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ZINĀTNISKIE RAKSTI

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS LATVIENSIS

630

SASTATĀMĀ UN LIETIŠKĀ
VALODNIECĪBA

CONTRASTIVE AND APPLIED
LINGUISTICS

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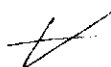
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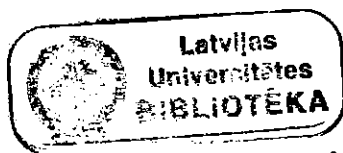
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Krājuma rakstu autori analizē dažādu valodas līmeņu parādības angļu, latviešu, vācu, norvēģu valodā un tulkojumos. Valodu sastatījums veikts kā strukturālā, tā arī funkcionālā un kultūrvēsturiskā aspektā. Atklātas valodu īpatnības, arī to kopīgās īpašības.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

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

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

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

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One Aspect of Barbarisms in Latvian Discourse

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

In the vast field of discourse analysis discourse markers (also discourse particles, discourse connectives, pragmatic markers, pragmatic expressions, punctors) have been analysed with a view of how they contribute in the process of communication integrating forms, meanings and actions (Schiffrin 1987, 1997). Discourse markers (DMs) pertain to various aspects of discourse. Their study adds greatly to the investigation of the social aspect of communication.

As lexical units DMs have a meaning of their own and they represent different grammatical categories (conjunctions, particles, verbs, etc.). However, the particular message the speaker intends to convey by a definite linguistic expression is indicated by their pragmatic meaning (Fraser 1988).

Segments carrying information retain their structure also without DMs. Thus syntactically they do not depend on the particular structure of the sentence, but as linguistic elements they help to interpret units of speech and establish them as part of discourse. DMs participate in the structuring of the text, they show how the utterance is connected with the prior discourse. Expressions of the type may also appear whenever the speaker has a need for them. "They give the speaker an opportunity to check back, to plan ahead, and to obtain the listener's reaction. They give the listener an opportunity to keep up and to react." (Crystal 1988:49).

DMs are usually analysed as elements of a certain language operating in the context of the same language. However, the linguistic picture may be quite different due to a number of aspects of the social situation which determines to a great extent the choice of the linguistic variety to be employed on a particular occasion. Language can be used for manipulating relationships and achieving particular goals.

"... differences in social context (broadly defined to include the hearer, the subject matter and the medium as well as the situation) lead to the use of different styles." (Trudgill 1987:111).

Under the circumstances of language contact described as “a situation of geographical continuity or close proximity between languages and dialects, so that a degree of bilingualism comes to exist within a community” (Crystal 1994) language switching and shifting can be observed. It can be used to communicate additional intentions of the speaker. Every user of a certain language has his /her own response to the use of a strange term and this affects the frequency of repeating it (McArthur 1996). In the situation of multilingual or bilingual communities language mixing may enable the speaker to signal two identities simultaneously. Language contacts bring about changes in the most open linguistic levels of the contact vernaculars, in the first place, by introducing **loan words**. Although the transfer of a word may effect the pronunciation, spelling, syntax and semantics of language loan words preserve some of their original characteristics for a relatively long period.

The aim of the present analysis is to view pragmatic functions of a certain group of loan words from Russian that are qualified as **barbarisms** in Latvian. Words belonging to this particular group occasionally appearing in combination with Latvian words are used as discourse markers. The current material includes the following lexical items:

- **vot, vo** (R: “вот”) part. - 1. there; here
2. there is
3. that is
- **davai** (R: “давай”) part. - let us
- **točno, točna, toč** (R: “точно”) adv. - exactly, indeed
- **blin** (R: “блин”) n. - pancake

In Latvian utterances with the exception of **vo, točna, toč** that are pronounced with a slight phonetic modification these words retain absolutely the same phonetic structure as in Russian including the stress factor.

The data for the analysis of barbarisms as DMs in spoken Latvian were collected by observation and note-taking mostly in public places (public transport, shops, streets). The speakers are people of different age groups, both sexes, and the adults apparently represent different occupational and professional groups. What is notable is that some of the barbarisms occur in otherwise perfectly formed phrases that would correspond to the standard. There are of course, cases of slang register, too.

At the beginning of an utterance **vot** appears indispensable to attract the listeners' attention.

(1) **Vot**, cik labs bērns! **Vot tā, tā, tā!**

There's a good kiddy. That's right, that's right!

(2) **Vot**, kā man izgāja!

That's how it turned out for me!

In the first instance of (1) and (2) it may be understood as an interjection (the Latvian exclamatory words for the occasion would be **ai, ak, re kā**). In the second instance of (1) **vot** is used for emphasis, for praise in particular. In (2) the speaker obviously concludes her narration in a didactic tone.

(3) Klāt esam! **Nu vot**, tālāk brauksim ar vilcienu.

Here we are. Well, let's go by train further.

Nu vot (the Latvian **nu tā**) signals a change of an issue; it corresponds to the end of some action.

(4) **Nu vot tā**, atkal nosmērējies līdz ausīm!

Look, again you've dirtied yourself!

Here the speaker (a mother) quite emphatically confirms an already expected result.

In the middle of an utterance speakers often turn to **vot** with an intention to gain some time before rounding up their thought or to plan ahead.

(5) Šī man atkal gribēja iesmērēt ierūgušu pienu, **vot**, bet es šai uzreiz acīs, kā ir.

Again she wanted to palm of curdled milk on me, but I said what I thought about it.

(6) Tā man nekas nesanāca, **vot**, bet vēlāk nebija vairs dūšas pieķerties.

So it came to nothing, well, but later I didn't have heart to do it.

In (5) and (6) **vot** conveniently functions as a pause filler. In the latter case the speaker expresses also a kind of estimate relating to a prior section of discourse.

In the following sample the speaker is actually planning what to do next. The Latvian word instead of the barbarism might be **nu** although one can very well do without it.

(7) Šodien, **vot**, es domāju aizstaigāt līdz Tolīkam.

Today I think I'll pop in at Toliks.

In the final position **vot** mostly points to emphasis when concluding an utterance; occasionally it expresses some degree of estimate, like in

(8) Man liekas, ka jāpaceļ augstāk, **vot**.

I think we have to lift it higher.

(9) - Diez vai astoņpadsmit būs.

- Jums jau te sanāk. **Vot, vot, vot**.

- I wonder if I have eighteen. - You've got it, see?

The speaker (a conductor on a trolley) confirms her expectations - the passenger has got enough change.

Vot can be repeated quite a number of times. It often accompanies some action following an instruction as in the following:

(10) Un tagad aizpogā mētelīti. **Vōt, vot, vot, vot, vot**.

And now button up your coat. That's a good girl.

Five repeated monosyllables with a prolonged vowel in the first form a well-shaped rhythmical pattern. The correct Latvian wording would be **jā, tā, labi, pareizi**.

Sometimes the final **vot** may have an implication of a negative attitude:

(11) Padomā tik! Tieši šodien priekšniekam vajag sapulci, **vot tā**.

Would you believe it! Today out of all days the boss is holding a meeting.

(12) Saplēsi šalli. **Nu vot tā**.

Why did you tear the scarf? See what you've done.

Here **vot** stands for an obvious warning.

In the following sample **vot** serves as a confirmation of something expected but not desirable:

(13) Pielipsis kā košļene, **nu vot!** Atkal velkas pakaļ.

He's sticking with us (like a chewing-gum). Bugging us again.

A reduced form of **vot** with the final consonant elided is most frequently used as interjection expressing satisfaction or pleasant surprise:

(14) **Vo**, ku forši! Beidzot liš.

Isn't it great! Raining at last.

(15) Šodien ir gan dieniņa! **Vo**, cik labi!

What a nice day today! Isn't it wonderful!

However, it can also function as DM indicating a completion of the previous utterance:

(16) Tagad pakāpies atpakaļ, ne tik daudz, **vo, vo, vo!**

Now step back, not so far, that's right.

The speaker avoids the Latvian **jā** or **tā** and uses **vo** to conclude the instruction and express certain approval.

The reduced **vo** can be reduced still further to just the vowel / o / :

(17) **O**, kolosāla doma!

What a great idea!

Davai in Russian apart from its grammatical function is a tired interjection used in all kinds of competition to encourage the contestants. As a barbarism in Latvian it may be heard in situations of the same type. As a DM it clearly marks the end of a certain part of discourse. It seems especially favoured for finishing telephone conversations:

(18) Nu, tad sarunāts! **Davai!**

O.K. Agreed.

Another common situation is a brief, casual meeting at the end of which **davai** actually stands for **bye**:

(19) Čau ! Kur tu biji pazūdis? Pieskrien kādreiz! **Nu davai!**

Hi! Where were you? Pop in some day! Cheers!

In contrast to a telephone conversation this particular pragmatic meaning is often supported by some gesture or even hand-shaking.

A somewhat less used barbarism nowadays, especially as a DM is **točno**, also in the forms **točna** or **toč**. Due to its lexical meaning it occurs where the speaker finds it necessary to emphasize or confirm the thought:

(20) - Pakļau, no kurienes šitā?

- **Točno**, zagta.

- Look, where does this come from? - Oh dear, it's really stolen.

(21) Toreiz viņš bija saķēris gripu, **toč**, un mēs aizbraucām vieni.

He had caught a flu, yes, and we went there alone.

In addition **točno** may also produce the effect of surprise:

(22) Tas nu gan ir bremzēts, **točna**.

Well, he's a real blockhead, isn't he?

A sore point is an offensive use of four-letter words in public. There is a group of people who have replaced one of those by the word **bļin** as it begins with the same consonant cluster. Those who use it emphasize their negative emotions (23) or surprise (24).

(23) Akls esi? **Bļin!** Tā jau kaklu var nolauzt!

Can't you see? **Damn!** You could have hurt me.

(24) **Nu bļin!** Kā šis to dabūjis gatavu?

I never! How did he manage that?

However, it can occur practically anywhere in the utterance, just like the original four-letter-word:

(25) Nu ko, vakar iemetām pa aliņam, **bļin**, tad uz tusiņu, **bļin**, mājās, **bļin**, ap četriem.

Well, yesterday we had some beer, then went off to a disco, home around four.

Following B. Erman's classification of the functions of pragmatic expressions (on *the textual level* they serve for a) decoding of information, b) orientation in the discourse, c) regulation of turns; *at the interactional level* they function as a) hesitation markers, b) repair markers, c) markers of appeal) (Erman 1992) the discussed barbarisms function mostly on the textual level. They serve as a boundary between structural components of speech and mark the logical centre of the utterance. They can also acquire expressive meaning and can be connected with the hesitation factor.

In the role of DMs barbarisms show features that are not revealed in their traditional description. If one attempts to replace a Russian-origin barbarism with the corresponding Latvian word, in many instances the utterance would be obscured or incomprehensible altogether. A kind of exception might be **vot** for which the Latvian **tā, nu tā** in many cases would suit the context.

The present analysis shows that the Russian language interference in Latvian reaches beyond the lexical level and actually effects the whole communication process. Paraphrasing E. Sapir (Sapir 1949) a question may be raised: is it the psychological attitude of the Latvian speakers towards the foreign linguistic material that results in the receptivity to loan words, in this case barbarisms?

Barbarism is a mistake and beyond the stylistic level their use is highly problematic. From the point of view of language culture be it colloquial speech or literature they ought to be eliminated (Bušs 1982). Besides, there is always a possibility that the listener would not share and approve of the speaker's choice.

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Translated Reference Literature for Children in Latvia and Beyond

It happened like this: the grown-up had drawn pictures for the child several times and said: "this is a man", "this is a house", etc. And then the child makes some marks too and asks: what's this then? (Wittgenstein 1984:17e).

Reference literature for children is a picture of the world drawn for children by grown-ups: authors, translators, editors. As translated reference books outnumber the original ones in Latvia, a jig-saw puzzle of the world is put together by Latvian children mainly out of translated pieces.

In the binary opposition of fiction versus non-fiction, reference literature falls into the category of non-fiction. Due to the selection of facts included in the reference books, reference literature is pedagogic. As some scholars claim, though, referring to fiction, that all pedagogic art is poor (cf., for example, Lennart Helsing's point described in Oittinen 1993:41), can reference literature be defined as art? The question whether translated children's reference literature qualifies as art for children in Latvia will be considered in this paper.

Latvia is a country in transition from the former system dominated by all kinds of prohibitions to a new democratic one. As language is viewed as a key to cultural identity (Oittinen 1993:7), Latvians are adjusting their key to a new door to freedom and identity by removing all taboos, including the language-related ones, with eagerness and speed. Still, the cultural environment in Latvia puts restrictions on the freedom of a translator in the field of children's literature. As a translator, having received my work from the editor, I am faced with harsh realities of life in the form of editorial notes: some of the place names appear in an edited and adapted version as my original transcriptions have sounded indecent. Thus, for example, the name of the ancient settlement transcribed by me as *Čatal-Hujuka* is changed into *Čatal-Hjujuka* because *Hujuka*, the name closest to the original, has too close a resemblance to an obscene Russian word. It might have caused unwanted fun during a supposed-to-be

serious history class. This instance also shows that Russian culture still has an influence in Latvia. The editor has assumed that Latvian children know Russian slang. Thus, if we translate for children in Latvia we are in reality doing it for adults' convenience. In the Polish translation of "The Usborne Illustrated Atlas of World History" the same settlement is described as *Catal Hüyük*. Either Russian culture has less influence over the Polish one, or, compared to Latvia, adults exercise less "grown-up correctness" over their children in Poland. In Latvia we adopt adult's rules and impose our own values onto the children's world. We speak about democratization of the Latvian language, simultaneously developing new euphemisms. Very prominent figures of Chinese history should "change" their names before they appear on the pages of books about the history of the world published in Latvian, or they risk purists in the field of education replacing indecent letter combinations in their names with asterisks. In Latvian the name of the first president of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, which is traditionally transcribed as *Suns Jatsens* – if used in the possessive case -- makes one think of a dog. To avoid unnecessary associations, translators are encouraged to avoid the possessive case like "*Suna Jatsena prezidentūras laikā*" (which can be translated as "in the time of Dog Yat Sen's presidency"). Translation as cross-cultural communication, including both children and adult cultures, is handicapped by the above editorial considerations. The fact that children like to use their own vulgar language is described by Riitta Oittinen as "carnivalism of language" (Oittinen 1993:27,31). It is considered unacceptable by adults. By banning "carnivalism", grown-ups want to exercise their authority over children, making them easier to control and deal with.

Child culture, in Riitta Oittinen's terms, consists of two parts. One is an oral tradition of the society of children, the other is one that is adult-transmitted and approved (ibid.:15). The first is excluded from reference literature in Latvia as adults are afraid of it, the second gets much support and approval from editors.

Jan Huizinga, a researcher whose name itself is in danger of being changed by Latvian editors as it contains the same "dangerous" letter combination "hui", points out that "adult societies today place a high value on anything that is "true" (Oittinen 1993:16). While some of the adults are trying to improve the transcriptions of the SL names by removing them further from the "dangerous" originals, another group of

grown-ups is fighting battles for the "truth" by trying to improve long-established traditional transcriptions of Chinese and Arabic cultural words and bringing them closer to the SL originals. The situation in the field of Arabic cultural words has changed radically: we are quite accustomed to using *Islāms* and *Allāhs* instead of the earlier versions *Islams* and *Allahs*. Still, orientalists in Latvia cannot get the green light for some new transcriptions of Chinese cultural words. The fact that the change will create difficulty for children in finding further references in Latvian encyclopaedias, which contain traditionally spelt cultural words, is used as the main argument against the change. It should be noted that encyclopaedias available in Latvia do not contain most Oriental cultural words used in modern books for children. Thus, in reality, adults are fighting their own battles in their own interests. Though even rivals join forces to censor children's literature.

On the other hand, in some cases the above attempts to improve the transcriptions of Chinese cultural words are very reasonable. All Chinese cultural words included in Latvian encyclopaedias published under Soviet rule were translated from Russian, in fact, they were transcriptions of transcriptions. The same method is applied today, only the "relay", the language via which the words flow in, has changed from Russian to English. And the translators are producing transcriptions of transcriptions which sometimes are very far from the original. For example, a fabulous beast from China is transcribed as *Ky-lin* in English. Transcribed in Latvian as *Kailiņš*, it was not recognized by specialists of Chinese culture. After three days of research they traced the origin of the English transcription and suggested *Cjiliņš* as a transcribed and adapted Latvian name for the beast.

Rigidity of translation traditions in Latvia can be demonstrated by another example: the *Pharos lighthouse* is traditionally translated into Latvian as *Aleksandrijas bāka* (a translation which comes from Russian). A very important link is lost: the proper name *Pharos* has developed into a Russian common name (*fara*) for lighthouses and car headlights, and is borrowed and used in Latvian as well. Pointing to the fact that schoolchildren will need to look for further references in other encyclopaedias, editors still prefer *Aleksandrijas bāka*. A Polish translator of the same reference book translated *Pharos lighthouse* as *Faros latarnia morska*.

Problems of a different nature, though still related to rigidity of translation traditions in Latvia, appear when factual inaccuracies are traced in the original. For example, the text in the original runs, "*A Russian Cyrillic character – a variation of the Roman alphabet*", and a picture of the Russian letter *u* is added. The options of the translator are: 1) to translate the sentence leaving the inaccuracy, 2) to leave the inaccuracy and add a footnote saying that linguists consider that the Greek alphabet, not the Roman one, lay at the roots of the Slavic alphabet, 3) to find a compromise version, e.g., *Krievu kirilicas alfabēta zīme. Tas ir līdzīgs latīņu alfabētam (A Russian Cyrillic character. It resembles the Roman alphabet)*, 4) to translate the accurate part of the sentence and to omit the inaccurate one or 5) to correct the mistake. The first option is a throwback to Soviet times, when translators in Latvia were judged in terms of their faithfulness to the author. The second is faithful both to the author and historical truth but is not reader-friendly. The third is a compromise which fails to satisfy either the author or the reader. The fourth is a compromise which is slightly more faithful to the reader as it presents a true fact (*Krievu alfabēta burts for A Russian Cyrillic character*) but does not give any clue as to the origin of the alphabet. The last is faithful to the function of the given text which is to provide correct educational information in an artistic form. Latvian editors accepted the fourth option, to translate the accurate part of the sentence omitting the inaccurate one, while the Polish translator of the same text has corrected the inaccuracy: "*Rosyjska litera cyryliczna. Cyrylica oparta jest na alfabecie greckim*" (*A Russian Cyrillic character. The Greek alphabet lay at the roots of the Cyrillic one*). Thus, compared to the Polish case, the Latvian one is less adventurous and shows more faithfulness to the author and less faithfulness to the function of the text.

Taking into account a resurgence of the ideals of Christianity after the fall of communism in Latvia, I wanted to be very accurate in translating the chapters about symbols of Christianity in Miranda Bruce-Mitford's "The Illustrated Book of Signs and Symbols". The Virgin Birth was mentioned there in relation to the symbolism of an egg. I was amazed that the concept *šķīstā dzemdēšana*, Virgin Birth, does not exist in Latvian Catholic culture. The Catholic priest I consulted was embarrassed and suggested that I should not go further than Immaculate Conception. I would agree with Webster's Dictionary which states that the concept of Virgin Birth is often

confused with Immaculate Conception, at least in Latvia the concepts are really confused.

Thus, in Latvia, translation is both free and restricted by culture, traditions and space as well. Encyclopaedias, due to the printing peculiarities, need a 100 per cent correspondence between the length of the ST and TT, and, as all translations tend to be longer than the originals, explanatory translation can be used only at the expense of omissions in other parts of the text. That is a difficult choice as texts are generally very compressed. Further omissions can give rise to difficulties in understanding, causing the need for children to consult additionally other reference sources.

I compared translations of the "Encyclopaedia of Geography" by Lisa Miles into Latvian and into Russian. Surprisingly, the Latvian translation was more complicated than the Russian one. A Latvian translator had used a large number of unnecessary explanations, terminological additions and footnotes which were not added by the Russian translator. As a result a complicated Latvian text was produced. By having misunderstood the function of the text, instead of a children's book the translator had produced a piece of handicapped literature for adults. The translator, or an editor, had misinterpreted the function of a reference book and used the language of serious adult research literature. Even Latin terms were added to the Latvian translation, such as *Cumulus* for heap clouds. Can it be explained by a small nation's concern about the future of its coming generations? Latvians want to see their children more educated than they -- the parents -- are and actually make them into adults too early, thus depriving them of their childhood. Or does it have a simpler explanation? Translators and editors just do not know that tolerance for strangeness is lower in children's literature (cf. Oittinen 1993:78). Or else, a sophisticated language might be the means of making an impression on the adult audience and persuading them to buy a quite expensive book. The translation of the same book into Russian was cheaper, by the way.

Earlier, I hypothesized that there should be a certain degree of politicization in translation of reference literature for children. After a comparative analysis of the Russian and the Latvian translations of the "Encyclopaedia of Geography", I have to admit that there really was a certain degree of politicization, but not of the kind I expected. It turned out that the Russian translation was neutral, whereas the Latvian

one had some biased overtones, as for example, *Krievijas Federācija vai vienkārši Krievija* (*the Russian Federation or simply Russia*) where the Russian translation just had *the Russian Federation*.

Thus, in Latvia translated reference literature for children, though performing its informative, educational and artistic functions, can hardly be defined as art for children. Even having found themselves in an environment which urges them to re-adjust their "translation habits", translators and editors demonstrate many "old" ways of doing things. Translating reference literature for children in Latvia means coming to all kinds of compromises. And even if some of the children's reference literature in its translated version can hardly be defined as literature for children, I am sure that translators are aware of the forces pushing for change, as well as forces opposing change, and that they are capable of managing the change. Let us translate children's reference books in a language they understand, for they can always draw a picture of their world and ask us to explain it. Shall we always be able to explain it?

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Socio-cultural Studies: Do Phraseological Units Have a Role to Play?

Socio-cultural studies is one area of applied stylistics¹. Over the last decade there have appeared numerous research articles and text books focussing on language and culture. The study of socio-cultural features through language and literature is a new and interesting field (see Canale 1983; Bex 1988; McCarthy and Carter [1994] 1995: 174; Carter 1996). A cultural emphasis allows an understanding of how language encodes something of the beliefs and values held by the language user (see McCarthy and Carter [1994] 1995: 150).

The need for adequate cultural competence is also emphasized in many studies on translation, interpreting and the training of translation and interpreting skills. For instance, von Bardeleben (1999) points out that failure or inadequacy in comprehending the cultural context will bar or seriously hamper adequate translation into the target culture (see also Lambert 1994).

There are a number of approaches to culture and language. Canale (1983) speaks of socio-linguistic competence, which consists of applying socio-cultural rules of use and rules of discourse. Socio-cultural rules are concerned with the appropriacy of use with regard to such features as topic, roles, attitude and register. However, socio-linguistic appropriateness, including verbal and non-verbal communication strategies, is only one of the tasks in socio-cultural studies.

Carter stresses two basic points. Firstly, language is subject to constant change, it is dynamic, not static. New words evolve for new contexts. Secondly, "language simultaneously reflects and encodes social and cultural patterns" (Carter 1997: 6). Words may be chosen which openly reveal shifts in the cultural order, or they may be chosen subtly to reveal those same changes. However, the tight and mutually reinforcing relationship between language and society remains.

McCarthy and Carter speak about several definitions and understandings of the term *culture*². *Culture with a capital C* refers to the artistic achievements of a society. *Culture with a small c* refers to the habits, customs and the social behaviour and

assumptions about the world of a group of people. Literary texts can be exploited as a source of information about cultural practices, attitudes and the institutions of a society (see McCarthy and Carter [1994] 1995: 153). The authors also point out that the ability to comprehend a range of different kinds of jokes in any language, especially in a foreign language, marks an ability to fuse linguistic and cultural understanding (ibid.). *Culture as social discourse* refers to the social knowledge and interactive skills which are required in addition to a knowledge of the language system and which are part of the communicative competence (see o.cit.:151).

It is *culture with the small c* that presents interest for phraseology. A closer look at the stock of English phraseological units (PUs) reveals that the cultural element appears as part of their base form, that is, as part of phraseological meaning. Carter calls these phrases “culturally-rooted language” (1996: 12). He speaks about what we can learn about English culture from the idioms and fixed phrases which involve some reference to foreign, mainly European nations, e.g., *Dutch courage*, *it's all Greek to me*, *French leave* etc. which tell a lot about British insularity and distrust of foreigners. They are also connected with a history of wars against the French and the Dutch, a good number of which left the English defeated (see o.cit.: 10-11). Indeed, what strikes the eye is a series of PUs with the components *French* and *Dutch* in them. These PUs are England specific as they communicate the peripeties of English history. The cultural specificity of these PUs is revealing: it calls for an etymological and cultural insight to decipher and comprehend them. Thus, PUs with cultural elements in their make-up offer insightful information about history, relationships and attitudes between the countries involved.

This question is closely linked with the social function of language, the issue of language and identity³ and the reflection of identity through language. Changes in political and social life bring about changes in attitudes, and hence changes in language. Language is part of identity. Much can be learned about British identity from the use of language and phraseology, focusing on past heritage, present identity and its reflection in language⁴. A course in British studies alone without due attention to the use of language will hardly reach its aim, as “information-driven programmes rarely develop the skills necessary for cultural information and analysis” (see o.cit.: 10). PUs containing cultural references also display changes reflected in language. Some changes

Hamlet has terminated his business with Polonius and is dragging him away from the stage. The pun is visual. It seems to have had some practical significance, as there was no general curtain for the whole of the stage in Shakespeare's day (see Harrison [1939] 1963: 95). Thus the pun highlights some specific features of the Elizabethan playhouse. Shakespeare was an actor himself and he knew the circumstances only too well. Every scene began with an entrance and ended with an exit. In tragedies a funeral procession usually gave a fitting close or else the actor had to cope with the removal of the dead body himself. "Shakespeare faced some disadvantages in not being able to close his stage with a curtain: when a character was killed in the course of the action, the playwright had to devise a way of getting him off unless the corpse was to remain on stage for the rest of the play" (Chute 1976: 12).

The interpretation of this case of stylistic use calls for socio-cultural competence which includes social and cultural awareness of certain features in a society. Linguistic competence alone will not be sufficient to draw inferences from this instantiation. It is common knowledge that the genre of a work influences the language used, including PUs and their stylistic changes which are tailored to the needs of the genre. Another point to be aware of is that Shakespeare wrote his plays to be watched and not to be read, thus the visual effect should always be borne in mind when analysing his plays. A study in literary semantics is also relevant to the way a genre can exert an influence on the discursive use of a language element, in this case a visual pun on the PU.

The pun is supported by a number of cues: Hamlet is *set packing*, that is, he has to leave the stage, and he is *lugging* Polonius or, metonymically speaking, *his guts* off the stage. All this ties up with the instantial replacement *to draw* resulting in a pun sustained by *tugging* in the stage remark. The stage turns into an image in motion, as it were, and the pun acquires a visual effect.

Thus, it is evident that "literary text is an important vehicle for raising language awareness and for focusing on language and culture" (McCarthy and Carter [1994] 1995: 117). However, it is not only literary texts that call for socio-cultural awareness. This kind of use is conditioned by the given culture and the period, and by developments and changes in attitudes to many questions, for instance, gender issues. The trend of gender awareness in language is also manifest in the use of PUs, including

stylistic use. Let me look at the use of the PU **a male chauvinist pig**⁶. This PU appears in the headline of an article: "**Chauvinist Piglets**" (Women in Society 1980). Due to initial ellipsis the headline has not preserved the initial component, but as the article is published in a special women's edition, it is perfectly clear who the chauvinists are. This use is socially and culturally dependent. The stylistic use of a productive diminutive suffix makes the phrase even more derogative, conveying scathing satire. The article refers to fifth form pupils. Their attitudes rise to the surface during the discussion of the question of whether there is anything that boys are better at than girls, or girls better at than boys. Stylistic use may convey differing perceptions and become an element of social and cultural depiction. It is clear that the feminist movement has had a tremendous impact and a lasting effect on language use⁷. Different languages and cultures may express beliefs, attitudes and experiences in different ways and this also influences stylistic use.

In conclusion, socio-cultural studies is a challenging area by itself. The aim of teaching and training is to develop sensitivity to language and enhance social and cultural understanding (see Carter 1996: 11). Social, cultural and linguistic considerations are inseparable in creating cohesion and coherence in discourse. Stylistic use may reflect the culture and experience of the language users and the period. The culture element becomes part of phraseological meaning in discourse. Therefore cultural knowledge and awareness help to analyze and interpret PUs in actual use.

Notes

- ¹ I believe *applied stylistics* is a special area dealing with the practical utilization of the principles, discoveries and theories of language, literature and style. The emphasis on the applied value of a stylistic approach is of great importance for the development of teaching materials for language learning and the training of skills in various applied areas.
- ² *Culture* is generally defined as the set of values and beliefs which are prevalent within a given society (see McCarthy and Carter [1994] 1995: 150).
- ³ There are many ways that language can express social and ethnic identity. For language and identity see Crystal [1987] 1995: Ch. II.

- 4 The Latvian Academy of Culture in Riga offers a course *British Studies: Past Heritage, Present Identity and Language Change*.
- 5 *To bring to an end* means to terminate an action (see The Oxford English Dictionary in XII Volumes: 155 of vol. III).
- 6 *A male chauvinist pig* was a catchphrase of the early 1970s, associated with the women's liberation movement (see Cowie, Mackin and McCaig [1993] 1994a: 377). It has turned into a PU and has even developed an acronym: *an MCP* (see Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary for Windows 95 1996). For sexist language see Crystal [1987] 1995: 47.
- 7 Such questions are always culture specific and country specific. Gender equality is to a great extent part of Western culture, while the cultural traditions of Eastern Europe are still largely at the previous level, let alone some other continents. For instance, gender related stylistic use would be untypical of Latvian and a number of Eastern and Central European languages where, to my knowledge, the social and cultural context would not prompt this type of change.

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Perspektiven der funktionalen Translationstheorie am Beispiel der Übersetzung geisteswissenschaftlicher Texte

Im vorliegenden Beitrag geht es darum, zu verdeutlichen, was das Besondere an wissenschaftlichen Texten im allgemeinen und in verschiedenen Sprachräumen ist und welche Strategien für die Übersetzung wissenschaftlicher Texte verwendet werden können. In der Übersetzung ist der kontrastive Vergleich von Ausgangstext und Paralleltexten in der Zielkultur hilfreich bei der Wahl einer Übersetzungsstrategie.

Beim Vergleich von Phänomenen, also auch von Texten, erkennen wir viele Sachverhalte und Probleme in besonderer Schärfe. Der wissenschaftliche Ertrag kontrastiver Untersuchungen ist darin zu sehen, dass sie zur Überprüfung der Gültigkeit etablierter Theorieansätze und der Aussagekraft etablierter Methoden beitragen und die Entwicklung neuer Hypothesen, Theorien und modifizierter Verfahren anregen kann. Der kontrastive Vergleich zielt auf Herausarbeitung von Unterschieden in der Mikro- und Makrostruktur der Texte ab.

Vergleichendes Vorgehen ruft in der intuitiven Phase häufig Vorurteile hervor. In der akademischen Welt gibt es wie überall solche Klischees, auch bei der Beurteilung wissenschaftlicher Texte. Wenn deutsche Philologen Vorträge halten, gelten sie in England als seriös, aber trocken. Englische Philologen gelten in Deutschland als witzig und geistreich, aber irgendwie unseriös. Derartige Intuitionen sind erster Schritt zur Erforschung von Konventionen (vgl. Kußmaul 1998). Übersetzer müssen solche Konventionen kennen, um eine Entscheidung treffen zu können, ob sie sich an den Ausgangs- oder Zieltextkonventionen orientieren sollen.

Konventionen lassen sich durch kontrastive Untersuchungen von Textsorten erforschen. Bisher wurden vor allem Arbeitspapiere, Monographien, Zeitschriftenartikel, und Anthologiebeiträge untersucht. Als methodisch sinnvoll erwies sich dabei die Unterscheidung zwischen *Makro-* und *Mikrostrukturen*. Bezüglich der Makrostrukturen verspricht das Konzept der kulturspezifischen intellektuellen Stile übersetzungsrelevante Ergebnisse (vgl. Clyne 1991a, b).

Michael Clyne versucht kulturspezifische Idealtypen wissenschaftlichen Diskurses zu entwickeln. Er untersuchte deutsch- und englischsprachige Texte aus der Linguistik und Philosophie, indem er den Gedankengang der Texte herausarbeitete. Er stellte fest, dass englische Texte durch eine Tendenz zur Linearität und Symmetrie gekennzeichnet sind, deutsche Texte dagegen durch eine Tendenz zur Digressivität und Asymmetrie. Außerdem enthalten deutsche Texte weniger Organisationshinweise als die englischen, was dem Leser die Orientierung erschwert.

Johan Galtung (1985) hat kulturspezifische intellektuelle Stile herausgearbeitet. Es geht ihm anders als Clyne nicht um empirisch beschreibbare textuelle Makrostrukturen, sondern um intuitiv entworfene prototypische Idealbilder des intellektuellen Stils. *Intellektueller Stil* ist bei ihm ein komplexer Begriff. Ein Aspekt ist dabei der Denkstil, den Galtung metaphorisch darstellt. Der sachsonische Denkstil z.B. gleicht vielen kleinen Pyramiden. Er ist thesenorientiert und induktiv. Der teutonische Denkstil, der einer großen Pyramide gleicht, ist deduktiv und theorieorientiert.

Clyne (1991a: 383) schneidet die Frage an, wie sich diese Denkstile konkret in den Textstrukturen niederschlagen. Englische Texte sind aufgrund ihres induktiven Vorgehens und der leichteren Überschaubarkeit der "kleinen Pyramiden" eher leserorientiert, und der Autor trägt die Verantwortung für ihre Verständlichkeit. Deutsche Texte sind aufgrund ihrer Deduktivität und Theorielastigkeit mehr autorbezogen, und der Leser muss sich selbst die Mühe machen, sie zu verstehen.

Ein Vergleich lettischer und deutscher geisteswissenschaftlicher Texte wurde bisher kaum in systematischer Form durchgeführt. Der Vergleich psychologischer, pädagogischer und soziologischer Texte zeigt, dass lettische Texte auf der Makroebene ähnlich wie englische Texte induktiv und thesenorientiert sind. Auf der Mikroebene zeigen sie mehr Ähnlichkeit mit deutschem Stil, d.h. sie sind eher unpersönlich und enthalten weniger Ankündigungen, Rückverweise und Zusammenfassungen als englische Texte.

Die geisteswissenschaftliche Sprache ist wie eine jede Fachsprache in der Alltagssprache verankert. Diese Verankerung kann auch kulturspezifisch sein. Lettische wissenschaftliche Texte scheinen mehr in der Alltagssprache verankert zu sein, deutsche Texte zeichnen sich eher durch einen höheren Spezialisierungsgrad aus. Dies hat zur Folge, dass Begriffe in lettischen Texten mehr unscharfe Ränder haben, deutsche dagegen eindeutiger dem Kernbereich der jeweiligen Kategorie zuzuordnen

sind. (Beispiel aus der Psychologie dt. "Wohlbefinden" – lett. "Pašizjūta". Im Lettischen kann "pašizjūta" sowohl positiv als auch negativ sein, also ist das semantische Spektrum weiter angelegt als im Deutschen und Englischen.) Die bisherigen Untersuchungen dazu haben Hypothesencharakter. Weitere Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet sind wünschenswert. Viele Übersetzer werden mit den Problemen der Übersetzbarkeit lettischer wissenschaftlicher Texte konfrontiert, weil Lettland heute den Anschluss an die neuere internationale Wissenschaft sucht.

Die Art und Weise, wie wissenschaftliche Diskurse in verschiedenen Sprachräumen geführt werden und wie dies in den Texten niederschlägt, kann mit Hilfe des Top-down-Verfahrens (Snell-Hornby 1988) der übersetzungsrelevanten Textanalyse ermittelt werden. In den funktionalen übersetzungstheoretischen Ansätzen werden pragmatisch-funktionale Textanalysemodelle den rein sprachlich orientierten Modellen vorgezogen. Sie zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie die sprachlichen oder textinternen Aspekte des Texts in Abhängigkeit von den textexternen Faktoren seiner situativen Einbettung sehen, also im wesentlichen ein Top-down-Verfahren einem von den sprachlichen Elementen ausgehenden Bottom-up-Verfahren vorziehen. Die situative Einbettung der Texte im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs des jeweiligen Sprachraums erfordert vom Übersetzer eine Diskurskompetenz.

Innerhalb der Linguistik gewinnen immer mehr neuere Entwicklungen an Bedeutung, die sich in der Analyse keineswegs auf stilistische und grammatikalische Elemente beschränken wollen. So stellen interaktionistische Modelle die sozialen Aspekte der Textproduktion in den Mittelpunkt der Theoriebildung. Texte werden als Mittel zur sozialen Interaktion verstanden. Erfolgreiche Kommunikation bedeutet ein Aushandeln von Bedeutung (Nystrand 1986). Der Sprachwissenschaftler Siegfried Jäger hat unlängst (1993) Ansätze für eine sprachwissenschaftlich-diskurstheoretische Fundierung empirischer Forschung vorgelegt. Jäger plädiert für eine Linguistik, die bei der Untersuchung von Sprache und Texten die damit transportierten Inhalte stärker berücksichtigt. Die kommunikativen Funktionen und die Wirkungsweisen von Sprache und Texten können, so Jäger, ohne den Bezug auf ihre spezifische Bedeutung nicht angemessen erfasst werden (Jäger 1993: 10ff.).

Der Begriff *Diskurs* ist mittlerweile auch im Alltag weit verbreitet. Häufig ist mit Diskurs, so erläutert Jäger (ebenda), lediglich ein Wortwechsel oder eine sprachliche Äußerung bzw. eine entsprechende schriftliche Fixierung in einer Debatte

gemeint. Daneben gibt es explizit sozialwissenschaftliche Konzepte, in denen Diskurs als sprachliche Seite des Ensembles einer speziellen Wissensproduktion ("spezielle wissenschaftliche Diskurse"(vgl. Foucault 1988)) oder als rational argumentierende und öffentliche Debatte über bestimmte Gegenstände ("der allgemeine gesamtgesellschaftliche Diskurs" (Habermas 1988)) gefasst wird. Jäger definiert Diskurs als "Fluss von Rede und Text bzw. von Wissen durch die Zeit" (Jäger 1993, 153, 156). Diese recht offene Grundbestimmung erweitert Jäger um zusätzliche Merkmale. Bei Diskurs handelt es sich um eine artikulatorische Praxis, die soziale Verhältnisse konstituiert und organisiert (ebenda: 17). Diskursfragmente sind nicht primär als etwas Individuelles zu betrachten, sondern sind gesellschaftliche Produkte mit gesellschaftlichen Bedeutungen. Ein Diskurs transportiert die Bedeutungen, die sich in Texten niederschlagen. Das Top-down-Verfahren rückt diese Bedeutungen und ihre Einbettung in situativen Zusammenhängen ins Zentrum der übersetzungsrelevanten Textanalyse. Die mit dem Diskurs transportierten Inhalte werden als deklaratives Wissen im Übersetzerstudiengang im Rahmen von "Ergänzungs- und Sachfächern" angeeignet. Dieses Wissen wird jedoch immer ergänzungs- und anpassungsbedürftig sein. Bei der Vermittlung methodischer Fertigkeiten ist es wichtig, das erworbene prozedurale Wissen fest in einer Darstellung der Systematik des relevanten Sachgebietes zu verankern.

Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Mikrostrukturen sind die sogenannten metakommunikativen Äußerungen wissenschaftlicher Texte interessant. Dazu zählen z.B. Definitionen, Explikationen, Kommentierungen, Präzisierungen, Ankündigungen, Rückverweise und Zusammenfassungen. Kommentierungen und Verweise scheinen in deutschen und lettischen Texten gleichermaßen verbreitet zu sein, während Rückverweise und Ankündigungen in deutschen Texten häufiger sind als in lettischen. Das Autor-Leser-Verhältnis ist im Lettischen etwas persönlicher als im Deutschen. Typisch für lettische Ankündigungen ist die Verwendung der 1. Person Plural "mes", für deutsche Ankündigungen dagegen die Nennung des Buchs oder Kapitels als Subjekt oder eine Passivkonstruktion ("Das vorliegende Buch erörtert"/"Diese Frage wird im vorliegenden Buch erörtert"). Im Lettischen ist es nicht üblich zu sagen, dass ein Buch etwas tut, z.B. erörtert. Dagegen sprechen die sprachlichen Konventionen des Lettischen.

Der Übersetzer steht vor der Frage, ob er die Ausgangssprachlichen Konventionen beibehalten soll oder nicht. Für lettische Leser (und auch für englische) sind im deutschen Wissenschaftsstil verfasste Texte schwer lesbar und wenig akzeptabel. Nimmt man Akzeptanz als Maßstab, wird man bei der Übersetzung ins Lettische die lettischen Konventionen befolgen. Was soll dann aber in umgekehrter Richtung geschehen? Sollen lettische Texte durch die Übersetzung ins Deutsche zu asymmetrischen und unpersönlichen Texten werden? Ist der Übersetzer berechtigt, solche Veränderungen vorzunehmen? Die Skopostheorie bietet für solche Entscheidungen eine Hilfe. Der Übersetzer wird mit dem Auftraggeber absprechen, wie stark er den Ausgangstext im Hinblick auf die Erwartungen der Zielsprachigen Leser verändern soll. Daraus entsteht der Übersetzungsauftrag. Er könnte z.B. lauten: Bewahren Sie den linearen und symmetrischen Stil des lettischen Ausgangstexts sowie die Organisationshinweise, machen Sie aber die Darstellungshaltung unpersönlicher. Nicht so einfach lässt sich dagegen die Frage nach der Übersetzungsstrategie, d. h. nach der Ausrichtung der Übersetzung, beantworten. Soll das Translat Ausgangs- oder Zielsprachig orientiert sein? In der funktionalen Translationstheorie wird der Ausgangstext als Informationsangebot gesehen. Die translatorische Textproduktion als Expertentätigkeit wird durch den Skopos (Reiss/Vermeer 1984), also Zweck des Translats in der Kommunikationssituation der Zielkultur, bestimmt. Für die Ausbildung ergibt sich das Ziel, ein profundes Wissen um die Sprachverwendungskonventionen und Diskurskontexte in der Gesellschaft und auch die Erwartungen, die Texten entgegengebracht werden, zu vermitteln. Bei kulturübergreifender Kommunikation liegt es an den Translatoren, Verstehen zu ermöglichen, indem sie Informationen in Texten entsprechend dem Skopos und entsprechend den gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen in der Zielkultur neu organisieren. Für die Translationsdidaktik erfolgt daraus, dass die Bewusstmachung der Faktoren, die das translatorische Handeln beeinflussen, in den Mittelpunkt der Ausbildung tritt.

Summary

This paper deals with a comparison of humanities and social sciences texts style in German, English and Latvian, as well as translation problems that result from various "intellectual styles". Several research papers have been dedicated to the study of differences of micro and macrostructures in German and English (Clyne 1991 und

Galtung 1985). This paper shows that a particular trait of Latvian research text is its orientation to abstracts structure and the language imitates everyday language. However German research texts are oriented towards theory and high degree of professionalization of language. Functional translation theory presupposes orientation towards the target audience, thus when translating the intellectual style of target language culture should be taken into account. The translator must find his/her bearings in research.

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Tulkošana kā svešvalodu apguvi veicinošs faktors

Lingvistika vairs nav vienīgais valodas apguves un tās lietošanas izskaidrošanas modelis. Jau 1974. gadā krievu valodnieks un psihologs Leontjevs saka zīmīgus vārdus, kuri sasaucas ar aktuāliem mūsdienu zinātnes centieniem:

"Ir jāmeklē jauns ceļš, un to parāda psiholoģija " (Leontjev 1974: 34). Leontjevs, tāpat arī Vigotskis, uzsver, ka saprašana un runa vienmēr izpaužas kā individuāla un sociāla norise. Runas analīze vienmēr norit divējādā aspektā: ņemot vērā konkrēto situāciju, valodiskās darbības motīvu, saturu un formu, no otras puses, analizējot lingvistiskās vienības - fonēmu, zilbi, vārdu, teikumu utt.

1992. gadā Vīnes tulku institūts (Wiener Institut für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen) organizēja kongresu, kura tēma bija „Tulkošanas procesa izpēte kā starpnozaru disciplīna“ (Translation Studies - an Interdiscipline).

Starp- jeb interdisciplināritāte bieži tiek saukta par modess tendenci, taču no tās vairs nav iespējams izvairīties, ja kaut vai aptuveni jāraksturo tulkošanas un/vai valodas apguves process kopumā. Jebkurš no valodas lietotājiem atrodas noteiktā situācijā kultūrālā kontekstā. Kusmauls, Štolce, Kēnigs uzsver domāšanas un jaunrades procesa izpēti, kā arī kognitīvās lingvistikas, galvenokārt prototipu semantikas, kas papildināta ar *ainu un ietvara modeli (scenes-and-frames)*, lielo nozīmi aktuālu atziņu ieguvē par tulkošanas procesu.

Radošās darbības procesa izzināšanā sevišķi interesants ir īpašais *radošās domāšanas veids*, kura rezultātā rodas kreatīvs (jaunrades) produkts. Te netiek domāta tradicionālā, loģiskā binārā domāšana jeb t.s. "jā-nē" modelis, kas rodams dažādu datorprogrammu pamatā. Šī konverģentā jeb vertikālā domāšana jāpapildina ar *diverģento* [P.Kusmauls 1994, 1996a), b)] domāšanu. Diverģentajai domāšanai nav raksturīgs neviens kauzāli loģiskas domāšanas paraugs. Pastāv nevis viens, bet gan vairāki iespējamie risinājumi, tie ir mainīgi un var pāriet no vienas kategorijas citā, izmainīt kategorijas kā tādās un radīt jaunus pakārtojumus. Tulkotājs atraujas no burtiskā teksta un mēģina apzināti iztēloties tā jēgu, tādējādi izveidojot atsevišķu teksta daļu parafrāzi. Transpozīcija jeb leksikālās izteiksmes maiņa, risinot tulkošanas problēmas, nav nekas jauns. Bieži vien tomēr radošo risinājumu meklējumu ceļi tiek

aizstāti ar rutinētiem, burtiskiem tulkojumiem. Tieši šim faktam jāpievērš uzmanība, mācot svešvalodu. Tulkotie vingrinājumi, burtiski apgūtās sintakses formas, kurām kopš skolas gadiem tiek pieprasīts “pareizs” (attiecībā pret ko?), ar kontekstu nesaistošs tulkojums, ierobežo valodas apguvi. Tas ir galvenais vienpusīgi izprasts tulkotāju iebildums pret tulkošanas iesaistīšanu svešvalodas apgūvē. Argumentiem, kuri tiek uzskaitīti pret tulkošanas izmantošanu svešvalodu apgūvē, ir vēl spēcīgāki pretargumenti, kurus minēšu noslēgumā. Kēnigs (1997.g. iespiešanai nodotajā darbā 2.- 4. lpp.) veicis to analīzi un uzskaitījis, atļaujot secinājumus izdarīt pašiem valodniekiem un pedagogiem. Iebildes pret *tulkošanas izmantošanu svešvalodas apgūvē ir šādas:*

- Tulkojot nodarbībā tiek izmantota dzimtā valoda un tādējādi samazināts jau tā ierobežotais laiks aktīvai nodarbei ar svešvalodu;
- Tā tikai pavisam nedaudz varot sekmēt citu par būtiskām atzītu prasmju: lasīšanas, runāšanas, dzirdes uztveres, rakstīšanas pilnveidošanu;
- Saīdzinājumā ar citiem svešvalodu apguvei raksturīgiem vingrinājumiem, tulkošana esot pārāk kompleksa, un pārējās vingrinājumu formas tiekot atstumtas fonā;
- Tulkošanas kompleksitāte svešvalodu nodarbībās neatļaujot tās pilnībā īstenot, jo to (nodarbību) mērķis esot svešvalodas, nevis tulkošanas kompetences apguve;
- Kā semantizēšanas paņēmieni tas neesot pietiekoši efektīvi, jo novedot pie nepieļaujamām 1: 1 atbilstībām;
- Skolēni/studenti esot spiesti apzināti pārdomāt sakāmo arī tādos gadījumos, kur nepieciešami automātismi;
- Tas savukārt esot pārāk apgrūtināši skolotājiem, jo viņu pieredze šajā valodas produkcijas veidā neesot pietiekoša;
- Tulkošana neesot izmantojama kā kontroles forma, jo pilnībā neatbilstot teorētiskajiem testa formu nosacījumiem un tādējādi neesot piemērota, lai pārbaudītu svešvalodas kompetenci;
- Tulkojot no svešvalodas dzimtajā valodā, sapratnes process tiekot uzskatīts par tik dominantu, ka zūdot tulkošanas prasmes produktīvais aspekts;
- Tulkošana no dzimtās valodas svešvalodā skolēnus/studentus pārslogojot.

Iepriekš jau minēju teksta apzinātu iztēlošanos kā izejas punktu radošai tulkošanai. Arī svešvalodas apguve nav jāpasmiedz un jārealizē “lineāri”. Mācību

procesā jāveicina sensibilizācija attiecībā pret apgūstamo un arī dzimto valodu. Tas iespējams, izmantojot divvalodīgās svešvalodas mācību metodes (paātrinot kognitīvos procesus), trenējot valodas prasmes un iemaņas, kas ir noteicošais svešvalodu apguves mērķa realizācijā - valodas kompetences izkopšanā.

Vados pēc Henrici (1994:17) definīcijas, ka globālais mērķis svešvalodas apguvē - "valodas pārvaldīšana" sastāv no šādiem komponentiem:

- noteikta vārdu krājuma pārvaldīšana (atšķirīga apjoma atkarībā no līmeņa pakāpes);
- gramatisku struktūru pārvaldīšana (reciptīvi, produktīvi, noteiktos apstākļos - kognitīvi: apjoms un kompleksitāte atkarībā no līmeņa - dažādi);
- iesākumā visbiežāk lietoto verbalizēšanas paraugu (runas līdzekļi) pārvaldīšana, ar kuru palīdzību iespējams īstenot būtiskus (un - atkarībā no zināšanu līmeņa - vēlāk jāpārvalda arī tādi runas līdzekļi, kuri tiek lietoti retāk, bet sniedz iespēju iecerēto runas nolūku realizēt diferencētāk un niansētāk) runas nodomus (runas intencijas);
- kompleksas komunikācijas situācijas (=komunikatīvās prasmes), kuras sastāv no dažādiem atsevišķiem runas nolūkiem, un tām atbilstošo un producējamo tekstu veidu pārvaldīšana;
- paravalodisku (izruna, uzsvars) un ārpusvalodas (žesti, mīmika) izteiksmes līdzekļu pārvaldīšana, kur pēdējie iekļaujami mācību priekšmetā, ja tie būtiski atšķiras no atbilstošajiem līdzekļiem dzimtajā valodā, lai novērstu potenciālus starpkulturālus pārpratumus (piem., pretējā nozīme pamāšanai ar galvu Turcijā un Viduseiropā);
- pamatprasmju un iemaņu (kuras nosaka katrs atsevišķais tuvākais mērķis) pārvaldīšana:

dzirdētprasmes,

runātprasmes,

lasītprasmes,

rakstītprasmes.

Kā piekto pievienoju

tulkotprasmi.

Tulkošanu uzskatu par vienu no svešvalodu kompetences pamatiemaņām un prasmēm, kaut pārsvarā svešvalodu metodikā vēl joprojām tiek uzsvērtas un trenētas tikai pirmās četras.

Atbilstoši *ainu un ietvara modelim (scenes-and-frames)*, lasot svešvalodā, izpratnes fāzē mēs iztēlojamies "scenārijus" - "ainiņas", un izmantojam tās kā izejas punktu mūsu versijai valodā, uz kuru tulkojam. "Ainu" veido metaforiski komponenti.

Atbilstoši krievu valodnieku runas norises teorijām, katra runas darbība sākas ar iekšēju, pirmsvalodisku darbību, no kuras izriet ārējā valodiskā darbība. Valodiskā iekšējā procesa pārvēršanos ārējā Ļeontjevs (1971:152) attēlo kā garīgu 4 pakāpēs iedalāmu programmu:

- runas darbības motīva izveidošanās,
- iekšēja semantiski, sintaktiski un leksiski vēl nekonkrēta topošā izteikuma plānošana;
- plānota iekšēja orientēšanās uz realizējamās valodiskās darbības semantisko, sintaktisko un leksisko struktūru.
- eksplīcētais formulējums.

Vadoties pēc šīs teorijas, svešvalodu apguve skolēna apziņā pēc pirmās saskarsmes nenoris vis, pārejot no ieraduma uz kognīciju, bet gan otrādi. Pretstatā sintaktiski sakārtotajai ārējai valodiskajai darbībai iekšējā valodiskā darbība ir semantiski kompakta, gramatiski saīsināta, sākotnēji vārdu nozīmes tajā ir vēl izplūdušas, neskaidras. Te velkamas paralēles ar *fuzzy logic* un *scenes and frames* tulkošanas zinātnes sapratnes teorijām. Šai sakarā, atgriežoties pie svešvalodu apguves analīzes, jāpievērš uzmanība tam, ka, saskaroties ar grūtībām, svešvalodas apstrāde bieži vien notiek it kā interna tulkojuma veidā (Königs 1995:41 u.c. un Henrici 1994).

Kopš svešvalodu mācīšanās pirmsākumiem tulkošana svešvalodu nodarbībās tiek izmantota arī sapratnes kontrolei. Tāpat bieži vien valodas apguvi paātrina gramatikas skaidrojums dzimtajā valodā. Buckamms (turpat tālāk, kā arī Butzkamm 1980, 1989) šai sakarā dod apzīmējumu "skaidrojošā vienvalodība" ("aufgeklärte Einsprachigkeit") un uzsver, ka runāšanu/tulkošanu dzimtajā valodā svešvalodu nodarbībās var apzināti izmantot kognīcijas uzlabošanai.

Ne jau velti gramatikas-tulkošanas metode bija un vēl joprojām tiek veiksmīgi lietota. Svešvalodu apguves metožu attīstības gaitā tās elementi parādās arī alternatīvajās metodēs, piem., sugēstospēdijā un tās atvasinājumos, tādos kā psihopēdija (Baur 1990), kā arī *Community Language Learning*, kuru daudzi autori atzinuši par vienu no visefektīvākajām. Tā tiek apzīmēta par «mācīšanās un mācīšanas vispusīgu koncepciju», kas varētu šos procesus ievirzīt jaunā gultnē ...

Tulkošanas didaktikas mērķis ir rast ieskatu par tulkošanu un izmantot tos tās apgūvē (Königs 1995:41). Pagaidām vēl nav vienota uzskata par to, ka tulkošanai vajadzētu kļūt par ikdienišķu svešvalodu apguves mērķi.

Svešvalodu apguve nav iedomājama bez pastāvīga vārdu krājuma paplašināšanas. Tāpat ikvienam būs skaidrs, ka, lai pareizi izteiktos svešvalodā, tomēr vēl nepietiek ar vārdu skaitlisku mehānisku iegaumēšanu vien. Kēnigs (1995:45) iedala vārdu krājuma mentālo apstrādi trīs aspektos:

1. Kā mentāli tiek radīta nozīme?
2. Kā tiek iegaumētas leksikas vienības?
3. Kā leksikas vienības tiek izsauktas no atmiņas?

Iepriekš skartā svešvalodu apguves un tulkošanas procesu tematika ļauj saskatīt saskares punktus un izdarīt secinājumus, ka *nozīmi mēs radām virzībā no vispārīgā uz atsevišķo, konkrēto, resp., kādam vārdam piešķirtais sākotnējais semantiskais saturs ir ļoti plašs. Tikai, apgūstot un veidojot nākošos jēdzienus, sākotnēji pieņemtais jēdziens kļūst arvien konkrētāks, tā plašā nozīme sašaurinās un pamazām tās vietā iestājas konkrētā nozīme. Tātad nozīme tiek apgūta pakāpeniski.* Kēnigs vairāk pārstāv kontrastīvo valodas apguves hipotēzi, man tuvāka ir starpvalodu hipotēze, tomēr tam šoreiz nav izšķirošas nozīmes. Psiholingvistiskā pierādīts, ka ne katram vārdam tiek veltīta vienāda mentāla vērība. Sevišķi nozīmīgi visos šajos procesos ir tas, ka cilvēkam piemīt spēja atklāt un izprast arī vārdos nepateikto, tā saucamā inferēšana (inferieren), t.n., ka, domās veidojot kādu priekšstatu par kādu situāciju vai tekstu, tiek radīts nozīmes karkass (saīdināt ar psiholingvistisko tulkošanas teoriju raksturojumu).

Cilvēks vārdus un to nozīmes saista sarežģītā semantiskā tīklā:

- pēc to daļējas valodiskas saistības (kā piem., izteicienos);
- pēc to saistības ar kultūrvēdi (piem., metaforās);
- pēc individuālas determinācijas, kā to pierāda asociāciju izpēte.

Jo ciešākas un daudzpusīgākas ir atsevišķās saites starp kādu noteiktu jēdzienu un kādu citu jēdzienu, jo stabilāk šie jēdzieni un to nozīme tiek iegaumēta, un jo vieglāk tos izsaukt no atmiņas.

Svešvalodu apgūvē vārdu jāiemācās ne tikai kvantitatīvi, bet gan jāizveido pēc iespējas daudz dažādu asociatīvo sasaistes elementu. Atkārtoti apstiprinās ideja par

tēlaino (dažādu aspektu attēli (scenāriji) kā savienotājelements starp valodu un tēlu) atbalstu vārdu apgūvē.

Attiecībā uz atsevišķu vārdu un tekstu izpratni un tulkošanu atbilstoši psiholingvistiskajām teorijām valdošā ir asociatīvā un holistiskā domāšana. Arī tādēļ nedrīkstētu pārāk zemu novērtēt tulkošanas lomu svešvalodu apgūvē. Varu tikai piekrist Kēniga apkopotajiem argumentiem, kas runā par labu tulkošanas iesaistīšanai svešvalodas apgūvē, arī savā pedagogiskajā praksē esmu pārliecinājies, ka tie ir krietni pārliecinošāki par sākotnēji minētajiem negatīvajiem:

- Tulkojumā apzināti un uzskatāmi tiek parādītas struktūru atšķirības;
- Tiek samazināta negatīvās pārmešanas (transferēšanas) iespējamība svešvalodas produkcijā;
- Valodas apziņa tiek sekmēta gan dzimtajā valodā, gan svešvalodā;
- Svešvalodas tekstu fragmentu semantizēšanā tā ir neaizstājama, it sevišķi valodas apguves sākumfāzē, *jau tajā sensibilizējot valodas apguvēju attiecībā pret makro un mikrotekstu.*
- Tā veicina teksta sapratni un palīdz šo sapratni kontrolēt;
- Tā veicina niansētāka izteiksmes veida apguvi svešvalodā;
- Tā veicina jaunu svešvalodas leksēmu, to kombināciju un/vai struktūru iegūšanu;
- Tulkošanas izmantošana, pamatojoties uz attiecīgajiem tekstiem, aizkavē 1:1 atbilstību veidošanos;
- Tulkošana rada iespēju skolēniem/studentiem nodemonstrēt vienvalodīgo un divvalodīgo vārdnīcu iespējas un to robežas;
- Šajā vienā valodas prasmē integrējas arī pārējās, vērtējot no šī aspekta, tulkošana ir ļoti "ekonomiska".

Summary

Translation as a Factor Enhancing Foreign Language Learning

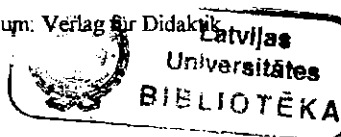
Leontyev and Vigotsky have stressed that speech analysis always involves concrete situation, motivation, contents and form as well as linguistic units - phonemes, syllables, words, sentences, etc. These aspects are to be taken into account when teaching foreign languages and when translating.

Kussmaul, Stolze and Höning stress study of thinking and creative processes as well as the role of cognitive linguistics, mainly prototype semantics, that is supplemented by scenes - and - frames models.

Translators consciously tries to visualize the sense by leaving the verbal text. Transposition or change of lexical expression is nothing new in solving problems, yet often routine literal translations can be seen. This fact should be paid attention to when teaching foreign language. Translation exercises, literal syntactic forms where since school years "The correct" translation was demanded (correct for what), contextually unbound translation limits language learning. This is the main objection of linguists against involving translation in language learning. Yet the opposite arguments are stronger. Translation is one of the basic skills of foreign language competence, though in foreign language methodology main attention is still paid to the other four.

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New Loanwords from Western Languages in Lithuanian: a Threat to National Identity?

The problem of loanwords has always been a great issue in Lithuanian; borrowing from Polish and Russian was often viewed in the past as endangering the quality and the very existence of the national language. And this is not surprising for a small country, trying to survive in the neighborhood of big nations and to preserve its most archaic Indo-European language. With the restoration of independence in 1991, the flow of new loanwords from Western languages, mainly from English, but also from German and French, is again seen by many linguists as a serious threat to the purity of the Lithuanian language, and at least implicitly having some negative effect on life-style, morals and national identity. This awareness appears to have increased in recent years and is now affecting languages (such as German), which have been, since 1945, largely free of purist trends. Is this really the case of Lithuanian, and if so, should something be done to prevent this?

All languages borrow words from other languages, and Lithuanian is no exception to this. It has never been as pure as Hungarian, Icelandic or Estonian, which have very few loanwords, neither has it borrowed as heavily as English (about 75% of its vocabulary is borrowed stock), or Armenian, in which only 23% of the words are of native origin or Albanian, where the native words account for just 8% (Veisbergs 1998:126). Like Latvian, Lithuanian, in the past, has mostly borrowed from Slavic languages (Russian, Byelorussian, Polish) and German. According to Veisbergs, the borrowed element in Latvian is supposed to be about 50% (Veisbergs 1998:142). Half of these borrowings are international words, i.e. words present in at least 3 main groups of the European languages - Romanic, Germanic and Slavic. In Lithuanian the situation is as follows: the *Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian* (1972) contains 1.5% words of Slavic, 0.5% of Germanic origin, the other loanwords being international words (Sabaliauskas 1990: 229; 259).

The scope of borrowing in Lithuanian was different at different times, and so was the willingness on the part of the language community to accept and use

loanwords. During the Soviet occupation linguists were supported by the better part of society in their attempts to preserve Lithuanian from Russian influence. However, even the joint effort was not quite enough to prevent the appearance of numerous loanwords, various hybrids and calques (translation and semantic loans) in the language. Vida Rudaitiene, Aldonas Pupkis and other Lithuanian linguists point out that it was during this period that Lithuanian society 'stopped thinking in Lithuanian' (Pupkis 1994:6), got into a habit of 'blindly following other languages, couldn't learn their own language properly because of practically bilingual conditions and because of the degradation of the spiritual culture of the nation' (Rudaitiene 1996:39). The lack of unity among the linguists was also pointed out as a reason for lowering language standards, which was also true, though not equally important.

The influence of English on other European languages as well as world-wide has increased tremendously since 1945. In the past ten years in particular it has expanded much more thoroughly than ever before into the languages of countries behind the Iron Curtain. With the restoration of Lithuania's independence and disappearance of long-term isolation from Western Europe, borrowing has changed its direction westwards, affecting the vocabulary of the language, but also endangering original Lithuanian pronunciation, morphological structure and even syntax. English, German and French have changed their previous status as solely cultural contact languages to direct contact languages. The Internet and mass media have added to the creation of the global culture, which has been reflected in the language.

Psychological causes were quick to join the social ones. The attitude adopted towards the new loanwords by most members of society, especially by the younger generation, was radically different: to use new loanwords meant to be modern, progressive and 'cool'. This way 'hamburgers', 'cheeseburgers', 'chips', 'darts', 'digests', 'horrors', 'hotels', 'hotdogs', 'cornflakes', 'leggings', 'immobilizers', 'labels', 'organizers', 'pubs', 'pampers', 'posters', 'steaks', 'sponsors', 'teenagers', 'weekends', 'timers', 'screenings', came into Lithuanian, to name but a few. In the dictionary *New Loanwords from Western Languages* (Rudaitiene, Vitkauskas 1998) about 530 such words have been recorded. In some cases linguistic community did not have much choice because the phenomena, things, etc. were new and there was no Lithuanian word for it. This was especially true of certain spheres of life, i.e. such

specialized fields as international trade, banking, law, computerese, sports, business, politics, fine art, pop music, fashion, and food, so words *akcizas, dividendas, emitentas, investicija, subsidija, failas, serveris, opcionas, lizingas, ofšorinis, peidžeris, ovedraftas, fjučeris, barteris, CD, DJ, marketingas, impičmentas, mass media, skinhedas, pleiofai, armrestlingas, bereitorius, holbolas* and numerous others came into use.

Some of them, like *investicija, akcija, birža*, etc. had been used before but were almost completely forgotten during the Soviet times. Now quite a lot of them have been re-adopted, and most linguists do not seem to have a problem with them—they are accepted as recognized international words. It is the new loanwords that the linguists are most worried about, and sometimes for a very good reason, because their influence on the Lithuanian language is obvious.

First, new loanwords are used even if an object/phenomenon has an original Lithuanian name, e.g. Lithuanian *ūkininkai* all of a sudden became *fermeriai*, i.e. 'farmers', our shops *universalinė/savitarnos parduotuvės* turned into *supermarketas*, *šventės* 'festivals' must have acquired a new flavour being called *fiestos*, all employees, who used to be referred to as *tarnautojai* became *klerkai* 'clerks', and all chiefs, heads, etc. which we used to call *viršininkai* are now addressed as *bosai* and *šefai*. It is fine if some of these are used occasionally as a stylistic device or when one talks about foreign countries and their realities, i.e. as foreignisms, otherwise they acquire a shade of irony, e.g. *Lietuvos fermeriai didesni kapitalistai negu amerikiečiai* (Rudaitiene, Vitkauskas 1998:63). '*Lithuanian farmers are better capitalists than the American ones*'. It is difficult to imagine a real farmer in Lithuania yet, most of them stemming from notorious Soviet collective farmers in the very recent past, so the native words *ūkininkas* or *valstietis* much better define representatives of this social class, unless one wants to express the ironic attitude. Another example:

O boso priėmimo į darbą strategija labai paprasta – neišleisti į firmą jaunų ištekėjusių moterų (Rudaitiene, Vitkauskas 1998:42). '*While bosses use very simple employment strategies – they simply do not employ young married women*'. Again, the use of the word *bosas* instead of original Lithuanian synonyms *viršininkas, vadovas, darbdavys*, etc. gives the sentence an ironic (sarcastic?) shade which was probably not intended, because the sentence is taken from a serious sociological study.

Vida Rudaitiene, one of the authors of the above mentioned dictionary of *New Loanwords*, also points out that sometimes old international words, such as *genocidas*, *homoseksualistas*, etc. are substituted by new loanwords (in this case *holokaustas*, *gėjus*) (Rudaitiene, Vitkauskas 1998:18). This is viewed as violation of principles of linguistic constancy and stability; it may be added that the principle of clarity is also at stake here: how is one supposed to know if the same or two different things are meant by *genocidas* and *holokaustas*, *homoseksualistas* and *gėjus*, *rokeris* and *baikeris*, by *autosalonas* and *automarketas*?

Second, the same new loanword is often spelled in different ways: some reflect the original spelling, others are transliterated, still others are transcribed, abbreviated, or have Lithuanian endings added, etc. Thus we can find both *didžėjus/diskžokėjas/disko žokėjas/disko žokėjus*, *bendas/bandas*, *leiblas/leiblis/leibelis*, *lizingas/lysingas*. Linguists are not happy with the situation, while users of the language are simply confused. The situation is not much better in spoken language- it could be described as chaotic. Loanwords are pronounced in various ways, while foreign phonemes tend to affect Lithuanian sound system.

Third, new loanwords stimulate word-building patterns that are not typical of Lithuanian: *-man*, *-maker*, *-land* and others added indiscriminately sometimes create funny situations, e.g. *biznesmenas*, *bliuzmenas*, *džiazmenas*, *šoumenas*, *polismenas*, *rokmenas* and *barmenas* are fine as long as they define persons of male sex, but when it is a woman, it sounds funny in Lithuanian, where gender category is still very distinct. Then *barmenė*, *šoumenė*, *rokmenė* are used, which is even worse with a feminine ending.

Finally, new loanwords undergo some semantic changes in Lithuanian. This has always been considered a problem closely linked with other issues of transference linguistics. Janina Švambarytė points out that a tendency to expand the meanings of loanwords, especially internationalisms, is a natural one; during its travels across Europe, a word might, in her view, accumulate some new meanings (Švambarytė 1997:22). Thus sometimes new loanwords in Lithuanian substitute original Lithuanian words with more specific meanings, and sometimes acquire meanings they do not have in the language of their origin, joining the group of the so-called interpreters' 'false friends' (deceptive cognates or lexical pseudo equivalents). The English noun *show*

can be given as an example of the first case, when it is used as a substitute for such Lithuanian words as *reginys* 'a sight', *renginys* 'a function', *spektaklis* 'a play, performance', *šventė* 'a festival', *paroda* 'an exhibition', *pramoginė laida* 'a pop programme on TV, radio' etc. The expansion of meaning of loanwords includes metaphorization by means of a foreign language, and this is again viewed by many linguists as a failure of a small nation to employ the internal resources of the native language. The claim is that linguistic principles of stability, purity, preciseness and correctness are being disregarded. The word *voucher* can be given as an example of 'a false friend'; it is used in Lithuanian to denote securities, travellers cheques or even package holiday tickets. On our television one can often hear *intelligent* ('protingas') translated as *intelligentiškas* ('cultured'), *sympathy* ('užuojauta') interpreted as *simpatija* ('a liking'), *minister* always only as *ministras* ('State Secretary') instead of *kunigas* or *pastorius* ('a priest'). All this adds to the confusion and misunderstanding which all languages try to avoid. People often do not know or do not care to find out the exact meaning(s) of a foreign word and either expand the meaning of the word without any good reason or rely on the 'false friends' and are bitterly disappointed.

From what has been said above about the new loanwords in Lithuanian, one may come to the same conclusion as Lithuanian philosopher Krescencijus Stokus, who has put it this way: 'Customs, traditional tastes, language and decency norms, tact, politeness, duty, faithfulness, responsibility, and education are turned into objects of ridicule as soon as they are found standing in the way of commercial interests' (Stoškus 1996:14). Have we really changed from 'homo sovieticus' into 'homo mundialis'? Is this really happening in Lithuania and society does nothing to protect its language, and through it, its culture and national identity?

Every revolutionary change, (and what happened in Lithuania when it seceded from the Soviet Union has been defined by many as a 'singing revolution'), is characterized by strong reactions and confusion. Linguists had to be careful, as the danger to the vocabulary and structure of the language, as well as to the prestige of Lithuanian, was sensed. The Law on State Language, passed among the first after the restoration of independence, provided legal opportunities to take care of Lithuanian, to preserve it and to prevent all the tendencies that have been discussed. The State Committee for the Lithuanian Language and Language Inspection were established to

ensure the implementation of the above mentioned law. Language inspectors, together with Language consultants in municipalities, have been conferred the right to punish public offenders of the Lithuanian language. Linguistic Consultancy Centers have appeared in major Lithuanian cities of Vilnius, Kaunas and Šiauliai, and in 1996 a compulsory Lithuanian Language course was introduced in all universities, colleges and vocational training schools. All state employees are obliged by the same law to be able to speak and write standard Lithuanian. We may conclude that the language is well protected legally. On the other hand, borrowing is a universal linguistic phenomenon, which can hardly be stopped by state decrees or punishment. The only way it can be controlled and kept within reasonable limits is by drawing the language community's attention to the excessive cases, by offering better solutions and by allowing the community to choose. Public opinion is a very important factor which must be taken into consideration. Jurga Girčienė says: *'It is better not to prohibit, but rather to name an object and allow people to make choices. Ideal language in all societies and all times was a sign of elite and an asset. An opportunity to choose would diminish the hostility of a certain part of society towards linguistic purity and real usage would at least slightly approach the ideal'* (Girčienė 1997:5). The following list presents Lithuanian substitutes for the new loanwords almost universally accepted by the language community:

- akceptuoti (to accept): apmokėti (to pay), pritarti, sutikti (to agree)
- apetaizeris (appetizer): skanėstas (smth.tasty), užkanada (a snack)
- autas (out): užribis (beyond the boundary)
- barteris (barter): natūriniai (prekių) mainai (natural goods exchange)
- body: glaustinukė (a *cuddler)
- boileris (a boiler): virintuvas (a boiler), šildytuvas (a heater)
- bosas (a boss): vadovas (a leader), šeimininkas (a host), pirmininkas (a chairman)
- brifingas (briefing): trumpa spaudos konferencija (a short press conference)
- bukletas (a booklet): lankstukas (a folder)
- burgeris (a burger): suvožtinis (a *coverlet)
- komfleiksai (cornflakes): kukurūzų dribsniai (*corn drops)
- čarterinis reisas (charter flight): užsakomasis reisas (booked flight)
- čipsai (chips): bulvių traškučiai (potato crisps)

čyzburgeris (cheeseburger): sūrainis
 dartai, dartsai (darts): smiginis, smigis, smigė (*a piercer)
 distributorius (distributor): platintojas, skirstytojas, įgaliotinis (an authorised person)
 e-mail, imeilas: elektroninis paštas (electronic post)
 failas (a file): byla (document collection)
 fanas (a fan): sirgalius, gerbėjas (an admirer), aistruolis (a passionate supporter)
 fiskalinis (fiscal): išdo (treasury)
 fjučeris (futures, fin. transactions): būsimasis sandoris (a future transaction)
 fritiūrinė (a deep fryer): gruzdintuvė (*a crisper)
 fryzeris (freezer): šaldiklis
 gėjus (a gay): žydrius, žydrasis (light blue)
 hamburgeris: mėšainis
 holokaustas: žudynės (a massacre)
 hospisas (hospice): slaugos namai/ligoninė (care home/hospital)
 hotdogas (hot dog): dešrainis (a sausage sandwich)
 imidžas (image): įvaizdis
 impičmentas (impeachment): apkalta (accusation)
 indorsuoti (to indorse): remti, palaikyti (to support)
 klipas (a clip): reklaminius filmukas (a short advertising film)
 lizingas (leasing): išperkamoji/ilgalaikė nuoma (a long-term rent)
 mass media: žiniasklaida (news dissemination)
 menedžmentas (management): vadyba, valdymas
 monitoringas: priežiūra (supervision)
 miusliai (musli): javainiai (cereals)
 organaizeris: užrašinė (notebook), dėklė (a file)
 pampersai: sauskelnės (dry pants)
 pleiofai (play-off): atkrintamosios rungtynės
 puzlis, pūzlė (a puzzle): dėstas, delionė, dėstinis (all with the root dėti 'to put')
 serfingas (serfing): banglenčių sportas (*wave board sport)
 skeitbordas (skateboard): riedlentė (a *rolling board)
 skryningas (screening): atranka (selection), rūšiavimas (selection according to the type)
 tosteris (toaster): skrudintuvas

vykendas (weekend): savaitgalis

vindserfingas (windsurfing): burlenčių sportas (*sail board sports)

vaučeris (voucher): kelialapis, kelionės čekis (travel cheque)

volkmenas (walkman): ausinukas (a small hearing aid)

Words marked with an asterisk are nonexistent in English and are direct translation calques. Where no English translation is provided, the Lithuanian word is a calque from English.

Not all the substitutes suggested by our linguists are automatically accepted by the language community, e.g. *know-how* is still very often used instead of *pažangioji patirtis*, *gamybos paslaptis* or *technologijos naujovė* 'progressive experience, production secret or technological novelty', *Korektorius* 'corrector' is not substituted by *korektūros skystis*, *uždažas* 'correction liquid or paint over', and only the most puristic ones would use *kištukinis lizdas* 'a nest for a plug' instead of a foreign *rozete* 'a socket'. As can be seen, borrowed words can be assimilated fully or partially or can retain their alien character for a long period of time. This can be reflected in both spelling and 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. This is again a universal linguistic phenomenon, and Lithuanian should not be an exception to the rule: borrowing alone cannot undermine the basics of a language.

New loanwords, on the other hand, can be viewed as means of enrichment of the language. Globalization of culture, the absence of the Iron Curtain, progress in the sphere of science and contemporary means of communication brought into our lives so many new objects and phenomena that it would have been difficult to give all of them completely new original names in every language. There are no objections to the words *džinsai* 'jeans', *kompiuteris* 'computer', *pudingas* 'pudding', *steikas* 'steak', *portfelis* 'portfolio' and others which have become an inseparable part of our daily life. The language is also enriched by word-building and semantic loans, such as *šaldiklis* 'freezer', *įvaizdis* 'image', *skrudintuvas* 'toaster', *savaitgalis* 'weekend', *virintuvas* 'boiler', *elektroninis paštas* 'email', *žvaigžde* 'a star', *pelė* 'a mouse', *smegenų*

mutekėjimas 'brain drain', *mėlyna kojine* 'blue stocking', *geltonoji spauda* 'yellow press', *muilo opera* 'soap opera', *paskutinis mohikanas* 'the last of the Mohicans', etc.

New loanwords cannot be a serious threat to the national identity only because of their number. Sometimes it seems that they are all over the place, but their amount (1,500 old loanwords from English, plus 530 recent ones) compared to the whole stock of Lithuanian vocabulary is really insignificant: obviously they cannot cause a real threat. They may dominate for a certain period of time but the language will take care of their assimilation and restoration of the natural balance. Most European languages face a similar situation: there are about 3,500 loanwords from English in present-day German, about 6,000 in Danish, 4,000 in Norwegian, 3,000 in Spanish, 1,500 in Russian, 1,600 in Polish, 1,900 in Croatian (Gorlach 1999:147-154), so new loanwords in Lithuanian are well within European limits.

It is only natural to expect the increase of borrowing in the global village that the contemporary world has become. American anthropologist Jonathan Friedman (Friedman 1994:95) sees a reverse relation between civilization and cultural/national identity cycles: globalization of the world means a decline in cultural and national identity. That is why one should be careful to maintain a certain balance between national and international/global in a lot of spheres of life, language among them. Perhaps purist tendencies exhibited by our linguists help to maintain it. On the other hand, language, according to the famous sociolinguist William Labov, is 'a dynamic paradigm: it is not a static structure, but a dynamic social system, which is continuously moving, changing, interacting, and working' (Labov 1999:381). It changes together with its bearers, the nation, and only reflects its life. The very concept of the national identity has acquired new implications at the end of the second millennium, and who knows how it is going to develop in the third one?

Linguists prefer stable and well defined corpora, the words which allow clear statements about their status - 'native' or 'foreign', accepted loanwords or rejected aliens, and codified spellings, morphologies, meanings and style values. None of these conditions are easily met in case of recent loanwords, least of all if the foreign words come in through channels that are difficult or impossible to control, are spoken rather than written, and are part of the jargon of certain sections of society (in the case of

young people, criticism is rather an evidence of a generation conflict). And yet the job of linguists should be not so much in worrying about the impact of these words, but in collecting the evidence, since the evidence available synchronically to the participant observer is fleeting, it will be lost in a short time - largely lost even from the memories of its present users.

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“Komunikācijas morāles” jautājumi valodu mācīšanā

Komunikācijas procesā cilvēki savstarpēji ietekmē viens otru. Ikdienas saziņas runas situācijas (atšķirībā no masveida komunikācijas) ir vērstas uz tiešākām cilvēku starppersonu attiecībām. Tādām situācijām raksturīga runātāja — klausītāja lomas maiņa un saziņas partneru tiešākas attieksmes un vērtējums, kā arī uzvedības, emociju, nostādņu un aktivitāšu mijiedarbība. S. Omarova norāda uz vairākām svarīgām saskarsmes funkcijām (1994: 10,11):

- **regulatīvā funkcijā**, kurā realizējas partneru savstarpējā iedarbība un ietekme,
- **izziņas funkcija**, kurā cilvēki iegūst zināšanas par sevi, viens par otru un kopīgiem uzdevumu risināšanas ceļiem,
- **ekspresīvā funkcija**, kas saskarsmē ļauj tās dalībniekiem izpaust savas emocijas un pārdzīvojumus, izteikt savas attieksmes pret notiekošo, faktiem un partneri,
- **sociālās kontroles funkcija**, kas realizējas kā pozitīvu vai negatīvu sankciju komplekss pret partneri, lai ietekmētu viņa uzvedību,
- **socializācijas funkcija** izpaužas kā personības veidošanās saskarsmes procesā.

Gandrīz visu šo funkciju īstenošanai nepieciešami valodiskie līdzekļi. Komunikanta mērķis ir iedarboties uz runas partneri, lai ar to realizētu kādu tiešu vai pastarpinātu mērķi. Arī klausītājs nav tikai pasīvs informācijas uztvērējs. Viņš pauž noteiktu attieksmi pret dzirdēto, adekvāti uz to reaģē un ar savu līdzdalību sarunā virza vai maina dialoga diskursīvo attīstību.

Runātājam jāapzinās sava atbildība par to, lai saziņas partneri viņu saprastu pareizi; izteiktā informācija būtu patiesa, tā būtu klausītājam vajadzīga, tiktu respektēta percipienta (klausītāja) personība, dzimums, vecums, izglītība, etniskā piederība un citi nozīmīgi apstākļi. Kā visas cilvēku savstarpējās attiecības, arī saziņu var novērtēt no labā un ļaunā, pieņemamā — nepieņemamā, atzīstamā — noraidāmā u.tml., t.i., morālo normu viedokļa. Runātāja izturēšanās, runas veids un saturs var ietekmēt klausītāju ne tikai informatīvi un psiholoģiski, bet skart arī viņa vērtīborientāciju un morāli.

Daudzās komunikatīvās situācijās izteiktā informācija var maldināt, aizvainot, satraukt, pazemot vai, tieši otrādi — iepriecināt, iedrošināt, pamudināt, patīkami pārsteigt u.tml. Dažādas satura nianses izsaka ar komunikatīvām situācijām raksturīgiem eksponentiem — noteiktām frāzēm, izteikumiem vai parauga teikumiem. Taču līdzās šo eksponentu tiešajām informatīvajām nozīmēm saziņas laikā runātāji apzināti vai neapzināti var paust arī slēptu papildinformāciju — nozīmes pārnesešus, mājienu, zemtekstus u.tml. Var gadīties, ka sarunā ir izteikta viena informācija, bet iecerēta pavisam cita. Piemēram, glaimojot vai izsakot partnerim komplimentu, runātājs ievēro runas etiķeti un pieklājības normas (*Man ir ļoti patīkami..., Prieks tevi redzēt...*), bet patiesībā pret sarunu biedru izjūt pilnīgu vienaldzību vai pat nepatīku (*Ko viņš no manis grib? Kāpēc viņš ir atmācīš?*). Tāda veidā attieksmē pret partneri viņš izturas amorāli — liekuļo vai slēpj no viņa savu īsto attieksmi.

Arī saskarsmes veidi var būt dažādi: vienā gadījumā pievēršam partnerim pastiprinātu uzmanību, demonstrējam cieņu, izsakām komplimentu vai demonstratīvu laipnību, citā savukārt atļaujamies pavēlošu vai neiecietīgu izteiksmes formu, un ar to sarūgtinām vai atbaidām partneri no tālākās sarunas. “Bieži pārtunas pārvēršas par divu pušu savstarpējo cīņu ar mērķi uzvarēt. Priekšstats, ka uzvarēs stiprākais, nepiekāpīgākais, nosaka attieksmi pret sarunu biedru, uztverot to kā pretinieku vai pat ienaidnieku. Mēs neizjūtam nepieciešamību ievērot otra intereses, rūpēties par viņa psiholoģisko komfortu. Mēs uztveram sarunu biedru kā personu, kurai neuzticamies, jo varam tikt piekrāpti, arī paši cīņās sparā varam piemānīt pretinieku” (Lapiņa, Rudiņa 1997: 45).

Runa reizēm var likties ārēji neitrāla, bet ietvert apslēptu ironiju, smalku izsmieklun un pat melus (piemēram, situācijā, kad apsolām partnerim nākotnē piezvanīt, uzrakstīt vai viņu apciemot, zinādami, ka to noteikti nedarīsim). “Veiksmīga sadarbība nebūs iespējama, ja partneris zaudēs vai jutīsies zaudētājs, piekrāpts, pazemots. Par šādu vienpersonisku “uzvaru” nākas dārgi maksāt nākotnē” (Lapiņa, Rudiņa 1997: 45).

Gadās arī situācijas, kad izteikums tiek nepareizi saprasts, klausītājam neliekas pieņemams kāda runas stils, intonācija, tonis vai izturēšanās. Runas laikā uz klausītāju iedarbojas arī dažādi blakus faktori — runātāja poza, žesti, nūmika, vizuālais kontakts, saskarsmes distance, vides īpatnības u.c. Informācijas kvalitāti var ietekmēt arī komunikatora runas maniere: tā var būt pārāk steidzīga, saraustīta, lēna, nekonkrēta, abstrakta, adresātam nepiemērota u.tml. Klausītājs, kura valodas ziņošanas nav pārāk

labas vai arī kurš labi nepārzina tēmu un neizprot runas situāciju, šādos gadījumos var ne tikai zaudēt sarunas pavedienu, bet arī izjust psiholoģisku un morālu disharmoniju. "Grūti saprotama vai pārprotama teksta autors šķiež sabiedrības locekļu laiku un garīgo enerģiju, apgrūtina viņus, nodara tiem ļaunumu, tātad — rīkojas amorāli" (Ceplītis 1980: 6).

Savukārt komunikators, kurš labi pārvalda saziņas mākslu, spēj ne tikai vieglāk un skaidrāk izteikt savas domas, bet arī virzīt partneri uz abām runātāju pusēm izdevīgu sarunas mērķi. Kompetents valodas lietotājs kontrolē runas situācijas, izturas iecietīgi pret runas partnera valodas kļūdām, neprecizitātēm vai nezināšanu, visiem līdzekļiem veicina sarunas norisi uz līdzvērtīgiem un godīgiem attiecību principiem. Viņš spēj savlaicīgi plānot vai mainīt runas stratēģiju, novērst pārpratumus, nenoteiktību un pārrāvumus informācijas pārraidē. Pat gadījumos, kad sarunas saturs ir relatīvi nenozīmīgs, svarīga ir spēja radīt vizuāli patīkamu iespaidu. Ir daudz situāciju, kurās runas saturam, prasmei virzīt dialogu un partneru izturēšanās manierei ir gandrīz vienlīdz svarīga nozīme, piemēram, lietišķās sarunās, publiskās debatēs, risinot problemātiskus darba vai privātos jautājumus.

Saziņas morāle regulē runātāju uzvedību, izturēšanos un savstarpējās attieksmes no vērtīorientācijas viedokļa. Normas, noteikumi, etiķete un citi saziņas likumi palīdz ne tikai precīzāk realizēt dažādus komunikatīvos uzdevumus un mērķus, bet arī veicina saskaņu un empātiju cilvēku attiecības.

Runātāja komunikatīvie nolūki var izpausties dažādos valodiskās rīcības modeļos. Valodas mācīšanas praksē visizplatītākais ir **kontaktveidojošais** saziņas modelis. Tas izpaužas kā prasme iesākt, uzturēt un pabeigt sarunu, apvaicāties/izrādīt interesi un pieskaņoties partnerim, atrast visiedarbīgāko sarunas turpinājumu un veiksmīgāko nobeigumu. Kontaktveidojošais saziņas modelis var izpausties kā

- *sociāli rituālā komunikācija*, kuras nolūks ir uzturēt partneru attiecības, parādīt uzmanību, apliecināt cieņu,
- *izziņas komunikācija*, kuras mērķis ir jaunas informācijas iegūšana,
- *konfliktregulējošā komunikācija*, kurā svarīgākais ir nesaskaņu (konfliktu, pretrunu) atrisināšana un partneru attiecību noregulēšana (Omarova 1994: 12).

Saziņas praksē ir daudz valodiski strukturētu līdzekļu, kurus var izmantot kontaktu veidošanas standartsituācijās, piemēram, uzmanības piesaistīšana, iepazīšanās

un iepazīstināšana, apvaicāšanās, sasveicināšanās un atvadīšanās, partnera interešu noskaidrošana u.c. Kontaktveidojošo saziņas stratēģiju parasti virza viena no runātāju pusēm: tas, kurš uzsāk sarunu un ir iecerējis sasniegt noteiktu informatīvu mērķi. Viņš jau izplāno vai arī neapzināti virza dialoga "scenāriju". Reizēm runātāju lomas mainās un par "aktīvo" pusi kļūst sākotnējais klausītājs.

Kontaktveidojošās saziņas stratēģiju nosaka sociālā percepcija — cilvēku savstarpējās uztveres un sapratnes process. Kontaktu norisi determinē tās priekšstati par partneri. Šie priekšstati ir lielā mērā atkarīgi no uztverošā cilvēka dzīves pieredzes, personības īpatnībām un sarunas motivācijas (Omarova 1994: 15). Atšķirīga sarunas taktika ir ar svešu un tuvu cilvēku; tikpat liela atšķirība kontaktu veidošanā ir starp dažādu dzimumu, izglītības līmeņa un paaudžu pārstāvjiem, vadītāju un padoto, starp dažādu reliģisko vai sociālo grupu cilvēkiem.

No morāles viedokļa neviena no runātāju attiecībām nav ne laba, ne slihta līdz brīdim, kamēr saziņā tiek aizskarta vai pārkāpta kāda sarunu partnerim svarīga ētiskā norma. Piemēram, uzsvērti pagodinot gadus vecāku vai sabiedrībā cienījamu cilvēku, mēs varam iegūt viņa labvēlību un iespēju sekmīgi turpināt sarunu, taču, ja izturēsimies familiāri vai pat izaicinoši — zaudēsim jebkuru uzticību un turpmākās saskarsmes iespējas.

Kontaktveidojošās saziņas stratēģija balstās uz prasmi respektēt sarunu partnera personību, piemēroties viņa interesēm un valodas prasmēm, sniegt apstākļiem un situācijai atbilstošu informācijas saturu un saziņas kodus.

Diezgan bieži ikdienas saziņas praksē un valodas mācīšanas situācijās jāsastopas ar parādību, kad runātāju savstarpējās attiecībās galvenais ir orientācija uz situāciju vai problēmas risināšanu, nevis — partnera personību. Tas ir uz **situācijas orientēts** saziņas modelis, kurā runātājs vēršas pie adresāta ar noteiktu pragmatisku mērķi, parasti savā runā un attieksmēs izslēdzot (vai paužot nelielā mērā) privātus kontaktus ar partneri. Tādas attiecības veidojas situācijās, kurās runātāji izpilda noteiktas sociālās lomas, piemēram, pircējs — pārdevējs, pacients — ārsts, cietušais — policists u.tml. Šādos gadījumos viņiem jārealizē pareiza apelatīvā funkcija, jāveido norises apstākļiem atbilstoša izturēšanās un precīzi jāformulē konkrētās pragmatiskās vajadzības (piem., iepērkoties veikalā, jautājot par ceļu, kārtojot dažādus jautājumus iestādēs u.tml.). Šāda saziņa visbiežāk izpaužas kā *pamudinošā komunikācija*, kuras nolūks ir kaut ko

panākt no sarunu biedra, piemēram, izpildīt lūgumu vai prasības, pievērst viņa uzmanību savām problēmām un vajadzībām (Omarova 1994: 12).

Morālas dabas pārkāpumi rodas tad, ja sarunu partneri neievēro savas "sociālās lomas", piemēram, pircējs ilgi un nekonkrēti skaidro savas vajadzības, nepamatoti kritizē personāla darbu, veido sarunu ar pārdevēju nepiemērotā saziņas reģistrā (*Meitenīte, vai vari man parādīt tās bikses!*). Tikpat morāli aizvainojoša var būt amatpersonu neiecietība pret klientu, strupas atbildes, uzbāzīga iztaujāšana vai sava amata, statusa un lomas pastiprināta izcelšana.

Valodas mācīšanas procesā reizē ar standartsituāciju apguvi audzēkņiem jānācās korekti atrisināt arī negaidītas konfliktsituācijas. Dažreiz runātājs cenšas sev interesējošo jautājumu vai problēmu atrisināt tiešā un uzstājīgā formā (*Darīet tā!, Man vajag....., Es gribu.....*). Tādu saziņas veidu var raksturot kā **voluntāru vai pavēlošu**. Runātājs vēršas ar stingri formulētu savas gribas, vajadzības vai vēlmi izklāstu. Visbiežāk tāds saziņas modelis izpaužas

- *pārliecinošā komunikācijā*: tās mērķis ir mainīt partnera viedokli vai rīcību (Omarova 1994: 12),
- *pamudinošā komunikācijā* (skat. iepriekš).

Runātājs, kura valodai piemīt izteikti valdonīgs un pavēlošs tonis, bieži nerēķinās ar apkārtējo cilvēku domām un runas situāciju. Izsakot pavēli, vajadzību, vēlēšanos, gribu, tāds cilvēks reizēm var aizvainot savu partneri, izraisīt klausītājā neveiklības vai pat mazvērtīguma apziņu. Voluntāras izpausmes pazīmes vērojamas atsevišķu profesiju pārstāvju runā (vadītāju, pedagogu, politiķu u.c.), bieži vien tas izpaužas arī kritiskos strīdu vai konfliktu gadījumos. Ne vienmēr tieša un atklāta savas gribas deklarēšana efektīvi iedarbojas uz partneri. Vēlēšanās, rosinājums vai pavēle, kas izteikta netiešākā, bet pieklājīgākā formā (*Būtu labi, ja jūs to izdarītu. Vai mēs varētu vienoties par... ,*), bieži vien ir paūkamāka un apkārtējiem pieņemamāka.

Savukārt **emocionālais** saziņas modelis izpaužas *ekspresīvajā komunikācijā* un tā nolūks ir emociju un jūtu izpausme (Omarova 1994: 12). Tādā runā dominē uzsverti subjektīva attieksme pret partneri, izteikto informāciju vai runas situāciju. Dažādi emocionāla rakstura eksponenti atklājas attieksmju, vērtējuma, nostāju (prieka, vilšanās, pateicības, nožēlas, atteikuma, iebilduma u.c.) izteikumos. Emociju verbāla izpausme visbiežāk ir spontāna; runātājs var kritiski neizvērtēt frāzes saturu, tāpēc radīt apkārtējos uzbāzīga vai familiāra cilvēka iespaidu.

Ir situācijas, kad runātāja daiļrunība un uzsvērtā savas attieksmes vai domu dramatisēšana (*Vai dieniņ!*, *Kādas šausmas!*, *Briesmīgi!*) apgrūtina klausītāju, mazina ticību runas saturam vai runātāja situācijas vērtējumam. Ir novērots, ka, daiļskanīgi runājot par otra cilvēka panākumiem, pārlietu cildinot un izsakot atzinīgu attieksmi, partneris patiesībā cenšas izcelt sevi. Ne vienmēr daiļskanīgi izteikta frāze nozīmē saruna biedra personības atzīšanu — emocionāli vārdi var būt izteikti ar vienaldzīgu vai pat ironisku attieksmi. Piemēram, izsakot komplimentu, aiz smalkas, izmeklētas frāzes var slēpties lišķība (*Ko es bez jums darītu, būtu galīgi pazudis!*) kritika (*Jūs tā strādājat! Laikam gribat izpelnīties priekšnieka atzinību.*), slēpts savtūgums (*Tev tik skaista kleita! Vai vari to man aizdot šovakar uz balli?*). Emocionāli ekspresīvie izteiksmes līdzekļi dažkārt ir veids, kā bez dziļāka satura “koķetēt” ar runas partneri, kompensēt kādu savu attiecību veidošanas trūkumu, nezināšanu vai apjukumu. Tādi cilvēki ar savu valodu var izraisīt apkārtējos žēlumu vai pat nepatiku. Vienveidīgu emocionālu frāžu lietošana un atkārtošana var kļūt par sliktu saziņas paradumu.

Iepriekš aprakstīto saziņas modeļu izpaušme nav absolūta: dažādi to elementi var parādīties ikvienā sarunā. Katrs no tiem, pareizi un piemērotā situācijā lietots, neizraisīs klausītājā nevēlamas asociācijas, pārpratumus vai neizpratni. Saziņas mācīšana jāvirza uz savstarpējās sadarbības komunikatīvo stratēģiju. Tā ir nepieciešama dažādās mūsdienu interaktīvās mācību metodēs — darbsemināros, situāciju studijās, lietīšķās spēlēs, projekta darbos u.c. Rīcības saskaņošana vērsta uz partneru konstruktīvu sadarbību, saziņas veidošanu visiem pieņemamā un saprotamā formā. Tādu uzdevumu veikšanā runas dalībniekiem ir jāreķinās ar ilgstošākas saziņas un rīcības attiecībām, tāpēc informācija jāpasniedz precīzi un saprotami. Svarīgs sarunas elements dažādu problēmu risināšanā ir godīguma prezumpcija. “Godīgumam un uzticībai ir jābūt dialoga partneru pilnvērtīgu attiecību pašsaprotamiem principiem. Apzināta nepatiesas informācijas un nepārbaudītu faktu izmantošana nav pieļaujama [...] Panākumi, kas sasniegti, balstoties uz meliem, ir nedroši un īslaicīgi” (Kincāns 1997: 57).

Jebkuras augsta līmeņa informācijas apmaiņas nosacījums ir novērst nenoteiktību, pasniegt informāciju partnerim pieejamā un saprotamā veidā.

Tikpat svarīgi panākt, lai sarunu laikā abas puses būtu vienādi aktīvas, saziņa būtu līdzvērtīga un runas dalībnieki veicinātu informācijas apmaiņu. Šajā nolūkā

mācību kursā vispirms uzmanība būtu jāvelta situācijām, kas vērstas uz saziņas traucējumu labošanu (lūgums atkārtot, paskaidrot, precizēt, pārtulkot; priekšā teikšana/uzvedināšana, nezināšanas/neprasmes izteikšana u.c.). Tāda runas veidošana prasa lielu pacietību, taktu un iecietību pret partnera valodas nepilnībām vai kļūdām. Cik gan bieži ikdienas praksē vērojama neiecietīga (*Nu, runājiet taču skaidrāk...*), pamācoša (piemēram, augstprātīga norādīšana uz runātāja izrunas vai gramatiskajām kļūdām), dažkārt pat netaktiska attieksme (*Ko viņš tur murmina!*). Arī šajā situācijā, kaut arī komunikācija ir nepilnīga, atklājas partnera psiholoģiskais un morālais brieduma līmenis.

Gatavojot skolēnus/studentus profesionālai darbībai un karjerai, dažādas saziņas kultūras niansēm mūsdienās jāpievērš aizvien lielāka uzmanība. "Neskatoties uz šī procesa šķietamo vieglumu, uzturēt sarunu patiesībā ir māksla, un tas prasa no dalībniekiem lielu meistarību un talantu. [...] Ja eksistētu "sarunas kardiogrammas" fiksēšanas paņēmieni, tad to atšifrēt varētu tikai tie, kuri paši ir bijuši tās vidū un kurus caurvijusi tās strāva," — tā Vladimirs Kincāns raksturo lietisķās sarunas apguves galvenās grūtības (1997: 53).

Summary

The process of communication entails not only the exchange of information but also other types of human interaction. As in any human interaction, the impact of the conveyed information can be positive or negative. This article discusses issues of communication morality in different communicative situations. Communication morality serves as a yardstick which regulates the quality of information presentation, behaviour, relations between communication partners. The awareness of norms, regulations, etiquette and other communication rules not only helps to reach communication goals but also facilitates empathy in mutual relations. The importance of such regulation is of growing importance today when the load of information increases while the time span for its acquisition decreases.

In foreign language teaching (i.e. Latvian as a second language) knowledge about communication morality is indispensable. Great attention should be paid to shades of communication culture in the process of training students for professional performance. A competent user of the language is able not only to express her/his own thought more clearly and concisely but also lead the communication partner towards

mutually acceptable communication goals. S/he can plan and adapt the communication strategy, avert misunderstandings, indecisiveness and gaps in the process of information transfer. It is important to present and assess information correctly, show tolerance to mistakes made by the communication partner and facilitate the communication process on the basis of equal and fair principles of relations. Irrespective of the apparent ease of communication process, setting up the conversation or writing of a clear, comprehensible text is great art which needs to be taught step by step alongside with language skills.

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Semantic Shifts in Latvian and English

Semantic shifts can be viewed as one of the signs of viability and development of a language. This paper will look at semantic shift in two languages – English and Latvian and the considerable similarities of the process.

Apart from many morphological word formation types the vocabulary of a language is enriched also by semantic word-formation, as language change involves not only words dropping out of circulation and new words coined, but also change of meaning in older words. Semantic shifts in already existing words constitute a significant source of vocabulary extension; for example, 14.4% of neologisms in English are formed in this way (Cannon 1987: 279). Most new words in everyday speech and slang are formed by changing the meaning of old words. This usually entails either generalization (widening) or specialization (narrowing) of the original meaning. Semantic shifts usually occur in simple words of general vocabulary and normally do not affect the form of the words (in rare cases there may be a slight change in pronunciation or stress). Change of meaning can be clearly followed historically by comparing the earlier meaning (extinct or still in use) with the new meaning. Thus a common term for *man* in old English was the now extinct *were*, surviving in *werewolf*.

Fond at Chaucer's time meant *foolish* and *infatuated* as in Dryden's "Cock and the Fox":

*In this plain fable you th'Effect may see
Of Negligence, and fond Credulity...*

The meaning seems to have changed from *foolish* to *foolishly doting*, to *loving* and then *affectionate (without sexual feeling)*.

The changing connotations of words can give a new and startling sense to older literary passages as in Thomas Hardy's "The Mayor of Casterbridge" where a character gazes upon '*the unattractive exterior of Farfrae's erection*' or in Dickens'

Bleak House where 'Sir Leicester leans back in his chair, and breathlessly ejaculates.' (quoted from Bryson 1990).

In Latvian folksongs which retain many old meanings we find, for example, **bildināt** (modern sense *to propose*) in the meaning of *to address, to greet*:

Visi labu ieraudzīja, Visi labu bildināja (31260)

(Compare derivatives retaining this meaning **atbilde, būst, piebilst**, etc.).

Borrowings are very susceptible to semantic change during the borrowing stage as well as later. This is one of the causes of the many false friends (Veisbergs 1994) in various languages. According to Pei (1965: 144) more than half of the words adopted in English from Latin now have quite different meaning than in the original. In the case of English one of the reasons for this has been the decline in study of Latin and Greek which has led to a loss of touch with words of essentially classical meaning (Copley 1961: 4). Two thirds of the new meanings accrue to nouns and most of the words undergoing semantic shift in the modern language are derivatives and compounds.

Semantic shifts may often affect several related words, thus when **vegetable** developed the meaning of *an inert person* also the verb **to vegetate** developed a meaning of *leading an uneventful life*.

In Latvian the borrowing from German **mērķis** had a meaning of *sign*, then developed the meaning of *target*, later the meaning of *goal*; parallel to these changes also the verb **mērķēt** changed (Karulis 1992: 584).

The cause of semantic shift may be investigated by looking at the difference between notions expressed, or at the type of association involved in creating the new meaning as well as looking at the reasons for semantic change.

The widening of meaning is normally caused by the development of new meanings thus widening the sphere the word covers. Today the word **thing** being the most general can substitute practically any noun while originally it meant an *object* or, *decision*. **Help** once used to mean *to heal*, now *to assist* in any sense, **doll** has developed the meanings of *pretty, attractive, silly woman*, **executive** has come to mean anything *sophisticated or expensive*. **Palindrome, sentence, synonymy** are now used to describe genetic code. **Green** has come to cover a wide area of terms connected with environmental issues.

Similarly in Latvian **laiks** used to mean *a short period of time*, now has come to mean *time* in general and also the *weather*. **Lasīt** has added *to read* to the original *to gather*. The word **vīlnis** used to mean the *sea wave* but now has also acquired the meaning of *any vibrations, radio, television*; **lelle** (*doll*) has developed similar meanings to the English ones, **engēlis** (*angel*) is used about anybody who is virtuous and/or beautiful, **ēdamkarote** (*tablespoon*) has developed the meaning of *volume of contents contained in a tablespoon*. And similar to English, Latvian **lieta** (thing) can mean almost anything nominal.

The widening of meaning is a growing tendency in the modern world and often affects words of specialized and terminological character (Skujiņa 1967) which develop general use meanings, e.g. **feedback** - *reciprocal effect*, **scenario** - *plan of action*, **interface** - *interaction*, and Latvian **forsēt** - *to hurry*, **finišs, fināls** - *the end*, **orgāns** from its original, concrete meaning of *part of organism (animal or plant)* has developed a much wider and more abstract meaning of *authorities*: **varas, drošības, preses orgāni**, etc. New notions are often designated with old words with an expanded meaning, e.g. **atmiņa** (memory) -- (**elektroniskā atmiņa** (electronic memory), **āmurs** (hammer) -- (**pneimatiskais āmurs** (pneumatic hammer), **lielgabals** (gun) -- **kobalta lielgabals** (radiation device) where in a terminological sense usually the elliptical form would be used.

The narrowing of meaning (occurring less frequently) generally is conditioned by the word passing from general use into a narrower, more specialized sphere of communication, e.g. Old English **hund** meant *any dog* while modern **hound** is used for a specific breed. **Meat** once meant *food and drink* in general. **Brown** used to mean *dark and dusty* in Old English and partially preserved this meaning up to the 19th century (e.g. *in a brown study*). **Harvest** used to mean *autumn*; **liquor** once meant *any liquid* now only *alcoholic beverage*.

In Latvian **kautiņš** used to have the meaning of *fight and battle* while in modern language it designates *a brawl*, and the borrowing from Lithuanian **krāsmata** initially meant *a heap*, while today the meaning is much more concrete - *a heap of rubble left on the place of fire*. In Latvian narrowing of meaning in phrases is often combined with compounding. This is especially true of terminology, thus from **darba**

diena (*a day of work*) comes the compound with the narrowed meaning **darbadiena** (*a working day*), from **darba vieta** (*a place of work*) – **darbavieta** (*a workplace*), from **ceļā zīme** (*a road sign*) – **ceļazīme** (*voucher*).

These processes are not always clear-cut; they often present complex, shifting and vague transitions even from one opposite into the other and back, thus **pigeon** meant a *young bird* then specialized into *a young dove* and then generalized into *any dove-like bird*. Similarly the Latvian word **tauta** (*people, nation*) originally meant *strangers, strange tribes*, then under the influence of German **Volk** it came to denote a wide variety of notions: *people, gender, type, breed, foreigners*. In the 19th century when other words were created for many of the notions the meaning of the word narrowed again (Karulis 1992: 380; Ozols 1965: 504).

Sometimes the meaning can actually become the opposite (a linguistic process called catachresis): **counterfeit** once meant *a legitimate copy*. **Brave** once implied *cowardice* (*bravado* still does), **politician** was originally a sinister word (and perhaps it still is).

In the process of changing its meaning, a word can change to pejorative and meliorative senses. So semantic change can be also viewed in terms of deterioration (pejoration), e.g. **crafty** once meant *strong*, **sly** once meant *skilled*, **boor** originally meant *farmer* (Cf German **Bauer** with its Latvian negatively connotated **bauris** (*boorish person*, often referring to Latvian peasant).

In Latvian **gauss** (*slow*) initially meant *rich and abundant*, later *substantial*. Many German borrowings have developed negative connotation when parallel Latvian words have emerged, yet this would refer more to stylistic than semantic contents **pindzeļēt** (Ger. pinseln) - **krāsot** (to paint), **beņķis** (Ger. die Bank) - **sols** (**bench**).

The opposite process is termed elevation (melioration), e.g. **nice** once meant *foolish*, **fond** in the 14th century meant *silly*. **Marshal** was a *horse servant*. **Black** once had a negative connotation when applied to coloured people. Now the word has gained a positive connotation. Similarly in Latvian **glīts** once meant *slimy, slippery* later *smooth*, finally *neat and beautiful*. The intensifiers **baigi**, **briesmīgi** (*terribly*) together with widening of meaning have gone a long way from their original definitions.

The process of historical change of meaning is generally rather slow and gradual. At the basis of the new meaning formation often stands metaphor, metonymy, analogy and figurative use, since vocabulary extension is usually based on likeness, similarity and association.

Metaphor.

Metaphor as a transformation of meaning can go far beyond the primary semantic range of the word. An enormous part of the language is actually built on metaphors (fossilized in language or fresh in speech). Language metaphors (often called ex-metaphors) are usually obscured by frequent use, or the motivation may be totally lost. Through figurative extension a word gains further senses, e.g. the word **crown** from its initial meaning of *royal head-dress* has extended to the *royalty itself* as well as to *a coin with a symbol of crown*. There are numerous collocations in which "concrete" words obtain "abstract" meanings:

iron will, cold reason, grain of truth, lion's share, fall in love, run wild, fly into rage, jump to conclusions, sink or swim.

Metaphor (often bordering on symbolism) as a stylistic device is most popular in Latvian folksongs. Many words used metaphorically have acquired stability and are widely used in modern language: **baltas dienas** (white days -- happy days), **saules mūžs** (Sun age -- long age).

Metaphoric extension of meaning is in no way a trait of the past, it is an active process, regularly extending the range of meanings. Journalists have created a new meaning for the word **spin** -- *a bias in writing*, a **necklace** in South Africa is also *a tyre soaked in petrol to be put around somebody's neck and set alight*. Usually metaphor involves widening of meaning, so **dialogue, shuttle diplomacy, freeze, hawks and doves** have extended the scope of their original meaning. Such changes are very usual in slang and jargons often passing later into literary language. For example, Latvian slang **nosvīst** (to sweat off -- to run away), **aptīrīt** (to clean -- to steal), **raustīties** (to shake -- to be afraid), **biete** (beetroot -- uninteresting girl), **atkost** (to bite off -- to solve), **reņģēdājs** (cater of sprats -- poor person), **spics** (sharp -- stylish), **biezais** (the thick one -- the rich one).

Some semantic shifts based on metaphor can actually be borrowed: these are semantic translation loans (in difference from translation loans which are normally compounds or phrases), e.g. Latvian **iesaldēt** (*freeze*) certainly came as a result of external English, or perhaps Russian, influence. Similarly **zvaigzne** (*star*) has acquired additional meanings (*popstar*). The link between metaphorization and borrowing is a strong one in two aspects. First, numerous borrowings have undergone metaphoric change in the source language and only the metaphoric meaning has been borrowed, e.g. **idea** from Greek originally meaning *shape*, Latin **spirit** originally meaning *breath*. Secondly, metaphor being a language universal, there are numerous metaphoric parallels in most varied languages testifying to the fact of common logico-semantic processes among humans. Metaphors cannot be separated from the experiential bases (Lakoff 1980: 19) which, for many cultures, are identical or similar since there are numerous elements of everyday life and environment which human communities share in common.

In between the two processes are identical metaphoric shifts as Latin **dependēre**, German **abhängen**, Latvian **atkarāties** involving both independent process and borrowing.

Regular use usually wears off the stylistic effect a metaphor originally had, the comparison is no longer felt and the object often has no other name. Thus demotivation has taken place. For example the word sun-beam has no real association with the original Old English **beam**, meaning *tree* or *log* in Modern English. **Vienalga** (all the same) in Latvian hardly creates associations with *viena alga* (one salary), and the word **cēliens** underwent a change from the first meaning of *a one time activity* related to **celt** (to raise), to *a period of time* (*rīta cēliens*) and finally to the meaning of *act in theatre* introduced by A. J. Stender in 1790. Often the initial meaning and the new ones coexist, e.g. English **tongue** and Latvian **mēle** (tongue) as the organ of body, the term for part of a shoe and the place where the models walk on.

Change of meaning based on metaphor in Latvian is sometimes connected with conversion, which is rare in Latvian as such: the money of the soviet period was named after the colour of the banknotes: **zaļais** (the green), **zilais** (the blue), **sarkanais** (the red); **baltais** (the white – vodka), **zaļais** (the green -- peppermint liquor), **zaļais** (the

green -- dollar), as well as **zilaš** (the blue -- a homosexual), **melnaš** (the black -- blue-collar worker).

Introduction of the new Latvian money has produced new colloquial elements **govs** (cow), **silķe** (herring), **ozolītis** (the little oak) according to the pictures on the coins or banknotes. Incidentally the currency of the transition period saw the metonymy **repšens**, **repšuks** as a general term for the Latvian rouble, alluding to the President of the Bank of Latvia Einārs Repše, who stood behind the idea.

Often metaphoric expression is sought for things which either do not have names or there is a difficulty of finding an acceptable name, e.g. in Latvian there has been a longstanding problem of what name to give to the **ball-point lead**. The official **serdenis** (core) does not seem to be liked by people. As a result there are numerous metaphoric coinages - **iekša** (inside), **iekšiņa** (little inside), **stobriņš** (tube), **ķeska** (--), **zarna** (gut).

Metonymy.

Metonymy is based on contiguity. Here the association is as if it were closer, conditioned by functional, spatial, symbolic or other relations. Thus **No 10 Downing Street** stands for *British Prime Minister*, **the White House** for *the US President*, **glass** for a *drink*, **house** for an *audience*, **maciņš** (*purse*) for *money*, **leadership** for *leaders*, **gossip** for a *gossiping person*, etc.

Metonymic derivation of common nouns from proper nouns is more usual in English than Latvian.

Eponyms are common words derived from personal names, often products that have become generic or household names: **macadam**, **ohm**, **wellingtons**, **sandwich**, **hooligan**, **volt**, **biro**, **kenwood**, **levis**, **Sellotape**, **walkman**, **hoover**, **diesel**, **sandwich**, **bobby** (Sir Robert Peel).

Apart from simple eponyms there are compound or attributive constructions such as **loganberry**, **Parkinson's law**, **Murphy's law** derivatives to **macademize** (from British surveyor J.L.McAdam), **gardenia** (from 19th century physician Alexander Garden), **McCarthyism** (from US senator J.R.McCarthy) as well as clippings, blends and abbreviations.

Original eponyms are not widespread in Latvian, perhaps, mainly because of the absence of producing items of long standing quality and duration. The few Latvian eponyms (tradenames, metonymies) are usually used in colloquial language: **Misiņš** (Misiņš' library), **Lācis** (V. Lācis' library), **centa** (spinner), **stradiņi** (Stradiņš' hospital), **vefiņš** (VEF portable radio), **rafiņš** (RAF mini / midi bus), **lāse** (UHT milk), **gotiņa** (toffee), radio sets **Spīdola**, **Abava**, ships, transport vehicles **Latvija** (minibus).

On the other hand all internationally spread eponyms are represented in Latvian too, but very much like technical borrowings already borrowed as common nouns, e.g. **diželis**, **ampērs**, **galvanisks**, **galvanizēt**, **žigulis**, **volts**, **volga**. There seem to be some problems with spelling and pronunciation of some of them both diachronically and synchronically, e. g. **volts** used to be **volta** (change of gender).

Most of these are simple eponyms, but there can also be derivatives (in Latvian gender change is quite usual) **Kalifornija** - **kalifornijs**, **Zemitāns** - **Zemitāni**, **Rainis** - **rainistika**, **Stalins** - **stalinistisks**, **Ulmanis** - **ulmanisms**, compound eponyms **Vatmanis** - **vatmanpapīrs**, (further ellipsis leads to full eponym **vatmanis**), **Glaubers** - **Glaubersāls**, **Dons Kihots** - **donkilotisms**, **Alpi** - **alpu vijolīte**.

Another type of eponym occasionally consists of proper names used to designate representatives of various nations, e.g. English **Tommy** (British private soldier), **Kraut** (German), Latvian **vaņa**, **duņa** for Russians, **fricis** for Germans, **joske**, **haims** for Jews. This phenomenon is characteristic of the colloquial language only and the proper nouns lose capital spelling.

Toponyms (place names) undergo the same process and are often included among eponyms **champagne**, **bikini**, **china**, **gin** (from Geneva), **tweed**, **cardigan**. Latvian generally borrows foreign metonymic terms. There are few metonymic transfers of this type in Latvian, e.g. placenames and proper names standing for train stations: **Zasulauks**; for organizations: **Jēkaba iela** (Parliament), **pils** (president) **Atlantija** (radio station).

Using a word to designate part of something for the whole (synecdoche) is most widespread in all languages, so **hands** stands for *worker*, **heads** for *number of cattle* in English, **darbarokas** (working hands) for *worker*, **galvas** (heads) for *number*

in Latvian. Both **face** and **seja** (face) can stand for a person as well as Latvian slang **purns** (muzzle). The opposite when the whole stands for a part is met in such cases as names of countries used for sports teams *England beat Russia, Latvija uzvarēja Baltkrieviju*, as well as in geopolitical terminology when **America** is used to mean USA or **England** to mean Great Britain.

Also substituting function by the doer or part of body involved, is almost identical in both languages: **nose** and **deguns** (nose) stands for *sense of smell*.

Container can stand for the thing contained has equal distribution in both languages: **have a glass / a cup, iedzert tasīti, glāzi** (drink a cup, glass)

Sign can stand for a thing or a process signified: **gray** (hair) for *older age, from the cradle*, Latvian: **sirms** (gray), **kopš šūpuļa** (from the cradle), **šūpulis kārts** (the cradle is hung – one is born).

Instrument can stand for the agent, e.g. the **pen** meaning the *writer* and the **sword** meaning the *warrior* in a sentence *The pen is stronger than the sword*, **violin** for the *violinist*, cf. Latvian **pirmā vijole** (the first violin).

Both metonymy and metaphor are widely used in slang, e.g. English **balloons, cans, jugs, lemons, melons, potatoes** in the meaning of *breasts*. Latvian **klizma** (enema -- trouble), **tačka** (wheelbarrow -- car); **ķirbis** (pumpkin), **podš** (pot), **kastrolis** (kettle) all meaning - *head*.

English has a wider use of metonymy than Latvian, especially cases when material stands for a thing: **silver, iron, glass, boards**. In Latvian this refers mainly to narrow professional spheres: **strādāt mālā, stiklā, eļļā** (to work in clay, glas, oil).

Analogy.

Many words are created by analogy to other words. Analogy is rather apparent in blending and compounding. Semantically analogy generally goes together with metaphor, yet the pattern usually facilitates new meaning creation and understanding, e.g. the word **bank** has developed a more general meaning of *a place for storing anything for future use* through coining of many new terms: **blood bank, data bank,**

sperm bank, information bank. Similarly **clinic** has come to designate a place where anything can be mended, repaired or discussed: **car clinic, golf clinic.**

One of the most significant reasons why numerous words change their meaning by acquiring new semantics is fashion, language and social trends, e.g. new feminist coinages as **Ms** from **Mrs** and **Mis**, **womyn** analogous to **woman, wimmin, herstory** (her history), though the latter would be more appropriate for compound analysis. In all these cases there is a motivated creation pattern though not always transparent, and often (as the last) based on popular etymology.

Another type of semantic shift is connected with euphemisms (Veisbergs 1997) that was the topic of a special paper in this series, so it will not be discussed here.

Summary

Semantic shifts are generally *very similar* in both languages. Metaphor and metonymy as basic means of semantic change are equally widespread in Latvian and English. Metaphoric transfers are equally represented both in older layers of the language and in modern use, especially slang.

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User Expectations in Conference Interpreting

1. Introduction

Quality in interpreting is a frequently discussed and yet elusive concept. In this article I will discuss quality as a dynamic category which depends on needs and expectations of different users. As interpreting is a multistage communicative chain with several parties involved, conflicting priorities are often given by different parties involved. Although all parties will generally agree that quality in professional interpreting implies that an interpreter provides a complete and accurate rendition of the original and tries to capture any and all extralinguistic information that the speaker might have provided, more detailed research shows that in every concrete case situational variables may call for different priorities. For example, the survey on expectations of users of conference interpretation commissioned by AIIC (International Organization of Conference Interpreters) points to the dependence of quality assessment criteria even on such aspects as the size and subject of the conference, the number of times when a participant has used interpreting facilities, age and even the sex of a participant. In this paper I will not so much focus on differences in expectations of various user groups but rather on the diversity of quality assessment criteria depending on the nature of involvement in the whole communicative chain of interpreting.

2. Interpreting as a four stage communicative chain.

Interpreting traditionally involves 4 parties:

employer — speaker --- interpreter — receiver

All parties are interested in providing and/or receiving high quality performance. In what respect do the expectations of these parties differ?

- Quality can be seen through the eyes of the interpreter, the provider of the service who bases her/himself on her/his own set of self-imposed standards. S/he is a receiver and sender at the same time, has a good understanding of the source

language and a good command of the target language, but generally knows less about the subject, the motivations, the aims and interests of actors, and is less familiar with the appropriate terminology than the speaker and the receiver. Because the interpreter is under severe time pressure, her/his processing ability is busy and s/he is not in a position to monitor fully the quality of the output while interpreting. However, a professional interpreter has a well-developed inner monitoring mechanism and s/he knows very well if the quality of performance has been up the grade or substandard.

- The quality of the service performed can and usually is evaluated in terms of the judgments, needs and expectations of the service or the receiver. Users of interpreting services appear to focus mostly on accuracy of the contents, terminological accuracy, simultaneity of delivery, rhetorical skills of the interpreter, voice and microphone discipline (cf. AICC survey). However, there exist divergences in the expectation profiles of different users. Surveys show that conference participants give priority to clarity of expression for which sense consistency and logical cohesion are essential (cf. Mackintosh 1995). In media interpreting a distinct higher rating is given to pleasant voice, native accent, fluency of delivery and correct grammatical usage but significantly less importance is attached to the criterion of completeness (cf. Pochhacker 1997).

Quality perception on behalf of receivers has a strong subjective streak. Receivers may not be equally interested in all the information and tend to listen only to parts of the presentation given at a conference. They may feel that many text segments are not relevant or interesting enough, they also find that the concentration required to listen carefully to all presentations is very taxing. They therefore tend to judge quality without the necessary control of informational content which often leads to a surprisingly favorable assessment of quality in conferences in which interpreters feel they have done a poor job or vice versa. For example, receivers may be impressed by the confident manner of presentation and therefore assess the interpretation favorably, whereas a hesitant voice is often mistrusted by delegates, however faithful and clear the informational contents.

- The speaker in the process of interpreting interacts with the receiver and usually judges the quality of interpreting by the reaction of the audience which indicates if

the intended effect has or has not been achieved. Sometimes the speaker tries to spot-check words or word groups in which case there is a strong emphasis on the fidelity of the target language text to the original. The latter case is particularly trying for interpreters as the attempt to test the interpreter during the delivery of the speech is suggestive of the lack of understanding of interpreting methodology and as a rule distrust of interpreting profession. If the linguistic competence of the speaker is good (which sometimes is **not** the case), s/he may be able to identify inaccuracies in the interpreter's output which creates additional strain and may deteriorate the further performance. According to Gile (1995:41), however, quality is a function of communication efficiency from the sender's point of view, and both the packaging and content of the message in the target language should be optimized with a view to fulfilling the sender's objectives.

- Intermediaries (employers, agencies, etc.) may introduce yet additional variables that might change the way quality of one and the same interpretation may be assessed. Often they do not listen to the interpretation and know little about the subject matter. They are therefore not in a good position to assess the quality of the performance and rely mostly on the feedback from the receiver and/or from other interpreters. For intermediaries such aspects as interpreter's general behavior, appearance, team discipline, adaptability to different situations, flexibility in scheduling, availability, loyalty to a particular employer and price may all enter into the perception of quality.
- Last but not least, there are also interpreting colleagues whose evaluation may play a crucial role in the whole process. Whatever the reaction of delegates, interpreters in the same team listen to each other with an often critical ear. Since interpreters are often hired by their colleagues and not necessarily directly by clients, this tends to keep them on their toes. In case of relay interpreting, other interpreters become perhaps the most demanding judges.

3. EU enlargement-induced modifications in the interpreting scene.

Further I will focus on the quality aspect in the interpreting situation for Central and East European Countries' (CEEC) interpreters in European institutions. CEEC interpreters have emerged in the European interpreting market about three to four years ago (with a slow and gradual start in 1996) modifying well-established

interpreting patterns. The diversification of interpreting mode was called forth by the enlargement process when about 10 new languages are added to the 11 EU official languages.

3.1. Organizational and technical aspects.

Two major innovations to be mentioned are **relay** and **retour**. The so-called **matrix system** where all interpretation is provided by native speakers into their A language has been diversified by the "**retour on relay**" mode for CEEC interpreters. It means that CEEC interpreters interpret from A into B serving as "pivots" for interpreters working into the EU official languages. For example, in a conference where the working languages are French, English, Lithuanian and Latvian, Latvian interpreters would sit in the English booth and serve as intermediaries between English, French and Lithuanian. The speaker from the Latvian delegation is interpreted by a Latvian interpreter into English (A into B) while French and Lithuanian interpreters would interpret the speech from English into their native languages (B into A). This is the so-called "**hub and spoke**" mode when one or sometimes two "pivots" or "relay" languages are used to facilitate the interpreting needs of a large number of delegations speaking different languages.

3.2. Cultural aspects.

EU enlargement actually brings together two parts of Europe which have been politically, economically and even culturally separated for about 50 years. Consequently in each part different norms and traditions of interaction and interpretation prevail. Under the new circumstances the two sets of norms converge creating conflicting situations which need readjustment.

The main difference lies in the manner of interpretation and the expectations of the receiver. CEEC interpreters¹ seem to be used to their receivers being mainly concerned with fidelity to the source text in the rendition. In practice it means insistence on adherence to words. The established style of interpreting is that of high speed and high density. The receiver does not mind the streak of strain in the manner of rendition as it is only natural under the requirement of retention of literally every word. Such an approach is probably rooted in the Russian school of thought which emphasizes the linguistic aspect in translation as well as interpretation (e.g. Schweitser 1973; Komisarov 1980; Barhudarov 1975) and sees simultaneous interpreting as a kind

great importance. Sometimes the interpreter finds her/himself in the situation when the speaker is stopped by her/his assistant to wait for the interpreter to translate each word. The interpreter in her/his turn has paused at that moment to wait for a complete meaning unit to be able to process the information. Cultural differences become relevant at this stage. The Latvian audience is used to the fast, dense, close to literal type of delivery so typical of the so-called "Eastern mode". The interpreter faces a dilemma -- to meet the expectations of the national delegates and deliver unprocessed information or cater to the needs of receiver 1 and interpreting colleagues who are receiver 3 under these circumstances. The French and German booths for whom the relay is provided are cut off from the original and often have limited background knowledge about the newcomers to the Union. They expect clear, well-processed information with the necessary cross-cultural adjustments delivered close in time to the original to enable them to finish as closely in time as possible to the speaker. They also expect a confident manner of presentation to be assured that the situation does not get out of hand. While the national delegates are not at all bothered by an accent in the interpreter's English (on the contrary, it makes them feel more at home), interpreting colleagues and EU delegates in the hall may be unpleasantly disturbed by it as normally interpretation is provided in the interpreter's A language. *Retour* which has appeared on the EU interpreting scene only with the accession of Finland, is accepted with certain reservations as interpreting into B language entails restricted flexibility to convey subtler shades of meaning, grammar mistakes and a foreign accent.

4. Conclusions

The relay interpreter finds her/himself in the taxing situation of being torn between conflicting requirements of different parties involved: s/he has to interpret into a foreign language, resolve somehow the timeless dichotomy of meaning-based vs. word-based interpretation, take the responsibility for the quality of performance of relay-dependent colleagues and at the same time establish his/her own professional integrity. In order to cope with these tasks it seems important to **develop the right psychological attitude**. To avoid the feeling of frustration the interpreter should accept that there are certain nuances that s/he will not be able to convey. It is important to realize that the interpreter's chief objective is to make communication possible. S/he must stay out of the trap of a perfectionist rendition which only slows

down decision-making and discourages risk-taking. The interpreter is there to facilitate communication, not to demonstrate a tightrope performance. Another crucial aspect is to **raise the self-awareness of interpreters** as well as **the awareness of conference users**. A professional interpreter should know what s/he is doing and be able to justify his needs before the commissioner and users. Mostly it falls upon the interpreter to ensure understanding between the parties involved. Even though research demonstrates that most of speakers prefer the invisible ghost role of the interpreter to that of the intruder (Kopczynski, 1994:90), my own experience shows that under specific circumstances, like legislation screening meetings in Brussels, perceived as very important by national delegations, many delegates are ready to cooperate, especially after they have already experienced the positive outcome of cooperative behavior. Similarly, after you have voiced your concerns to the interpreting colleagues they become supportive psychologically and also practically by sharing their expertise and word lists. After all it is for the interpreters themselves to create a team spirit in the conference room so that the initially raised question "Quality for whom?" would be rephrased as "Quality for the common good".

¹ I have put all CEEC in one group only on the basis of my personal experience drawn from participation in different pre-accession meetings in Brussels over the period of three years. I have discussed issues related to receivers' expectations with my colleagues from CEEC. But this is a mere working hypothesis for the time being. The University of Latvia is setting up a research project at the moment which will provide concrete data to confirm or refute this hypothesis.

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Past, Present and Future in the Teaching of Language and Literature ¹

I. Introduction

Like the recorded history of the New World, we cannot really look too far behind when we deal with literature as an institutionalized subject for teaching and researching. According to Graff (1987:1) 'there were no "academic literary studies" in America or anywhere else until the formation of language and literature departments in the last quarter of the nineteenth century', although "the use of literature as a vehicle of education goes back to ancient times". He adds: "But the idea that literature could or should be taught - rather than simply enjoyed or absorbed as part of the normal upbringing of gentfolk - was a novel one and no precedents existed for organizing such an enterprise".

Since its institutionalization as a discipline at the turn of the century to at least 30 years ago, the teaching of literature followed the long established model which Freire (1987) called the banking education. From this perspective, learners were seen as containers to be filled by teachers. The more the teachers filled the containers, the better educators they would be. The more passively the learners allowed themselves to do so, the better the learners. Education was thus conceived as an act of depositing. In this context, the learners' role was to receive the deposits, keep and file them (Freire 1987:58 - my translation). Education and research in literature followed such previsible paths that training for the job was not considered relevant. The classroom situation involved explicit teaching, with the teacher pointing out the meaning of the text to a very silent audience of note-takers. Research was based on theoretical argumentation of concepts, using theoretical developments in literary theory to produce new readings of texts. Empirical research was not contemplated.

When the literary text crossed the borders of the discipline to be used in EFL classrooms, the main objective was to enable learners to translate canonized texts in order to acquire a "better" cultural model. Thus literature was considered a kind of secular scripture (Scholes 1985:13). In this sense, Widdowson's *Stylistics and the*

Teaching of Literature (1975) should be regarded as a landmark. It inaugurated a route linking the study of literature to the study of language through stylistics, creating a porosity which allowed advances in one area to flow into the other. Since 1975, many works have contributed to change and strengthen this link. A direct consequence has been the shift of focus from the work and the author to that of the language of literary texts. As any change always finds support in history, this one was not original. It owes a debt to the paradigmatic change in literary theory which took place in the early twenties with the Russian Formalists. If, on the one hand, this move has brought in its wake a series of materials on how to use literary texts in language classrooms, on the other hand it has also favoured the divide between what is called "the study of literature" and "the use of literature as a resource". We find literature teachers sneering at stylisticians who "do not *really* do literature, who are language teachers or, even worse, "linguists who pose as literature teachers".

2. The historical picture in Brazil

Narrowing the focus to a specific context, the life trajectory of the literature text in the Brazilian EFL classroom can be seen as going through three different moments: **exaltation, rejection, and reintegration**. The **exaltation period** dates back to the years before the 60s, when reading literature in a foreign language was part of language teaching and the student translated the text from target to source language or vice-versa. Sometimes there were also books of grammar followed by collections of exercises for learners to acquire the rules of a standardized norm. The main objective was to enable the learner to read literary texts produced in the target language in order to assimilate the foreign culture from the collection of canonized texts. This objective was based on the belief that by learning literature the student would become a "morally better person" (the Arnoldian perspective).

In the 60s and 70s, with the intensification of international exchanges, the need of an international *lingua franca* was evident. With the emphasis on spoken language many shunned literature for being language in a crystallized form and, for being, in their terms, even worse: deviant (cf. Collie & Slater 1987:2). This was the **rejection period**. The objectives in EFL teaching shifted from the myth that mastering English would make better persons to the myth that learners would have access to a promised land of better jobs and social and economic promotion.

Since the 80s there has been a gradual change brought about by studies on the interface between language and literature which argue that literary texts are amenable to the same analytical tools used for everyday language (cf. Cook 1992; Fowler 1986; Carter & Nash 1983). The main argument holds that literary texts reflect patterns of social interaction in contextualized situations (Collie & Slater 1987:2). The literary text is now being **reintegrated** into the classroom on terms which differ from those of the 60s, but is still used as an appendix. In the 90s, the situation has not changed much.

The following table provides a summarized history of what has been happening to literary texts in the EFL classroom in Brazilian schools:

Stages	Use of Literary texts	Objectives
1. up to the early 60s	frequent/important part of the class/ translation	acquisition of foreign culture
2. the 70s	not used/ considered too specialized	mechanical acquisition of language structures: lingua franca
3. the 80s and 90s	scarce/ an appendix to the class	communication: language in context. Development of reading strategies

3. The setting today

An investigation of the research being developed today and an analysis of current textbooks, however, suggest a much more complex picture than the traditional dichotomy language/ literature teachers would suggest. Whether we are dealing with Literature in literature or in language classrooms, we have now entered an interdisciplinary mode of teaching and doing research. Dialogues are being established between disciplines and boundaries tend to become fuzzy. Linguistics and cultural studies have attempted to link with other disciplines such as sociology and anthropology. Scholars like Izarra (1994) establish parallels with visual arts to discuss readers' responses and the cultural implications of teaching. Literature and language have become more and more associated. If, on the one hand, language teachers and researchers have recognized "the nature of language as carrying social, ideological meanings and associations which are perceived differently by individuals, and particularly in EFL situations where cultures make contact and often collide" (Prodromou 1990:39), on the other hand, literary theoreticians have avoided essentialism and see literature as an anthropologically necessary manifestation.

According to Derrida (1992), "Literarity is not a natural essence, an intrinsic property of the text. It is the correlative of an intentional relation to the text, an intentional relation which integrates in itself, as a component or an intentional layer, the more or less implicit consciousness of rules which are conventional or institutional -- social, in any case". He adds: "There are 'in' the text features which call for the literary reading and recall the convention, institution, or history of literature ... Without suspending the transcendent reading, but by changing one's attitude with regard to the text, one can always reinscribe in a literary space any statement -- a newspaper article, a scientific theorem, a snatch of conversation. There is therefore a literary *functioning* and a literary *intentionality*, an experience rather than an essence of literature"(pp. 44-45).

In an attempt to clear the ground and point towards future developments, this paper offers a provisional framework to help teachers and researchers position themselves in the area. It identifies and compares at least four different strands. This description indicates how different theoretical frameworks have been influencing pedagogical approaches.

4. The Strands

I am aware that what I will propose now may run the risk of simplification. I do it intentionally as I think it is important to be aware of the directions we are taking, where we stand in relation to what other professionals in the area are doing and thinking, what sort of research we are carrying out and what its ideological implications are. This is why, although provisional and dangerous, classifications are necessary. And they are badly needed in the area of teaching literature -- a kind of no-man's land, still in search of cartographers willing to map the area, not with the purpose of drawing boundaries and establishing limits, but of finding out where we stand and where we are going. I am aware that the mapping I am about to propose is a necessary generalization.

If we consider both the teaching and the research of literature being practiced today in literature and in language classrooms we may be led to think of four different strands which are not self-excluding. Much overlapping takes place. These strands should rather be seen as tendencies. It is also important to stress that teachers may wear different hats, depending on their objectives and specific setting. One may teach

literature according to one strand but do research according to another. Flexibility here is a key-word.

Strand 1: The content and context of literature

This type of research and practice is the most widely practiced by literature teachers. It is generally based on survey and historical inquiry. Among its main objectives we can mention ²:

- to familiarize readers with acknowledged great works and writers
- to study works of minority writers or other non-canonical production
- to learn about the development of a national cultural tradition
- to produce critical views on works seen as part of the history of literatures in English and/or of a literary tradition.

Besides anthologies, a representative textbook of this strand states that the objective is to provide “students with an introduction to the reading of British and American literature” by concentrating “... on helping them actually read what are sometimes difficult texts, while at the same time giving them some help with literary history, biography, differences in genre, technical literary terminology and literary criticism” (Gower & Pearson 1986).

Strand 2: Literary Discourse or Language through Literature

This group of works *grosso modo* aims at the study and acquisition of language through the medium of literature. That is, literature is seen as part of the language experience, which comprehends all levels: from phonology, grammar and lexis to the investigation of the text as discourse, or, to put it in other terms, from language acquisition to the understanding of literary discourse. Work in this strand has promoted the viewpoint that “the linguistic resourcefulness which typifies much literary discourse creates a valuable nexus for exploring forms, structures and concepts in English language” (Simpson 1997:2). The methods used are manifold, including computational analyses. Tribble & Jones (1990:72) show how “the application of concordancing to the teaching of literature can be a fruitful area for classroom research and teaching/learning”. As Carter & Long (1987:1) suggest, “the main purpose is to help students to use response to language as a basis for reading and appreciating authentic literary sources”. Or as Duff & Maley (1990:3) put it, this strand is “... an attempt to

explore further the use of literary texts as a language teaching resource rather than as an object of literary study as such”.

Strand 3: Literary Awareness and/or Intervention (language manipulation)

The main idea here is that creative writing and metacognition are part of the literary experience. It differs from Strand 2 in the sense that it holds that “linguistic awareness can be derived from an examination of the language of a text *as language*” and challenges the view that the literary text in the language classroom can only be used for developing language competence. Sensitivity to the text is seen as a process which involves the reader as a constructor and experiencer. This is the fundamental principle which underlies the concept of Literary Awareness (Zyngier, 1994) and the research carried out by the LELITI Project at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. As Carter (1989:169) explains, “...all writing involves linguistic discipline, provokes questioning of the relationship between a stylistic form and the “shape” of an experience or subject for exploration and can provide incentives for innovation which will always and necessarily be patterned in relation to norms, whatever the degree of their ‘imposition’”. Some of the basic questions here have been posed by Dias & Hayhoe (1988:2): “What can teachers take from developments in literary critical theory over the past 50 years? How relevant to classroom practices are the current assertions of Post-Structuralist and Deconstructive criticism? What can we learn from Reader Response critics? How do we distinguish among the varying positions they represent on the role of readers in the literary transaction?” This strand is based on the interactional nature of reading and responding to texts and aims at cultivating substantiated and critical readings. The idea of intervention is derived from Pope (1995) who holds that “The best way to understand how a text works is to change it: to play around with it, to intervene in it some way ... , and then to try to account for the exact effect of what you have done”. This practice promotes writing and rewriting exercises to point out the creative role of the reader in the construction of any text. It tries to help learners consider what has not been done in order to highlight what has: a proposition which lies at the core of Hallidayan linguistics. It is believed that this method illuminates many issues such as textual appropriation, point of view and ideology, enabling a more critical reading.

Strand 4: Classroom Discourse

At the moment, we are witnessing the beginning of this strand, comprised of work being developed on classroom discourse. Based on ethnography, its main interest is to describe how learners and teachers interact in literature classrooms in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the instruction and improve pedagogical conditions. Concentration is placed on the dialogue established in the context of the literature class. It takes into consideration the way these actors construct their realities socially. In Brazil, it stems from work developed by applied linguists at UNICAMP, UFRJ, PUC/SP and other centres (Menezes de Souza 1997).

The following table presents a comparative perspective of these four strands:

	The content & context of lit.	Literary Discourse (or Lang. Through Lit.)	Literary Awareness and/or Intervention	Classroom Discourse
OBJECTIVE	learn about text, author, times, convention, history	acquire knowledge of and about the language of literary texts (from lgg. acquisition to understanding lit. discourse)	understand and develop critical reading and metacognition	understand teacher/student interaction or the dialogue established in the context of a lit. class.
METHODOLOGY	product-focused; top-down	product-focused; top-down, using linguistic theory to understand the workings & implications of lgg in a lit. text	process-oriented; bottom-up; start from the reader's own store of knowledge and build up to linguistic theory.	process-oriented; bottom-up.
BRIDGES	lit. theory; cultural studies	linguistics (descriptive & critical); written discourse; stylistics	linguistics (descrip. & crit.); rhetoric; stylistics; cognitive psychol.	sociol. & anthropol.; linguistics applied to the classroom
MATERIALS	anthologies	textbooks with theoretical explanations and exercises	textbooks with activities gradually leading into theory	Possible: exercises on observation of classroom → more symmetrical pedagogy

Table 1: The four strands: Research and Practice

Unfortunately, the lack of interest in the area of teaching literature can be seen from the amount of research being done in the area. If we take the papers presented at conferences as the spontaneous response to the work being developed in research, the picture is rather bleak. Out of the 6,000 or so abstracts presented at TESOL 97, only 14 dealt with the teaching of literature in some way, and out of 417 workshops and talks for IATEFL 1998, there were only 9 abstracts, although IATEFL does hold a Special Interest Group for the teaching of literature. Granted that these are not a literature specialists' forum, we would at least expect some interest of language teachers in the use of literature in the classroom. Turning to more literature-focused conferences in Brazil, an analysis of the abstracts of papers presented at the three last National Meetings of University Teachers of Literatures in English (SENAPULI) show that there has not been much change from the traditional framework and development of research in the area of literature, as illustrated in Table 2:

	Strand 1	Strand 2	Strand 3	Strand 4	Transl/ Comp.Lit	Total
1995	44	2	2	0	5	53
1996	56	0	2	1	4	63
1997	62	4	0	0	6	72

TABLE 2: Number of paper presentations per strand at SENAPULIs

Although it is stimulating to notice that the number of papers being presented are increasing, the same percentage remains in terms of the preference for Strand 1, which follows the traditional models of research development (83.01%, 88.88%, and 86.11%). Papers in Strand 3 derive from the same centre (Projeto LEILITI/UFRJ) and the same goes for Strand 4 (USP). I did not include round tables, poster sessions, coordinated lectures or plenaries, as these tend to follow the major theme of the conferences and none of these conferences dealt specifically with the teaching of literature, with some rare exceptions here and there. It would be interesting to see what the picture is in other countries.

5. Looking ahead: towards a critical literary pedagogy

It must be pointed out that methodologies and approaches are affected by a very complex context which, to my understanding, has not been given due attention. Although many teachers and researchers today have been sensitized to contextual

influences (Bisong 1995; Kramsch 1993; Carter 1997; McRae 1996, among others), the trend to concentrate the focus of attention on the microcosm of the classroom still prevails. Both language and literary awareness have contributed greatly to the sensitization of learners to linguistic phenomena and to the development of learners' metacognitive skills. Both attempt to empower learners. But empowerment requires more than ability to think critically -- it call for critical action. Teaching literature cannot be restricted to a rationalization about methods and approaches. There are some basic questions about the educational system and the society which produces and reproduces social and cultural inequalities which affect and are affected by education by education and cannot be overlooked. Some of these questions are: How does one

- come to self-understanding?
- situate oneself in history?
- relate questions of knowledge to power?
- understand the limitations and constraints of institutions?

The literature/language teacher must be aware of the social project in which and for which s/he is working. Teachers are part of the group Giroux (1993) called "transformative intellectuals", who promote an environment which enables the participants to reflect on their day-to-day life and the society to which they belong. In tune with Critical Discourse Stylistics, their methodologies should also aim at a textual reading which discloses issues such as race, gender, class, rights and institutions, how these relations and perspectives are expressed and how they function in society (eg. to persuade, dominate, express solidarity, warn, etc.).

If we combine the contributions of the Empirical Studies of Literature (ESL) (Schmidt 1982; Rusch 1996, among others) and critical pedagogy (for instance, Pennycook 1994; Giroux 1993; Hooks 1994), we may be in a position to design a framework which provides a more culturally-engaged and explicit perspective. Here I would like to propose a more systematized approach towards a contextualized teaching of literature, one which may set the agenda for future research and practice. By systematizing I mean making explicit the organization of an epistemological system by means of which one can understand the patterning of literary actions (as conceived bt ESL). The main objective here is to move away from the fiction of a neutral and apolitical classroom and to concentrate on the context in which teaching takes place. I

would call this model a **critical literary pedagogy (CLP)**, one which is interdisciplinary in nature and stems from the developments of three major areas, as illustrated in the following diagram:

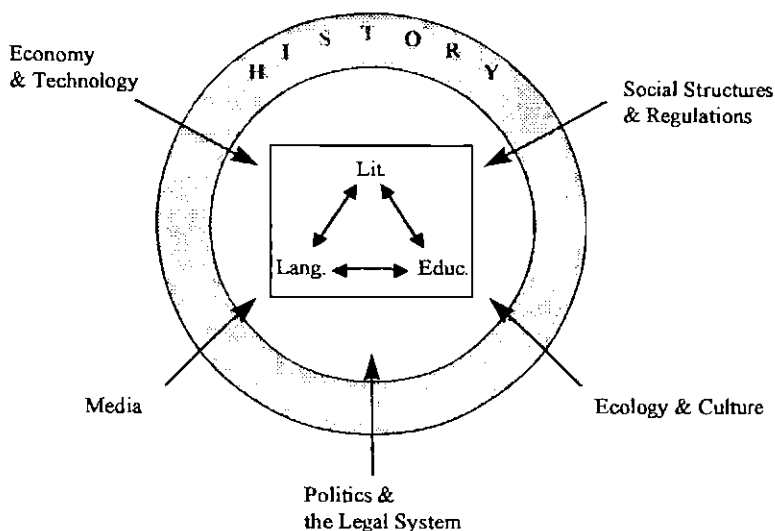


Diagram 1 - A model for a critical literary pedagogy

This diagram shows literature and language in the same relationship as that which informs stylistics but historicizes literary education, setting it against the background of the changing systems since, as Margaret Atwood in her novel *The Robber Bride* (1993) puts it, "... nothing begins when it begins and nothing's over when it's over". We need a diachronic perspective to understand how we have arrived at the present moment and be in a position to project future developments.

Literary education is also affected by other factors such as population, politics, economy, social structures and regulations. I have borrowed these macro dimensions from Rusch's proposal for the description of the media system (1996:306) and adapted them for a CLP perspective.

The population dimension concerns the degree of literacy and education, population figures, the people directly or indirectly involved in the process who have impact on the way teaching is effected in a classroom. Politics involves the political

structure, the type of political system of a country, the degree of participation of the population in the political process, the legal status of the individual (e.g. human and civil rights), the international status of the country and its relation with other political systems. The economic dimension includes the type of economic system, the economic relations between individuals and groups (both nationally and internationally), the distribution of income among the population, what they can afford, the free time an individual is allowed, etc. Literary education is also affected by the social structures as seen through the type of social stratification, the type of housing and the social interactions these arrangements promote (condos, slums, detached housing, flats, etc.). Technology concerns the availability of media to the population, what access they have to the new advances, how informed they can be, to what degree they can engage in cyberspace interaction.

Only with an understanding of this wider context can we see how education may throw light in institutions, policies and practices which allow for the advent of literature. Only then can we think of literary education as promoting critical individuals who can act as agents for social transformation. The next step is to work out these dimensions in more detail and see how they affect the teaching of literature in each specific context.

6. Conclusion

What is to be seen with some alarm is that the traditional divide between doing research and teaching literature is not being questioned. Literature teachers continue to dissociate their research from their practice. Moreover, teachers are not trained for the job nor are they stimulated to develop theoretical issues about what, why, and how to teach. In addition, language teachers are reluctant to discuss why and how to introduce literature in their classes despite Kramsch's remarks (1993:131) that "Foreign language learners have to be exposed to different types of texts, from the most conventional to the most particular, but if they are eventually to find their own voice in the foreign language and culture, literary texts can offer them models of particularity and opportunity for the dialogic negotiation of meaning". Literature is the language of representation *par excellence* and, in line with critical linguistics, we can say that it is language used as social practice for social transformation. The study of literature as a critical experience stimulates a process of self-reflection and may lead the experiencer

to perceive the ideologies and assumptions coded behind propositions. As illustrated above, there are many areas still to be developed if we want to see literature as a healthy practice and save it from oblivion in the EFL classroom. To conclude, I appropriate and adapt Elam's words (1980:210). What he has said of the work on the semiotics of drama can very well apply to the teaching of literature: "At the present stage of work, a reassuring unity of aims and methods can scarcely be said to prevail, and much of the basic groundwork of establishing agreed objectives and common analytic criteria for purposes of empirical research remains to be done. In particular, there appears to be little dialogue at present between [research] and [practice]. The aim of this [talk] has been to sketch out in a very provisional fashion the territory of a complex enterprise — but without claiming that this constitutes, as yet, a comfortably established intellectual field. What emerges is an area of inquiry whose complexity may be daunting but whose very openness makes it peculiarly inviting and challenging".

¹ A version of this paper was presented at the ENPULI 97 seminar in Belo Horizonte, Brasil.

² Some items on the list are from Durant & Fabb (1990).

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Passive Voice Constructions in Norwegian and Latvian

The system of verb includes a lot of different mutually related grammatical categories - tense, mood, voice, transitivity, reflexivity, etc. When contrasting these categories in different languages, a lot of common and distinctive features can be found.

The primary aim of this paper is the analyses of the voice category, particularly morphological peculiarities of the passive voice constructions and their usage in Latvian and Norwegian.

Both Norwegian and Latvian languages distinguish between the active and the passive voice of the verb. From the semantic point of view, a passive construction can be defined as an utterance, in which the grammatical subject refers to the patient, i.e. the one against whom the action is directed:

Han ble rost (av dem).
Viņš tiek slavēts.
He is praised (by them).

In the active construction the grammatical subject (*de- viņi/viņas- they*) refers to the agent, i.e. the performer of the action:

De roste ham.
Viņi viņu slavēja.
They praised him.

In the above mentioned sentence the agent is expressed by the grammatical subject *de- viņi/viņas - they*, and the patient - by the object *ham- viņu- him*. In the passive it is the other way round: the patient is expressed by the subject *han- viņš- he* whereas the optional agent is reflected in the complement *by av dem- by them*.

These examples show that the verb is morphologically different in the active voice compared to the passive. Both in Norwegian and Latvian only transitive verbs convey a real passive meaning.

To express the passive voice in Latvian mainly two auxiliary verbs *tikt* [*tapt, kļūt*] (to become) and *būt* (to be) are used in combination with the Past Passive Participle.

The passive voice in Latvian has three moods: Indicative, Subjunctive and Relative.

The following table reflects the passive voice formation in Latvian and Norwegian (the Past Passive Participle is given in the Singular)

Inf.: *tikt/ būt lasītam (-ai)*
ā bli lest (leses)
 to be read

INDICATIVE MOOD		
The Simple Present	The Simple Past	The Simple Future
<i>tiek lasīts/-ta</i> <i>blir lest; leses</i> is read/ is being read	<i>tika lasīts/-ta</i> <i>ble lest</i> was read/was being read	<i>tiks lasīts/-ta</i> <i>vil/skal bli lest ;vil/skal leses</i> will be read
The Present Perfect	The Past Perfect	The Future Perfect
<i>ir lasīts/- ta</i> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> } <i>er lest</i> <i>er blitt lest</i> <i>har blitt lest</i> has been read </div>	<i>bija lasīts/-ta</i> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> } <i>var lest</i> <i>var blitt lest</i> <i>hadde blitt lest</i> had been read </div>	<i>būs lasīts/-ta</i> <i>vil/skal ha blitt lest</i> will have been read

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD	
The Simple Present	The Present Perfect
<i>tiktu lasīts/-ta</i> <i>skulle leses</i> <i>skulle bli lest</i> was to be read	<i>būtu lasīts/-ta</i> <i>skulle / ha blitt lest</i> should have been read

RELATIVE MOOD	
The Simple Present	The Simple Future
<i>tiekot lasīts/-ta</i>	<i>tikšot lasīts/-ta</i>
The Present Perfect	The Future Perfect
<i>esot lasīts/-ta</i>	<i>būšot lasīts/-ta</i>

It should be pointed out that in Norwegian, compared to Latvian, there is no agreement of the participle with the subject in gender and number.

The auxiliary verbs *tikt* (*tapt, kļūt*) are used to form simple tenses, while the verb *būt* is used to form perfect tenses. Another distributional criteria is the distinction between passive participles that function as verbs and passive participles which function as adjectives. In the former case *tikt* is used; in the latter, the auxiliary *būt*, for example:

viņš, viņa tiek mācīts/-ta (he/she is taught/ is being taught) vs. *viņš, viņa ir mācīts/-ta* (he/she has been taught).

The opposition of action vs. state is observed also in passive constructions in Norwegian where the two auxiliary verbs *a bli* vs. *å være* are used in combination with the Past Passive Participle and further in the possibility of deletion of the auxiliary verb *verden/bli* in the Present, Past and Future Perfect. The auxiliary *bli* is used to stress the action while the auxiliary *være* is used to stress the result attained, for example:

Han/hun blir (å bli) undervist (he/she is taught/ is being taught) vs.
Han/hun er (å være) undervist (he/she is taught).

In Norwegian there exist two forms of passive – *analytical* and *flexive*. The analytical passive is formed with the help of auxiliary verb *å bli* (tikt, tapt, kjüt- to become, get) or *være* (būt -to be) and the past participle of the main verb. In the formation of the passive analytical form the subject of the sentence turns into the object with the preposition *av*, for example:

Active voice (Simple Present)

Gutten leser en bok.

Zēns lasa grāmatu.

The boy is reading a book.

Passive voice (Simple Present)

Boka blir (å bli) lest av en gutt.

Grāmata tiek lasīta.

A book is read by the boy.

Ingrid skriver et brev.

Ingrīda raksta vēstuli.

Ingrid is writing a letter.

Brevet er (å være) skrevet av Ingrid.

Vēstule tiek rakstīta.

The letter is written (by Ingrid).

There is another auxiliary verb *å få* that is also used to form the passive, though more rarely, for example:

Han får (å få) betalt 2000 NOK for året.

Viņam tiek maksāts 2000 kronu gadā.

He gets 2000 NOK per year.

Norwegian like other Scandinavian languages has flexive passive forms ending in –s.

Infinitive
å rose
tikt slavētam
 to be praised

Simple Present
han roses
tiek slavēts
 he is praised

Simple Past
han rostes
tika slavēts
 he was praised

Ending in –s is actually a remnant of the old Norse reflexive *sik*, in modern Norwegian - *seg*, which in the course of time was reduced to - s when tacked onto the verb. It refers back to the subject in the clause where it occurs, but is only used when the

subject is in the third person singular or plural. Thus it corresponds to the Latvian pronoun *sevi* and to the English *oneself, himself, etc.*

In most cases the s-forms can be changed into expressions with *bli*, for example:

Han kastes into han blir kastet (he is thrown).

Sometimes, however, there is a slight nuance between the two constructions, namely, the s-form has a more general meaning and is often used speaking about customary and repeated actions. They are often used in public notices, legal texts, instructions, recipes, newspaper headlines and announcements, for example:

*Publikum anmodes om ikke å røyke.
Lūdzu nesmēķēt!*

The audience is requested not to smoke.

*Frivillig søkes.
Vajadzīgs brīvprātīgais.
Volunteer requested.*

In comparison to analytical forms, the flexive s-forms have a more limited area of use. They are quite common in the present tense and in the passive infinitive after modal auxiliaries, e.g. *skulle leses* ; *ville leses*

Rendering of Norwegian passive constructions into Latvian

With the aim of contrastive perspective several common features as to translation of the passive should be pointed out.

As already mentioned, the analytical passive in Norwegian is formed with the help of the preposition *av*, directly denoting the agent.

Since formally passive sentences with an explicitly expressed agent are not typical in Latvian, the agent is not mentioned when rendering the sentences into Latvian, for example:

*Maten lages av kokken.
Ēdiens tiek (pavārs) gatavots.
The meal is prepared (by the cook).*

Passive sentences in Norwegian, where the agent is not mentioned, can be rendered by formally passive constructions in Latvian, for example:

*Han er/blir respektert for sin ærlighet.
Viņš tiek respektēts viņa godīguma dēļ.
He is respected for his honesty.*

However, in Latvian it is also possible to use a formally active one-part sentence with the object-verb structure:

Viņu respektē viņa godīguma dēļ

In both sentences in Latvian the patient *viņš/viņa* is in the thematic initial position. Though in Norwegian and Latvian real passive meaning is conveyed by transitive verbs, there are cases, when passive constructions are formed with intransitive verbs. They are in the form of one-part impersonal sentences with the participle in the masculine gender, singular, for example:

*Det ble arbeidet hardt den dagen.
Todien tika daudz strādāts.
Much work was done that day.*

In Norwegian impersonal passive can be expressed in two ways, namely, with the formal subject *det* or with the adverb *her* instead, for example:

*Det ble synget hele dagen.
Visu dienu tika dziedāts.
Singing was going on the whole day.*

*Her snakkes bare norsk.
Šeit tiek runāts tikai norvēģiski.
Only Norwegian is spoken here.*

The formal subject *det* is not rendered into Latvian whereas the adverb *her* is. Formal reflexive passive forms, although admitted in Latvian, should be used within considerable limits. To convey a passive meaning, they can be used in sentences expressing an action, the agent of which is not particularly stressed, for example:

*Dokumenti glabājas birojā.
Documents are kept in the office.*

The usage of formal passive should be avoided in cases where the role of agent is important, for example:

*Laikraksti pārdodas kioskā. (wrong)
Laikraksti tiek pārdoti kioskā. (right)
Newspapers are sold in stalls.*

In the conclusion I would like to point out several common and distinctive features as to the formation and rendering of the passive in both languages.

Generally, the passive in Latvian reminds the passive in Norwegian in that the passive forming auxiliaries are used in combination with the Past Passive Participle. In Norwegian, compared to Latvian, there is no agreement of the participle with the subject in gender and number.

In Latvian the passive can be expressed in three moods, however, in Norwegian it can be expressed only in the Indicative and the Subjective Mood.

As regards the morphological formation of the passive, there exist two parallel forms in Norwegian (analytical and flexive), the analytical form with the explicitly expressed agent being far more common whereas passive constructions with the agent should be avoided in Latvian.

In Latvian formally active one-part sentences with the object-verb structure are more common for the colloquial language style, whereas formally passive constructions are used more frequently in the written language.

In general, the Passive both in modern Norwegian and Latvian is used much less frequently than the Active Voice.

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Visitors

Klauss Bischoff

from EC, JICS, Baltic Desk Brussels, lectured, coordinated cooperation in training MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, March 23-24.

Patric Twidle

from Europarlament, lectured, coordinated cooperation in training MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, April 28-30.

Don Kirally

lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, April 25-30.

John Swales

from JICS, conducted interpreting, seminars for MA students, May 28-30.

Archie Clarke

EU Translate Service, lectured to BA and MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, October 11.

Harald Freudenstein

from JICS, conducted interpreting, seminars for MA students, October 13-17.

Dags Heede

from University of Odense acted as scientific adviser and reviewer of BA papers in Aarhus (Denmark), June 12-17.

Prof. Dr. Manfred Görlach

from University of Cologne, lectured on Topics of Lexicography and of the State of Art of the English Language to BA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, September 13,14.

Prof. Lilius Pirko

from University of Helsinki, lectured to BA students (theory of translation for Swedish and Finnish students), October 18-24.

Klauss Bischoff

from the EC, JICS, Baltic Desk Brussels, lectured, coordinated cooperation in training MA students of the Faculty of Foreign Languages, November 9-11.

Staff Activities

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in 3.JICS conference, Brussels, January 25.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper "Phonosemantic Approach to Text Analysis (English-Latvian)" in Daugavpils Pedagogical University conference, January 28.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a plenary report "Latvian Bilingual Dictionaries" in LU conference, Riga, February 2.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with plenary report "Jaunas pieejas nepieciešamība tulkotāju profesionālās izglītības programmās" in LU conference, Riga, February 2.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Gender Problems in Latvian Dictionaries" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "The Dual Situation of English under Modern Globalization" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper "Izcēluma fonētiskie un pragmatiskie aspekti" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a paper "Kultūrietekmju izpausmes latviešu reklāmtulkokumos" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Arvils Šalme

Participated with a paper "Valodas komunikatīvās funkcijas un to eksponenti latviešu valodas mācību kursā iesācējiem" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Veneta Žigure

Participated with a paper "Biežāk novērotās starpvalodu kļūdas latviešu valodas apgušanas procesā" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Svetlana Koroļova

Participated with a paper "Translation Assessment of Expressive Texts" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Lāsma Vaivode

Participated with a paper "Pirmās svešvalodas ietekme otrā svešvalodas apguves procesā" in the conference of Department of Contrastive Linguistics, Riga, February 2.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Dzimtes kategorija latviešu vārdnīcās" in Jānis Endzelīns conference "Valodas funkcionālie un stilistiskie aspekti", February 22.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "Tulkojumvalodas stilistiski strukturālā neviendabība" Jānis Endzelīns conference "Valodas funkcionālie un stilistiskie aspekti", February 22.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper "Aizpildītās pauzes publiskās runas stilā" in Jānis Endzelīns conference "Valodas funkcionālie un stilistiskie aspekti", February 22.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a "Latviešu tulkotā reklāma: funkcionālie, stilistiskie un kultūras aspekti" in Jānis Endzelīns conference "Valodas funkcionālie un stilistiskie aspekti", February 22.

Gunta Ločmele

Gave an open lecture "Some Aspects of the History of Sociolinguistics and their Relevance to Translation Studies", Riga, University of Latvia, March 22.

A.Veisbergs

Participated in a symposium dedicated to Translator Training. Brussels, March 26.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a paper "Translating Reference Literature for Children" in the 8th conference "Traditions and Postmodernity", Cracow, April 7-9.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated in the international seminar on National Language Legislation, Riga, Latvian Language Institute, April 12-13.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a paper "An Interface between Theory of Translation and Sociolinguistics: Historical Aspects": in the 2nd Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation, Riga, April 28-29.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Gender in Latvian Monolingual and Bilingual Dictionaries" in the 2nd Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation, Riga, April 28-29.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper "Sound Imitative Systems in Source Language and Target Language" in the 2nd Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation, Riga, April 28-29.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "Hybridity as Inevitable Feature of Cross-Cultural

Communication” in the 2nd Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation, Riga, April 28-29.

Svetlana Koroļova

Participated with a paper “Translating LSP Text Analysis and Translation Assessment Didactic Aspects” in the 2nd Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation, Riga, April 28-29.

Ieva Zauberga

Conducted interpreter training seminars in Geneva University, May 2-6.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Conducted interpreter training seminars in Geneva University, May 10-12.

Gunta Ločmele

Had a visit within the framework of development plan for the translation teaching programmes in the University of Latvia in cooperation with Johannes Gutenberg - Universität Mainz, Fachbereich Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, Germany, May 2-31.

Gunta Ločmele

Visited University of Heidelberg and made a presentation on Aspects of Training Interpreters in Independent Latvia, Germany, May 19.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Conducted interpreter training seminars in Geneva University, May 28.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in video conference in Geneva University, May 29.

Dina Sīle

Training in Geneva University, January 1999 - June 1999.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a plenary paper “Euphemisms under Occupational Powers” in the 3.Baltic Studies Conference, June 17-20.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper “Barbarisms as Discourse Markers in Latvian” in the 3.Baltic Studies Conference, June 17-20.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper “Translation as Ideology—Driven Activity: Latvian Translation in the Soviet Period” in the 3.Baltic Studies Conference, June 17-20.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated in JICS seminar on Interpreter Training in Baltic States, Riga, August 26-28.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated in JICS seminar on Interpreter Training in Baltic States, Riga, August 26-28.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated in JICS seminar on Interpreter Training in Baltic States, Riga, August 26-28.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Latvian Legal Language - the Fourth Transition of the 20th Century" in the 12. European Symposium "Language For Special Purposes: Language and Law", Bolzano, Italy, August 30 - September 3.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated in the 12. European Symposium "Language For Special Purposes: Language and Law", Bolzano, Italy, August 30 - September 3.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Latvian - from an endangered to a semi-restored official language" in the Second International Symposium: "Foundation of Endangered Languages", Maynooth, Ireland, September 17-19.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Kontrastīvā valodniecība Latvijā un Latvijas universitātē" in the conference "Latvijas Universitātei - 80", Riga, LU, September 24.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "Translatoloģijas pirmsākumi LU Svešvalodu fakultātē" in the conference "Latvijas Universitātei - 80", Riga, LU, September 24.

Maija Brēde

Participated with a paper "Kontrastīvie pētījumi fonētika un fonoloģijā" in the conference "Latvijas Universitātei - 80", Riga, LU, September 24.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a paper "Translatoloģija Latvijas Universitātē: jaunākais posms" in the conference "Latvijas Universitātei - 80", Riga, LU, September 24.

Andrejs Veisbergs

Participated with a paper "Latvian Interpreting Scene" in Translatorisches Kompetenz "4. International Symposium zu Fragen der Universitäten Übersetzer- und Dolmetscherausbildung. Germersheim, Universität Mainz, November 12-14.

Gunta Ločmele

Participated with a paper "Interpreting Norms in Latvia" in Translatorisches Kompetenz "4. International Symposium zu Fragen der Universitäten Übersetzer- und Dolmetscherausbildung. Germersheim, Universität Mainz, November 12-14.

Ieva Zauberga

Participated with a paper "Variables of Quality Assessment in Interpreting" in Translatorisches Kompetenz " 4. International Symposium zu Fragen der Universitäten Übersetzer- und Dolmetscherausbildung. Germersheim, Universität Mainz, November 12-14.

Maija Brēde

Participated in Cross-Cultural Capability Conference '99 in the Centre for Language Study, Leeds Metropolitan University (UK), December 11-13.

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