musculus**; **sickle** -- **secula**; **castle** -- **castellum**.

And the third period is that of the Renaissance (15-16th centuries) when mostly abstract scientific words were borrowed through written texts.

Whole groups of words with certain suffixes were assimilated:

-ate

aggravate
exaggerate

-ute

attribute
contribute

-ant/ent

evident **deduce**
transparent **compel**

frustrate	constitute	incident	permit
locate		arrogant	admit
narrate		accident	
separate			
educate			

Many unchanged forms were borrowed: **maximum, idea, crisis, formula, superior, area, referendum, inertia, media, complex, series, status, video, audio**; whole phrases **vice versa, viva voce, de jure, post mortem, veni, vidi, vici, etc**; abbreviations **e.g., i.e., etc.**

Many of the words were adapted through French: **agent, colossal, contemplate, sex, similar, illiterate, memory, moment.**

Separate words were borrowed also later though today it is mainly Latin morphemes that are used.

- Greek affected early English via Latin:

devil -- L. diabolus Gr. diabolos; pope -- L. pāpa Gr. papas; church -- Gr. kuriakon.

Similar to Latin, Greek has yielded many unchanged forms (spelt in Latin) connected with literary science and terminology:

drama, dogma, stigma, diagnosis, alphabet, and adapted words **electric, criticism, biology, poetry, phallus (phallos), comedy (kōmōidia), epigramme, analytic, tragedy (tragōidia) zephyr (zephuros), odyssey (Odusseia), lambda, clinic**

(klinikē) cinema (kinēma), as well as stems and affixes: tele-
(tēle -far off), morph- (morphē – form), -phone (phōnē --
voice, sound), auto- (autos self), chromo/chromato-
(khrōma --colour).

• French has had a long history of impact on English. The Norman conquest (1066) brought numerous terms connected with the new ruling class and order which were assimilated within the next centuries. Thus many of the old borrowings are fully assimilated and not felt as loans: **beef, castle, honest, judge, ticket, rich, pork, trick.** The loans covered mainly the following spheres:

1. Government **government, authority, Parliament, state, minister, crown, royal, council, treaty, tax, duke, prince, baron, feudal**
2. Military **battle, arms, army, armour, banner, peace, defense, enemy**
3. Law -- **accuse, crime, judge, jury, justice, heritage**
4. Church -- **abbey, clergy, confession, charity, prayer**
5. Cooking -- **jelly, pastry, soup, toast, sausage, pork, beef, mutton, veal**
6. Fashions **gown, frock, cloak, collar, kerchief, boots, fur, diamond, pearl, crystal**

When the English of the 15th century again took over as the main language it was already a different language having absorbed numerous French loans.

The loans of the second borrowing period from the second half of the 16th century (Late French borrowings / the Parisian French loans) bear traces of the donor language: **aperitif, bourgeoisie, debut, liaison, toilette, prestige, petite**. The huge number of French loans often gives English the character of a Romance language and French loans have penetrated the very basic word-stock of English. French has also given translation loans **skyscraper (un gratte ciel), flea market (marche aux puces), third world (tiers monde)** and fixed phrases **chapeaux bas, l'etat, c'est moi, cherchez la femme**, and acted as a mediator in borrowing from Latin, Spanish, Italian.

- Dutch has given many words due to the intensive links between the nations at the time of their sea-power competition: **boss (baas), brandy (brandewijn), yacht (jaghte), wagon (waghen), spook, skate (schaats), landscape (landscap), katkin (kattiken), reef, deck (dec), measles (mazelen), cookie (koekje), clamp (klamp(e)), bumpkin (boomken), frolic (vrolijk), easel (ezel), slim, waffle (wafel)**, etc., plus has yielded some words through Afrikaans (See further).

- Old Danish (Scandinavian) influence was as thorough as unnoticeable it is now. English borrowed and easily assimilated words like **sky, skin, skirt, scrape, hill, sister, slaughter, guffaw, window, ill**, such everyday usage verbs as **raise, get, give** and even pronouns **they, them, their, both**. The ease of assimilation can be accounted for by the Germanic character of the loans. Modern Danish does not seem to affect English at all.

- German, though a closely related Germanic language, has given relatively few words to English. Pfeffer's (1994) huge dictionary, however goes as high as more than 5000 German loans in English, yet few of them have a stable place in general English and most are highly specialized terms. German influence seems to have been very gradual, starting with **snorkle** in the 16th century there was on the average a loan a year for two and a half centuries, then the pace increased and in the first half of the 19th century it reached five per year, while still the next 50 years saw the apex of borrowing with 35 loans per year (Pfeffer, 1994). From then on there has been a gradual decline in the volume of borrowing.

German has provided English basically with scientific terminology in the spheres of biology, chemistry, botany, politics, cooking, etc.. **dachshund, poodle (Pudel), zinc (Zink),**

cobalt (Kobalt), bismuth (Wismut), schnauzer, plunder (plündern), swindle (Schwindler), schnapps, Fahrenheit, frankfurter, hamburger, rollmops, hamster, kindergarten, kitsch, leitmotif/ leitmotiv (Leitmotiv), Totentanz, marzipan, sauerkraut, delicatessen, pumpernickel, noodle (Nudel), schnitzel, hock, pretzel, quartz, diktat, realpolitik, putzch (Swiss German), waltz, yodel, gletscher, zeppelin, homeopathy, allopathy ohm, gauss, herzog, Reich, poker (Pochspiel), foehn/föhn, nazi, bunker, stuka, blitz, blitzkrieg, autobahn, Zeitgeist, kitsch, vaseline (Wasser + Gr. elaion (oil)), rucksack (Rucksack); translation loans superman (Übermensch), loan word (Lehnwort), masterpiece (Meisterstück), swan song (Schwanengesang), world-famous (Weltberühmt), Storm and Stress (Sturm und Drang), blood and soil (Blut und Boden) New Order (Neues Ordnung), beer hall, semi-loans or loan blends (Pfeffer, 1994:121) apple strudel (Apfel Strudel), field marshal (Feldmarschall). As can be seen, the degree of naturalization is very different.

- Italian has given a considerable number of terms in various spheres (many borrowed through French)

1. military terms: **battalion (battaglione), brigade (brigata), infantry (infanteria), cavalry (cavalleria), barrack (baracca or Sp. barraca), salvo (salva), cavalcade (cavalcata), cannonade (cannonata), cavalier (cavaliere), colonel (colonnello), generalissimo, free lance (lancia), alarm (allarme), attack (attaco), citadel (citadella);**
2. art, architecture, literature terms: **sketch (schizzo), model (modello), studio, miniature (miniatura), sonnet (sonetto), gazette (gazzetta), dilettante, burlesque (burlesco), balcony (balcone), trampoline (trampolino), replica**
3. culinary terms: **semolina (semolino), pizza, salami, macaroni (maccaroni), lasagne, pasta, cappuccino;**
4. numerous loans connected with music: **sonata, aria, trio, opera, alto, concerto, viola, violin (violino), piano, solo, stanza, maestro;**
5. specialized unadapted musical terms **lento, presto, staccato, a cappella, falsetto;**
6. as well as various other terms: **vista, fiasco, archipelago (from Greek), incognito, ciao, confetti, gondola, influenza, volcano, regatta, ghetto (getto), umbrella, mafia, fascism (fascismo), graffito, firm (firma); granite (granito), carnival (carnovale), carousel (carosello), rocket (rochetto).**

- Spanish loans have come as a result of the might of Spain in the 16th century: **cargo, armada, bravado (bravata), bravura, flamenco, corrida, plaza, cork (alcorque), picarescue (picaresco), toreador, barricade (barrica), grenade (granada), renegade (renegado), sherry (Xeres), embargo, cockroach (cucaracha), vanilla (vainilla), guerrilla, guitar (guitarra from Gr. kithara),** as well as from Spanish from Africa, South America, Mexico directly or via US English **tango, cigar (cigarro), mosquito, potato (patata), tobacco (tabaco), chocolate, cacao, banana, Negro, sombrero, ranch (rancho), alligator (el lagarto), caramel (caramelo), coyote, cannibal, condor.**

Many loans are adapted, others are not, many have parallels in Portuguese **Negro, banana,** and many have been borrowed through French.

- Portuguese **caste (also Sp.casta), albino (also Sp.), marmalade (marmelada), Madeira, baroque (barroco), port (Oporto), auto-da-fe, bamboo (Dutch bamboes from Port. mambu), zebra (also It.), albatros (alcatruz from Ar. alḳādūs)**

• Arabic has given many words which belong to the general international stock, mainly borrowed through other languages: **admiral**, **alcohol** (powder for staining eyelids), **lemon** (**lima**), **coffee** (**ḳahwa**), **carat** (**ḳirāt**), **sherbet** (**šarba**), **magazine** (**makāzin**), **zenith** (**samt**), **sofa** (**suffa**), **henna** (**hinnā**), **tariff** (**tarif(a)**), **mattress** (**almatrah**), **assassin** (**haššāš**), **algebra** (**al-jabr**), **zero** (**sifr**), **cipher** (**sifr**), **arsenal** (**dārsināa**); as well as direct borrowings **ayatollah**, **mujahidin** (**mujāhidīn**), **intifada**, **harem** (**harām**), **Koran** (**ḳur'ān**)

Hebrew: **cinnamon** (**ḳinnāmōn**), **kosher** (**kāšēr**), **sodomy**, **rabbi**, **camel**, **bedlam** (**Bethlehem**), **cherub** (**kerūb**)

• Turkish: **Cossack** (**quzzāq**), **divan** (**dīvān**), **horde** (**ordī**), **yogurt** (**yoğurt**)

• Persian: **turban** (**dulbant**), **caravan** (**kārwān**), **chess/check** (**šāh**), **mate** (**māt**), **tass** (**tast**)

• Norwegian: **slalom**, **ski**, **lemming**, **fjord/fiord**

• Swedish: **ombudsman**, **tungsten**

• Icelandic: **eider** (**aethr**), **geyser** (**Geisir**), **saga**

• Czech: **pistol** (**pištal**), **robot**, **pils(e)ner**, **polka** (**pulka**)

• Polish: **mazurka**, **polak**, **zubr**

- Russian loans constitute two relatively distinct groups – the one are the older loans: **ukase, kopeck, kvas, balalaika, steppe, samovar, knout, sable, borsch, Cossack, muzhik, nihilist, babushka** (headpiece), **pogrom, dacha, czar, vodka**, and the newer layer of soviet time loans: **cheka, sputnik, soviet, Bolshevik, kolkhoz, komsomol, Leninist, glasnost, perestroika, samizdat**

- Finnish: **sauna**

- Hungarian: **coach (koczi), goulash (gulyas-hus), hussar (huszar from lt. corsaro), paprika**

- Romany: **nark (nāk), pal**

- American (both North and South) Indian languages (often through Spanish): **caucus, toboggan, jaguar, buccaneer, chocolate, chili, cacao, maize, potato, tobacco, anorak, parka, squash**

- Australian aboriginal languages: **boomerang, kangaroo, koala, wallaby, murree**

- African languages: Afrikaans **apartheid, commando, trek**; others **zebra, chimpanzee, tsetse, zombie, jazz, gnu, okra, juju**

- Persian: **lilac, checkmate, kiosk, pajamas, tulip, turban**

- Asia: Tamil: **curry, mango, pariah**; Sanskrit: **guru, yoga, karma, swastika**
- others: **shampoo, junk, copra, ginger, amok, bamboo, bungalow, dungaree**
- Chinese: **china, chopsticks, ginseng, ketchup, kung fu, sampan, tea, taipan, typhoon**
- Japanese: **banzai, geisha, haiku, hara-kiri, judo, jujitsu, kamikaze, kimono, samurai, tycoon, karate**
- Scottish: **jockey, glamour, pet, slogan (sluagh--ghairm)**
- Welsh: **flannel (gwlanen).**

Latvian similar to English has borrowed massively at different periods of time from different languages. The extent of borrowed element in Latvian is as yet not fully clear. But in the basic word-stock of the language it is supposed to be about 50%. Half of these borrowings are international words (Ahero, 1967). This is similar to another study which puts the share of internationalisms at 30% (Metuzāle, 1985). Also within the sphere of terminology 32% of words are borrowings, mainly internationalisms (Skujina, 1993: 132). With the extension of the vocabulary the percentage of internationalisms grows but the percentage of purely national borrowings decreases. The latest borrowings are generally international ones. Latvian has mainly borrowed from Russian, German, English, French as well as

neoclassical coinages and elements from Greek and Latin. There are about 3000 Germanisms, about 1000 Anglicisms, about 2000 words of French origin (Bankav, 1985), about 1000 words of Russian origin.

In Latvian one can rather clearly distinguish types of borrowing. There have been two major direct contact languages -- German and Russian, to a smaller extent Lithuanian, Finno-Ugric, Polish and Swedish. Direct contact with other languages has been minimal. Borrowings from them have come either via the two major contact-languages acting as mediaries or by way of cultural contact. English at present has changed its previous status as a solely cultural contact language to a direct contact language.

In Latvian the problem of loans from separate languages and international loans has been a great issue. This has been determined by the strong, sometimes dangerous, influence of German and Russian. As a result borrowing from these languages is often viewed as endangering the quality of the national language, while acquisition of internationalisms (especially based on the classical elements) is viewed as a more beneficial process. Internationalism is usually defined as a word present in at least 3 main language groups of the European area Romanic, Germanic and Slavic. Eighty percent of loans treated as foreign words in Latvian (Svešvārdū, 1978) are

internationalisms based on Latin and Greek. Of the others 9% are French, 3% English, 2.5% German loans. This does not include, of course, the numerous loans that are part of everyday language and fully assimilated.

Morphemes (mainly Latin and Greek) are borrowed directly much less by Latvian than English since the former is not a major word-coining language. There are a few words of terminological character that have been coined in Latvian using the classical elements: **sciētioloģija**, **reliģioloģija**. Yet, at present new words are usually borrowed ready-made from English or Russian, however taking into account the regularities of borrowing -- pronunciation and spelling of the morphological elements.

Loans in Latvian, unless fully assimilated, have certain formal signs:

- words contain foreign sounds and letters -- **o, f, h** -- which do not exist in Latvian native stock words, e.g. **bole, kolosāls, finanses, fiksi, hokejs, haltūra**. This criterion has been used in the rather purist Mullenbach's Dictionary, where words containing these letters are not to be found
- there are unusual letter combinations, e.g. **mjū -- mjūzikls, lī -- šilts**

- some borrowings are non-declinable words, e.g. nouns **solo, kino, foto, kanoe, kivi, veto, ragū, bordo, fiasko**; adjectives **lillā, rozā, haki, bordo**
- there is the uncharacteristic of Latvian stress on the last syllable, e.g. Sp. **kakao, kaudiljo, bolero, sombrero**; Fr. **ateljē, dosjē, plisē, komunikē, rantjē, dražē** but already assimilated **relejs, želeja, dražeja**
- there is a layer of fully non-assimilated terminology, e.g. musical terms of Italian origin: **presto, andante, piano**; foreign expressions, mainly French and Latin (see the respective languages).

Borrowed words in Latvian normally undergo serious assimilation (much more thorough than in English). First comes the change to the Latvian alphabet. This is a very specific peculiarity of Latvian that borrowed words are transcribed and little trace of original spelling may be left. Transcription is done as close as possible to the pronunciation of the word but there have always been deviations and changes, often affected by the intermediary languages. The words become part and parcel of Latvian phonetic, morphological and lexical system. Retention of original morphology, e.g. plural constructions, is impossible. Some loans may remain non-declinable though.

During the process of assimilation some sounds and/or letters not existing in Latvian are substituted by Latvian ones:

- German short **ü** becomes Latvian **i** **bise** (büsse MLG (Middle Low German),
- German long **ü** becomes long **i** -- **bīdelēt** (büdeln MLG)
- German short **ö** becomes **e** **melderis** (Möller MLG)
- German long **ö** becomes long **e** **ēvele** (Hövel MLG)
- Greek and English **x** -- Latvian **ks**: **ksero-**, **Teksasa** (xēros, Texas)
- monophthong short **o** in older loans turns into **u** **bumba** (Bombe), **klucis** (Klotz), or **a pasts** (Post)
- long **o** gradually turns into Latvian diphthong **uo**: **odere**, **roze**, **mode**
- German **f** is substituted by Latvian **p**: **plinte** (Flinte), **kartupelis** (Kartoffel) (historically also **undropcieris** (Unteroffizier))
- **h** can be either lost as in **andele** from German **Handel**, **āmurs** (hamer MLG), **angārs** from German **Hangar**, (in the past also **ercogs** from German **Herzog**), **azarts** from French **hazard** or it can turn into **k**: **slikts**, **dīkti** (slicht, dicte) or **ķ**: **ķīmija**, **ķirurgs** (Chemie, Chirurg)

- **k** and **g** followed by narrow vowels is changed to **ķ** and **ģ**
ķengurs, ķeizars, niķelis, ģeogrāfija, ģitāra
- Latvian spelling usually follows foreign pronunciation, thus German **s** (pronounced as **z**) turns into **z** in writing **Suppe - zupa, Sund - zunds, Sonde - zonde, Sohn zēns, Segel zēģele**; German **z** pronounced as **c**) turns into **c** **Zucker - cukurs, Zink - cinks**
- In most of the borrowings the stress takes the traditional Latvian initial place.

Yet these processes are generally characteristic of the older borrowings. The new internationalisms usually defy these old assimilation laws: **fizika, fosfors, harēms, arhīvs**.

Nouns obtain endings and genders which may not correspond to the source language ones if they exist, e.g. **plastilīns** (*m*) **plastilīna** (*f*), **mandolīna** (*f*) – **mandolino** (*m*). Masculine nouns become 1st and 2nd declension nouns and feminine nouns 4th and 5th (rarely 6th) declension nouns as these are the declensions that are productive now. Proper nouns obtain endings of the gender characteristic of Latvian -- masculine for lakes and mountains, feminine for towns, isles, countries and rivers. More common Latvian endings may be supplied **mītiņš, pudiņš** (**meeting, pudding**) but it is rarely done today, e.g.

modern **dansings, listings, klirings, monitorings**. At present there is uncertainty about such borrowings as: **kalks kalka, kontrs: kontra, medijs, mēdijs medija, mēdija, kongresmens kongresmenis**, etc. Verbs normally are included in the 2nd conjugation as that is the simplest.

Change of meaning during the process of borrowing or even after is not unusual: **avansēt** in Latvian means *to pay in advance* while the French word **avancer** means *to move forward*; **montēt** in Latvian means *to assemble* while in French **monter** is *to ascend*. (See Semantic Change). Semantically the borrowed word may often develop a tinge, different connotational or even denotational meaning as in the following cases: Lithuanian **kirmis** is a *worm* while the Latvian loan **ķirmis** is a *woodworm*, **ķēve** in Lithuanian means *a thin horse* while in Latvian *mare*, **duļķes** in Lithuanian is *dust* while in Latvian *dregs*. English **cake** has a broader meaning than the Latvian loan **kekss**.

Changes during assimilation in Latvian are also connected with folk etymology, thus the word borrowed from Low German as **pankoks** (pancake) at the beginning of the 20th century turned into **pankūka**, in line with **kūka** (cake). Borrowing from Russian **balamute** changed its meaning from originally *inspirer, rioter* to modern *gossip* maybe because of the association of the word

with **mute**. As a result many notions in Latvian have two words - one borrowed the other native: **barža - liellaiva, kempings kempings**.

The variety of assimilation, its strength and the changing habits and spelling conventions have lead to a situation where there have been different variations for one and the same loan, e.g. the original loan **biljete** has turned into **biļete** under Russian influence. Likewise the originally masculine forms **konfekts, filejs, detaljs** became feminine: **konfekte, fileja, detaļa**; or the opposite change has taken place: **procente -- procenti**. The word **gubernators** borrowed from French through German and also Russian has had several forms **gubernieris, gubernatērs, gubernator** (Roze, 1961:159). Many loan-words have had a multitude of forms: **kartupelis** has been **kartups, tupelis, tupenis, kartpelis**; **misis** **missis, mistrise, mistrese, mistresa, mistris, mistriss**; **džezs -- džess, džacs**; **streiks -- streiķis, striķis, striks, strike**; **bifšteks -- bifsteks, bifsteks, bifstēks, bifstēķis, bifstēķis, bifstiķis, bifstiķis, bipstiķis, befstiks** (Baldunčiks, 1989), **sekretārs zekretārs, sikretērs, siktieris, sekreteris, siktērs**.

Latvian has in the past had intensive indirect borrowing. Often it is difficult to state which word has been borrowed from which language, usually German and Russian, e.g. **priekšsēdētājs - Vorsitzende, predsedatel', priekšraksts - Vorschrift, predpisanie, asprātība -- Scharfsinn, ostroumiye**, and words coined based on analogy **angloamerikāņu -- Anglo-American**.

- Latvian has borrowed from Finno-Ugric languages mainly from Liiv and Estonian. These are old borrowings, lacking any features and amounting to perhaps 100 words. They are mainly connected with the sea and fishing terminology: **selga, vimba, joma, kāls, loms, liedags, kaija** as well as different other words like **launags, pajāt, puika, puisis, allaž, kamols, pīlādzis, jupis, linga, nūja, laulāt, jandāliņš**.

- Apart from numerous parallels due to the common origin of the Baltic languages, there are minor direct influences from Lithuanian **ģindenis, pagiras, ķekars, ģimene, ķēve, leņķis, karalis, daile, veikals, laimēt, ķirmis, sādža, duļķes** (Brence, 1985; Laua, 1982),

- Kuronian though always hypothetical (Bušs, 1985, 1987, 1994) has given Latvian such words as **dzintars, menca, venteris, kankari, luncināt, lence, skrandas, vandīt**. Words like **balanda, brangs, blenzt, dvinga, kunkulis, lunkans, trenkt, banga, rinda, mente, etc.** might be of Kuronian origin but might as well be Lithuanian loans.

- Identification of borrowings from Swedish is difficult because many borrowed words can come also from German (common Germanic stock). There are also some older Scandinavian traces in the language, thus **silķe (Sylecke)** and **mūks (munk)** are supposedly borrowings from Old Scandinavian also **gatve** is often treated as of Swedish origin.

- Polish must have exerted serious influence over Latvian as part of it (Latgale) was for several centuries under Polish rule. Yet it is in most cases difficult to pass judgement as to the origin of many borrowed words due to their similarity (Zemzare, 1961) in Polish and Russian, e.g. **cena, rūda, tarba, pans, pīrāgs, baravika, etc.** Yet there seems to be evidence for **spiegs, pīga, prāva** to be Polish, as well as such words as **krakovjaks**.

Due to the long (700 years) German dominance in Latvian history, German has had the most significant influence on Latvian wordstock as well on its morphological structure. There are about 3000 German borrowings, many of them very old and fully assimilated and established in Latvian, e.g. **dvielis, sīpols, ziepes, lode, katls, zēns, meitene, slihts, slimis, ārsts, šķiņķis, elle, kleita, dienests (Dienst), amats (Amt), punkts, gurķis**. Part of German borrowings have become archaic or moved into the colloquial, slang or, so called, barbarism stock of modern Latvian (Ozols, 1968): **deķis, ķisens, luste, paģērēt (begehren), ģifts, zafte (zapte), plinte, andele, vaktēt, klapēt, klārēt, mālēt, knapi, beņķis, foršs, feins, brūte, brūtgāns, skāde, smuks, šaufele, šilte**. Some loans undergo narrowing of meaning, e.g. **slaktiņš** from German **Schlacht** used to mean *any battle*, now *a bloody massacre*, of later loans **feldšeris** (assistant doctor) -- **Feldscher** (military doctor). Among the later loans one could mention **šnicele, hamburgers** (through English), **fārenheits, kičs, jodelēt, fēns, bunkurs, vazelins, glečers, lozungs, cehs, šprotes, štābs, krahs, marcipāns**, etc.

German has also supplied numerous loan translations (calques) for Latvian: **laikraksts (Zeitschrift), kokvilna (Baumwolle)**,

mietpilsonis (Spiessburger), pretruna (Widerspruch), pildspalva (Füllfeder), tālredzīgs (weitsichtig), acumirkļis (Augenblick), jāņoga (Johannisbeere), nošaut buku (einen Bock schießen), zvaigžņu stunda (Sternstunde), laika gars (Zeitgeist) (Veisbergs, 1989). Many of the loan translations have also counterparts in Russian so it is not always possible to determine the source language. Latvian has borrowed also some suffixes from German **-īzeris, -manis, -ūzis** that are occasionally used with Latvian or other borrowed roots: **ēdūzis, restūzis, vārtūzis, plātizeris, šeptmanis, vāgūzis (waghus)**. There has been very little borrowing from German after the Second World War.

- Borrowing from Russian (about 1000 words) falls into several stages: the older stratum often going back as far as the 9th-12th century: **bagāts, nabags, zvans, cena, mērs, kapeika, baznīca, ubags, cilvēks, slava, soģis**; 18th -19th century borrowings: **katorga, baranka, brāga, kvass, balalaika, balamute, stepe**, etc. and the soviet times borrowings **kolhozs, artelis, boļševiks, meņševiks**, as well as many translation loans **padomes (sovet), baltrocis (beloruchka), dziļdomība (glubokosmisliye), piecgade (pyatiletka), mirušās dvēseles (myertviye dushi), melnā sotņa (chernaya sotnya)**.

There are numerous slang and colloquial Russian borrowings, many of which are rather old in Latvian **šiška, paika, mačalka, apbižot, baška, bračka, spička, samosvals, gruzoviks, stroika, električka, peška, puķovka, duraks, maika**, as well as the wide heritage of rude and taboo expressions with **blāģ, maķ**, etc. Among the latest popular loans one could mention **mobiļņiks, vizitka, kruto, krutais, besīgs, tusiņš, krutka**, some of which bear traces of strong assimilation.

- Latin **deputāts, leģions, tabula, senāts, persona, klase, autors, students, fabrika, mode, stabils, tribūns, partija**, etc.

- Greek **alfabēts, loģika, marmors, gigants, muzejs, teātris, katedra, klimats, lambada, metāls, leksika, ironija, idille**, etc.

Apart from direct borrowings from these languages Latin and Greek elements are widely used in borrowing internationalisms (neo-classical compounds) created from the stems and affixes in other languages: **tele-: telefons, telegrāfs, telefakss, televīzija; -metrs: barometrs, centimetrs, hronometrs**, etc. as well as creating neologisms in Latvian hybrids **makrovīde, ultraskaņa, antiviela**.

The languages with which the contact has been indirect have supplemented Latvian generally by international words all of which are also present in English.

- French has supplemented Latvian wordstock via German and Russian (Bankavs, 1986) as well as directly: **garāža, karafe, debates, komanda, konjaks, demisionēt, šokēt, intīms**; also about a 100 of unassimilated expressions **cherchez la femme, femme fatale, vis-a-vis, idée fixe**; as well as about 200 loan translations: **sliktais tonis (mauvais ton), būt kviti (etre quitte), ziloņkaula tornis (tour d'ivoire), būt zobam uz (avoir une dente contre qn), pieņemt mērus (prendre des mesures)**.

- English influence started in the 19th century with such usual words like **planelis, pudiņš, punšs, rums, groks, kēkss, dolārs, kuteris**, (Baldunčiks 1989) and has been growing ever since then, mainly giving terms for the technical, commercial, sports, music and vogue spheres: **boikots, lideris, sprinteris, starts, klubs, hokejs, nokauts, rings, popmūzika, trilleris, hečbeks, blūzs, hipijs, dizains**. Of late there are quite a few colloquial elements coming in **kreizī, feiss, naturāli, čeindžs** as

well as economic and political terms such as **impīcments, lobījs, reitings, rafinērija, sponsors, investors, māketings, audits, tenders, monitorings, dīleris, peidžers, fjūčers, popkorns, prezentācija**, etc. English has also enriched Latvian with semantic loans: **iesaldēt (freeze), zvaigzne (star), pele (mouse)** and numerous (about 250) translation loans and semi-loans: **zilzeķe (blue stocking), linča tiesa (Lynch law), smadzeņu aizplūde (brain-drain), dzeltenā prese (yellow press) ziepju opera (soap opera), tēvocis Sems (Uncle Sam), pēdējais mohikānis (the last of the Mohicans)** (Veisbergs, 1994).

The growth of English loans can be seen comparing newspaper language "Jaunākās Ziņas"(1937), "Padomju Jaunatne" (1950, 1970, 1980) and "Diena" (1995). On the average one paper had the following number of English loans:

1937	27
1950	18
1950	27
1980	20
1995	85

This shows the dynamic rise of English as the main contact language of Latvian at present. English influence is partly

enhanced by Russian as a supportive language (if there is the same loan in Russian).

Thus computer language is one of the spheres where the trilingualism is reflected most clearly. Parallel to borrowing (enhanced by loans of Russian) there is an attempt to translate or create native terms (Angļu, 1995):

daisy wheel printer -- ziedlapprinteris

mainframe -- lieldators

desktop -- galddators

palm top computer -- plaukstdators

file -- fails, datne

interface -- interfeiss, saskarne

computer -- kompjūters, dators (Latin), skaitļotājs

software -- softvērs, programmatūra

hardware -- hārdvērs, aparatūra

menu -- menu, komandkarte, izvēlne

operating system -- operacionālā sistēma (R), operētājsistēma

bit -- bits

hot potato routing -- karstā maršrutēšana

inkjet printer -- strūklprinteris

inference -- izvedums

boot -- sāknēšana, sāktne

virtual terminal -- virtuālais terminālis

- Italian loans constitute a rather large group about 300 words and units, of which half are non-assimilated or partially assimilated ones (mainly musical terms): **presto, adagio, al fresco, basta, spageti, bravo, salto mortale, tutti-frutti, fiasko, maestro, ravioli, fata morgana** (also the assimilated variant **fatamorgāna**) as well as many assimilated words: **firma, pica, vulkāns, fināls, lira, alts, kupols, karnevāls** (was initially used in the nonadapted form **carne vale**) also in the semi loan **ciest fiasko (far fiasco)**.

- From Dutch Latvian has borrowed mainly sea-going terminology: **jahta, konvojs, reids, vraks, spoks, rifs**, and words not in English borrowed usually through German: **kajīte, matrozis, apelsīns**.

- Spanish has contributed about 150 words, usually through French and some other language: **nēģeris, tango, sombrero, donžuāns, donkihots, piektā kolonna, eldorādo, bolero, flamenko, reāls, heress** (now being ousted by English **šerijs**).

- Portuguese has given about a dozen words the most usual of which would be: **kasta, marmelāde, baroks, zebra, albatross, bambuks, autodafē.**

- Arabic: **admirālis, alkohols, cipars, karāts, šerbets, zenīts, henna, tarifs, kafija, algebra (al-jabr), arsenāls, matracis (almatrah), ajatolla, mudžahedins, harēms, korāns.**

Other languages have contributed a few words, like

- Turkish/Tatar: **kazaks, dīvāns, orda, jogurts, kumiss, etc.**
- Persian: **turbāns, maģisks, paradīze, talks, karavāna, šahs, mats, tase, etc.**
- Roumanian: **brinza, leja, musts**
- Norwegian: **slaloms, leming, fjords**
- Icelandic: **geizers, sāga**
- Czech: **pistole, robots, polka**
- Finnish: **sauna**
- Swedish: **tungstens, ombudsmenis**
- Hungarian: **gulašs, huzārs,**
- Hebrew: **rabīns, ķerubs, kanēlis**
- Chinese: **taifūns, tēja.**

Transfer

Loans as a linguistic category do not cause any stylistic problems for transfer unless purist tendencies are ruling high. Thus no specific translation strategies are to be adopted in this case. Latvian loans from minor contact languages are all practically present in English too (apart from some loans from the Latvian neighbours Estonian and Lithuanian). It is interesting to note a few borrowings of international stock present in Latvian but non-existing in English. These are generally of French origin and the result of Russian or German mediation.

Summary

Both in English and Latvian there is a massive element of borrowing. In both languages one foreign language has had a very strong impact on the development of the lexical system. In the case of Latvian it is German. In the case of English French. Both languages have been and at present are very open to borrowing. In both there have been periods of purist tendencies (stronger in Latvian due to the smaller number of language speakers, later development and the dangerous situation for survival of the language at different points in history). English has a wider distribution of donor languages

while Latvian has a rather clear pattern of one or two intermediary languages: in the past it was German, then also Russian, during the soviet period Russian alone, then also English, at present mainly English, partly Russian. In both languages borrowings undergo adaptation and assimilation (stronger and more systematic in Latvian). The loans from smaller languages are very often the same in both languages -- these are internationalisms that have spread in most European languages.

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Place of the Translator in the Modern World

The switch to target orientation and growing regard for the interests of the receiving side has gradually led to the increase of translator's responsibility and a claim for translator's visibility. Today the translator has to cater for the needs of several parties. To quote Donald Kiraly: "The translator has to produce a target language text that will communicate the message that the author wants to send, that the commissioner wants to have sent, that the user expects to use, and that will have the appropriate and desired effect" (1995: 2). The long-standing viewpoint that translating and interpreting are serving professions and serving does not usually go with well-developed egos calls for revision in the contemporary international environment. However, in many cultures the traditional image of the translator as a mechanical reproducer of the source text still prevails. That is why in translator training programmes there is a stronger and stronger emphasis on raising the self-awareness and self-confidence (cf. Kussmaul, 1995:32) of would-be translators – the two features that mark a professional translator.

Theoretical framework

Though translations have been generally accepted as indispensable part of modern civilization, they have likewise been regarded as undeniable inferiors to their originals. The original is eternal, the translation dates. The original is a form of self-expression, translation a copy. This approach is characteristic of the Western society, where translation actually started with written translation of scripture which required word-for-word translation. The long-standing tradition of faithful translation accounts for low prestige of the translator. As Andre Lefevere points out: "It is easy to see why: any idiot can match words from word lists" ("Chinese and Western Thinking on Translation" lecture delivered in the 7th CETRA summer research seminar in Leuven, 1995). In China, for example, where translation started with the interpretation of spoken, rather than the translation of written texts, the skills of translators/interpreters were obviously on display. In China translation activity does not find its origin in the translation of sacred or even literary texts, but in the translation of oral communications that concerned trade. Often interpreters just could not afford to translate literally, in many cases they would just convey the gist of what one partner in the conversation said

to the other, they would quietly convert weights and measures, adjust cultural expectations. If interpreters helped strike a good deal, they were good interpreters, no matter how they might have distorted what has been said to help the client strike the deal he wanted. Accordingly the importance of the interpreter was obvious and they did enjoy a higher social status. Only with the rise of faithful translation translator's prestige fell.

In last decades noteworthy attempts have been made to redefine the role of translations in contemporary cultural situations. In simple terms it can be said that the original has been pushed off its throne. Opposition between the source and target texts as well as the integrity of the source text has been questioned. If traditionally the value of the translation has been seen as self-effacement, a vanishing act, then today poststructuralists argue that a translation is growth of the original which completes itself in enlarging itself... and if the original calls for a complement, it is because the original is not without fault, full, complete, total, identical to itself (Derrida, quoted from Gentzler: 167). Poststructuralists modify the traditional relationship between the original and translation from ST→TT into S1,S2,S3...↔ T1,T2,T3... thus emphasizing that no text is ever final and that the meaning of the text depends on interpretation, i.e. on the translator. Deconstructionists put forward many provocative questions: What if one suggested that without translation the original text ceased to exist, that the very survival

of the original depends not on any particular quality it contains, but upon those qualities that its translations contain? (Gentzler, 1993: 145) Indeed, doesn't the reception and appreciation of literary works hinge on a series of interrelated factors ranging from poetics to economics, from prestige to profit, rather than the inherent qualitative inferiority or superiority? Andre Lefevere in his book "Translation, Rewriting and Manipulation of Literary Fame" (1992) reminds of what is often overlooked: the modern reader increasingly does not read literature as written by writers but as written by its rewriters, i.e. translators. It becomes essential to recognize that translation in its many aspects -- from the selection of foreign texts to implementation of translation strategies -- plays an enormous role in the construction of national identities and hence can play an important geopolitical role.

With poststructuralist and deconstructionist discourse of the last twenty years the erosion of the authority of the Author/Original has started. The birth of the reader celebrated by Roland Barthes entails the death of the author. The reader -- translator begins to be recognized as an active producer of meaning whose interference is not merely tolerable but inevitable. Lawrence Venuti claims that the moment has come for translators to assume flesh and blood and become visible.

Also Skopos theory (1978) legitimizes translators' rights to creative handling of the source text. It claims that it is the intended purpose of the target text that determines translation method and strategy and not the function of the source text. It recognizes faithful translation only as one of several possible strategies. Since the function of the target text is not arrived at automatically from an analysis of the source text, but is pragmatically defined by the purpose of the intercultural communication, the function of the target text may differ from the function of the source text. In such case translators take important decisions and their role in the production of the target text cannot be denied.

Practice

However, in practice translator-induced changes, especially such major alterations as the change of the source text function, are treated with certain reservations. Translators' work is often underrated by statements which claim that the goal of most translators is to work from contract to contract and move from one foreign text to another; that translators are always hard at work, but they are producing translations, not translation commentary, criticism or theory; that they are not critically self-conscious writers who develop an acute awareness of the cultural and social conditions of their work. This stand-point is

often sustained by the commissioner. For example, to pass the certification test with the Swedish Board of Trade, translators are instructed (1) not to add anything to the translation and (2) not to take away or leave out anything from the translation. In other words, translators are required to copy the source text as closely as possible. Accordingly the trainers for translation/interpretation courses in the Interpreter and Translator Institute of Sweden abide by the assumption that "no personal likes, dislikes or imagined improvements are allowed to cloud the transferred texts; the interpreter/translator must retain a neutral and impartial approach when translating" (Zajkals, 1997:160). Thus it is nobody's responsibility if the translated text makes little sense in the new culture situation. The translator is even expected to ignore obvious defects in the texts to be translated; she should just follow the maxim "garbage in, garbage out" as it is pointed out with dismay by Paul Kussmaul (1995: 145).

Counterpoints

Similarly to many other translation scholars I would like to argue that professional translators are also good writers who are well aware of the context in which they work. They want to produce good, functional texts and are ready to take responsibility for

the final product. In many ways, for a professional translator it is easier to create faithful than functional translation as in that case the scale of decisions to be made in the process of translation is considerably smaller. Strategies like omission, explicitation, footnoting, pragmatic adaptation require certain courage and determination on behalf of the translator. If the product is faulty, in case of faithful translation, the translator can always excuse herself by pointing to the defective source text. Yet, a good translator aims at well-written texts, if not for any other reason, than the possibility, that the target readers will assume that they are faced with bad translations. If they are aware they are reading a translation, they will be disappointed with the badly written source text. Neither the author, nor translator will want to create this effect and would want defects corrected.

The scale of intervention depends on the text type. Even if a source text has been written without any particular purpose, the translation is always addressed to some audience and is thus intended to have some function for the reader. Yet, in case of expressive (literary) texts, the translator is expected to keep a lower profile and be more cautious as these texts are author-oriented and in their rendition loyalty to the author, in most cases, is top priority. However wayward, cliched, jargonized the language of a literary text may be, the translator tends to pursue the same style assuming that the personality of the author is

more important than clarity and readability of the target text. Functionalists would argue that this is precisely the reason why translations of expressive texts are not really fun to read! Informative (technical) and operative (promotional) texts are of a different nature: they are often anonymous, often badly written, their function is to pass information or persuade the reader to perform an action, thus the translator should "translate in a way that enables the text to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function" (Nord, 1997:29). As pointed out by Peter Newmark, the majority of translations of technical texts today are better than their originals-- or at least ought to be (1988:41).

To make a case for functional approach I would like to point to drawbacks of faithfully translated Latvian promotional texts. If the translator just dutifully reproduces the source text, there appear functional shifts in the final product. For comparison let us consider two similar texts with the same promotional function published in "Riga This Week", summer 1993 and "City Paper. The Baltic States" June/July 1996. I would label the first text a nonprofessional translation, it has been dutifully transferred from the Latvian cultural environment into the English language without ever raising such questions as what the function or addressee of the target text could be.

It is no secret that different people have different eating, drinking and sleeping habits, nobody wants to upset habitual rhythm of life when travelling either. Thus, it is impossible to find a hotel corresponding both to one's needs and thickness of wallet. Our city guide will help you choose a proper hotel.

A real surprise for foreigners proved to be the fashionable "Hotel de Rome" During post-war years its name was stirring up nostalgia of Riga citizens for bygone times. Now, with the help of Polish restorers who have revived a lot of Riga buildings, it is again on its former place, but in modernized execution.

The second highlight is Latvian -- Swedish JV "Eurolink Hotel" which is intended for businessman. It works in an autonomous regime being situated on the 2nd floor of hotel "Riga" As regards its interior, the mode of rendering services, its cuisine -- they are European ones. Provisions are supplied by Swedish party, only flowers and greens are local.

("Riga This Week" summer 1993)

*Apart from direct linguistic transfers (e.g. *thickness of wallet*), the text contains much information which is irrelevant for readers with a different background knowledge (*Why Polish restorers? What nostalgia for bygone times?*) The statement about all provisions supplied by the Swedes certainly creates the opposite*

effect on non-Latvian readership who do not suffer from a low self-image -- *Why should we have Swedish food in Latvia and why has this aspect been made so emphatic?* The text fails to provide information about the location of the hotels as the inhabitants of Riga, for who the source text has been created, already know where these hotels are to be found. The text has been created in the void, as it were, with no concrete user or purpose in mind -- in the way amateurish translations are often created: with nothing added, nothing omitted and nothing modified in the target text. A well-functioning text could display the following information and structure:

Hotel de Rome: *Kaļķu iela 28, tel. 7820050. This is arguably Riga's most elegant hotel, located on the edge of the old city and across the street from McDonald's. A back-packer could live a solid month on the cost of a single room. Those who can afford it will love it.*

Eurolink: *Aspazijas bulvāris 22, tel.7820060. On the third floor of the Hotel Riga. renovated in 1992 by a Swedish hotel chain into a four-star hotel, the Eurolink lives up to its rating for the most part. A favourite of foreign businessmen. Also renowned for its British breakfast. Expensive.*

(“City Paper. The Baltic States” June/July 1996)

Apart from the content aspect, the text also complies with the promotional text type conventions stylistically and structurally. Deletion, addition, substitution, or reorganization should be considered part and parcel of normal textual operations performed in any translation in order to produce functionally adequate target texts for a given use.

Translators are free to translate how they feel, but their professional and financial survival will depend on the degree to which their mode of translating is acceptable by their clients and readers, i.e. on the degree to which translators conform to the expected norms. The path taken will also depend on the status of the translator in question, and on the status of the translator profession in the cultures concerned.

In conclusion I would like to discuss the status of the translator in the present Latvian cultural situation. It seems to me that of late certain changes can be observed in the attitude towards performers in translation market. In early days of Latvian independence translators, and in particular interpreters, enjoyed a relatively high status. It can be explained by the novelty of the situation -- a closed country, which Latvia was before, practically required no translator/interpreter services with the exception of literary translation. So there were few people who were prepared to embark on this job. Accordingly their services were

appreciated and attitude was not too critical. Today the demand has increased considerably, the ranks of translators and interpreters have respectively grown. At the same time the number of experts in different spheres with a relatively high foreign language competence level has also grown. Expectations for translator/interpreter performance have increased and it is no longer enough to transfer texts semi-automatically in the target language. To create a functional target text the translator needs not only language skills to comprehend the linguistic part of the message, but also intercultural awareness and strategic or problem-solving competence. Professionally qualified translators should be competent and responsible, i.e. willing to take trouble to serve the users of the translation. At times also by educating them. Many customers are not aware of the circumstances required to provide the translation/interpretation service professionally. E.g. many are not aware of the importance of good equipment for simultaneous interpreting or the additional psychological strain the exposure to the audience in consecutive interpreting entails. Accordingly they economize on equipment or employ only one person for consecutive interpretation who fails to perform efficiently after a three hour overload. It is high time for translators and interpreters to become visible by improving badly written source texts, adapting originals to their new culture

environment or specific needs of the readership, by insisting on adequate working conditions in order to be able to provide a professional service. If we want to be trusted as professionals visibility may be more helpful than invisibility.

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Norvēģu un latviešu sakāmvārdu tipoloģisko īpatnību salīdzinājums.

Sakāmvārdi uzskatāmi par universālu parādību, jo cilvēki kas runā dažādās valodās un kuriem ir dažādi politiskie, reliģiskie un filozofiskie uzskati, dalās kopīgajā sakāmvārdu mantojumā.

Lai gan norvēģu un latviešu valoda pieder pie dažādām grupām indoeiropiešu valodu saimē, tomēr abu valodu sakāmvārdu krājumos atrodami ļoti daudz līdzīgu vai tēlaini radniecīgu variantu. Varam runāt par t.s. ģenētisko līdzību, kur sakāmvārda pirmsākumi meklējami laikā, kad dotās valodas vēl nav sadalījušās atsevišķās patstāvīgās valodās, bet radušās cita veida līdzības, proti tipoloģiskās līdzības, kam pamatā ir sinonimitāte. Šādas līdzības radušās pēc kopīga modeļa, neatkarīgi katrā no valodām.

"Līdzīgu apstākļu raksturošanai dažādas tautas pilnīgi patstāvīgi radījušas arī līdzīga rakstura sakāmvārdus, ietverot tos savai zemei raksturīgos tēlos. Bet ja tik līdzīga domu izpausme novērojama visai dažādos ģeogrāfiskos apstākļos dzīvojošām tautām, tad vēl jo vairāk tas iespējams tur, kur domāšanu un uzskatu attīstību nosaka vienādi dzīves apstākļi." (Kokare, 1957: 17).

Šajā rakstā norvēģu un latviešu sakāmvārdiem, galvenokārt, meklēts līdzīgais un atšķirīgais tipoloģiskā līmenī, aplūkota sakāmvārdu forma, kā arī sakāmvārdu grupas pēc to tematiskā iedalījuma. Par sakāmvārdu avotiem izmantoti J.Niedres un J.Ozola, E.Kokares sastādītie latviešu sakāmvārdu un parunu krājumi, kā arī norvēģu sakāmvārdu krājums, kas sistematizēts alfabētiskā kārtībā.

Nedaudz pievēršoties terminoloģijai, jāatzīmē, ka jautājums par precīzu sakāmvārda definīciju vēl joprojā ir atklāts, jo precīza tā definīcija nepastāv nevienā no aplūkotajām valodām.

Latviešu literatūrā sakāmvārdi pirmoreiz pieminēti G.Menceļa "Phraseologia Lettica" 1638.gadā, bet šeit sakāmvārda jēdziens nav definēts. Vecais Stenders sakāmvārdu nedaudz raksturo "Lettische Gramatik" izdevumā 1761.g.

"Latvju literatūras vēstures grāmatā vidusskolām" kuru sastādījis Vilis Plūdons 1929.g., atrodama šāda sakāmvārdu definīcija:

"Sakāmvārdi un parunas ir īsi, kodolīgi izteicieni, kas nopietni vai zobgaļīgā kārtā izsaka kādu dzīves gudrību vai graiza kādu sadzīves vājību" (Plūdons, 1929: 54). Šeit arī norādīta atšķirība starp sakāmvārdu un parunu, kur sakāmvārds ir satura ziņā plašāks un dziļāks, kamēr paruna ir vienkāršs aplinkus teiciens.

Runājot par sakāmvārda definējuma pirmsākumiem norvēģu valodā, jāatzīmē, ka laikā no 1812-1901. gadam konkrētu tā definīciju nav devis neviens no trim folkloras vācējiem un

apkopotājiem Kristiāns Asbjansens, Sofuss Birge un mūks Jorgens Mū. Izdevumā "Edda" 1852. gadā Sofuss Birge sauc sakāmvārdus par norvēģu zemnieka leksikonu vārdu krājumu, kurā var atrast katram dzīves gadījumam piemērotu izteicienu. Vēlākajos valodu pētījumos sakāmvārdi raksturoti kā īsas, vienkāršas un viegli izsakāmas frāzes, kas pielietojami dažādās dzīves situācijās, nevis kā noteiktu un patstāvīgu domu izteikumu kopumu. Jautājumā par sakāmvārdu krāšanas un pierakstīšanas pirmsākumiem Norvēģijā, jāmin arī fakts, ka 18.gs. beigās valodu pētnieks Ivars Osens (Aasen), no "saskaldītajiem" norvēģu valodas dialektiem radīja rakstu valodu (Landsmaal), kas vēlāk kļuva par otru literāro valodu līdztekus stipri norvēģizētajai dāņu valodai (Riksmal). Tā, jaunnorvēģu valoda (Nynorsk), kas ir viena no oficiālajām rakstu valodām, radās no lauku apvidus dialektiem, kamēr būkmols (Bokmål), kas ir otra oficiālā rakstu valoda, attīstījās no dāņu valodas (Riksmal), kurā runāja pilsētas iedzīvotāji.

Šeit arī meklējams izskaidrojums apstāklim, ka norvēģu sakāmvārdi krājumos pierakstīti un apkopoti Nynorsk vai kādā no izloksnēm, nevis būkmolā, kas uzskatāma par standarta norvēģu valodu, kuru lieto vairāk kā 80% iedzīvotāju.

Nacionālais un internacionālais, kas raksturīgs sakāmvārdiem dažādās valodās, ir vēsturiski nosacīts process. Saturā un formā līdzīgi sakāmvārdi norvēģu un latviešu valodā sastopami visdažādākajās tematiskajās grupās. Daļai sakāmvārdu piemīt

arī kādas nacionālas iezīmes, piem., sakāmvārdos pieminētas naudas vienības, raksturo kādu periodu nācījas vēsturē:

Ein uærlig skilling et upp ein dalar.
(tulk.) *Nieka šiliņš iztaisa dālderī.*

Latviešu sakāmvārdu krājumā atrodam:

Grasis pie graša iztaisa rubuli;
Santiņš pie santiņa iztaisa latu.

Norvēģu sakāmvārdu krājumā atrodami aptuveni 80 sakāmvārdi par bērniem un bērnu audzināšanu. Gribētu minēt vienu, kuru var pieskaitīt pie sakāmvārdiem, kas atklāj kādu nacionālu iezīmi norvēģu ģimeņu tradīcijās:

Barn er Guds gavor, når det ikkje vert berre gjentungar.
(tulk.) *Bērni ir Dieva dāvana, ja vien tie visi nav meitenes.*

Sakāmvārdiem latviešu valodā raksturīgs iekšējs ritms, tajos reti sastopamas atskaņas un to izteiksme ir ļoti koncentrēta. Atšķirībā no latviešu sakāmvārdiem, daudzi sakāmvārdi norvēģu valodā ir izteiksmē garāki un nereti atgādina aforismus, piem..

Um mannen gløymer aldren, so gløymer ikkje aldren mannen.
(tulk.) *Ja cilvēks aizmirst vecumu, vecums neaizmirst cilvēku.*

Vert ein ikkje ven til ein er tjuge, sterk til ein er tredivo, klok til ein er fyrti og rik til ein er femti - ja, so vert ein det aldri.

(tulk.) *Ja tu nebūsi skaists līdz 20, stiprs līdz 30, gudrs līdz 40 un bagāts līdz 50 gadiem - tu tāds nekad nekļūsi.*

Ingen ting so gall at det ikkje kann vera sant.
(tulk.) *Neviena lieta nevar būt tik traka, lai nebūtu patiesība.*

Daudzviet norvēģu aforismos sastopama tiešā runa, kas nav raksturīga sakāmvārdiem latviešu valodā, piem.,

"Ja, ja", er fatigmanns trugsmål og stormanns ord.
(tulk.) *"Jā" neskan vienādi nabago un bagāto mutē.*

"Takka ikkje for maten, - du skal få supe og" sa mannen.
(tulk.) *"Nesaki paldies par ēdienu tad vēl dzert ar dabūsi", nodomāja vīrs.*

Norvēģu sakāmvārdos samērā bieži sastopamas atskaņas, piem.

*Rask ved **borde** er rask på **jorde***

*Tri års gamal **galte**, ligg best i **salte***

*Gamal **hest**, hittar vegen **best***

*Den som vide **vanka**, kann mykje **sanka**.*

*Års **grøda** er års **føda**.*

Apskatot sakāmvārdus no tematiskās uzbūves un tēlainības viedokļa, jāatzīmē, ka latviešu sakāmvārdu krājumā vislielākās sakāmvārdu grupas attiecināmas uz darbu un tajā gūto pieredzi; cilvēku attiecībām dažādās dzīves situācijās, ģimeni un bērnu audzināšanu. Aplūkotajā norvēģu sakāmvārdu krājumā, kas sistematizēts alfabētiskā kārtībā, sastopami skaitā īpaši daudz sakāmvārdu par tādiem cilvēka morāles un ētikas aspektiem kā

gods, (≈ 60 sakāmvārdu), pateicība, paldies (≈ 50), krišana, klupšana (≈ 40), vārda spēks (≈ 70), jaunums (≈ 70), bailes (≈ 30).

Turpmāk ilustrācijai dota neliela daļa sakāmvārdu, kuri iedalīti jau pieminētajās tematiskajās grupās. Ar zvaigznīti atzīmēti sakāmvārdi, kuri abās valodās ir līdzīgi kā nozīmes, tā izteiksmes un tēlu ziņā, tālab uzskatāmi par identiskiem. Otru sakāmvārdu grupu veido tie, kuri atšķiras formas ziņā, bet atbilst nozīmes ziņā. Šie sakāmvārdi norādīti ar atzīmi (atb). Gadījumos, kad nav atrodams atbilstošais sakāmvārds latviešu valodā, izmantots burtisks tulkojums.

Darbs, darbā gūtā pieredze:

*Liter tue velter stort lass. ** *Vel begynt er halt fullendt. **
Mazs cinītis gāz lielu vezumu. *Labs sākums ir puse darba.*

Skite arbeid og blanke pengar. *Ein få bruka hamaren*
Kāds darbs, tāda alga. (atb.) *medan jarne er heitt*
 Kal dzelzi kamēr karsta. (atb.)

Cilvēku attiecības dažādās dzīves situācijās

*Vanen er halve live. ** *Takk for hjelpa er lite løn.*
Ieradums ir puse dzīves. *Ar paldies vien nepietiek, kulfītē ar' vajag.*
 Par pliku paldies kaķi sprāgst. (atb.)

*Betre pengelaus enn serelaus.** *Betre daud enn æresnaud.*
Labāk bez naudas, nekā *(tulk.) Labāk miris, kā bez*
bez goda. *goda.*
*Redd er rådlaus mann.** *Den som vandt gjer er alltid*
Bailes ir slikts padoms. *redd.**
 Kas vainīgs, tas bailīgs.

Sant er sant, un so ingen trur det.
(tulk.) *Patiesība paliek patiesība, neviens tai netic.*

*Takka er god, men gava er betre.**
Pateicība laba, bet devība vēl labāka.

*Kjøpe katten i sekken.**
Pirkt kaķi maisā.

*I morke er alle katter grå.**
Tumsā visi kaķi melni.

*Stryke katten med hårene.**
Glaudīt kaķi pa spalvai.

*Det er snarere å falla enn å ruså seg.**

Vieglāk krist nekā piecelties.
Kas kritis, tam grūti piecelties.

Det alle taler, er det ingen som høyren etter.
(tulk.) *Kur visi runā, nevies neklausās.*

Kā latviešu, tā norvēģu folklorā bieži izmantots tēls ir velns. Norvēģu sakāmvārdu krājumā ietverti aptuveni 70 sakāmvārdu, bet latviešu sakāmvārdos ap 40 dažādu sakāmvārdu, kas saistās ar velna vārdu. Kā populārākos no tiem var minēt, piem..

*Får fan' fyrst ein fing, tek han snart hiile hande.**
Iedod velnam mazo pirkstiņu, viņš paņems visu roku.

Fan' hjelper sine.
Velns savējos pazīst.

Velns pazīst velnu, kungs kungu.
Ko tu tam padarīsi, kam velns par krusttēvu. (atb.)

Når du talar un fan', so kjem han.
Kad velnu piesauc, tas ir klāt.*

Velna saistība ar baznīcu atzīmēta sakāmvārdos abās valodās, piem.

*Nåir fan vert gammal vil han verte munk.
(tulk.) Kad velns paliek vecs, viņš kļūst par mūku.*

*Velns nav tik melns kā tie apustuļi.
Velns mutē, bībele padusē, u.c. **

Par to, ka velns ir ļoti sena parādība folklorā, liecina kāds interesants latviešu sakāmvārds:

"Tas bija 1012.gadā, kad vells puisī bija"

Interesanti atzīmēt, ka starp norvēģu sakāmvārdiem atrodami tādi, kuros pieminēti gada mēneši, kas savukārt saistīti ar laika zīmju vērojumiem tautas ticējumos, piem.

*Kald mai gjer varn sumar.
(tulk.) Auksts maijs taisa siltu vasaru.*

*Turr mars, våt april og kald mai gjer godt år
(tulk.) Puteņains marts, slapjš aprīlis un auksts maijs
taisa labu gadu.*

Starp parunām latviešu valodā nav daudz tādu, kas saistītos ar Jāņiem, Mārtiņiem vai Ziemassvētkiem, jo laika paredzēšana latviešiem vairāk saistīta ar tautas ticējumiem par laika zīmēm. Norvēģu sakāmvārdu krājumā lasāmi ap 20 sakāmvārdu, kas saistīti ar Ziemassvētkiem un nedaudzi, kas saistīti ar Jāņiem un Vasarsvētkiem, piem.,

Onnor jul og onnor kake.
(tulk.) *Citi Ziemsvētki, cita kūka.*

Jonsokregn gjer lande rikt.
(tulk.) *Jāņu lietus dara zemi bagātu.*

Det vert aldri for mykje regen fyre jonsok.
(tulk.) *Lietus pirms Jāņiem nekad nav par daudz.*

Pinseregn er sjelden godt.
(tulk.) *Vasarsvētku lietus reti kad ir labs.*

D'er vandt gjera skil på dag og natt jonsok - bel.
(tulk.) *Jāņos grūti atšķirt dienu no nakts.*

Vēl var minēt dažus objektus, īpašības un parādības, kuras ietvertas sakāmvārdos norvēģu valodā, bet trūkst vai retāk sastopamas latviešu sakāmvārdos, piem.

osta

Ein er tryggere hamnen enn på have.
(tulk.) *Drošāk ostā nekā uz jūras.*

sarkans

Sarkanā krāsa savukārt pieminēta slimības sakarā, piem.

I dag raud i morgen daud.
(tulk.) *Pa dienu sarkans, no rīta beigts.*

Raud ir morgen er svart um kvelden.
(tulk.) *Sarkans rītā, melns vakarā.*

Nelaime bieži sastopama parādība kā latviešu tā norvēģu sakāmvārdos. Turklāt **ķibele**, **ķeza** ir ļoti plaši izmantots jēdziens norvēģu sakāmvārdos, piem.

Naudsyn bryt lov.
(tulk.) *Ḳibebe nav laime.*

Naud lærer nakja kjeriing å spinna.
(tulk.) *Ḳibebe iemāca pliku veceni vērpt.*

traks, trakums

Dei galene hev det godt.
(tulk.) *Trakais vienmēr jūtas labi.*

Ung og galen er tilgjevande, men gamel og gallen kann ingen tilgje.
(tulk.) *Var būt jauns un traks, bet ne vecs un traks.*

Sakāmvārdiem ir sena vēsture, kuras gaitā daudzi no tiem mainījuši saturu, formu un lietošanas jomu. Arī starp nacionālās un internacionālajām iezīmēm sakāmvārdos pastāv savstarpēja mijiedarbība, tāpēc var atrast tik daudz kopīgā norvēģu un latviešu sakāmvārdos. Abu tautu līdzīgie sadzīves apstākļi izskaidro to, ka atrodami salīdzinoši daudz pilnīgi vienādu sakāmvārdu variantu. Jāpiezīmē, ka visumā norvēģu sakāmvārdiem piemīt nedaudz filozofiskāka un vispārinātāka izteiksmes forma, kamēr latviešu sakāmvārdi ir īsāki, kodolīgāki un trāpīgāki. Šajā nelielajā ieskatā aplūkoti tikai daži ar tipoloģiskām īpatnībām saistīti aspekti, salīdzinot norvēģu un latviešu sakāmvārdus.

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Summary

The theme "The Comparison of Norwegian and Latvian proverbs based on typological Features" has been chosen to study the similarities and peculiarities of both languages with regard to proverbs. Studying various definitions of proverbs proposed by the Norwegian and Latvian scholars, it has to be admitted that no perfect definition has been given by the present time. Many proverbs in Norwegian and Latvian have adequate or closely related variants in imagery, which is most probably a case of genetic likeness. The equivalence of Norwegian and Latvian proverbs is of different degrees – identical, partial coincidence and non-identical. The proverbs are basically classified according to the thematic principle – proverbs referring to work and life experience, proverbs referring to upbringing of children and proverbs referring to relations among people.

Skatuves ABC. Terminu glosārijs, by Alfreds Straumanis. Rīga: Spridītis, 1997. 240p.

This new dictionary of Stage terminology, called a glossary by its author is a compilation of the theatre terminology. No need to explain that it is a necessary tool for this profession in conditions of growing internationalization of arts. The dictionary presents a list of Latvian terms with explanations in Latvian, accompanied by translation equivalents in English, French, German, Spanish, Russian and Italian. Thus the dictionary can be viewed as a combination of explanatory dictionary and multilingual one.

The end matter consists of indexes in all these languages, an index of proper names, a small glossary of English theatre jargon (Why English one?) as well as drawings of stage geography and bibliography.

The author has consistently used by now old fashioned soft **r aktieris, jokdaŗis**, and **ch** combination where modern Latvian prefers simple **h psiholoŗisks - psiholoŗisks**, as well as some other older forms **pērkoŗa pērkona, drāmatisks dramatisks**. These deviations from the modern norm have been pointed out in the introduction by the author himself though with

a touch of guilt, which make me wonder why a problem like this has been deliberately created. Unwelcome Russicisms are pointed out.

The author has not escaped a few false friends **personāžs** - **personage** (**character** would be better), **trupa** **troupe** (**company** is better), **korifejs** - should be **luminary** (not **chorus leader** like in ancient Greek),

Is **otrais plāns** really **secondary plane**, or **parters** - **parquet circle**, **patoss** - **pathos** (**pathos** = **a quality causing a pity or sadness**)? Is there a word like **uzjautrinājums** (**entertainment**) in Latvian or we still prefer **izklaide**?

However these separate dubious cases do not overshadow the volume of work done and the usefulness of yet another dictionary filling the lexical gaps of Modern Latvian.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Libuše Zorin-Obrusnikova. Czech-English Idioms and Figurative Expressions. Praha: JTP, 1997. -175p.

This is a relatively big bilingual compilation of expressions – a useful tool for the translator – more than 6000 units (all numbered). The book contains also a subject and keyword index. Calling this compilation "Figurative expressions" has allowed the author to include not only idioms, exocentric compounds but also words used expressively. Where the borderline between expressive use and polysemy of a word lies, however is not stated. The latter could be put under a question theoretically but not practically as the glossary is a useful collection for the translator. This accounts for the unusual way of combining words and expressions in one and/or the language.

What strikes me most is the gloomy introductions, suggesting either a too pedantic a tradition or low self-image. Instead of pointing out the uniqueness of her work the author has basically pointed out what she has not included, what could be viewed as inappropriate and not corresponding to the accepted patterns. While the Publishers note some of these things, they go on in an equally apologetic way commenting that they have left all shortcomings without any change. Of all these drawbacks maybe stylistic matching is the one that could be desired.

The compendium comprises units used at various times of the twenty century – as the publishers note – "covering at least two

generations” This is not a bad strategy for a dictionary aimed at the translator who might have to deal with expressions of various ages and spheres. As one is used to idiomatic dictionaries being either very traditional (Brewer’s, etc.) or very up-to-date one feels a marker of time of usage might be of great benefit, as idiomatic language tends to change fast. It is not possible for me to judge the Czech units from the point of view of their place in time. It is however worth pointing out that disbalance on the time equivalence is one of the gravest faults in idiom matching testifying to the users being lost in time warp.

There are a few items that make me wonder. The first page provides an equivalent *umberufen* which is more suggestive of German than English; there are rarely or never seen words **phonus-bolonus** (1401), **robustious** (1402), **to walk barelegged** (better **barefooted**) (1426); **hasbeen** (3285) would still look much better hyphenated **has-been**.

Still it is great that a Union of Interpreters and Translators has decided to publish the material and has been able to do it. It seems JTP is one of the strongest associations in Europe to be able to carry out such a task alongside its other versatile activities.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Visitors

Dr. D.Kiraly un V.Srinivasan

University of Mainz, Gernersheim, Germany ran a set of Translation workshops and delivered lectures on computational linguistics to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, April 4-12.

Dr. David Snelling

University of Trieste, Italy, gave a series of lectures on interpreting for MA and BA students, September 16-23.

Roderick Jones

Brussels, EU, coordinated cooperation in training MA students of the University of Latvia in Brussels and purchase of interpreting equipment, September 9-10.

Peter Barber

Translation Agency, U.K., discussed collaboration with the department on translation issues, September 11-13.

Dr. Brian Griffiths

Bradford University, U.K., gave a series of lectures on interpreting for MA and BA students, discussed the state of translation and interpreting in Latvia in the EU perspective, November 24-30.

Staff Activities

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in a TAIEX workshop on interpreter training, Brussels, January 31.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated in a TAIEX workshop on interpreter training, Brussels, January 31.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a report "Dažas problēmas divvalodu vārdnīcu veidošanā" in Endzelīns Conference, Rīga, Latvian Language Institute, February 21.

Arvils Šalme

Lectured, researched, conducted a Latvian Language course in University of Münster, Germany, February 23 - April 24.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a report "Reālā vai vēlamā latviešu valoda – ieskats leksikogrāfijā" in a PBLA Conference "Latviešu valoda – esamība, vide, konteksti", Rīga, PBLA, Kultūras fonds, March 14.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Lectured on Contrastive linguistics and Modern Latvian in Stockholm University, March 21-22..

Gunta Ločmele

Lectured on pragmatic aspects of Latvian advertising. Stochholm University, March 21-22.

Maija Brēde

Taught Latvian by Natural approach at the University of Mainz, Germany, April 9 - May 25

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a plenary report "Lexicography as a Reflection of a Small Nation's Contacts, Needs and Weltanschauung" in 3rd International Symposium "Übersetzerische Kompetenz". Germersheim, Germany, May 9-12.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a plenary report "Translation as Part of Ideology: Latvian Translation in 1990s" in 3rd International Symposium "Übersetzerische Kompetenz" Germersheim, Germany, May 9-12.

Svetlana Koroļova

Participated with a report "The Problems of Text Selection at the Initial Stage of Translator Training" in 3rd International Symposium "Übersetzerische Kompetenz" Germersheim, Germany, May, 9-13.

Veneta Žigure

Taught Latvian by Natural approach at the University of Mainz, Germany, June 1 - July 15.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "Acculturation and National Identity in Translation", in the International conference "Translation and Power" at the Warwick university, U.K., July 13-15.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Gave an open lecture on Polysemy. Rīga, University of Latvia, July 11.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in a TAIEX workshop on interpreter training in Brussels, July 13-14.

Svetlana Koroļova

Participated in a staged program organized by SCIC, the European Commission Brussels. August 11 - September 6.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a report "Discourse Markers in Spoken Latvian" at the Second Conference on Baltic Studies in Europe "Values & Norms of Society in Change" Vilnius, Lithuania, August 20-23.

Arvils Šalme

Participated in a UN Latvian language programme for the army. August 18-11 September.

Department Conference 25.9.1997

Andrejs Veisbergs Dictionary Users What Do They Want and Do They Get?

Maija Brēde Contrastive Aspects of Discourse Markers in a Dialogue.

Ieva Zauberga Ideological Turns of Feminist Translation.

Gunta Ločmele Observations in Translating Children's Literature.

Arvils Šalme Principles of Study Aid Compilation.

Veneta Žigure Typological Comparison of Latvian and Norwegian Proverbs.

Svetlana Koroļova Teaching Consecutive Interpreting at the University of Latvia.

Anita Načisčione Teaching of the Stylistic Use of Phraseological Units as Part of Discourse Analysis for Advance L2 Learners.

David Snelling (Italy, Trieste) Summary of Interpretation Teaching in Trieste.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated as an instructor in the TAIEX Programme of interpreter training in Brussels, October 5-11.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in the conference "Language and International Communication in the New Century with a report "The New Identity in a Different World: the Case of Latvian" CUNI, New York, October 16-17

Ieva Zauberga

Participated as an instructor in the TAIEX Programme of interpreter training in Brussels, October 16- 26.

Arvils Šalme

Participated in the International seminar on language training situation in Europe, Budapest, Hungary, October 24-31.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in a TAIEX workshop "Terminology Tools for Interpreters" in Brussels, October 27

Ieva Zauberga

Participated in a TAIEX workshop "Terminology Tools for Interpreters" in Brussels, October 27

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in the Second Conference of SCIC Universities "L'Interpretation de Conference et le multilinguisme" Brussels, December 15.